

**MAKING THE BED: THE PRACTICE, ROLE AND  
SIGNIFICANCE OF HOUSEKEEPING IN THE ROYAL  
BEDCHAMBERS AT HAMPTON COURT PALACE**

**1689-1737**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis explores and analyses the practices, role and significance of housekeeping in the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court in the period between 1689 and 1737. Specifically, it seeks to chart contemporary practices of care and maintenance and to situate this work within the context of the rooms that lay at the heart of the late-Stuart and early-Hanoverian courts. A broad range of primary sources have been used to inform the study, in particular the records of the Lord Chamberlain and the Great Wardrobe. These archives are considered in relation to the material culture of the interiors at Hampton Court and are placed within the broader framework of social and political histories of the period.

The thesis is divided into two main parts, the first of which explores the context of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. Starting with the premise that the practices of housekeeping were shaped by the specific environment in which they operated, it provides an exposition of the dual significance of this area of the palace as a space for magnificent court ceremony and as a retreat for the rituals of royal private life. Developing these findings, the second part of the study discusses housekeeping practices and the servants who undertook this work. In particular, it focuses on the identity, role and status of the lower ranking female servants of the bedchamber department, the Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings and the craftsmen of the Great Wardrobe. Throughout the discussion of these individuals, and the practices of care and maintenance, is framed by an analysis of the motivations for good housekeeping at court, and the meanings that were ascribed to this work.

The research contained within this thesis contributes to our knowledge of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court, in a key phase of the palace's history, by offering a more complete picture of how these rooms were inhabited by domestic servants as well as the monarch. New light is also shed on the many long periods when Hampton Court lay empty and the spheres of activity that took place in the absence of the court. The findings of this thesis demonstrate the significant role played by housekeeping as an essential underpinning for the use of Hampton Court as a royal home and as a splendid place of court.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

- BL British Library  
Bo/L Bodleian Library  
CKS Centre for Kentish Studies  
CSP Calendar of State Papers  
CTB Calendar of Treasury Books  
CTBP Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers  
CUL Cambridge University Library  
DA Derbyshire Archives  
ESCRO East Sussex Record Office  
HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission  
HMSO Her Majesty's Stationery Office  
HRP Historic Royal Palaces  
KA Kingston Archives  
LPL Lambeth Palace Library  
NA Nottinghamshire Archives  
NUL Nottingham University Library and Archives  
OCRO Oxford County Record Office  
ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography  
TNA The National Archives  
WSA Wiltshire and Swindon Archives

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## **Introduction**

Hampton Court Palace is home to one of the nation's most important collections of royal furniture and textiles dating from the late Stuart and Georgian era. Since 1995 the baroque state apartments at the palace have been displayed in a manner that showcases this furniture and the use of Hampton Court as a royal residence during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1689 the newly crowned monarchs William III (1650-1702) and Mary II (1662-1694) settled upon Hampton Court as their primary residence and commissioned Sir Christopher Wren to rebuild the old Tudor lodgings (figs.1 & 2). Centred on Fountain Court to the south east of Henry VIII's great hall, Wren created a magnificent classically inspired palace with two suites of state apartments for the king and the queen (figs.3 & 4). From 1700 until 1737 these apartments, and what remained of the old Tudor palace, were used by William, Queen Anne (1665-1714), George I (1660-1727), George II (1683-1760) and Queen Caroline (1683-1737) (figs.5-8). The history of the baroque apartments is therefore most closely associated with this period of royal occupation and the political and social events of the court in the decades following the Glorious Revolution of 1688. However, Hampton Court also has a less well-known history - that of servants and housekeeping that operated behind the scenes and during the absence of the court. While often omitted from both modern and contemporary accounts of the palace, this history has a close relationship with great political events and the lives of monarchs and the court elite. It is the aim of this thesis to uncover aspects of this history and to highlight its significance. Through a focus on the royal bedchambers between 1689 and 1737 it seeks to chart housekeeping practices and to situate this work in relation to the design and use of the rooms that lay at the heart of the late Stuart and early Hanoverian courts.

This thesis is divided into two parts, the first of which explores the context of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. Starting with the premise that the practices of housekeeping were shaped by the specific environment in which they operated, the first three chapters provide an analysis of the location, design and use of these rooms and the objects within them. Contemporary responses to the care of the interiors at the palace were dependant on their

original or desired appearance, function and symbolic significance. When and by whom housekeeping duties were performed was also shaped by the specifics of materiality, use and meaning. The first three chapters of this thesis thus explore these qualities as a pre-requisite to understanding the practices of care. Part two of this study then moves on to explore the motivations and practices of housekeeping, and the individual responsibilities of those who undertook this work. While this structure may suggest a distinction between royal inhabitation and housekeeping what I aim to stress is not a binary or oppositional relationship but one of interconnectedness. While housekeeping operated within the ‘everyday’, backstage realm of the court, this thesis seeks to elucidate its practice, role and significance in relation to the political and domestic aspects of royal life that unfolded within the bedchambers at Hampton Court.

## A hidden history of Hampton Court

Historically the baroque state apartments at Hampton Court have been celebrated in two guises - as an art gallery and as a royal palace. During the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, scholarship and public interest in the state apartments was largely focused on the palace’s collection of paintings.<sup>1</sup> By the late 1700s Hampton Court was no longer occupied as a royal residence and consequently the king’s and the queen’s apartments were set up as a public gallery to showcase artworks from the Royal Collection. Accordingly, early published guides to the apartments were predominately focussed on art history and gave only limited information as to how the rooms had originally been decorated and used.<sup>2</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup> On the nineteenth and early twentieth century history of Hampton Court see J. Parker, ‘Reinvention and continuity in the making of an historic visitor attraction: control, access and display at Hampton Court Palace, 1838-1938’, unpublished PhD thesis, Kingston University 2010 and S. Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp.288-374.

<sup>2</sup> G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae; Or the Curiosities of Hampton Court and Windsor Castle Delineated with Occasional Reflections; and embellished with copper plates of the two Palaces* (London: T. Cooper, 1742); E. Jesse, *Jesse's Hampton Court* (London: John Murray, 1840); E. Jesse, *A Summer's Day at Hampton Court, being a guide to the Palace and Gardens with an Illustrative Catalogue of the Pictures*, fourth edition (London, 1842); E. Law, *The New Guide to the Royal Palace of Hampton Court, with a New Catalogue of the Pictures* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1882). One significant exception was Ernest Law’s three-volume *History of Hampton Court Palace* (1885) that comprised of a comprehensive account of the palace from its sixteenth century beginnings up to the late-Victorian period, divided into Tudor, Orange and Guelph times. Incorporating extensive primary research on the part of the author, both on site and at The National Archives, Law’s work actually served as the primary work of reference for researchers of the palace history up until 2003 when Simon Thurley published his *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History*.

was in contrast to the Tudor half of the palace. The prevailing architectural taste of the nineteenth century, focussed as it was on gothic forms and their historic, romantic appeal, lead to a greater appreciation for Henry VIII's great hall and the adjoining kitchens as historic interiors.<sup>3</sup> It was not until the 1920s that scholarly attention shifted towards the baroque half of the palace and the remaining collection of late Stuart and Georgian furniture, most notably the five royal beds, their accompanying furniture and the three magnificent canopies of estate. Following the publication of an anonymous article in *The Times* that raised the point that the arrangement of this furniture was historically inaccurate, research was undertaken in the Public Record Office (now The National Archives) to uncover the provenance of the furnishings and their original locations.<sup>4</sup> This work and the subsequent re-display of the apartments marked a significant shift towards a more historically accurate and scholarly appreciation of the furniture at Hampton Court. It was an important move towards our current understanding of the state apartments as historic interiors.<sup>5</sup>

Following a devastating fire in the king's state apartments in 1986, the baroque half of the palace was re-displayed by Historic Royal Palaces, the charitable trust that has administered Hampton Court, as well as Kensington Palace, the Tower of London, Kew Palace and the Banqueting House at Whitehall since 1989. Undertaken between 1992 and 1995, this work was based upon social history rather than a narrower understanding of the palace centred on the paintings collection. As Simon Thurley, the lead curator on the project explained, 'The staff of the new curatorial department were heavily influenced

<sup>3</sup> One key example of this was the Deputy Surveyor of the Office of Works, Edward Jesse's re-display of the great hall in the 1840s in a manner that evoked the majesty of the Tudor age. See J. Parker, 'Reinvention and continuity', chapter one.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Rutherford, a departmental researcher at the Office of Works, was employed in this task and his findings were published in two articles in *Old Furniture* magazine in 1927. These shed new light on the furnishing of the state apartments between 1699-1701 and 1715-1737 and set their design within the context of the courts of William and Mary and the early-Hanoverians. See F. J. Rutherford, "The Furnishing of Hampton Court Palace for William III, 1699-1701", pp. 15-33 & 'The Furnishing of Hampton Court Palace, 1715-1737', pp. 77-86 & 180-7, *Old Furniture*, vol. 2, Oct-Nov 1927. Rutherford was preceded in his analysis of the state beds at Hampton Court by the pioneering furniture historian Percy Macquoid, although Macquoid's dating and attribution of the beds was incorrect. See P. Macquoid, *A History of English Furniture, The Age of Walnut* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1905) and also his 'State Beds at Hampton Court', *Country Life*, 35, 1914, pp. 562-6. One further early study was C. Goodison, "The Furniture of Hampton Court and other Royal Palaces", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 74, 3811, 4th December 1925.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to Julia Parker for this point and for sharing her research on the later history of the state apartments. For a more detailed discussion of this period see J. Parker, 'Reinvention and Continuity', pp.171-173.

by Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* (1988) and Peter Thornton's *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (1988), both of which set out to explain architecture and interior décor in terms of function rather than style'.<sup>6</sup> The kings and queen's apartments at Hampton Court were therefore restored and re-displayed to reflect what is now considered to be the key phase in the history of the baroque half of the palace – that is the furnishing and use of the apartments by William III, Queen Anne and the early Hanoverians. The history of this period is most comprehensively elucidated in Simon Thurley's *Hampton Court Palace, A Social and Architectural History* which was published in 2003 following the completion of the state apartments.<sup>7</sup> Thurley's book covers a broad range of subjects from the thirteenth century to the present day, and while his priority is the architectural development of Hampton Court, throughout this is considered in relation to the use of the palace by individual monarchs and their courts.

As Thurley's work highlights, the period of royal occupation between 1689 and 1737 represents a key phase in the palace's history. While Hampton Court had been a place of residence throughout the seventeenth century it was not until the accession of William and Mary that the palace was singled out for attention. Sir Christopher Wren's work to modernise Hampton Court commenced in 1690, meanwhile the King and Queen lived mainly in the Water Gallery, a private retreat in the grounds near to the river, and at their newly acquired palace at Kensington. While it was originally envisaged that the whole of Hampton Court would be rebuilt aside from the great hall, a lack of time and funds eventually limited this to only the state apartments, resulting in the palace of two halves that we know today (fig. 9). In 1694 Queen Mary died of smallpox and it was therefore only William who moved into Hampton Court when the apartments were finally completed in 1700. The first official residence of the court lasted from April to July, and up until William's death in 1702, the palace played a leading role in his attempts to establish himself as an authoritative and popular monarch.<sup>8</sup> Equally, however, the rural environs of Hampton Court

<sup>6</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.388.

<sup>7</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.151-285.

<sup>8</sup> From the 19<sup>th</sup> April 1700 when the entourage left Kensington, until the 4<sup>th</sup> July when William departed for Holland and those who were not accompanying him returned to London, the king his court and the

allowed for a quieter, more comfortable and healthier way of life than the London palaces of St James's or Whitehall. William's motivations for rebuilding Hampton Court were based not just upon his desire to be a magnificent king, they also stemmed from his poor health, his personal reticence and his desire for privacy. At Hampton Court the King cultivated a more private way of living and this was to set the tone for the palaces later use by Queen Anne and the early Hanoverians.<sup>9</sup>

Hampton Court was less favoured by Queen Anne. As the renowned writer Daniel Defoe put it, after William's death the palace 'seem'd abandon'd of its patron'.<sup>10</sup> Anne preferred Windsor and Kensington and formally resided at Hampton Court for only seven weeks in the autumn of 1710, five weeks between October and November in 1711 and during August in 1713. For Thurley the reign of Queen Anne represents a period of neglect and stagnation at the palace. The Queen was content to occupy the king's state apartments much as William III had left them and while she may have originally intended to complete the queen's side (that had remained unfinished after the death of Mary II) for her consort George of Denmark this did not come to fruition.<sup>11</sup> It was only on the accession of the Hanoverians that the palace again became a focus of court life. In 1714 George I embarked on the completion of the queen's state apartments. In the absence of a queen consort (who was imprisoned for adultery in Hanover), these rooms were furnished for the King's son and his wife, George and Caroline the Prince and Princess of Wales. They resided at the palace with their daughters, Anne, Amelia and Caroline in the summer of 1716 and again in 1717 when the King was also in residence. After this however Hampton Court was once more near abandoned and it was only finally in 1728, when George and Caroline first

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government were based at Hampton Court. They stayed again on William's return from late October to the following January. The pattern was repeated in 1701 with a string of brief royal visits, usually at weekends, during the opening months of the year, followed by periods of settled formal court residence from mid April to the end of June and from the 5<sup>th</sup> November when the king returned from Holland to the end of the year. During the last two months of his life the king visited the palace each weekend without fail. For William's itinerary at this time see P. Gaunt, 'The Fountain Court of Hampton Court Palace: A History of the non-state rooms 1689-1986', 4 vols. Commissioned by Historic Royal Palaces Agency, 1986. Unpublished manuscript, Historic Royal Palaces (hereafter HRP), curatorial department library, Hampton Court Palace, vol.1, p.10.

<sup>9</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp. 200-209.

<sup>10</sup> D. Defoe, *A Tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, ed. G.D.H Cole (London, 1927), 2 vols., vol. 1, p.178.

<sup>11</sup> Instead, Anne chose to focus the attention she gave to Hampton Court on the refurbishment of chapel royal. See S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.211-222.

stayed as King and Queen, that the palace came into regular use once more. The state apartments were occupied as they had originally been intended by William and Mary, with George II established on the king's side while Caroline used the queen's. At this time Hampton Court became the favoured summer residence of the royal family. Contemporary diaries and correspondence relate that George and Caroline, their children and their courtiers spent many relaxed, leisurely months at the palace enjoying the quiet and the pleasant surroundings of the gardens and parks.<sup>12</sup> At the same time however, Hampton Court continued to be a place of political significance. Life at the early Hanoverian court was marred by the rivalry between George I and the Prince of Wales and this came to a head during the residences of 1716 and 1717 when the King and the Prince hosted lavishly at the palace in an attempt to outdo each other and win the support of the political and social elite.<sup>13</sup> Relations between George II and his eldest son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, were similarly hostile and during the residence of 1737 this antagonism reached a crisis when the Prince secretly removed the Princess of Wales from the palace while she was in labour to prevent the King and Queen from being present at the birth.

It was not until the death of Queen Caroline in 1737 that Hampton Court fell from favour. After this date the palace was rarely visited by George II. The only member of the royal family who continued to reside there was the spinster Princess Amelia who was granted permission to convert one of the pavilions belonging to the palace bowling green into an apartment. By 1761 however even she had left Hampton Court and a new phase in the palace's life had begun. Over the second half of the eighteenth century the courtier lodgings above the state apartments, and in the old Tudor buildings, were transformed into a home for the recipients of Grace and Favour.<sup>14</sup> At this time the palace was also becoming a more regular tourist destination and in 1742 George Bickham published the first guidebook, *Deliciae Britannicae; Or the curiosities of Hampton Court and*

<sup>12</sup> J. Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II, From his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline*, ed. Rt Hon. John Wilson Croker, 3 vols. (Bickers and Son, Leicester Square, 1884); *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, ed., the Hon. J. A. Home, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1889-96); *Memoirs of Viscountess [or rather Baroness] Sundon, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline, Consort of George II: Including letters from the most celebrated persons of her time*, 2 vols, ed., C. Thomson (London, 1847).

<sup>13</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.245-285.

<sup>14</sup> On grace and favour see S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.288-374; Twickenham Local History Society, *Hampton Court Grace and Favour in the 19th Century* (Twickenham, 1988).

*Windsor Castle*.<sup>15</sup> This new role was officially established in 1838 when Queen Victoria opened the palace as a tourist attraction.

It can be seen therefore that the period of royal occupation between 1689 and 1737 represents a significant chapter in the history of the palace. However, as Thurley concedes in his *Social and Architectural History*, little is known about the role of lower status court servants and life behind the scenes at Hampton Court during this time. Some light had previously been shed on this through Peter Gaunt's researches on the non-state rooms of Fountain Court (1689-1986).<sup>16</sup> Using surveys of the palace, the Lord Chamberlain's warrants and the accounts of the Great Wardrobe, Gaunt revealed the allocation and the furnishing of some of the courtier lodgings that were arranged above the state apartments. However, much still remains unknown, as Thurley states,

[...] crucial questions about furnishings, servants, wives and families, laundry arrangements, cooking, security and access are unanswered. Sometimes the building itself gives a clue, such as a 'hidden stair' down which full chamber pots were taken each morning by necessary women, but mostly we shall never know.<sup>17</sup>

In the chapters on Hampton Court as a royal residence Thurley's *Social and Architectural History* is also predominately focussed on the periods when the palace was re-furbished for the arrival of the court and the inhabitation of the apartments by the royal family. The ongoing role of the resident House and Wardrobe Keepers is rarely mentioned, despite the long absences of the court when the palace lay empty. To an extent this bias is also reflected in the current display of the palace in which royalty and the elite occupy centre stage.<sup>18</sup> Despite this however, Historic Royal Palaces are keen to highlight the importance of less elite or well-known histories of Hampton Court. For example, in recent decades one important element of this has been Henry VIII's kitchens that have been used to showcase the work of the household below stairs in providing for the Tudor

<sup>15</sup> G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae* (1742).

<sup>16</sup> P. Gaunt, 'The Fountain Court of Hampton Court Palace: A History of the non-state rooms 1689-1986'.

<sup>17</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.235.

<sup>18</sup> At present there are no resources for the visitor that provide information regarding the role of servants and housekeeping relating to the baroque apartments.

court.<sup>19</sup> Further to this, the doctoral research of Julia Parker has also shed new light on an alternative history of the palace as a tourist attraction between 1838 and 1938.<sup>20</sup> This thesis follows in this vein. In 2007 Historic Royal Palaces and the School of Art and Design History Kingston University formulated this research project in order to shed new light on a hitherto hidden history of Hampton Court. It was recognised that while backstairs histories of country houses have recently grown in popularity, this element of life at Hampton Court had not yet been addressed.<sup>21</sup>

It is the aim of this thesis to address this gap by exploring aspects of housekeeping practices through a focus on the royal bedchambers between 1689 and 1737. It explores the work of the domestic servants of the bedchamber department who moved with the monarch between residences - the Necessary Women who cleaned the rooms, and the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher who cared for the royal body and bed linen. In addition, the thesis sheds light on the role of the palace House and Wardrobe Keepers and the work of craftsmen who were employed to care for the furniture and undertake cleaning and repairs during the absence of the court. As custodians and carers, some of whom were in constant attendance, these individuals had a close relationship with the furnishings of the royal bedchambers, to the extent that their past is equally representative of the history of these important rooms. The original brief for this project proposed research on the 'day-to-day care and conservation' of the bedchambers at Hampton Court between 1686 and the end of the palace's life as a royal residence in 1838. The aim was to 'reveal a story of Hampton Court Palace that has been utterly neglected' and to 'provide a fascinating and

<sup>19</sup> Prior to the founding of HRP the Tudor kitchen's had been excavated by the Directorate of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (DAMHB) in the late 1970s. Work to furnish the kitchens was undertaken in the 1980s and to date they have been a successful and popular attraction. On the re-display of the kitchens see S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.378-388.

<sup>20</sup> J. Parker, 'Reinvention and Continuity'.

<sup>21</sup> In particular the National Trust has sought to bring this history of country houses to the fore. See C. Hardiment, *Behind the Scenes: Domestic Arrangements in Historic Houses* (National Trust, 1997); The National Trust, *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping. The Care of Historic Collections Open to the Public*, (London, 2006); P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant* (Sutton Publishing: The National Trust, 1999); M. Waterson, 'The Servants' Hall: A Domestic History of Erddig' (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980). See also E. Balderson, *Backstairs Life in a Country House* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1982); G. Waterfield and A. French, *Below Stairs. 400 Years of Servants' Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2003); *An Exhibition of Back-Stairs Furniture from Country Houses* (Temple Newsam, Leeds, 1977); J. Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815-1914* (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1994); A. Hartcup, *Below Stairs in the Great Country Houses* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1980) and J. Musson, *Up and Down Stairs: The History of the Country House Servant* (London: John Murray, 2010).

important guide for contemporary understanding and interpretation' of key rooms and objects within the palace.<sup>22</sup> This thesis aims to address these broad objectives, although the years between 1689 and 1737 have been chosen as a focus to facilitate a more in depth study. As outlined above, this period represents a key phase in the history of the palace as a royal residence, and one that is moreover represented in the display of the state apartments today. It was agreed with Historic Royal Palaces and Kingston University that the bedchambers would provide a contextual emphasis for this study, and in particular the bedchambers in the king's and the queen's apartments in the baroque half of the palace. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to take in account the bedchambers occupied by lesser members of the royal family and the many others located in the courtier lodgings. In terms of the use of Hampton Court during the period, the royal bedchambers are especially significant locations that in many ways epitomise monarchical life and the experience of court under the later Stuarts and the early Hanoverians. During this period 'the bedchamber' was not one room but an exclusive, high status zone that lay at the heart of the king's and the queen's state apartments. This area encompassed the state bedchamber and the closet, the most important official and ceremonial rooms, and more domestic, intimate spaces such as the little bedchamber, the backstairs and the privy lodgings. It was therefore felt that an exploration of the practices of housekeeping within the royal bedchamber would enable an understanding of housekeeping in relation to both the political and ceremonial use of the palace *and* the more domestic aspects of royal life at Hampton Court.

In addition, the royal bedchambers are also significant in terms of the current interpretation of the palace. For visitors to Hampton Court the palace's royal beds are a highlight. When compared to other royal residences Hampton Court is unique, in that the two state beds that were originally commissioned for William III (c.1690) and George and Caroline as Prince and Princess of Wales (1714) are displayed in their original locations in the king's and the queen's state apartments respectively (figs.10 & 11). Since the nineteenth century the palace

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<sup>22</sup> Initial project brief for 'Making the Bed: An investigation of the day-to-day care and conservation of the bedchambers at Hampton Court 1686-1838', internal document Kingston University and Historic Royal Palaces, 2007.

has also been home to two other state beds that originally belonged to Queen Anne (1714) and Queen Charlotte (c.1772-8) at Windsor Castle, and a travelling bed (c.1718) that belonged to George II when Prince of Wales (figs.12-14). Today the queen's private bedchamber at the palace is also furnished with the Raynham Hall bed (c.1727) that belonged to Charles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount Townshend, one of Queen Caroline's ministers of state (fig.15). Since the 1980s Historic Royal Palaces Conservation and Collections Care Team have been undertaking a programme of work on these beds and in the current display and interpretation of the palace they play an important role. For Historic Royal Palaces' curators and conservators they are both valuable examples of late-seventeenth and eighteenth century furniture design, and a medium through which to evoke the use of the palace as a court and as a home.<sup>23</sup> In considering the royal bedchambers, this thesis therefore aims to offer another layer interpretation to some of the most important objects within the collection, and thereby to contribute to our understanding of the history of the palace more broadly.

Lastly, the bedchambers at Hampton Court can be considered as the most coherent surviving example of a much broader landscape of royal architectural, decorative and artistic patronage, much of which is no longer extant. During the period, Hampton Court was but one of the principal palaces owned by the crown, Windsor, Kensington, St. James's and Whitehall Palace, all of which were modernised in part by later monarchs or even lost entirely. Aside from documentary and archaeological evidence little survives of William and Mary's bedchambers at Whitehall as the palace was mostly destroyed by fire in 1698.<sup>24</sup> Losses have also been sustained through the remodelling of Windsor Castle, St. James and Kensington over the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> The fact that Hampton Court was so little used as a residence after 1737 means that the bedchambers

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank Sebastian Edwards and the Conservation and Collections Care team at Hampton Court for explaining their current approach to the royal beds at the palace.

<sup>24</sup> On the history of Whitehall see S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace, An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1260-1690* (Yale University Press, 1999). In addition two royal beds that are now at Knole in Kent are thought to have come from Whitehall Palace. These are attributed to James II and believed to be part of the collection of unwanted furnishings that William III gave as a perquisite his Lord Chamberlain, the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Dorset, during the 1690s. See G. Jackson-Stops, 'A Courtiers Collection, the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Dorset's Furniture at Knole, I, *Country Life*, 161, June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1977, pp.1495-1496 and C. Rowell, 'The Kings Bed and its Furniture at Knole', *Apollo*, 160, 513, Nov. 2004, pp.58-65, p.60.

<sup>25</sup> D. Snouden, L. Worsley and B. Dolman, *The Royal Palaces of London* (Merrell, 2008); J. M Robinson, *Windsor Castle, The Official Illustrated Guide* (The Royal Collection, 1996), E. Impey, *Kensington Palace: The Official Illustrated History* (Merrell, 2003).

have survived remarkably intact. A study of these rooms and the manner in which they were cared for thus also has bearing on the history of other royal residences and what we know of royal bedchambers more widely.

## Positions and methodologies

This thesis engages with a wide range of secondary literature in order to explore the design, decoration and use of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. One key aspect of this is the social and political history of the English court during the period in question. Within traditional Whig histories of the later Stuarts and the early Hanoverians, the decades after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 have often been viewed as period in which the social and political pre-eminence of the court declined. In 1944 the historian George Macaulay Trevelyan contended that eighteenth century court life was characterised by ‘occasions of proverbial dullness’, an assessment that informed many subsequent studies over the twentieth century.<sup>26</sup> The personal failings of individual sovereigns (William III’s shyness, Queen Anne’s ill health and the foreignness of the Hanoverians), together with their inability or reluctance to spend on hospitality and the trappings of monarchy have all traditionally been cited as reasons for the perceived unpopularity of the court during the period.<sup>27</sup> Historians have also stressed the significance of the Glorious Revolution that deposed the papist King James II and established a strictly Protestant, secularised and more limited monarchy in which the king could neither make nor revoke laws without parliament’s consent.<sup>28</sup> By the eighteenth century, it has been argued, monarchical rule was no longer personal or divine and as such the symbolic and

<sup>26</sup> G. Macaulay Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries, Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1944). Trevelyan’s scathing pronouncement on eighteenth century court life has in the past been taken as the final word on court culture in the period and is often quoted. See for example J. Beattie, ‘The Court of George I and English Politics 1717-1720’, *English Historical Review*, 81, January 1966, p.26, and R.O Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stamford University Press, 1993), p.34.

<sup>27</sup> This opinion was current especially during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries See for example G.K. Chesterton, *A Short History of England* (1917: London, 1930); W. M Thackery, *Four Georges, Sketches of manners, morals, court and town life* (New York, 1860). Later historians have also followed in this narrative although in a more nuanced manner, see R.O Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, and also his ‘Nothing but Ceremony’: Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual’, *Journal of British Studies*, 30, 1991, pp.288-323. For the most comprehensive discussion of this historiography see H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy, Politics and Culture 1714-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), introduction.

<sup>28</sup> M. Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain 1603-1724* (New York: Penguin, 1997); J. Miller, ‘The English Kill their Kings, from Divine Right to Parliamentary Monarchy 1603-1714, the Stuarts’, in R. Smith and J. S. Moore, *The House of Lords: A Thousand Years of British Tradition* (London: Smith’s Peerage, 1994), pp.66-86.

political value of royal favour began to wane.<sup>29</sup> As a consequence, scholars of the period have tended to dismiss the court as a backwater, focussing instead on the journey into modernity during the 1700s - the rise of a bourgeois and secular society within which consumerism and constitutionalism were the major players.<sup>30</sup>

More recently however the work of Stephen Baxter and Andrew Barclay on William III, Edward Gregg on Queen Anne, and Hannah Smith and Jeremy Black on the Hanoverians has done much to counter the traditional Whig narrative of decline and public disinterest.<sup>31</sup> Their studies have demonstrated that despite the political upheavals of the 1600s the monarchies of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century were still godly, powerful and popular. Up until the reign of Queen Victoria considerable executive initiative remained with the monarch; especially in the fields of patronage and appointments and accordingly royal favour continued to be an attractive ambition. It has also been shown that the court still functioned as an important social arena, and one moreover that was used by monarchs to win the support of the political and social elite.<sup>32</sup> In terms of cultural and artistic patronage it is also now recognised that the visual splendour of William and Mary's court was as least as great as that of any of their Stuart predecessors, although work on Queen Anne, George I and George II is still yet to be done.<sup>33</sup> Thanks to these studies it now recognised

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<sup>29</sup> This argument is most clearly represented in David Starkey's essay 'Representation through Intimacy: a study in the symbolism of monarchy and court office in early modern England', *Symbols and sentiments: Cross cultural studies in symbolism*, ed., I. Lewis (London: Academic Press, 1977), pp.187-224.

<sup>30</sup> On the rise of the urban public sphere see J. Habermas, *The Transformation of the Public Sphere: an enquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).

<sup>31</sup> S. B. Baxter, 'William III as Hercules: the political implications of court culture', in L. G. Schwoerer ed., *The Revolution of 1688-1689, Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.95-106; A. Barclay, 'William's Court as King', in E. Mijers and D. Onnekink, ed., *Redefining William III: the impact of the King-Stadholder in international context*, (Politics and culture in north-western Europe 1650-1720) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp.241-161; H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*; E. Gregg, *Queen Anne* (Yale University Press, 2001) and J. Black, *George II puppet of the politicians?* (University of Exeter Press, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp.194-201. See also J. M Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge University Press, 1967).

<sup>33</sup> The stress on William and Mary as cultural patrons was a key theme in the wave of publications associated with the 1988 tercentenary celebrations. Of particular importance was Stephen Baxter's 'William as Hercules'. Since 1988 cultural patronage has been addressed by L. R. Shulsky, 'Kensington and De Voorst: Two Porcelain Collections', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 2, 1990, pp.47-62; T. Murdoch, 'Jean Rene and Thomas Pelletier, a Huguenot family of carvers and gilders in England 1682-1726, Part 1, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 139, November 1997, pp.732-742; D. Esterley, *Grindling Gibbons and the Art of Carving* (London, 1998), pp.120-129; J. Marschner, 'Mary II: Her Clothes and Textiles', *Costume*, 34, 2000, pp.44-50; A. Bowett, *English Furniture 1660-1714, From Charles II to Queen Anne* (Antique Collectors Club, 2002), pp.171-184; G. Jackson-Stops, 'The Court Style in Britain', *Courts and Colonies: The William and Mary Style in Holland, England, and America*, eds., R. Baarsen, J. Greene, Jenny, L.

by historians that the post-Revolution monarchy contained both modernising and conservative elements; parliamentary politics and more enlightened patronage coexisted alongside theories of divine right, hereditary succession and hierarchical social relations.

These arguments have significant bearing on this study as they give support to the idea that the court, and the royal bedchamber at its heart, remained a venue for the brokering of power and the expression of regal authority well into the eighteenth century. Historians who have explored the use of the bedchamber by individual monarchs as a political space have demonstrated the ways in which power could be concentrated in these rooms. Writing on the symbolism of court office David Starkey has shown that during the reign of Henry VIII personal attendance upon the monarch within his innermost apartments was the key to honour, status and political authority. Divinity, social and political power were embodied in the King and thus intimacy with the royal body was perceived as the route to greatness.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, Neil Cuddy has demonstrated the way in which the exclusivity of the bedchamber empowered both the monarch and the privileged servants who attended within these rooms. In his analysis of the bedchambers of James I, Charles I and Charles II, Cuddy relates how the limitation of access into the bedchamber enabled monarchs to act independently of their official ministers and allowed their closest servants to play a leading role in patronage, administration and politics.<sup>35</sup> The bedchamber of Charles II has also been the subject of research by Anna Keay and Brian Weiser. Their work reveals how Charles used his state bedchamber and closet for conducting government business, while at the same time strict codes determined rights of

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Geddes-Brown and C. Aslet (New York, Cooper Hewitt Museum, distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1988), pp.36-61. The cultural patronage of Queen Anne and the Hanoverians has yet to be fully addressed. To date the most comprehensive studies are A. Bowett, 'George I's Furniture at Kensington Palace', *Apollo*, 162, 525, Nov. 2005, pp. 37-46; J. Marschner, 'Queen Caroline of Ansbach and the European Princely Museum Tradition', *Queenship in Britain 1660-1837: royal patronage, court culture and dynastic politics* ed., C. Campbell Orr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp.130-142 and J. Roberts, *George III and Queen Charlotte: patronage, collecting and court taste* (The Royal Collection, 2004).

<sup>34</sup> D. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy'.

<sup>35</sup> N. Cuddy, 'The Revival of the Entourage: The Bedchamber of James I, 1603-25', *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* ed., D. Starkey (London and New York: Longman, 1987), pp.173-225 and also his, 'Reinventing Monarchy: The Changing Structure and Political Function of the Stuart Court, 1603-88', *The Stuart Courts* ed., E. Cruickshanks (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp.59-85.

access allowing him to regulate who had a hand in power.<sup>36</sup> Although after the Glorious Revolution monarchs were more dependent on parliament, it is nevertheless evident that the bedchamber under William III, Queen Anne, George I and George II continued to be an important political space within which access to the monarch was a route to power. As Andrew Barclay and Simon Thurley have argued, William III understood the importance of the state bedchamber as a magnificent reception space and sought to bolster his rule by giving rights of access and attendance to his political allies.<sup>37</sup> In her study of George II's bedchamber, Jean Gray McGinnis has shown how the elite members of the bedchamber used their access to the king as means of influencing policy and strengthening the Whig party hegemony by excluding advocates of the Tories.<sup>38</sup> Even under Queen Anne, when the bedchamber was a more private, domestic realm managed by women, these rooms still functioned as the seat of power at court.<sup>39</sup> These studies are significant as they highlight that the rooms of the royal bedchamber were a key site where power played out in the hands of the monarch and the court elite. This idea frames the arguments made throughout this thesis, and will be further explored particularly in chapters one and two.

Objects and the spatial territory of the bedchamber lie at the heart of this thesis and therefore studies of the material culture of courts are of particular importance. Broadly, this thesis draws on design history, a historiographical tradition that places great emphasis on the interpretation of the past through the study of the design, production, acquisition and use of goods.<sup>40</sup> Throughout, the interiors of the bedchambers, their furnishings and objects that passed through these rooms in accordance with use, are therefore interpreted as a manifestation

<sup>36</sup> B. Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004); A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London and New York, 2008), in particular chapter 10, and S. Thurley and A. Keay, 'The Stuart Royal Bedchamber' paper delivered to the Society of Court Studies Seminar, London, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2002.

<sup>37</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.204-205; A. Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p.246.

<sup>38</sup> J. Gray McGinnis, 'The Bedchamber in the Reign of George II', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Colorado University, 1977.

<sup>39</sup> To date the most comprehensive discussion of Anne's bedchamber is R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp.152-187. On the political influence of Anne's bedchamber see also F. Harris, *A Passion for Government: the Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford, 1991); R. O. Bucholz, 'Seymour, Elizabeth, Duchess of Somerset (1667-1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter ODNB), online edition, accessed 30<sup>th</sup> September 2010; F. Harris, 'Masham , Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?-1734)', *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 30<sup>th</sup> September 2010. See also J. Falkner, 'Churchill, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744)', *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 30<sup>th</sup> September 2010; O. Field, *The Favourite, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (Hodder and Stoughton, 2002).

<sup>40</sup> J. A. Walker, *Design History and the History of Design* (Pluto, London & Concord, Massachusetts, 1989).

of, and a lens through which to explore particular aspects of life at Hampton Court during the period in question. In particular, the relationship between people, space and objects is a key theme. This study explores how contemporaries understood, engaged with and even manipulated the material environment of Hampton Court. In turn it also considers how the particular (and often shifting) meanings attached to objects impacted upon notions of identity and helped define social structures. From within the fields of court history and architectural history, the material culture of palaces has been at the forefront of a number of very revealing studies. By relating space, décor and furnishings to the social and political functions of courts, scholars have demonstrated how palace architecture and interior design functioned as a form of royal representation and as a means to make power structures known.<sup>41</sup> The interiors of royal palaces were both materially and symbolically rich. In regard to Hampton Court this approach was first adopted by Hugh Murray-Baille in his influential 1967 essay on court etiquette and the planning of state apartments at European royal residences.<sup>42</sup> In 2000 his research was furthered by Robert Bucholz in his article ‘Going to Court in 1700’, which focuses specifically on the state apartments at Hampton Court.<sup>43</sup> By reconstructing the experience of a visitor to the palace, Bucholz elucidates the way in which the arrangement and codification of space and the rudiments of court etiquette were crafted in order to convey messages about monarchy and the distribution of social and political power. This method of reading of the interiors of Hampton Court as codified spaces is firstly taken up in chapter one of this thesis, *Defining the Royal Bedchamber*, that explores the arrangement and accessibility of the bedchamber rooms. Using architectural plans, ordinances and contemporary accounts the chapter discusses the way in which the state bedchambers and the king’s closet were defined as official and

<sup>41</sup> See for example S. Baxter, ‘William as Hercules: The Political Implications of Court Culture’, A. Bowett, *English Furniture 1660-1714, From Charles II to Queen Anne* (Antique Collectors Club, 2002), pp.171-184, G. Jackson-Stops, ‘The Court Style in Britain’, *Courts and Colonies: The William and Mary Style in Holland, England, and America*, eds., R. Baarsen, J. Greene, Jenny, L. Geddes-Brown and C. Aslet (New York: Cooper Hewitt Museum, distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1988), pp.36-61; R. M. Smuts, ‘Art and the Material Culture of Majesty in early Stuart England’ *The Stuart Court and Europe, Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed., R. M. Smuts (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.86-112 and M. Snodin, ‘The Palace’, *Baroque. Style in the Age of Magnificence 1620-1800* eds., M. Snodin and N. Llewellyn (London: V&A Publications, 2009), pp.298-324.

<sup>42</sup> H. Murray-Baille, ‘Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces’, *Archaeologia*, 101, second series, 51, 1967, pp.169-199.

<sup>43</sup> R. O. Bucholz, ‘Going to court in 1700: a visitor’s guide’, *The Court Historian*, 5, 3, 2000, pp.181-215.

ceremonial spaces, while the rooms beyond were distinguished as a more private, domestic realm.

The role of space and objects as signifiers is also a key theme in chapter two, *Magnificence and Ceremony in the Royal Bedchamber*, that explores the furnishing and use of the state bedchambers at Hampton Court. Through an analysis of the original furnishings still existing within the state bedchambers and documentary evidence for their design, this chapter firstly considers the way in which materials, aesthetics and style contributed to the construction of the royal public image. As Simon Thurley and Adam Bowett have shown, the fashionable furnishings, material magnificence and iconographies of power at Hampton Court were representative of the images of William III and the early-Hanoverians.<sup>44</sup> In addition, chapter two also considers the way in which the furnishings of the state bedchambers were mobilised in the performance of ceremonies such as the *levee*, formal audiences, receptions and the rituals of births, marriages and deaths. As scholars of design and material culture have stressed, interiors are not mere backdrops. Rather they must be seen as a mobile apparatus that physically enabled and shaped social practice.<sup>45</sup> In considering the role of the furnishings of the state bedchambers at Hampton Court, chapter two therefore also explores how, through design, arrangement and use, these rooms acted to facilitate ceremonies that were an expression of monarchical power and social and political relations.

As a counterpart to this, chapter three of the study, *Privacy and Intimacy in the Royal Bedchamber*, considers the personal and domestic rituals that unfolded within the bedchambers at Hampton Court. The state bedchamber and the closet were semi-public political spaces, yet the bedchamber district also encompassed service areas such as the backstairs and the privy lodgings that were intended to ensure the seclusion of the monarch, and his or her comfort and wellbeing in domestic rituals. As scholars such as Phillippe Ariès, Rodger Cartier and John Crowley have shown, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw an

<sup>44</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, pp.171-184 and S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.195-199 and pp.246-248.

<sup>45</sup> M. Hellman, 'Furniture, Sociability and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 32, 4, 1999, pp.415-445; S. Hershberg and G. Williams, 'Friendly Membranes and Multi-Taskers; the Body and Contemporary Furniture', *The Body Politic, the role of the body in contemporary craft*, ed., J. Stair (London: Crafts Council, 2000), pp.58-70.

increasing trend towards private spaces in domestic architecture.<sup>46</sup> This was reflected in the rebuilding of the state apartments at Hampton Court where small, intimate spaces within the privy lodgings encouraged interiority and familiarity. In studies of the use of palaces, such spaces have not been subject to serious academic inquiry.<sup>47</sup> While Thurley asserts that ‘domestic considerations drove the great building activities’ at Hampton Court, the wide parameters of his study do not allow for in depth analysis of these concerns.<sup>48</sup> Within broader histories of the court this aspect of royal life has most often been subsumed by scholars who have perceived the privacy of the monarch’s inner apartments and the work of bedchamber servants as a mere vehicle for the more important pursuit of power and influence.<sup>49</sup> However, as the work of Rachel Weil has demonstrated, within the context of court even the most personal and intimate practices carried their own political weight. The private mortal body of the monarch was inextricably bound up with politics.<sup>50</sup> This idea provides the context for chapter three of this thesis that seeks to elucidate the significance of royal domesticity and domestic objects at Hampton Court. Within this chapter the materiality, design and arrangement of furniture is considered in relation to attitudes towards the royal body and the importance of privacy, comfort and wellbeing. It is shown that the choice of design and décor within the inner reaches of the bedchamber was subject to the monarch’s personal tastes and intimate and bodily needs.

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<sup>46</sup> P. Ariès and Rodger Chartier ed., *A History of Private Life, III: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: 1989); J. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities in Design in Early Modern Britain and America* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).

<sup>47</sup> Joanna Marschner’s study of bathing at the Georgian court is one exception, see J. Marschner, ‘Baths and Bathing at the Early Georgian Court’, *Furniture History*, 31, 1995, pp.23-28, and also her, ‘Queen Caroline of Ansbach: Attitudes to Clothes and Cleanliness, 1727-1737’, *Costume*, 31, 1997, pp.28-37. A short study of Queen Caroline’s private apartments at Hampton Court was also published in 1996. See S. Jenkins, ‘Queen Caroline’s Taste: The furnishing and functioning of the Queen’s private apartments at Hampton Court’, *Apollo*, 143, May 1996, pp.20-24.

<sup>48</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.209.

<sup>49</sup> Scholars such as Neil Cuddy, Jean Gray McGinnis and Anna Keay who have dealt specifically with the royal bedchamber have not fully explored the domestic functions of the department. A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, in particular chapter 10; N. Cuddy, ‘The Revival of the entourage’ and J. Gray McGinnis, ‘The Bedchamber in the Reign of George II’. In addition to Marschner’s ‘Baths and Bathing’ the only studies that deal with the more domestic aspects of life at court are L. Worsley, *Courtiers, The Secret History of Kensington Palace* (Walker & Company, 2010) and J. Glasheen, *The Secret People of the Palaces, The Royal Household from the Plantagenets to Queen Victoria* (London: B.T Batsford, 1998).

<sup>50</sup> R. Weil, ‘Royal Flesh and the Construction of Monarchy’, *The Body of the Queen, Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500-2000*, ed., R. Schulte (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp.88-99, and also her *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England 1680-1714* (Manchester and New York, 1999). See also R. O Bucholz, ‘The Stomach of a Queen’ or Size Matters. Gender, Body Image and the Historical Reputation of Queen Anne’, *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* eds., C. Levin and R. Bucholz (University of Nebraska, 2009), pp. 242-272.

Part two of this thesis explores housekeeping practices within the district of the royal bedchambers. Aside from William Richly Newton's *Derrière la Façade: Vivre au Château de Versailles au XVIII siècle* (2008) that explores domestic provisioning (or rather the lack of) at Versailles, the work of servants in maintaining palaces has not been the subject of any dedicated studies.<sup>51</sup> In consequence, a range of broader secondary literature has been used to inform this part of the thesis. Studies that have explored early modern notions of dirt and cleanliness have provided an important framework for a consideration of attitudes towards housekeeping at Hampton Court. Recent research from within the fields of social history and anthropology has shown that contrary to popular belief, personal and domestic cleanliness was an important concern for early modern men and women.<sup>52</sup> The material environment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was less 'clean' than the hyper-hygienic modern day, yet as recent research has stressed, definitions of dirt and cleanliness are historically and culturally specific. Drawing on the anthropologist Mary Douglas's famous definition of dirt as 'matter out place', historians have soundly demonstrated that 'Cleanliness exists in the mind of the beholder. Every culture defines for itself, choosing what it sees as the perfect point between squalid and over-fastidious'.<sup>53</sup> Since the 1980s the specific measures and meanings of cleanliness during the period have been the subject of a number of studies, the most pioneering of

<sup>51</sup> W. Richley Newton, *Derrière la Façade: Vivre au Château de Versailles au XVIII siècle* (Perrin, 2008). The general picture of Newton's findings is that domestic provisioning at Versailles was wholly inadequate and by 1689 most courtiers would have preferred to live in comfortable, well-designed Parisian houses or in country châteaux with modern conveniences than in a palace which no longer reflected changes in lifestyle. The maintenance of palace furnishings has received a limited amount of enquiry from within the fields of textile history and conservation, although these studies have tended to focus specifically on the Tudor period and the royal tapestry collection. See for example M.A Hayward, 'Fit for a king? Maintaining the early Tudor tapestry collection', *Tapestry Conservation: Principles and Practice*, eds., F.J. Lennard and M.A. Hayward (Oxford, UK, Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006), pp.13-19; M.A Hayward, 'Repositories of Splendour: Henry VIII's wardrobes of the robes and beds', *Textile History*, 29, 1998, pp.134-156 and W. Hefford, 'Bread, Brushes and Brooms: Aspects of tapestry restoration in England 1660-1760', *Acts of the Tapestry Symposium, November 1976* (San Francisco, 1976), pp.68-75.

<sup>52</sup> G. Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge University Press, 1988). Since the publication of Vigarello's book numerous studies have sought to redress this. See K. Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness in early modern England', *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, eds., A. J. Fletcher and P. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.56-83; K. Ashenbug, *The Dirt on Clean: An Unsanitized History* (Toronto: A.A Knopf Canada, 2007); B. Campkin and R. Cox eds., *Dirt: New Geographies of Cleanliness and Contamination* (Tauris and Co Ltd, 2007); V. Smith, *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (Oxford University Press, 2007); M. Jenner, 'Early Modern Perceptions of 'Dirt' and 'Cleanliness' as Reflected in the Environmental Regulation of London c.1530-1700', unpublished PhD Thesis, Oxford University, 1991; M. Jenner, 'Civilisation and Deodorisation? Smell in Early Modern English Culture', *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, ed., P. Burke, B. Harrison and P. Slack (Oxford, 2001), pp.127-144 and W. I. Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1997).

<sup>53</sup> M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger, An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, 1<sup>st</sup> published 1966 (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p.44; K. Ashenbug, *The Dirt on Clean*, p.2.

which are Mark Jenner's analysis of the environmental regulation of London, Keith Thomas's work on cleanliness and godliness, and George Vigarello's exploration of changing concepts of cleanliness in France.<sup>54</sup>

These studies are significant as they highlight firstly that hygiene was desired and actively worked towards, and secondly that it was associated with more abstract qualities, in particular the social virtues of politeness, piety and moderation. What also emerges is that conceptions of the body and its relationship to the material environment lay at the heart of notions of cleanliness. While culturally maintenance and housework have often been consigned to the realm of the 'everyday', the above mentioned studies demonstrate that cleaning practices were informed by, and contributed to, more publically acknowledged aspects of the social and cultural milieu. Within this thesis these ideas are discussed in detail in chapter four, *Housekeeping: Motivations and Meanings*, where they are used to inform an understanding of the specificity of contemporary attitudes towards the material environment and cleanliness within the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. By analysing legislation issued for the court, and contemporary understandings of domestic cleanliness, this chapter proposes that 'everyday' housekeeping was desired and considered to be an important function of the royal household. Furthermore, this body of research also provides a framework for addressing the question that lies at the heart of this thesis - that is the relationship between the hidden practices housekeeping and the personal and political life of the monarch at Hampton Court. It will be shown that cleaning and maintenance were an important means by which both the regal magnificence and the domestic comfort of the bedchambers could be maintained.

In regard to the meanings and motivations for good housekeeping, broader studies of domestic service during the period have also been key. Like court historians, scholars of domestic service have been pre-occupied with questions of power and place. Research on households and labour within the home has highlighted the way in which the organisation of domestic work was

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<sup>54</sup> G. Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*; K. Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness in early modern England'; M. Jenner, 'Early Modern Perceptions of 'Dirt' and 'Cleanliness'.

predicated upon distinctions of class and gender.<sup>55</sup> In particular, the work of Pamela Sambrook has demonstrated the way in which household tasks were distributed in accordance with a hierarchy that was based upon the quality, use and ownership of objects, and the degree of skill or labour required for their care.<sup>56</sup> When and where work was performed was also dependant on the place of servants within the household hierarchy. Chapter four of this thesis discusses these ideas in relation to the court where the proper organisation of service at all levels of the household was understood as a reflection of royal authority and good governance.<sup>57</sup> As a parallel to the discussion of royal ritual and etiquette in chapter two, it is argued that 'good housekeeping' was significant as a reflection of royal power and confirmation of social and political relations.

Chapter five of this thesis, *Housekeeping Personnel*, then moves on to examine the people responsible for housekeeping at Hampton Court, who they were, and what place they occupied within the structure of the court. Here this thesis is indebted to John Sainty and Robert Bucholz's *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837* that was first published in 1997.<sup>58</sup> Bucholz and Sainty undertook an exhaustive trawl through the establishment books of the royal household to compile lists of office holders, their names, the date of their appointment and the termination of their office. This was prefixed by a detailed study of the structure of the court, its administration and finance. While initially the two volumes on servants under the great household officers, the Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, the Lord Steward and the Groom of the Stole, did not include low ranking servants, their career details were later added

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<sup>55</sup> T. Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750, Life and Work in the London Household* (Pearson Education, 2000); P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant* (Sutton & the National Trust, 1999), chapter 9 in particular; B. Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

<sup>56</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.229.

<sup>57</sup> A. Barclay, *The Impact of James II on the Departments of the Royal Household*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, Darwin College, 1993; R. Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England 1680-1714* (Manchester and New York, 1999) and also her 'The family in the exclusion crisis: Locke versus Filmer revisited' *A Nation Transformed: England after the Restoration*, eds., A. Houston and S. Pincus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 100-24. A broader discussion of the relationship between the family and societal order can also be found in S.D Amussen, 'Gender, Family and the Social Order 1560-1725' in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.196-216, p.196; N. Tadmor, 'The Concept of Household Family in Eighteenth Century England', *Past and Present*, 115, 1996, pp.111-140 and K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600; Good Governance and Political Rule* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

<sup>58</sup> R.O Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837, Part One: Department of the Lord Chamberlain and associated offices* (University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1997).

by Bucholz to a revised electronic version.<sup>59</sup> Arranged by both office and in alphabetised lists of personnel, this database has provided an important basis from which to undertake biographical research.

To date the lower status servants of the royal bedchamber have been the subject of only a handful of studies, something which is to the detriment of our understanding of life at court. As David Allen's research on William Chiffinch, a Page of the Bedchamber and Closet Keeper to Charles II has shown, even these seemingly lower status roles could be a route to political influence. Allen's work elucidates how Chiffinch, as defacto doorkeeper to the king, became a man of considerable authority within the household.<sup>60</sup> Lucy Worsley in her study of the early Hanoverians and Kensington Palace has also highlighted the significance of lower ranking servants and the extent to which contemporaries were aware of their influence.<sup>61</sup> Building on the discussion of household order in chapter four, chapter five considers the question of status and influence through a focus on the work of the domestic servants who were employed within the bedchamber - the Necessary Women, the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and the Starcher and their assistants. It considers how different degrees of labour and skill, and the meanings attached to particular objects, provided a structure for the distribution of specific cleaning tasks and how in turn this served to confirm the distinctions of status at the lower echelons of the royal household. At the same time however, it is argued that this structure was fraught with contradictions and uncertainties. As Tim Meldrum has stressed in his study *Domestic Service and Gender* (2000), it is important to remember that order within the home was an ideal rather than a reality, and as his researches show household hierarchies themselves were not straightforward top to bottom systems of rank.<sup>62</sup> Meldrum's work is of particular significance in relation to the subject of this thesis as he highlights the ambiguous place of servants who undertook menial yet intimate tasks.<sup>63</sup> When considered in relation to the court where intimacy and proximity to the royal body (even through things), and the state of the royal body itself was imbued

<sup>59</sup> The database of court officers can be accessed at British History Online: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

<sup>60</sup> D. Allen, 'The Political Function of Charles II's Chiffinch', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 39, 3, May 1976, pp.277-290, p.279.

<sup>61</sup> L. Worsley, *Courtiers*, p.124.

<sup>62</sup> T. Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p.36.

<sup>63</sup> T. Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp.84-96.

with political significance, Meldrum's findings highlight the potential for agency, power and status amongst female bedchamber servants of seemingly low rank.

In addition, chapter five also sheds new light on the resident Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court who were responsible for the upkeep of the palace during the absence of the court. To date these important individuals have been almost entirely neglected from studies of palaces, despite the fact that they were the custodians, and hosts, at royal residences for often far longer periods than the monarch. This thesis thus seeks to fill this gap by exploring the role of these servants, how they established themselves at Hampton Court and how they may have viewed their work. Lastly, chapter five considers the role of the Great Wardrobe, the office that up until 1782 was responsible for sourcing furniture for the court for which it employed many of the leading craftsmen of the day. In many cases the quality and fragility of the furnishings in the royal bedchambers necessitated that specialist craftsmen were employed to undertake cleaning and repairs. It is argued that alongside the acquisition of new goods, maintenance was a significant yet hitherto overlooked aspect of the Wardrobe's work.

The sixth and final chapter of this thesis explores the methods, materials and techniques that were used in cleaning and preserving the bedchambers and their furnishings at Hampton Court. Divided into eight parts that each explore the methods of caring for an object type, this chapter explains the way in which housekeeping practices, such as brushing, polishing, airing and more specialist cleaning and repairs responded to the desire for material splendour and a clean and wholesome environment. In researching this Patricia Wardle's studies of the Master of the Robes bills of 1700-1701 and the Seamstresses to the Stuart kings have been an important source. Wardle's analysis of the bills submitted by the royal Seamstresses is key as she explores both the methods of their work and the ties between these women and the court elite.<sup>64</sup> The care of royal textiles has also been considered by Maria Hayward in her research on Henry VIII's Wardrobe of the Robes and the Beds and by Janet Arnold in her work on the Wardrobe of

<sup>64</sup> P. Wardle, 'Divers Necessaries for His Majesty's use and Service': Seamstresses to the Stuart Kings', *Costume*, 31, 1997, pp.16-27 and also her *For our Royal Person: Master of the Robes Bills of King-Stadholder William III* (Hetloo Museum, 2002).

Elizabeth I.<sup>65</sup> The methods used in preserving, cleaning and repairing textiles did not alter radically between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries and as such their findings are important in relation to this study. More broadly Pamela Sambrook's *The Country House Servant* (1999) and *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping* (2006) have also provided a comprehensive survey of historic housekeeping techniques.<sup>66</sup> Information on the more specialist care of furniture by trained craftsmen has been more difficult to obtain. While maintenance formed a large portion of the work undertaken by upholsterers, cabinet makers and joiners, the techniques of cleaning and repair have not been given due attention by furniture historians. Often however, care and maintenance replicated the techniques of manufacture and thus studies of furniture design and construction such as Adam Bowett's *English Furniture 1660-1714 From Charles II to Queen Anne* (2002), Lucy Wood's study of the upholstered furniture in the Lady Lever Art Gallery (2008) and Val Davies *State Beds and Throne Canopies* (2003) have been important sources.<sup>67</sup>

## Evidence

The primary research for this thesis was undertaken at both national and regional archives, and as such makes a new contribution to scholarship within the field. The National Archives, that contain the official documentation concerning the management of Hampton Court during the period in question, have been a key source of information. The majority of the documents relating to the furnishing and upkeep of the palace interiors are held within the Lord Chamberlain's papers (subsections LC5 and LC9). The Lord Chamberlain was responsible for overseeing and administering the ceremonial and social life of the court above stairs, and as part of this role his office issued warrants requesting the supply of furnishings, the movement of goods and the maintenance of royal residences. Documents relating to Hampton Court during the period can be traced in a series

<sup>65</sup> M. A. Hayward, 'Repositories of Splendour'; J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlocked* (Leeds, 1988).

<sup>66</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant; The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping, The Care of Historic Collections Open to the Public* (London: The National Trust, 2006).

<sup>67</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture 1660-1714*, V. Davies, *State beds and throne canopies Care and Conservation* (London, 2003), L. Wood, *The Upholstered Furniture in the Lady Lever Art Gallery*, 2 vols. (Yale, New Haven and London, 2008).

of original warrants and contemporary copies of the warrants in bound ledgers.<sup>68</sup> Information on the provision of furnishings and work (ie: the fulfilment of the warrants) is found within the papers of the Great Wardrobe. Additionally, evidence can also be found in accounts of the Jewel House that sourced and maintained the royal plate and the Removing Wardrobe that transported the monarch's goods. The records for the Wardrobes and the Jewel House are subsumed within LC5 and LC9 and include copies of bills submitted by craftsmen, the accounts of payment and records of the movement of goods, all of which are in bound form.<sup>69</sup> In addition to the Lord Chamberlain's papers, evidence has also been found in the accounts of the Lord Steward (subsection LS), the officer responsible for the household below stairs, and the records of the Office of Works (WORK) which oversaw the maintenance of the palace buildings.<sup>70</sup> These sources have also been supplemented by information in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, the Treasury Books and Papers and the State Papers, domestic series.<sup>71</sup>

As a whole these records form a substantive body of primary evidence, yet official record keeping was not always thorough or complete. For the reigns of William and Anne the Great Wardrobe bill books (LC9) provide the most detail on the furnishings provided for Hampton Court, including the rooms of the bedchamber. The accounts for new furniture and the repair of existing items are incredibly detailed including itemised costing for everything from tacks and girt webbing to rich velvet and silks. However, by the 1720s considerably less information is included. A typical entry in the bill books of this period relating to Hampton Court is the cabinet making firm Gumley and Turing's accounts for 1727-8. This frustratingly lists work on numerous different types of furniture but

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<sup>68</sup> Original loose warrants TNA LC5/122 – LC5/131, warrant books LC5/149 - LC5/161, see also copies of warrants LC5/69- LC5/75.

<sup>69</sup> Great Wardrobe bill books, TNA LC9/185 - LC9/289. Great Wardrobe account books, LC5/41-LC5/50.

<sup>70</sup> TNA LS1, LS13 and WORK 2-7.

<sup>71</sup> The Treasurer of the Chambers for the period 1660 -1740 accounts are at TNA E351/546 – 568. The Treasury Books and State Papers for this period are available in volumes of calendars published by Her Majesty's Staionary Office (hereafter HMSO) during the early twentieth century. See *Calendar of Treasury Books*, *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*. In some instances the original sources have also been consulted. These are found in TNA SP series and T series. The Treasury and State Papers are now also accessible in searchable form at State Papers Online, <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/state-papers-online> and through British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

does not name specific processes, objects or their location within the palace.<sup>72</sup> A glimpse of the detail of the original bills submitted by Gumley and Turing (that no longer survive) can be found in a review of the Wardrobe expenses undertaken by John Halls, the Comptroller of the Great Wardrobe in 1729-30.<sup>73</sup> Sets of original bills from a number of suppliers were extracted into the review and these include considerably more information on techniques and materials, suggesting that during the later half of the period especially large bills were shortened and simplified when they were written up in the Wardrobe bill books. Hall's review is a good source of information in its own right, although generally there is less detail in the evidence for provisioning and maintenance during the later half of the period, a difficulty that is compounded by the fact that cleaning and repairs increased as the furnishings originally supplied for the apartments in 1699-1700 and 1714-15 began to wear out. One further significant loss is the bill book covering the years 1714-1716, which would originally have contained itemised costing for all of the furniture purchased for the queen's apartments at Hampton Court, for the use of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and any furniture that was provided for George I and his servants. In the absence of these bills, the less detailed Wardrobe accounts (LC5) provide the best alternative source of evidence.

There is also less official evidence relating to the work of bedchamber servants and the Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court from the reign of Queen Anne onwards. Under William III the accounts of the Great Wardrobe include bills submitted by the King's Seamstress and Starcher, Necessary Women and by tradesmen for supplies for the Wardrobe Keepers, although these do not include many of the provisions and services that would have been necessary, indicating that some purchases for supplies were being made independently. During the reigns of James II and William III a series of administrative reforms were instituted in the royal household in an attempt to minimise crown debt and many servants lost the right to submit bills for their work.<sup>74</sup> Instead a system of fixed salaries and allowances was instituted as this minimised the potential for

<sup>72</sup> TNA LC9/287, fol.152.

<sup>73</sup> TNA LC5/75, fols.4-11.

<sup>74</sup> A. Barclay, 'The Impact of James II on the Departments of the Royal Household'; R. O Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837, Part One*, introduction.

corruption and overcharging. Indeed it is clear that when William III's household was established in 1689 his Necessary Woman received an allowance of £21, 5s for 'all kind of necessaries in lieu of Bills'.<sup>75</sup> The Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court similarly received a yearly allowance that was to cover the cost of their work. It is also the case that under the Hanoverians much of the domestic work in the bedchamber was undertaken by private German servants who had previously attended the royal family in Hanover.<sup>76</sup> As these servants were foreign they could not be given official places within the royal household and were therefore paid instead through the Privy Purse for which complete records no longer survive.<sup>77</sup> While this, together with the system of allowances, instead of the submission of bills often obscures the purchase of provisions for housekeeping work, earlier accounts from Charles II's reign (prior to the reforms), extraordinary bills, household establishment books, and records of work at other royal residences do give a good sense of the services and supplies that would have been purchased for Hampton Court. Indeed it is often the case that the accounts for other royal residences contain more numerous and detailed entries for housekeeping supplies and the maintenance of bedchamber furnishings. These records are illuminating and are used in this thesis where evidence for Hampton Court is scant. There was little difference between housekeeping practices at Hampton Court and other royal residences, especially those in a suburban or rural location such as Kensington and Windsor, and therefore these documents provide good comparative material. In the case of the domestic servants of the bedchamber, who moved with the monarch between all royal palaces, it is also likely that their daily housekeeping routines were largely similar in all locations.

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<sup>75</sup> J. G. Nichols ed., *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the government of the Royal Household* (The Society of Antiquaries, 1790), p.394.

<sup>76</sup> Between 1715-16 George I employed 75 German servants and about 25 thereafter, whom he paid out of the Privy Purse. See J. M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, 1st edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 258–60.

<sup>77</sup> The 1702 Act of Settlement prohibited foreigners from holding office. This had a significant impact on the distribution of places within the royal Bedchamber as George I and II could not appoint their German friends. See J. Gray McGinnis, *The Bedchamber in the Reign of George II*, p.113. The payment of servants through the Privy Purse obscures their work as the accounts for the monarch's personal expenditure were mostly destroyed. Small collections of Privy Purse accounts survive for Mary II at British Library (hereafter BL) MSS. Add. 5751A, fol.122-179, Queen Caroline at the Royal Archives (hereafter RA) Add. 17/75, by permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen Anne at BL MSS. Eg.2678 fols.5-11 and in the Blenheim Papers BL MSS. Add.61420, fol.26. Payments from the Privy Purse under George I and George II can be found at BL MSS. Add.34327 & Add.27903, although these only record items such as petitions, secret service payments and payments to physicians.

While official records provide a relatively full account for the furnishing of the state apartments at Hampton Court, they do not shed light on the presence of the monarch's personal possessions that moved with the court between residences or objects that were purchased through the Privy Purse. It is therefore difficult to fully reconstruct the furnishing of the private lodgings at Hampton Court. Here palace inventories would provide a good additional source of information. Orders for inventories to be taken at Hampton Court can be found in the Lord Chamberlain's warrants of 1695, 1699 and 1727, although it is probable that they would have been taken on at least a yearly basis.<sup>78</sup> Despite this there are a handful of surviving inventories of the palace during the period, one of which details the Standing Wardrobe store and the painting collection dating from 1688, and four which only list the paintings dating from the reigns of William III, Queen Anne and George I.<sup>79</sup> This lack of evidence can be compensated for in part by inventories of other royal residences, in particular two very full inventories for Kensington Palace dating from 1697 and 1699, an inventory of Mary II's apartments at Whitehall taken shortly after her death in 1694, and a number of inventories of bedchamber plate in the accounts of the Jewel House.<sup>80</sup> The Kensington inventories are especially revealing as they give a good sense of the furnishing of William III's state apartments and his private lodgings and also include notes on some items that were transported to Hampton Court.

Records relating to housekeeping, the royal bedchamber and Hampton Court can also be found in the papers of officials of the royal household. While officers such as the Lord Chamberlain, the Vice- Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Great Wardrobe and the Groom of the Stole kept internal records, these were often duplicated and filed within collections of personal papers. For example, the papers of Charles Sackville, 6th Earl of Dorset that are held at the

<sup>78</sup> TNA LC5/151, fol. 420, LC5/152, fol. 233, LC5/159, fol.144.

<sup>79</sup> Inventory of 1688, BL MSS. Harl.1890, fols.18-22 & fol.76. Inventory of 1700 BL MSS. Harl.5150, inventories temp Anne and George I, BL MSS. Add. 69963, Add.2013 and Stowe 567. One further inventory of the standing wardrobe at Hampton Court taken during the reign of Charles II can be found at Royal Archives EB 63A.

<sup>80</sup> A book of inventories of royal residences dated 1688 can be found at BL MSS. Harl.5150. Inventories are also included in TNA LC5/87. Inventories for Kensington are within papers of Simon de Brienne, the House and Wardrobe Keeper at Kensington between 1689 and 1700 that are held in the Delft Archives in the Netherlands. These have been published, see Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House', *The Walpole Society*, 38, 1962, pp.15-58. A contemporary inventory of Kensington can also be found at TNA LC5/87. For the 1694 Whitehall inventory see Centre for Kentish Studies (hereafter CKS), Sackville Papers. U269 069/1. For the Jewel House inventories 1704-1761 see TNA LC5/114.

Centre for Kentish Studies include records that relate to his work as Lord Chamberlain to William III.<sup>81</sup> It is the case however that many of these collections of personal papers have suffered losses. The Sackville papers are a case in point. In the nineteenth century large quantities of the family archives were destroyed by the amateur historian Nathaniel Wraxall. Nevertheless, some records relating to the subject of this thesis do survive in the personal papers of Sackville, Thomas Coke the Vice Lord Chamberlain between 1706 and 1727 and those of Sir Robert Wilmot who was Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain between 1761 and 1772.<sup>82</sup> In addition, information can be found in the papers of courtiers who held the office of Groom of the Stole, the head office within the bedchamber department.<sup>83</sup> The accounts and correspondence of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Queen Anne's Groom of the Stole, and the records of William Bentinck, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland, Groom of the Stole to William III, have provided the thesis with further evidence. During the reign of George II the Whig leader Walpole also played a role in running the King's bedchamber and a handful of documents relating to servants and expenses can be found in his political papers.<sup>84</sup> Some personal papers belonging to the Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court have survived, although unfortunately these do not relate to their work at the palace.<sup>85</sup> References to the provision of paper books in folio, pens and ink suggest that would have kept their own records, although none of these are known to be extant.<sup>86</sup> The only surviving set of housekeeping records for a royal residence during the period are held within the papers of Simon de Brienne and his wife who were joint House and Wardrobe Keepers at Kensington between 1689 and 1700. Today these documents are held in the archives of Delft in the

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<sup>81</sup> CKS, Sackville papers U269.

<sup>82</sup> Official papers of Thomas Coke, BL MS Add. 69961-69963, Papers of Sir Robert Wilmot, Derbyshire Archives (hereafter DA), D3155.

<sup>83</sup> Papers of William Bentinck, Groom of the Stole to William III, Nottinghamshire Archives (hereafter NA) 157 DD/SP/8; Papers of the Countess of Derby, Mistress of the Robes and Groom of the Stole to Queen Mary II, BL MSS. Add. 5751A. Papers of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Mistress of the Robes and Groom of the Stole to Queen Anne, BL MSS. Add.61414-61425, George of Denmark's accounts, BL MSS. Eg.3809, documents temp Chas II and Geo II BL MSS Add. 61605 and papers of Charles 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sunderland, Groom of the Stole to George I, BL MSS. Add.CH.76134.

<sup>84</sup> Cambridge University Library (hereafter CUL), Cholmondeley Papers, Pol Pap. 45, 17, Pol Pap. 45, 38/2, Pol Pap 45, 2, Pol Pap. 45, 33.

<sup>85</sup> Papers relating to the Kent estate of the Marriott family who were Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court survive at CKS, U513. There are also letters relating to Tobias Rustat, Under-Housekeeper at Hampton Court during the reign of Charles II regarding his involvement at Cambridge University. See CUL MSS Add.447, fols.3 & 14; MSS Add.6868, fols.14 & 43 and MSS Mm.1.38, p.427.

<sup>86</sup> See for example TNA LC5/69, fol.83.

Netherlands where de Brienne and his wife returned to in 1700.<sup>87</sup> Unusually de Brienne and his wife also submitted bills for their work at Kensington and these accounts in the Lord Chamberlain's records together with de Brienne's papers published in 1962 provide good comparative material for Hampton Court.

Evidence for the use of the royal bedchambers, the work of servants and housekeeping can also be found in household ordinances - rule books for the running of the court. The earliest known set of royal household ordinances dates from the reign of Edward III (1312-1377) and these together with Tudor and Stuart ordinances exist in both manuscript form and as a collection published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790.<sup>88</sup> From the reign of James I separate ordinances were produced specifically for the government of the royal bedchamber. The earliest known surviving set of bedchamber ordinances (that followed those of James I) dates from 1660 and these were re-issued with only minor amendments by James II in 1685 and William III in 1689.<sup>89</sup> While no new ordinances were issued after this date Queen Anne and the Hanoverians continued to use those set down by William III. Two copies of the 1689 ordinances survive amongst the papers of Queen Anne's Groom of the Stole, Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough, and the Stowe manuscript copy of William III's orders, dated 1736, was transcribed from another copy belonging to

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<sup>87</sup> Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House', *The Walpole Society*, vol.38, 1962, pp.15-58. Papers relating to the de Brienne's appointment as House and Wardrobe Keepers can also be found at BL MSS. Add. CH 5967-70.

<sup>88</sup> J. G. Nichols ed., *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the government of the Royal Household*. Original and early copies of ordinances survive for the seventeenth century at TNA, LC5/179, LC5/180. In addition, rules for the running of the Great Wardrobe dating from the reign of Charles II survive in the papers of the Chafyn Grove family of Zeals, now in Wiltshire and Swindon Archives (hereafter WSA) MSS. 865/437.

<sup>89</sup> The Lord Chamberlain's Precedent Books show that during the reign of James I the first set of bedchamber ordinances were set down. A petition by the Earl of Bath for copies of the bedchamber ordinances to be made in the 1660s referred to those 'made in reign of our Royal Grand Father King James with the advice of his Privy Councill when the late Earle of Kelly was Groome of the Stole being the fundamental orders of the Bedchamber made at that tyme, when the Gentlemen and Groomes of the Bedchamber were first instituted'. TNA LC5/201, fols.22-23. By 1683 these 'fundamental orders' had been lost and remain so today (see TNA SP 29/423/68). Charles II's ordinances that were believed to be a true copy of the earlier orders are within the Portland Papers, Nottingham University Library, (hereafter NUL) PwV 92, Charles II bedchamber ordinances 1661. A pared down version of these ordinances was produced in 1684 as 'the Gentlemen and Groomes of his Bedchamber do not so duly attend upon his Royal person as they ought', BL MSS. Eg.3350 and also CKS U269 064/81. A further set of ordinances was produced on the accession of James II in 1685, of which the Earl of Litchfield's copy survives in Oxford County Record Office (hereafter OCRO) DIL xx/a/2 and also at BL MSS. Add.75391. In 1689 William revived Charles II's ordinances, copies of which survive at BL MSS. Stowe 563 and at Bodleian Library Oxford (hereafter Bo/L), MSS Rawl. A 142.

the Earl of Pembroke, George II's Groom of the Stole.<sup>90</sup> As a source for this thesis bedchamber ordinances are revealing as they provide detailed insight into the running of the royal bedchamber, rights of access and the roles assigned to servants. Ordinances for the general household also include stipulations on cleanliness and instructions to servants on maintaining this. However, it must be borne in mind that ordinances are prescriptive documents and as such can never pertain to the vagaries of actual practice. By the late seventeenth century it was also recognised that some of the bedchamber orders were out of date and that roles traditionally performed by the bedchamber elite had been transferred to lower status servants. The accession of the Hanoverians and their preference for their own servants also established a number of bedchamber offices as sinecures. It is therefore difficult to ascertain to what extent servants were fulfilling the roles traditionally associated with their offices. Nevertheless, ordinances represent an ideal that is revealing in itself. Royal traditions and what monarchs aspired to can be as telling as what was actually achieved.

While bedchamber ordinances include orders for elite and middling servants they do not mention the work of Necessary Women, the Body Laundress, the Seamstress or the Starcher. Surviving household ordinances also give little sense of the work expected of the Wardrobe Keepers at royal residences. Within households the techniques of housekeeping were more often transmitted verbally than committed to paper. This thesis therefore considers the evidence of orders and provisions for housekeeping at Hampton Court and other palaces in relation to the advice given published guides such as Hannah Wooley's *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677) and Hannah Glass's *The Servant's Directory or Housekeeper's Companion* (1760) that aimed to educate householders and servants in the methods of caring for objects within the home.<sup>91</sup> While these books are prescriptive and thus cannot relate actual practice, they

<sup>90</sup> William III's ordinances were copied several times throughout the eighteenth century. Two copies survive in Sarah Duchess of Marlborough's papers at BL MSS. Add.61419 A-B. The Stowe manuscript of William III's ordinances is a copy made in 1736 and the Earl of Asburnham had a copy made in 1782, East Sussex County Record Office (hereafter ESCRO) ASH 3202.

<sup>91</sup> See for example H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant -Maid or the Young Maiden's Tutor* (London, 1677); Anon [Mr Zinzano], *The Servants Calling; with some Advice on the Apprentice* (London, 1725); A. Barker, *The Compleat Servant Maid* (London: A. Cooke, c.1765); H. Glass, *The Servants Directory Or Housekeeper's Companion: Wherein the Duties of the Chambermaid, Nursery Maid, Housemaid, Laundry-Maid, Scullion, Or Under-Cook are Fully and Distinctly Explained* (London, 1760); E. Haywood, *Present for a Maid Servant , Or the Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem* (London, 1743); E. Raffald, *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (1769).

nonetheless provide a wealth of information on cleaning techniques and the products that were recommended for use on elite household furnishings. This material is used alongside evidence from household accounts, recipe books and instructions to servants such as *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman 1776-1800*, the wife of an eminent English papermaker who lived at Turkey Court in Kent.<sup>92</sup> While the court represents a unique household, there is no evidence to suggest that housekeeping was not consistent with broader practices. Contemporary advice for more specialist repairs can also be found in didactic literature aimed to instruct craftsmen. Texts such as Joseph Moxon's, *Mechanics Excercises, or the Doctrine of Handy works* (1677) and Robert Dossie's *The Handmaid to the Arts* (1758) have been used to analyse the evidence for the work of craftsmen in cleaning and repairing bedchamber furnishings at Hampton Court.<sup>93</sup>

Lastly this thesis also draws on the remarks of diarists, newspaper reports and contemporary correspondence to shed new light on the use of the bedchambers at the palace. These sources are also used to discuss the roles of the domestic servants of the bedchamber and the Wardrobe Keepers. Unsurprisingly references to these servants are far more infrequent than contemporary accounts of more prominent members of the royal household. The resident staff at the palace operated at the peripheries of the court and domestic work took place behind the scenes. As the work of housekeeping was 'everyday' and habitual it may also have been thought unworthy of comment. Such sentiments are clearly evident in *The Present State of the British Court* (1720) in which the author remarked '[...] there are several Standing Wardrobes, which take care of the Furniture necessarily left at the King's Houses, and are usually the Housekeepers there, so that little more is to be said of them'.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, the servants responsible for the care of the bedchambers at Hampton Court can be traced in some contemporary accounts and these are all the more significant for their rarity. This has also been supplemented with evidence gleaned from genealogical

<sup>92</sup> S. Whatman, *The Housekeeping book of Susanna Whatman, 1776-1800* (London: Century & The National Trust, 1987).

<sup>93</sup> J. Moxon, *Mechanics Excercises, or the Doctrine of Handy works* (London, 1677); R. Dossie, *The Handmaid to the Arts* (London, 1758).

<sup>94</sup> Anon, *The Present state of the British Court or An Account of the Civil and Military Establishment in England* (London, 1720), p.29.

registers, probate and parish records and property deeds. When taken as a whole these sources shed new light on the personnel behind housekeeping, and their role and significance in maintaining the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court.

**Part One: The Royal Bedchambers at Hampton Court 1689-1737**

## **Chapter one: Defining the Royal Bedchamber at Hampton Court.**

When William and Mary began their transformation of Hampton Court Palace in 1690 they clearly understood the significance of the English royal bedchamber. Since the sixteenth century the rooms centred on the bedchamber had been developing as a spatially demarcated zone, an exclusive, high status realm that lay at the heart of the state apartments. Known as the ‘district of the bedchamber’, this area encompassed both magnificent rooms of state and the intimate world of the privy lodgings.<sup>1</sup> Within the bedchamber district monarchs hosted ceremonies, conducted the business of government and lived privately alongside their most intimate attendants – the servants of the bedchamber department. This chapter discusses the way in which the function and status of the royal bedchamber was reflected in the layout and management of the king’s and the queen’s apartments at Hampton Court. It explores how the arrangement and use of these rooms was dependant upon established architectural models, court traditions, and the personal preferences and circumstances of individual monarchs.

### **The function and development of the royal bedchamber**

The royal bedchambers comprised the most exclusive, high status areas of Hampton Court. In both the king’s and the queen’s apartments the bedchamber formed an inner zone or ‘district’ that stretched from the state bedchamber to the privy lodgings (figs. 16 & 17). The primary function of these rooms was to provide a safe, private space for the personal and domestic life of the king and queen. They also allowed for the monarch to conduct the daily business of government, free from the clamouring of politicians and petitioners. Accordingly, the bedchamber was clearly separated from the outer public and ceremonial rooms of the state apartments, known as the chamber. Unlike French palaces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where there was little distinction between public and private, English royal residences were

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<sup>1</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.4.

traditionally designed to foster the seclusion of the monarch.<sup>2</sup> The royal bedchamber was closely based on the model of the Tudor privy chamber, which was, as the name suggests, the monarch's private, inner sanctum.<sup>3</sup> During the sixteenth century, the privy chamber, and those rooms connected to it, were located at the end of, and protected by, a series of semi-public rooms in which monarch could receive his guests. As can be seen in a reconstructed plan of the principal floor of Hampton Court c.1547, Henry VIII's lodgings began at the great watching chamber and included a presence chamber and a dining chamber (fig.18). These outer rooms, in which courtiers could assemble with relative freedom, were under the control of the Lord Chamberlain and staffed by the servants of the chamber. Beyond lay the Bayne Tower, built in 1529-30, that housed the King's private realm – the privy chamber, the principal bedchamber with an ensuite bathing room and the closet.<sup>4</sup> Within these rooms, Henry was attended only by his most intimate servants, the Groom of the Stool and the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, the household department that provided his companionship and body service.<sup>5</sup> No other courtiers were allowed access without his special leave. On the north and east sides of the court, the queen's lodgings were arranged similarly, with the outer semi-public rooms of the chamber shielding the privy chamber and bedchamber beyond.

In the 1690s the royal apartments at Hampton Court were completely rebuilt, yet in their form and arrangement they were not dissimilar the old Tudor lodgings. As Simon Thurley has pointed out, in the planning of the apartments form followed function and thus the requirements of English court traditions and the structure of the royal household were key in shaping Wren's design.<sup>6</sup> The new state apartments approximately replicated the old Tudor arrangement with

<sup>2</sup> In comparison to the English court, French royal residences were considerably more open. See H. Murray Baillie, 'Etiquette and the Planning'; J. Levron, *Daily Life at Versailles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, trans. C. E. Engel (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1968).

<sup>3</sup> For ordinances relating to the Henrican privy chamber see *A Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household*, pp.144-156.

<sup>4</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.52, 59, 66 & 68. Notably by the late 1530s the Bayne Tower was considered too easy of access, and as a result, the King developed a new suite of apartments and 'secret lodgings' on the south front of the palace. Henry also had an additional bedchamber adjoining the queen's apartments (fig.18).

<sup>5</sup> On the role of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber see D. Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation, The Rise of the Privy Chamber 1485-1547' *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, D. Starkey ed., (Longman: London and New York, 1987), pp.71-118.

<sup>6</sup> S. Thurley, 'The Building of the King's Apartments. A most particular monarch', *Apollo*, August 1994, 140, 390, pp.10-21, p.12.

separate suites for the king and queen and a distinction between public and private rooms. The sequence of outer rooms began at the great stairs (A & O) and included the guard chamber (B & P), the presence chamber (C & Q), the eating room (D & R), the privy chamber (E & S), and the withdrawing room (F & T) (fig.16). Beyond lay the bedchamber district, the area designated as private - the state bedchamber (G & U), the little bedchamber on the king's side (H), the closet (I & W), the gallery (J & V) and the backstairs (L-M & 2, X & 4) (fig.16). At ground level on the south front were the innermost private lodgings for the king that included a further bedchamber, closets, a private dining room and a withdrawing room (a-i) (fig.17). The queen's most private rooms were on the first floor, arranged around the inside of Fountain Court. These encompassed a bedchamber, a dressing room, a dining room, a withdrawing room and a private oratory (k-t) (fig.16).

Notably, however it was the door to the state bedchamber, rather than the privy chamber, that marked the crucial boundary between public and private space. The late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had seen a royal retreat further into the state apartments. As the public had encroached, seeking access to the sovereign, successive monarchs had, in turn, sought to ensure their privacy by moving their lodgings deeper into the palace.<sup>7</sup> During the reign of Elizabeth I, a withdrawing chamber had been inserted in between the bedchamber and the privy chamber, and over the early 1600s this room was established as the first of the private realm. In turn, the withdrawing chamber had become more public and therefore by the rebuilding of Hampton Court both this room and the privy chamber were considered part of the outer zone. At the same time the private areas at a number of royal residences had been extended inwards with additional bedchambers and more space in the privy lodgings. At Whitehall for example, Charles II expanded his private realm in an area that came to be known as the Volary.<sup>8</sup> This was situated at some distance from the state apartments, providing the king with a greater degree of seclusion. During the 1670s Charles also

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<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of this process of retreat see H. Murray Baillie, 'Etiquette and the Planning; M. Snodin, 'The Palace', and the collection of essays in D. Starkey, ed., *The English Court*.

<sup>8</sup> S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, p.109; B. Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access*, pp.34-35.

created a new suite of private apartments at Hampton Court in the furthermost, southeast corner of the palace (H) (fig.19).

As this movement inwards suggests, the line between public and private was in a state of flux, and it would continue to slowly shift over the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This was particularly the case in regard to the principal bedchamber that had been established as a more accessible room during the reign of Charles II.<sup>9</sup> At court and in the houses of the elite best bedchambers had traditionally been used as reception rooms for especially honoured guests and for the ceremonies of births, marriages and mourning.<sup>10</sup> Yet, Charles was to take this further by giving the bedchamber an overtly political, ‘state’ function, necessitating the provision of a further ‘little bedchamber’ nearby in which the king could sleep more privately.<sup>11</sup> Through the adoption of French court customs that Charles had lived by in exile and his desire to appear as an open and accessible monarch, a whole range of formal audiences, meetings and ceremonial events that had previously taken place in the withdrawing room or the public rooms were relocated to the bedchamber.<sup>12</sup> As the King’s Master of Ceremonies, Sir Charles Cotterall, recorded in his notebooks, ‘private audiences were heretofore generally held in the Kings withdrawing room [...] tho’ since his Majesties restoration they have been sometimes in the Closset and for the most part in the Bedchamber’.<sup>13</sup> Charles’s consort Catherine of Braganza similarly used her state bedchamber as a semi-public ceremonial space.<sup>14</sup> In 1669 Pepys recorded seeing the King and the

<sup>9</sup> While Charles II was the first English monarch to use the state bedchamber as a room of state, Charles I’s consort Henrietta Maria had used her bedchamber in this way during the early 1600s. In France the bedchamber was established as the principal room of state and Henrietta continued to follow this tradition in England. There is however no suggestion that her husband also adopted this custom. Rather, Charles I was known to be a private and distant monarch. See S. Thurley, *Somerset House: The Palace of England’s Queens 1551-1692* (London Topographical Society, no.168, 2009), pp.45-49.

<sup>10</sup> I.G. Sparkes, *Four Poster and Tester Beds*, p.4.

<sup>11</sup> Since the Tudor period monarchs had had the luxury of two bedchambers at some royal residences although neither of these were used for state ceremony. S. Thurley, *Somerset House*, p.42. The precise arrangement of the king’s state bedchamber and little bedchamber next to one another, as at Hampton Court, was not known until the reign of Charles II. Anna Keay has shown that Charles’s use of the state bedchamber as a more open, ceremonial space necessitated that an adjacent second bedchamber be provided for more informal, domestic purposes. For a discussion of this see A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.190.

<sup>12</sup> A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.96-102 and 194-202; A. Keay and S. Thurley, ‘The Stuart Royal Bedchamber’, See also B. Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access*, pp.39-40.

<sup>13</sup> TNA LC5/201, fol.47.

<sup>14</sup> A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, pp.126-130.

Queen there in the presence of ‘much mixed company’.<sup>15</sup> As at the French court, Charles II also used this room, or the little bedchamber nearby, for receiving courtiers while being ceremoniously dressed and undressed by their servants.<sup>16</sup> While this never matched the ritualised formality of the French court, the terms *levee* and *couchee* began to be used during his reign to describe the King’s rising and retiring.<sup>17</sup> These gatherings in the bedchamber were an important forum for courtiers and politicians to pay homage to the monarch, present petitions and discuss policy. By the time of the rebuilding of Hampton Court, the state bedchamber was still considered part of the private ‘bedchamber district’, yet it was also one of the principal reception spaces for ceremonies and government business.<sup>18</sup> As such the greatest degree of privacy could be found within the rooms beyond the state bedchamber - the little bedchamber and the privy lodgings.

This is not to suggest however that even the innermost rooms of the bedchamber provided privacy in the modern sense.<sup>19</sup> At royal palaces the constant bustle of visitors and the presence of servants ensured that self-seclusion was all but impossible. At court it was moreover the case that no space was private in the sense of being depoliticised. State sovereignty was founded on blood and hereditary right and, as such, the private, mortal or ‘natural’ bodies of the king and queen were inextricably connected to the ‘political body’ - the body of the state or nation.<sup>20</sup> The condition of royal bodies, their health and especially

<sup>15</sup> Cited in A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.130. James II’s consort, Mary of Modena, also received in her bedchamber. When Don Pedro de Ronquillo, the ambassador from the king of Spain, was received at Whitehall in November 1680, ‘he had his audience of his majestie in the banqueting house, and the next day in the evening he had his audience of the queen in her bedchamber’. N. Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*, vol.1, p.58.

<sup>16</sup> A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.196.

<sup>17</sup> A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.172.

<sup>18</sup> One of the upshots of this was a dispute between the Lord Chamberlain, who had traditionally presided over ceremonial events, and the Groom of the Stole who had the right to exclude him such occasions in the bedchamber. Papers relating to this can be found at BL MSS. 61605, fols.131-155.

<sup>19</sup> Indeed historians have soundly demonstrated that early modern notions of public and private cannot be shoehorned into a neat division in terms of both the use and classification of space and practice. On the complexity of these terms more broadly see A. Vickery, ‘Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women’s History’, *Historical Journal*, 36, 2, 1993, pp.383-414; J. Brewer, ‘This that and the Other: Public, Social and Private in the Eighteenth Century’, *Shifting the Boundaries, Transformations in the Language of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century*, eds., D. Castiglione and L. Sharpe (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), pp.1-21; L. Klein, ‘Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the Eighteenth Century’, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 28, 1, 1995-6, pp.97-105.

<sup>20</sup> This notion of the king’s two bodies has been explored by E. H. Kantorowicz in *The King’s Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton University Press, 1997). In his theorisation of monarchy he drew on a statement made by crown lawyers in 1561; ‘The king has in him two bodies, viz., a Body natural, and a Body politic. His body natural ... is a body mortal, subject to all infirmities that come by

their fertility, was a matter of national public interest and concern. Within contemporary discourses of sovereignty, even the most personal, domestic spaces of the bedchamber were therefore imbued with political significance.

As the embodiment of monarchy, the monarch was also the font of social and political power, and when he retreated into private rooms this authority went with him.<sup>21</sup> Despite the constitutional changes brought by the revolutions of the seventeenth century considerable executive initiative remained with the monarch, particularly in the fields of patronage and appointments. Access and intimacy with the royal person accordingly continued to be a key route to honour, influence and advancement.<sup>22</sup> Entrée into bedchamber was much sought after by the elite and politicians who needed to influence, and demonstrate their ability to influence, government policy.<sup>23</sup> This was particularly the case in regard to the great closet where courtiers were granted private audiences with the monarch. As the Duke of Newcastle (1693-1768) wrote in 1743, 'I do apprehend that my Brother [Henry Pelham (1694-1754)] does think that His superior interest in the Closet, & Situation in the House of Commons, gives Him great Advantage over Every Body else'.<sup>24</sup> Access into the most private apartments, where courtiers might be allowed to mingle more freely with the monarch, was also associated with promise of favour and advancement. The Earl of Egmont (1683-1748)

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Nature or Accident [...] But his Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People, and the Management of the public weal, and this body is utterly void of Infancy, and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to', p.7. See also P. Hammond, 'The King's Two Bodies, Representations of Charles II', in J. Black and J. Gregory ed., *Culture Politics and Society in Britain 1660- 1800* (Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.13-47; C. Herrup, 'The King's two Genders', *Journal of British Studies*, 45, 3, 2006, pp.493-510, p.499; R. Schulte ed., *The Body of the Queen, Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500-2000* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), pp.88-99. For similar views on the French court see A. Zanger, *Scenes from the Marriage of Louis XIV, Nuptial Fictions and the Making of Absolutist Power* (Stanford University Press, California, 1997) and L. Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie Antoinette, Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution', *Marie Antoinette Writings on the Body of a Queen*, ed., D. Goodman (Routledge, 2003), pp.117-138.

<sup>21</sup> This was also the case for queens regnant and powerful queen consorts. As court and literary historians have demonstrated, women of the court were often successful in manipulating and transcending the social and political limitations imposed through gender norms. See C. Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006); A. Whitelock, 'A Woman in a man's world: Mary I and Political Intimacy', *Women's History Review*, 16, 3, 2007, pp.323-334; C. Levin, J. Eldridge Carney and D. Barrett-Graves eds., *'High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); C. Levin and R. O. Bucholz eds., *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (University of Nebraska, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> On the value of court office and royal favour broadly see R.O. Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household*, pp. xxxix – xlvi; R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp.64 & 115.

<sup>23</sup> On the significance of the king's closet during the period see E. Turner and G. Megaro, 'The King's Closet in the Eighteenth Century', *American Historical Review*, 45, 4, July 1940, pp.761-776.

<sup>24</sup> Cited in Turner and Megaro, 'The King's Closet in the Eighteenth Century', pp.763-4.

considered that the royal family held a relative of his in high esteem for he had been ‘admitted to Kensington into the rooms that nobody else was, to play at cards’.<sup>25</sup> Access to the sovereign within the bedchamber was therefore a powerful draw. Yet, as an exclusive space, the bedchamber allowed monarchs to limit this access, selectively allowing or denying courtiers entrée and thereby signifying who was in favour and who a hand in power.<sup>26</sup> As Lord Hervey (1696-1743) wrote, when King, George II ‘came to consult those whom he never would speak to as Prince; and to admit no further than the drawing room at St James’s those favourites who had ever been of the cabinet at Leicester House’.<sup>27</sup> For the monarch the privacy of the bedchamber could thus be a powerful political tool. It created a concentration of power controlled by the sovereign and those he favoured.

It was for this very reason however, that the royal bedchamber was often represented in contemporary discourses as a transgressive space. Within private rooms, politics could be conducted secretly by the monarch, allowing monarchical power to outweigh parliament and public authority. During the seventeenth century this had been most soundly demonstrated by the personal rule of Charles I, the Catholicism of James II and the supposedly fraudulent birth of Prince Charles, ‘the Pretender’ in June 1688, that had all resulted in political crises.<sup>28</sup> In the aftermath of the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution, when monarchical power was increasingly curbed by parliament and the law, the problem of royal privacy in the bedchamber became a subject of public interest and concern. This period saw the publication of numerous propagandist exposés in which the royal bedchamber was imaginatively penetrated, private rooms were breached, personal possessions were examined and secret letters and

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<sup>25</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter HMC), *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, 2 vols. (London: HMSO, 1905-9), vol.1, p.23.

<sup>26</sup> On the politics of access during the early modern period see B. Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access*; A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, in particular chapter 10 and R. O Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp.153-156.

<sup>27</sup> J. Hervey, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, vol.1, p.61.

<sup>28</sup> In what became known as ‘the warming pan scandal’, Mary of Modena, James II’s Catholic queen, was accused of smuggling another woman’s child into her bedchamber in a warming pan while she pretended to give birth. This became the subject of numerous rumours, pamphlets and satirical lampoons that played an important role in the propaganda campaign against King James and the exclusion of his son Charles from the throne. For a discussion of this see R. J. Weil, ‘The Politics of Legitimacy: Women and the Warming Pan Scandal’, *The Revolution of 1688-9, Changing Perspectives*, ed., L.G. Schwoerer, pp.65-82.

conversations were ‘divulged’.<sup>29</sup> These texts were intended to reveal the truth about authority to a newly empowered public. Nevertheless, for the monarch, the exclusivity of the bedchamber district and its separation from the outer rooms of the chamber remained paramount as this ensured both royal privacy in personal matters and control over the distribution of social and political power.

## Ordinances and the codification of space

Since the sixteenth century the privacy of the monarch’s inner apartments had been ensured through ordinances – rule books that defined conduct and rights of access in different areas of the court. During the early modern period royal palaces were, in fact, open to a relatively broad section of society. The public had a degree of access to their rulers that would be unthinkable today. As Robert Bucholz has pointed out, the remarks of diarists such as Samuel Pepys are suggestive of frequent and easy interaction between monarchs and their people.<sup>30</sup> For this very reason however, strict measures to control royal security and privacy were necessary. Beginning at the outer gates, men and women deemed unsuitable or of low birth were to be prohibited, as the orders of Charles II stated:

Care shall be taken by Our porters not to permit any stragling and matterlesse men, any suspicio[n]ous person, or uncivil, uncleanly or rude people, or beggars to come within [...] or to haunt or lurke anywhere within Our House.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See for example G. Starkey, *Secret's Reveal'd: or An Open Entrance to the Shut Palace of the King: Containing the Greatest Treatise in Chymistry Never so Plainly Discovered* (1669); *The Secret History of the Reigns of K. Charles II and K. James II* (1690); *A Full Answer to the Depositions; And to all other Pretences and Arguments whatsoever, Concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales. The intreague therof detected, The whole design being set forth, with the way and manner of doing it. Wherunto is annexed, A map or Survey Engraven of St James's Palace, and the Convent there: Describing the Place wherein it is supposed the true Mother was delivered: With the particular Doors and Passages through which the Child was convey'd to the Queen's Bedchamber* (1689); [John Dunton], *King Abigail; or the Secret Reign of the She Favourite, Detected and Applied, in a Sermon* (1715). For an earlier example see, Anon, *The King's Cabinet Opened: or Certain Packets of Secret Letters & Papers, Written with the King's own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Naseby-Field, June 14, 1645. By Victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax; Wherein many mysteries of State ... are clearly laid open ... Published by speciall Order of the Parliament* (London, 1645). For a discussion of these texts see, E. Tavor Bannet, ‘Secret History’: or talebearing Inside and Outside the Secretorie’, in P. Kewes ed., *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (Huntingdon, 2006), pp.367-388 and M. McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*, pp.469-505.

<sup>30</sup> R. O Bucholz, ‘Going to Court in 1700’, p.182.

<sup>31</sup> *A Collection of Ordinances*, p.352. See also TNA LS13/173, pp.106-7.

Within the bounds of palaces such forms of social differentiation proliferated into a myriad of codes that reflected the status of the monarch and the different degrees of rank held by his courtiers. At Hampton Court, the linear planning of the state apartments was not only visually impressive, it also served to reinforce rules that limited access. Following the decree that ‘All accesse shall be made through the roomes of state’, visitors embarked on a linear progression from room to room in which access became increasingly limited towards the inner sanctum of the bedchamber.<sup>32</sup> Rights of entrée, sartorial standards and the conduct to be observed in each room were set down in ordinances, and subject to inspection by household servants stationed at each threshold within the apartments. Thus for the visitor to Hampton Court, access into the first room of the state apartments, the guard chamber (B), was relatively open while at the other end of the outer zone, entrée into the withdrawing room (F) was much more restricted (fig. 16).<sup>33</sup> This acted to filter those who sought access to the bedchamber and the monarch in accordance with their rank and station. As Hugh Murray-Baillie and Robert Bucholz have argued, royal state apartments in effect replicated the constitution laid out horizontally.<sup>34</sup> The exclusivity and status of the bedchamber was made manifest by the hierarchical arrangement and codification of space.

Located at the end of the enfilade the bedchamber district was to an extent protected by the public rooms and the servants who stood watch within them. Nevertheless, very particular orders were also given as to who was allowed access into these rooms. These were set down in ordinances specifically ‘for the Government of the Bedchamber & the Private Lodgings’.<sup>35</sup> The first set of bedchamber ordinances had been set down in the reign of James I, supplanting the Tudor orders for the privy chamber, that had by this period become a less private space. While James’s orders no longer survive it is probable that later sets

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<sup>32</sup> *A Collection of Ordinances*, p.364.

<sup>33</sup> The guard chamber was accessible to all those who passed through the palace gates except liveries servants or footmen. The withdrawing room in contrast was in theory only open to the ‘principal secretaries of state [...] The Master of Requests, members of the Privy Council and [...] The chief officers of the court’, although on days when a drawing room was scheduled it was open to respectable society. See R. O. Bucholz, ‘Going to Court in 1700’, pp.198-201.

<sup>34</sup> H. Murray-Baillie, ‘Etiquette and Planning’, pp.174-180; R. O. Bucholz, ‘Going to Court in 1700’, p.196.

<sup>35</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.1.

made by Charles II, James II and William III, were almost exact copies.<sup>36</sup> Like many court customs, ordinances were based upon precedents. As William III's orders of 1689 stated, the rules whereby his bedchamber was to be governed were 'made in the same forme as they were established in the Reigns of Our Royal Uncle and Grand Father'.<sup>37</sup> Although no new bedchamber ordinances appear to have been issued after William's reign, extant copies of his orders made during the reigns of Anne, George II and George III suggest that they continued to be in use well into the late eighteenth century, despite the fact that some orders were out of date. For example, William III's ordinances continued to stipulate that the withdrawing room was included within the bedchamber district, even though by this period it was effectively part of the chamber.<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, these documents in their original form were especially valuable for the monarchy after 1688 as they suggested continuity between the pre and post Revolution courts. As Andrew Barclay has argued, in 1689 William III chose to reissue Charles II's bedchamber ordinances, rather than those of James II, in an attempt to ally himself with the splendour of the Restoration court and at the same time deny any associations with the recently disgraced King James.<sup>39</sup>

While practice did not always follow rubric, ordinances were an important code whereby the exclusivity of the bedchamber could be ratified. These documents defined the parameters of the bedchamber district and prescribed who was allowed into this area of the palace. Entry was strictly limited to the royal family, the servants who worked within these rooms and additional officers when required. As it was stated in William III's orders, access was allowed only to:

The Princes of our Blood & to the Gentlemen and Grooms of our Bed Chamber, and also with the direction of Our Groom of the Stole to the Master of Our Wardrobes, to the Keeper of our Privy Purse, our First Physician in ordinary, the Keeper of our Closet & the Barbers, as their service requires [...] & to no other Person or Persons whatsoever without our leave.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> See introduction n. 89.

<sup>37</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.1.

<sup>38</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol. 2.

<sup>39</sup> A. Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p.252.

<sup>40</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.24.

It was also decreed that only the chief officers of the household - the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward, the Secretary of State and the Lords of the Privy Council were allowed to request entry to the bedchamber via the Pages who stood guard at the doors.<sup>41</sup> To prevent any confusion the names of these officers were set down on ‘a list left with the Pages or appointed to be hung up in any of the rooms belonging to the bed chamber’.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, when in 1679 the Earl of Ailsbury tried to gain access to Charles II’s bedchamber without prior permission he found ‘the door shut [...] against me’.<sup>43</sup> Ordinances also prescribed that while ‘persons of quality as well our servants as others who come to wait on us, are permitted to attend & stay in the Withdrawing Rooms without our Bed Chamber’, the Pages were ‘to Take care, that no Footmen or meaner sort of People be there, nor pass through, nor remain at the Back-Stairs’.<sup>44</sup> Clearly, these orders were designed to ensure that only those of appropriate rank were permitted entry, or even proximity, to the seat of power and the king’s most private realm.

At Hampton Court such stringent measures to control admittance would perhaps have been less essential than they were at the inner London residences of St James’s and Whitehall, where proximity to the park and river would have made policing access especially difficult. Indeed, in the months following the Glorious Revolution warrants issued by the Lord Chamberlain display a marked degree of anxiety as to whether Jacobite supporters might have access to Whitehall.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, Hampton Court with its rural situation would undoubtedly have been easier to secure. Nonetheless, when the full court was in residence, not only the palace, but also nearby Kingston and Hampton were filled with courtiers and hangers on. The implementation of ordinances would thus have been essential if privacy and security were to be maintained.

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<sup>41</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.27.

<sup>42</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.27.

<sup>43</sup> Cited in A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.200.

<sup>44</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fols.27-28.

<sup>45</sup> In December 1689 a diligent search of Whitehall was ordered to ensure that no Papists continued to lodge within the palace complex. See TNA LC5/149, fol.364.

## The bedchamber department

In accordance with the spatial definition of the bedchamber district, this area of the palace was staffed by a separate household department known as ‘the bedchamber’. While the Lord Chamberlain and his staff oversaw the running of the public, ceremonial events in the chamber, the bedchamber and the monarch’s domestic needs came under the jurisdiction of the Groom of the Stole (the successor of the Tudor Groom of the Stool), who was the head of the bedchamber department.<sup>46</sup> This arrangement was replicated in each of the royal households of the court; the queen, prince and princess (once of age) all each had their own bedchamber department who attended within their bedchamber rooms.

Although closely based on the Tudor privy chamber, the household department that had previously attended the king, the bedchamber had been established as a new institution during the reign of James I.<sup>47</sup> Its chief personnel consisted of ten to twelve Gentlemen of the Bedchamber (who became Ladies of the Bedchamber under Queen Anne), the first of whom was the Groom of the Stole, eight to twelve Grooms of the Bedchamber (Bedchamber Women or Dressers under Anne), six to eight Pages of the Bedchamber who were also known as Pages of the Backstairs and the king’s Barber. There was also a Body Laundress, a Seamstress and Starcher, and one or two Necessary Women whose roles will be discussed in detail in chapter five. As the head of the bedchamber department, ordinances stated that the Groom of the Stole had ‘the sole and absolute Command & Government under us’.<sup>48</sup> If any servant was neglectful of his duties or committed a misdemeanour within the bedchamber he had the right to ‘confine such Person or Persons, or suspend any of them from further waiting, till our pleasure be known therein’.<sup>49</sup> Traditionally the Groom was also the Keeper of the Privy Purse and in this capacity he was responsible for organising

<sup>46</sup> R.O. Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household*, p. xxiii.

<sup>47</sup> N. Cuddy, ‘The Revival of the Entourage’. In effect the bedchamber usurped the role of the privy chamber. Although there are no orders surviving that date from James I’s reign, this change was recognised in the household ordinances of Charles I in which the privy chamber was no longer described as the department responsible for the king’s body service: ‘For Our Privie Chamber, though we find it much changed from the ancient institution both in the number of gentlemen & theire service; Nevertheless wee are pleased to continue a fit number, and to ordaine for their service as followeth [...]. TNA LC5/180, fol.20.

<sup>48</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.10.

<sup>49</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.6.

the monarch's personal expenditure. By the late seventeenth century this office was more commonly held by one of the lower ranking bedchamber servants, yet the Groom retained the important rights of patronage in supplying 'all [the] Linnen & Laces for our Person & all the furniture & Necessaries of our Bed Chamber & the rest of our Privy Lodgings'.<sup>50</sup> In his attendance on the monarch the Groom was also entitled to perform all the 'Offices and Services of Honour about our Person' when the king dressed and dined.<sup>51</sup> As the successor of the Tudor Groom of Stool, who had had the privileged task of keeping the king's close stools, and attending him when he made use of them, the Groom was also allowed to be present in 'our secret or Privy room, when we go to ease ourself', although by eighteenth century this does seem to have been rarely practiced.<sup>52</sup> In 1760 when Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann of George II's death whilst on his close stool, he remarked that the king had been alone.<sup>53</sup>

During the period, the office of Groom of the Stole was frequently given to a political figure who was consequently often away from the court on business. In his absence, all of the above mentioned tasks were performed instead by the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber who waited on a weekly rota (fig.22).<sup>54</sup> Below them the Grooms of the Bedchamber also waited weekly, although in pairs, one in close-waiting and the other in by-waiting.<sup>55</sup> They assisted the Gentlemen or Ladies at the dressing ceremony and when the monarch dined in the bedchamber.<sup>56</sup> On a day-to-day basis these servants were the monarch's most constant attendants. They dressed the king in private when he wished to dispense with the formal dressing ceremony, they slept alongside him at night on a pallet bed, and were responsible for keeping his bed and body

<sup>50</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.30.

<sup>51</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.8.

<sup>52</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.26.

<sup>53</sup> W. S. Lewis, W. H. Smith and G. Lam ed., *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann*, 11 vols. (Yale University Press, 1954), vol.3, p. 20.

<sup>54</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fols.7-8. Rotas were drawn up each year for the attendance of the Gentlemen or Ladies of the Bedchamber, and probably also for the Grooms or Bedchamber Women, and the Pages. These were arranged in the form of tables and listed the names of the servants and the weeks of the year that they were to go into waiting. Two of these rotas (dated 1717-8 and 1727-8) for the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber survive, the first amongst the papers of George I's Groom of the Stole, the Earl of Sunderland, and the second in Walpole's political papers at Cambridge University Library. See CUL, Cholmondeley Papers, Pol Pap 45, 17; BL Add. CH. 76134.

<sup>55</sup> The Groom in close waiting was in constant attendance, while the one in by-waiting was there to support when required.

<sup>56</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.8.

linen.<sup>57</sup> Below the Grooms, the Pages of the Bedchamber also waited weekly in pairs. Their chief role was to stand at the doors of the bedchamber and inform the Groom of the Stole or the Gentleman in waiting when a visitor came to see the monarch. They were also responsible for keeping the king's plate at the backstairs, ensuring that the fires remained lit in winter and preparing the bedchamber so 'that every thing be ready, especially during the time of the King's Dressing'.<sup>58</sup> For this they wore a fine livery that comprised of a cloak, jerkin and breeches of scarlet cloth, trimmed with velvet and lace, worsted stockings with silk garters and a hat with band.<sup>59</sup> They also carried silver 'Alarum pendulum Watches' in order to ensure their readiness for work.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the roles described above, the staff of the bedchamber were responsible for guarding access to the monarch within the bedchamber district. As it was stated in ordinances, 'No suitor or stranger be admitted to attend [...] without the Knowledge and leave of Our Groom of the Stole, and without giving him an account of what their business is [...]'<sup>61</sup> The Pages of the Bedchamber were ordered to 'stand constantly at the Door of Our Bed Chamber,' and were to inform the Groom of the Stole, or the Gentlemen in waiting, if anyone sought leave to enter.<sup>62</sup> The bedchamber department also managed an elaborate system of locks and keys that was intended to further ensure the privacy and safety of these rooms. At Hampton Court the brass locks elaborately decorated with William and Mary's cipher that survive in the state apartments today are evidence of this (figs.23 & 24).<sup>63</sup> While all of the rooms of the state apartments had locks, those of the bedchamber had 'a Ward Different that the keys of the

<sup>57</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fols.17-18; E. Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia, or the Present State of England together with divers reflections upon the ancient state thereof* (London, 1669), p.265. Originally the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber had the privilege of sleeping alongside the king at night, BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.17. For an account of one of Charles I's Gentleman sleeping in the king's bedchamber see BL MSS. Add. 61605, fol.131. By the late seventeenth century however it is evident that this had been devolved to the Grooms. For watch or pallet beds for William III's Grooms see for example TNA LC5/124, loose warrants, no.64.

<sup>58</sup> Anon, *The Present State of the British Court or an account of the civil and military establishment in England* (London, 1720), p.24.

<sup>59</sup> This describes the winter livery. A summer livery was also provided on a yearly basis. TNA LC5/46, fol.1.

<sup>60</sup> TNA LC5/149, fol.344, warrants 1689. See also LC5/151, fol.28, warrants 1691. The watches were provided once every three years.

<sup>61</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.26

<sup>62</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.24.

<sup>63</sup> The locks and keys in the state apartments were designed by the master smith aptly named Josiah Key. See D. Bosomworth, *The King's Metalwork, Apollo*, 140, 390, August 1994, p.67.

presence, privy Chamber and Drawing Roome cannot open'.<sup>64</sup> Only the servants of the bedchamber department were allowed to use these keys and they were therefore marked accordingly, as a warrant of 1695 relates:

These are to require you to make foure Keyes of ye Kings Bedchamber at Kensington & Whitehall two of which keyes must be Engraven Lord of ye Bedchamber & upon ye other Two keys must be Engraven Groomes of ye Bedchamber & one key for ye necessary Woman, that you deliver their five Keyes into the Earle of Portland Groome of ye Stole to his Majestie.<sup>65</sup>

As the head of the bedchamber department, the Groom of the Stole was provided with a gold key on a blue ribbon that functioned both as a badge of office and allowed access to all doors within the state apartments, the bedchamber and the privy lodgings.<sup>66</sup> Conferral to the post of Groom was symbolised by the acceptance of the key, and to relinquish it signalled the termination of service.<sup>67</sup> The wearing of the key, as depicted in portraits of William III's Groom of the Stole, William Bentinck, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland (1649-1709), and Queen Anne's Groom, Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744), was an overt display of the codes of access by which the bedchamber and the status of the office was defined (figs.25 & 26). Due to both the literal and symbolic value of bedchamber keys it was vital to ensure that none went astray. In 1678 Charles II had found that 'to Our great displeasure [...] a multitude of keyes of Our Bedchamber are made and disposed throughout the House, and also abroad in the Towne in the hands of Strangers'.<sup>68</sup> Similarly in 1710 it was recorded that 'of late the charge of providing Locks in her Majesty's Houses has been very much increased by the Locksmiths taking upon themselves to do work without proper

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<sup>64</sup> TNA LC5/149, fol. 351.

<sup>65</sup> TNA LC5/151, fol. 403. The key for the necessary woman appears to have been inserted into the warrant in note form as an after thought, explaining the addition of a key.

<sup>66</sup> The key, as ordinances stated, allowed the groom access to the 'Bed Chamber and also to open every Door of all our Gardens, Galleries and Privy Lodgings & of all other Rooms of State and Honour'. BL MSS. Stowe 563, fols.13-14.

<sup>67</sup> As James Vernon, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury when William III's Groom of the Stole, the Earl of Portland, resigned his office in April 1699. Portland 'was with the King in his closet after the cabinet council was up, and has lain at London these two nights. He has been very pressing to deliver up his key [...]. *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III From 1696 to 1708 addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, by James Vernon, Secretary of State, ed, G.P.R James esq, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1841) vol.2, p.276. Despite this Portland did retain one bedchamber key that survives today in the collection at Welbeck Abbey. This is engraved 'Earl of Portland, Groom of the Stole to the King', and is dated to 1689. I am grateful to Gareth Hughes, Welbeck curator, for this information.

<sup>68</sup> Cited in A. Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch*, p.187.

Warrants and Orders'.<sup>69</sup> To prevent such incidents, ordinances thus decreed that, 'No other person is to presume to have or to make use of any key of our Bed Chamber without the licence and leave of our Groom of the Stole', and at the end of each shift the Gentleman of the Bedchamber was 'with his own hand to deliver the Key of our Bed Chamber to the Gentleman of the Bed Chamber who shall relieve him'.<sup>70</sup>

The servants of the bedchamber were thus the monarch's most intimate attendants and the guardians of his safety and privacy. Accordingly the elite members of the department, the Groom of the Stole and the Gentlemen or Ladies of the Bedchamber, were hand picked by the king or queen. The office of Groom of the Stole was commonly given to a favourite or a political ally. In 1689 William III appointed his life-long friend, William Bentinck, as his Groom (fig.25).<sup>71</sup> Bentinck, who had began his career as a Page to William at the court of Holland, was also made 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland, a Privy Councillor and later ambassador to France.<sup>72</sup> He was therefore both the King's intimate and a political figure. Similarly, Queen Anne gave the office of Groom of the Stole and Mistress of the Robes to Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough, who had been her close friend since childhood (fig.26).<sup>73</sup> Up until her dismissal in 1711, after she quarrelled with the Queen, Sarah had a very loving, close relationship with Anne who confided in her on many personal matters.<sup>74</sup> Conversely, under the Hanoverians, political affiliation rather than friendship was the key qualifying factor for appointment to the office of Groom of the Stole. In 1714 when George I ascended to the throne, the office of Groom was initially left vacant as the king knew none of the English court elite personally. George was aware, as the Earl of Egmont wrote, 'that whoever he gives it must from duty of

<sup>69</sup> TNA LC5/115, fol. 16.

<sup>70</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fols.13-14.

<sup>71</sup> 'The bedchamber: Groom of the Stole 1660-1837', *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), pp. 13-14. [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk), accessed 5<sup>th</sup> November 2010. For all further references to appointments in the royal household see this online database, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>72</sup> D. Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite, The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland (1649-1709)* (Aldershot, 2007).

<sup>73</sup> J. Falkner, 'Churchill , Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (1660–1744)', *ODNB* online edition, accessed 6<sup>th</sup> November 2010; O. Field, *The Favourite, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (Hodder and Stoughton, 2002); C. Hibbert, *The Marlboroughs: John and Sarah Churchill, 1659-1714* (Viking, 2001).

<sup>74</sup> This is clearly evident in correspondence from Queen Anne to the Duchess of Marlborough, see BL MSS. Add.61414; 61415; 61417; 61418.

the place be always near his person, and therefore he is resolved to know the man very well on whom he shall confer it'.<sup>75</sup> Prohibited from appointing any of his German friends to the office by the 1702 Act of Settlement, George preferred to be served instead by his Turkish pages, Mohammed (n.d) and Mustapha (d.1738) who had previously attended him in Hanover.<sup>76</sup> From this period onwards, the office of Groom was held by a succession of leading Whig politicians, Charles Spencer, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sunderland (1675-1722), Frances Godolphin, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Godolphin (1678-1766), and Henry Herbert, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Pembroke (1693-1750). During the reign of George II, the later two undoubtedly owed their appointment, at least in part, to their support for the leader of the Whig party, Robert Walpole who had considerable influence over bedchamber appointments and a strong friendship with Queen Caroline.<sup>77</sup>

The rest of the Gentlemen or Ladies of the Bedchamber were drawn from the social and political elite. As Edward Chamberlayne stated in his volume on the court, 'the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber consist usually of the Prime Nobility of England'.<sup>78</sup> In the household of a male monarch, these places were often given to political figures whom the king wished to keep close about him either to ensure or reward their loyalty. As Andrew Barclay has pointed out, William III's Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, who included John Churchill, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), James Butler, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Ormond (1666-1745), Richard Lumley, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Scarborough (1650-1721), Charles Douglas, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Selkirk (1663-1739) and Henry Sydney, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Romney (1641-1704), were almost a roll call of all those who had made decisive contributions to the success of the King's invasion in 1688.<sup>79</sup> They were also some of the leading politicians who made up the King's Privy Council. This was also the case during the reigns of George I and George II. Many of the men appointed to these offices were powerful Whigs who had supported the Hanoverian succession in 1714

<sup>75</sup> Cited in J. Gray McGinnis, 'The Bedchamber in the Reign of George II', p.113.

<sup>76</sup> J. M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, pp.54-56; L. Worsley, *Courtiers*, pp.78-81; L. M. Mehmet, *Some Memoirs of the Life of L. Maximilian Mahomet, late servant to his Majesty, with a true copy of his will* (London: H Currll, 1727); J. J. Caudle, 'Mustapha, Ernst August (d. 1738)', *ODNB* online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010.

<sup>77</sup> J. Gray McGinnis, 'The Bedchamber in the Reign of George II', p.78.

<sup>78</sup> E. Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia* (1669), pp.263-265.

<sup>79</sup> A. Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p.246.

when Queen Anne had died without an heir.<sup>80</sup> In contrast Queen Anne herself had drawn her servants equally from both Whig and Tory families in an attempt to keep her bedchamber politically neutral. Her Ladies of the Bedchamber were divided almost equally into those whose fathers and husbands were Tories and those who were descended from Whigs.<sup>81</sup> In making her choice, the Queen's letters to the Duchess of Marlborough suggest that she considered prior knowledge and friendship above politics. Indeed, many of Anne's ladies may have owed their places to the trust the Queen placed in the Duchess who recalled in her *Memoirs* having 'prepared a list of ye ladies of ye best quality and ye nearest ye queen [in] age and most Suted to her temper to be Ladies of ye Bedchamber'.<sup>82</sup>

The Grooms of the Bedchamber or Bedchamber Women were also personally chosen by the monarch. The Grooms, as Chamberlayne stated, were 'not to be above the degree of Gentlemen', and were thus chosen from the ranks of the gentry and the military.<sup>83</sup> In the bedchambers of William III, George I and George II, many of the Grooms were soldiers who had distinguished themselves in campaigns against the Jacobites and the French.<sup>84</sup> All three monarchs fashioned themselves as warrior kings and their choice of bedchamber servants reflected this. Through shared experiences on the battlefield, they may also have shared some affinity and comradeship with these men, thus fitting them to be personal companions. Queen Anne's Bedchamber Women or Dressers were also

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<sup>80</sup> J. Gray McGinnis, 'The bedchamber in the reign of George II', p.iv.

<sup>81</sup> R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.92.

<sup>82</sup> Cited in R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.74.

<sup>83</sup> E. Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia* (1669), p.265.

<sup>84</sup> Amongst William III's Grooms, Percy Kirke a lieutenant in the army was the son of Lieutenant General Percy Kirke who had campaigned with the king in Flanders and served with the Prince of Waldeck against the French, see P. Wauchope, 'Kirke, Percy (d. 1691)', *ODNB*, online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010. Thomas Wentworth was also a soldier who was renowned for his bravery during the Nine Years' War, particularly at the battles of Steenkerke (1692) and Landen (1693) and at the siege of Namur (1695), see L. Frey and M. Frey, 'Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1672–1739)', *ODNB*, online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010. Similarly under George I, men such as William Ker, Charles Howard and Philip Honeywood all had a long history of military achievements, and of George II's Groom's Charles Schaw Cathcart, James Campbell, John Waldegrave and Henry Seymour Conway had all distinguished themselves on the battlefield. See H. M. Chichester, 'Howard, Sir Charles (c.1696–1765)', rev. J. Spain, *ODNB* online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010; A. A. Hanham, 'Honywood, Sir Philip (c.1677–1752)', *ODNB* online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010; H. M. Scott, 'Cathcart, Charles Schaw, ninth Lord Cathcart (1721–1776)', *ODNB* online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010; H. M. Stephens, 'Campbell, Sir James, of Lawers (c.1680–1745)', rev. Jonathan Spain, *ODNB*; P. D. G. Thomas, 'Waldegrave, James, second Earl Waldegrave (1715–1763)', *ODNB* online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010; C. Towse, 'Conway, Henry Seymour (1719–1795)', *ODNB* online edition, date accessed 14<sup>th</sup> November 2010.

drawn from gentry or near gentry families, many of whom had a history of service to the Stuarts. The Queen considered friendship and prior knowledge especially important in regard to these places, particularly during later life when she was often in ill health. As she explained to the Duchess of Marlborough when she pressed her to take on a new Bedchamber Women, ‘ye uneasiness it would be to me to have a stranger about me when I have ye Gout & I am forced to be helped to do everything, is a very powerful one to hinder me from it’.<sup>85</sup> Many of the women who held these offices had thus previously served Anne when Princess or had strong family links to her household. For example, Abigail Hill (later Abigail Masham) (1670?-1734), who was appointed as a Bedchamber Woman in 1702 was cousin of the Duchess of Marlborough. Through her close attendance on the Queen, Abigail soon became one of her favourites and was elevated to the peerage in 1711.<sup>86</sup>

At the lower ranks of the bedchamber, the Pages were appointed by the Groom of the Stole. In theory the Groom was trusted to choose the most deserving applicant, although often ulterior motives came into play. As the Groom was usually a political figure, appointments to these places may have been made to suit their own party bias. During the reign of William and Mary it was also common practice for bedchamber places to be sold to the highest bidder. This was officially prohibited on the accession of Queen Anne, although it is likely that it continued by more covert means.<sup>87</sup> Following her fall from office, the Duchess of Marlborough wrote of a great many instances where she had been offered ‘a present’ by those seeking a place in the bedchamber, although she rigorously denied accepting any of them.<sup>88</sup> Throughout the period, the Pages were commonly drawn from the ‘middling sort’, families who were in trade, the lower level professions or the civil service.<sup>89</sup> Hamnet Kirke (d.1729) for example

<sup>85</sup> BL MSS. Add. 61416, fol.205.

<sup>86</sup> F. Harris, ‘Masham , Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?-1734)’, ODNB, online edition, accessed 6<sup>th</sup> December 2010. Family connections were evidently key for Anne in considering appointments. Isabella Danvers, a Bedchamber Woman, was the daughter of Beata Danvers, who had served the Queen as Bedchamber Woman since her childhood. Margery Farthing who was also a Bedchamber Woman was the daughter of Anne’s nurse, Martha Farthing, and was invariably referred to as Anne’s ‘foster sister’. E. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p.5.

<sup>87</sup> R. O Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household*, p.xli

<sup>88</sup> BL MSS. Add.61424, fol.7.

<sup>89</sup> Some of the Pages left considerable sums of money in their wills and were clearly connected to more elite families at the court. See Will of James Sell, TNA PROB/11/630; Will of David Harris, TNA PROB 11/613 both of whom were Pages to William III. Will of Lambert de Grave, a Page to George I, TNA PROB

who was made a Page of the Bedchamber to Mary II, was also the Queen's upholsterer.<sup>90</sup> In 1694 he provided beds and sets of bedding for Mary's bedchamber servants at Kensington.<sup>91</sup> Notably, amongst William's Pages there were a number of Dutchmen, such as Max Von Amen and Rudolph de Keine, who had almost certainly travelled to England in 1688-89 with Portland and the rest of the King's entourage.<sup>92</sup> Some of the Pages were also drawn from the households of other members of the court. The Duchess of Marlborough wrote that she had made her choice of Mr Smith (probably John Smith) on the recommendation of the Countess of Plymouth as he had previously served as Page to her.<sup>93</sup>

The role of these servants was ostensibly domestic, yet of all the offices in the royal household, places within the bedchamber department were some of the most highly sought after. On the accession of Queen Anne both the Queen and her Lord Treasurer referred to 'a thousand pretenders' and 'a thousand solicitations even for a dressers place'.<sup>94</sup> This was undoubtedly in part due to financial and material remunerations of office. The Groom of the Stole and the Gentlemen or Ladies of the Bedchamber received generous wages of £1000 per annum, a suite of lodgings at each palace and a diet when in waiting. The lodgings for the Groom were especially prestigious for they were 'as near as may be to our own Bed Chamber & before any other of our officers whatsoever'.<sup>95</sup> In addition, the Groom was also paid an annuity at the Exchequer or customs that amounted to £2000 per annum, rising to £4000 during the reign of George I.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> 11/708. Some were however considerably less well off, see for example Will of Andrew Shields, a Page to George II, TNA PROB 11/676.

<sup>91</sup> BL MSS. Add. 78269, fol.66. Hamnet Kirke is recorded in the Freemen Rolls of Chester in 1678. His brother Samuel and his sons continued to trade as Upholsterers in Chester until the mid eighteenth century. See G. Beard and C. Gilbert ed., *A Dictionary of English Furniture Makers, 1660-1840* (Leeds: W.S Maney and Sons, 1986), p. 517. For the record of his marriage see J. L. Chester, *Allegations for Marriage Licences issued from the Faculty Office of the Archbishop of Canterbury at London, 1543 to 1869* (London: Harleian Society, 1886), p.206. Hamnet went on to serve Queen Anne as a Page. By his death in 1729 he was a widower living in Windsor. He left money to his family in Chester, his nephew Caleb Kirke who was a master Turner in Rochester, and his household goods to his niece Gertrude Townley. TNA PROB 11/629.

<sup>92</sup> BL MSS Add. 5751A, fol.171.

<sup>93</sup> David Onnekirk has shown that during and after the Glorious Revolution many Dutch men and women entered England in the service of William III. See D. Onnekirk, 'Dutch Counsels: The Foreign Entourage of William III', *Dutch Crossing*, vol.29, 2005, pp.5-20.

<sup>94</sup> BL MSS. Add. 61425, fol.8.

<sup>95</sup> Cited in R. O Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.64.

<sup>96</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.15.

<sup>97</sup> The bedchamber: Groom of the Stole 1660-1837', *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), pp. 13-14, www.british-history.ac.uk, date accessed, 12th May 2010.

On the monarch's death the Groom of the Stole also received the valuable gift of the royal death bed and furniture.<sup>97</sup> Following William III's death in 1702, the Earl of Romney, who was then his Groom of the Stole, was bequeathed 'ye Crimson Damask Bed with Gold lace which stands in ye little Bedchamber at Kensington where ye King dy'd, with ye Bedding, Hangings, Chairs, Stools, Window Curtains Portier Curtains & Clock all ye furniture belonging to that Room'.<sup>98</sup> Alternatively, the Groom could opt for cash in lieu of goods. On the George II's death, the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Rochford (1717-1781), his Groom of the Stole, received £3000, a breeches Bible and a bed quilt instead of the King's furniture.<sup>99</sup> The Grooms or Bedchamber Women also received a large salary of £500 per annum, lodgings and a diet when in waiting. Below them, the Pages had wages £80 a year, lodgings, their livery that was worth £47, and fees of honour that yielded about £17 per annum. After 1725 they received a further £365 each in lieu of a diet.<sup>100</sup> In addition to these generous salaries and grants, social advancement and a significant fortune could also be amassed by other means. As Bucholz has argued, 'the established salaries of court officers were only the tip of an indeterminately sized emoluments iceberg' that was made up of places, titles, land, honours, pensions, gifts and cash rewards.<sup>101</sup> Royal favour and the networks of patronage within the bedchamber could prove very lucrative, as is indicated by the ascendancy of favourites such as William Bentinck and Abigail Masham.

<sup>97</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.32. The Groom of the Stole's right to the royal death bed was confirmed under Queen Anne, see TNA LC5/108, fol. 349. On rights to perquisites see the Lord Chamberlain's Precedent Books, TNA LC5/201 and LC5/202.

<sup>98</sup> TNA LC5/153, fol.261. Similarly on the death of Queen Anne 'the Dutchess of Somersett Groom of the Stool to the late Queen' received from Kensington palace 'the Bed and Bedding of the Bedchamber at Kensington where her Majesty Dy'd w.th all the furniture of the said Room excepting the Pictures and Tapestry [...] and 'the Japan toilets with all things belonging to them which were her late Majesty's apartments' at Hampton Court. TNA LC5/156, fols. 57 and 86. However, these goods appear to have been bought back as in February 1715 a warrant for £3000 was issued for the Duchess of Somerset, 'for goods of the late Queen claimed by the said Duchess as Groom of the Stole as by the sign manual of Dec.24 last'. 'Warrant Books: February 1715, 1-10', *CTB, volume 29: 1714-1715* (1957), pp. 369-382, [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk), date accessed, 15th May 2010.

<sup>99</sup> This bed quilt long served as an altar cloth in the church at St Osyth. See G. W. Rice, 'Nassau van Zuylestein, William Henry van, fourth earl of Rochford (1717-1781)', *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 10/06/08.

<sup>100</sup> The bedchamber: Pages of the Bedchamber 1660-c. 1822', *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), pp. 26-29, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>, date accessed: 15th May 2010.

<sup>101</sup> R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*. p.115.

Bedchamber offices were moreover widely regarded as a means political influence. As David Starkey has demonstrated in his influential essay ‘Representation through Intimacy’, at the Tudor and early Stuart courts private body service and public power were fused.<sup>102</sup> Intimacy with the monarch in private bodily rituals was the ultimate mark of royal favour, status and a route to political greatness. While for Starkey the eighteenth century represents a decline in the value of bedchamber office as the monarchy became increasingly secularised and government moved outside of the court, contemporary accounts and propagandist discourses, in fact, relate that access and intimate attendance upon the sovereign was still considered an honour and a means to power. It was widely believed that bedchamber favourites such as William Bentinck, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland, William III’s Groom of the Stole, had unrivalled influence through their intimacy with the monarch.<sup>103</sup> Bentinck had the power to sway the king’s favour and manipulate government policy, as one pamphleteer bitterly complained, ‘Mynheer Benting [Bentinck] [...] now rules over us’.<sup>104</sup> Even the women of Queen Anne’s bedchamber played a role in politics despite the limitations of their gender.<sup>105</sup> The Tory politician Sir William Bromley (1663–1732) considered the Duchess of Marlborough to be ‘the person who had reconciled the whigs to the queen, from whom she was naturally very averse’.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, her successor Elizabeth Seymour, the Duchess of Somerset, was accused of swaying Anne in favour of the Whig party. In particular Elizabeth was attributed with the Queen’s wavering of support for the Tory ministry over the Treaty of Utrecht in 1711 as it was she who had shown the Queen a copy of the *Daily Courant* that contained a memorial protesting the treaty’s preliminary articles. After this the ministry was particularly anxious to neutralize her influence and in the winter of 1711–12 there was a ministerial campaign to have

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<sup>102</sup> D. Starkey, ‘Representation through Intimacy’.

<sup>103</sup> D. Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite*, and also his ‘Mynheer Benting now rules over us’, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland and the re-emergence of the English favourite (1689–1699), *English Historical Review*, CXXI, 2006, pp.693–713, pp.695–696.

<sup>104</sup> Cited in D. Onnekink, ‘Mynheer Benting now rules over us’, p.697.

<sup>105</sup> R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp.152–187, R. O. Bucholz, ‘Seymour, Elizabeth, Duchess of Somerset (1667–1722)’, *ODNB* online edition, accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2011; J. Falkner, ‘Churchill, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (1660–1744)’, *ODNB* online edition, accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2011; O. Field, *The Favourite, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough*; F. Harris, *A Passion for Government*; F. Harris, ‘Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)’, *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2011.

<sup>106</sup> Cited in R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.157.

her removed from her bedchamber post.<sup>107</sup> Conversely, on the side of the Tories, Abigail Masham, Anne's favourite Bedchamber Woman was equally believed to have influence. The men of the Whig party complained of 'the absolute power of 256 [the code name for Mrs Masham]' and that she 'could make the Queen stand upon her head if she chose'.<sup>108</sup>

Guarding access to the bedchamber was also understood to be an empowering role. While the primary function of this was to ensure the monarch's privacy and safety, it could also be an effective political tool. As Jean Gray McGinnis has argued in regard to the reign of George II, control over who had access into the bedchamber was an important form of political authority; allies could be permitted and adversaries excluded or literally locked out, thus preventing uncongenial views from being expressed to the king.<sup>109</sup> Throughout the period bedchamber servants were therefore frequently accused of withholding access to the monarch in accordance with their party bias or for their own personal gain. As it was described in a poem entitled *A Description of Hampton Court Life*, 'Benting' [Bentinck] uplocks His King in a box, and you see him no more till supper'.<sup>110</sup> Similarly, during the reign of Queen Anne, courtiers and politicians frequently protested that access was being withheld from them by her bedchamber attendants. As Peter Wentworth complained in 1711:

When a Gentleman desired to speak to the Queen, the Duchess of Ormond being in waiting wou'd have introduced him but she was told by the page of the backstairs that the Duchess [of Somerset, Groom of the Stole] had gone and had left orders that nobody shou'd be permitted to speak to the Queen till she came again.<sup>111</sup>

Anne's bedchamber servants were also suspected of orchestrating clandestine meetings between the Queen and politicians. Following the rise to power of the Tory politician Robert Harley in 1710, the Whig party were resolutely convinced that Abigail Masham had shown him favour and secretly allowed him to see the

<sup>107</sup> R. O. Bucholz, 'Seymour, Elizabeth, Duchess of Somerset (1667–1722)', *ODNB* online edition, accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2011.

<sup>108</sup> R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p180.

<sup>109</sup> J. Gray McGinnis, 'The Bedchamber during the Reign of George II', p.v.

<sup>110</sup> Cited in M. McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity*, p.560.

<sup>111</sup> Cited in R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.156.

Queen within her private rooms.<sup>112</sup> Under the Hanoverians however it was the Whigs themselves who used their control over access as a means to political power. During the Whig hegemony of the 1730s, George II's bedchamber was filled by men loyal to Walpole who used their role as guardians of access to ensure the success of the party's policies.<sup>113</sup> Even the lower ranking Pages of the Bedchamber were implicated in this abuse of bedchamber access. In their seemingly uncontentious role as doorkeepers these servants in fact occupied a uniquely powerful place. Unsurprisingly, it has been estimated that during this period the Pages received approximately £120 per annum in gratuities from those hoping to gain entrée to the bedchamber.<sup>114</sup>

For the most part it is likely that contemporaries overrated the influence of bedchamber servants. Indeed, it is telling that fears over bedchamber intrigue reached a peak during the reign of Queen Anne when the Queen's gender necessitated that men were excluded from her private rooms. To politicians it appeared that power played out behind closed doors in the hands of women, resulting in vicious accusations of illegitimate influence and party bias. The concerns over William Bentinck were also undoubtedly in part a result of fears over the influence of William's Dutch entourage who threatened to usurp the power of the English court elite. Nevertheless, as these accounts relate, it was widely believed that the servants of the bedchamber wielded the political power that came with access, control over access and intimacy with the monarch. Corresponding with the exclusive status of the bedchamber district, the bedchamber department was thus conceived of as a highly privileged, high status and powerful institution. The rest of this chapter explores how this definition of the bedchamber was reflected in the arrangement and use of the bedchamber district at Hampton Court during the reigns of William III, Queen Anne, George I and George II.

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<sup>112</sup> F. Harris, 'Masham, Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)', *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2011.

<sup>113</sup> J. Gray McGinnis, 'The Bedchamber during the Reign of George II', p.v.

<sup>114</sup> 'The bedchamber: Pages of the Bedchamber 1660-c. 1822', *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), pp. 26-29, [www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk), accessed: 15th May 2010.

## William III

For William III, Hampton Court was both a palace for public show and for private retreat and this was clearly reflected in his use of the bedchamber. While the King's long term plans for the palace are to an extent obscured by his early death from a riding accident in March 1702, his residences of 1700 and 1701 indicate that he envisaged his new state rooms as a magnificent venue for hosting the court and as his principal seat of government. As recent studies of William and Mary have stressed, the King and Queen presided over a large and impressive court. Despite William's natural shyness he and Mary made considerable efforts to follow English court traditions, to host lavishly at their palaces and to show themselves in public.<sup>115</sup> Such policies were, as Andrew Barclay has argued, 'a calculated attempt to be taken seriously as monarchs, both at home and abroad'.<sup>116</sup> As usurpers of the throne, they could not assume that their status was being simply taken for granted. During the residences of 1700 and 1701, Hampton Court was the place where William sought to further establish himself as a popular and powerful monarch, and during this time the king's state bedchamber was to play an important role in this. Although William was more reticent and lived less formally than his predecessors Charles II and James II, the arrangement of the king's apartments at the palace is suggestive of his desire to follow their example in using the state bedchamber as a room for government business and for ceremony. Initially in Wren's design, the state bedchamber had been connected to the backstairs via a jib door (a hidden door) in the east wall (fig.27). In 1702 however, orders were given for this to be bricked up and a new door inserted into the little bedchamber next door, thus routing all backstairs attendants via the more private rooms (fig.28).<sup>117</sup> This served to separate off the state bedchamber from the King's domestic quarters beyond, reserving the room for formal, ceremonial occasions. It also confirmed that entry was to be made formally via the sequence of state apartments. In 1700 William received the French and Spanish envoys, the envoy to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the minister of the King of Portugal at Hampton Court and it is

<sup>115</sup> See the collection of essays in E. Mijers and D Onnekirk ed., *Redefining William III* and L.G. Schwoerer ed., *The Revolution of 1688-1689, Changing Perspectives*.

<sup>116</sup> A. Barclay, 'William's Court as King', p.252.

<sup>117</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204.

likely that the state bedchamber would have been chosen as a fitting venue.<sup>118</sup> In that year the King had given orders that all future audiences with foreign ambassadors were to be held in the state apartments. This seems all the more likely considering William's use of the state bedchamber at Hampton Court during his initial stay with Mary in 1689, when it was reported that 'his Majesty was pleased in his Bedchamber to confer the honour of Knighthood upon Francis Blake of Ford Castle in the County of Northumberland Esq.'.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to such ceremonious occasions, contemporary accounts relate that William also used his state bedchamber at Hampton Court to receive courtiers more informally. In July 1700 James Vernon, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury:

My Lord Somers was at Hampton Court yesterday, to kiss the King's hand, and wish him a good voyage. He came a little before dinner, and went into the bedchamber while the King and Princess were there, who dined together. He staid till the King rose from the table, and kissed his hand with some others. The King asked him a few questions, whether he came from London, and the like. I made my bows to his Lordship, as others did, but exchanged no words with him.<sup>120</sup>

Vernon's correspondence also suggests that the King may have used his state bedchamber for the *levee*. On numerous occasions he records going to Hampton Court 'in the morning', most probably for the reception in the state bedchamber. This was certainly the case at Kensington where he recorded in 1696:

I saw the King at his levee, who immediately called me to him, and asked several questions about your health. [...] I then presented your Grace's letter; and perhaps might afterwards have sent for me into the closet but the king was to go hunting, and had appointed Lord Godolphin an audience, who was with him above half an hour. My Lord Godolphin, seeing me in the bed-chamber, enquired how your Grace did, and I took the occasion to let him know how necessary it was your Grace [the Duke of Shrewsbury] should be furnished with some ready money on account of secret service.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.205.

<sup>119</sup> *The London Gazette*, 27<sup>th</sup> August 1689, issue 2483.

<sup>120</sup> *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III From 1696 to 1708 addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, by James Vernon, Secretary of State, ed. G.P.R James esq, 3 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1841), vol.3, pp.107-8.

<sup>121</sup> *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III*, I, p.26.

As Vernon's account relates, on these occasions the King's state bedchamber was an important venue for the transaction of government business. Whether William was formally dressed by his bedchamber servants while this was taking place is less certain. An inventory of Kensington taken in 1699 records 'an old black ebonne chest for the tolit [toilet]' amongst the furnishings of the state bedchamber, and in the palace wardrobe 'a wallnot tree chest which is for ye King's State Bedchamber Toilit', raising the possibility that the king was dressed in this room.<sup>122</sup> Given the lack of accounts of this however, it seems likely that William's dressing ceremony was private and witnessed only by the servants of the bedchamber and the robes, in accordance with English (rather than French) tradition. Only after the King was fully apparelled would the rest of the company have been permitted into the bedchamber for the public part of the *levee*.

On a more daily basis, dressing took place in the next-door little bedchamber that was also the room where the King slept. Although by the late seventeenth century courtiers may have expected entrée to the state bedchamber on set occasions, access into the little bedchamber was much further restricted. As the name suggests, the little bedchamber at Hampton Court was a much more intimate space, less than half the size of the lofty state bedchamber next door, a clear reflection of its more domestic and private functions. Notably, it was connected via a jib door to the room where the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber waited ready to attend the king (L) (fig.16). This in turn gave onto the backstairs, a service route that led down to Fountain Court (2) (fig.16). These stairs also led up to the lodgings for the bedchamber servants that were on the top floor of the apartments directly above the state bedchamber, the little bedchamber and closet. A survey taken of the palace shortly after William's death reveals that the Gentleman of the Bedchamber, the Grooms, the Pages and the Necessary Women in waiting were all given rooms in this area of the palace (fig.29).<sup>123</sup> These lodgings could also be accessed via a second staircase to the west that led straight up from Fountain Court to the top floor (1) (fig.16). The little bedchamber was also in close proximity to the king's stool closet, one of the

<sup>122</sup> Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House', pp. 52 & 55.

<sup>123</sup> TNA LC5/202, fol.200

most definitively personal and private spaces at court. Defined in bedchamber ordinances as a ‘secret or privy’ room, if anyone, only the Groom of the Stole, the Gentleman or Groom of the Bedchamber in waiting was allowed to attend the king inside.<sup>124</sup> Further private rooms also lay beyond the king’s closet. In the initial planning of the state apartments, the provision of a designated space for the Privy Council had been overlooked and thus William was forced to give up his gallery behind the state bedchamber as the most suitable room (K) (fig.16).<sup>125</sup> In compensation for this space, the King had two rooms on the queen’s side completed and fitted up, Queen Mary’s closet and the gallery, for his own exclusive use.

While undoubtedly more private, the rooms beyond the state bedchamber were however on route to the king’s great closet. This was the principal room of business, highlighting that while this area was more domestic, it was also used for very official purposes. In December 1700 Narcissus Luttrell recorded the tense meeting between the King and the French ambassador, the Count de Tallard, in the closet at Hampton Court; ‘twas observable, that when he went into the king’s closet to deliver his letters, he staid not above 4 minutes, and return’d without the usual notice taken of him by the nobility who attended his majesty’.<sup>126</sup> Formal entry to the closet was made from the state bedchamber via the little bedchamber, and thus it is unlikely that the later was really considered an intimate, personal space. These rooms were moreover easily reached via the backstairs that had become by the late seventeenth century, a common route whereby politicians came privately for an audience with the monarch. William III in fact rarely seems to have granted access via his backstairs. It is notable that at Windsor Castle Charles II’s backstairs (that were known to be especially open) were richly decorated with a painted ceiling by Antonio Verrio.<sup>127</sup> In contrast, at Hampton Court the backstairs were relatively discreet and modest in design suggesting that they were not intended to be used in the same way (fig.30).<sup>128</sup>

<sup>124</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.26.

<sup>125</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.200.

<sup>126</sup> N. Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*, vol.4, p.719.

<sup>127</sup> E. Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837*, 2 volumes (London: Country Life, 1962), vol.2, p.241.

<sup>128</sup> By William’s death only the king’s great stairs, the state bedchamber and the little bedchamber at Hampton Court had painted ceilings. The king undoubtedly intended to continue the painting through the

An even greater degree of privacy could be found in the king's private lodgings that were located on the ground floor directly underneath the state apartments. While Hampton Court was a royal palace and could thus never provide absolute seclusion, it was nevertheless conceived of as a home as well as a place for show. Indeed for Thurley, 'it was domestic considerations that drove the great building activities at Hampton Court rather than a desire for a magnificent public life'.<sup>129</sup> As a shy and quiet man, William looked to the palace to provide a place where he could occasionally retire from politics and court life. Between 1700 and 1702 William often made short stays at Hampton Court with only a handful of friends and servants to attend him. During these times the King enjoyed hunting in the grounds and entertained a select group of courtiers within the private lodgings. In 1689 William and Mary had also settled upon Hampton Court for its rural location and its clean air that benefitted the King's terrible asthma. Towards the end of his lifetime William was also treated for colds, bowel problems and swollen legs.<sup>130</sup> In times of such sickness Hampton Court was the place where respite could be found, as James Vernon wrote, 'I hope he will have more benefit from the air and exercise of Hampton Court than from the doctors prescriptions, which he is not apt to be a regular observer of'.<sup>131</sup>

The arrangement of William's private apartments is reflective of this desire for intimacy, seclusion and comfort. More broadly, this period saw a trend towards private spaces in domestic architecture. It has been argued that the rise of privacy and comfort over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as charted by scholars such as Phillippe Ariès, Rodger Chartier and John Crowley, was reflected in the fabric of houses, in the introduction of small rooms for withdrawal.<sup>132</sup> At Hampton Court, William's private lodgings were designed

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rest of the state apartments, yet given the modest design of the backstairs it seems unlikely that they would have been included in the scheme.

<sup>129</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.209.

<sup>130</sup> E. Lane Furdell, *The Royal Doctors 1485-1714, Medical Personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts* (University of Rochester Press, New York, 2001), p. 201; *Letters illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol.3, pp.96-97.

<sup>131</sup> Letter from James Vernon to the Earl of Manchester, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1701, in C. Cole, *Memoirs of Affairs of State, Containing Letters* (London, 1733), p.376.

<sup>132</sup> P. Ariès 'Introduction', in R. Chartier ed., *A History of Private Life, III: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: 1989); J. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities in Design in Early Modern Britain and America* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001); M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (Harmondsworth, 1980); C. Heyl, 'We are Not at Home: Protecting Domestic Privacy in Post-Fire

with such intimate spaces. In the south east corner of the apartments there were two closets, an additional bedchamber and a stool room (a-d) (fig.17). In the centre of the lodgings there was a further private gallery known as the orangery (e). This in turn gave onto a withdrawing room, a dining room and further closets (f-i). Access into these apartments was strictly limited to the King and those he personally invited. Entry could be gained only via the King's own backstairs that led down from the apartments above (3), or from the privy garden, an area of the grounds reserved solely for the use of the monarch (figs.17 & 31). As in the state apartments, a system of locks and keys also operated in these rooms, particularly in the private bedchamber that was fitted without door handles on the outside, thus making it inaccessible without the possession of the key. Notably William's private lodgings were also in close proximity to a large prestigious suite of rooms given to Arnold Joost Van Keppel, the Earl of Albemarle, his Master of the Robes and Gentleman of the Bedchamber. While in bedchamber ordinances it was stated the Groom of the Stole had the right to lodgings nearest the royal bedchamber, by 1700 it was Albemarle who had risen to become the King's favourite. Albemarle's rooms were located in the east range (j) to the north of the King's private lodgings with seven additional rooms in the half storey above the queen's gallery and the closets (figs.17 & 32). These apartments were linked to the King's own backstairs, thus providing him with direct access into William's rooms.<sup>133</sup> As a counterpart to the rooms of state and parade in which William undertook the business of government and sought to publically display his power, the king's privy lodgings allowed for the cultivation of a more private, domestic way of living.

## Queen Anne

During the reign of Queen Anne few changes were made to the arrangement and function of the royal bedchamber at Hampton Court. Anne's preference for Kensington and Windsor meant that Hampton Court lay empty for many years and when the Queen first came to reside at the palace for a prolonged period in

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Middle-Class London', *London Journal*, 27, 2002, pp.12-33; L. Pollock, 'Living on the Stage of the World: The Concept of Privacy Among the Elite in Early Modern England', *Rethinking Social History: English Society, 1570-1920, and its interpretation*, ed., A. Wilson (Manchester, 1993), pp.21-41.

<sup>133</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204; P. Gaunt, *The Fountain Court of Hampton Court*, p.88.

1710 she was content to use William's rooms much as he had left them. Anne's intentions for Hampton Court in the early years of her reign are difficult to ascertain. The Queen continued to use the palace for holding meetings of the council, although on these occasions she would usually leave before night to sleep elsewhere.<sup>134</sup> In late 1703 Antonio Verrio began work painting the ceiling of the withdrawing room in the queen's apartments, suggesting that Anne was considering their completion for her consort, Prince George of Denmark.<sup>135</sup> This was however taken no further and when Anne and George resided at the palace for two nights in 1706, George must either have been given lodgings in Chapel Court (that had previously been used by Anne as Princess) or stayed with the Queen in rooms on the king's side. In 1708 Prince George died and with him any plans for the completion of the queen's state apartments.

Anne's first formal residence at Hampton Court in 1710 lasted seven weeks from October to November and during this time it is likely that she used the bedchamber much as William had done. On the whole the bedchambers of queens were considered to be more private spaces, necessarily so on account the queen's sex. At the English court it was not customary for queens to hold *levees* or *couchees*, and Anne was accordingly dressed privately by her bedchamber servants. The Queen did however use her state bedchamber as a reception space. In November 1711, for example, she gave the Russian ambassador his first private audience in the bedchamber at Hampton Court.<sup>136</sup> Judging by accounts of Anne's use of the state bedchamber more broadly, it is evident that she considered this room to be the most fitting venue for the reception of especially honoured guests. In 1703 the King of Spain arrived at Windsor where it was reported that:

The Earl of Jersey, Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesties Household, sighted him to the stair-head, where the queen received him; And after he had made his compliment to her Majesty, acknowledging his great

<sup>134</sup> Council meetings were held at Hampton Court every Thursday and on these days it was originally envisaged that the queen would stay at the palace. In June 1704 Narcissus Luttrell recorded that the 'lodgings are fitting up for that purpose'. It appears however that the queen changed her mind on this and chose instead to leave each night. See N. Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*, vol.5, p.430, 202 & 205.

<sup>135</sup> This would certainly explain Verrio's iconography. On the east wall of the drawing room George of Denmark is depicted as high Lord Admiral with the English fleet behind him.

<sup>136</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.216.

Obligations to Her for Her generous protection and Assistance, he led her Majesty into her Bed-Chamber, and after a short stay there, his Royal Highness conducted his Catholick Majesty to the Apartment prepared for him.<sup>137</sup>

Anne loved ceremony, she had an extensive knowledge of courtly etiquette and ritual and understood how this could be used to enhance her public image. As Bucholz has shown, the Queen made extensive use of the ‘arsenal of ceremonial paraphernalia’ which is normally associated with her Tudor and Stuart predecessors.<sup>138</sup> In her use of the state bedchamber it is therefore not surprising to find Anne following court customs and utilising this room for show.

During Anne’s later life however, her ill health, reduced mobility and her shyness often precluded opportunities for public display.<sup>139</sup> Since her marriage to George of Denmark, Anne had produced eighteen children, only five of which had been born alive. None were to survive into adulthood, a failure that scared her both physically and mentally.<sup>140</sup> Anne also suffered severely from gout that could produce ‘monstrous bodily swellings, postures and flatulent contortions’, and she was consequently often confined to her bed or a wheelchair.<sup>141</sup> In 1711 Anne endured an attack of gout during her residence at Hampton Court and was forced to retire for two weeks.<sup>142</sup> During this time, the Queen’s illness and immobility would undoubtedly have inhibited her full use of the state apartments at the palace. As a consequence of this however, accounts suggest that Anne would occasionally use her state bedchamber for informal receptions as it was more conveniently located close to her inner apartments. Jonathan Swift recorded in 1711, when the company at a withdrawing room at Windsor was especially thin, ‘the Queen sent for us into her bedchamber’.<sup>143</sup> Later that year, Swift also described a great ‘crowd’ in the bedchamber, politicking and gossiping in the presence of the Queen.<sup>144</sup> The correspondence of the royal Equerry, Peter Wentworth, also suggests that towards the end of Anne’s reign, her state

<sup>137</sup> *The London Gazette*, December 30<sup>th</sup> 1703, issue 3980.

<sup>138</sup> R. O. Bucholz, ‘Nothing but Ceremony’, p.289.

<sup>139</sup> R. O Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.153.

<sup>140</sup> E. Gregg, Queen Anne, *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 5<sup>th</sup> May 2011.

<sup>141</sup> E. Lane Furdell, *The Royal Doctors*, p.232.

<sup>142</sup> E. Law, *A History of Hampton Court, Orange and Guelph times*, vol. 3, p.197.

<sup>143</sup> J. Swift, *The Journal to Stella*, ed., G.A. Aitken (Methuen & Co: London, 1901); p.266.

<sup>144</sup> J. Swift, *The Journal to Stella*, p.290.

bedchamber provided a space where courtiers assembled to see the Queen emerge from her inner apartments. In January 1713 Wentworth wrote to his brother, ‘The Queen for this week past has had the Gout in her hand but thank God otherwise well, & this morning came out into the Bedchamber to see the crowd that came to wish her a happy new year [...].’<sup>145</sup> As these accounts suggest, Anne’s health necessitated that she used the state bedchamber as a more informal reception room, in much the same way as the withdrawing room traditionally functioned.

A further consequence of Anne’s ill health was an influx of visitors at the backstairs. Despite her sickness, the Queen continued to play a leading role in government and this necessitated that she often received politicians within her inner apartments.<sup>146</sup> During Anne’s reign it was accordingly quite common for the backstairs to be used by her ministers. Anne’s backstairs were in fact considered so open that after the attempted assassination of the politician Robert Harley in 1711 her Lord Chamberlain Shrewsbury wrote with concern:

I think a particular consideration should be had in what manner to propose to her majesty not to be so exposed to such attempts, as she certainly is, for want of attendance, and by her backstairs everywhere in all her houses being made the common way to come to her as well for strangers as her nearest domestics.<sup>147</sup>

At Hampton Court the effect of Anne’s confinement to her inner apartments was evidently felt for in 1711 the Queen gave orders that William’s former closet be converted into a dressing room and Queen Mary’s closet be furnished as the great closet.<sup>148</sup> This suggests that Anne both desired more space for her morning rituals and sought to uphold the privacy of her principal room of business by moving it further away from the backstairs.

The relative openness of Anne’s backstairs and her ill health must also have rendered the private apartments on the ground floor all the more valuable as

<sup>145</sup> BL MSS. Add. 31144, fol.231. For a further references to Anne receiving in her bedchamber see Wentworth Papers, BL MSS. Add. 31143, fol.263, J. Swift, *Journal to Stella*, p.294; p.117.

<sup>146</sup> R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.153.

<sup>147</sup> Cited in R.O. Bucholz, ‘Going to Court in 1700’, p.211, n.148.

<sup>148</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.216.

place of retreat. While evidence for the Queen's use of these rooms does not survive, it is clear that in 1710 she gave orders for 'the keys and possession of the Lodgings at Hampton Court formerly belonging to the Earl of Albemarle' to be given to the Elizabeth Seymour, the Duchess of Somerset, who had recently succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough as her favourite and Groom of the Stole.<sup>149</sup> As previously discussed, this prestigious suite of lodgings was located in the half storey and on the ground floor of the east range, and provided direct access into the private apartments. Like William, Anne was also alive to the health benefits of living at Hampton Court. In 1687 when Anne was pregnant she decided that she would give birth at Hampton Court and raise her future children there, safely away from the coal polluted air of London that she believed had severely affected the health of two recently deceased daughters.<sup>150</sup> In 1707 when George of Denmark's health was failing, he and Anne had also made a short stay at Hampton Court 'the physicians being of the opinion that the air was better for his highnesse than Windsor [...].'<sup>151</sup> For Anne, as for William, the private apartments at Hampton Court were most likely a refuge where she could retire in times of sickness and live quietly with her most favoured bedchamber servants.

### The early Hanoverians

George I first came to Hampton Court on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1714, and it was during this visit that the King decided to embark upon the completion of the queen's state apartments. With no queen consort, the apartments were to be finished instead for George and Caroline, the Prince and Princess of Wales. By the end of Anne's reign only the queen's gallery and closet had been completed, and therefore work began on fitting up the other rooms.<sup>152</sup> By 1716 the apartments were complete and in July of that year the Prince and Princess of Wales moved with their children to the palace, where they stayed until the end of October. At this time the King was absent in Hanover and had made the decision to leave the Prince as 'guardian and lieutenant of the realm', rather than regent, a move which humiliated and greatly angered him. As a consequence the Prince

<sup>149</sup> TNA LC5/155, fol.85.

<sup>150</sup> E. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p.51.

<sup>151</sup> N. Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*, vol. 6, p.154.

<sup>152</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.246-248.

and Princess of Wales established themselves at Hampton Court, entertaining lavishly in their state apartments in order to win the support of the social and political elite. The Prince sought to create his own supporters in parliament by wooing the Tory opponents of the King's Whig ministry, much to the concern of the King and the Whig leader Walpole.<sup>153</sup> On George's return from Hanover, the Prince and Princess continued to oppose him and therefore in the summer of 1717 George launched a counter offensive, hosting lavishly at Hampton Court in order to win back support and assert himself over the Prince's rival court. The King dined publically, held withdrawing rooms, balls and parties at which 'there was a numerous and splendid appearance of the Nobility and other persons of distinction'.<sup>154</sup> In the early years of George's reign, the state apartments at Hampton Court were therefore the setting for intense political rivalry between father and son.

Despite George I's pretensions and efforts to prove a willing and accessible king, this did not extend to his use of the bedchamber at Hampton Court. In this respect the King proved reluctant to adopt the established traditions of the English court. Shy, and unfamiliar with the English elite, George refused to participate in traditional bedchamber ceremonies such as the *levee*. Instead he preferred to be attended by his two Turkish Pages, Mohammed and Mustapha within the inner rooms of the bedchamber and the privy lodgings. Consequently, in 1715 the King gave orders for a room on the east front that had previously been 'the Earl of Albemarle's dressing room' to be amalgamated into his lodgings, thereby expanding his private realm.<sup>155</sup> For the early years of his reign the King left the office of Groom of the Stole vacant and as such the rooms closest to his privy lodgings could be distributed as he wished. George therefore gave the rest of these apartments to his two long established mistresses Melusine von der Schulenburg and Sophia von Keillmanseg and their children, surrounding himself with his German companions.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.248.

<sup>154</sup> *The London Gazette*, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1717.

<sup>155</sup> TNA LC5/156, fol.210.

<sup>156</sup> P. Gaunt, *The Fountain Court of Hampton Court*, p.153.

In contrast the Prince of Wales relished bedchamber ceremonies and held a formal *levee* and *couchee* every day during his residences at Hampton Court. As Prince and later as King, George proved highly aware of the value of English bedchamber customs as means of enhancing his public image. As Jean Gray McGinnis has argued, George understood that rituals such as the dressing ceremony added to the lustre of monarchy and also suggested continuity between the Hanoverians and their Stuart predecessors.<sup>157</sup> In comparison to George I, Prince George also had a personal taste for pomp and ceremony. As Lord Hervey remarked, ‘all the pageantry and splendour, badges and trappings of royalty were as pleasing to the son as they were irksome to the father’.<sup>158</sup>

Following his accession as King in 1727, George and Caroline returned to Hampton Court staying in the king’s and the queen’s apartments over the summers of 1728, 1731, 1733 and 1737. During this time they established a greater degree of formality at the palace, especially in regard to the bedchambers. George II continued to consider the *levee* and *couchee* an essential aspect of royal ritual. Lord Hervey recalled:

I have known the King get out of bed, choking with a sore throat, and in a high fever, only to dress and have a levee and in five minutes undress and return to his bed till the same ridiculous farce of health was to be presented the next day at the same hour.<sup>159</sup>

Throughout the King’s reign his *levees* were an important forum for government and political wrangling. Hannah Smith has pointed out that after the resignation of Walpole in 1742, nearly all the Tory party demonstrated their political satisfaction, as well as their hopes for preferment by appearing at George’s *levee*.<sup>160</sup> Accounts also relate that George used his state bedchamber for one on one meetings with courtiers and ministers. As the Earl of Egmont recorded on being granted an audience, ‘I went to court, and telling the Duke of Richmond that I intended at night to present to his Majesty a memorial [...] of which I desired him to acquaint his majesty, and beg he would appoint an hour when I

<sup>157</sup> J. G. McGinnis, *The Bedchamber in the Reign of George II*, p.8.

<sup>158</sup> J. Hervey, *Memoirs*, vol.1, p.88.

<sup>159</sup> Cited in H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.204.

<sup>160</sup> H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.222.

might present it. His majesty sent me out word that I should be in his bedchamber at half-an-hour after nine'.<sup>161</sup> Caroline was also known to hold *levees* with male and female company in her state bedchambers, even though this was not customary for English queens. She played a highly significant role in consolidating popular perceptions of the Hanoverians and she was active and influential in politics, particularly through her friendship with Walpole and her use of the state bedchamber should be seen in the light of this.<sup>162</sup> With daily receptions in the state bedchamber, this room became a markedly less private space as the eighteenth century progressed. At Hampton Court it seems that George and Caroline in fact considered all of the principal rooms in the queen's state apartments to be accessible for public use. As there were no further bedchambers beyond the state bedchamber, they used the once private gallery on the queen's side for hosting evening entertainments, suggesting that by this period courtiers could pass through the state bedchamber with relative ease.<sup>163</sup>

At the same time however, Hampton Court continued to be a place for recreation and retreat. As Henrietta Howard, George II's mistress and Bedchamber Woman to Caroline wrote in 1728, 'In a fortnight we shall go to Hampton Court. Here we live as private as it is possible; and this is to me the most agreeable time I shall pass this summer'.<sup>164</sup> Although George and Caroline enjoyed the pomp and ceremony of the state apartments, they also sought privacy and domestic comforts at Hampton Court. George continued to occupy the king's private apartments as his father had done, while Caroline used the queen's private rooms that had originally been fitted up for her use in 1715-16.<sup>165</sup> These apartments were discreetly arranged around the inside of Fountain Court, shielded behind the state rooms. They included a withdrawing room, a bedchamber in which George and Caroline slept together, a dressing room, two stool rooms, a dining room and a private oratory (k-t) (fig.16). Entry into the

<sup>161</sup> HMC, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, vol.1, p.410.

<sup>162</sup> H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp.33-37;

<sup>163</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.250.

<sup>164</sup> Croker, J.W., ed., *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk and her second Husband, the Hon. George Berkeley 1712-67*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1824), vol.1, p.299.

<sup>165</sup> Initially George and Caroline were given private apartments to the north of the queen's state apartments in an area of the palace that was traditionally set aside for lodging other members of the royal family. After Caroline moved into the queen's private apartments in 1716, the Prince continued to use his lodgings in this area of the palace. S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.247.

apartments could be made firstly via a staircase that led up from Fountain Court on the north side of the garden gate (5) (fig.16). This was designed with decorative plaster mouldings, indicating that this was for the Queen's personal use (fig.33). A second, much plainer staircase for Caroline's bedchamber servants led up from the south side of the garden gate (4) (figs.16 & 34). On the first floor this gave into a service room from where access could be made to the state bedchamber, the gallery, the private dressing room and the lodgings for Caroline's bedchamber servants that were located above the state apartments on a mezzanine level.<sup>166</sup> This staircase was designated as a strictly private route, as Mary Cowper recorded explaining to the ill informed Madame Schutz in 1716:

I hope you know that Nobody goes into the Dressing –room up the Backstairs but those that belong to the Bedchamber? This I said because she had come that way, and had twice sent in her Name, and the Princess had ordered them to bid her to go the other Way. [...] I never saw such Airs of Importance in my Life.<sup>167</sup>

For further security the queen's private apartments were also protected by a system of locks and keys. Notably, the private bedchamber featured a night-locking system that allowed George and Caroline to directly control access while remaining in bed by means of a system of wires and pulleys.<sup>168</sup> In their arrangement and use the queen's private apartments were thus distinctly different from the state apartments. In contrast to the formality of the public rooms, these lodgings provided space in which Caroline could enjoy a greater degree of seclusion with her family, friends and favoured servants.

## Conclusion

In many ways the decades between the Restoration and the mid-eighteenth century represents the apogee of the royal bedchamber. This period saw both the formalisation of the great bedchamber as a venue for government and the ceremonies of state, and the elaboration of the private apartments as a

<sup>166</sup> This was a half storey that had been created by lower ceiling height of rooms on the principal floor of the queen's apartments.

<sup>167</sup> The Diary of Mary Claverling Cowper, March 21<sup>st</sup> 1716, Electronic Database of British and Irish Women's Diaries, accessed via [www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk), 6<sup>th</sup> May 2009.

<sup>168</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204, p.251.

comfortable home for monarchs and their families. Reflecting this, the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court extended from the ceremonial state bedchambers to the most intimate rooms of the private apartments. As the area of palace in which monarchs sought both to ensure their privacy and to control who had a hand in power, these rooms were accordingly defined as an exclusive, high status realm. Architecture, boundaries, and codes of access set down in ordinances served to delineate these apartments, distinguishing them from the outer public rooms. As this chapter had shown however, the accessibility of the bedchamber was always dependant upon the personal preferences, gender and circumstances of individual monarchs that could either increase or undermine the privacy of these rooms. During this period the definition of the bedchamber was also in flux, as the state bedchamber became an increasingly formal, ceremonial and less private space. By the reign of George II, the rooms from the little bedchamber inwards, including the privy lodgings, formed the area of most restricted access in the king's state apartments. On the queen's side, it was perhaps only the private apartments that were considered a truly exclusive realm. Expanding on this, the following two chapters of this thesis discuss the decoration and use the bedchambers at Hampton Court. In particular, they seek to explore how furnishings were mobilised in the rituals of royal public and private life.

## **Chapter 2: Magnificence and Ceremony in the Royal State Bedchambers**

As a prerequisite to understanding the role and significance of housekeeping practises, this chapter explores the furnishing and use of the state bedchambers at Hampton Court between 1689 and 1737. Through an analysis of evidence in the Great Wardrobe accounts and extant objects it firstly sheds light on the provision of furniture for the state bedchambers and the way in which materials, aesthetics and style were representative of the images of the William III and the early Hanoverian kings. Secondly, it provides a detailed exploration of the events, rituals and ceremonies that took place within royal state bedchambers during the period. Drawing on ordinances and contemporary accounts it explores the way in furnishings and objects were mobilised in expressions of kingship and the signification of social and political relations. As such it provides an important discussion of key contexts within which housekeeping practices operated.

### **The splendours of state: designing the royal image**

Within constructions of the monarchical image, material culture played a vital role. The interiors of royal palaces were a visual language that was designed in order to reflect the political and social power of the monarch.<sup>1</sup> Following the latest fashions and wrought in the finest of materials, the trappings of monarchy were intended, as the famous tourist Celia Fiennes observed in 1698, ‘to shew the grandeur and magnificence of the British Monarch’.<sup>2</sup> This was further expressed by iconographic schemes that celebrated the lineage, glories and conquests of the king. In the furnishing of Hampton Court however, royal magnificence and splendour were to an extent tempered by financial restrictions. By 1699 the cost of rebuilding the state apartments at the palace had left the crown in considerable debt and when orders were given for fitting up the interiors it was agreed that this was to be done as quickly and cheaply as possible.<sup>3</sup> Later, when George I and George II came to complete and refurnish the state apartments they also adopted cost cutting measures and choose to repair

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Smuts, ‘Art and the material culture of majesty in early Stuart England’, pp.86-112; G. Jackson-Stops, ‘The Court Style in Britain’ and M. Snodin, ‘The Palace’, pp.298-324.

<sup>2</sup> C. Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed., C. Morris (London: Cresset Press, 1947), p.280.

<sup>3</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.193-199.

and refresh much of the existing furniture, rather than buying new. Nevertheless, Hampton Court was undoubtedly considered to be a suitably magnificent setting for the court. It is now widely recognised that William and Mary's court was at least as splendid as that of any of their Stuart predecessors and that throughout the period royal taste remained abreast of the latest fashions.<sup>4</sup> Both William III and the early Hanoverians undoubtedly understood how the design of their palaces could be used for political gain. It is also telling that during the completion of the king's apartments, resources were focussed on ensuring that the state bedchamber, above all other rooms, was splendidly adorned, and despite the desire for economy, a great deal of costly furniture was purchased for the room.<sup>5</sup> At Hampton Court, the two state bedchambers were arenas in which royal power and status were exercised, and thus their furnishing demanded the finest craftsmanship, rich and costly materials, glorifying iconographies and the most fashionable court style.

Within the king's and the queen's apartments, the two state bedchambers were designed in manner that was common to most European palaces and large courtier houses of the period. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries state bedchambers were furnished with a suite that included a state bed centrally positioned on the back wall, two armchairs, a firescreen, and several back chairs and stools that were positioned around the outside of the room when not in use.<sup>6</sup> These items, and sets of window curtains and cornices, were all made up with matching textiles, passementerie (decorative braids, fringes and tassels) and carved decoration. This collection of coordinated furniture was first and foremost intended to impress. Indeed as Mimi Hellman has pointed out, the sheer abundance of matching textiles, colour and repetitive motifs used in the production of suites of furniture must have had a dazzling effect and carried a

<sup>4</sup> See introduction n.33.

<sup>5</sup> S. Thurley, 'The Building of the King's Apartments', p.18.

<sup>6</sup> On the furnishing of royal state bedchambers see P. Thornton, 'The Royal State Bed', *Connoisseur*, 195, 1977, pp.136-47; P. Macquoid, 'State Beds at Hampton Court', pp. 562-566; T. Murdoch, 'The State Bedchamber', *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence*, eds., M. Snodin and N. Llewellyn, pp.296-297; G. Beard, *Upholsterers*, chapters 4 and 5. On state bedchambers in elite houses, some of which were furnished with royal beds that had been received as gifts or perquisites, see M. Jourdain, *Stuart Furniture at Knole* (London: Country Life, 1952), pp.23-24; N. Gentle 'A Study of the Late Seventeenth-Century State Bed from Melville House', *Furniture History*, 37, 2001, pp. 1-16; T. Murdoch, 'Fit for a King: The State Bed from Melville House, Fife', *Apollo*, 155, 479, 2002, pp.3-9, C. Rowell, 'The King's Bed and its furniture at Knole', pp.58-65; A. Westman, 'A Royal Bed at Chatsworth: The Puzzle of the Fourth Duke's Perquisite', *Apollo*, 75, 2008, pp.68-75.

social cache unimaginable in the modern era of mass production.<sup>7</sup> Within the bedchamber suite, the state bed formed the focal point and consequently much ingenuity and expense were bestowed on their embellishment. State beds were often the most expensive items of furniture within royal palaces, especially during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when their height increased and their design became considerably more ornate. The James II bed (also known as the Venetian Ambassador's bed) dating from c.1680 that is now at Knole in Kent is exemplary of the move away from the rectangular, plain form of earlier beds (known as French beds) towards a more elaborate style (fig.35).<sup>8</sup> This became particularly pronounced during the 1690s when the work of the émigré Huguenot designer Daniel Marot begun to have a significant impact on the design of many English state beds.<sup>9</sup> Marot's bed designs incorporated ornate sculptural and architectural mouldings with the heavy use of gathered textiles and passementerie. Such features can be seen in both his printed designs and in surviving state beds such as the Melville bed at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the state bed from Hampton Court in Herefordshire, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (figs.36 & 37).<sup>10</sup>

During his apogee as a designer Marot enjoyed the patronage of William and Mary in both Holland and England and it is clear that the King and Queen favoured state beds that followed his style.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, when the king's apartments at Hampton Court were newly furnished in 1700 it is almost certain that a new ornate Marotesque state bed would have been sought. William Bentinck, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland, who was responsible for sourcing a number of

<sup>7</sup> M. Hellman, 'The Joy of Sets: The Uses of Seriality in the French Interior', *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century, What Furniture can tell us about the European and American Past*, eds., D. Goodman & K. Norberg (Routledge, 2007), pp.129-153, p.140.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the development of bed design see P. Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p.149-170; I. G. Sparkes, *Four Poster and Tester Beds* and A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, pp.184-186.

<sup>9</sup> On the influence of Marot on state bed design see G. Jackson Stops, 'Courtiers and Craftsmen', *Country Life*, 1988, Oct 13<sup>th</sup>, pp.200-209, p.200 and A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.186. On the career of Marot more broadly see T. Murdoch, 'Marot, Daniel (1661–1752)', *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 30<sup>th</sup> January 2010; G. Beard and C. Gilbert eds., *Dictionary of Furniture Makers 1660-1640* (Furniture History Society, 1986), p.965; G. Jackson Stops, 'Huguenot Upholsterers and Cabinet Makers in the Circle of Daniel Marot', *Huguenots in Britain and their Flemish Background 1550-1800* ed., I. Scouloudi (London, 1987), pp.113-124.

<sup>10</sup> The inspiration of these highly ornamented state beds has often been attributed solely to Marot. However as Adam Bowett has pointed out there are indications that this style of bed was becoming fashionable in the 1680s prior to Marot's arrival in England, as is shown by the James II or 'Venetian Ambassadors' bed at Knole. See A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.186.

<sup>11</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, pp.173-176; A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.186-188.

beds for William and Mary in England and at their Dutch palace, Het Loo, wrote to the King in 1698 excusing himself from buying furniture from Paris ‘since I am quite sure that the fashion of beds as they are made here will not please you, not approaching those that are made in England’.<sup>12</sup> He explained:

I have found nothing [...] made to Your Majesty’s taste [...] The beds are completely square on the outside right to the top, that is to say, there is no [cornice] above, where they are larger than the base, which has no basemen [of carved woodwork], but an old-fashioned suspente [skirt or valance].<sup>13</sup>

Given this it is surprising that in furnishing his state bedchamber at Hampton Court William settled for a French style bed that was bought from Edward Villiers, the Earl of Jersey, who may have acquired it as a diplomatic gift when ambassador to Louis XIV’s court in 1698-9.<sup>14</sup> This state bed survives today at Hampton Court and has since the early twentieth century, been displayed in the king’s state bedchamber (fig.38). The reasons for the acquisition of this bed are unclear, yet in 1699 the state apartments at the palace needed to be furnished quickly, and given the length of time required for the making of a new bed, it may simply have been a necessary expedient. However, despite William’s personal tastes it is also likely that the French style of the bed would have accorded with his vision of himself as king. As Gervase Jackson Stops has pointed out, William III saw himself as an authoritative monarch, and like his great rival Louis XIV he sought to express a philosophy of centralised government in the design of his palaces.<sup>15</sup> Stylistically, the furnishing of the king’s apartments at Hampton Court aped the splendour of Versailles.<sup>16</sup> William III’s Master of the Great Wardrobe was Ralph Montagu, who had served as the

<sup>12</sup> Cited in G. Jackson Stops, ‘Courtiers and Craftsmen’, p.204. Portland’s role in sourcing beds from England for William when Stadholder has recently been discussed by Paul Rem. See P. Rem, ‘English State Beds and the House of Orange’, paper delivered at ‘Fashion, Ritual, Furniture and Textiles, The Phenomenon of the State Bed’, a two day conference at Hopetoun House, Scotland, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> October 2010. See also his ‘Restoration of the State Bed Acquired by Het Loo Palace and Intended for the Bedchamber of Stadholder William III’, *Textile History*, 31, 2, 2000, pp.150-162.

<sup>13</sup> Cited in A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.184.

<sup>14</sup> V. Davies, *State Beds and Throne Canopies*, p.16; S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204.

<sup>15</sup> G. Jackson Stops, ‘The Court Style’, p.36.

<sup>16</sup> As Thurley has pointed out the king’s bedchamber at Hampton Court was modelled on Versailles rather than the William’s bedchambers as Stadholder in the Netherlands, see S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204. On the court fashion for French furniture see G. Jackson-Stops, ‘William III and French Furniture’, *Furniture History*, 7, 1971, pp.122-3; A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.178. The influx of Huguenot craftsmen in the late-seventeenth century meant that not much that could be bought in Paris could not be made in London. With the possible exception of William’s bed the majority of the furniture in state apartments at Hampton Court was manufactured in England.

British ambassador to Louis XIV in Paris between 1669 and 1678, and during this time had been greatly influenced by French architecture and design.<sup>17</sup> In his furnishing of the king's state apartments Montagu employed some of the leading craftsmen of the day, many of whom were Huguenot émigrés who been responsible for bringing highly sought after French fashions and expertise into England at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup> This is exemplified in particular in the heavily carved and gilt furniture that was made up to match the state bed and sets of pier tables and candle stands that were supplied for the eating room, the privy chamber and the withdrawing room by the émigré Huguenot carver and gilder Jean Pelletier.<sup>19</sup> As Tessa Murdoch has shown, three pairs of gilt wood pier tables now at Windsor Castle, that were originally attributed to the later cabinet maker Benjamin Goodison, are most likely to be those that were supplied by Pelletier for Hampton Court in 1699. In their design they are similar to engravings by Pierre Le Pautre of giltwood tables recorded at the French court in the late seventeenth century (figs.39 & 40).<sup>20</sup>

One further French influence at Hampton Court was the use of a low screen that was positioned in front of, or around, the state bed. This screen was a version of the alcove and bed rail that were a common feature in French palaces where the special emphasis given to the bedchamber in court ritual, required that the space be physically subdivided.<sup>21</sup> From the reign of Charles II onwards bed rails became more common in English royal bedchambers and could also be found aristocratic houses such as Powis Castle and Ham House.<sup>22</sup> In the collection at Hampton Court today there is a very ornate carved and gilt bed rail originally dating from the reign of Charles II that may have been used, as Simon Thurley has suggested, in the king's state bedchamber (figs.41 & 42).<sup>23</sup> The rail

<sup>17</sup> E. C. Metzger, 'Montagu, Ralph, first Duke of Montagu (bap.1638, d.1709), *ODNB*, online edition, date accessed 1st February 2010.

<sup>18</sup> I. Scouloudi ed., *Huguenots in Britain and their Flemish Background 1550-1800*.

<sup>19</sup> Bill of John Pelletier, TNA LC9/281, fol.44. The total bill for carved frames, stands and table tops in the state apartments came to £435, 10s.

<sup>20</sup> T. Murdoch, 'Jean, René and Thomas Pelletier', p.735.

<sup>21</sup> M. Snodin, 'The Palace', p.294.

<sup>22</sup> As Simon Thurley has shown Charles II's state bedchambers at Whitehall and Greenwich featured a bed rail and an alcove for the bed. See S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace, An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1260-1690*, p.106

<sup>23</sup> Thurley cites a reference from the royal accounts for the repair of an 'old rail for his majesties bed of state' and links this to the surviving carved wooden rail at Hampton Court. See S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204. However, it has not been possible to trace this reference to clarify which rail it refers to. Indeed, considering the scant evidence for the use of the carved bed rail at the palace, it is possible that it was

was altered, most probably in the reign of George I, when Charles's ciphers CR were re-carved as GR.<sup>24</sup> However, in the absence of concrete references relating to this carved bed rail at Hampton Court, it is likely the rail used in the king's state bedchamber was a folding gilt wire mesh screen that were more common in English royal state bedchambers. One such screen was repaired for the state bedchamber by the joiner Thomas Roberts in 1700.<sup>25</sup> As a version of the fixed rail, this screen further indicates that William III's state bedchamber at Hampton Court was modelled on those at Versailles. The King's choice of a French bed was therefore perhaps also a reflection of this; in following the style of the French kings, the bed would have evoked the formal and powerful culture of a court to which he aspired.

In its materials and decoration, the King's bed was also magnificent. Standing seventeen feet high, it was hung with crimson Genoa velvet adorned with gold orrice lace and fringing, and topped with four plumes of rare ostrich and aigrette feathers (figs.43 & 44). In order to emphasise the bedchambers role as the culmination of a broader decorative scheme these features were mirrored in the design of the canopy of estate in the preceding privy chamber (fig.45). The textiles in the king's state apartments were intended to create a sense of hierarchy, and thus in its form and ornamentation the privy chamber canopy heralded the splendour of the state bedchamber beyond.<sup>26</sup> The crimson and gold colour scheme was also echoed in the hangings and the upholstered furniture provided for the king's great closet (fig.46).<sup>27</sup> In order to complete the bed, Richard Bealing, the principal upholsterer to the crown from 1688 to c.1710, made some alterations to the hangings and provided new window curtains, cornices and protective case curtains for the bed (also known as a *tour de lit*) that were strung on gilt rods.<sup>28</sup> These additional elements were all edged with gold lace that was provided by the laceman William Elliot, and fringing, strings and

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moved to palace at a later date, possibly from St James's. In 1725 the French tourist Saussure recorded that in George I's state bedchamber at St James's 'The bed stands in a sort of alcove, shut off from the rest of the room by a balustrade of gilded wood'. See *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II. The letters of Monsieur Cesar de Saussure to his Family* (London: John Murray, 1902), p.42.

<sup>24</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.205.

<sup>25</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.49

<sup>26</sup> A. Westman, 'The Splendours of State', p.40.

<sup>27</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.32.

<sup>28</sup> TNA LC9/281, fols. 31-32. The fullest account of Richard Bealing's career can be found in G. Beard, *Upholsterers and Interior Furnishing in England 1530-1840* (Yale University Press, 1997), pp.99-101, 144.

‘Pear mold Tassels’ to draw the curtains were supplied by the fringemaker Thomas Carr.<sup>29</sup> The fabrics and passementerie were by far the most expensive components of state bed design and, unsurprisingly, the magnificent effect of such costly embellishments was not lost on observers. Writing of her tour through the state apartments at Windsor in c.1701-2, Celia Fiennes described the lace on the King’s state bed there:

the bed was green velvet strip’d down very thick with gold orrice lace of my hands breadth, and round the bottom, 3 such orrices and gold fringe all around it and gold tassels, So was the cornice; the inside was the same; at the head piece was the curtaines, fringed round with gold and tyed back with gold strings and tassels, and so hung down in the middle where there was the Crowne and Sypher [Cipher] embroyder’d.<sup>30</sup>

Given the lack of references to the supply of mattresses for William’s bed it is likely that these were included in the original purchase. New top bedding was however supplied by Bealing and this included a ‘very large downe bed’ (that was placed on top of the mattresses), ‘a very fine large mattress quilt’, ‘a large bolster covered with sattin’, a ‘large Quilt covered with Sattin’, and a pair of ‘very fine large silk blankets’.<sup>31</sup> Although hidden beneath the sheets and counterpane, the bedding of state beds was rich and decorative in its own right. The original five mattresses that survive on William’s bed are filled with wool and feathers encased in a linen tick with an outer layer of cream silk that was quilted in geometric patterns with red and green tufting (figs.47 & 48).<sup>32</sup>

Arranged around the state bed, the set of matching carved and gilt furniture, together with the pier table and stands, would have had a very rich effect. As was usual for most high quality gilt work, the pieces supplied by Pelletier were water gilt, a technique that allowed for some areas of the carved surface to be burnished while others were left matte, thus creating depth, colour

<sup>29</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.21, LC9/282, fols. 41-42.

<sup>30</sup> *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p.280.

<sup>31</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol. 31. The satin for the quilt and bolster was provided by William Sherard, see TNA LC9/281, fol.78.

<sup>32</sup> V. Davies, *State Beds and Throne Canopies*, p.17.

and subtlety in the design.<sup>33</sup> The efficacy of such techniques could also be further enhanced by candlelight and the use of mirrors and silver. In royal and elite interiors gilt pier tables and candle stands were frequently arranged in front of a looking glass, an arrangement that is now known as a triad.<sup>34</sup> For William III's bedchamber at Hampton Court, the cabinet and mirror maker Gerrit Jensen supplied two elaborate mirrors, one for the south wall triad, and one for chimney piece, both of which survive in the room today. These were made up in clear and blue glass decorated with the royal monogram and crest, engraved and embellished with gilt rosettes (fig.49).<sup>35</sup> This arrangement of mirrors and gilt work illuminated by candlelight played a vital role in lighting the room and enhancing the magnificent effect of the interior. Further light was also provided by silver fire furniture - andirons, tongs and a shovel that reflected the light of the fire.<sup>36</sup> Six silver candle sconces that were engraved with William's monogram were also hung around the room over tapestries, emitting light that would have been reflected back in the gilt furniture and the mirrors (fig.50).<sup>37</sup> Within the king's state bedchamber, gold, silver and glass were combined with crimson velvet to create a rich and sumptuous effect.

In the state bedchamber William's vision of kingship was also reflected in his choice of historic tapestries depicting *The History of Joshua* (1540s) – the biblical figure who led the Israelites to victory conquering the Promised Land, a subject that clearly symbolised his own achievements.<sup>38</sup> William fashioned himself as a powerful military leader who was providentially chosen to rule, and this was clearly expressed in the iconographic scheme at Hampton Court. The figure of Hercules, who was encountered in garden sculptures, wall decorations and paintings at the palace, reminded viewers of William's role as a godly

<sup>33</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.168; M. Gregory, 'A Review of English Gilding Techniques. Original Source Material About Picture Frames', *Gilded Wood: Conservation and History, Gilding Conservation Symposium revised papers*, ed., D. Bigelow (Madison: Conn: Sound View Press, 1991), pp.109-118, p.111.

<sup>34</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.112.

<sup>35</sup> T. Murdoch, 'The Furniture for the King's Apartments', pp.55-56,

<sup>36</sup> D. Bosomworth, 'The King's Metalwork', p.67.

<sup>37</sup> TNA LC5/152, fol.235.

<sup>38</sup> In particular the King seems to have had a preference for the Joshua set and hung these tapestries in his state bedchambers at Hampton Court and Windsor. See TNA LC5/123, no.9; T. Campbell, 'William III and the Triumph of Lust: The tapestries hung in the state apartments in 1699', *Apollo*, 140, 390, 1994, pp.22-31, p.22; T. Campbell, *Report on the Tapestries Hung in the State Apartments for King William in 1700*, unpublished manuscript, Conservation and Collections Care Library, Hampton Court Palace.

champion.<sup>39</sup> The *Joshua* tapestries that were hung in the state bedchamber at Hampton Court had originally been acquired by Henry VIII in the 1540s and for many centuries they had been used to hang the state apartments at royal residences. As Thomas Campbell had shown, antique tapestries were favoured as they created a suitably magnificent and formal backdrop for the staging of court ceremonies. During the seventeenth century tapestries were also enjoying renewed prestige, as both a form of decoration and royal propaganda, through the example of the French court and the Gobelin weavers.<sup>40</sup> William III undoubtedly understood the value of the antique tapestries he inherited on his accession, for their historic associations, their iconography and their financial worth. Woven with silver and gold threads as well as silk, these tapestries were exceptionally valuable and would have shone magnificently, adding to the splendour of the room. Although today they are sadly lost, the effect would have been as George Bickham described in his 1742 guidebook to Hampton Court, ‘very rich, the Lights being all Gold, and the Shadows Silk’.<sup>41</sup>

While tapestries were the predominant form of wall decoration in the state bedchamber, the room was also hung with a portrait of Mary II’s mother Anne Hyde, the Duchess of York, which was positioned above the fireplace. This was framed by intricate floral festoons of carved wood made by renowned carver Grindling Gibbons.<sup>42</sup> Many ancestral portraits were hung throughout the state apartments; Elizabeth of Bohemia (sister of Charles I) by Gerrit van Honthorst was chosen for the privy chamber, and in the withdrawing room Anthony Van Dyck’s splendid portrait of Charles I was hung over the fireplace. These paintings had important political connotations, as Susan Jenkins has argued, through his choice of portraits for the state apartments William was clearly emphasising the glory of his dynastic past.<sup>43</sup> A portrait of Anne Hyde, in particular, would have had special significance, recalling Mary II’s English royal

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<sup>39</sup> S. Baxter, ‘William as Hercules’.

<sup>40</sup> T. Campbell, ‘William III and the Triumph of Lust’, p.22, see also T. Campbell ed., *Tapestry in the Baroque: Threads of Splendour* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008).

<sup>41</sup> G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae*, pp.44-45.

<sup>42</sup> D Esterley, *Grindling Gibbons and the Art of Carving*, pp.120-129,

<sup>43</sup> S. Jenkins, ‘A sense of history. The artistic taste of William III’, p.4.

ancestry that had been the key factor in legitimising their right to rule as joint monarchs.<sup>44</sup>

In 1701 the decoration of the king's state bedchamber was finally completed when Antonio Verrio was commissioned to paint the ceiling. Verrio had been 'first and chief painter' to both Charles II and James II and had been responsible for the magnificent painted ceilings in Charles's new apartments at Windsor.<sup>45</sup> Despite being a Catholic Verrio was re-employed by William to work at Hampton Court in the King's bedchambers and on the great staircase. The subject chosen for the state bedchamber ceiling was Endymion, the beautiful youth who fell into an eternal sleep in the arms of Morpheus, the god of dreams, and the cove was painted with gilded scroll-work and medallions depicting scenes from the story of Diana (fig.51).<sup>46</sup> It is notable that William III chose a more traditional scene depicting sleep, rather than overtly political imagery for the decoration of his state bedchamber. As a very patent expression of his power, Charles II had commissioned Verrio to paint his state bedchamber ceiling at Windsor with him enthroned with France 'as a humble suppliant kneeling at his feet'.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, for William, the choice of Endymion, who was variously described in classical texts as a shepherd, hunter or king, was doubt considered a fitting figure for the King to associate himself with. William and Mary had also chosen a depiction of Endymion and his lover the moon goddess Selene in their decoration of Mary's bedchamber at their hunting lodge at Soestdijk, Holland, and the story may therefore have had personal meaning for the King.<sup>48</sup>

During Queen Anne's residences at Hampton Court no significant changes were made to the furnishing of the king's state bedchamber. The Queen's relatively infrequent visits to the palace meant that the commission of a new state bed and furniture was not thought necessary, and the Queen continued to use William's crimson velvet bed, which at this date was still

<sup>44</sup> Mary's place alongside William as monarch was key in legitimising his invasion in 1688, even if in reality she most often fulfilled the role of consort. See L.G. Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary 1689-1695', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42, 1989, pp.717-48 and W. A. Speck, 'William – and Mary?', *The Revolution of 1688-1689*, ed., L. G. Schwoerer, pp.131-146.

<sup>45</sup> E. Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, vol.1, pp.240-241.

<sup>46</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204.

<sup>47</sup> E. Croft Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, p.240.

<sup>48</sup> Part of this ceiling decoration is now in the Rijksmuseum, Holland. See Rijksmuseum online collection, [www.rijksmuseum.nl](http://www.rijksmuseum.nl).

relatively new.<sup>49</sup> This is not to say, however, that Anne did not appreciate the value and importance of the state bedchamber as a reflection of her public image. Indeed, the Queen's bedchambers, at more frequented palaces, were furnished with beds and furniture ensuite that followed the fashion for rich textiles, elaborate carving and the plentiful use of passementerie. At Kensington Anne had a blue damask bed that featured a heavily carved testor and carved feet in the style of Marot.<sup>50</sup> The Queen's state bedchamber at St James's was particularly ornate; the bed was of 'crimson genoa velvet lin'd with a very Rich gold flower'd Tissue brocaded with flowers of silver & silk'. It had two counterpoints, one of 'gold tissue & another of Crimson genoa velvet Trimm'd with ye said gold Tissue & gold Arras Lace' and furniture, window curtains and cornices to match.<sup>51</sup> The gold flowered brocaded tissue for the bed and furniture was provided by the mercer Jaspar Cullum and appears to be the most expensive commission for bed textiles in the royal accounts during this period, costing a staggering £1273 8s 9d.<sup>52</sup> One further striking example of bedchamber furniture made for Anne is a silk cult velvet bed that was commissioned in the last year of her life (fig.12). Originally intended for Windsor, but now at Hampton Court, this bed stands sixteen feet, six inches high and was upholstered by Hamden Reeve with crimson and bright yellow Genoa silk velvet in a design of floral motifs, urns and volutes. Chairs, stools and window curtains were also made up to match. The cost expended on the textiles amounted to a substantial £674 while a further £115 was expended on arras lace trimmings.<sup>53</sup> What differentiates this bed in particular is its relatively plain form. Rather than sculptural detailing and the heavy use of passementerie, the relatively simple frame served to showcase the textile design. The fabric was moreover hung in such a way to give the impression of a continuous and unbroken pattern.<sup>54</sup> Not only the expense but also the sophistication of the design indicates that, as much as her male predecessors, Anne used the furnishing of her state bedchambers to construct her image as powerful monarch.

<sup>49</sup> This is confirmed by Celia Fiennes account of Hampton Court that can be dated to 1703-5. Fiennes noted that she saw in the state bedchamber a bed of 'scarlet velvet with gold orrice'. *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p.354.

<sup>50</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.137.

<sup>51</sup> Bill of Hamden Reeve, TNA LC9/284, fol.33.

<sup>52</sup> This price was only for the tissue and not the velvet or the passementerie meaning that the total cost of the bed textiles was even greater. Bill of Jaspar Cullum, TNA LC9/284, fol.42.

<sup>53</sup> For bills relating to this bed see TNA LC9/285, fol.51-53.

<sup>54</sup> My thanks to Mika Takami for her thoughts on the textiles of Queen Anne's bed.

During George I's occupation of king's apartments at Hampton Court, the furnishings of the state bedchamber also remained largely untouched. Aside from replacing the window curtains and valances, George was content to leave the room as William had first intended it.<sup>55</sup> This was most likely a consequence of financial restrictions and the King's disinclination to utilise his bedchamber as a reception space. At this time most of the efforts to furnish the palace were centred on the queen's state apartments that were completed for the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1715. As on the king's side considerable sums were expended on the furnishing of the state bedchamber and once complete this room would have been exceptionally fine. Indeed, while the Hanoverians chose to invest in the arts and sciences above monarchical riches, it is clear that like their predecessors they understood the importance of palace furnishings and decoration in constructing their public image. This is most clearly exemplified in the design of the splendid state bed and matching furniture that were commissioned for the queen's state bedchamber in 1714.<sup>56</sup> These furnishings survive today at Hampton Court and are displayed in their original location (figs.11 & 52). What is particularly notable about this bed is its height and the ornate carving of the bed frame (or bedstock). This was made by the joiner Richard Roberts, who together his father Thomas Roberts, was responsible for a number of the most elaborate carved bed frames in the style of Marot that appear in the royal accounts during the period.<sup>57</sup> Standing 15 feet 7 inches high the bed features a heavy, full tester with carved outer mouldings, corbels and an ornate bed head crowded by plumes, most likely intended to represent the Prince of Wales's feathers (fig.53). By the 1710s decorative plumes of ostrich and egret

<sup>55</sup> For the replacement of the window curtains and valances see TNA LC5/45, fol.308. Indeed it is clear that the *Joshua* series remained in the king's state bedchamber well into the eighteenth century. Although they were sent to London for Queen Anne's coronation, an order survives instructing that afterwards they be replaced in their previous positions and when Bickham later described the king's state bedchamber he recorded that the 'Tapestry is the History of *Joshua*, all round the room [...]. See T. Campbell, *Report on the Tapestries Hung in the State Apartments for King William in 1700*, p.19; G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae*, p.52.

<sup>56</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.307.

<sup>57</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.314. For other bedstocks see for example LC9/279, fol.88; LC9/280, fols.155 and 181-182. The carved and gilt woodwork of the Venetian Ambassador's bed at Knole is also attributed to Thomas Roberts, see M. Jourdain, *Stuart Furniture at Knole*, p.25; C. Rowell, 'The James II or 'Venetian Ambassador's' bed at Knole: A brief history and a proposal for conservation and display', unpublished report for the National Trust, December 2006. I would like to thank Wendy Monkhouse and Emma Slocum for allowing me access to this material. Richard Roberts succeeded his father Thomas Roberts (d.1714) as a joiner at The Royal Chair in Marylebone Street. Roberts was also responsible for the bedstock of Queen Anne's velvet bed commissioned for Windsor Castle in 1714. See V. Davies, *State Beds and Throne Canopies*, p.22; G. Beard, *Upholsterers*, p.144.

feathers were becoming less fashionable for state beds and so instead four large carved finials were placed on top of the tester.<sup>58</sup>

The upholstery of the bed, and its matching furniture, was undertaken by Thomas Phill and Jeremiah Fletcher who succeeded Hamden Reeve as upholsterers to the crown in 1714.<sup>59</sup> For this a crimson silk damask in a large foliate design was supplied by the mercers Richard Chamberlyn and John Johnson at £352 5s, while lace, trimmings and tassels costing £590 were provided by the laceman William Weeks.<sup>60</sup> The lace, that can still be seen on the bed today, was applied in an especially intricate scroll and strap configuration (fig.54). As in the king's apartments the form of the bed and these decorative features were mirrored in the canopy of estate in the preceding privy chamber, again highlighting the sense of hierarchy in the rooms and the importance of the state bedchamber (fig.55).

By the reign of George I, John Gumley and James Moore had succeeded Pelletier and Jensen as cabinet makers to the court and accordingly it was their firm that provided a gilded pier glass, a pier table and two torcheres with 'Indian' or lacquer tops for the window wall, and a magnificent rock crystal and silver chandelier that was hung from the centre of the bedchamber ceiling.<sup>61</sup> A walnut folding screen 'well wrought and wired with gilt wire' with twenty leaves was also supplied by the joiner Richard Roberts 'to go round the bed'.<sup>62</sup> Again, the combination of crimson, silver, gold and mirrors, with glossy black lacquer would have created a magnificent impression, especially when lit with candles.

<sup>58</sup> V. Davies, *State Beds and Throne Canopies*, p.24.

<sup>59</sup> The upholsterer Thomas Phill worked at the Three Golden Chairs on the Strand. His first collaboration with Fletcher was on furnishings for the coronation of George I. See Geoffrey Beard, *Upholsterers*, pp.145-147. In addition to upholstering the bed, Phil and Fletcher also supplied the bedding, see TNA LC5/45, fol.307.

<sup>60</sup> V. Davies, *State bed and Throne Canopies*, p.25.

<sup>61</sup> T. Murdoch, 'The King's Cabinet Maker: The Giltwood Furniture of James Moore the Elder', *The Burlington Magazine*, 145, 1203, June 2003, pp.408-420. TNA LC5/45, fol. 319. The pier tables and stands supplied by Gumley and Moore are no longer in the queen's apartments at the palace. In his 1927 article on the furniture at Hampton Court F.J Rutherford connected the gilt furniture in the rooms with Gumley and Moore's bills of 1715-16. However as Adam Bowett has recently shown, the furniture in the apartments is in fact most likely to be the pieces supplied by the firm for George I's apartments at Kensington in 1724-5. A matching set of gilt wood pier tables with the royal insignia by Moore now at Buckingham palace have also been linked to queen's apartments, although again Bowett has suggested that they are more likely to have come from Kensington. Bowett states that the only table that can be confidently identified as belonging to the apartments as they were furnished in 1715 is a lacquer topped table with a gilt frame made for the bedchamber that did not bear the royal insignia. This table was destroyed in the fire in 1986. See A. Bowett, 'George I's Furniture at Kensington Palace', n.47.

<sup>62</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.314.

As in the king's apartments, the style of these pieces also evoked the splendour of the French court.<sup>63</sup> Although by the 1720s the court style had swung towards Palladianism, much of the work done at Hampton Court remained influenced by the French baroque.<sup>64</sup> Like the Pelletiers, Gumley and Moore were renowned for richly carved and gilt furniture in the French style, as can be seen in the surviving examples of their work at Hampton Court (fig.56).

Further echoing the decoration of the king's state bedchamber, historic tapestries were hung in the queen's bedchamber. In 1715 two pieces of tapestry from Henry VIII's *Joshua* series were delivered from the Removing Wardrobe and were hung on the north and west walls.<sup>65</sup> Like William III, George I and George II may have favoured the *Joshua* tapestries for their underlying narrative of religious conquest that would have accorded with their vision of kingship. As Hannah Smith has shown, military combat in the cause of religion was a central element in the Georgian monarchy, both George I and George II fashioned themselves as Protestant warrior kings.<sup>66</sup> As historic objects that evoked the royal past and dynastic continuity, the tapestries would also have been valuable for a foreign monarchy without immediate links to the Stuarts. Indeed, the choice of portraits in the state bedchamber is suggestive of the Hanoverians desire evoke their British descent. The overmantel painting was a portrait of George I's maternal grandfather, James I by Paul Van Somer, to its right was Van Somer's portrait of Anne of Denmark at Oatlands, and to the left hung their daughter Elizabeth, George's grandmother and Queen of Bohemia by Daniel Mytens.<sup>67</sup> To clearly link these paintings with the Hanoverian dynasty, the painter James Thornhill (who was later appointed Court Painter and Sergeant Painter) was commissioned to paint portraits of George I, the Prince and Princess of Wales and their eldest son Frederick for the coves of the bedchamber ceiling (figs.57-

<sup>63</sup> As Tessa Murdoch has pointed out, much of the furniture provided by the cabinetmaker James Moore for the Prince and Princess of Wales at Hampton Court was French in inspiration. T. Murdoch, 'The King's Cabinet Maker', p.408.

<sup>64</sup> This move towards Palladianism is most clearly reflected in George I's patronage of William Kent. For his work at Kensington see A. Bowett, 'George I's Furniture at Kensington Palace', pp.37-46.

<sup>65</sup> T. Campbell, *Henry VII and the Art of Majesty – Art at the Tudor Court* (New Haven and London, 2007), p.301.

<sup>66</sup> H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.118.

<sup>67</sup> On the paintings chosen for the state bedchamber see S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.247 and O. Miller, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen* (London: Phaidon, 1963) cat. nos. 91, 116 and 122.

59).<sup>68</sup> In the centre of the ceiling Thornhill's painting also glorified the Hanoverians' rule. The subject chosen was Aurora the goddess of the dawn who fell in love with the mortal Cephalus. Aurora appears heralding the beginning of the day by rising out of the ocean in her chariot drawn by four white horses, an allusion perhaps to the new dawn of monarchy brought by the Hanoverians' reign (fig.60).<sup>69</sup>

At Hampton Court the two state bedchambers were thus splendidly furnished in manner that reflected the images of William III and the Hanoverians. Furniture made by the leading craftsmen of the day, styling in the French manner, the use of iconographies, and objects with historic associations were part of the rhetoric of royal image making. Aesthetically the interiors of the state bedchambers also functioned as a regal visual language through the use of rich crimson and gold textiles together with gilt work, mirrors, silver and crystal to create colour, glow and shine. In their design and materiality the interiors of these rooms were conspicuous expressions of royal power.

### Ceremony and etiquette in the state bedchamber

For visitors to Hampton Court today, the state bedchambers are some of the most convincingly royal interiors at the palace. While some of the furnishings have been lost and others appear dulled with age, they remain evocative of the splendour of the late Stuart and early Hanoverian courts. What is less apparent from their appearance however, is the way in which these rooms and their furnishings were used, and what they might have meant to contemporaries. The quiet stasis of the interiors belies their original function as spaces for receptions, audiences and ceremonies. Indeed, the furnishings of the state bedchambers were no mere backdrop. Rather, they were an apparatus that facilitated and shaped interaction between the monarch and those who came to the court. As scholars of design and material culture have stressed, furnishings play an important role in

<sup>68</sup> This was at a cost of £467 10s, see S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.247.

<sup>69</sup> Thurley states that the subject depicted in the ceiling is Leucothoë restraining Apollo from entering his chariot (daybreak restrained). Since the publication of his book however this opinion has been revised by Historic Royal Palaces curatorial department and it is now believed to be Aurora the goddess of the dawn as originally stated in George Bickham's 1742 guide book to Hampton Court. See G. Bickham, *Beliceae Britannicae*, pp.84-85.

scripting the actions of their users and their appearance to others.<sup>70</sup> Objects are moreover powerful as symbols or evocations. This was especially the case at the court where there was an historic and hallowed language of material representation. The rest of this chapter explores how furnishings and objects within royal state bedchambers were mobilised in the expression of kingship and relationships between the monarch and his subjects. In this, both the use of state beds at Hampton Court and other residences is considered in order to provide an overarching discussion of their role and significance within court ceremony.

As chapter one showed, from the late seventeenth century royal state bedchambers were used for a wide range of court events, from the rituals of royal dressing and dining to audiences, receptions, and ceremonies marking births, marriages and deaths. All of these occasions, whether grand events or private rituals, were an important medium through which the status of the monarch could be expressed. Within the state apartments of palaces, court events and ceremonies were choreographed in order to draw attention to the majesty of the sovereign and to underscore the duty of his subjects.<sup>71</sup> The complex rules of precedence and etiquette that governed court occasions served to both physically and symbolically order the participants into what Malcolm Smuts has termed, ‘visible honour hierarchies’.<sup>72</sup> Within ceremonies and rituals, the different degrees of value ascribed to particular places or roles allowed the sovereign to indicate his esteem for favoured individuals, or signal his displeasure. For courtiers etiquette and ceremony were also an opportunity for a display of deference to the sovereign, or self assertion, in the face of political or social rivals. Even the organisation of daily practices such as dressing and dining was a reflection of the varying degrees of status, honour and influence held between the

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<sup>70</sup> See in particular M. Hellman, ‘Furniture, Sociability and the Work of Leisure’.

<sup>71</sup> D. Cannadine, ‘Introduction’ in D. Cannadine and S. Price eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1987), p.1-19, p.1. The subject of royal ritual has been addressed by a number of studies from within the field of anthropology. See D. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven, 1988); S. Wilentz, *Rites of Power: Symbolism, ritual and politics since the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1985). Other important studies on royal ritual include R. M Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987); R. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theatre of Power* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969); R. O. Bucholz, ‘Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual’ and his ‘Going to Court in 1700’; N. Elias, *The Court Society* (first published in French in 1969) translated into English by E. Jephcott 1983 (Blackwell, 1983); J. Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam, 1995). This was a strong critique of Elias’s work that argued against a reading of court ritual as purely an expression of royal power.

<sup>72</sup> R. M. Smuts, ‘Art and the Material Culture of Majesty’, p.89.

monarch and his closest servants. In parallel to role of iconographies and aesthetics as a regal language, the etiquette of the court was similarly ‘a language signifying social and power relations’.<sup>73</sup> It could be used to express favour and solidarity, or to dishonour and divide.

The etiquette for attendance upon the monarch at the *levee*, when he was dressed in the state bedchamber, was set down in bedchamber ordinances. Each role to be performed by the king’s most privileged servants was ranked hierarchically in accordance with a correlation between status and intimacy with the sovereign. The most important, intimate moment of the dressing ceremony was when the monarch changed from his night shirt into his day shirt – a garment made of finest Holland linen with lace at the collars and cuffs.<sup>74</sup> Reflecting this, the most elite member of the bedchamber department, the Groom of the Stole (or in his absence the Gentleman), had the honour ‘to put on the shirt we wear next our Body, Evening and Morning, or as often as we shall change our Linnen’.<sup>75</sup> As Mary Cowper, a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales recorded when in attendance at the dressing ceremony, ‘The Duchess of St Albans put on the Princess’s shift, according to Court Rules, when I was by, she being Groom of the Stole’.<sup>76</sup> Waiting behind the Groom, or the Gentlemen, the Groom of the Bedchamber had the less intimate and thus less honourable task: ‘to warm our said shirt before the fire, and hold the same till We are ready to put in on and then to present and deliver it unto our Groom of the Stole [...].’<sup>77</sup> If the monarch chose to wash his hands this was also the responsibility of the Groom of the Bedchamber who poured water from a ewer into king’s basin while on bended knee.<sup>78</sup> Following this, the Barber, who ‘do wait in our withdrawing room, to be there in readiness’ entered the bedchamber to shave the king.<sup>79</sup> This appears to have been performed with much ceremony. William III’s Barber, William Fremyn, was provided with a ‘Velvet Portmantle & a Chamoisy Silk Toilett sett off with a little gold fringe to bring the King’s [shaving] linnen in and out of his

<sup>73</sup> R. O. Bucholz, ‘Going to Court’, p.185.

<sup>74</sup> P. Wardle, ‘For Our Royal Person’, p.73-75.

<sup>75</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.7.

<sup>76</sup> The Diary of Mary Claverling Cowper, November 19<sup>th</sup> 1714, Database of British and Irish Women’s letters and Diaries, date accessed 8<sup>th</sup> November 2009.

<sup>77</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.7.

<sup>78</sup> J.W Croker, ed., *Letters to and from Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk*, vol.1, pp.292-3.

<sup>79</sup> BL MSS. Stowe, 563, fol.26.

Majesties Bedchamber'.<sup>80</sup> Then, the Yeoman of the Robes was permitted to 'bring Our apparel into our Bed Chamber' and accompanying him as his superior, the Gentleman of the Robes had the honour to dress the king in his suit - usually a silk waistcoat and jacket richly embellished with embroideries, worn with a lace cravat.<sup>81</sup> Reflecting his higher status the Gentlemen then the right to 'stay in Our Bed Chamber until we be apparell'd and dress'd, while the Yeoman was 'not to stay there any longer than his service requires, without the leave of Our Groom of the Stole'.<sup>82</sup> Throughout all of this, the role of the Pages was the most peripheral, reflecting their lower rank. They were responsible for bringing necessary items into the bedchamber for the more elite servants to then serve the king. The most honourable task that they performed was putting on the monarch's shoes while his foot rested upon a silk cushion.<sup>83</sup>

If the king chose to dine in his state bedchamber, the orders for service ran similarly.<sup>84</sup> Ordinances stated that as the highest-ranking servant, the Groom of the Stole (or in his absence the Gentleman), had the most intimate task of giving 'us the Cup and the Towel'. The Grooms of the Bedchamber were to act as the sewers (servers), holding dishes and 'wait[ing] immediately unto the said Gentlemen'.<sup>85</sup> Below them, the Pages of the Bedchamber were called to assist, although their lower rank precluded them from serving the monarch directly. Instead they were to deliver all 'Meat, Drink & other things bought for our use and service unto the Grooms & the said Grooms to the Gentlemen of our Bed Chamber [...]'<sup>86</sup> As these orders relate, the rank of each servant was clearly signified by their physical place in relation to the sovereign. These forms of attendance were thus at once a reflection of the status of these servants, in relation to one another, and an expression of their deference to the monarch.

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<sup>80</sup> TNA LC5/69, fol. 27.

<sup>81</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.28. For the most comprehensive discussion of court dress during the period see A. Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>82</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.29.

<sup>83</sup> J.W Croker, ed., *Letters to and from Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk*, vol.1, pp.292-3. For the provision of the cushion see for example TNA LC5/47, fol.163.

<sup>84</sup> On royal dining see 'P. Glanville, 'Dining at Court'. *Baroque: Style in the Age of Magnificence*, eds., M. Snodin and N. Llewellyn, pp.288-289.

<sup>85</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.9.

<sup>86</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fols.9-10.

While on these occasions the state bed formed a magnificent backdrop, against which the tableau of ceremony unfolded, at more formal events the bed itself played a principal role. As discussed previously in this chapter, the state bed was centrally positioned, tall, expansive and elaborately decorated, and was the most imposing object within the room. Accordingly, this was where the monarch was seated or displayed. State beds were not usually slept in, instead they functioned as a platform from which the monarch could receive guests or conduct audiences, as is depicted in the Gobelin tapestry *The Audience of Cardinal Chigi at Fontainbleau* (1664) (fig.61). While no such representations survive for the English court, it is evident from contemporary accounts that Queen Anne received visitors in her state bedchamber while seated ‘davant le lit’ [in front of the bed] or ‘in a chair by the bedside’, thus suggesting a similar arrangement.<sup>87</sup> Alternatively the monarch could recline on the state bed or lay in it. Evidence for this practice at the English court is scarce, yet in 1697 a warrant was issued requesting that the ‘Quilts of the State Bed [at Kensington] to be made thicker in the middle’, suggesting that William III may have used his beds in this way.<sup>88</sup> The state bed was in effect a grander version of the chair and canopy of estate in that it was a symbol of royal dignity. In France courtiers were accordingly required to bow reverently to the bed, even when the monarch was not present.<sup>89</sup> Like the canopy of estate the bed also acted to physically distinguish the monarch from the rest of the company within the room, thereby emphasising his special status.

Within the bedchamber, royal distinction could be further emphasised through the use of the rail or folding screen that was positioned across the room or around the bed.<sup>90</sup> In comparison to the fixed rail that was common in France, the use of moveable, folding bed screens, as at Hampton Court, is suggestive of the lesser degree of formality and the more flexible use of the state bedchamber in England. Unlike a fixed rail, a folding screen could be moved out of the

<sup>87</sup> BL MSS. Add.17677 CCC, fol.683; BL MSS. Add. 31143, fol. 263.

<sup>88</sup> TNA LC5/125, loose warrants, no.31.

<sup>89</sup> P. Besongne, *Etat de France* (1694) cited in C. Gray and M. Gray, *The Bed* (London: Love and Malcomson Ltd, 1946), p.78.

<sup>90</sup> On her visits to Windsor and Hampton Court, Fiennes referred to screens both ‘round the king and queens beds’ and ‘set across at the beds feete which reach each side of the roome’. At Hampton Court she described the screen in the state bedchamber as ‘a low screen across the roome to keepe company off the bed, which is scarlet velvet with gold orrice and hung with fine tapestry’. *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p.355 and p.279.

bedchamber easily allowing the room to be used for less ceremonial occasions. Where formality was required however, the screen or a rail played an important role in creating distance between the monarch and the rest of the company. As Celia Fiennes observed, the screen ‘quite round the king and queens beds [was] to keep off companies coming near them’.<sup>91</sup> This arrangement moreover served to differentiate those people or objects within from those without. Like the architectural alcove or French *ruelle*, the screen made patent the exclusivity of the area around the bed. Accordingly, to be invited inside the rail was considered a great honour and a special mark of status. As one writer explained in an account of the Earl of Portland’s audience with Louis XIV:

[...] thence [he was] conducted to the king’s bed-chamber that was filled with persons of the highest quality. [...] It was a distinguishing mark of honour, that his Excellency was admitted to his audience in the King’s bed-chamber, and even within the rails round the bed, where the King stood, with the three young Princes his grandsons, and the Count de Thonlouse, Duke d’Aumont, and Mashal de Noailles.<sup>92</sup>

The division of space in the bedchamber through the positioning of the rail or screen thus served to underscore the physical and thereby the social distinction between monarch, those he favoured or wished to honour, and the rest of the rooms inhabitants.

Alongside the bed and rail, the accompanying suite of chairs and stools also played an important role in manifesting social and political relations. For a more informal audience or a meeting between individuals of similar rank, a sense of ease or solidarity could be created through an intimate arrangement of chairs, as is depicted in the engraving *Private Audience of the Archduchess Maria Josefa* (1719) (fig.62). In contrast, on more formal occasions seat furniture could be used to signify the different degrees of status held between the inhabitants of the room. At most court occasions being seated was a privilege that was reserved

<sup>91</sup> *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p.279.

<sup>92</sup> Anon, *Biographia Britannica: or the lives of the most eminent persons*, 6 vols. (London, 1748), vol.2, p.728.

for only the monarch, lesser royals and the most honoured guests.<sup>93</sup> When most courtiers were received in the bedchamber they would therefore have stood, as Swift recorded in 1711, ‘we made our bows and stood about twenty of us round the room [...].<sup>94</sup> As a consequence, the act of offering or providing a chair became an important means whereby the monarch could honour an individual and show favour or willingness to engage in business, as is suggested in *The Audience of Cardinal Chigi at Fontainbleu* (fig.61). However, the precise type of seat offered was key. Within the bedchamber there was a clear hierarchy of seating that ranged from the state bed, to armchairs, backchairs, and to stools, that could also be further differentiated as high or low. Each type of seat, its size, form and height clearly signified the status of its occupant. Ensuring the correct distribution and arrangement of chairs and stools was therefore essential, as it is clear from anxieties expressed in contemporary accounts. At the drawing room following William and Mary’s acceptance of the crown in February 1689, Princess Anne, having discovered that:

The attendants had placed her tabouret [a short stool] too near the royal chair, so that it was partly overshadowed by the canopy of state [...] [she] would not seat herself under it, until it was removed to a correct distance from the state-chair of the Queen her sister.<sup>95</sup>

Similarly, in the 1660s Sir Charles Cottrell, the Master of Ceremonies, recorded that in the company of the Queen’s mother the Duchess of Modena the ‘Ladies of the Peers’ wished to have chairs that were equal to hers as they were ‘as well Baroneses as Duchesses’. It was agreed that she would ‘salute them & give them chairs with backs over against her, that she herself would have one with arms [...].<sup>96</sup> But, as Cottrell recorded, ‘those ladies would not be content with chairs without arms [...]’, arguing that the provision of any lesser chair would cast them

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<sup>93</sup> In the withdrawing room where courtiers gathered in the presence of the monarch there were no chairs aside from one for the monarch, in case, as Saussure remarked, ‘anyone should be guilty of seating themselves’. *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II*, p.43.

<sup>94</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> August 1711, J. Swift, *Journal to Stella*, p.219. This seems to have been an especially disappointing meeting with the Queen. As Swift continued, ‘she looked at us round with her fan in her mouth and once a minute said about three words to some that was nearest her, and then she was told dinner was ready, and went out’.

<sup>95</sup> Cited in E. Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p.71-72.

<sup>96</sup> TNA LC5/2, fol.53.

in a lower rank.<sup>97</sup> Eventually it was agreed that the Duchess would be distinguished by being seated upon the bed.<sup>98</sup>

As it can be seen, the furnishings of state bedchambers played a key role during audiences and receptions by underscoring the social and political relations between the monarch, his courtiers and guests. In particular, the state bed functioned as a symbol of the sovereign's exulted power and status. Further to this, state beds and their accompanying furniture, fulfilled an especially important role on the momentous occasions of royal births, marriages and deaths. As discussed in chapter one, monarchy was founded upon blood and hereditary right and, as such, these moments were integral to sovereignty. State bedchambers therefore functioned as the venue in which these royal rites of passage could be publically displayed and celebrated. For example, on the occasion of an especially important royal birth, it was customary for the queen or princess to give birth in the state bedchamber before members of the royal family and a select number of courtiers, who could then vouch for the legitimacy of the child. When James II's Queen, Mary of Modena, went into labour with the Prince of Wales in June 1688 at St James's, one of the many witnesses, the Earl of Craven, recalled that, 'With some other Lords of his Majesties Privy Council [he] was called into the Queen's Great Bedchamber to be present at her Delivery [...]. The Queen gave three Groans or Squeaks and at the last of three she was delivered of a child'.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, when Princess Anne gave birth in her apartments at Hampton Court on the 24<sup>th</sup> July 1689, it was reported in the *London Gazette*:

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<sup>97</sup> TNA LC5/2, fol.53.

<sup>98</sup> TNA LC5/2, fol.53. Even within the more intimate confines of the great closet, it was important that the monarch was not seated lower than anyone else. In 1700 the upholsterer Richard Bealing was employed to 'raise the seat of the king's Elbow Chaire' in the great closet at Hampton Court. This may have been on account of William III's modest stature. See TNA LC9/281, fol.83.

<sup>99</sup> Anon, *At the Council Chamber in Whitehall, Monday the 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1688, This day an Extraordinary Council met, where were likewise present, by His Majesties desire and appointment Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, and such of the peers of this kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, as were in town : and also the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the City of London, the judges, and several of Their Majesties council learn'd, hereafter named* (London, 1688), p.10. On account of the rumours circulating about the Queen's pregnancy, there were over forty men and women present in the state bedchamber at St James's who witnessed the Prince of Wales's birth.

This morning, about 4 o'clock, Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, was safely delivered of a son at Hampton Court. Queen Mary was present the whole time, about three hours, and the King, with most of the persons of Quality about the court, came into Her Royal Highness's bedchamber before she was delivered.<sup>100</sup>

In the weeks after the birth, it was customary for the queen or princess to continue to lie-in in the state bedchamber where she and the newborn child could be visited by well-wishers. This practice is depicted in an engraving entitled *La Reception Faite au Roy D' Angleterre pa le Roy a St Germain en Laye* (1689) in which Louis XIV embraces the recently exiled James II, while Mary of Modena appears in the background receiving her baby son, lying in a state bed (figs.63 & 64).<sup>101</sup> During this time it was traditional for the monarch to provide hospitality, most often cake and caudle - a special drink that was associated with childbirth consisting of ale or wine, warmed with sugar and spices.<sup>102</sup> In 1762 the Duchess of Northumberland, a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte recorded, 'at the late Lying in of the Queen the Cake given away amounted to £500 and about 8 gallons of Caudle were used each Day'.<sup>103</sup>

On the occasion of a royal marriage the state bed similarly functioned as the focus for court ritual. Although at the English court the consumption of marriages was not witnessed, the royal couple were publically presented in the state bed on their wedding night, to symbolise this moment and the confirmation of the marital bond. In *The Gentleman's Magazine* of April 1736 the scene in the state bedchamber at St James's following the marriage of the Frederick Prince of Wales to Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha was described:

<sup>100</sup> Cited in E. Gregg, Queen Anne, p.72.

<sup>101</sup> On the practice of lying-in see A. Wilson, 'The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation', *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England, Essays in Memory of Dorothy McLaren*, ed., V. Fildes (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 68-107. The right to enter the bedchamber was considered an important privilege. In November 1716, the Countess of Manchester, the wife of a Lord of the Bedchamber, was enraged when she was not permitted to see the Princess of Wales (who had just given birth to a still-born son and was still very ill), a right she perceived as hers. See H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.228. Similarly, in 1766 following Queen Charlotte's labour Clement Cotterall, the Master of Ceremonies recorded asserting the right to be allowed entrée into her bedchamber to see the child: 'We were refused admittance into the Queen's Bedchamber. I observing the King's servants go in insisted with my Lord Chamberlain that we had a right, and he allowed and I was thanked by many of the Foreign Ministers for maintaining their just rights'. TNA LC5/4, fol.52.

<sup>102</sup> A. Wilson, 'The Ceremony of Childbirth and its Interpretation', p.73.

<sup>103</sup> *The Diaries of a Duchess, Extracts from the Diaries of the First Duchess of Northumberland 1716-1776*, ed., James Greig (London: Hodder and Staughton, 1926), p.50.

The Majesties retired to the apartments of the Prince of Wales, the bride was conducted to her bedchamber and the bridegroom to his dressing-room, where the Duke [his brother] undressed him, and his Majesty did his Royal Highness the honour to put on his shirt. The bride was undressed by the Princesses, and, being in bed in a rich undress, his Majesty came into the room; and the Prince following soon after in a nightgown of silver stuff and a cap of the finest lace, the quality were admitted to see the bride and bridegroom sitting up in the bed, surrounded by all the royal family.<sup>104</sup>

In celebration of both marriages and births it was customary for fine new furnishings to be bought for the state bedchamber. One possible example of a royal marriage bed is the king's bed at Knole in Kent (figs.65 & 66). As the furniture historian Christopher Rowell has argued, the bed's decoration with nuptial and amorous imagery suggests that it may have been commissioned for the marriage of the Duke of York, later James II, to Mary of Modena in 1673. This is moreover indicated by the resemblance between the textile hangings and a wedding suit belonging to the Duke of York, now at the Victoria & Albert Museum (fig.67).<sup>105</sup> The splendour of state bedchambers and the performance of rituals centred on the bed, therefore provided a medium through which the court could come together to bear witness to a birth or marriage and celebrate the strength of the royal dynasty.

Equally, on the sombre occasion of a royal death, the state bed functioned as platform on which to display the body of the sovereign, as is depicted in Romeyn de Hooghe's print *The Death Bed of Queen Mary II* (1695) (fig.68).<sup>106</sup> Although royal deaths most often occurred in little or private bedchambers, the public display of the monarch's body upon the state bed provided a focus for national mourning in the months following. For this process, royal state apartments, including the bedchamber and state bed, were swathed in either black or purple cloth.<sup>107</sup> The bills submitted by the mercers Richard Cooper and

<sup>104</sup> Quoted in J. Hervey, *Memoirs*, vol.2, p.292.

<sup>105</sup> C. Rowell, 'The Kings Bed and its Furniture at Knole', pp.58-65; G. Jackson Stops 'Purchases and Perquisites, The 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Dorset's Furniture at Knole II', *Country Life*, 161, June 9<sup>th</sup> 1977, pp.1620-1622.

<sup>106</sup> State beds are, in fact, first mentioned in fourteenth century France where they were used for laying out the body of a deceased monarch, bishop or nobleman. See T. Murdoch, 'The State Bedchamber' p.296.

<sup>107</sup> For William III's lying in state purple was chosen. A warrant was issued requesting 'That the Great Bed Chamber [at Kensington] be hung and furnished with Purple Cloath with a State of the same for the late King's Body to lye under; and that a Pall of Purple Velvett be also provided to lay over the Body'. TNA LC2/14/2, loose warrants.

Partners for the decoration of Mary II's bedchamber at Whitehall in 1694 reveal that £387 14s 6d was spent 298 yards and a quarter of rich black genoa velvet for 'the Bed of State hangings' and covering the bed rail.<sup>108</sup> In addition, Richard Bokenham submitted a bill 'for the state bed all done with Festoons into the great Bedchamber at Whitehall', for 346 yards of shagg fringing at £190 9s 2d, and £31 for 62 large tassels.<sup>109</sup> It was also customary for special mourning beds to be made that were hung with black or purple, and the carved woodwork japanned rather than gilt.<sup>110</sup> The effect of this sombre magnificence was not lost on observers, as Narcissus Lutterell remarked upon seeing the Queen:

This afternoon the queen began to lye in state in the bedchamber, all the officers of her household attending, according to the offices under the direction of the Marquiss of Winchester, her Chamberlain; and the ladies of honour also attended, four of whom stand about the corpse, and are relieved by others every half hour; upon her head lyes the crown, over it a fine canopy; at her feet lyes the sword of state, the helmet and her arms upon a cushion, the banners and escutcheons hanging round; the state is very great, and more magnificent than can be exprest; all persons are admitted without distinction.<sup>111</sup>

Centred on the state bedchamber, mourning lasted many months and was intended, as Nigel Llewellyn has argued, to grip the popular imagination and sustain the memory of the deceased.<sup>112</sup> Much emphasis was placed on the social and political distinction of the monarch; the magnificent decoration of the state bedchamber, the heraldic devices, and the tableau of the household assembled around the body functioned to signify rank and order. Faced with the natural

<sup>108</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.286. The bed as described by Luttrell and in these accounts was listed in an inventory of Whitehall taken in March 1695 after the Queen's burial. 'The Bed of State of Black Velvett, with Curtains, valance & ye bottom of ye Bed all of ye same, trimmed with Black silke tufted fringe and tassels four Plumes of Black Feathers, One painted Escutcheon in ye Testor, four stars and four Crowns at ye Corners, an Embroydred atcherement [sic] Trimmed with Gold fringe on ye Head cloath. Both ye Rails and ye floore within them, with sixteen black stands, cover'd with black velvet'. CKS Sackville papers, U269 069/1.

<sup>109</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.288.

<sup>110</sup> TNA LC5/43, fols.154-155; LC9/379, loose warrants.

<sup>111</sup> Cited in P. S Fritz, 'From "Public" to "Private": the Royal Funerals in England 1500-1830', *Mirrors of Mortality, Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed., J. Whaley, pp.61-79, p.67.

<sup>112</sup> N. Llewellyn, *The Art of Death, Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.1800* (London; Reaktion Books, 1991); N. Llewellyn, 'The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, For the Living' *Renaissance Bodies: the human figure in English culture, c.1540-1660*, eds., L. Gent and N. Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990, pp.218-40. See also O. Bland, *The Royal Way of Death* (Constable, 1986). The period of mourning often continued long after the burial. The official period of mourning following George of Denmark's death was two years. On account of the detrimental impact this had on the silk industry the mourning period was halved in 1728. See P. Fritz. 'The Trade in Death The Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 15, 1982, pp.291-316, p.310.

decay of the king's body natural, the ceremonial period of lying in state and the circulation of idealised representations of the royal deathbed were a means of perpetuating the image of the social and political body of the monarch in the collective memory.

## Conclusion

Reflecting the role of the state bedchambers as the most important political and ceremonial spaces at Hampton Court, the décor and furnishings chosen for these rooms were designed to underscore the power and status of the monarch and to glorify his rule. The predominance of furnishings in the French style, narratives of conquest, rich and costly textiles and the profusion of glossy and reflective surfaces, were expressive of William III and the Hanoverians as powerful kings and heroic military leaders. Within the ceremonies, receptions and audiences that unfolded within the bedchambers, these furnishings provided both a magnificent backdrop and an apparatus that facilitated social and political relations. In the rituals of dressing and dining the physical ordering of people, and the meanings attached to acts and objects, served to signify the different degrees of rank held by the monarch, his servants and courtiers. Similarly, at executive events, the state bed and its accompanying furniture played an important role in expressing the distinction of the monarch and his relationship to others. Furthermore, on the occasions of births, marriages and deaths, the display of royalty upon the state bed provided a focus through which the strength and longevity of the monarchy could be celebrated. The state bedchamber enabled the public display of these key moments through the guise of ritual within a magnificent setting.

## **Chapter 3: Privacy and Intimacy in the Royal Bedchamber**

The previous chapter of this thesis identified the importance of the state bedchambers at Hampton Court as magnificent ceremonial spaces in which the power and status of the monarch was most manifest. As a counterpart to this, this chapter focuses on the inner rooms of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court: the little bedchamber, the closets and the backstairs that lay beyond the king's state bedchamber, and the private apartments of the king and queen. Taking bedchambers, the backstairs, stool rooms and closets as a focus, it seeks to explore how the furnishing of these rooms was reflective of royal tastes and the desire for privacy, comfort and wellbeing in domestic and intimate rituals. As such, this chapter provides a discussion of key spaces and objects that were the loci for housekeeping practices at Hampton Court.

### **Royal privacy and intimacy**

As chapter one demonstrated, Hampton Court was a palace for retreat and respite as well as for magnificent show. The inner rooms of the royal bedchambers were as far as possible shielded from the rest of the state apartments to provide a private space for the personal lives of the king and queen. Reflecting this, many of the furnishings within these rooms were considered to be the monarch's own personal possessions and as a consequence they do not all appear in the Lord Chamberlain's papers and the accounts of the Great Wardrobe. Some would have been purchased through the Privy Purse for which few records survive. Other pieces may have been moved from different royal residences at the monarch's personal command. For William III's first residence in 1700 much of the furniture in the king's private apartments probably came from his, and Mary's, rooms at Kensington. An inventory of 1699 taken by the House and Wardrobe Keeper there lists a number of items that were 'gone to Hampton Court', the most notable of which is the walnut writing desk that survives today in the king's great closet.<sup>1</sup> Objects such as the monarch's bedchamber plate, linen and bedding were also usually moved between all

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<sup>1</sup> Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House', p.54.

residences and thus do not appear as items specifically for the palace. In contrast to the state bedchambers where the suites of furnishings survive relatively intact alongside their documentary provenance, there are consequently fewer pieces that can be firmly attributed as original to the private apartments. This chapter therefore utilises warrants, bills and inventories relating to other royal palaces as good comparative material.

While classed a distinct, private realm, the inner rooms of the royal bedchamber at Hampton Court, in fact, had many design features that echoed those in the state apartments. Wainscoting was fitted throughout, with decorative embellishments by the carver Grindling Gibbons (fig.69). As in the king's state apartments, the private lodgings on the ground floor were also fitted with mirrors with 'blue slips' and 'roses' by the cabinet maker Gerrit Jensen.<sup>2</sup> According with contemporary fashions, silver, crystal and gilt work would also have been a strong element within these rooms. Nonetheless, magnificent show was certainly less important. In 1700 the king's lower lodgings at the palace were hung with 'seaven old white damask window curtains' from a discarded scheme in the state rooms above, indicating that older, recycled furnishings were deemed fine enough.<sup>3</sup> Within the private apartments monarchs were also less bound by protocol and could therefore exercise their own tastes and desires. Intended for relaxation and leisure, these rooms provided space for favourite pastimes and the display, or storage, of personal treasures. In addition, this area of the palace also contained many pieces of furniture that fulfilled distinctly domestic functions, objects such as close stools, bathtubs, beds and wheelchairs. Rather than royal pomp and splendour, such items are evocative of intimate bodily rituals, the personal needs of individual monarchs, and the desire for privacy, comfort and wellbeing.

The function of many of the furnishings within the inner rooms of the royal bedchambers was thus principally personal and domestic. This is not to say however that they were outside of contemporary discourses of monarchy. Traditionally objects touched by the royal body were credited with mystical

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<sup>2</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.23.

<sup>3</sup> TNA LC5/152, fol. 273.

power. Monarchs stressed the sanctity of the royal person and the associated sacredness of objects with which they had come into contact.<sup>4</sup> Intimate and bodily things such as close stools were thus deeply embedded within traditional conceptions of monarchical power, hence the rise of the Tudor Groom of the Stool. By the late-seventeenth century, these ideas were however beginning to be replaced by more secularised notions of kingship and with this the royal body took on a more human guise. Attitudes towards the king's close stools were more influenced by contemporary notions of civility and cleanliness than they were by what remained of the perception of royal sacredness. Nonetheless, the body of the monarch remained central within discourses of power. As Rachel Weil has shown in her study of 'royal flesh' the condition of the private, mortal body of the monarch was always relational to the state.<sup>5</sup> Within constructions of monarchy, displays of the strength and the health of the king and queen were read as signs of authority, stability and longevity. In contrast, royal fallibility, sickness and illegitimate sexuality were a denigrating force.<sup>6</sup> The mortal body of the monarch had to appear capable of supporting the great investment in it. Often, the privacy of the inner rooms of the bedchamber played an important role in concealing royal weaknesses that, if known, could lead to public criticism and political crisis. Within the environment of the court, the royal person and those objects that were associated with it were therefore imbued with political meaning. While the purpose of this chapter is mainly to shed light on the furnishing of these rooms and their relationship to royal tastes and needs, the objects and domestic rituals that are discussed need to be understood within this overarching context.

### **Little and private bedchambers**

At Hampton Court there were two bedchambers where the king slept regularly, the little bedchamber and the private bedchamber (figs.70-72). Located within the area of most restricted access beyond the state bedchamber, and in the privy

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<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of this see K. Sharpe, 'The Royal Image' and also his 'The Image of Virtue'. See also D. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy'.

<sup>5</sup> R. Weil, 'Royal Flesh and the Construction of Monarchy'.

<sup>6</sup> R. Weil, 'Royal Flesh and the Construction of Monarchy'. See also R. O. Bucholz, 'The Stomach of a Queen' or Size Matters' and P. Hammond, 'The King's Two Bodies, Representations of Charles II'.

lodgings, these two rooms were designed as private, personal spaces in which the monarch could sleep, take rest, and dress without the formal ceremony of the state bedchamber. In 1699-1700 these two bedchambers were furnished for William III's first official residence at the palace. While sadly no records survive for the furnishing of the private bedchamber below stairs, it is evident that the little bedchamber had two very fine sets of furniture. The first consisted of a bed, wall hangings, window curtains, four stools and an armchair all upholstered in 'party-coloured' or multicoloured velvet with red and green fringing, tassels and lace.<sup>7</sup> The second set, that was purchased specifically for the room in 1701, was of yellow damask and included a bed, wall hangings, three stools, an elbow chair, a fire screen, window curtains, cornices and portieres, all made to match by the upholsterer Richard Bealing.<sup>8</sup> This suite was very richly appointed with silver arras lace decoration and silver tassels and strings 'to hold back ye Bed Curtaines', sourced from the laceman William Elliott.<sup>9</sup> Further silver 'Galloone' - a decorative tape or band, silk and silver purle lace were provided by the stringmaker Thomas Carr.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately these furnishings no longer survive at Hampton Court, having been claimed by Queen Anne's Lord Chamberlain as a perquisite shortly after the Queen's death in August 1714.<sup>11</sup> Today the room is furnished instead with a replica bed, curtains and portieres, made in the 1990s, and these give a good sense of the magnificent effect created by the combination of bright yellow damask with the glittering of silver (fig.72). In 1701, Antonio Verrio was also commissioned to paint the ceiling of the little bedchamber, adding to its splendour. While the King's decision to commission the painting of this room over other more public spaces is suggestive of the importance of the bedchamber as a route to the great closet, Verrio's subject matter clearly reflected the use of this room as a more personal and intimate space. Mars the God of War appears sleeping in the arms of Venus with whom he had fallen in love, surely an expression of the idea that here the King's warlike spirit had finally been tamed (fig.73).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> TNA LC5/153, fols. 396 & 397.

<sup>8</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol. 113, LC5/44, fol.122.

<sup>9</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.117.

<sup>10</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.118-9.

<sup>11</sup> TNA LC5/155, fol.313.

<sup>12</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204.

During Queen Anne's reign the little bedchamber was furnished initially with William's yellow damask bed.<sup>13</sup> It appears, however, that the Queen did not intend this to be a long-term arrangement. While Anne continued to use William's state bed, it is evident that she preferred one of her own beds for sleeping in. In May 1704 orders were given for the removal of 'her Majesties White Sattin embroider'd Bed and Hangings in her Majesties Bedchamber at Windsor and ye Bed to be mended, & set up at Hampton Court'.<sup>14</sup> It may have been this bed that Celia Fiennes recorded seeing in a bedchamber, of 'Indian Embroidery', on her tour through the palace c.1704-5, although it is not clear from her account where exactly this was situated.<sup>15</sup> She described this room as within the 'privy lodgings', raising the possibility that the bed was in fact set up in the downstairs bedchamber, although there are no further records relating to the room to confirm this. The little bedchamber is also not mentioned in the Wardrobe accounts relating to George I's and George II's residences at the palace. As the yellow damask bed was removed from Hampton Court in 1714, a new bed would have been required, yet there is no evidence to suggest that one was purchased. The accounts of 1715 reveal that a carved bed belonging to George I was moved from Windsor to Hampton Court, repaired and set up by the joiner Richard Roberts, possibly in the little bedchamber.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately any further details of the bed or its location at the palace were not recorded in the royal accounts. In the early years of George I's reign, the upholsterers Phil and Fletcher were employed to move vast quantities of furniture from other palaces to Hampton Court, and it is possible that a number of royal beds were included in this.<sup>17</sup>

A greater sense of the furnishing of Princess Caroline's private bedchamber in the queen's apartments can be gleaned from the Wardrobe accounts of 1715-16. The cabinet makers Gumley and Moore provided an especially elaborate mirror 'in a glass frame and festoon with capitalls and bases gilt' and a 'fine gilt table and stands' for the room.<sup>18</sup> The bedchamber was also

<sup>13</sup> TNA LC5/153, fols.396-7.

<sup>14</sup> TNA LC5/154, fol.6.

<sup>15</sup> *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p.355.

<sup>16</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.343.

<sup>17</sup> TNA LC9/379, loose bills, no.78.

<sup>18</sup> TNA LC9/379, nos.66 & 96; LC5/157, no.48.

singled out for special attention in Grindling Gibbon's scheme of carved decoration. The circular overmantel panel was surrounded by a limewood garland, and below, either side of the fireplace were gessoed and gilded strapwork drops (fig.15). Most of the soft furnishings in Caroline's private apartments appear to have been crimson damask and this may also have been the case in the bedchamber. Later, in 1742 George Bickham recorded in his guidebook of the palace that the room was furnished with a bed of crimson damask and tapestries depicting the naval battle, the Solebay Fight.<sup>19</sup> This may have been a 'crimson damask bed' that was repaired for the palace in 1727-8. Although this was described as 'for our service' rather than specifically for royal use, it was embroidered with 'water leaves on the Corners of the Outside Vallance', and embellished with broad crimson silk arras lace, suggesting that at the very least this was a significant bed.<sup>20</sup>

While undoubtedly rich, these smaller, private bedchambers were principally domestic and informal environments. The king's little bedchamber was notably much smaller than the state bedchamber next door and thus the beds set up in this room would undoubtedly have been intimately proportioned, compact enough to fit into the corner against the north and west walls. The combination of only one armchair and three or four stools would also have enabled a greater degree of informality if the monarch invited friends or guests into this room. Bedchambers that were slept in were also designed to ensure the monarch's comfort during the night. Sound slumber had long been understood to be critical, not only for tired spirits but also, for bodily health.<sup>21</sup> As the sixteenth century Dutch physician Lemnius explained, 'Because nothing is wholer than sound and quiet Sleepe', a person needs 'to take his full ease and sleepe in a

<sup>19</sup> G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae*, p.100.

<sup>20</sup> TNA LC5/47, fols.121 & 126.

<sup>21</sup> See for example, T. Cogan, *The Haven of Health: Chiefly Made for the Comfort of Students and Consequently all Those That Have a Care of Their Health* (London, 1588) published in many editions until 1633; W. Vaughan, *Naturall and Artificial Direction for Health* (London, 1607), p.53; H. Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum: or, a treatise wherein is concisely comprehended the body of divinity, and the fundamentals of religion orderly discussed. Whereunto are added certaine discourses, etc* (London, 1662); J. Trusler, *An Easy Way to Prolong Life. By a Little Attention to Our Manner of Living* (London, 1775). For the most comprehensive discussion of medical attitudes towards sleep see R. Ekrich, 'Sleep we have lost: Pre-Industrial Slumber in the British Isles', *The American Historical Review*, vol.106, no.2, 2001, pp.343-386, p. 348 and K.H. Dannenfeldt, 'Sleep, theory and practice in the late Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Applied Sciences*, 41, 4, 1986, pp.415-441.

soft bedde'.<sup>22</sup> Notably the bedding supplied for royal state beds and private beds was in fact little different, yet both would certainly have been the height of luxury. As on the state beds at Hampton Court, William's little velvet bed and the damask bed each had silk covered mattresses, a bolster and pillows that were filled with fine seasoned swans down, the softest and sweetest smelling type of stuffing. They also had numerous blankets and quilts. For the damask bed Bealing supplied 'a fine satin Quilt [...] two fine Fustian Quilts, [and] three fine Clouded Silk Blanketts'.<sup>23</sup> In addition, imported finest quality Spanish blankets, woven from merino fleece, were occasionally provided for William and Mary.<sup>24</sup> During the reign of George II, there is also a reference to sheep skins that were sewn into a large sheet for use in the King's private bedchamber, presumably either to lay over the mattresses and the down bed or over the top of the quilts and blankets.<sup>25</sup> It would undoubtedly have been important that such bedding was suited the monarch's personal requirements. When Hamden Reeve provided two new pillows for Anne in 1707-8, he was ordered to Kensington 'three times to take her Majestys directions about the said Pillows'.<sup>26</sup>

Notably, between 1700 and 1703, William's two suites of furnishings for the little bedchamber appear to have been moved in and out of the room, perhaps to suit the change of seasons. While Bealing's bill of 1701-2 includes charges for setting up the yellow bed and furniture, by 1703 it is clear that the velvet bed had been returned to the room. In August of that year orders were given for 'ye velvet bed and hangings in ye little bedchamber at Hampton Court' to be sent to the Removing Wardrobe and 'ye Yellow Damask Bed with Silver Galloon' to be 'sett up in its room', suggesting that during his last winter residence at Hampton Court the King had slept in the velvet bed.<sup>27</sup> As velvet was a thicker textile this bed would certainly have provided more warmth during the cold months. At night, the curtains of beds were especially valuable, as a means to both shut out cold drafts, and to protect against night airs, dangerous disease-laden vapours

<sup>22</sup> Cited in R. Ekrich, 'Sleep we have lost', p.352.

<sup>23</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.122.

<sup>24</sup> TNA LC5/42, fol.297; LC5/42 loose warrants no.54; LC5/154, fol.6.

<sup>25</sup> TNA LC5/48, fol.28.

<sup>26</sup> TNA LC5/124, loose warrants, no.64; LC9/282, fol. 205.

<sup>27</sup> This was sent to Kensington where it was 'made up into a great bed'. TNA LC5/153, fols.396-7.

that were believed to arise after dark.<sup>28</sup> Within medical books householders were commonly advised ‘in the night let the windows of your house, especially your chamber, be closed’ to prevent such airs from being breathed in during sleep when the body was thought to be at its most vulnerable.<sup>29</sup> Further insulation could also be provided by an additional layer of case curtains (or a *tour du lit*) that were fitted not only to state beds but also to little and private beds. Within bedchambers that were slept in these fulfilled a dual role, both protecting the beds costly textiles when not in use, and shutting out the cold. This is indicated by a warrant of December 1687 for the supply of ‘a Tour du Liet of Gray Serge for the Grey Cloth bed wherein the King and Queen Mats doe now Lye: that the Bed may bee made more warme’.<sup>30</sup> Drafts could also be minimised by lining the doors and walls of bedchambers. In 1699 an upholsterer working for Richard Bealing was sent to Kensington to ‘line ye doore’ of the King’s little bedchamber ‘to keep it Warm’.<sup>31</sup>

During periods of royal ill health the comfort of beds was also an important concern. At St James’s one of Queen Anne’s beds was fitted with an ‘engine’. Judging by its description this must have functioned like a winch that lifted the Queen in and out of bed:

These are to require you to provide and deliver [...] 45 yards and half of gold colour silk lyor and Twelve yards of ditto bobbin line for an Engine for her Majestys Bed and white Sattin to line the Pads that are to go under her Majesties Armes.<sup>32</sup>

The degree to which Anne was immobile by the end of her life is clearly evidenced in the Wardrobe accounts. At Kensington for example, the Queen had a gout chair that was set on ‘Brass wheels with leather’, allowing her to be pushed around her apartments when she could no longer walk.<sup>33</sup> Efforts were also made to ensure that Queen Anne’s bedchambers were as comfortable as

<sup>28</sup> Only in the later half of the eighteenth century did people become less afraid of night air. See P.C. Baldwin, ‘How Night Air Became Good Air, 1776-1930’, *Environmental History*, 8, 3, July 2003, pp.412-429.

<sup>29</sup> ‘A Physicians advice on going to bed’, A. Boorde, *A Compendyous Regayment of a dietary of health* (1547), cited in C. Gray and M. Gray, *The Bed*, pp.117-118.

<sup>30</sup> TNA LC5/122, loose warrants, no.18.

<sup>31</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.29.

<sup>32</sup> TNA LC5/71, fol.68.

<sup>33</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.59.

possible during, and after, her many pregnancies. In 1704-5 Hamden Reeve provided a ‘Bagg of blew Shalloone for a rest for her Majesties back when she sits up’, presumably in her bed.<sup>34</sup> That this was for use in one of the Queen’s labours is indicated by a further charge in Reeve’s bill for quilting a wicker cradle and ‘for making a bagg of scarlett shalloone for the same’.<sup>35</sup>

Reflecting the more domestic purposes of little and private bedchambers, these rooms were also furnished with a number of more quotidian items. In 1700 Gerrit Jensen provided for William’s use in the little bedchamber, a table box and stands of Grenoble wood (walnut). The box was quilted on the inside, indicating that it was used for storing clothes or bedding.<sup>36</sup> This may be the walnut chest or box that survives at Hampton Court today in the king’s closet. It has beautiful red silk quilting on the interior and inside the drawer (figs.74 & 75). In 1703-4 Gerrit Jensen provided a further quilted ‘table box of Wallnutree’ with a drawer and a pair of stands for Queen Anne’s bedchamber at the palace.<sup>37</sup> In addition he also supplied a ‘Walnuttree stand for a tea pott’ and ‘a glass in a wallnutree frame’.<sup>38</sup> Uniquely the Wardrobe bills of 1727-8 shed light on some of the additional items that furnished George II’s private bedchamber at the palace. In that year the cabinet maker Benjamin Goodison provided ‘a pair of French Pattern Branches with wrought Backs for the Chimney’, a ‘Wallnutree table and pair of stands’ and a mahogany night table that would have been used for storing a chamber pot.<sup>39</sup> As these items clearly relate, royal bedchambers were undoubtedly rich, yet they also contained quintessentially domestic and personal objects. These rooms were furnished in order to foster royal comfort and wellbeing, especially during periods of ill health. They provided a haven where luxury, warmth and succour could be found.

<sup>34</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.60. Similarly a backboard’ that was designed to ‘hold up the Queene [Mary of Modena] in Her Bed’ was provided in 1688. This was ‘stuffed and cased with bleu serge and covered with white sarsnett [...].’ LC5/122, loose warrants, no.35.

<sup>35</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.60.

<sup>36</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.79.

<sup>37</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.26.

<sup>38</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.26.

<sup>39</sup> TNA LC9/297, fol.84; TNA LC5/89, fol.114; TNA LC5/47, fol. 138.

## **Bed linen and night wear**

The royal desire for luxury and comfort within the bedchamber is also clearly evidenced in accounts relating to bed linen and night wear. During this period a significant proportion of household expenditure amongst the elite was on personal linen that was valued for both reasons of status and health.<sup>40</sup> Although essentially undergarments, body linen was an important and costly aspect of contemporary dress that was outwardly displayed by finely laced collars and cuffs. Even shirts and caps that were worn in bed could be very decorative, especially if they were for the rituals of death and mourning, as can be seen in the early seventeenth century painting *Sir Thomas Aston at the Death Bed of his Wife* (1635) (fig. 76). In addition, linen was also valued as a means to bodily cleanliness. In a period when washing with soap and water was viewed with suspicion, linen that was worn next to the skin was believed to cleanse the body by absorbing excess moisture and dirt.<sup>41</sup> Personal health and comfort were therefore to a great extent dependant on linen, as was the cleanliness of outer garments.

Not surprisingly significant sums were expended on linen for the monarch's personal use. While accounts survive in detail only for the reign of William III, these give a good sense of the different types of items that were provided, how they were decorated, and their potential cost. William purchased roughly the same amount of linen each year. One typical bill of 1696 submitted by Mathias Cupper, the King's linen draper, included:

	l   s   d
For 200 ells of superfine holland for 24 day and 24 Night shirts at 20s p[er] ell	200: 00: 00
For 4 ells ½ holland for 12 capps	04: 10: 00
For 22 ells ½ of holland for 10 paire of long And short pillowberes	22: 10: 00
[...]	

<sup>40</sup> F. de Boneville, *The Book of Fine Linen*, preface by M. Porthault, trans. D. Dusinberre (Flammarion, 1994).

<sup>41</sup> G. Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p.60.

For 288 Ells of superfine holland for six paire of great sheets at 20s	288: 00: 00
For 96 Ells of Ditto Holland for four paire of field bed sheets at 20s	96: 00: 00
For 12 quilted capps	26: 00: 00 <sup>42</sup>

As Cupper's bill clearly shows, William's bed and body linen was all of 'superfine holland' - the best quality and most costly linen available, that was produced in the Netherlands.<sup>43</sup> The only distinction between his bed sheets was their size, 'great sheets' being for standing beds, and 'field bed sheets' being for the King's smaller, collapsible beds that he took on campaign. His day and night shirts were similarly indistinguishable, aside from their cut, a fuller and longer shirt being more usual for sleeping.<sup>44</sup> The linen caps mentioned were most probably 'bed caps' that were for wearing at night, while the quilted caps would have worn informally during the morning and evening when the King was comfortably attired in a dressing gown.

Having been supplied by his draper William's bedchamber linen was then made up by his Seamstress and Starcher, Jane Ireland and Edith College. Each year they were responsible for making between 18 and 24 new day shirts, the same of night shirts, six pairs of great sheets, four pairs of field bed sheets, ten pairs of pillowcases (or pillowberes) and eight caps, as well as numerous other items such as handkerchiefs, shaving and combing cloths and napkins.<sup>45</sup> Their bills also reveal that the King's linen was marked, probably with his initials, and often decorated with costly Venice or Flemish lace that they sourced either themselves or through the lace merchant Henry Furnesse. His bill of 1696

<sup>42</sup> TNA LC9/280, fols.366-7. One of the few references to George I's linen shows that he too favoured linen of the best quality. In 1717-1718 the linen draper Joseph Wyndham provided for the king 'superfine Holland' for '6 paire of sheets, three breadths each sheet and four Ells and a quarter long'. TNA LC5/47, fol.22

<sup>43</sup> The author of *The Merchant's Warehouse laid Open* recommended 'Alcomore' Holland in particular, stating, 'No cloth that is in present use that exceeds Alcomore –holland, it being made of the best Flax in the World, the Third being Spun by the most careful and curious hands; and it is wove by the best of Weavers; and therefore if you are resolved not to fail of good Holland for Shirts and Shifts, you must buy this sort of Holland [...]' Anon, *The Merchant's Warehouse laid open: Or the Plain Dealing Linnen-Draper* (London, John Sprint 1696), p.1.

<sup>44</sup> C. Willet and P. Cunnington, *The History of Underclothes* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), pp.42-54.  
<sup>45</sup> TNA LC9/279, fols. 135-6; 154-155; TNA LC9/280, fols.59-60; 99; 133-134; 211; 258; 318-319;

includes a charge of £449 10s for 102 yards of ‘broad fine ground and loopt lace’ and 54 yards of ‘fine ditto narrow Lace’ for twenty four of the king’s night shirts (approximately £18 per shirt). 30 yards of fine lace at £60 was also provided for ten pairs of pillowcases.<sup>46</sup> Accounts for Queen Anne’s and Queen Caroline’s clothes show that their night shifts were also laced, similarly at great expense. In 1710 the bill of Lidia Taylor, Seamstress, included 5 yards of fine lace ‘for a Suit of Nightcloths for her Majesties Royall Person’ at £16 5s.<sup>47</sup> In 1733 Queen Caroline purchased lace for ‘4 sutes of dressed nt. Cloaths’ from the lacewoman Bath Gill at a cost of £111 17s 6d.<sup>48</sup> Mary II’s Privy Purse accounts also include expenses for laced bed and body linen. In 1694 ‘1 yard 7/16 Raised Point to put on the topp a p[air] of sheets’, 30 yards of lace for six nightshifts and a further 21 yards for 12 pillowcases were purchased for the Queen.<sup>49</sup> These sums represent a huge outlay, considering the cost of the linen itself on top of this. Whether such intricately laced bed sheets, pillows and shirts were actually slept in is difficult to ascertain. Given the value of such lace, the difficulty in cleaning it, and the fact that it may not have been very comfortable, some heavily laced pillows and sheets may have been considered just for show and removed each night before the monarch retired.<sup>50</sup>

Despite the value of linen and its role as a sign of status, very few pieces of contemporary linen survive as it was commonly passed down to servants or reused for other household purposes. There is however a seventeenth century linen pillow case in the collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum that is decorated with bobbin lace insertions and whitework embroidery (fig.77). There is also a linen waistcoat in the Rijksmuseum thought to have been worn by William III in the last days of life in March 1702. The right sleeve has been cut open and ribbons sewn along the edges to make fastenings, so as to make it easier for the King to put on after he broke his collar bone falling from his horse. The garment is beautifully made with a linen lining and linen covered buttons (fig.78).

<sup>46</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.364; See also TNA LC5/44, fol.116, TNA LC5/42, fol.291.

<sup>47</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol.20.

<sup>48</sup> RA Geo/Add 17/75, fol. 45. By permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

<sup>49</sup> BL MSS. Add. 5751, fol.152.

<sup>50</sup> My thanks to Clare Browne, textiles curator at the Victoria & Albert Museum, for her advice on this point.

## The backstairs

At Hampton Court the rooms at the backstairs behind the king's little bedchamber and the queen's dressing room provided space for the storage of items that would be regularly needed for the monarch's service. Trunks and cabinets were supplied by the royal coffer maker for the Grooms of the Bedchamber or the Bedchamber Women who were responsible for keeping the monarch's clean supply of bed and body linen. These were covered with Russia leather, they had drawers, strong locks and were quilted on the interior with red sarscenet.<sup>51</sup> During the reign of George I there is also a bill for a 'Japan Trunk' and 'a large Japan'd Cabinett' for 'his majesties clothes and linnen'.<sup>52</sup> In addition, there were also a number of chests for the storage of extra bedding. In 1730-31 the joiner Henry Williams provided for Hampton Court 'four Wainscott Chests on Casters to hold the Bedding' for the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales and the Princesses.<sup>53</sup> In the queen's private apartments there was also an inbuilt cupboard fitted in the small service room (o) beyond the dressing room that would have been used for keeping linen (fig.16).

Also stowed at the backstairs was the monarch's plate for use in the bedchamber. In 1709 an inventory of bedchamber plate at Kensington, drawn up on the death of Prince George of Denmark, listed the following items as 'lockt up in a cupboard in the Prince's Backstaires':

Three pair of Candlesticks [...]  
A Chamber Pott  
A Sugar Box  
Three Guilt Plates  
Three Guilt Knives  
Three Guilt Spoons  
Three Guilt Forkes  
A Salt Seller Guilt.<sup>54</sup>

An account of plate in store at the backstairs at Windsor in 1724 also listed further items: 'One Bason and Ewer, 2 silver Plates and one gilt, One Chocolate

<sup>51</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.23.

<sup>52</sup> TNA LC9/287, fol.24.

<sup>53</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol.177

<sup>54</sup> BL. MSS. Eg.3809, fol. 82.

Pott, one tea kettle and lamp, one Skillet and cover [...] One Standish and Bell, One Warming Pan [...] One Coffee Pott [and] One Tea Spoon'.<sup>55</sup>

The backstairs rooms at royal residences were also equipped with folding furniture for the servants of the bedchamber department in waiting. At Hampton Court there were six black leather folding stools at the king's backstairs, and at Kensington 'a Table to let up and down'.<sup>56</sup> Folding beds were also provided for the Groom of the Bedchamber or Bedchamber Woman, and the Page in waiting. While more broadly this period saw a decline in the use of folding or truckle beds for servants, at court it remained practice that one of the Grooms slept in the monarch's bedchamber at night on a pallet bed.<sup>57</sup> This was considered especially important during times of political uncertainty, ill health or pregnancy. These beds, that were often referred to as watch beds, were usually designed with a folding bedstead and a textile base so that they could be collapsed during the daytime. At Hampton Court, Queen Anne's Bedchamber Woman in waiting had a 'folding cross foot Bedstead with a turned frame and Iron feet to it and a fine sacking bottom'.<sup>58</sup> Alternatively, one of George I's Pages had a 'press Bedstead', a type that was built into a cabinet to outwardly resemble a chest of drawers or a press.<sup>59</sup> The accounts also relate that these watch beds had canopies or 'pavillions' that would have been hung over the top, perhaps in a similar manner to the folding bed depicted in a French sketch dating from the eighteenth century (fig. 79).<sup>60</sup> The canopies for the Grooms and Bedchamber Women were made up from mohair or damask, a textile that would have been fittingly rich enough for a royal bedchamber, while the Pages' were usually made of serge, a coarse canvas like material.<sup>61</sup> Bedding for the watch beds was also provided. This was described in detail in a warrant of 1696:

The Grooms Watch Bed one haire Quilt Ell Wide, one Fustian Quilt Ell wide, One Holland Quilt Ell wide, one fustian bolster and pillow, two paire of fine Blanketts one Indian panado Quilt One Crimson Damaske

<sup>55</sup> TNA LC5/202, fol.321. See also LC5/149, fol. 155; LC5/108, fol.257; LC5/109, fol.76.

<sup>56</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.339; TNA LC5/73, fol.31.

<sup>57</sup> In 1728 watch beds were still being provided 'to stand in Our Royal Consort the Queen's Bed Chamber', see TNA LC5/47, fol.121.

<sup>58</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.255.

<sup>59</sup> TNA LC5/156, fol.327.

<sup>60</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.203; LC5/89, fol.38.

<sup>61</sup> TNA LC5/124, loose warrants, no.64.

Canopy, Twelve Bear Skins sewed together with the hair on to lay under the Bed. The Pages Watch Bed one haire Quilt, one Fustian Quilt, One Holland Quilt, one Bolster, one Pillow, two paire of Fine Blanketts, one panado Quilt, one Serge Canopy, Two Bearskins sewed together with the haire on to lay under the Bed [...].<sup>62</sup>

Each morning all this bedding was neatly stowed away in presses and trunks. In 1711 Queen Anne's Bedchamber Woman was provided with 'one Feather Bed and Boulster a Holland quilt and Matris quilt, a Fine Callico quilt and Two paire of Fine Ten quarter Blankets with a Press to lock up ye Bedding in the Day time'.<sup>63</sup>

### **Stool closets, close stools and chamber pots**

Both the king's and queen's apartments at Hampton Court were fitted with private stool closets, small rooms that were specifically designed to house a flushing cistern or a close stool that was solely for the use of the monarch. Stool closets, and cupboards for concealing chamber pots, had been a common feature of royal palaces and aristocratic houses since the sixteenth century.<sup>64</sup>

Corresponding with attitudes towards civility, cleanliness and the body, the provision of a private, discreet space for such intimate rituals was considered especially important. In contrast to the French court where Louis XIV was known to receive courtiers while on his close stool, in England the royal stool room and the monarch's bowel movements were largely considered a private matter, known only to the king's physicians and the Groom of the Stole.<sup>65</sup> At Hampton Court there were two stool closets for the king's personal use, one on the principal floor adjoining the great closet (I) and the other on the ground floor behind the private bedchamber (d) (figs.16 & 17). Today little survives of the interiors of these rooms. The closet on the principal floor still retains its original

<sup>62</sup> TNA LC5/124, loose warrants, no.64.

<sup>63</sup> TNA LC5/71, fol.63.

<sup>64</sup> E. Clark, 'Noysome and Unsavoury Discourse', Privies, Close Stools and Chamber Pots and their Cultural Context in England 1550-1650, MA dissertation, Victoria & Albert Museum/Royal College of Art, 2008; J. L. Horan, *The Porcelain God: A Social History of the Toilet* (Carol Publishing Group, 1996); L. Lambton, *Temples of Convenience and Chambers of Delight* (The History Press; 2007); L. Wright, *Clean and Decent, The Fascinating History of the Bathroom and W.C.*; J. Everleigh, *Bogs, Baths and Basins, The Story of Domestic Sanitation*, (Sutton, 2002); and D. Inglis, *A Sociological History of Excretory Experience, Defecatory Manners and Toiletry Technologies* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000).

<sup>65</sup> L. Wright, *Clean and Decent*, p.102. At the French court Louis XIV's digestive capabilities were a matter of public knowledge and regularly recorded in his physicians *Journal de la Santé du Roi*. See L. Bernard, 'Medicine at the Court of Louis XIV', *Medical History*, 6, 3, July 1962, pp.201-213.

wainscoting and this shows marks where a small cupboard may have been fitted to the west wall (fig.80).<sup>66</sup> Aside from this however, the room unusually shows little evidence of decoration. The Wardrobe accounts suggest that royal stool rooms were in fact rarely left unadorned and were at the very least decorated with textile hangings. At Windsor, William III's stool room contained not only a close stool but also 'a Crimson large easy Chaire [and] Three pieces of Seagreene and Copper colour damask hangings'.<sup>67</sup> Similarly an inventory of 1695 shows that Queen Mary's stool room 'by the bedchamber' at Kensington contained:

three pieces of India silke hangings, one chaire of the same with a stoole and pann in it, 2 round stooles of the same, 1 walnuttree table fixt to the wall for writing on 1 walnuttree cubbert fixt to the Wall, 4 India three Camered Jappan sausers and three feet to each. 6 India Jappan round sausers each with a foote [...] 1 small picture of the King and Queen in a black frame, 1 booke of the same.<sup>68</sup>

Such decoration was evidently desirable, even if this may have been at the expense of practicality and perhaps even hygiene. In terms of the monarch's own cleanliness at the stool, comfort was also placed above utility. The yearly bills of William III's Seamstress and Starcher include charges for making up '9 Dozen of Stoole Duckets'. These were made up from 54 ells of fine Holland linen at a cost of £54, suggesting that they may have been used as wiping cloths.<sup>69</sup> While no other contemporary reference to 'stoole ducketts' can be found, it is certain that linen was used in royal stool closets. In an estimate Charles II's yearly linen usage, 64 ells were designated for 'his Majesties Stoole'.<sup>70</sup> Interestingly however, only £16 was estimated as the cost for this, suggesting that Charles's stool linen was of much lesser quality than that purchased by William III.

<sup>66</sup> In the king's stool closet at Kensington there were certainly two walnut cabinets, one on a frame and one without, Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House', p.54.

<sup>67</sup> TNA LC5/87, fol.12. The king's stool room at Whitehall also had hangings of green mohair and sad coloured uncut velvet. TNA LC5/42, fol.331.

<sup>68</sup> TNA LC5/87. This inventory of 1695 taken after the death of Queen Mary is questionable as many of the rooms mentioned appear to contain far too much furniture. It is possible that after her death the Queen's possessions were gathered together and stored in her rooms at the palace. If this is correct then the inventory cannot be seen as reliable evidence for room use. I am grateful to Sebastian Edwards for this observation. However, in the description of Mary's stool room the mention of objects being fixed to the wall indicates that they may have been permanent to that room. It could be suggested that the cupboard may have been used to contain wiping cloths and candles. Nevertheless, such a range of objects does seem excessive. It is possible that this room originally functioned as a closet which would account for the porcelain, cupboard and writing table. Throughout the period it was common for close stools to be kept in private closets.

<sup>69</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.366;

<sup>70</sup> RA EB54. By permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

As the above description of Mary II's stool closet indicates, close stools or chairs (also known as necessary stools or chairs) were often very decorative in their own right. Mary II had a love for Indian textiles and this evidently extended as far as upholstering her stool chair to match the wall hangings of her stool closet. At Hampton Court a late-seventeenth century close stool, though to have belonged to William III, is on display today in the king's stool room (figs.80 & 81). It is upholstered with velvet with a horsehair padded seat, handles, a lockable lid, and decoration of braid, fringing and metal studs. There are two bills in the Wardrobe accounts of 1700-1701 that may relate to this close stool, the first for half a yard of crimson Genoa Velvet 'to Cover a Closestool seat for our clossett' that was supplied by the mercer William Sherrard, and the second for 'one yard of Edging and four yards and half of nailedeep Crimson in graine silk twisted fringe [...] [and] twelve and a half yards of ditto Gallone for a Closetschoole' from the stringmaker Thomas Carr.<sup>71</sup> Inside the box would have been placed a stool pan, most probably of white tin glazed stoneware or very fine pewter.<sup>72</sup> While a rare survival, this close stool is typical of most that were provided for royal use during the period. Crimson velvet and damask were the most common covering. Turkey leather was also occasionally used, possibly for close stools that were for travelling.<sup>73</sup>

While close stools could be found in stool closets, they were also designed to be portable, allowing them to be moved into different rooms as the monarch required.<sup>74</sup> At Kensington for example, there was a 'velvett close stoole [with] gold fringe and lace' listed amongst the furnishings of William III's little bedchamber.<sup>75</sup> Anne even had a close stool made to match a crimson damask bed that she intended to take with her on progress, suggesting that the two were

<sup>71</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.87 and fols.118-9.

<sup>72</sup> Few accounts for stool pans state their material. In 1689 however Thomas Roberts provided two stool pans for Mary II that were described as 'white'. TNA LC9/279, fol.89. Fine white tin glazed pottery was often used for high quality ceramics for bedchambers and bathrooms. See S. Richards, *Eighteenth Century Ceramics: Products for a civilised society* (Manchester, 1999), p.148.

<sup>73</sup> See for example TNA LC5/42, fol.30; LC9/279, fol.101; LC5/155, fol.29. Leather and wainscot close stools with pewter or earthenware pans were also often provided for the use of the household when in residence at Hampton Court. See LC5/47, fols.32 & 178, LC5/45, fol.158, LC5/43, fol.120.

<sup>74</sup> In 1694 an order was sent to the Great Wardrobe requesting 'a closetschoole for his Mats private closet at Kensington to be made very light for ye more convenience of being removed as there shall be occasion'. TNA LC5/123, loose warrants

<sup>75</sup> Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House', p.24.

designed to be seen ensuite.<sup>76</sup> Within bedchambers, the lockable lid of close stools would undoubtedly have been an especially important feature if unpleasant smells or sights were to be avoided. With the lid closed, the handsome exterior of the stool would also have served to disguise its proper function. During the period, stools were commonly made with contrivances such false fronts, or were decorated, to resemble other objects with politer associations.<sup>77</sup> As the satirical writer Jonathan Swift described in his poem *The Ladies Dressing Room* (1732), ‘Rings and Hinges Counterfeit’ could make them appear ‘A Cabinet to Vulgar Eyes’.<sup>78</sup> Sadly there are no references to novel designs in the royal accounts. One notable example however, is a close stool attributed to Louis XIV that was sold by Sotheby’s in 1993. When closed, this was designed to appear as a richly bound book (fig.82).<sup>79</sup>

Throughout the period close stools continued to be provided for royal use, yet by the turn of the eighteenth century flushing water closets were becoming more common at palaces and in the homes of the elite.<sup>80</sup> In 1596 Queen Elizabeth’s nephew Sir John Harrington had developed an innovative close stool with a cistern, flushing water and a hidden cesspool below, although his design was taken up by few of his contemporaries.<sup>81</sup> In c.1704 however when Celia Fiennes visited Windsor Castle she was shown on her tour of Prince George’s apartments a closet ‘with a seat of easement of marble with sluices of water to wash all down’.<sup>82</sup> Fitted out in the 1690s Mary II’s apartments in the Water Gallery also had a flushing marble stool. In the initial furnishing of Hampton Court in 1699-1700 such a modern contrivance seems strangely to have been thought not necessary by William III. However, by the time the queen’s apartments were completed for Princess Caroline orders were given ‘to proceed with all despatch on the Closett and Marble Cistern in Her Royal Highness’

<sup>76</sup> Bill of Richard Piggs, coffermaker, TNA LC5/44, fol.266

<sup>77</sup> Sophia Von la Roche noted in 1786 on a visit to the showroom of the London cabinet maker Seddons that she saw ‘Close-stools, too, made like a tiny chest of drawers, [...] decorative enough for any room’. See S. Von la Roche, *Sophie in London, 1786, being the Diary of Sophie v. La Roche*, trans. C. Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), p.174.

<sup>78</sup> Cited in T. Chico, ‘Privacy and Speculation in Early Eighteenth Century Britain’, *Cultural Critique*, 52, Autumn 2002, pp.40-60, p46.

<sup>79</sup> Sotheby’s Sale Catalogue, ‘Property of the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon’, 11<sup>th</sup> June 1993, p.10.

<sup>80</sup> H.M Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, vol. v, 1660-1782 (H.M.S.O, 1976), p.236.

<sup>81</sup> J. Harrington, *New Discourses on a Stale Subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax* (London: 1596).

<sup>82</sup> Cited in David J. Everleigh, *Bogs, Baths and Basins*, p.21.

Lodgings'.<sup>83</sup> Caroline's private apartments, in fact, had two flushing water closets, one adjoining the withdrawing room (k) and the other behind the small service room next to the dressing room (q) (fig.16). While the design of flushing cisterns remained basic until the nineteenth century, they were considered to be more hygienic than close stools. Caroline was known for her modern attitudes towards cleanliness and it seems likely that she would personally have insisted upon such a flushing stool for her apartments at Hampton Court.

In addition to close stools, chamber pots, that were only for urination, would also have been found in royal bedchambers and stool closets. During this period most quality chamber pots were made in tin glazed stoneware, porcelain or silver. There were also male urinals that were made like a flask and female ones that were shaped like a slipper. In the accounts of the Jewel House, silver chamber pots for royal use are recorded throughout the period.<sup>84</sup> These would almost certainly have been engraved with the royal cipher. As with many items of royal plate, chamber pots were melted down and made into other items when they were no longer required and for this reason none of royal provenance are known to survive. There is however a silver chamber pot hallmarked 1722-3 and engraved with the arms of George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington, in the Gilbert Collection that would have been comparable, to those used by royalty, in terms of quality and design (fig. 83). Within bedchambers chamber pots were usually concealed either in cupboards or in night tables. The mention of a night table amongst the furnishings of George II's private bedchamber at Hampton Court suggests this may have been the usual arrangement in royal bedchambers, at least by the second decade of the eighteenth century. Accounts for silk, decorative galloon, rods and rings 'used for Two Night Tables' suggest that they featured a small curtain behind which the pot would have been placed.<sup>85</sup> No accounts for night tables survive for the earlier period suggesting that chamber pots may either have been placed under beds as shown in contemporary illustrations, or placed inside a less specified piece of furniture (fig.84).

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<sup>83</sup> TNA WORK 4/1, fols.13 &18.

<sup>84</sup> See TNA LC5/108-114.

<sup>85</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol. 138.

## Bathing rooms

Since the reign of Henry VIII, Hampton Court had been equipped with bathing rooms for royal use. In Henry's lodgings in the Bayne Tower, there was a bathroom with a copper tub served with hot running water from a small boiler heated by a furnace in a room behind it.<sup>86</sup> During the reign of Charles II there was also a bathing room in the Water Gallery that was for the use of the King's mistress, the Duchess of Cleveland.<sup>87</sup> In the 1690s this became part of Mary II's private retreat, as Daniel Defoe recorded on his visit to the palace, 'The Queen has here also a small bathing room, made very fine, suited to either hot or cold bathing, as the season should invite'.<sup>88</sup> This bathing area also had a 'bathing bed' and a suite of matching furniture that were decorated with carved and gilt figures, dolphins and shells by the joiner Thomas Roberts.<sup>89</sup> This was upholstered in green lutestring (a type of silk) with silver lace decoration.<sup>90</sup> As Mary had two other beds in the Water Gallery, it seems likely that this one was purely for relaxation after bathing. During the late seventeenth century, bathing was becoming increasingly popular again, yet it was intended, as Sir John Floyer advised, for 'beauty and pleasure' rather than for cleanliness.<sup>91</sup>

In 1701 William III demolished the Water Gallery at the Hampton Court and built a small banqueting house in its place. After this date there are no further references to a specific bathing place at the palace until the completion of the queen's private apartments for Princess Caroline. In contrast to most of her contemporaries, Caroline had very modern attitudes towards bathing and advocated washing with soap and water for reasons of health and personal cleanliness.<sup>92</sup> Her bathing room at Hampton Court was therefore much more practical than Mary II's, equipped with a simple wooden tub, a stool, and a marble cistern that was plumbed in to provide cold running water (fig.85). To the

<sup>86</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.49.

<sup>87</sup> TNA WORK 5/25, fols. 27, 59 & 55.

<sup>88</sup> D. Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Isle of Great Britain* ed., P.N. Furbank, W.R. Owens and A.J. Coulson (London: Folio Society, 2006), p.85.

<sup>89</sup> TNA LC9/279, fol.114.

<sup>90</sup> TNA LC5/43, fol.90; LC9/279, fol.112.

<sup>91</sup> J. Floyer, *An Enquiry into the Right Uses and Abuses of the Hott, Cold and Temperate Baths in England* (London, 1697), p.23

<sup>92</sup> J. Marschner, 'Queen Caroline of Ansbach: Attitudes to Clothes and Cleanliness, 1727-1737'; J. Marschner, 'Baths and Bathing at the Early Georgian Court', pp.23-8.

right of the cistern a door led out to the backstairs, allowing servants to bring buckets of hot water. Between 1727 and 1737 at least 24 new tubs in a variety of sizes were made for royal use by Thomas Ayliffe and his partner, William Grindall. As Joanna Marschner has shown, Caroline ensured that each member of her family had an individual bathing kit, comprising of at least a foot bath and a full body bath.<sup>93</sup> To make bathing more comfortable these tubs were lined with linen bathing sheets, described in the Wardrobe accounts as ‘ell wide Holland’ made up into sheets ‘two breadths and three ells long’.<sup>94</sup> Seated in the bath on the stool, the bather would have soaped herself down using a scented soap solution beaten into a small quantity of water in a bowl. Water from the tub would then have been scooped up and tipped over the body from another bowl.<sup>95</sup> During bathing, royal privacy would undoubtedly have been an important concern. Notably, the bathing room at Hampton Court was divided into two by an inbuilt screen that allowed the front half to be used for dressing while the more private half, that was screened from the windows, was reserved for bathing (fig. 16).<sup>96</sup> It was also common for folding screens to be used in bathrooms to prevent against cold drafts and to provide the bather with more privacy.

### Closets and collections

In addition to domestic necessities, the inner rooms of the bedchamber at Hampton Court also provided space for leisure, the pursuit of personal interests and the display or storage of precious possessions. Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, private closets had developed as rooms specifically for such uses.<sup>97</sup> Located in the most private, securest part of the house, usually beyond the bedchamber, these small rooms were ideal for retreat and for keeping objects of value. At Hampton Court, William III had a number of private closets, one beyond his great closet that had originally been intended for Mary II, and possibly a further four in the king’s private apartments (fig. 86). Little documentary evidence survives in the Wardrobe accounts relating to these rooms, yet it is certain that they were furnished in manner that fostered comfort

<sup>93</sup> J. Marschner, ‘Queen Caroline of Ansbach’, p.34.

<sup>94</sup> TNA LC5/48, fol.71.

<sup>95</sup> J. Marschner, ‘Queen Caroline of Ansbach’, p.53.

<sup>96</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.251.

<sup>97</sup> P. Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, pp.296-303.

and ease. In 1700-01 ‘easy chairs’ and walnut cane elbow chairs with oval backs were provided for what been the queen’s closet.<sup>98</sup> Accounts for Richard Bealing’s work at the palace in 1689 prior to the demolition similarly record that both the king and the queen’s closets were furnished with easy elbow chairs and couch beds.<sup>99</sup> In the east closet in the king’s private apartments today, there are two high back walnut chairs dating from c.1700 that were probably provided for one of William’s closets by the joiner Thomas Roberts. They are upholstered in crimson velvet with rounded padding and trimmed with a broad galloon around the outer edge and were undoubtedly designed for ease (fig.87). In their form these chairs derive from the French chaire *caquetoire* which was defined in Furetière’s *Dictionarie* (1690) as a chair ‘on which one chats at ease by the fireside’.<sup>100</sup> Folding screens were also commonly found in closets as they helped to keep out the cold. During the period they were usually made up in gilt leather or covered in a thick textile. At Kensington one of William’s closets had a ‘baires sckreen with ye haire on’ that was probably either a screen or a skin that was used as a luxurious covering for the floor.<sup>101</sup> It is also likely that there were games tables in the King’s closets and also the private withdrawing room in his apartments. Certainly during the reign of George II numerous card tables were supplied for Hampton Court. In 1730 William Barnsley and Charles Lockley supplied ‘eight yards of superfine Green Cloth Eight Quarters Wide for a Table Carpet for the first Room in Our Apartment below stairs’. The same was ordered for the Queen for her ‘to play on there’, indicating that this was green baize - a common cover for card and games tables.<sup>102</sup> In the same year the mercer Henry Shelley also provided ‘two yards of Green Genoa Velvet to cover a Quadrille Table for our Royal Consort the Queen at Hampton Court’.<sup>103</sup> In the queen’s private apartments, games tables would have been set up in the withdrawing room, as displayed in the room today (fig.88).

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<sup>98</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.204.

<sup>99</sup> TNA LC9/279, fols. 75 & 82.

<sup>100</sup> Cited in T. Murdoch, ‘Furniture for the King’s Apartments: ‘Walnutree, gilding, japanning and marble’, *Apollo*, 140, 390, 1994, pp.55-59, p.58.

<sup>101</sup> Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, ‘Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House’, p.53.

<sup>102</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol.162.

<sup>103</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol.163.

William's private closets at Hampton Court, and indeed other rooms such as his bedchamber, were also almost certainly furnished with highly fashionable inlaid furniture. As late as 1742 George Bickham recorded that in the private closet above stairs there was a large table and a pair of stands inlaid with brass.<sup>104</sup> This may have been one of the many pieces that William and Mary commissioned from the cabinet maker Gerrit Jensen that were inlaid with metals, tortoiseshell, bone or ivory or different coloured woods. The Kensington inventories list a number of pieces such as 'a table glass and stands of wallnuttree inlade with white' (probably ivory or bone), a 'table glass & stands inlade with metal' and a 'small bewroe [bureau] inlaid'.<sup>105</sup> One surviving example of such work that bears William III's cipher is a writing table at Windsor Castle that is inlaid with metal marquetry that is attributed to Jensen (fig. 89).<sup>106</sup> Queen Mary in particular also had a taste for japanned and 'Indian' (lacquer) furniture. Her rooms at Kensington and in the Water Gallery at Hampton Court were filled with Indian or Japan pieces that were also supplied by Jensen. Throughout the period lacquer and Japan cabinets or gilt stands were especially fashionable and prestigious pieces of furniture. George I had one in his bedchamber at Kensington that is now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (fig. 90).<sup>107</sup>

Such highly decorative pieces of furniture were objects of display in their own right, yet they were also useful as a secure place in which to store personal and precious possessions. Cabinets, bureaus and writing desks were designed with complex interior spaces, with lockable drawers and hidden compartments, that were especially valuable in environments where privacy and security were difficult to ensure. At royal residences it is evident that such pieces of furniture were used in this way. Following the death of Prince George of Denmark his Groom of the Stole recorded that 'a Gold Watch & Seals, a Gold Toothpick case, a Gold Twisar case & 20 Guineas' that had been 'taken out of ye Prince's Pocketts' were 'put into the Princes Scrutore yt stood in ye Clossett at Kensington'. The Groom then 'Delivered both ye Key of ye Closett & Scrutore

<sup>104</sup> G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae*, p.56.

<sup>105</sup> Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Documents on the Furnishing of Kensington House', pp.31, 35, 41.

<sup>106</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.190.

<sup>107</sup> T. Murdoch, 'The King's Cabinet Maker', p.408.

to ye Queen' thus securing the room, the writing desk and its precious contents.<sup>108</sup> Judging by an account by Henry Lowman, the House and Wardrobe Keeper at Kensington (1700-1727) it took orders from the Privy Council to open the royal closets following the decease of a monarch. After the death of Queen Anne, 'a Com:te [committee] of Council was appointed to Open her Closet in the presence of Count Bothmer', one of the queen's closest confidents.<sup>109</sup> Once opened the closet revealed 'in a cupboard in a Jaum [sic] of the door, [...] the following pieces of Gold Plate which had been a present from Queen Mary to King William, A Gold Salver, Cup and Cover [and] a Gold Trencher Plate with a knife Fork & Spoon [...] that Anne had evidently inherited and kept'.<sup>110</sup> The Queen's jewels were also recorded as locked up in her closet, items such as '1 Diamond Garter set with small Rose Diamonds [...] 9 small Rose Diamond Buckles for stays [...] [and] 1 pair of Emerald Ear Rings'.<sup>111</sup>

Closets were also used as rooms in which to display objects of personal interest. At Hampton Court, William III had a collection of timepieces and barometers, for which he had a particular liking. When the German traveller, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach visited the palace in 1710 he noted that he saw 'a special kind of barometer and thermometer in the form of a clock, which are made by Tomson [sic]'.<sup>112</sup> This almost certainly refers to the burr maple barometer that was made for William by Thomas Tompion that is on display today in the king's great closest (fig.91).<sup>113</sup> There are also two barometers in the king's private withdrawing room that almost certainly belonged to William. In addition, the King also took particular interest in the paintings he hung in his private apartments at Hampton Court. Inventories of the artworks at the palace reveal that while in the state rooms the paintings were clearly selected for their political significance, this was not so in the private lodgings where the king chose mainly to display old masters. These he requested to be hung on ropes so he could rearrange them as and when he chose.<sup>114</sup> Queen Caroline also took a keen personal interest in the display of collections in her apartments at royal

<sup>108</sup> BL MSS. Eg.3809, fol.80.

<sup>109</sup> BL MSS. Add.20101, fol.13.

<sup>110</sup> BL MSS. Add.20101, fol.13.

<sup>111</sup> BL MSS. Add.61420, fol.116.

<sup>112</sup> Cited in Tessa Murdoch, 'The furniture for the King's apartments', pp.58-9.

<sup>113</sup> T. Murdoch, 'The furniture for the King's apartments', pp.58-9.

<sup>114</sup> S. Jenkins, 'A sense of History, The artistic taste of William III', p.6.

residences. Caroline was known as patroness of the arts would undoubtedly have insisted on paintings of quality for her rooms at Hampton Court.<sup>115</sup> In August 1735, Lord Egmont recorded that he saw in the queen's closet at Richmond palace, 'Holbein's heads of eminent persons [...] the Queen found them neglected in a book shut up in a common table drawer'.<sup>116</sup> These were later moved to Kensington palace where the queen had other collections of curiosities, including a large cabinet in the library filled with medals, onyxes and treasures such as 'a Chrystall Coffin with a Lock of Hair & a Diamond', '4 daggers with Gold Handles two of them set with Jewells' and 'two small unicorn horns'.<sup>117</sup> Within royal palaces, such collections had traditionally been displayed within the monarch's most private domain, as in 'Paradise' the Tudor cabinet of curiosities at Hampton Court. Caroline was also known for her interest in ceramics. Like Mary II who amassed a vast collection of porcelain and Delft at Kensington and in the Water Gallery, Caroline also decorated her rooms at the palace with china. When the apartments had originally been built for William and Mary they were fitted with special shelves above the fireplaces that were intended for the display of Mary's collection. Although most of this was given away to the Earl of Albemarle after her death, some pieces remained at Hampton Court and were displayed by later monarchs (fig.92). In 1742 Bickham recorded seeing many pieces of china on his tour of the palace. In the king's great closet for example, he saw 'an Indian cabinet fill'd at top with fine China' and in the queen's closet 'a curious Parcel of China over the chimney', both of which he attributed to Mary's original collection.<sup>118</sup>

## Conclusion

As we have seen, the inner rooms of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court were reflective of the varying tastes and needs of individual sovereigns. These rooms provided space in which the monarch could exercise a greater degree of

<sup>115</sup> On Queen Caroline as a patron see, J. Marschner, 'Queen Caroline of Ansbach and the European Princely Museum Tradition', *Queenship in Britain*, ed., C. Campbell Orr, pp. 130-143. Bickham's guide book records that in 1742 the queen's private dining room at the palace was hung with four paintings of the Spanish armada by Henry Van de Velde and a portrait of Lord Howard of Effingham by Van Dyck, although these paintings may have been introduced to the rooms after the Queen's death in 1737. G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae*, p.91.

<sup>116</sup> Cited in S. Jenkins, 'Queen Caroline's Taste' p.22.

<sup>117</sup> BL MSS. Add.20101, fols. 62-66.

<sup>118</sup> G. Bickham, *Deliciae Britannicae*, pp.55-56.

personal taste in their choice of furnishing. As the most secure part of the palace they were also ideal for the safe storage or display of precious possessions. Lockable cabinets, cupboards and writing desks fostered a greater degree of privacy or even secrecy. The choice of furnishings in these apartments was also reflective of the royal desire for luxury and comfort. In contrast to the stiff formality of the public rooms, the little and private bedchambers and the closets in particular, were furnished in a manner that allowed for a greater degree of intimacy and ease. These rooms also contained items that were designed specifically in response to the personal needs of individual monarchs and their particular attitudes towards personal hygiene or their health. As such, they played a central role in ensuring the wellbeing of the mortal body of the sovereign, that was in itself essential for a strong and stable monarchy. These rooms were therefore imbued with the complex and politicised understandings of the royal body.

Thus far the thesis has considered the function and significance of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court, and the way in which the furnishings of these rooms played an important role in highlighting the status of the monarch in court ceremonies and also facilitated the royal desire for privacy and comfort. In relation to these findings, the second part of the dissertation explores the role and significance of housekeeping practices through an exposition of attitudes towards domestic cleanliness and household order and the way in which they were achieved within the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court.

**Part Two: Housekeeping in the Royal Bedchambers at  
Hampton Court 1689-1737**

## **Chapter 4: Housekeeping: Motivations and Meanings**

In 1712 John Taylor, the eldest Groom of the Removing Wardrobe at Whitehall, wrote a memorial on the problems caused by the ‘perversion’ of the Wardrobe ‘from its true use’.<sup>1</sup> According to Taylor, Mr Hume, a Yeoman of the Wardrobe, had ‘ingrossed’ the whole office for his private use and as a consequence, Taylor explained:

Her majesties goods [are] kept in a nasty damp roome commonly call'd the Cow house, moulding and rotting & where no fires can be made to aire the same [...] By which means her Majtie suffers great inconvenience to her Goods and may therby in her Royal person (whom God may preserve) by the unwholesomeness of goods soe kept coming neare her Royal Person.<sup>2</sup>

The chagrin of Taylor’s memorial was most probably fuelled by his own exclusion from the Wardrobe offices, and their lodgings, that he had inhabited for the past forty years. Yet, his words have significance for this study, as they shed light on the potential consequences of poor housekeeping, namely, the deterioration of precious furnishings that in turn could cause harm to the royal person. This chapter takes these ideas as a starting point for an exploration of the motivations for good housekeeping in the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court, and the meanings that were ascribed to this work. It firstly considers different types of dirt and damage, how they were generated, and in what ways contemporaries responded to them. Secondly, the motivations for good housekeeping and the significance of this work are considered in relation to the design, and use, of the bedchamber rooms at Hampton Court, as discussed in part one of this thesis. Drawing on studies that have explored notions of the ‘everyday’ and historical analyses of dirt and cleanliness, pristine and worn, it is argued that while housekeeping practices were hidden ‘everyday’ activities, they were informed by, and contributed to, key aspects of kingship and notions of monarchical identity.

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<sup>1</sup> BL MSS. Add.69961, fol. 40.

<sup>2</sup> BL MSS. Add.69961, fol. 40.

## A clean and pristine house?

In the early eighteenth century the state apartments at Hampton Court were new, modern buildings set in a rural location. Compared to older royal residences and those of inner London, the palace was therefore a much cleaner environment and would have been easier to maintain. St James's Palace was described in 1740 by the Prussian courtier Baron von Bielefeld as, 'a king's lodging house, crazy, smoky and dirty'.<sup>3</sup> On one occasion George II and Queen Caroline were even forced to abandon the palace on account of the stench arising from the 'necessary house' belonging to the tavern next door.<sup>4</sup> While Hampton Court was to a great extent isolated from such urban pollutants, dirt and damage to the bedchamber rooms was, nevertheless, generated in many different ways. On public days, when the full court was in attendance, the sheer number of visitors to the state apartments would have worn furniture, fixtures and fittings, and created considerable amounts of dirt shed from outdoor shoes, clothes, wigs and make-up. There was also much 'crowding, stinking and sweating', as Lord Hervey described, an atmosphere that can hardly have been conducive to the preservation of costly and precious furnishings.<sup>5</sup> As modern studies in conservation have shown, atmospheric moisture and rapid changes in temperature can have a detrimental effect on wood and textiles in particular.<sup>6</sup> Equally, in winter, the palace was heated by wood and coal fires that also caused dirt and damage. In 1702 a cloth of estate at St James's Palace was described as 'mighty foul and black', most probably on account of the soot that was spread by smoky fires.<sup>7</sup> Writing in 1661, John Evelyn complained of London's 'pernicious smoke [...] Superinducing a sooty Crust upon all things that it lights, spoyleing the moveables, tarnishing the Plate, Gildings and Furniture [...]'.<sup>8</sup> Smoke similarly arose from even the best quality wax candles, leaving black smuts on ceilings, mirrors and sconces. Considerable amounts of dirt were

<sup>3</sup> E. J. Burford, *Royal St James's Being a Story of Kings, Clubmen and Courtesans* (London: Robert Hale, 1988), p.29.

<sup>4</sup> L. Worsley, *Courtiers*, p.17 and p.244.

<sup>5</sup> Cited in H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.209.

<sup>6</sup> *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping*, pp.199, 365, 410-11.

<sup>7</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.197.

<sup>8</sup> Cited in E. Cockayne, *Hubbub: filth, noise and stench in England 1600-1770* (Yale University Press, 2007), p.152.

moreover created by the daily practices of dressing and dining, as food and drink or powders and make-up were dropped, splashed or split. Laundry was also rapidly generated through the use of linen, rather than soap and water, as a means to personal cleanliness. Unpleasant smells were a further constant problem, arising in particular from close stools, chamber pots and the many ‘necessary houses’ that were situated around the palace. Even stool closets that were fitted with a flushing cistern, such as those installed in Queen Caroline’s private apartments, were the cause of malodours as early flush systems lacked a u-bend that prevented smells from travelling up the pipes.<sup>9</sup> Uncleanliness must also have been caused by the small pet dogs that were commonly kept by queens and court ladies. They were certainly the cause of occasional damage. In 1704-5, 72 yards of new ‘gold double purle lace’ had to be provided for one of Queen Anne’s beds at Windsor that had been ‘Torn by the Dogs’.<sup>10</sup> Cobwebs, spotting from insects, and the harmful effects of dust and light were further ongoing causes of soiling and damage.

Equally, dirt and damage to the palace interiors also occurred during periods when Hampton Court lay empty. Between 1702 and 1737 there were 22 years when no formal residences were held at the palace and during this time the state apartments, and the privy lodgings, were shuttered up and the furnishings covered. While this served to protect objects from dust and light damage, it also provided a perfect breeding ground for moths and vermin. In 1692 an inventory taken of the standing wardrobe at Hampton Court found many of the items in storage there to be ‘very old rotten & full of Moths’.<sup>11</sup> Similarly in 1716 a new satin quilt had to be ordered for the Princess of Wales’s bed at St James’s on account of the existing one having been ‘eaten up by moths’, and at Kensington the Housekeeper reported in 1706 that the Indian hangings in the privy chamber had been ‘eaten by a rat’.<sup>12</sup> In a period in which insulation was poor, uninhabited rooms and unused furnishings were also prone to damp and mustiness.

<sup>9</sup> J. L. Horan, *The Porcelain God*, p.204.

<sup>10</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.122.

<sup>11</sup> TNA LC5/151, fol.279.

<sup>12</sup> TNA LC5/89, fol.37; BL MSS. Add.20101, fol.8.

The question of to what extent such uncleanness was necessarily tolerated or even ignored during the early modern period has provoked differing reactions from historians. Studies of domestic cleanliness have tended to focus on the nineteenth-century obsession with soap and water, and technological advancements in cleaning practices, that are identifiable with our own modern attitudes towards hygiene.<sup>13</sup> In comparison, the early modern period has often been viewed as a time when cleanliness was neglected and dirt and unpleasant smells were simply accepted as part of everyday life. For Lawrence Stone, writing in *The Family Sex and Marriage* (1977), ‘this was a time when personal and public hygiene was largely disregarded. Men and women rarely, if ever, washed their bodies, and they lived in the constant sight of human faeces and urine’.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, the French historian Alain Corbin has argued that it was not until the late eighteenth century that a refinement in the sense of smell brought about the deodorisation of society and the banishment of foul odours from domestic and public space.<sup>15</sup> However, as more recent studies have stressed, definitions of cleanliness, and the methods of achieving it, are always historically and culturally specific.<sup>16</sup> Early modern society did have conceptions of cleanliness that were very different to our own, yet no less important or desired. As Mark Jenner has shown in his study of sixteenth and seventeenth century London, during this period, the citizens of the capital were in fact far from indifferent to environmental conditions and actively sought to rid the city of dirt, malodours and ‘nuisances’.<sup>17</sup> The work of the French historian George Vigarello has also been important in demonstrating the many different, yet equally meaningful, approaches to personal hygiene, and in particular the importance of body linen as a cleansing agent during the seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup> In regard to

<sup>13</sup> Studies of nineteenth and twentieth century domestic cleanliness include, V. Kelley, *Soap and Water: cleanliness, dirt and the working classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (I.B. Tauris, 2010); N. Tomes, ‘The Private Side of Public Health - sanitary science, domestic hygiene, and the germ theory, 1870-1900’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 64, 1990; A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); R. Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother – the ironies of household technology from the open hearth to the microwave* (London: Free Association Books, 1989) (first published 1983); A. Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society 1750-1980* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986); C. Hardymon, *From Mangle to Microwave: the mechanisation of household work* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), p.159.

<sup>15</sup> A. Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odour and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986).

<sup>16</sup> This reappraisal stemmed from Mary Douglas’s seminal text *Purity and Danger*. See introduction, n.52&53.

<sup>17</sup> M. Jenner, ‘Early Modern Perceptions of ‘Dirt’ and ‘Cleanliness’’.

<sup>18</sup> G. Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*.

domestic environments, the desire for cleanliness is still to be fully addressed by historians, yet it is broadly recognised that homes were not as ‘dirty’ as once believed.<sup>19</sup> The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are in fact remarkable on account of the proliferation of didactic literature on domestic management that included advice on cleaning and caring for the home. While early texts on housekeeping such as Sir Hugh Platt’s, *The Jewel House of Art and Nature* (1594) focussed mainly on gentle feminine pursuits such as candying and preserving, the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the publication of numerous manuals such as Hannah Wooley’s *The Compleat Servant-Maid* (1677), Eliza Haywood’s *A Present for a Maid Servant, Or the Sure Means of Gaining Love and Esteem* (1743) and Hannah Glass’s *The Servant’s Directory or Housekeeper’s Companion* (1760) that provided servants and householders with detailed advice on how to clean and preserve interiors, furniture and clothing.<sup>20</sup> Contemporary accounts by foreign tourists are also notable for their praise for the English cleaning zeal, as Monsieur Cesar de Saussure remarked in 1736, ‘The amount of water the English people employ is inconceivable, especially for the cleansing of their houses. Though they are not slaves to cleanliness like the Dutch, they are still very remarkable for this virtue [...].’<sup>21</sup>

While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully address the gap in the history of early modern domestic cleanliness, it contributes to knowledge through a study of housekeeping within the specific environment of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. Since at least the Tudor period orders for the running of royal residences had included rules on cleanliness. Henry VIII’s ordinances for Eltham Palace, that were set down in 1524, decreed that servants should ‘for the better avoiding of corruption and all uncleanness [...] once in the fornoone and once in the afternoon sweepe and make clean the courts, outward galleryes, and other places of the court, so as there remaine no filth or

<sup>19</sup> Outside of the English context this has been addressed by Douglas Biow in his short study of cleanliness in Renaissance Italy and by Simon Schama in his work on the Dutch Republic. See D. Biow, *The Culture of Cleanliness in Renaissance Italy* (Cornell University Press, 2006); S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins, 1987), pp.375-397.

<sup>20</sup> H. Platt, *The Jewel House of Art and Nature* (1594); H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant-Maid or the Young Maiden’s Tutor* (1677); Anon [Mr Zinzano], *The Servants Calling* (1725); A. Barker, *The Compleat Servant Maid* (c.1765); H. Glass, *The Servants Directory* (1760); E. Haywood, *A Present for a Maid Servant* (1743); E. Raffald, *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (1769).

<sup>21</sup> *A Foreign View of England in the Reigns of George I and George II*, p.157.

uncleanness [...].<sup>22</sup> The King's house was to be kept 'sweete, wholesome, cleane, and well furnished, as to a prince's honour and estate doth appertaine'.<sup>23</sup> During the early seventeenth century the household orders of Charles I similarly placed considerable emphasis the maintenance of a 'sweet and cleane' environment and the removal of 'uncleanlie & rude people'.<sup>24</sup> Rules were also given in bedchamber ordinances; the Pages of the Bedchamber, it was stated, were 'to keep our Rooms sweet and clean'.<sup>25</sup> In addition, orders were occasionally issued outside of ordinances with the desire to rectify abuses or improve levels of cleanliness. In November 1699 for example, the following decree was issued by the Lord Chamberlain:

[...] that no person whatsoever do presume in any way to mark or Deface the Walls, Wainscoats, or Doors within his Majesties Pallace att Kensington; nor cast out of any Windows Coals, Ashes or other Filth; but they Carry the Same into the Woodyard to the Place provided and Appointed for that use. And if any shall dare to Act Contrary to these Orders, upon Complaint made thereof by the Housekeeper they shall be severely Punished.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, in 1688 orders were issued to curb the problem of 'men's Pissing at the foot of the King's Guard Chamber Staires' and in 'the court where his Maj:<sup>ties</sup> Statue doth stand' at Whitehall.<sup>27</sup> The Board of the Green Cloth considered the 'nastinesse and stench' caused by this to be 'very offensive and unwholesome'.<sup>28</sup> Efforts to improve hygiene and prevent malodours are also evident at Hampton Court. In the height of summer in 1689 Christopher Wren received orders from the Lord Chamberlain '[...] to wall up the doore in the upper passage to the necessary house called the Lyons in Hampton Court, it being very offensive to the Earle of Nottingham principall secretary of State his lodgings neare there unto'.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, in August 1731 Thomas Fort, the Surveyor of the Works, was requested 'to carefully examine into the occasion of the Stench supposed to come from her Majesties Water Closett at Hampton Court and see if it can

<sup>22</sup> *A Collection of Household Ordinances*, p.148.

<sup>23</sup> *A Collection of Household Ordinances*, p.150.

<sup>24</sup> TNA LC5/180, fol.2, fol.8.

<sup>25</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.23, fol.38.

<sup>26</sup> TNA LC5/152, fol.43.

<sup>27</sup> TNA LS13/105, fols.33, 41, 47.

<sup>28</sup> TNA LS13/105, fols.33, 41, 47.

<sup>29</sup> TNA LC5/149, fol.201.

anywayes be prevented'.<sup>30</sup> While these orders do highlight the problems of dirt and malodours at royal residences, they are also reflective of the extent to which contemporaries sought to combat them and rid the court of such pollutants. A clean and well-maintained environment was evidently desired and actively worked towards.

## Meanings and motivations

Within the context of the court, the work of cleaning and maintaining palaces might appear relatively insignificant, especially when compared to politics, patronage and the machinations of fashionable society. Indeed, when seen next to the life of the monarch and the court elite at Hampton Court, housekeeping appears markedly 'everyday', in that it was low status work, it was ordinary, repetitive and hidden behind the scenes.<sup>31</sup> Such spheres of activity are, as Mike Featherstone has argued, distinctly different from spectacles and events, occasions that he terms 'the heroic life'.<sup>32</sup> However, as Victoria Kelley has stressed in her study of late Victorian and Edwardian cleanliness, the 'everyday' is always impinged upon by broader social and political discourses.<sup>33</sup> The identification of dirt, and indeed wear, and the resulting work of cleaning and maintenance, are not isolated and rendered meaningless in the 'everyday', rather they are reflective of contemporary value systems, ideologies and notions of identity. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, cleaning and maintenance within the home were first and foremost bound up with understandings of the body and health. As Emily Cockayne has shown in her study of filth, stench and noise in England, dirt and disorder were felt in a very physical way and thus the state of objects and environments was understood to impact on the body and mind.<sup>34</sup> While the period lacked a public health movement, it was recognized that where there was dirt there would also be

<sup>30</sup> Minutes of the Board of Works, 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1731, TNA WORK 4/5, unpaginated.

<sup>31</sup> On the concept of the 'everyday' see J. Attfield, *Wild Things: the Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2000); B. Highmore, ed., *The Everyday Life Reader* (London: Routledge 2002); B. Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2001); B. S. Gregory, 'Is Small Beautiful, Microhistory and the History of the Everyday', *History and Theory*, 38, 1, 1999, pp.100-110; M. Featherstone, 'The Heroic Life and the Everyday Life', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 9, 1, February 1992, pp.159-182 and R. Felski, 'The Invention of Everyday Life', *New Formations*, 39, Winter 1999-2000, pp.15-31.

<sup>32</sup> M. Featherstone, 'The Heroic Life and the Everyday Life', p.165.

<sup>33</sup> V. Kelley, *Soap and Water*.

<sup>34</sup> E. Cockayne, *Hubbub*.

discomfort, sickness and disease.<sup>35</sup> In particular, fears over health centred on unclean airs. Prior to the advent of germ theory in the nineteenth century, it was foul smelling vapours or miasmas that were blamed for the prevalence of disease.<sup>36</sup> As one late-eighteenth century fumigator explained, ‘It is well known that foetid smells, stagnated and putrid Air, are in general the Cause of many Dreadful Diseases; such Malignant Fevers, putrid sore Throats, the Plague, &c, &c.’<sup>37</sup> Within domestic environments it was therefore believed that objects or practices that caused unpleasant smells, and rooms that were ‘stifled up too close and nasty’, would have a grave effect on wellbeing.<sup>38</sup> In a period in which fuel was costly and insulation poor, dampness in the fabric of buildings, clothes and furniture was also considered to be especially dangerous. In accordance with understandings of the body as humoral, an excess of moisture was considered to be especially detrimental as this upset the body’s delicate internal balance.<sup>39</sup> Objects suffused with damp could even cause death, as Lady Cave informed Lord Fermanagh in 1705, ‘I hear Sir Richard Hoare’s Son’s Wife is dead in her Lyeing-inn, by her nurse’s raping [wrapping] a quilt about her that was not aired, at her first getting up, which killed her in half an hour [...].’<sup>40</sup>

Conversely, it was also believed that the body itself generated uncleanness. According to Thomas Tryon who wrote a *Treatise on Cleanness* (1682), bedchambers in particular were especially unclean environments as personal linen and bedding absorbed the ‘Vapours and Excrements’ that proceeded from the body.<sup>41</sup> Luxurious feather beds he argued, were the most dangerous as they caused the occupant to sweat, ‘over-heat[ing] the Backs and

<sup>35</sup> R. Porter, ‘Public Health in eighteenth Century London’, *Living and Dying in London*, eds., W.F Bynum and R. Porter (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1991), pp. 65-75.

<sup>36</sup> C.M Cipolla, *Miasmas and Disease: Public health and the environment in the pre-industrial age* (Yale University Press, 1992), p.2.

<sup>37</sup> Cited in E. Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p.213.

<sup>38</sup> Cited in E. Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p.155.

<sup>39</sup> R. Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp.49-51.

<sup>40</sup> M. M. Lady Verney ed., *Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century from the MMS at Claydon House*, (London, Ernest Benn, 1930), p.226.

<sup>41</sup> T. Tryon, *A Treatise on Cleanness in meats and drinks, of the preparation of food, the excellency of good airs, and the benefits of clean sweet beds. Also of the generation of bugs, and their cure. To which is added, a short discourse of the pain in the teeth, shewing from what cause it does chiefly proceed, and also how to prevent it* (London, 1682), p.6. Tryon wrote numerous works on cleanliness including *Health’s Preservative: Being a Dissertation on Diet, Air, and Down-Beds. And the Cause and Cure of Buggs* (London: F Cogan, 1750); *The Way to health, Long Life and Happiness, Or, a Discourse of Temperance and The Particular Nature of all things requisite for the Life of Man* (London: Andrew Sowle, 1683); *Wisdom’s Dictates: or, Aphorisms and Rules, Physical, Moral, and Divine, for Preserving the Health of the Body, and the Peace of Mind* (London: John Salisbury, 1696).

Reins, weakening the Joynts and Nerves'. This combined with the 'strong, hot, fulsome Quality' of feathers was 'most injurious to the Health and Preservation of Mankind'.<sup>42</sup> Maintaining the cleanliness of beds was thus essential, as he stated, 'for if they do not, experience does shew, that the Excrements and Breathings of the Body will generate Vermin'.<sup>43</sup> While Tryon's sentiments are reflective of his own personal advocacy of frugality and hard living, contemporaries did share his fears over the effects of unclean bedding and body linen.<sup>44</sup> In relation to the court this is clearly evident in bedchamber ordinances in which beds were singled out as a potential cause of dirt and malodours:

That for preserving our Inward Chambers & Withdrawing Room with all other Rooms within the District of Our Bed Chamber sweet and wholesome, they be not incumbr'd with many Beds, therefore that so many only (& those not to fail) of the Grooms of our Bed Chamber & Pages as are in waiting, be permitted to lodge there, & those not exceeding two in one Bed, during their attendance.<sup>45</sup>

A lack of cleanliness in beds and body linen was above all especially dangerous during times of sickness. As Sir John Verney expressed in a letter to his steward in 1698, 'she [the laundress] must wash all that sick body's linnen at Holmes' house, for none of it must come to my house to be wash't, that being dangerous, nor anything that is used about the sick body until the maid be recovered all the things well aired'.<sup>46</sup> Feminine linen was also considered particularly unclean as this came into contact with the contaminating fluids of menstruation. As Patricia Crawford has shown, during the seventeenth century, menstruation was perceived of as a feminine disease and menstrual blood as a pollutant that could gravely injure those who came into contact with it.<sup>47</sup> Within contemporary literature on domestic medicine and treatises on health reform, personal and domestic cleanliness were therefore advocated as the best possible means whereby health could be maintained. As the physician George Cheyne advised, the secret to good health and wellbeing was to 'Avoid wet Rooms, damp Beds

<sup>42</sup> T. Tryon, *A Treatise on Cleanliness*, p.6.

<sup>43</sup> T. Tryon, *A Treatise on Cleanliness*, p.6.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Tryon was influenced by the writings of the German Christian mystic Jakob Böhme and was an advocate of vegetarianism. See V. Smith, 'Tryon, Thomas (1634–1703)', *ODNB*, online edition, date accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2011.

<sup>45</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.23, fol.38.

<sup>46</sup> M. M. Lady Verney ed. *Verney Letters of the Eighteenth Century*, vol.1, p.26.

<sup>47</sup> P. Crawford, 'Attitudes Towards Menstruation in Seventeenth Century England', *Past and Present*, 91, May 1981, pp.47-73.

and foul Linnen, remove Ordure and Nusances'.<sup>48</sup> 'Every one that wou'd preserve Health' the author of *Primitive Physick* (1747) echoed, 'shou'd be as clean and sweet as possible in their Houses, Cloaths and Furniture'.<sup>49</sup> At Hampton Court, maintaining the cleanliness of the palace would therefore have been considered essential, lest dirt, foul smells and damp caused or exacerbated royal complaints. This would have been especially the case within the royal bedchambers where furnishings and objects played an important role in ensuring the comfort and wellbeing of the monarch.

In parallel with concerns over health, good housekeeping at royal residences was also important for reasons of economy. Throughout the 1600s measures to minimise waste and expenditure had been in force in the royal household, yet following the financial settlement of the Restoration these practices intensified as crown revenues were cut and spending became subject to public review. Over the period the Treasury was increasingly powerful in administering the civil list, and parliament intervened over matters of household administration and finance.<sup>50</sup> As a consequence there were significant economic reforms, beginning in 1662 when the number of places in the household was reduced, diets were cut, and reforms were instituted in the Wardrobes in an attempt to reduce costs. These measures gathered pace under James II, and while expenditure soared with the re-building of Hampton Court in the 1690s, crown finances remained critical during the reigns of both William III and Queen Anne.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, by 1691 it was reported that William and Mary's servants were in a 'Starving & Wretched Condition', having not received payment for their work and board.<sup>52</sup> By the king's death in 1702 he owed his servants and

<sup>48</sup> G. Cheyne, *An Essay of Health and Long Life* (London, 1724), p.12.

<sup>49</sup> J. Wesley, *Primitive Physick: Or, an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases* (London: Thomas Tyre, 1747), p.19. Notably much emphasis was placed on domestic cleanliness within didactic literature published during times of plague. See for example J. Von Ewich, *Of the duetie of a faithful and Wise Magistrate, in preseruering and deliuering of the common wealth from infection, in the time of the Plague or Pestilence*. trans. J. Stockwood (London: Thomas Dawson, 1583); T. Vicary, *The Englishmans Treasure: With the true Anatomie of Mans bodie* (London: George Robinson, 1587); S. Bradwell, *A Watchman for the Pest* (London: John Dawson, 1625). I am grateful to Susan North for drawing my attention to these texts.

<sup>50</sup> R. O Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household*, p.xxi.

<sup>51</sup> On the household reforms of the period see R.O. Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household*, pp.lii-lix; A. Barclay, 'Charles II's Failed Restoration: Administrative Reform Below Stairs 1660-4', *The Stuart Courts*, ed., E. Cruickshanks, pp.158-170; A. Barclay, 'The Impact of James II on the Departments of the Royal Household', unpublished Phd Thesis, 1993, University of Cambridge, Darwin College.

<sup>52</sup> R.O. Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837*, p.Lxii.

purveyors £307, 000, much of which remained unpaid until the later 1710s.<sup>53</sup> Under the early-Hanoverians funds were less strained due to an increase in the civil list, yet economising measures remained in effect as both George I and George II were reluctant to spend on their palaces.<sup>54</sup> Consequently it was agreed in 1717 that expenditure by the Great Wardrobe and the Office of Works was to be fixed at £13,000 and £14,400 a year respectively, a cap that resulted in further significant cuts.<sup>55</sup> This is clearly evidenced in the accounts for day-to-day provisioning at Hampton Court where in August 1717, the number of wax candles used to light the state apartments was reduced from 155 to a meagre 44.<sup>56</sup> In the Great Wardrobe budgeting reached a peak in the early 1730s when it was decided that the bills of all tradesmen were to be thoroughly reviewed by John Halls, then Comptroller of the Great Wardrobe.<sup>57</sup> The cut backs subsequently made saved an impressive £32, 390 (fig.93).<sup>58</sup>

Seen within this context of financial constraint, the less expensive strategies of preserving, cleaning and repairing furnishings, rather than buying new, would have provided a means whereby the splendour of the court could be maintained within the necessary restrictions of a tight budget. Nowhere would this have been more important than in the royal bedchambers where the most costly furnishing were housed. As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, the furnishing of a state bedchamber, in particular, required considerable financial outlay and could take many months to complete. At Hampton Court, the preservation and maintenance of these furnishings would thus have been essential if waste, and undue expense, were to be avoided. As a measure of prudence, cleaning and repairing the fabric of palaces also corresponded with the rhetoric of moderation that was becoming an increasingly important aspect of royal representational culture during the period. The Hanoverians in particular were well aware of the political benefits of appearing as financially modern rulers. As Hannah Smith has shown, in a period when absolutist kingship was met with deep disapproval and royal splendour began to be seen as a matter of

<sup>53</sup> R.O. Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837*, p.Lxiii.

<sup>54</sup> R. O. Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household*, p.lxvi; H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.72.

<sup>55</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.265.

<sup>56</sup> TNA LS13/155, fol.64.

<sup>57</sup> TNA LC5/75, fols.4-11.

<sup>58</sup> CUL MSS, Cholmondeley Papers, Pol Pap, 45, 28.

public interest, financial moderation became increasingly attractive for any court that wished to avoid criticism.<sup>59</sup> In regard to Hampton Court, this desire to moderate expenditure is most clearly evident in the Wardrobe accounts for cleaning and repairs at the palace during the 1720s and 30s. Although historically royal furnishings had always been amended and reused, it is notable that George II's efforts to fit up the state apartments on his accession were focussed predominately upon cleaning and repairing existing furniture, rather than buying new.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to health and economy - two very practical motivations for good housekeeping at court - cleaning and maintenance were also desirable for the more abstract qualities that were associated with cleanliness. During this period cleanliness and good housekeeping were allied to Protestant godliness and accordingly became an important aspect of England's national and religious identity.<sup>61</sup> By the late eighteenth century it was commonly expressed that England was much 'cleaner' than its rival, Catholic France.<sup>62</sup> Within Protestant ideology outward cleanliness was understood as a sign of inner piety, as the cleric John Wesley (1703-1791) stated, 'Cleanliness is indeed next to godliness'.<sup>63</sup> Conversely, dirt was equated with immorality, as one moralist simply put it, 'Sinne is called mire, filth, folly, a blot, polution, dung [...] &c'.<sup>64</sup> In particular, the association of idleness with both moral and material dirt was an old Protestant belief, and thus in the same vein, negligent housekeeping was equated with the sins of waste and profligacy. Within religious and moralistic discourses the practices of cleaning were therefore allied to repentance and purification, 'the blots of sin will easily be taken out by the soap of sorrow and the fuller's earth of contrition', as one late-seventeenth century preacher remarked.<sup>65</sup> Laundering in particular was imbued with religious symbolism. Rituals such as baptism were evocative of the cleansing properties of water and the possibility of washing away sin and immorality.<sup>66</sup> During the period, this

<sup>59</sup> H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.75

<sup>60</sup> For this period of refurbishment see TNA LC5/47, fols.120-162

<sup>61</sup> K. Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness', pp.56-83.

<sup>62</sup> K. Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness', p.62.

<sup>63</sup> Cited in K. Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness', p.154.

<sup>64</sup> Cited in Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub*, p.236.

<sup>65</sup> Cited in 'Introduction' to *The Housekeeping Book of Susana Whatman 1776-1800*, p.22.

<sup>66</sup> K. Thomas, 'Cleanliness and Godliness', p.60.

equation of cleanliness and godliness was most pronounced in Holland where, as Simon Schama has shown, ‘a mass devotion to purity’ reigned.<sup>67</sup> Within Dutch nationalistic discourses, domestic cleanliness was lauded as an affirmation of cultural superiority and the pious, moral customs of the people. In literature, housekeeping was represented as a weapon against the appetites of the flesh, the lure of wealth and the follies of vanity, as the poet Pieter van Godewijck expressed, ‘My brush is my sword; my broom my weapon [...].’<sup>68</sup> At court, this association of cleanliness and godliness would have been especially pertinent, particularly in the period immediately following the Glorious Revolution when Protestantism and religious morality were integral to constructions of kingship.<sup>69</sup> In political propaganda of the period, William and Mary in particular were lauded as exemplars of Protestant morality. Their rule, it was argued, had swept away the corrupt and dirt-ridden court of the papist King James and had brought about a national reformation of manners.<sup>70</sup> Within the context of the court, a state of material cleanliness would therefore have been desirable for the morality and religiosity that this symbolised.

Alongside these associations of Protestant piety, personal cleanliness was also an important signifier of refinement and social distinction. ‘Cleanliness’, as Steele wrote in the *Spectator* in 1714, ‘bears a great Analogy with Purity of Mind, and naturally inspires refined Sentiments and Passions’. It is ‘a Mark of Politeness [...] [and] no one unadorned with this Virtue can go into Company without giving manifest offence’.<sup>71</sup> Central to this notion was the presentation of the body in a manner that expressed control, polish and decorum, while unclean bodily functions, and base corporeality, were masked and fervently denied.<sup>72</sup> Nowhere was this more pronounced than at court where etiquette demanded that civility and politeness were performed with upmost finesse. Clothing, and in

<sup>67</sup> S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, pp.375-397.

<sup>68</sup> Cited in S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, p. 379.

<sup>69</sup> See in particular T. Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); L. G Schwoerer, ‘Images of Queen Mary, 1689-95’ and H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.21.

<sup>70</sup> T. Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution*.

<sup>71</sup> R. Steele, *The Spectator*, Friday 10<sup>th</sup> December 1714, 5, 631, p.157.

<sup>72</sup> On conceptions of the elite body see N. Elias *The Court Society*, esp. chapter 2; N. Elias, *The Civilising Process, vol. I, The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969); J. Revel, ‘The Uses of Civility’ *A History of Private Life*, eds., P. Aries and G. Duby, pp.167-199. On attitudes towards bodily dirt see G. Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed, Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Cornell University Press, 1993).

particular a display of clean white linen, also played an important role in this.<sup>73</sup> As identified in chapter three, body linen was understood to be both a cleansing agent and an important signifier of status, yet this was ultimately dependent on its cleanliness. As Daniel Defoe remarked, ‘Our nicer gentlemen change their shirts twice a day’.<sup>74</sup> Within this system, the renewal of body linen through laundry was therefore integral to notions of personal cleanliness and refinement.

In parallel to this, cleanliness in the domestic interior was similarly an important sign of social prestige.<sup>75</sup> During this period, maintaining the condition of the home was crucial as status was found in new and pristine things. As Grant McCracken has argued, prior to the romantic appreciation of age and patina, signs of wear were for the most part perceived of as negative.<sup>76</sup> The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the development of a fashion system in which newness and novelty connoted wealth and taste.<sup>77</sup> At Hampton Court, the palace interiors were an important reflection of royal fashionability, and status, and consequently it would have been unacceptable for furnishings to show signs of dirt, age or wear. This would have been especially the case in regard to objects that were valued for their aesthetic qualities. As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, royal bedchambers in particular were furnished with objects wrought in rich and reflective materials; polished woods, silver and gold, glass and crystal, all sparkled and shone, while colourful textiles gave brightness and brilliance. The desired visual effect of these furnishings was however dependant on their cleanliness and condition. As Thomas Leddy has argued ‘everyday surface aesthetic qualities’ – neat/ messy, clean/unclean, should not be considered outside the realm of aesthetics as they function to reveal and clarify the inherent properties of objects.<sup>78</sup> At Hampton Court, the magnificence and visual

<sup>73</sup> G. Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, pp.41-83.

<sup>74</sup> Cited in K. Thomas, ‘Cleanliness and Godliness’, p.70.

<sup>75</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.222.

<sup>76</sup> G. McCracken, *Culture and Consumption, New approaches to the symbolic character of consumer goods and activities* (Indiana University Press, 1988), p.39. On the cultural and historical specificity of attitudes towards surface qualities see T. Leddy, ‘Sparkle and Shine’, *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 37, 3, July 1997, pp.259-273.

<sup>77</sup> N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982); M. Berg and H. Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

<sup>78</sup> T. Leddy, ‘Everyday Surface Aesthetic Qualities Neat, Messy, Clean Dirty’, in A. Berleant and A. Carlson eds., *The Aesthetics of Human Environments* (Plymouth: Broadview Press, 2007), pp.163-174.

splendour of kingship within the bedchambers was thus to a great extent reliant on the maintenance of objects in a clean and pristine state.

So far this chapter has explored the meanings and motivations of housekeeping in relation to contemporary responses to the material environment. Alongside this however, attitudes towards housekeeping were also bound up with conceptions of households and their proper organisation. For householders wealthy enough to employ servants, a clean and well-maintained home signified the very presence of those servants, and thus the financial means and status necessary for their employment. This was especially the case at court where the upkeep of the many royal residences in a state of upmost cleanliness signalled the magnitude of the royal household below stairs. It moreover reflected the loyalty and obedience of servants, and therefore the authority of the householder. An orderly house denoted an orderly household; everyone like everything had a place. During the period this idea was central within notions of good housekeeping, for as much as dirt could destabilise identities and meaning, disloyalty and disobedience amongst the household could undermine the distinctions between people of different rank.<sup>79</sup> In this sense, good housekeeping was essential, for it was an expression of proper social relations between masters and servants, and between servants of different degree. Much emphasis was therefore placed on relationships, distinctions and hierarchies that were manifest in the grading of wages, dress and lodgings, and in particular through the different types of work. Within households there were male and female roles and high and low status jobs that were distinguished in accordance with the degree of labour, skill or trust required, the type of ‘dirt’ that was to be dealt with, and a hierarchy of objects that was based on quality, use and ownership.<sup>80</sup> Distinctions were also manifest through the physical place of servants within the home and their proximity to their employers. As Pamela Sambrook has put it, ‘face to face

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<sup>79</sup> During this period households were commonly viewed as a mirror of social relations. Political and social theorists argued that the foundation of societal order lay in the family; the relationship between husbands and wives defined gender ideals, and the natural authority of the master of the house over his servants reflected his exulted place in the chain of command. On this see T. Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, pp.36-46; S. C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth Century France, The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton University Press, 1983), and S.D. Amussen, ‘Gender, Family and the Social Order 1560-1725’ *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* eds., A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.196-216.

<sup>80</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.229.

contact between the defiled and the undefiled was to be avoided at all costs'.<sup>81</sup>

This was vital if the physical and thereby the social distance between servants and the elite was to be upheld.

Within households the organisation of domestic work therefore helped to delineate the boundaries of status systems. At court, where place and status were of particular consequence, good housekeeping, in this sense, would accordingly have been essential. Like court ceremonies such as the *levee*, domestic labour was an affirmation of social and political relations, albeit at a lower level of the household hierarchy. Within the royal household, these relations were moreover of upmost importance for they had significance beyond the immediate bounds of the court. During this period, patriarchal theories of government held that the monarch's authority over his own house was the truest expression of his regal power and a reflection of his kingship.<sup>82</sup> As a mirror of monarchical governance, good housekeeping, in the sense of order and harmony was thus crucial for it also made possible a well-ordered and harmonious kingdom. As the household orders of Charles II articulated their purpose, to 'establish good government and order in Our Court from thence may spread with more honour through all parts of Our Kingdomes'.<sup>83</sup> Within the context of the court, a well-kept house that signified a loyal and orderly household, reflected not only domestic but also national order.

## Conclusion

As it can be seen, there is considerable evidence that at royal residences, including Hampton Court, domestic cleanliness was an important concern. Despite the limited technology of the time, efforts to maintain the condition of palaces can be found in household ordinances and orders that were issued to rectify a lack of cleanliness. The acknowledgement that attitudes towards the state of the material environment are always culturally and historically specific highlights the importance of understanding why, and how, good housekeeping may have been valued within a particular context. As this chapter has

<sup>81</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.229.

<sup>82</sup> On the court as a mirror of society see A. Barclay, 'Impact' and R. Weil, *Political Passions*, and her 'The family in the exclusion crisis'.

<sup>83</sup> Household ordinances of Charles II and James II, 1685, TNA LC5/196, f1.

demonstrated, early modern perceptions of clean and dirty, and pristine and worn, were very different to our own, yet nonetheless significant. Good housekeeping was considered essential for good health and wellbeing, especially within private, intimate rooms such as those of the royal bedchamber. Cleaning and maintenance were also an important form of economy, a measure that would have been particularly relevant within the state apartments at Hampton Court where the furnishings were of the finest quality and of great financial value. In addition, the more abstract associations that contemporaries ascribed to cleanliness, dirt, newness and wear also provided motivation for housekeeping, and imbued this work with complex meanings. As this chapter has shown, these material states were bound up with notions of religious morality, politeness and refinement, fashionability, status, and household order – concepts which all reflected ideals of kingship. In regard to objects such as state beds, that were symbols of monarchy, this relationship would have been especially pertinent. The last two chapters of this thesis seek to explore how the motivations and meanings of good housekeeping influenced the organisation of domestic work within the royal bedchambers, and how they shaped the practices of cleaning and maintenance.

## **Chapter 5: Housekeeping Personnel**

This chapter explores the personnel responsible for housekeeping within the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. Divided into two parts, it firstly considers the servants who undertook this work during a royal residence, the Laundress of the Body (or Body Laundress), the Seamstress and Starcher, and Necessary Women. Part two then moves on to discuss the resident Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings at Hampton Court, and the craftsmen of the Great Wardrobe, all of whom were responsible for the care of bedchamber furnishings during the absence of the court, and the preparation of the rooms for the arrival of the monarch.

### **Part 1: Women, work and status in the royal bedchambers**

When the monarch was in residence at Hampton Court, there were numerous members of the royal household who contributed to housekeeping at the palace. The departments of the Lord Steward and the Lord Chamberlain included servants such as sweepers, lamp lighters, soil takers, rat killers, herb stewers, the men and women of the scullery, and of the wood and coal yards, who all played a part in the upkeep of Hampton Court.<sup>1</sup> However, within the royal bedchambers in particular, housekeeping was undertaken mainly by a group of women who held the offices of Necessary Woman, Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher. The work of cleaning the rooms and furnishings was carried out by the Necessary Women, while the care of the royal bed and body linen was undertaken by the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher. Initially part one of this chapter discusses the individual roles and responsibilities of these offices, where they worked at Hampton Court, their remunerations and who was chosen for these posts. As a counterpart to this, the final section of part one analyses and reflects on the relationship between domestic work, access and intimacy with the royal person, status and influence. To date, there has been little or no research on the lower ranking female servants of the royal bedchamber. This part of the

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<sup>1</sup> For lists of these places see *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>.

chapter aims to redress this by highlighting the significance of their place within the court hierarchy.

### The Laundress of the Body, the Seamstress and Starcher

At Hampton Court the important tasks of laundering and repairing the royal bed and body linen were the responsibility of the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and Starcher and a number of assistants who worked under them. In each royal household, these servants made up the lower echelons of the prestigious bedchamber department, and as such, they were appointed and supervised by the Groom of the Stole.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the period the offices of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher were held by a succession of women who were very well paid by the standards of the day. From 1685 to 1702, the posts of Seamstress and Starcher were combined as one office. In this role, Dorothy Ireland, who served Mary II, received £100 in wages and £114 for expenses in lieu of bills.<sup>3</sup> In William III's bedchamber, these two posts were held jointly by two women, who each received the larger sum of £200 for their wages and expenses.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the monarch's Seamstress and Starcher were entitled to a diet on the establishment. In 1689 this consisted of 'one mess of mutton a day, one loaf of Bread, and one Gallon of Beer', one pound of candles, eight faggots (small bundles of branches or twigs) and two bushels of charcoal a day in winter, and half a pound of candles, two faggots and one bushel of charcoal in summer.<sup>5</sup> On the accession of Queen Anne the offices were separated, the Seamstress receiving £150 per annum and the Starcher £100.<sup>6</sup> In 1714 they were again combined at £250 per annum and remained at this rate until the accession of George II.<sup>7</sup> The position of Body Laundress was held by one woman throughout the period. Under William III and Queen Anne this post yielded wages of £20 and board wages of £199.<sup>8</sup> The Lord Stewards accounts also mention a further

<sup>2</sup> It was stated in bedchamber ordinances that the Groom of the Stole had the right to 'dipose' of the places of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher, BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.11.

<sup>3</sup> Mary II's establishment book, 1693-4, BL MSS. Add. 78269, fol. 67

<sup>4</sup> William III's establishment book, 1695-6, TNA LC3/3, fol.2, see also 1700-1702, TNA LC3/4, fol. 2.

<sup>5</sup> William III's Lord Steward's establishment book, 1689, TNA LS13/39, fol.50.

<sup>6</sup> Queen Anne's establishment book, 1702-1713, TNA LC3/5, fol.2. See also 1713-14, LC3/6, fol.2.

<sup>7</sup> George I's establishment book 1714-1727, TNA LC3/7, fol.2, see also 1717-1724, LC3/8, fol.2.

<sup>8</sup> Establishment books 1695-6, TNA LC3/3, fol.2, 1700-1702, LC3/4, fol. 2, 1702-1713, LC3/5, fol.2, 1713-1714, LC3/6, fol.2.

£184 10s for the Body Laundress that was to be used for the hire of a laundry at Kensington and Whitehall, and for fuel and supplies.<sup>9</sup> By 1714 however, the Body Laundress's income had fallen to £139 per annum, and on the accession George II the post was combined with the places of Seamstress and Starcher and held by one woman at £400 per annum.<sup>10</sup> The Body Laundress was also entitled to a livery, a gown of puke (a fine woollen cloth), edged with black velvet. Seven yards of 'Silk Grogram' and seven yards of 'Tawney Cambleett' were also provided for her dress, at a total cost of £10 6s.<sup>11</sup>

Little evidence survives as to how candidates were chosen for the offices of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher. These posts were in the gift of the Groom of the Stole who, in theory, chose the most deserving applicant. However, in reality, the system of patronage was considerably more complex. As discussed in chapter one, political bias and financial dealings also impacted upon the distribution of places within the bedchamber. Indeed, it is possible that prior to 1702, when the sale of offices was officially prohibited, that some of these posts may have been purchased rather than won by merit. Nevertheless, on account of the quality and financial value of royal linen, and the complexities of laundry techniques, it is most probable that experience and skill were important preconditions for office. The care of bed and body linen was also intimate work and, therefore, it was desirable to give these places to known and trusted individuals. Consequently, many of the women holding these offices had a personal or family history of service in the royal bedchamber. Jane Ireland (1664-1745) for example, who was appointed as joint Seamstress and Starcher to William III in 1690, was the spinster daughter of Dorothy Ireland (n.d), Mary II's Seamstress and Starcher.<sup>12</sup> By the time of Jane's appointment, Dorothy had been at court for nearly forty years, and had served in Mary's household 'since her minority'.<sup>13</sup> It therefore seems likely that Jane had been connected to the

<sup>9</sup> William III's Lord Steward's establishment book, TNA LS13/39, fol. 15, See also establishment book, 1701, LS13/41, fol.13.

<sup>10</sup> George II establishment book, c.1744, TNA LC3/9, fol.2, see also 1724-41, LC3/10, fol.2.

<sup>11</sup> See livery book, temp. George I, TNA LC5/46, fol. 5, TNA LC9/178, fol. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Jane Ireland was born in 1664 to Francis and Dorothy Ireland. The parish registers for Kensington reveal that at this time Francis and Dorothy were resident at Holland House, raising the possibility that they were originally servants in the household of Robert Rich, the fifth Earl of Warwick. Jane was christened at St Mary Abbots in Kensington on the 29<sup>th</sup> December. F. N McNamara and A. Story Maskelyne, *The Parish Register of Kensington Co. Middlesex from AD.1339 to AD.1675* (London: Harleian Society, 1890), p.47.

<sup>13</sup> For Dorothy's record of service see TNA SP44/101, fol.170 and SP34/36, fol.226.

court from childhood, perhaps even assisting her mother and learning the skills of needlework, and the care of fine linen, as she grew up. By 1690 Jane was in her late twenties and, despite her lower ranking place within the bedchamber, she was quite a prominent and well-known figure amongst William's servants. In his diary the King's secretary Constantin Huygens the Younger referred to her affectionately by her pet name, Jinny, and recorded in 1691 that he had shared a cabin with her, the wife of Nassau Zuylestein (the King's Master of the Robes), and one other person on a return journey from Holland. Huygens himself seems to have had a particular liking for Jane, even though he was warned that she and her elder sisters, Frances and Ann, 'were coquettes'.<sup>14</sup> Judging by this, it seems that not only Jane and her mother, but the Ireland family as a whole, were well known at court. Indeed, Dorothy, Jane and Frances (d.1726) all prospered from their connections to the royal household, even though a large proportion of their wages and expenses remained unpaid due to the crown's financial difficulties.<sup>15</sup> Following Queen Mary's death in 1694, Dorothy was given a pension of £75 per annum and Frances was given a further £25, even though she had not officially held a place in the Queen's bedchamber.<sup>16</sup> Through Dorothy's influence at court, Frances's husband, Henry Swetnam, a chaplain of the navy, was also made rector of the parish church at Thelton in Norfolk.<sup>17</sup>

After Jane left her post in 1702, she was similarly well provided for with pension of £50 per annum and an apartment at the rarely used royal palace Somerset House, where she lived until her death in 1745.<sup>18</sup> By the time she made her will she was living in considerable comfort, bequeathing to her friends, relatives and her servant a sizable legacy in stock, money and quality household

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<sup>14</sup> *Journaal van Constantijn Huygens, denzoon, van 21 October 1688 to 2 Sept. 1696* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1876), pp.241 & 245. While Jane remained a spinster, her sister Frances married Henry Swetnam, a chaplain in the navy, while Ann married Issac Manly, a postmaster of Dublin. See will of Jane Ireland TNA PROB 11/742 and Will of Frances Ireland PROB 11/610.

<sup>15</sup> Jane was still petitioning for payment for her work by the reign of George I. A memorandum of that year in the Treasury Papers refers to 'a debt to Mrs Jane Ireland, sempstress and starcher to King William, for making linen for his Majesty'. See CTP, vol.197, 1718-19, p.18. Jane's will dated 1745 also makes reference to arrears owed to her and her mother, TNA PROB/11/742.

<sup>16</sup> 'Warrants etc: November 1701, 16-30', CTB, vol.16, 1700-1701 (1938), pp. 394-408. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>

<sup>17</sup> TNA SP44/101, p.170; SP34/36, fol.226; F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (1737), 2 volumes (London, 1805), vol.1, pp. 148-153.

<sup>18</sup> 'Treasury Books and Papers: December 1739', CTBP, vol.4, 1739-1741 (1901), pp. 284-290, URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>

goods.<sup>19</sup> Jane's will is also revealing in that it records her place of burial. Her final wish was to 'be buried in the Cloyster of Westminster Abbey in the same or as near as may be to the Grave of my Dear Mother Dorothy and Sister Frances Ireland'.<sup>20</sup> While the graves of Dorothy, Jane and Frances are no longer marked, nineteenth century surveys of the monuments in the abbey reveal that they were buried in the cloisters alongside a number of royal servants such as Thomas Chiffinch 'an old and faithful servant to king Charles II' and Ellen Bust, 'eldest Bedchamber Woman to Queen Anne'.<sup>21</sup> During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the cloisters was an area reserved for the burial of lower ranking yet especially favoured court servants, suggesting that the Irelands were valued members of William and Mary's inner household.

Like the Irelands, Queen Anne's Starcher, Elizabeth Abrahall (d.1719) also had experience in caring for royal linen and was connected to the court through marriage. Elizabeth was the wife of Gilbert Abrahall, a court Musician and a Page of the Bedchamber to the Queen.<sup>22</sup> She was also buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, where her monument still can be seen today (fig. 94). Elizabeth was first appointed as Starcher on Anne's accession in 1702, yet as Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough, explained she was chosen for the place on account of her past service, presumably as an assistant to Anne's then Seamstress and Starcher, Ann Rainsford:

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<sup>19</sup> TNA PROB/11/742.

<sup>20</sup> TNA PROB/11/742.

<sup>21</sup> J. Crull, *The Antiquities of St Peter's or the Church-Abbey of Westminster*, 2 vols., (London, 1742), vol. 2, p.160 & 179, J. L Chester, *The Marriage, Baptismal and Burial Registers of the Collegiate Church*, p.229.

<sup>22</sup> Gilbert Abrahall may have been connected to the gentry family the Abrahalls of Herefordshire. The Merriman pedigree for the Abrahalls states that the son of John Abrahall, Major of Herefords was Gilbert Abrahall 'sometime at the court of Queen Anne'. BL MSS. Add. 79700. However this cannot be correct as this Gilbert was married to a woman named Mary in Herefordshire in 1711, see [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org); Will of Gilbert Abrahall TNA PROB 11/595. The only other Abrahall recorded at this time is Gilbert Abrahall, a Captain in the Regiment of Colonel Helles. Although his will suggests that he had no children it is possible that Gilbert was the son of his brother William, TNA PROB 11/422. Such marital connections between lower ranking servants were quite common. For example, Dorothy Chiffinch, Seamstress and Laundress to Charles II was the wife of Thomas Chiffinch, a Page of the Bedchamber and the king's Closet Keeper. Similarly, Mary Lowman, Body Laundress to William III and George I was married to Henry Lowman, a Clerk of the Kitchen. Henry and Mary were later appointed as joint House and Wardrobe Keepers at Kensington Palace.

I made Mrs Abrahall, [...] the Queen's Starcher, and settled a hundred a year upon her [...] because she had washed her heads [headcloths] for twenty pounds a year when she was Princess.<sup>23</sup>

Sarah's testimony was part of her *Conduct* (1742), a published memoir that was in part a rigorous defence against accusations that she had sold bedchamber offices rather than giving them to most deserving candidate and, for this reason, it cannot entirely be trusted. It is clear however that for Queen Anne, due to the personal nature of the work, it was important to be served by a woman whom she knew. Writing in a letter to Sarah on the subject of Elizabeth Abrahall's appointment she stated:

yt being a post that next to my bedchamber women is ye nearest to my person of any of my servants, and I believe nobody, nay even you your Self, if you would judge impartially to think it unreasonable yt I would take one in a place so neare my person yt weare agreeable to me.<sup>24</sup>

Anne's sentiments also undoubtedly explain the appointment of Elizabeth Atkinson to the place of Body Laundress. Elizabeth came from a Welsh family with a long history of service to the Stuarts.<sup>25</sup> Her aunt Eleanor Bust had served throughout the seventeenth century and by her death in 1697 she was eldest Bedchamber Woman to Princess Anne. Following in her aunt's footsteps, Elizabeth, who was widowed by 1693, fulfilled the dual role of Laundress of the Body and first Cradle Rocker to Anne's son, William Duke of Gloucester. By 1700 she was also his Breakfast Maker.<sup>26</sup> Such roles were far from menial. Elizabeth was referred to as William's 'chief gentlewoman' and, judging by her origins, she was probably of gentile birth. Certainly, her status was such that she could invite Sarah Churchill's three eldest children to dine with her in her chamber.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Draft copies of *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough from her First Coming to Court to the Year 1710 in a letter from herself to My Lord* that was published in 1742, BL MSS. Add. 61425, fol.8.

<sup>24</sup> Cited in R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p.78.

<sup>25</sup> M. R. Toynbee, 'William Duke of Gloucester and Camden House Kensington', *Notes and Queries*, June 14<sup>th</sup> 1947, pp.244-248.

<sup>26</sup> These posts were offices within the household of a royal child.

<sup>27</sup> M. R. Toynbee, 'William Duke of Gloucester', pp.244-248.

While the women discussed above were almost certainly chosen, in part, for their skill and experience in caring for fine linen, this was not an essential condition for appointment to these offices. In 1678 Eleanor Wall, the wife of Sir Theophilis Ogelthorpe who was a Lieutenant of the King's regiment of dragoons, was appointed as Body Laundress to Charles II. Eleanor had previously been the confidential servant of the King's mistress Louise de Keroualle, the Duchess of Portland, and was a notorious intriguer at court. Her appointment was almost certainly the result of machinations, rather than her skill as a laundress.<sup>28</sup> Given this it seems likely that Eleanor must have delegated much of the actual work to women in her employ. Similar questions also arise as to the appointment of Margaret Purcell (née Wyvill b.1697) who held all three places of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher in George II's bedchamber. Margaret was the daughter of a Baronet, Marmaduke Wyvill (or Wyvell) MP for Richmond and son of Sir Christopher Wyvill, a writer of anti-Catholic poetry.<sup>29</sup> The Wyvills had a history of service to the crown, Margaret's sister in law Anne Wyvill had been a Maid of Honour to Queen Anne, and she was also related to Thomas Wyvill, who had served as a Gentleman Usher Quarter Waiter to Charles II. Margaret had originally been appointed as Laundress and Seamstress in 1716 in George's household when he was Prince of Wales. It was probably through her attendance in this role that she met John Purcell (b.1693) an Equerry and a Page of the Bedchamber to the Prince, whom she married in 1716.<sup>30</sup> Margaret was evidently a popular member of the Prince's household for by the time of George's accession as King she also held the place of Seamstress in Caroline's bedchamber.<sup>31</sup> It seems however that these offices were entirely honorary. Contemporary accounts relate that Margaret was a prominent member of Caroline's inner circle of ladies and appears to have served the Queen as a Dresser rather than a Seamstress.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> P. Wardle, 'Divers Necessaries', p.23.

<sup>29</sup> Will of Margaret Purcell, TNA PROB 11/819. On the Wyvills see J. Seal Millman, 'Wyvill, Sir Christopher, third baronet (bap. 1614, d. 1681)', *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2010; [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org), accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2010.

<sup>30</sup> [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org), accessed 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2010.

<sup>31</sup> J. Chamberlayne, *Magnae Britaniæ: or the present state of Great Britain with divers remarks upon the ancient state thereof* (London, 1727), p.250; Anon, *The True state of England Containing the Particular Duty, Business and Salary of every officer civil and military in all the publick offices of Great Britain* (London, 1734), p.57.

<sup>32</sup> L. Worsley, *Courtiers*, p. 245.

Given this it is not surprising to find payments to another laundress named Ann Papen, who was not officially a member of George II's bedchamber. In 1727 Ann received the 'sum of sixty five pounds one shilling for one years Rent of a House in St. James's place from Christmas 1725 to Christmas 1726 hired for a Landry [Laundry] for his Majesty's Body Linnen'.<sup>33</sup> It also evident that in Caroline's bedchamber an unnamed German woman was fulfilling the role of Body Laundress. In 1723 Barbara Crow, who had been officially appointed as Caroline's Laundress since 1714, petitioned for payment of money owed to her from the year 1714-5. The subsequent inquiry into the distribution of wages found that 'the Princess's Body Laundress has [£]200 p[er] ann whereof Barbara Crow had [£]100 and a German who does the work has the other [£]100'.<sup>34</sup> When George I ascended to the throne, he and the Prince and Princess of Wales, bought many of their own servants with them from Hanover, and given the intimate nature of the work it is not surprising that a Body Laundress was amongst these. For the incoming dynasty, it would have been important to keep on servants whom they could trust, even if, as foreigners, they could not be given official places in the bedchamber department. Under the Hanoverians, the choice of candidates and occasional references to additional personnel suggests that the work traditionally undertaken by the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher was being performed by other servants, and as a result these offices came to be regarded as sinecures.

The honorary status of the offices of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher during the later half of the period is one of a number of complexities surrounding these roles that make it difficult to assess the individual responsibilities of the women holding these posts. In addition to the devolution of work to sometimes unnamed individuals, there are no instructions regarding laundry given in bedchamber ordinances or those for the wider household. This lack of evidence is further compounded by the system of set wages and allowances for laundry supplies, as mentioned earlier, which obscures the work

<sup>33</sup> TNA LCS/159, fol.25.

<sup>34</sup> Petition of Barbara Crow, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1723, TNA T1/244, fol.194.

of these servants behind generic payments.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, it is evident from accounts for travelling expenses (which were considered outside of the allowances) that during the reigns of William III and Queen Anne, the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher were in constant attendance, moving with monarch between all royal residences and on progresses.<sup>36</sup> Under William, they also went with the King when he went abroad and on campaign. In the 1690s Jane Ireland and Edith College, William's Seamstress and Starcher, and his Body Laundress, Ann Dove and her successor Mary Lowman, were amongst those members of the King's household whose services were so essential that they travelled with William to both Holland and Flanders.<sup>37</sup> It is also clear that, as a whole, the work of these servants was clearly distinguished from that of other court laundresses, such as the Laundress of the Table Linen and the Laundress of the Course Linen, who belonged to Lord Steward's department below stairs. These servants were responsible for the royal table linen, general household linen and linen used in the kitchens and sculleries.<sup>38</sup> Although the court represents a unique case, the roles of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher were probably akin to those of laundrymaids and chambermaids in noble households, positions that carried a degree of social cache.<sup>39</sup> While broadly laundry work was

<sup>35</sup> This is compounded by a lack of detail in earlier accounts that simply state a sum for work over a yearly period. See for example Charles II's household accounts, RA, EB 53. By permission of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2011.

<sup>36</sup> This is clearly evidenced in accounts for the payment of travelling expenses. In 1709 for example, the Treasurer of the Chamber received a warrant 'to pay the customary allowance of 10s a day for travelling charges to Elizabeth Abrahall, the Queen's Mistress Starcher, during her attendance in the Queen's several progresses and removes [...]. May 24<sup>th</sup> 1709, *CTB*, vol.23, part 2 (London: H.M.S.O, 1949), p.181.

<sup>37</sup> Jane and Edith appear to have travelled with the king a number of times during the 1690s. In 1698 when Jane went to Flanders and Holland she received the substantial sum of £139 10s in travelling expenses. April 16<sup>th</sup> 1698, *CTB*, vol.13 (London: H.M.S.O, 1933), p.801. Anne Dove and Mary Lowman also travelled abroad with the king. See TNA T38/193, fol.72.

<sup>38</sup> Jane Potter for example, William III's Laundress of the Table, was responsible for 'Washing Their Own Table Linnen' (i.e. royal table linen) and 'all such as may be daily used, at the backstairs and abroad by the Bottlemans, or any other uses for their Maties service'. In addition, she washed the 'Table Linnen used by the Gentlemen Waiters or Grooms of the Bed-Chamber Maids of Honour, with what may be used by the Officers'. Mary Bishop, who was the Laundress of the Course Linen, washed 'the Dresser Cloathes. Rubbers, & other Course Cloathes for the Kitchens Pantry Poultry Scalding- house Scullery & Larder'. TNA LS1/33, unpaginated. Accounts for payments to these servants appear each year in the Lord Steward's accounts see TNA LS1/33 – 82. Linen that was used within the rooms of the bedchamber, by servants rather than the monarch, was sent out to be washed by the Pages of the Bedchamber. A warrant of 1720 requested the payment of twelve pounds five shillings to the 'Pages of the Bedchamber to his Maty [...] for washing sheets and pillow cases, for the Lords and Grooms of the Bedchamber, and themselves in Waiting upon his Majesty at Hampton Court and Kensington from the 17<sup>th</sup> July 1717, to the 8<sup>th</sup> November 1718', TNA LC5/157, fol. 382. The Removing Wardrobe were also overseeing the washing of sheets, although for the general household rather than the bedchamber. This was probably contracted out to a local laundry business. Between 1714 and 1717 Gray Maynard, a Yeoman of the Removing Wardrobe, received 'the sum of £129, 4s, 6d, for washing of sheets &c for his Maj<sup>ties</sup> service' for each half year. See for example TNA LC5/156, fol. 154. For similar accounts from the 1670s see BL. MSS. Add.5751A fol. 32

<sup>39</sup> In elite households 'laundrymaid' was commonly used to describe servants who washed and finished small clothes. This was opposed to washmaids who processed larger items. This work was also often

considered a low status and distinctly feminine occupation, personal service to a high-ranking individual, and the skilled work of caring for fine linen and lace were considered to be of much higher status.<sup>40</sup> In Henry Robert Morland's paintings of laundry maids for example, such work is clearly depicted as a genteel art (figs.95 & 96).

Some sense of the division of laundry tasks between the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher can be found in the accounts of the Great Wardrobe and establishment books that occasionally make reference to items that were to be purchased with their allowances. The bills of William's Seamstress and Starcher (who unusually continued to submit bills despite the system of allowances) relate that each year when they supplied new linen, they also undertook the 'the first washing and starching', for which they usually charged £2 10s. In addition, they were responsible for repairing royal linen already in use and washing, starching and finishing small items and pieces of lace.<sup>41</sup> During the first half of the period, the bills of Henry Furnesse include quantities of linen that were provided each year for the Seamstress and Starcher 'to Wash laces on'.<sup>42</sup> The care of such items was probably a relatively compact operation and there is no evidence to suggest that these servants had designated laundries at royal palaces within which to work. In contrast, the Body Laundress did require a laundry and it was necessary to hire rooms for this purpose at residences that lacked onsite facilities. In William III's establishment book of 1689 it was stipulated that £184 10s was to be reserved for the Body Laundress for the procurement of 'soap, allum, starch, fewell, [for the] hire of a Landry [Laundry] when we reside at Whitehall, and other necessaries and charges'.<sup>43</sup> It is also evident that the Body Laundress required rooms for drying and airing linen, suggesting that this office was responsible for processing larger and bulkier items such as bed sheets, pillowcases and nightshirts. During the reigns of William and Anne, 'smoothing

included in the duties of chambermaids. In 1704 at Swinton Hall in Yorkshire for example, a new chambermaid was required who would, in addition to other duties, 'make & mend' the family's fine linen clothes and 'wash and smooth all the fine linens & muslims & dress our heads'. Cited in M. Girouard, *The Country House Companion* (London: Century, 1987) p.132. In housekeeping manuals, stain removal, starching and mending linen were also often included within the duties of a chambermaid. See for example, H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant-Maid*, p.61 and H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, pp.3-15.

<sup>40</sup> On historical perceptions of laundresses see C. Rawcliffe, 'A Marginal occupation?' The Medieval Laundress and her Work', *Gender and History*, 2009, 21, 1, pp.147-169.

<sup>41</sup> TNA LC9/280, fols.99, 134, 211, 258, 319. See also BL MSS. Add. 78269, fol.67.

<sup>42</sup> See for example TNA LC9/281, fol.40.

<sup>43</sup> TNA LS13/39, fol. 15; LS13/41, fol.13.

cloths' were provided for the Body Laundress indicating that she also undertook the finishing of such pieces, using a combination of mangling and ironing.<sup>44</sup> All three offices were also responsible for the storage of the linen under their care and its transportation between residences. Every year these servants were each provided with travelling trunks with silk quilted interiors for the monarch's linen. In addition, leather covered cabinets with drawers, and leather hides and standards to lay over them in travelling were occasionally provided.<sup>45</sup>

In all of the above tasks, the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and Starcher were supported by a number of assistants. Indeed, payments to individuals in the records have the potential to misconstrue the picture, suggesting that the work of each office was fulfilled by one rather than a number of servants. Occasional references to laundry assistants suggest that there were, in fact, up to three in number. In 1693-4 Elizabeth Worthington, Mary II's Body Laundress, received wages of £260 'for herself and three maids'.<sup>46</sup> Edith College's bill for making up mourning clothes, following the death of Mary II, also refers to two servants who were presumably under her employ.<sup>47</sup> The names of these assistants do not appear in household establishment books suggesting that they were recruited, managed and paid by the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher themselves. This was certainly the case in Catherine of Braganza's household where it was reported in 1662 that Mary Young had been appointed as Body Laundress to the Queen 'with power to choose laundry maids'.<sup>48</sup> It is also possible that some work was subcontracted out to seamstresses and laundresses who lived nearby to royal residences or in London. How far the care of royal linen was delegated is difficult to measure. Given the standing of the women who held the offices of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher, it is likely that their assistants undertook the more arduous tasks of laundry such as boiling linen and mangling. It is also probable that they would have done the especially dirty jobs such as washing the royal 'stool ducketts'. This was the case in elite households where laundry tasks, that required physical exertion rather than dexterity, were usually performed by lower status 'washmaids' rather than the

<sup>44</sup> TNA LC5/154, fol.167; LC5/45, fol.126.

<sup>45</sup> TNA LC5/280, fols.52, 53, 97, 134, 184, 226, 390; LC9/282, fol.69; LC5/154, fol.167; LC5/44, fol.344.

<sup>46</sup> BL MSS. Add. 78269, fol.34.

<sup>47</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.254.

<sup>48</sup> Cited in P. Wardle, 'Divers Necessaries', p.23.

more elite laundresses or chambermaids.<sup>49</sup> In some cases where the posts of Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher were held by women who seem to have had little expertise in the care of linen, even the more skilled tasks may have been passed down to assistants, leaving the office holder to play a predominately supervisory and managerial role.

When the monarch was in residence at Hampton Court the Body Laundress and her assistants undertook their work in a laundry specifically designated for their use. Within the palace complex it is likely there were numerous small laundries for the laundresses to the general household, to elite courtiers and members of the royal family. Amongst these, the king and queen each had their own body laundry for their Body Laundresses. The fullest entry relating to one of these laundries dates from 1728 when significant alterations were made to Queen Caroline's body laundry under the supervision of the fashionable architect William Kent, at the substantial cost of £50.<sup>50</sup> The exact locations of this laundry and king's laundry are however not recorded in the accounts, contemporary plans or surveys of the palace, raising the possibility that they were outside of the main palace complex. At most elite houses, laundry facilities were usually located in the service areas, clearly separated off from the family lodgings. At Hampton Court this was the case in regard to the laundry fitted up in 1718 for the Prince and Princess of Wales's children, Princess Ann and Princess Amelia. This is marked on one of two plans of Henry VIII's former tennis court that had been converted into lodgings for James, Duke of York, in the early 1670s, briefly occupied by Queen Anne when Princess, and then converted for the young Princesses in 1716-17.<sup>51</sup> In a plan of the ground floor of these apartments a 'wash house' and a room for laundry maids are shown in the range of buildings on the north side of chapel court that functioned as a service wing (fig.97). There was also a large room and what may have been a closet, that were assigned to the Princess of Wales's Laundress, suggesting this may also have functioned as Caroline's body laundry. Sadly, no further evidence can be gleaned from the building itself, as this area of the palace was destroyed by fire

<sup>49</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, pp.144-145.

<sup>50</sup> TNA LC5/160, fol.32. See also HRP collection number 3001813. This work cost the substantial sum of £50. Further references to the king's and the queen's body laundries at Hampton Court can be found at TNA Work 5/55, fols.17, 27 and 31.

<sup>51</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.253.

in 1886. It is also evident that from the 1660s a laundry for the Lord Chamberlain was located in what is now known as Master Carpenter's Court. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries this had been the boiling house for the households kitchens but had been converted into a laundry after the Restoration (fig.20).<sup>52</sup> Notably by the time of a survey of Hampton Court, taken in 1702, six rooms, one closet and three garrets in this area of the palace were assigned to the monarch's Seamstress and Starcher for the duration of their stay at Hampton Court (figs.21 & 98). It is not clear however whether the laundry on the ground floor was still functioning as a place of work or whether this room was part of their living quarters.

At Hampton Court, rooms were also provided for drying and finishing royal bed and body linen. During the reign the Charles II, rooms for 'Mrs Laundresse for drying of Lynnen' were located in one of the towers of Henry VIII's former tiltyard that are shown in a view of Hampton Court drawn for Cosimo III de Medici in 1669 (fig.99).<sup>53</sup> Earlier during the reign of Charles I there are also references to lodgings for the King's Laundress and the repair of a room for 'Mrs Saunderson, Mrs Laundress to ye Queen'.<sup>54</sup> While it is not possible to say with any certainty which tower they occupied, archaeological surveys of the basement of the one surviving tiltyard tower uncovered a sixteenth or seventeenth century drain, that may have been related to this laundry function.<sup>55</sup> By the reign of William and Mary however, all but one of the tiltyard towers had either collapsed or been pulled down, and the tiltyard itself had been turned in a kitchen garden. The one remaining tower was therefore probably used as a gardener's store rather than a laundry by the 1690s.<sup>56</sup> No further evidence for a dry laundry appears in the accounts until 1720 when orders were given for 'enclosing and fitting up Twenty four foot in length and thirteen in breadth of that end of the passage called the Cowhouse next to the Banqueting house staires for a Landry [Laundry] for Ironing his Majestys Linnen'.<sup>57</sup> This

<sup>52</sup> This was due a reduction in the number of household diets that led to the disbandment or merging of some of the kitchen offices at Hampton Court. T. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.155.

<sup>53</sup> 1674 Survey of the palace, TNA LC5/201, fol.157.

<sup>54</sup> TNA LC5/132, fol.49; LC5/134, fol.56.

<sup>55</sup> Oxford Archaeology report, 2006, cited in A. Gregory, 'The Tiltyard and Wilderness', 2011, p.20, unpublished report for Historic Royal Palaces, curatorial department library, Hampton Court Palace.

<sup>56</sup> A. Gregory, 'The Tiltyard and Wilderness', p.23.

<sup>57</sup> TNA LC5/157, fol.320

'Cowhouse' is not marked on contemporary plans, yet it is likely that it was the cowhouse that had previously belonged to the resident Wardrobe Keeper at the palace who had lodgings in the range of buildings to the south-west of Base Court.<sup>58</sup> Judging by this and the mention of the banqueting house stairs, this laundry was probably located to the west of the privy gardens and the hothouse that are shown on an annotated plan of the palace c.1710 (fig.100). This area would have been entirely suitable for a laundry as it was near the river and in proximity to a number of other service buildings such as the woodyard and the bakehouse. In 1733 Bernard Lens produced a drawing of this area of the palace, as seen from barge walk along the river, that shows the corner of the banqueting house and a number of service buildings, one of which may have contained the laundry (fig.101).

Little evidence of the laundries at Hampton Court survives today. The one remaining laundry room is in the attic of the German kitchen that was built for George I on the north side of tennis court lane (fig.102). This room has rows of wooden hooks fitted to the ceiling beams that would have been used for drying linen on lines, and a wooden box mangle (figs.103 & 104).<sup>59</sup> Located above the King's kitchen, this attic was probably used as a dry laundry for course linen from the kitchen itself or table linen that was used for dining. In the basement of the building there is also an early in built copper for heating water that may either have been utilised by the kitchen itself or for use in wet laundry (fig.105). Alternatively, the box mangle that dates from the nineteenth century, suggests that the attic and the basement may have been converted into a wet and dry laundry at a later date. Writing to the Lord Chamberlain in the 1760s the then Under-Housekeeper Elizabeth Mostyn complained that 'the Women who take In washing bring their Linnen constantly up into the Court to Dry in full view of everyone who comes to the Palace [...]’ suggesting that by the later-eighteenth century the palace was very well equipped with laundries to support the Grace and Favour residents.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> TNA LC5/201, fol.195. For the Wardrobe Keeper's cow house see TNA WORK 5/55, fols.6, 45, 78

<sup>59</sup> I am grateful to Kent Rawlinson showing me the attic and basement of the German kitchen and for sharing his thoughts on their fittings. Evidence for washing line hooks in royal laundries can be in the accounts of 1689. In Mary II's laundry 24 line hooks were fitted at a cost of 8s 6d, TNA WORK 5/55, fol.36.

<sup>60</sup> Papers of Sir Robert Wilmot, Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain, DA D3155-C3344

For the duration of the courts stay at Hampton Court, the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher were also provided with lodgings. As mentioned above, a survey of the palace taken in 1702 reveals that the monarch's Seamstress and Starcher were allocated a sizable apartment in Master Carpenter's Court that comprised of seven rooms including bedchambers, dining rooms, closets and rooms for servants (fig. 98).<sup>61</sup> Significantly, they also included three garrets that may have been used as a workspace or as rooms for sleeping additional servants. The fullest account relating to these lodgings dates from 1711 when they were refurnished for Elizabeth Abrahall and Ann Rainsford, Queen Anne's Seamstress and Starcher. The upholsterer Hamden Reeve supplied two 'stuff bedds Laced with worsted and silk lace' and lined with 'pearle colour fine double worsted camblett' at £22 each.<sup>62</sup> The bedding, also supplied by Reeve, consisted of two large feather beds and bolsters filled with fine seasoned feathers, two chequered mattress, two Holland quilts, two pairs of pillows, four pairs of fine large blankets and two large calico quilts.<sup>63</sup> Wall hangings and embroidered window curtains were provided to match the bed hangings and simple dressing glasses were supplied by Gerrit Jensen at a cost of £2 each.<sup>64</sup> While these furnishings were less expensive than those supplied for the middling and elite servants of Queen Anne's bedchamber at Hampton Court (her Bedchamber Women for example had beds of 'fine double worsted camblet' embroidered with silk lace at £35 each), there were nevertheless of good quality.<sup>65</sup> The lace decoration of the bed hangings and window curtains, and the long list of bedding in particular, suggest that the rooms were furnished in a comfortable and attractive manner. Far less evidence survives as to the location of the lodgings for the monarch's Body Laundress. In the survey of 1674 it was recorded that in addition to the tower for drying linen 'Mrs Laundress to ye king' also had two rooms in the west range of Base Court to the north of the Tudor

<sup>61</sup> TNA LC5/202, fol. 196. For the arrangement of these lodgings see BL MS. Add.69961, fol. 118.

<sup>62</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol. 19. 'Stuff' was used as a general term for fabrics that were woven from worsted yarns but did not have a nap or pile. Stuffs were defined in *The Dictionary of Needlework* in 1887 and included calimancoes, camblets, lustrings, merionos, moreens, plaids, shalloon and tammies. See R. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia* p.203.

<sup>63</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol. 19.

<sup>64</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol. 19.

<sup>65</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol. 18.

gateway.<sup>66</sup> The Queen's Laundress and her Starcher also had lodgings comprising of three rooms and a closet on the ground floor below the king's apartments (fig.20).<sup>67</sup> By 1702 however the rooms in Base Court were in the possession of Antonio Verrio and those on the ground floor of the king's apartments had been replaced by the king's privy lodgings in the new building.<sup>68</sup> After this date no records survive to indicate the whereabouts of the lodgings for the king's or queen's Body Laundresses. It is however evident that some servants were lodged outside the palace due to a lack of space, and it is possible that they were amongst these.

As it can be seen, the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and Starcher were far from menial servants and in some cases may even have been known personally to the monarch. These servants were generously remunerated, and even honoured after their death, reflecting their skill, their role in managing others and the trust that was placed in them by the monarch and the Groom of the Stole.

### Necessary Women

Each day when the monarch was in residence at Hampton Court, the rooms of the royal bedchamber were cleaned, and prepared, by servants known as Necessary Women. Across the palace there were many Necessary Women who were responsible for cleaning the various apartments of the living quarters. Evidence suggests that in the king's state apartments there were approximately four of these servants who, with their assistants, each cleaned a specific area. First amongst these individuals was the monarch's own Necessary Woman who was included within the lower ranks of the bedchamber department, and appointed and supervised by the Groom of the Stole. This was in contrast to the other Necessary Women who did not work directly for the monarch. They were under the direction of the Lord Chamberlain, even though some of them worked within rooms that were technically part of the bedchamber district. This arrangement was replicated in all of the royal households. Each had a team of a

<sup>66</sup> TNA LCS/201, fol.146.

<sup>67</sup> TNA LCS/201, fol.153.

<sup>68</sup> TNA LCS/202, fol.195.

Necessary Women, of which one was appointed as Necessary Woman to the queen, prince or princess.

All Necessary Women who worked at court were essentially cleaners, yet it is difficult to define their precise role. The title of the office Necessary Woman is itself indistinct and cannot be associated with a specific set of practices. Historically, ‘necessary’ was used broadly to refer to persons, and especially servants, who rendered useful or personal services usually involving household management and housekeeping.<sup>69</sup> Reflecting the hidden nature of this type of work, no specific instructions to these servants appear in bedchamber ordinances, or in orders for the wider household. Evidence for Necessary Women is therefore predominately found in records of appointments, payments for wages, expenses and provisions, although the documentary evidence for this is fragmentary. Prior to the reign of James II these servants do not appear in official records such as household establishment books, the papers of the Lord Chamberlain or the Treasury. Instead, Necessary Women can be traced in the accounts for the Privy Purse, suggesting that these servants were traditionally paid privately by the monarch. In 1687, Ann Silver and a fellow servant who had been Necessary Women ‘to the bedchamber’ of Charles II, petitioned for the payment of £211 2s 6d owed to them ‘on their bills and wages payable out of the Privy Purse’.<sup>70</sup> This method of payment accounts for the scant evidence for Necessary Women in the records of Charles’s reign and their apparent exclusion from his bedchamber department.

It was not until 1685, when James II settled his household as king, that Necessary Women became part of the establishment and received a wage from the Treasury. In that year, Bridget Holmes, James’s own Necessary Woman, was included at the very end of the King’s establishment book. Her name appears under the heading ‘Added to the aforesaid establishment by his Maj:<sup>ties</sup> warrants of xxixth of December 1685 to commence with this establishment’, suggesting that the office was a new addition to the usual household lists.<sup>71</sup> Bridget Holmes

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<sup>69</sup> ‘Necessary’, *OED*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2003, online version, <http://www.oed.com/> accessed 12 October 2010.

<sup>70</sup> TNA T4/5, fol.22.

<sup>71</sup> Lord Steward’s establishment book, 1685, TNA LS13/38, fol. 20.

had originally been included in James's establishment as Duke of York, within the bedchamber department, and it is therefore likely that the King wished to continue this arrangement, rather than paying her through the Privy Purse.<sup>72</sup> From this date onwards, the name of the monarch's own Necessary Woman appears listed alongside the lower ranking servants of the bedchamber department.<sup>73</sup> Gradually over the period a number of other Necessary Women, who had also been paid privately, were similarly added to the establishment, although these servants were under the direction of the Lord Chamberlain.<sup>74</sup> The Treasury accounts of 1716 for example, include the first instance of payment to four Necessary Women 'formerly paid out of the Privy Purse'.<sup>75</sup> By 1727 there was a total of seven Necessary Women who were on the household establishment.<sup>76</sup> Some of these servants appear to have been attached to a particular residence, while others moved between all palaces.

This increasing presence of Necessary Women in the official records is revealing, yet it remains unclear as to precise number of these servants who were in attendance at court. At this lower level of the household, the system of appointments was not fully regularised, raising the possibility that there were a number of Necessary Women who were not officially included on the establishment. Payments to Elizabeth Towers, a Necessary Woman to Queen Anne, are a case in point. While warrants for the reimbursement of her travelling expenses appear in the Treasury accounts for 1711-13, her name is not included in establishment books for this period. Rather it seems that Elizabeth, who had previously been a Necessary Woman to George of Denmark, was unofficially kept on after his death.<sup>77</sup> In 1711-12, alone, Elizabeth made 20 journeys between Kensington, Hampton Court, St James's and Windsor, suggesting that she was in

<sup>72</sup> The Duke's 1677 establishment book can be found at BL MSS. Add.18958, fol. 5. A 1682 book is at BL MSS Add.38863, fol.3.

<sup>73</sup> See the Lord Chamberlain's establishment books 1689-1740, TNA LC3/3, fol.2, LC3/4, fol.2, LC3/5, fol.2, LC3/6, fol. 2, LC3/7, fol. 2, LC3/8. fol.2, LC3/9, fol.2; LC3/10, fol.2, LC3/11, fol.2.

<sup>74</sup> For references to the payment of Necessary Women through the Privy Purse see Mary II's privy purse accounts of 1693-4, BL MSS. Add.5751, fol. 179 and also a petition submitted by Henry Lowman, the House and Wardrobe at Kensington, BL MSS. Add.78269, fol. 67.

<sup>75</sup> These payments do not appear in the Treasury accounts prior to this date, suggesting that this was the first instance of payment via this method. 4<sup>th</sup> July 1716, *CTB*, vol.30, part II, pp.321-322.

<sup>76</sup> Lord Chamberlain's establishment books, 1724-41 TNA LC3/10, fol.23. See also 1728-40 LC3/11, fol.22.

<sup>77</sup> Elizabeth's name appears in a list of pensions paid to his servants after his death. As Necessary Woman she received £69 for 1 ½ years pension. See *CTB*, 1714, vol.28, part 2 (London: HMSO, 1955), p.67.

regular attendance as a Necessary Woman.<sup>78</sup> Rather than wages and an allowance however, she received only a pension from her time in the Prince's household and the money from her bills. In addition, there is also the question of how many servants worked under Necessary Women. Elizabeth Towers's bill of 1711-12 was for 'herself & servants'.<sup>79</sup> Similarly, warrants for black cloth to make mourning clothes also refer to the presence of assistants. Following the death of Mary II, in 1694, Johanna Verryt (or Verrijt), William III's own Necessary Woman, received cloth for herself, 'one Necessary Woman and five servants'.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, Mary's own Necessary Woman, Margaret Wood, was given black cloth for 'making up the mourning for herself two Necessary Women more and four servants'.<sup>81</sup> In the case of the monarch's own Necessary Woman, one of these assistants appears to have become an official position, as from 1714 onwards there are two Necessary Women, one as chief and one as deputy, named in the bedchamber establishment.<sup>82</sup>

Some sense of the division of work between Necessary Women can be gleaned from a petition dating from the reign of George I. This was submitted by Henry Lowman, the House and Wardrobe Keeper at Kensington, who considered that there were insufficient Necessary Women to clean the state apartments during a royal residence. Lowman represented that there was only one Necessary Woman to clean the 'great rooms above stairs', while in King William's time there had been three. As he explained, one Necessary Woman 'clean'd his Majestys Great and Little Closet, the Gallery, Library, and Antiroom'. A second 'clean'd his Majestys Great & Lesser Bedchambers, Drawing Room, & Dining Room' while a third 'clean'd the Presence and Privy Chamber'.<sup>83</sup> The King's private apartments were considered a separate domain and were cleaned by his own Necessary Woman. As Lowman stated, 'his Majesties Private Lodgings His Majesties Necessary Woman hath care of them'.<sup>84</sup> This appears to have been the chief responsibility of the monarch's own Necessary Women, as it was recorded in *The Present State of the British Court* (1720), Mary Foiston (or Foyston)

<sup>78</sup> TNA T53/21, fol.434. See also T53/22, fol.194.

<sup>79</sup> TNA T53/21, fol.434.

<sup>80</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.254.

<sup>81</sup> TNA LC5/43, fol.169.

<sup>82</sup> TNA LC3/7, fol.2, LC3/8, fol. 2. See also Anon, *The True State of England*, p.57.

<sup>83</sup> BL MSS. Add. 20101, fol.15.

<sup>84</sup> BL MSS. Add. 20101, fol.15.

Necessary Woman to George I, was responsible for ‘Cleaning his Majesty’s private Lodgings, and finding Necessaries thereto’.<sup>85</sup> In this role the monarch’s own Necessary Woman was charged with the care of some of the king’s most personal, private and valuable possessions. She travelled with the monarch between all residences, including Hampton Court, and, notably, was entitled to her own key to the royal bedchamber.<sup>86</sup> In the household of a male monarch, the Necessary Woman was also amongst the select group of servants who travelled with the king abroad and on campaign. During the 1690s Bridget Holmes, Necessary Woman to William III, and her successor Johanna Verryt attended the King in Holland and Flanders, for which they received 3s a day for ‘Riding charges & other expenditures’.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, in 1742 George II’s Necessary Woman, Susanna White, received money in lieu of her expenses for travelling with the King to Flanders.<sup>88</sup>

In accordance with her status as the monarch’s personal servant, the Necessary Woman who cleaned the privy lodgings had a large income of £91 5s in 1685, rising to £121 5s by 1702.<sup>89</sup> In 1685 when Bridget Holmes was appointed as Necessary Woman to James II, £60 of this was her salary, £10 10s was for her lodgings and £21 5s was for ‘all kind of necessaries in lieu of Bills’.<sup>90</sup> In addition she also received a diet of one dish of meat, one loaf of bread, beer and wine and a daily allowance of charcoal that amounted to two bushels in winter and one in summer.<sup>91</sup> When compared to the Necessary Women who cleaned other areas of the state apartments, this was a substantial income. In 1716 Alice Habberly, a Necessary Woman who cleaned ‘the Bedchamber, the Little Drawing Room, the Great Drawing Room, the Great Council Chamber and rooms beyond it’ at St James’s, received wages and an

<sup>85</sup> Anon, *The Present state of the British Court*, p.32.

<sup>86</sup> TNA LC5/151, fol. 403.

<sup>87</sup> TNA LC5/150, fols.324 & 334; see also ‘Appendix II’, *CTB*, vol. 16, 1700-1701 (1938), pp. 447, [www.british-history.ac.uk/](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/), accessed 20<sup>th</sup> April 2010.

<sup>88</sup> ‘An account of the several sums paid by the Cofferer to the respective officers and serv<sup>ts</sup> under the Lord Steward who are directed to attend his Majesty to Flanders due the last of March 1741/2 being for a half year’. Susan White £60 12s 6d. TNA T1/309, fol. 21.

<sup>89</sup> In the Lord Chamberlain’s establishment books for William’s reign no sum is given for the Necessary Woman’s wages and allowance. See TNA LC3/3, fol. 2, LC3/4, fol.2. However the Lord Steward’s establishment books that also listed the servants of the chamber do detail this. See establishment book LS13/41, fol.29. For later references to the Necessary Woman’s wages see LC3/5, fol.2, LC3/6, fol.2, LC3/7, fol.2, LC3/8, fol.2.

<sup>90</sup> TNA LS13/38, fol.20.

<sup>91</sup> TNA LS13/41, fol. 8; LS13/155, fol.14. Under George I, his Necessary Woman Mary Foyston no longer received a dish of meat for which she was compensated the sum of £91, 5s per annum. See LS13/44, fol.16.

allowance of £35 per annum, and a fee of 1s 6d a day, that presumably could be charged when the court was in residence.<sup>92</sup> In the same year Mrs Chaddick, a Necessary Woman who cleaned the king's backstairs also at St James, received an even lower wage and allowance of £23 per annum and seemingly no additional fee.<sup>93</sup> By 1714, the Necessary Woman who was deputy to the monarch's own Necessary Woman also received a relatively small income of £30.<sup>94</sup> Necessary Women who served other members of the royal family also had lesser wages. In 1716 the Princess of Wales's own Necessary Woman, Susanna Ireland, received a total of £56 in wages and in lieu of bills.<sup>95</sup> At the very bottom of the pay system were the Necessary Women to the servants of the bedchamber department, although even their wages were generous by the standards of the day. Ann Hickson for example, who cleaned the lodgings for Queen Anne's Ladies of the Bedchamber, was paid £20 per annum.<sup>96</sup>

As in the case of the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher, little evidence survives as to how candidates for the offices of Necessary Woman were chosen. However, given the intimate nature of cleaning tasks within the bedchamber and that knowledge and skill were required for the care of costly royal furnishings, it is likely that only experienced and trusted individuals were considered suitable. In 1689 the office of Necessary Woman to the monarch was given to Bridget Holmes, an elderly widow with a long history of service as a Necessary Woman to James II as King and as Duke of York. The first record of Bridget Holmes dates from 1676 when customs commissioners were requested to inquire into the status of '48 pieces of calico brought in the ship *Unity*, William Cruffe commander, from the East Indies for the account of Bridget Holmes, a servant to the Duke of York'.<sup>97</sup> At this time it is likely that Bridget was serving as Necessary Woman to the Duke for she appears in that office only one year later in James's household establishment book.<sup>98</sup> Little is known of Bridget's origins, as aside from a record of her death in 1691, there appears to be no

<sup>92</sup> *CTB*, vol.30, part II, pp.321-322.

<sup>93</sup> *CTB*, vol.30, part II, pp.321-322.

<sup>94</sup> TNA LC3/7, fol.2.

<sup>95</sup> The Prince and Princess of Wales's establishment book, 1716, BL MSS. Stowe 566, fol. 7.

<sup>96</sup> TNA LS13/258, fol.41.

<sup>97</sup> *CTB*, 1676-1679, vol. 5, part 1 (London, 1911), p. 367.

<sup>98</sup> BL MSS. Add.18958, fol.5.

church or probate records that relate to her. There is a possibility however that Bridget was Welsh. In May 1686 she successfully appealed to the Lord Treasurer, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Rochester, on behalf of her ‘kinsman’ the merchant John Morgan (d.1715), for the release of twelve casks of brandy that had customs officers had seized from his ship the *Trydegar* at Newport.<sup>99</sup> While the term ‘kinsman’ was often used loosely to refer to extended family or in-laws, this does suggest a link with the Morgans, a Welsh family of Ruperra Castle in Caerphilly, who had risen to prominence by the late seventeenth century.<sup>100</sup> Notably, the success of Bridget’s petition also suggests that she herself could command some influence with individuals such as the Lord Treasurer or his agents, and that this was known to those outside of court circles. It is also clear that Bridget had been married. On the 29 November 1684, £10 was paid by Mr. Griffin, the Treasurer of the Chamber to ‘Widow Holmes’. This appears to be a gift, possibly on the death of her husband or an annuity.<sup>101</sup>

That Bridget was selected to be one of William III’s bedchamber servants is surprising given her past service to James II. Early in his reign William fervently sought to distance himself from James, and seemingly, kept on none of his other bedchamber attendants. Notably it was only Bridget Holmes, and another Necessary Woman, Margaret Wood, who had served Mary of Modena, who remained in post, suggesting that they were not considered to be politically engaged.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, Bridget’s appointment remains remarkable considering that she was a particularly well known and valued member of James II’s household. In 1686 the painter John Riley was commissioned, probably by the King himself, to paint a portrait of Bridget (fig.106).<sup>103</sup> This very large artwork, which remains in the Royal Collection today, appears not to have been hung until the early eighteenth century when it was prominently displayed over the fireplace

<sup>99</sup> *CTB*, 1685-1689, vol. 8, part 2 (London, 1923), p. 727.

<sup>100</sup> John Morgan was the fourth son of Thomas Morgan of Machen and Tredegar in Wales by his wife Elizabeth. Over his life time Morgan amassed a large fortune in London and purchased Ruperra Castle in Caerphilly, where he later retired. As well as being a successful merchant Morgan was High Sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1697 and Member of Parliament for the borough 1701-1705. John Morgan, *Dictionary of National Biography of Wales*.

<sup>101</sup> *CTB*, 1681-1685, vol. 7, part 2 (London, 1916), p. 1420.

<sup>102</sup> Establishment book of the Duchess of York, 1677, BL MSS. Add.18958, fol.7. Margaret also appears in Mary II’s household establishment book, 1694, BL MSS. Add.78269, fol.67.

<sup>103</sup> Whether this portrait was a direct commission from James II is not known, but it seems likely considering that Riley also painted Katherine Elliott, the king’s nurse from childhood.

in George of Denmark's dining room at Windsor Castle.<sup>104</sup> In playful imitation of fashionable baroque portraiture, the painting shows Bridget in full length, in servants' dress, brandishing a broom, while a Page peeps out from behind a cascading curtain. An inscription on the stone step at the bottom left of the portrait records her name, the date, and her age at 96 years (fig.107). In a period in which adult average life expectancy was around 50, Bridget's remarkable longevity was undoubtedly an important reason for the commission of this painting.<sup>105</sup> Additionally, her long-standing loyalty as a servant to the Stuarts may also have been a contributing factor. On her death in 1691, aged 100 years, Bridget was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. On her monument, that sadly no longer survives, it was recorded that she had served not only William III and James II, but also Charles II and Charles I, a remarkable record considering the political upheavals and the many regime changes of seventeenth century.<sup>106</sup> While Bridget Holmes's name does not appear in the establishment books or the royal accounts prior to the 1670s, it is possible that under Charles I and II she was paid through the Privy Purse, or that she held a more menial position, for which no evidence survives.<sup>107</sup> It was therefore perhaps Bridget's long service to the court, rather than to just King James, that prompted her re-appointment in 1689. Such experience would undoubtedly have qualified her for a role that required knowledge and skill in the care of fine and costly furnishings.

Following Bridget Holmes's death, she was succeeded to the office of Necessary Woman to the King by Johanna Verryt, a woman of Dutch origin, who would perhaps have been more suited to the Williamite court. Johanna was the wife of Johannes Verryt, an army secretary from Maertensdyck in Zeeland. Their joint will, that was proved in 1721, suggests that both she and her husband were amongst the many Dutch servants who travelled to England in the wake of the King's invasion with the hope of gaining employment under the new

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<sup>104</sup> G. Waterfield, A. French and M. Craske, *Below Stairs*, p.70

<sup>105</sup> G. Waterfield, A. French and M. Craske, *Below Stairs*, pp.70-71.

<sup>106</sup> J. Crull, *The Antiquities of St Peter's or the Church-Abbey of Westminster*, p.163.

<sup>107</sup> It has not been possible to trace Bridget Holmes in the establishment books that date from the reigns of Charles I or Charles II. TNA LC3/1 and LC3/2 list the Lord Chamberlain's establishments for 1641 and 1660 although many of the lower status servants are not recorded by name. Similarly, the Lord Steward's establishment books from 1629 to 1684 LS13/30-38 do not record her in post, although again many offices are only listed by title rather than by name. She also cannot be traced in the Treasury and State Papers for Charles I or II's reigns.

regime.<sup>108</sup> Johanna most probably owed her place at court to her connection with Cornelius Van Gronsvelt, ‘a domestic of My Lord Portland’, William III’s Groom of the Stole, who was named as a witness in the Verryt will. It is therefore likely that she was known, albeit indirectly, to the King’s most trusted servant, and the head of the bedchamber department. Despite this, and her trips abroad with the rest of the King’s bedchamber servants, there are no accounts of Johanna at court suggesting that she was a less well-known figure compared to her contemporary Jane Ireland.

In contrast, Mary Foyston (or Foiston) who was Necessary Woman to Queen Anne seems to have been more a prominent courtier. David Hamilton, a physician to Anne, recorded in his diary that Abigail Masham scolded Mrs Smith and Mrs Foyston ‘lest they had thrown her child down in the Queen’s room on purpose’.<sup>109</sup> While the situation described here is unclear, Hamilton’s reference to Mary by her married name and the mention of her together with Mrs Smith (Anne), who was a Maid of Honour, suggests that she enjoyed a degree of status. Mary had been a member of Anne’s household since her minority, indicating that she was known personally to the Queen. She appears as Necessary Woman in the establishment of 1677, when Anne was only twelve years old, and was still in post at the time Anne set up her own household as Princess in 1683. The establishment book of 1683 also lists a George Foyston, a coachman, who may well have been her husband.<sup>110</sup> In 1714 Mary Foyston was re-appointed as Necessary Woman in George I’s bedchamber, although whether she still played an active role in cleaning the King’s private apartments is not uncertain. As George employed a number of private servants in his bedchamber, it is possible that another Necessary Woman was paid through the Privy Purse. Mary was certainly in old age by 1714, raising the possibility that her reappointment may

<sup>108</sup> Will of John (Johannes) Verryt TNA PROB 11/578. On Dutch courtiers at the English court see D. Onnekirk, ‘Dutch Counsels’.

<sup>109</sup> P. Roberts, ed., *The Diary of Sir David Hamilton 1709-1714* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1975), pp.56-57.

<sup>110</sup> BL Add. MSS. 15897, fol. 55. It is also likely that Mary later obtained a place for her nephew John Foyston who was appointed as a Messenger in 1710. John Fyson [Foyston], left all his estate to his aunt Mary Fyson, a widow and his brother George Fyson. See Will of John Fyson, TNA PROB 11/ 571.

simply have been considered advantageous as a connection to the Stuart courts.<sup>111</sup>

During the reign of George II, the office of Necessary Woman to the monarch was held by Susanna White, a married woman from Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire. How Susanna obtained her place at court is not known, yet it was perhaps through her connection to the Russell family who were prominent Whigs.<sup>112</sup> Susanna and her husband Richard held the copyhold tenure of a barn and orchard in Chorleywood that belonged to the estate of Chenies, the Hertfordshire home of the Russell family.<sup>113</sup> There are no accounts of Susanna during her time at court and although she served the King for 26 years and accompanied him abroad, she returned to Rickmansworth shortly before her death in 1754. Her gravestone in the parish church was inscribed ‘in memory of a faithful servant in the royal household, Necessary Woman to his Majesty King George’.<sup>114</sup>

While in some instances the women holding the office of Necessary Woman to the monarch appear to have been relatively prominent figures within the bedchamber and known to members of the court elite, it seems this was not the case in regard to the many other Necessary Women who held less prestigious places. A petition submitted by Jane Spencer, Necessary Woman to the Gentlemen and Grooms of George I’s bedchamber, suggests that aside from their court salaries these women may have had little other financial means. Appealing to Charles Spencer, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Sunderland, Groom of the Stole to George I, she wrote:

May it please your Lo<sup>p</sup> [Lordship] for Gods sake to remember your poor Namesake, Necessary Woman to the Lords & Grooms of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Bedchamber, that she may have some small settlement, or salary, for the same, as her predecessors formerly had, she having dependence Upon

<sup>111</sup> In the 1714 establishment book it was stated that Mary was to receive £91 05s 00d ‘in consideration of her great age and long service and in lieu of a dish of meat a day granted her by the late queen’. TNA LS13/44, unpaginated.

<sup>112</sup> L. G. Schwoerer, ‘Russell, Rachel, Lady Russell (bap. 1637, d. 1723)’, *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 4<sup>th</sup> October 2010.

<sup>113</sup> Will of Susanna White, TNA PROB 11/800; Will of Richard White, TNA PROB 11/763.

<sup>114</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1922, 12, XI, p.87.

None Under God, But your Lord<sup>ship</sup>, And your Lord<sup>ship</sup>'s poor petitioner  
as in Duty Bound shall ever Pray.<sup>115</sup>

Some of these women were connected to other lower ranking members of the royal household. Alice Habberly, for example, was the wife of Rowland Habberly who from 1713 held the posts of Chamber-keeper to the officers of Guard, Chamber Keeper to the Horse and Foot Guards, and by 1715 First Door Keeper of the Privy Kitchen.<sup>116</sup> Jane Habberly, who later held the place of Necessary Woman at St James's Palace, may well have been their daughter.

As in the case of the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and Starcher, the specific roles and responsibilities of Necessary Women are to an extent obscured behind the system of wages and allowances. However, this was not so with all Necessary Women, and where detailed payments do appear in the records they give a good sense of some aspects of their work. On account of her exclusion from the household establishment, Elizabeth Towers, was permitted to submit bills for provisions. A warrant for payment to her in 1711-12, a year in which she had attended at Hampton Court, includes reimbursement for 'towels and rubbers', 'flaxon Cloath' and 'Swan Skinn', items that would all have been used for cleaning and polishing wainscoting and wooden furniture.<sup>117</sup> In addition to Elizabeth's bills, there are warrants for payment to Sarah Pritchard, a Necessary Woman at Kensington during the reign of George I, for 'money disburst by her' for 'Mops, Brooms, Brushes and other necessaries'.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, in 1722 Jane Spencer, a Necessary Woman to the Gentlemen and Grooms of the Bedchamber to George I, was paid 'the sum of sixty pounds (being money disburst by her) for Mopps, Brooms, Pales, Matts, Soape &c and likewise for herself and servants attending and cleaning their apartments at Kensington and Hampton Court during his Majesties Residences there between 1715 and the year 1721'.<sup>119</sup> A further bill for cleaning, submitted by Ann Du Hurst, a Necessary Woman to Mary II, appears in the Queen's Privy Purse accounts for 1693-4. This includes

<sup>115</sup> BL Add. MSS. 61605, f.178.

<sup>116</sup> Rowland Habberly married Alice Lloyd on the 9<sup>th</sup> January 1704 at St Martin in the Fields, [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org)

<sup>117</sup> TNA T53/21, fol.434.

<sup>118</sup> TNA LC5/158, fol.65,

<sup>119</sup> TNA LC5/158, fol.74,

reimbursement of 5 shillings for ‘a Basket to carry ye scotch coal’.<sup>120</sup> Further evidence can be found in the Wardrobe accounts between 1689 and 1702 in a yearly order of supplies for the monarch’s own Necessary Woman ‘and the servants of the backstairs’.<sup>121</sup> Orders for these provisions, that were sourced from the royal coffer maker, appear at regular intervals in the Lord Chamberlain’s warrant books, aside from some instances where the Necessary Woman seems to have purchased these items herself.<sup>122</sup> When this was the case her name appears in the Wardrobe bill books. In 1693 for example, Johanna Verryt, William’s Necessary Woman, submitted a bill for the following:

	l   s   d
for 12 Ells of Bruxells Cloth	01: 16: 00
for 12 Ells of Canvas	00: 18: 00
for 12 Clos estoole panns	03: 00: 00
for 6 pewter Chamberpotts	00: 15: 00
for 4 pewter Basons	00: 12: 00
for 4 brass Candlesticks	00: 16: 00
for 12 Ells of Serge	01: 10: 00
for 72 Ells of Holland for 6 pair of sheetes	10: 16: 00
for a Dozen of Knives with a Case	00: 15: 00 <sup>123</sup>

Aside from the Holland linen for sheets and the set of knives, these items were included every year without fail in the order for the King’s own Necessary Woman. In some years there were other additional provisions. In 1689-90 for example, a ‘copper Ash pann’ at £2 8s, a ‘brass pott with a frame to it’ at £1 2s and ‘one Copper Kettle with a Cover’ were provided for Bridget Holmes.<sup>124</sup> While some of these items were evidently for these servants to use in their own lodgings, the stool pans and the textiles were almost certainly intended for some element of their work. Of all the servants in the royal household, it was only the king and queen’s own Necessary Women who were provided with these items in such regular supply. It is also notable that an especially large sum of £3 was

<sup>120</sup> BL MSS. Add. 5751, fol.179.

<sup>121</sup> TNA LC9/279, fols.17, 28, 94, 116, 151; LC9/280, fols.28, 52, 59, 98, 134, 182.

<sup>122</sup> See for example TNA LC9/279, fol. 151.

<sup>123</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.182.

<sup>124</sup> BL. MSS. Add.5751, fol. 179, TNA LC9/279, fol. 78, TNA LC5/124, no.14.

expended on the pewter close stool pans. While most pewter objects supplied for the household cost of a fraction of this, £3 was equivalent to the price of stool pans provided for the monarch, suggesting that they may have been a stock supply for royal use. It is also evident that the serge included in the order was made up into carrying bags. A bill submitted by Margaret Wood, Mary II's Necessary Woman, included '16 large Pewter Clos estoole pans' at £4 8s and '12 yards of serge to carry them in' at £1 10s.<sup>125</sup> What is certain is that Necessary Women were responsible for cleaning royal stool rooms. Following the fall of James II and Princess Anne's escape from Whitehall Palace in 1688, Pepys wrote to Lord Dartmouth, that the Princess had managed to leave her rooms secretly by using the passage to the stool room and a 'pair of small backstairs, by which the necessary woman uses to goe in and out for the cleaning of that room'.<sup>126</sup>

These accounts are patchy, yet they do give a good sense of some of the work undertaken by Necessary Women. On a daily basis these servants were evidently responsible for the round of cleaning in the royal apartments. Judging by the items purchased, this included cleaning and laying fires, dusting and polishing furniture, mopping and sweeping, and emptying and cleaning chamber pots and close stool pans, work that was equivalent to that of housemaids and chambermaids in elite households.<sup>127</sup> In addition to these tasks, the monarch's own Necessary Woman was responsible for bed making. While in bedchamber ordinances it was stated that the Grooms of the Bedchamber were to 'make our Bed' and the Pages of the Bedchamber were 'to make the bed for the Gentlemen of our Bedchamber to lodge in' (ie: the pallet bed in the king's bedchamber), it appears that by the late seventeenth century these orders were outdated.<sup>128</sup> By the reign of William III, the honour of sleeping alongside the king at night had been devolved to the Grooms of the Bedchamber, and as a consequence bed making had fallen to the Necessary Woman.<sup>129</sup> In his *An Enquiry into the Behavior of the Queen's Last Ministry* (1756), Jonathan Swift described Mary Foyston, Queen

<sup>125</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.28.

<sup>126</sup> *Letters of Two Queens* [ie: Mary II and Anne] with introduction and notes by Benjamin Bathurst (London: R. Holden and Co., 1925), p.217.

<sup>127</sup> On the duties of chambermaids and housemaids see H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant Maid*, pp.61-69; H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, pp.3-15 & 23-33.

<sup>128</sup> BL MSS. Stowe 563, fol.17.

<sup>129</sup> In the household of a male monarch in particular it is certain that this domestic work would not have been thought fitting for the Grooms who were commonly drawn from the ranks of the military.

Anne's own Necessary Woman as 'an old bedmaker', suggesting that this was one of her main tasks.<sup>130</sup> It is also clear from the memoirs of the Duchess of Northumberland, a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, that by the reign of George III it was the Queen's Necessary Woman who warmed her bed at night with a warming pan.<sup>131</sup>

In all of these tasks Necessary Women would have been assisted by their own servants, who would probably have undertaken the more menial aspects of cleaning. Judging by the advice given to domestics in household books and published guides, especially dirty tasks, such as cleaning and laying the fires, were allocated to lower ranking housemaids rather than chambermaids. Conversely, cleaning tasks that required more expertise would have probably have been undertaken, or closely supervised, by the Necessary Woman herself. Fragile and expensive items were not be cleaned by untrained hands, as Susanna Whatman instructed her housemaid 'never to dust the pictures nor the frames of anything with a gilt edge [...] the girlandoes Mrs W[hatman] always cleans herself. They should never be touched'.<sup>132</sup> In regard to the monarch's own Necessary Woman and her servants their work may also have been distributed in accordance with a hierarchy of objects that was dependant on their ownership, or their association with the royal body. In bed making for example, the Necessary Woman herself, with some assistance, may have made the bed in which the monarch slept, while her servants alone may have packed away and set up the pallet bed for the Grooms or Bedchamber Women. Without any evidence however, this does remain speculation. Indeed, many questions remain unanswered in relation to the work of Necessary Women in the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. It is not clear for example, whether the monarch's own Necessary Woman and her servants would have made the beds when the king slept in the little bedchamber that was technically outside the privy lodgings, or whether this would have been undertaken by one of the other Necessary Women who worked in the state rooms. Whether any of the Necessary Women changed the linen of state beds is also not clear as no records survive to

<sup>130</sup> J. Swift, 'An Enquiry into the Queen's Last Ministry' (1756) *Political Tracts 1713-1719* ed., H. David and I. Ehrenpreis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1953), p.80.

<sup>131</sup> J. Greig ed., *The Diaries of a Duchess, Extracts from the Diaries of the first Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776)* (London: Hodder and Staughton, 1926), p.78.

<sup>132</sup> *The Housekeeping book of Susanna Whatman*, pp.38-9.

suggest who was responsible for this task. Questions also remain as to who emptied and cleaned the monarch's close stools and chamber pots. Given that it was an especially intimate task, this may have been considered a role for the monarch's own Necessary Woman, as Pepys letter to Dartmouth indicates. Alternatively, contemporary attitudes towards the uncleanliness of bodily waste may have rendered this task one for the Necessary Woman's servants.

Much of the work undertaken by Necessary Women must have been performed early in the day before the rooms were in use by the monarch. Although there are no orders for Necessary Women included in ordinances of the period, during the reign of Charles I it was decreed:

The inferior Ministers that looke to Our Clocks, or to Our Pictures, or to make cleane the rooms, shall be permitted to come into Our Privie Lodgings for the performance of theire service daylie before nine in the morning, but after that however shall forbear those places.<sup>133</sup>

Nonetheless, it is likely that some Necessary Women were in almost constant attendance at the backstairs. Tasks such as emptying chamber pots and stool pans would have required their presence throughout the day. It was perhaps on account of this, that the monarch's own Necessary Woman was given lodgings alongside the rest of the bedchamber department on the top floor of the state apartments, directly above the royal bedchamber. The survey of the palace taken in 1702, and the inventory of 1714, relates that the monarch's own Necessary Woman had two rooms, a bedchamber and dining room, on the less desirable north facing side of the apartments, next door to the lodgings for Grooms of the Bedchamber in waiting (fig.29).<sup>134</sup> From the attic storey the Necessary Woman could reach the principal rooms of the bedchamber on the first floor directly via the backstairs (2), while entry could also be gained to the privy lodgings on the ground floor from Fountain Court (fig.16). No accounts for furnishings specifically for these lodgings appear in the Wardrobe papers, yet some sense of the type and quality of the items that might have been provided can be gleaned from the upholsterer Richard Bealing's bill of 1689. This included a charge of

<sup>133</sup> TNA LC5/180, fol.26.

<sup>134</sup> TNA LC5/202, fol. 200. A 1714 inventory of non-royal furnishings relates that the Necessary Woman's lodgings included a bedchamber and a dining room. See BL MSS. Add.69961, fol.118.

£11 10s for a bedstead, a canopied bed of drugget decorated with fringe, a feather bed and bolster, a paire of blankets and a rug for Mary II's own Necessary Woman.<sup>135</sup> While drugget was relatively plain textile of wool or woolen mix often used for curtains and linings, the feather bed and decorative fringing indicate that this was nevertheless a bed of some quality. In the queen's state apartments at Hampton Court, it is likely that Caroline's own Necessary Woman, Susanna Ireland, was similarly lodged with the rest of the bedchamber servants in the half storey above the queen's state bedchamber and the private apartments. The only reference to furnishings for these rooms dates from 1731 when Susanna was provided with an oval wainscot table, six matted bottom chairs for a dining room, a further three 'strong wooden chairs' and a 'small Wainscot breakfast table'.<sup>136</sup> At the same time her deputy, Mrs Haynes was provided with a field bed hung with green watered cheny, trimmed with lace at a cost of £8.<sup>137</sup> In addition, a field bed of red printed stuff at a cost of £5 3s 6d was provided for a servant to one of the Necessary Women.<sup>138</sup> Aside from these apartments, no other rooms at Hampton Court seem to have been assigned to Necessary Women from 1700 onwards, indicating that those who cleaned the principal rooms of the state apartments were lodged outside the palace.<sup>139</sup> During Queen Anne's residence in the autumn of 1711 this was certainly the case for Elizabeth Towers (and her presumably her servants) who spent 32 nights in a lodging house nearby for which she was reimbursed £2 8s.<sup>140</sup>

In regard to Necessary Women, there was a clear hierarchy of status and remuneration that was dependant upon the rooms in which they worked and the value of objects that they were responsible for. In particular, the monarch's own Necessary Woman was distinguished by her role as a personal servant to the king and her right to lodgings directly above the bedchamber. Evidently, these women

<sup>135</sup> TNA LC9/279, fol. 133. In the accounts of 1717-8 two beds for the use of the king's own Necessary Woman at Hampton Court are mentioned, although these were repaired rather than provided new and the bill gives little sense of their design. See TNA LC5/47, fol. 32.

<sup>136</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.70.

<sup>137</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.72 & 76. Cheny was a relatively inexpensive textile that was commonly used for case covers, although on this bed the lace trimming and the technique of watering which rippled textiles would have added decorative effect.

<sup>138</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.76.

<sup>139</sup> The works accounts reveal that earlier in 1689 some Necessary Women were lodged in Pheasant Court, now known as Round Kitchen Court. See TNA WORK 5/55, fol.32.

<sup>140</sup> TNA T53/21, fol.434.

were not simply, housemaids given their role in managing their own servants and the skill and trust implicit in their work.

### Access, intimacy and influence

So far this chapter has discussed who was selected to undertake cleaning and laundry within the bedchambers, why they were chosen, their individual roles, and where they worked and lodged at Hampton Court. It now moves on to analyse the relationship between domestic work, intimacy, access and influence. Within the hierarchy of the bedchamber department these servants were low ranking and, in most cases, could have had little personal interaction with the monarch and the court elite. By the nature of their work it was necessary that they were mostly temporally or spatially segregated to the backstairs, and the service areas, of Hampton Court. As discussed in chapter four, such distinctions were an important means whereby the proper ordering of households could be upheld. However, it is evident that in some cases these servants were able to transgress court hierarchies through their work and even engage with the more elite members of the bedchamber and the monarch. On account of this, some women servants were considered to be influential members of the court

Contemporary perceptions of Mary Foyston, Necessary Woman to Queen Anne, are a case in point. In his *Reminiscences* (1788) Horace Walpole recalled that Mary was a ‘violent Whig, [who] had been about Queen Anne in her Nursery; & was her necessary Woman’. Significantly, he also recorded that ‘Lord Bolingbroke told Lady Suffolk She [Mary] had protracted the peace (of Utrecht in 1713) six months; & Dr Arbuthnot told her that it was this Woman that proposed to the Queen to give the golden key to the Duchess of Somerset’.<sup>141</sup> Jonathan Swift shared Walpole’s view of Mary, writing in his *Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Late Queen’s Ministry*:

The commonest observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce from

<sup>141</sup> P. Toynbee ed., *Reminiscences written by Mr Horace Walpole in 1788 for the amusement of Miss Mary and Miss Agnes Berry*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p.124.

my knowledge three or four very surprising instances. I have seen an old Bedmaker [note: Mrs Foisson, necessary woman to the Queen, preferred to that employment by my Lady Masham] by officiously going to one Door, when Gratitude as well as common Sense should have sent her to another, become the Instrument of putting the Nation to the Expense of some thousand Lives, and severall millions of money.<sup>142</sup>

In his analysis of Swift's text Irvin Ehrenpreis had suggested that this may refer to the crisis of 1708 when the Tory politician Robert Harley, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Oxford, was forced to resign, partly over accusations that he had been colluding with the Bedchamber Woman, Abigail Masham, to influence the Queen. Mary Foyston may have allowed access to a Whig politician who caught Harley waiting at the backstairs, thus confirming their suspicions of his intriguing.<sup>143</sup> To an extent, these accounts are indicative of Mary's unusually prominent place within Anne's all female bedchamber where it seems that there was opportunity for some lower ranking women to engage with the monarch, and the more elite servants. Swift and Walpole's views on Mary may also have been coloured by the paranoia of the rival Whig and Tory factions over the influence of Anne's female bedchamber. Nevertheless, they do highlight that a woman who held one the lowest ranking offices in the department could still be perceived as politically influential. As Swift's account suggests, the very fact that the monarch's Necessary Woman was entitled to hold her own key to the royal bedchamber must have allowed her some control over access, permitting or excluding persons as she wished. While Mary's case is perhaps unique, it does suggest that the role of Necessary Woman allowed scope for lower status female servants to be more politically active than it has hitherto been acknowledged.

In addition to this, it was recognised that even those servants who were less overtly influential were politicised and empowered through their work in dealing with intimate and bodily objects belonging to the monarch. As the work of Tim Meldrum has shown, in a wider context, domestics such as chambermaids and housemaids were often regarded with some ambiguity on account of their knowledge of personal and private matters and were often called upon to give

<sup>142</sup> J. Swift, *An Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Late Queen's Ministry*, p.80. Swift was in fact incorrect in his assertion that Mary has received her place through Abigail Masham's favour. As previously discussed Mary had held the office of Necessary Woman since Anne's minority, while Abigail Masham was appointed much later in 1702.

<sup>143</sup> I. Ehrenpreis, 'Swift's Enquiry', *Notes and Queries*, 1949, 17, p.360.

evidence in trials for adultery as their work in cleaning, and attending in bedchambers, made them expert witnesses.<sup>144</sup> Within the context of court, it was similarly the case that seemingly menial tasks such as washing bed sheets and emptying chamber pots were a means to knowledge. Worn next to the skin and slept in at night, linen bore the marks of the royal body, its scents and excretions. Similarly, an examination of the colour, smell and consistency of urine and stool was considered to be a method of reading the body and measuring its health.<sup>145</sup> Within contemporary discourses it was therefore the monarch's Necessary Woman and Body Laundress who were regarded as those who had the greatest degree of familiarity with the state of the royal body. In 1688 for example, when James II's Catholic Queen, Mary of Modena, was accused of falsifying her pregnancy by smuggling another woman's baby into her bedchamber in a warming pan, her Body Laundress, Elizabeth Pearse, was amongst those courtiers called to give evidence in her defence as she had born witness to the Queen's condition in her role as Laundress. Her deposition, that was heard in the Council Chamber at Whitehall in October 1688 became part of the Jacobite propaganda campaign and was recorded in print as follows:

That about nine of the clock on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June last in the morning she came into the bed-chamber and heard the Queen cry out, being in great pain, in which she continued until her delivery. [...] That immediately after the deponent saw the midwife hold up the after-burthen, showing it to the company, and then the deponent fetched her maids, and with them took away all the foul linen, hot as they came from the Queen. That for a month after her Majesty's lying-in, the deponent well knows by the washing of her linen that the Queen was in the same condition that all other women use to be on the like occasion; and that some time after her quickening it appeared by her smocks, that her majesty had milk in her breasts, which continued until she was brought to bed and afterwards during the usual time.<sup>146</sup>

While Elizabeth had witnessed the actual moment of the birth, her testimony was given further credence by her work in laundering the Queen's bed and body linen. Through dealing with such intimate and bodily objects she had intimate knowledge of the Queen's body and the true state of her pregnancy. Similarly, in

<sup>144</sup> T. Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, p.85.

<sup>145</sup> While uroscopy was increasingly viewed as quackery, by the late eighteenth century it was still one of the most important techniques available and frequently used alongside other diagnostic methods. F. Gonzalez-Crussi, *A Short History of Medicine* (New York, 2007), p.169.

<sup>146</sup> *At the Council Chamber in Whitehall, Monday the 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1688*, p.21.

the popular journal *The Humorist* (1720), the prophetic storyteller, Giles Bookwit, claimed on news of the queen's pregnancy, 'it was certainly a Prince; nay a Cousin of his, that was Necessary-Woman to her Majesty, had hinted in her Letters, that the Queen went with Twins, and that they were both Princes. The good Company did not hesitate at all upon the Strength of this sort of Evidence'.<sup>147</sup> As these cases highlight, within the context of court, where royal bodies were a public matter, the intimate work of cleaning and laundering royal linen could be a means to valuable knowledge of potentially the upmost political significance. Therefore, while these servants were lower ranking members of the bedchamber, these roles were in fact uniquely powerful places within the court hierarchy. As such, it is not surprising that the women who held these offices were selected for their history of service to the court, and were rewarded and honoured for their loyalty.

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<sup>147</sup> The tales of Giles Bookwit in *The Humorist Being Essays on Several Subjects*, issue I, 1720, p.253, Eighteenth Century Journals Online, <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/> accessed 2nd January 2011.

## **Part 2: Keepers and Craftsmen of the Royal Wardrobes**

Between 1700 and 1737 Hampton Court was regularly used by monarchs as a rural retreat and as a venue for the court and government. Yet, for much of the period the palace, in fact, lay empty. There were 22 years when no formal residence was scheduled at Hampton Court, and when monarchs did reside at the palace, this was usually for only two to three months at a time. During these long periods of vacancy, the care and preservation of the palace interiors, including those of the royal bedchambers, was the responsibility of the Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings and a number of servants under his employment. This was also a time for cleaning and repairs by specialist craftsmen employed by the Great Wardrobe. After the removal of the court, and prior to its return, the work of these individuals intensified in order to ensure that the palace was ready for the next arrival of the monarch. As the orders of Charles II stated, ‘When we remove from any of Our Houses [...] the whole house may be cleansed and made sweet and fitt for Our Returne’.<sup>148</sup> Part two of this chapter firstly examines the role of the Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings at Hampton Court, and discusses the men who were appointed to this office. Secondly, it considers the work of the Great Wardrobe and the importance of professional skill in the care of bedchamber furnishings.

### **The Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings**

At Hampton Court there were three offices that were linked with the management and long term maintenance of the palace during the absence of the court. Firstly, there was the position of Housekeeper, an honorific and unpaid post that was linked to the Rangership of Bushy Park, the expansive hunting ground that lay to the north and east of the palace. Throughout the period, this office was held by members of the aristocracy, most notably successive generations of the Montagu family (later the Earls of Halifax), who had little involvement with the actual tasks of housekeeping.<sup>149</sup> Secondly, there was the

<sup>148</sup> TNA LC5/196, fol.28.

<sup>149</sup> Dependent Sub-departments: House and Wardrobe Keepers 1660-1837', *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised): Court Officers, 1660-1837* (2006), pp. 119-135. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>

office of Under-Housekeeper that was conversely a very practical role. The Under-Housekeeper was essentially a property manager. He was responsible for the security of the palace, the general upkeep of the buildings and the cleanliness of the courts and passageways.<sup>150</sup> In this role, the Under-Housekeeper received £250 per annum, rising to £320 by 1720, with the addition of a fee of 20 pence per day that could presumably be charged in the absence of the court.<sup>151</sup> At Hampton Court this post was held for much of the period by members of the English family, Jasper and his son Somerset, who had both begun their court career as officers of the royal woodyard.<sup>152</sup> They lived to the west of the Tudor gateway on the corner of Hampton Green in a house that is today known as Palace Gate House.<sup>153</sup> This residence, together with the Toy Inn, a lodging house that stood to the south of the main Tudor gateway, had been the perquisites of the Under-Housekeeper since the Restoration (figs. 100 & 101).<sup>154</sup> Lastly, there was the Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings who undertook the work of cleaning and preserving the palace interiors, keeping the furniture store, known as the standing wardrobe, and showing visitors around the state apartments. This post yielded £200 per annum, 12 pence per day that was charged as a fee, and permanent lodgings within the palace complex.<sup>155</sup> For much of the period, the division of work between the Under Housekeeper and the Wardrobe Keeper was, in fact, far from clear cut and it was perhaps on account of this that in 1702, orders were given for the two offices to be merged on the death or removal of one the then incumbents.<sup>156</sup> Strangely however, this seems to have been overlooked or revoked, and it was not until the late-eighteenth century the Under-Housekeepers post was dissolved.<sup>157</sup> While warrants for inventories suggest that the Under-Housekeeper had some role in the maintenance of furnishings in the courtier lodgings, it was predominantly the Keeper of the

<sup>150</sup> See Lord Steward's accounts, TNA LS1/43, LS1/57.

<sup>151</sup> See Lord Chamberlain's establishment books TNA LC3/3, fol.12; LC3/4, fol.13; LC3/5, fol.11; LC3/6, fol.11; LC3/7, fol.11; LC3/9, fol.12.

<sup>152</sup> Lord Steward's establishment books, 1669-1734, LS13/252-263.

<sup>153</sup> For documents relating to Palace Gate House in 1715 see TNA Work 6/6.

<sup>154</sup> TNA LC5/201, fol.156. By 1700 the Toy had 'been lately rebuilt' at the Under-Housekeeper, Jasper English's 'great expense', and was let for £80 per annum and '50s a week more when the court is there'. A petition submitted by English in that year indicates that he was forced to surrender this property together with some hay meadows he leased from the crown, although he was compensated generously, receiving £800. See *CTB*, 1700-1701, vol. 16, June 11<sup>th</sup> 1701 (London: H.M.S.O, 1938), p.282.

<sup>155</sup> See Lord Chamberlain's establishment books TNA LC3/3, fol.12; LC3/4, fol.13; LC3/5, fol.11; LC3/6, fol.11; LC3/7, fol.11; LC3/9, fol.12. 'Volume 269: Miscellaneous 1728', *CTP, Volume 6: 1720-1728* (1889), pp. 546-554. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>

<sup>156</sup> *CTB*, 1702, vol.17, part 1 (London: H.M.S.O, 1947), p.118.

<sup>157</sup> *CTB*, 1702, vol.17, part 1 (London: H.M.S.O, 1947), p.118.

Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings who was responsible for bedchamber furnishings and therefore this office will provide the focus for discussion in this chapter.

Between 1689 and 1737 the post of Wardrobe Keeper at Hampton Court was held by a succession of men, James Marriott (1635-1713), Richard Marriott (d.1721), William Huggins (1696-1761) and John Turner (d.1753). This was in fact quite common prior the 1750s, when housekeeping came to be considered a women's profession.<sup>158</sup> As Gilly Lehmann has shown, household management, including the care of furnishings, was traditionally undertaken by male servants and it was not until the mid-eighteenth century, when domestic service as a whole was becoming increasingly feminised, that housekeeping professions were transferred to women.<sup>159</sup> In large households of the seventeenth century, wardrobe keepers were employed specifically to care for furnishings. Ideally they had some degree of training in upholstery, as the household orders of Lionel Cranfield, James I's Master of Great Wardrobe, stated 'Hee who should have ye charge or keeping of any Warderobe (espetallie' in a great house) ought to bee an upholster [...].'<sup>160</sup> At Hampton Court there is no indication that any of the Wardrobe Keepers had any formal training as upholsterers, yet it is notable that for much of the period this office was passed down through the Marriott family who effectively established themselves as a wardrobe-keeping dynasty. During the absence of the court they were responsible for a valuable collection of furniture, textiles, paintings and objects d'art, a role that would undoubtedly have required considerable experience and knowledge of housekeeping techniques

The Marriott family had a long familial connection with the offices of Under-Housekeeper and Wardrobe Keeper at Hampton Court (appendix 1). In 1637-38, Richard Marriott (d.1664) was appointed as 'Under Housekeeper of the

<sup>158</sup> From 1741 when Mary Taylor was appointed Under-Housekeeper, a ladder of promotion seems to have developed. Mary moved from this post to the office of Wardrobe Keeper. She was followed in both offices by Elizabeth Mostyn, who did the same. Letters between Elizabeth, when Wardrobe Keeper, and the Lord Chamberlain suggest that she oversaw both the security of the palace and the care of the interiors. See Derbyshire Archives, D3155/C3994; D3155-C3344; D3155/C4866; D3155/C5555. From the late-eighteenth century these women conformed to the more obvious preconception of house-keepers in that they were daughters of lower gentry and middling men and were usually unmarried.

<sup>159</sup> G. Lehmann, 'The Birth of a New Profession: The Housekeeper and her Status in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in I. Baudino, J. Carré, C. Révauger ed., *The Invisible Woman: aspects of women's work in eighteenth century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp.9-26.

<sup>160</sup> Lambeth Palace Library (LPL) MSS 3361, fol.20.

House and Privy Lodgings' in the place of Frances Shelton.<sup>161</sup> By 1660, when Marriott petitioned Charles II for a promotion, he referred to 27 years of service in the wardrobe at the palace, suggesting that despite the civil war and the occupation of Hampton Court by Oliver Cromwell, he had retained his post through the 1650s.<sup>162</sup> Thomas Smithsby, the Under-Housekeeper who had been Charles I's Esquire Saddler, certainly managed to remain at Hampton Court at least until 1654 when he submitted a petition for payment of his wages from the Protector.<sup>163</sup> What is certain is that Marriott was still involved at the palace between 1649 and 1650 when Charles I's possessions at Hampton Court were put up for sale by the new regime. Inventories of the goods sold reveal that he purchased numerous pieces of rich furniture, tapestries, bedding and even a close stool.<sup>164</sup> Notably, he also bought 16 paintings, the most significant of which was 'Adam & Eva: done by Mabuse', for which he paid the substantial sum of £50 10s.<sup>165</sup> This painting was probably *Adam and Eve* c.1520, an especially large painting by Jan Gossaert (also known as Mabuse) that had been acquired by Charles I. Marriott's reasons for his purchases are not known, he may have sold them, used them to furnish his own house, or kept them for posterity, or even the return of the king. Certainly, it is clear that during the reign of Charles II Gossaert's *Adam and Eve* was restored to the Royal Collection where it remains today.<sup>166</sup> Whether Marriott was responsible for returning the painting himself is not known, yet it is notable that he was in royal favour at this time. In 1660 Marriott appealed to Charles II for the office of Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe and Privy Lodgings on the death or resignation of William Smithsby, who had held post since 1638. 'Some better imploy<sup>t</sup>', he wrote, had been promised to him by the late King, 'for some signall service by him performed unto his Ma<sup>ts</sup> [...] but his Ma<sup>tis</sup> remooveing thence to the Isle of Wight nothing

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<sup>161</sup> TNA E351/3271. This was presumably a role in which Marriott assisted both the Wardrobe Keeper and Under-Housekeeper. By the late-seventeenth century, it seems that this post no longer existed, at least within the official household establishment.

<sup>162</sup> TNA SP 29/40/165.

<sup>163</sup> CSP Domestic Series, 1653-1654 (London: H.M.S.O, 1879), vol.66, February 27th 1654, p. 421

<sup>164</sup> O. Millar ed., 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods, 1649-51', *The Walpole Society*, 43, 1970-72, pp. 160-162, 170, 175, 177, 205-207, 184, 191, 193-194, 141-144, 197-199, 201-204.

<sup>165</sup> O. Millar ed., 'The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods, 1649-51', p.204.

<sup>166</sup> By c.1666-7 the Gossaert painting was hanging in Charles II's second privy lodging room at Whitehall. See L. Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the collection of Her Majesty The Queen* (Cambridge, 1985), no. 33. I am grateful to Lucy Whitaker of the Royal Collection for this reference.

was done for yo<sup>r</sup> pet<sup>or</sup> [petitioner].<sup>167</sup> The office was duly granted to him in November 1660.<sup>168</sup> In addition, Marriott also appears to have been acting as deputy to the Under-Housekeeper, Tobias Rustat (1608-1694), who had been appointed in 1660 as a reward for his loyalty to Charles I and to Charles II during his exile.<sup>169</sup> Rustat was also a Yeoman of the Robes to the King and as such was probably little at Hampton Court during Charles's absences from the palace. Warrants for payment to Marriott, and his successor James Marriott, indicate that up until 1694, when Rustat died, they were undertaking most of the actual work for both offices.<sup>170</sup>

Judging by Richard Marriott's purchases at the sale of Charles I's goods, he was a wealthy man. The Marriott family had risen to prominence in the late sixteenth century when a coat of arms and a grant of a crest were conferred upon Thomas Marriott (son of Walter Maryet/Marriott of Worcester and [...] Rowe of London) (fig.108).<sup>171</sup> Although his father was from Worcester, Thomas established himself in Berkshire, his principal residence being at Remenham (near Henley). At the church in Remenham there is a slate memorial tablet to Thomas Maryet that shows the family arms and crest.<sup>172</sup> During the early seventeenth century, it appears that the family moved from Remenham to Hampton. In 1635 the christening of Richard Marriott's much younger brother, James, was recorded at the parish church of St Mary's, Hampton, and shortly after Richard was appointed to his place at Hampton Court.<sup>173</sup> In 1645 Richard purchased a property on Thames Street (now the High Street), in nearby Kingston, in partnership with two other men, William Elsey a gentleman of

<sup>167</sup> TNA SP 29/40/165.

<sup>168</sup> TNA LC3/24, fol.13.

<sup>169</sup> Although the income from the offices of Under-Housekeeper and Yeoman of the Robes was not especially large, Rustat managed to accrue a large fortune and gave over £10,000 to charity. He was also a benefactor of the University Library at Cambridge. For a discussion of Rustat's career as a courtier, a benefactor and patron as see P. Lewin 'Rustat, Tobias (bap.1608, d.1694), ODNB (Oxford University Press, 2004) online edition, Jan 2008, accessed 28<sup>th</sup> March 2011. J. M. Renfrew and M. Robbins, 'Tobias Rustat and his Monument in Jesus College Chapel, Cambridge', *The Antiquaries Journal, Being the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 70, 1990, pp.416-423; W. Hewett, *Memoirs of Tobias Rustat Esq. Yeoman of the Robes to King Charles II: with notices of some eminent contemporaries* (London, 1849).

<sup>170</sup> TNA LC5/138, fols.137; 164; 180; 183, 197, 217, 246-8. See also LC5/140.

<sup>171</sup> This was granted in 1586, A. J. Jewers, 'Grants and Certificates of Arms', *The Genealogist*, 21, 1905, p.122

<sup>172</sup> P.S. Spokes, 'Coats of Arms in Berkshire Churches', *The Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, XLI, p.67.

<sup>173</sup> www.familysearch.org, accessed 30<sup>th</sup> July 2010. At this time there was another Marriott family of importance although they were based Northampton, where they served as constables to the county. A later marriage between John Marriott of Pawler's Pewry Northampton and Margaret Marriott of Richmond Surrey that was alleged by James Marriott of Hampton Court suggests that they were a cadet branch of the family.

Kingston and James White, a maulster of Fulham, suggesting that the family were well established in the area by this time.<sup>174</sup> Although Richard Marriott married, he and his wife, Jane, did not have children and consequently, on his death in 1664, the majority of his estate and the office of Wardrobe Keeper passed to his brother, James Marriott.<sup>175</sup> Shortly after his appointment as Wardrobe Keeper, James made an advantageous match, marrying Anne Haughton, the eldest daughter of a local man, Henry Haughton of East Molesey, in 1666.<sup>176</sup> On her father's death she brought to the marriage the Haughton family estate, Horsemonden Manor, near Lamberhurst in Kent. This remained in the Marriott family, passing from James to his eldest son James who later bequeathed it to his sister Anne Marriott who held the office of House Keeper at Windsor Castle.<sup>177</sup> In addition to this estate, the Marriots also purchased a number of properties in London. By the time of his death in 1713 James Marriott owned three tenements in Saint Martin in the Fields, two in Panton Street and one in Oxenden Street that were leased out. In his will he also bequeathed a substantial fortune of £2100 along with valuable personal effects such as a gold watch, a clock and silver inkhorn, silver candlesticks and a saddle horse and tack.<sup>178</sup> James, his wife Anne, and their children all worshipped at the parish church in Hampton where they were evidently established members of the local community. In 1677 James Marriott was amongst a group of parishioners who were instrumental in obtaining and distributing money from the crown for the repair of the church steeple.<sup>179</sup> James and his family were also all buried at the church in Hampton. The inscription on their tomb, now sadly lost, read:

Sacred to the memory of James Marriot, esq. Anne his wife, and there children, who lie here deposited. He was a faithful servant to the crown, being keeper of the apartments to King Charles II, King James II, King William, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne, in which offices he succeeded his brother Richard Marriot Esq. Anne his wife, was daughter and co-

<sup>174</sup> Kingston Archives (KA), KP2/1/68.

<sup>175</sup> TNA LC5/138, fol.89. James was sworn into Richard place on January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1664.

<sup>176</sup> J. Foster, *London Marriage Licences 1521-1869* (London, 1887), pp.887-888.

<sup>177</sup> Will of James Marriott (senior) TNA PROB 11/533; Parishes: Horsemonden, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 5* (1798), pp. 311-322. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/> accessed 16<sup>th</sup> May 2010. For Anne Marriott's appointment see TNA LC3/7, fol.9. The fact that Anne held the office of House Keeper at Windsor indicates that the family retained links to Berkshire.

<sup>178</sup> Will of James Marriott (senior) TNA PROB 11/533.

<sup>179</sup> CTB, vol. 5, 1676-1679, 13 April 1677, p. 55

heiress to Henry Haughton, Esq. of Spelmenden, Kent, who departed this life, May 19<sup>th</sup> 1714.<sup>180</sup>

Notably, this clearly indicates that the office of Wardrobe Keeper was an integral, and even prised, aspect of the Marriott family identity.

By 1707 James Marriott was in old age and as a consequence his post at Hampton Court passed to his second son Richard, a bachelor, who served up until his death in 1721.<sup>181</sup> After this date the office of Wardrobe Keeper passed to William Huggins, who like the Marriots, had a long familial connection to the palace (appendix 2).<sup>182</sup> The Huggins family (alternatively spelt Huggen or Hogan) association with Hampton Court appears to have been first made in 1561 when a William Huggins was created Keeper of Gardens and Stills at the Honor of Hampton Court.<sup>183</sup> Huggins probably owed this position to his court connections, which were founded on his brother's (Thomas) association with the Duke of Norfolk and the 12<sup>th</sup> Earl of Arundel. William resigned his position at Hampton Court on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1588, after which nothing is known of him. Despite this however, a branch of the family appear to have maintained their ties to the palace and kept office there during the 1600s, managing the gardens and 'distilling of all manner of herbs, waters and other necessaries at Hampton Court'.<sup>184</sup> The Huggins's had a residence with a 'stillery' near to the area that had been known as the Mount Garden up until William and Mary's redevelopment of the gardens in the 1690s (fig.109).<sup>185</sup> William Huggins who was appointed Wardrobe Keeper was almost certainly connected to this family. He was the son of John Huggins, a solicitor and warden of the Fleet prison from 1713 to 1728. Originally intended for holy orders, he studied Magdalen College, Oxford and eventually became a fellow in 1722.<sup>186</sup> Rather than joining the clergy however, he took up his place at Hampton Court in 1721. A year later he married Anne Tilson, the daughter of William Tilson of the Dower House, Hampton

<sup>180</sup> B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain* (London, 1853), pp. 225-226. The tomb of Somerset English, Under- Housekeeper, and his family does still survive in the church on the wall above the organ.

<sup>181</sup> TNA LC3/5, fol.11; LC5/166, fol.200. Richard was sworn into place 20<sup>th</sup> June 1707.

<sup>182</sup> TNA LC5/158, fol.11. Huggins was sworn into office on the 13<sup>th</sup> October 1721.

<sup>183</sup> S. Bindoff, *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London, 1981), p. 371.

<sup>184</sup> CTB, *Domestic Series*, vol. 1, 1660-1667 (London, 1904), May 7 1662, pp.282-3.

<sup>185</sup> TNA E 351/3209; E 351/3228; E 351/3255; E 351/3265

<sup>186</sup> A. Braida, 'Huggins, William (bap. 1696, d. 1761)', *ODNB*, online edition, Jan 2008, accessed 14<sup>th</sup> January 2011.

Court, by whom he had three daughters Anna Maria (*d.* 1793), Jane, and Maria Anna (*d.* 1783). Huggins only remained at Hampton Court until 1727, and when his father died in 1745, he returned to his country house, Headley Park in Hampshire. Rather than his tenure as Wardrobe Keeper, Huggins is in fact most known to historians as a translator and a friend of James Thornhill and William Hogarth. In 1755 he published his first translation from Italian, *Sonnets by John Baptist Felix Zappi*, and a translation of *Orlando Furioso*, an epic poem by Ludovico Ariosto (first published in Italian in 1516).<sup>187</sup> On Huggins's departure from Hampton Court, the office of Wardrobe Keeper passed to John Turner, who served up until his death in 1753.<sup>188</sup> Little is known of Turner or how he obtained his place at the palace. From his will however, it is evident that he had friends amongst households of the Duke of Newcastle and the Duke of Roxborough, both of whom were leading figures at the early-Hanoverian court and it is possible that he obtained their favour.<sup>189</sup> Like his predecessors, Turner was a wealthy man by the time of his death. In addition to his estate, he bequeathed to his family and friends £4500 in money. Notably, he left bequests to the poor of Hampton and £20 to the 'laborers of Hampton Court' that was to be divided equally between them.<sup>190</sup>

Between 1689 and 1737 there are few records in the royal accounts that relate to the work of the Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court. As in the case of the domestic servants of the bedchamber, they were expected to fund the costs of their work through their yearly allowance.<sup>191</sup> However, during the reign of Charles II, the Marriots had been permitted to submit bills for their work that were sent to the household paymaster, the Treasurer of the Chamber. Although of a slightly earlier period, these give a good sense of the roles and responsibilities of the palace Wardrobe Keeper. In 1661 for example, Richard Marriot received payment of £52 2s and 16d for:

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<sup>187</sup> A. Braida, 'Huggins, William (*bap.* 1696, *d.* 1761)', *ODNB*, online edition, accessed 5<sup>th</sup> June 2010.

<sup>188</sup> TNA LC3/64, fol.130, Turner was sworn into office on 7<sup>th</sup> November 1727.

<sup>189</sup> Will of John Turner, TNA PROB 11/804.

<sup>190</sup> TNA PROB 11/804.

<sup>191</sup> The yearly allowance in lieu of bills was first settled in 1686 as part of James II's household reforms. See *CTB*, vol. 8, part 2, February 4<sup>th</sup> 1686, p.571.

himselfe his man and severall labourers employed in takeing forth and delivering back againe severall pcells [parcels] of wardrobe Stuffe apparelling his Mats Lodgings there severall tymes and for cleansing, brushing, beating, ayreing , scoureing, and drying the same and all other his Mats wardrobe stuffe in his charge together with other services perfromed and done in the moneths of November , December, January, February and March 1660.<sup>192</sup>

In addition he received £22 7s 6d for ‘provision of brushes, moppes, wypers and other neccies for halfe a year ended at our Lady day 1661 and for sweeping the Chymmneys there and washing of sheets, ffustians, blankets, and other neccies [necessaries] during the same tyme’.<sup>193</sup> As these accounts suggest, Marriott was both overseeing the ongoing preservation and maintenance of the furnishings and preparing the rooms for the arrival of the King by cleaning, washing and airing all the furniture, and especially the bedding, that had been left at the palace. In addition, Marriott was evidently responsible for receiving furniture for the royal apartments and setting it up within the rooms, presumably with the assistance of an upholsterer, cabinet maker or joiner if required. Between 1689 and 1737, warrants requesting goods to be sent to or from the Wardrobe Keepers at the palace appear often in the royal accounts, indicating that this was one of their main tasks.<sup>194</sup> Both James Marriott and Jasper English, the Under-Housekeeper, also received ‘rewards for their care and pains in opening and shutting doors to and after the workmen and labourers’, during the rebuilding of the palace in the 1690s.<sup>195</sup> At all royal palaces the Wardrobe Keeper was also responsible for looking after the furniture in the standing wardrobe store. From the few inventories of wardrobes stores that survive, it appears that at each residence these rooms were used as a repository for old or unused furnishings, including beds, which had been moved out of the palace.<sup>196</sup> At Hampton Court, the survey of 1702 reveals this store was located in the north range of base court, next to a room for the use of the Removing Wardrobe. The west range of the court also

<sup>192</sup> TNA E351/546, fol.12. See also Lord Chamberlain’s warrants, 1663-67, LC5/136, fol.89, 121, 146-7, 164-5, 180, 183, 197, 217, 246-8.

<sup>193</sup> TNA E351/546, fol.12.

<sup>194</sup> See for example, TNA LC5/69, fol.62; LC5/125, nos.62 & 37; LC5/131, no.58; LC5/151, fol.264; LC5/153, fols.101 & 313.

<sup>195</sup> TNA AO/1/2446/140

<sup>196</sup> For inventories of the standing wardrobe stores see TNA LC5/87, BL. MSS. Harl.1890.

housed a room described as ‘Mr Marriott’s feather room’ that may have been given over to the storage and airing of feather bedding (fig.110).<sup>197</sup>

Further evidence for the Wardrobe Keeper’s work is found in the Lord Chamberlain’s warrants and the Great Wardrobe accounts. Each year the Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court were provided with a supply of stationary that appears to have been considered an expense outside of their yearly allowance. In 1689 for example, the following was supplied for James Marriott:

	l   s   d
One Reame of Dutch post for Cutt	01: 04: 00
One Reame of fine horne for Cutt	00: 15: 00
Two paper bookes Royall paper 5 quires each ruled bound vellum and strung	03: 00: 00
200 of Dutch penns	00: 15: 00
One gallon of Inke	00: 14: 00
One pound of black sand	00: 02: 06
One large box of Dutch stationary	00: 03: 06
One pound of perfumed wax and	00: 07: 06
One pott of printing inke	00: 05: 00 <sup>198</sup>

These items were probably for taking inventories of the furnishings at Hampton Court, recording the movement of goods in and out of the palace and writing letters. In addition to stationary, the Great Wardrobe provided a yearly supply of equipment for housekeeping and the use of the resident staff at the palace. In 1704-5 this included:

	l   s   d
For twelve large Pewter Chamber potts	02: 08: 00
For 4000 tenterhooks of several sizes	02: 14: 00
For 2000 large tacks	00: 02: 06
For 12 Dust Basketts lined with Tinn	04: 04: 00
For 12 large Brushes	01: 04: 00
For 24 whisks	00: 12: 00
For 6 great and small Hammers	00: 18: 00
For 4 pound of fine sewing thread of severall Colours	00: 16: 00
For 200 Sewing needles of Several Sizes	00: 04: 06
For six large black leather Closestooles with one Pewter pann each and Cloth Seats	07: 10: 00
For six pieces of tape of severall Colours and Sizes	00: 08: 00 <sup>199</sup>

<sup>197</sup> TNA LC5/201, fol.195.

<sup>198</sup> TNA LC9/279, fol.65.

<sup>199</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.51.

Additional items were also occasionally provided, such as braziers for airing the lodgings, protective matting for the floors, cart canvases and wrappers for storing and transporting goods.<sup>200</sup> In all of their tasks the Wardrobe Keeper would have been assisted by a number of servants or ‘labourers’ as they were described in Marriott’s 1661 bill, and a deputy who were probably local to the palace.<sup>201</sup> As in the case of the domestic servants of the bedchamber these assistants do not appear in the establishment books of the royal household suggesting that they were recruited and paid by the Wardrobe Keeper himself.

In addition to housekeeping duties, the Wardrobe Keeper was also responsible for showing visitors around the palace and providing them with information on the interiors and the collection, for which a small tip was probably expected.<sup>202</sup> On the 12<sup>th</sup> May 1662 Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary:

From Teddington to Hampton Court Mr Townsend and I walked again. And then met the ladies, and were showed the whole house by Mr. Marriot, which is indeed nobly furnished, particularly the Queen’s bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glassee sent by the Queen-mother from France, hanging in the Queen’s chamber, and many brave pictures. And so to barge again; and got home about eight at night very well.<sup>203</sup>

Similarly, in 1683, Henry Savile wrote to the Marquis of Halifax, excusing himself from being at Hampton Court but assured him that ‘Mr. Marriot will shew you all the lodgings in the house’.<sup>204</sup> Given this it is likely that when Celia Fiennes visited Hampton court in c.1704 and recorded her tour in her travel journal, it was James Marriott who led her through the state apartments, pointing out the paintings and the furniture that she mentions.<sup>205</sup> In addition, the Wardrobe Keeper also provided hospitality to courtiers during a royal residence at the palace, even though he was not officially required to work when the king

<sup>200</sup> TNA LC5/42, fol. 308; LC5/158, fol.238.

<sup>201</sup> TNA E351/546, fol.12. See also Lord Chamberlain’s warrants, 1663-67, LC5/136, fol.89, 121, 146-7, 164-5, 180, 183, 197, 217, 246-8.

<sup>202</sup> On the practice of visiting royal palaces and country houses see A. Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: Four Centuries of Country House Visiting* (London: The National Trust, 1998).

<sup>203</sup> R. Latham ed., *The Shorter Pepys* (University of California Press, 1985), p.195.

<sup>204</sup> W. Durrant Cooper F.S.A ed., *Letters to and From Henry Savile, Esq., Envoy and Paris and Vice Chamberlain to Charles II and James II* (London: Camden Society, 1858), p.274.

<sup>205</sup> *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, pp.353-356.

was there. Later, in 1665, Pepys was hosted by James Marriott after hearing a sermon in the chapel royal:

I was not invited any whither to dinner, though a stranger, which did also trouble me; but yet I must remember it is a Court, and indeed where most are strangers, but, however Cutler carried me to Mr. Marriot's the house-keeper, and there we had a very good dinner and good company, among others Lilly [Peter Lely] the painter.<sup>206</sup>

It was perhaps on account of his entertaining duties that the Wardrobe Keeper was entitled to a generous allowance of plate from the royal Jewel House. In 1674 this included, 'Six Trencher Salts white', 'One Tankard White', 'Twelve Tumblers white', 'One high Scrowle Salt white' and Twenty four Spoons white' all of which was valued at £265 8s.<sup>207</sup>

Pepys and Lely would almost certainly have been hosted by Marriott in his own lodgings that he was entitled to as perquisite of his office. Judging by the palace surveys taken in 1674 and 1702 these were located in the area to the south west of Base Court. In the 1674 survey it was recorded that, from 'ye first court [ie: Base Court] on ye right hand ye Gate', 'at the end of the Darke walke', lay Mr Marriott's lodgings.<sup>208</sup> The 1702 survey also stated 'In the First Court on the right hand of the Great Gate' there was 'A way leading to Mr Marriots lodgings' in between the third and fourth doors.<sup>209</sup> Although their exact location and size of the Wardrobe Keeper's apartments was not documented, it is likely that they were contained within the area known today as apartment 39 (fig.110).<sup>210</sup> Leonard Knyff's painting *A View of Hampton Court* (c.1702-14) and his drawing of the palace with Jan Kip (c.1702) show, on this site, a self-contained house with a number of small outbuildings that backed onto the privy garden (figs.111 & 112). This seems all the more likely considering that during the later half of the eighteenth century apartment 39 was occupied by Elizabeth Mosytn who was

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<sup>206</sup> Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1665, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 9, p. 21; p.23.

<sup>207</sup> BL MSS. Harl.1890, fol.39.

<sup>208</sup> TNA LC5/201, fol.195.

<sup>209</sup> TNA LC5/202, fol.195.

<sup>210</sup> Certainly, This apartment was a Grace and Favour residence during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and it is now used by Historic Royal Palaces as offices.

appointed as Under-Housekeeper in 1759 and then Wardrobe Keeper in 1762.<sup>211</sup> These lodgings must have been fitted up by the Wardrobe Keeper himself as there are no accounts for furnishings in the papers of the Great Wardrobe. It is however evident that they were well appointed and included at least 16 rooms. In May 1662 when Catherine of Braganza was first received at Hampton Court, Richard Marriott gave up ‘the use of xvi of the Roomes belonging unto him for the lodgings of severall persons of Quality’ who came to attend upon the Queen, for which he was reimbursed £382 8s.<sup>212</sup> It is also clear from the Works accounts that the Wardrobe Keeper had stable and a cowhouse (that may later have become a laundry as discussed previously).<sup>213</sup> He also had use of a walled garden to the west of the banqueting house by the river. This was marked an annotated plan of the palace dating from c.1710 and can be seen in Knyff’s drawing (figs.100 & 112).

These seemingly extensive lodgings are suggestive of both the social standing of the Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court and their role as permanent residents of the palace. As it has been shown, the Wardrobe Keepers were established members of the local community of Hampton. In the case of the Marriots and the Huggins’s in particular, they also had long held ties to the palace itself. Both of these families had many years of experience in roles either directly involved in, or associated with, housekeeping. This would undoubtedly have fitted them for the care of a valuable collection of royal furniture and the preparation the apartments for arrival of the monarch. While for much of the period, the office of Wardrobe Keeper cannot have proffered many opportunities for attendance at court, or contact with the sovereign, this role was nevertheless prised, as the inscription on Marriott family monument suggests. The guardianship of the palace interiors, and especially the private apartments that were furnished with some of the monarch’s most personal possessions, was a valuable role for both the skill and the trust that it implied.

<sup>211</sup> S. E. Parker, *Grace and Favour: A handbook of who lived where at Hampton Court Palace 1750-1950* (London: Historic Royal Palaces, 2005), pp.102-3.

<sup>212</sup> TNA E351/546, fol.25.

<sup>213</sup> TNA WORK 5/51, fols. 45, 78, 137.

## Craftsmen of the Great Wardrobe

While the Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court were responsible for the ongoing maintenance of the furnishings and preparation of the apartments for the arrival of the court, there were some housekeeping tasks that were beyond their expertise. As part one of this thesis demonstrated, the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court, in particular, were furnished with objects that were representative of the highest standards in design; they were fashioned in the most costly materials using complex techniques and fine finishes. Cleaning and repairing such items was highly skilled work as it required an understanding of the original materials and techniques used, and, in some cases, the ability to replicate them. Prior to introduction of French polish for domestic use in the 1820s, even the work of polishing furniture was a specialist task.<sup>214</sup> Consequently, this work was most often undertaken by the craftsmen of the Great Wardrobe, who were the original designers and makers of royal furniture. Throughout the period, it was those such as the upholsterers Richard Bealing and John and Sarah Gilbert, the cabinet and mirror-makers Gerrit Jensen and Gumley and Moore, and the joiners Thomas and Richard Roberts who were employed to carry out specialist cleaning and repairs at the palace. In this, the court followed general practice in the furniture trade. The surviving bills of furniture makers working for the elite often include maintenance alongside the provision of new goods, although to date this has been a little researched aspect of their work.<sup>215</sup>

As in the process of design and manufacture the work of cleaning and repairs was separated by trade. Although the distinctions were not always clear-cut, upholsterers were mainly responsible for the textiles of beds, their matching furniture and bedding. Bedsteads and the frames of chairs and stools were cleaned and repaired by joiners, carvers and gilders, the care of tapestries was carried out by arras-workers, while work on cabinets, mirrors, silver and crystal was undertaken by cabinet makers and the gold and silver smiths of the royal

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<sup>214</sup> C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furniture Materials, Trades and Techniques* (Ashgate, 2000), p.171.

<sup>215</sup> See for example Gerrit Jensen's bills for the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Dorset at Knole. CKS U269A 184/3. Although cleaning and repairs was a significant aspect of the work furniture makers during this period, this has to yet to have been acknowledged within furniture history that has traditionally focussed on the techniques of design and construction rather than the ongoing practices of care.

Jewel House. Finally, the especially expensive decorative features of royal beds, the passementerie and the feather plumes, were maintained by feather dressers, embroiderers and fringe makers.<sup>216</sup> The bills of these craftsmen clearly relate that they were employed to work on individual pieces, some of which are identifiable as extant objects in the Royal Collection. In 1731 for example, the feather dresser William Williams was employed to clean the feather plumes on William III's crimson velvet bed in the king's state bedchamber at the palace.<sup>217</sup> In addition, craftsmen, and a number of their assistants, also carried out larger campaigns of cleaning and repairs on many items prior to a royal residence, in order to ensure that the apartments were in the best possible condition for the arrival of the king. At Hampton Court, this was especially the case during the later half of the period. By this time some of the original furnishings had begun to wear out, yet George I and George II were reluctant to buy new, thus necessitating extensive cleaning and repairs. For example, the bill of cabinet makers Gumley and Turing for work done prior to George II's first residence at Hampton Court as King in 1728, included a charge for:

l	s	d
5 men and assistance 22 days in taking down all the looking glasses Repairing new fixing and putting them up again putting up all the silver and other sconces, taking down the great silver chandeliers & sconces, and new placing them again. Mending several japann'd screens & repairing and new polishing &c ye Cabinets Tables Desks Stands &c and new placing the same throughout the palace and for horse hire and travelling Charges & Materials us'd.		
65: 00: 00 <sup>218</sup>		

In the same year, when the court removed from the palace, the work of the upholsterer John Gilbert and his assistants was similarly extensive:

l	s	d
For horsehire & Expenses for myself Coach hire for 4 men and their Charges going forward & backward to and for work in taking down 26 beds, Brushing and Packing them up wth the bedding Taking down and		

<sup>216</sup> On the distinctions between the furniture trades during this period see P. Kirkham, *The London Furniture Trade 1700-1870* (Furniture History Society, 1988).

<sup>217</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.69.

<sup>218</sup> TNA LC9/267, fol.152.

Brushing 25 pr of Window Curtains and taking down  
ye Hangings in 38 Rooms and several other jobs done. 15: 00: 00<sup>219</sup>

As these bills suggest, by the late 1720s the firms of craftsmen employed by the Great Wardrobe were undertaking extensive work at the palace, and perhaps even impinging on work traditionally undertaken by the Wardrobe Keepers and their assistants. By 1730 the large sums that were sometimes charged for this work were a cause for concern, and in that year John Halls, the Comptroller of the Great Wardrobe, undertook a review of expenditure and inspected the work of craftsmen at each royal residence. It was found that in the case of Gumley and Turing that they had been overcharging and not fulfilling their work to a high standard at Kensington at St James's in particular. As Halls reported:

Upon inspecting the work said to be done by them at St James's and Kensington I find at the last place the much greatest part of their charge not done at all and both there and at St James's I find very Little of the Works done in the manner they charge so that in the whole after allowing such a Price as according to my best Judgement the nature of the performance deserves I think there may Reasonably be abated out of it which is now 512:12:0 the sum of 361:13:0.<sup>220</sup>

Given this it is not surprising that the firm eventually lost their place as cabinet makers to the Great Wardrobe. As the Master of the Great Wardrobe, the Duke of Montagu wrote, they were no longer to be employed at court on account of their ‘notorious impositions’.<sup>221</sup>

While most of the work undertaken by craftsmen was done on site at Hampton Court, in some cases, where extensive repairs were required, furniture was moved out of the palace to the Great Wardrobe or to the craftsmen’s own workshops in London. By 1689 the Wardrobe offices were established at York House buildings on the Stand and in a property on Great Queen Street. Before the Great Fire of London in 1666, when the Wardrobe had been on a site adjacent to Baynard’s Castle in the parish of St Andrew’s, a small colony of artificers had lived in its precincts, carrying out many functions such as

<sup>219</sup> TNA LC9/287, fol.156.

<sup>220</sup> TNA LCS/75, fol.4.

<sup>221</sup> Cited in R. Edwards and M. Jourdain, *Georgian Cabinet Makers 1700-1800* (London, 1955), p.39.

upholstery, weaving, embroidery, lace and button making and silver wire winding.<sup>222</sup> By the late seventeenth century it is evident that the Great Wardrobe offices still had rooms for the storage of goods, offices and living quarters for the Master, the Yeomen and the clerks, yet it is unclear how much manufacturing or maintenance would have been done onsite. The Wardrobe accounts do include the purchase of stationary for the Wardrobe clerks and cleaning equipment such as mops, pails, brooms, whisks and hammers suggesting that some basic cleaning tasks were undertaken there.<sup>223</sup> However, the craftsmen employed by the Wardrobe did not only work for the crown and as such they had their own premises. Gerrit Jensen for example, had a workshop on St Martin's Lane, the joiners Thomas and Richard Roberts worked at The Royal Chair in Marylebone Street, while the cabinet maker Benjamin Goodison had a workshop and shop at The Golden Spread Eagle in Long Acre, where it is likely that much of the work on royal furniture would have been undertaken.<sup>224</sup> One exception to this was the arras workers who had workshops at the Great Queen Street offices, where they both made new tapestries and sometimes repaired the old under the supervision of the chief arras worker, a position held throughout the period by members of the Vanderbank family.<sup>225</sup> The Jewel House also had permanent offices at the Tower of London where they both stored and maintained the royal plate.<sup>226</sup>

As it can be seen, in the lead up to a royal residence, and in the days after the courts remove, the craftsmen of the Great Wardrobe played a central role in housekeeping at Hampton Court. Given the financial value of the furnishings at the palace and the complex techniques used in their manufacture, professional skill was evidently an important requirement in the work of cleaning and repairs. For the craftsmen of the Wardrobe, housekeeping formed a significant proportion of their commissions by the crown, and as such this work deserves to be considered alongside their more celebrated role as designers and makers.

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<sup>222</sup> L.B. Ellis, 'Wardrobe Place and the Great Wardrobe', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 9, 3, 1947, pp.246-253. On the Great Wardrobe see also G. Beard, *Upholsterers*, pp.9-10.

<sup>223</sup> See for example LC9/279, fol.65.

<sup>224</sup> G. Beard and C. Gilbert eds. *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers 1660-1840* (Furniture History Society, W.S. Maney and Son Ltd, 1986), pp.485 & 752; R. Edwards and M. Jourdain, *Georgian Cabinet Makers*, p.44.

<sup>225</sup> W. Hefford, 'Bread, Brushes and Brooms' pp.68-75.

<sup>226</sup> H. D. W. Sitwell, *The Jewel House and the Royal Goldsmiths* (Royal Archaeological Institute, 1962).

## **Conclusion**

As this chapter has shown there were two key requisites for appointment to offices responsible for housekeeping within the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. Firstly, expertise in the care of exceptionally valuable and often delicate objects was essential. The majority of the servants discussed in this chapter were highly skilled and had many years of experience in their work. This was an important element of their status, and allowed them to delegate less difficult or prestigious tasks to their underlings. Secondly, the monarch's trust in the ability, loyalty and the discretion of these servants was also crucial. As it has been discussed, the domestic servants of the bedchamber, in particular, were privileged with knowledge of royal private life that could be of upmost political significance. The choice of women with a family history of service to the monarch or connections to the court elite, who could vouch for their reputation, reflects the extent to which these roles were regarded as intimate and privileged. Building on these findings, the following chapter of the thesis discusses the work of these servants in detail, and explores how the practices and techniques of housekeeping were shaped by the motivations for maintaining cleanliness and the meanings that were ascribed to this work.

## **Chapter 6: Housekeeping practices, materials and techniques**

This chapter analyses the practices, materials and techniques used in maintaining the furnishings of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. Drawing on the papers of the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward and bills submitted for work and supplies it explains, in detail, how particular types of objects were cleaned, repaired and preserved on both a daily and long term basis. The chapter considers the day-to-day practices of cleaning and laundry employed by Necessary Women, the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and Starcher during a royal residence at Hampton Court. In parallel, it explores the strategies of care and preservation, maintenance and restoration that were utilised by the Wardrobe Keepers and the craftsmen of the Great Wardrobe in the absence of the court. On account of the hidden nature of housekeeping, both in its practice and documentation, accounts for this work at other royal residences are utilised in order to give a more complete picture of contemporary housekeeping techniques where evidence for Hampton Court is scant or missing. There was little difference between housekeeping practices at Hampton Court and other royal residences, especially those in a suburban or rural location such as Kensington and Windsor, and therefore documents relating to these palaces provide useful comparative material. In cases where the details of materials and techniques were not recorded in the papers of the royal household, the chapter draws on studies of housekeeping in elite households and published guides to servants of the period in order to shed light on comparable broader contemporary practices. Throughout the practices of care, maintenance and preservation are considered in relation to the motivations and meanings of good housekeeping as identified in chapter four - the desire to avoid waste, to uphold the splendour of the palace interiors, and to ensure that the bedchambers provided a hygienic and comfortable environment for the monarch.

### **Laundry and the care of royal bed and body linen**

When the monarch was in residence at Hampton Court, the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and Starcher, and their servants, were responsible for the important tasks of mending, laundering and finishing the royal bed and body linen. As

identified in the previous chapter, this included bed sheets and pillow cases, day shirts and nights shirts, caps, ‘stool duckets’ and pieces of lace. In the care of all of these items, guides to servants suggest that it would first have been necessary for the Seamstress to mend any areas of damage or wear before the process of laundry began. As Eliza Hayward counselled in her guide to servants, ‘As soon as any Linnen is left off, look it carefully over, and mend whatever little Cracks or Rents you may find in it, for otherwise they will grow larger when they come into the Water’.<sup>1</sup> In addition, it was also important to remove the lace from linen items that were decorated as this required washing by a different technique. Although this was a simple process with the collars and cuffs of shirts and shifts that were usually detachable, it would have been considerably more labour intensive if the lace was sewn into the garment, especially as this would have needed reapplying after the wash.

Once this was done, the linen could be washed using a combination of soaking, soaping and boiling. On account of the importance of clean linen for personal cleanliness, comfort, and as a sign of status, thoroughly removing dirt was imperative. Laundry techniques of the period were therefore surprisingly rigorous, despite the financial value of the linen purchased by those at the upper echelons of society. Where evidence survives for body laundries at Hampton Court during the period it is clear that they were plumbed in to ensure a ready supply of water. They also had sinks, a range and grate, a copper for heating the water, such as the one in the basement of German kitchen, and drains to remove the waste.<sup>2</sup> Research into early laundry practices, and contemporary representations, suggest a variety of wooden or brass tubs in which linen was soaked and soaped, and washing stocks or dollies that were used for agitating and rubbing the linen to loosen dirt, would have been further essentials (figs.113).<sup>3</sup> To rid linen of dirt and stains, laundresses traditionally used a

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<sup>1</sup> E. Hayward, *A Present for a Maid Servant*, p.72.

<sup>2</sup> TNA AO1/2449/152; LC5/160, fol.32.

<sup>3</sup> On historic laundry techniques see P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, pp.129-130; C. Davidson, *A Woman's Work of Never Done: A History of Housework in the British Isles, 1650-1950* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1982), pp.141-143; M. Dunn-Sixt, ‘Linens and Whitework’, *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping*, pp.438-439; J. Ashelford, *The Care of Clothes* (London: The National Trust, 1997). For contemporary advice on laundry see *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, pp.29-31; H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant Maid*, pp.68-70; E. Hayward, *A Present for a Maid Servant*, pp.72-76; H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, pp.9-15.

method of steeping in lye or urine. Lye was made by soaking wood ash in water to extract the potassium salts that acted as a powerful alkali cleanser. This, sometimes in combination with urine, was used for steeping or pouring over the linen, a technique called ‘bucking’ from the name of the large tub or ‘buck’ that was used.<sup>4</sup> However, since the sixteenth century soap, which was made into black or green transparent jellies, was also widely used in laundry practices in elite and royal households. Alongside this, lye continued to be used for laundering large items.<sup>5</sup> Although little documentary evidence survives for the specifics of laundry techniques at the late Stuart and early Hanoverian courts, it is evident that soap was used for washing royal bed and body linen as it was included in the list of ‘necessaries’ that were to be purchased by the monarch’s Body Laundress with her allowance.<sup>6</sup> In comparison to urine and lye, soap was gentler on linen, less odorous and considerably more efficacious in cleaning. It was used by rubbing it onto the surface of the linen with warm or hot water, after which the linen was boiled and agitated in a copper tub. In this, it was important not to use too much soap or overboil as this gave linen a dull greyish hue.<sup>7</sup> Alternatively, smaller or delicate pieces of linen could be more gently soaped and washed in a bowl of warm water, as shown in Morland’s painting *A Lady’s Maid Soaping Linen* (fig. 95). For linen that was especially dirty, it was common practice for it to be left overnight in water to soak. If it was badly spotted or stained, published guides of the period recommended a combination of the cleansing powers of lemon juice diluted in boiling water, soap and sunlight.<sup>8</sup>

The lace that adorned royal bed and body linen was also washed with soap, although this was done by a different technique due its fragility. As mentioned in chapter five, the bills of the linen draper Mathias Cupper include ‘Canvas to wash the hunting Cravats upon’ and ‘Linnen to wash laces on’ that were supplied for the Seamstress and Starcher, suggesting that they undertook this especially skilled task.<sup>9</sup> The linen or canvas would have been used as is described in a recipe book belonging to Margaret Savile (d.1683):

<sup>4</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, pp.131-132.

<sup>5</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.133.

<sup>6</sup> TNA LS13/39, fol.32.

<sup>7</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, pp.140-141.

<sup>8</sup> H. Glass, *The Servants Directory*, p.6; E. Hayward, *A Present for a Maid Servant*, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> See for example TNA LC9/281, fol.40; LC5/69, fol.128.

To wash ye Point ye very best way

Take a Deel – board finely planed, lett it bee ye length of your longest Poynt or lace, & as broad; Cover ye Board with cloth round about; let ye cloth bee stretched as stark or straight as can be, and sowed on fitt, then sew on your Point of Lace upon that Cloth very stait [...] then sew over all a Canvas very straight & fitt.<sup>10</sup>

The canvas was then soaped all over and beaten with a brush until no more dirt was extracted. The whole was then rinsed with very hot water and then with cold.

In addition to removing dirt, laundry techniques were also designed to enhance the appearance of linen, and especially its whiteness that was perceived as an important sign of status. Traditionally, exposing linen to the sunlight was the most efficacious method of improving whiteness and therefore most large houses had a designated area where linen could be laid outside.<sup>11</sup> As Hampton Court was in a rural setting there may similarly have been an area of the palace grounds where linen was dried and whitened in the sun, although it would have been important to ensure that this was secure to prevent against thefts. To further enhance whiteness, it was also common for an indigo dye, known as ‘blue’, to be added to the wash to give the linen a very subtle tint. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries blue was marketed in several forms, called ‘thumb’, ‘cake’ or ‘ball’. Because the Dutch held a monopoly on indigo in their colonies however, an alternative ultramarine blue, known as ‘Paris-blue’ or ‘stone blue’ also became widely available. This was considered to be superior and was considerably cheaper than indigo.<sup>12</sup> Blue was added to the water by squeezing it through a small textile bag, as is depicted in a late-eighteenth century mezzotint of Queen Charlotte’s Body Laundress, Mrs Grosvenor (fig.114).

Alongside soap, starch was included in the list of ‘necessaries’ to be purchased by the royal Body Laundress with her allowance. During this period, starching was another important method of enhancing the appearance of linen

<sup>10</sup> Cited in P. Wardle, *For Our Royal Person*, p.70.

<sup>11</sup> J. Ashelford, *The Care of Clothes*, p.6. This practice is depicted in a print of women laundering dating from 1582, BL MSS. Harley.3469, and in a copperplate map of London (1575), now in the Museum of London, in which Moorfields, near Shoreditch, is shown as a drying field.

<sup>12</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.141.

and lace. It acted to gloss and stiffen the textile fibres and it was therefore considered essential for garments such as shirts, and laced collars and cuffs that were an important element of display in contemporary dress. Throughout the period, the best quality starch, made from rice, was reserved for fine linen. To this was added a piece of sugar loaf to make the starch clearer, a small piece of wax to make it less sticky, and a sprinkling of salt to give enhance the glossiness of linen.<sup>13</sup> The ‘necessaries’ to be purchased by the Body Laundress also included alum that was used to thin the starch, thereby improving its penetrability and pliability, although some considered it injurious to textiles.<sup>14</sup> Guides to servants suggest that starch was applied in two ways; hot water starch was used for underclothes and general household linen, whereas cold water, which dissolved the starch to a lesser extent, was used on items such as collars and cuffs that needed to be very stiff or glossed.<sup>15</sup> Once mixed, the starch was applied by immersing the linen in the starched water and then allowing it to dry. For smaller items and pieces of lace they were first sewn or pinned to a board or frame covered with cloth. The starch was then either sponged on or the frame dipped into the starch bowl.<sup>16</sup> In the case of lace that was also soaped on a frame, the starch was applied immediately after the rinsing process. As well as enhancing the appearance of linen and lace, starching was also functional as it made the fabric much more resistant to dirt.<sup>17</sup>

After starching, linen was dried until slightly damp, usually in a separate room known as a ‘dry laundry’. For this, the Lord Chamberlain’s accounts show that royal laundries were well equipped with large wooden racks that would have been used to hang up the linen. In the Duke of Gloucester’s laundry at Kensington for example, there was ‘a large drying Horse with a Machine to wind up the same, Cord Rollers and Pulleys’ that was installed in 1738.<sup>18</sup> These would have been similar in design to the nineteenth century drying racks that survive in the laundries at Erdigg near Wrexham, and Beningbrough Hall in Yorkshire (fig.115). Once damp-dry, calendars and mangles were used in royal laundries to

<sup>13</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.146.

<sup>14</sup> According to Hannah Glass alum caused linen to rot. H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory* p.13.

<sup>15</sup> H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant Maid*, pp.64-77.

<sup>16</sup> H. Glass, *The Compleat Servant Maid*, p.9.

<sup>17</sup> E. Haywood, *A Present for a Maid Servant*, pp.75-76.

<sup>18</sup> TNA LC5/48, fol. 47. Similarly at St. James’s, Princess Amelia and the Duke of Gloucester’s laundries were provided with ‘a large draw up Horse to dry Linnen on’, LC5/48, fol.46.

smooth the linen. In the documents relating to William Kent's refurbishment of Queen Caroline's body laundry at Hampton Court a mangle was included amongst the fittings to be installed.<sup>19</sup> This would have been similar to the box mangle that survives today in the attic of the German kitchen, although without the nineteenth century advancement of the metal cog system that allowed the box to move automatically in both directions (fig. 104).<sup>20</sup> Further details of the smoothing equipment used by royal laundresses can be found in the accounts of 1736-7, when the Prince of Wales's laundry at St James's was fitted with a calendar. This had four hard wooden rollers, brass wheels to guide the table, and two Portland stones for weights.<sup>21</sup> In both mangling and calendaring the weight of the box filled with stones acted to press the linen that was either wound on the rollers below or spread flat underneath them. A specially woven mangle cloth matching the width of the box was sometimes used to cover the freshly laundered items and keep them clean. This process acted not only to smooth the linen, it also enhanced the glossed, stiff finish of pieces that had been starched.<sup>22</sup>

Lastly, the linen was ironed. Warrants for fitting up George II's laundry at St James's suggest that the laundries at Hampton Court would have been equipped with items such as 'an Ironing board Clamped at the Ends and Feet' and 'a strong Folding Table to Iron on'.<sup>23</sup> Ironing was done, as Eliza Haywood advised, 'as soon as possible, for Linnen is apt to turn yellow by lying damp'. For this she advised the iron should be 'very bright and smooth' and should be 'well rubb'd on a Piece of Matt, and afterward on Flannel every Time they are taken from the Fire' to avoid singeing the fabric.<sup>24</sup> Particularly delicate textiles such as lace, she advised, were to be covered over with cloth or 'a Piece of white Paper [...] to keep the work from being too much flattened'.<sup>25</sup> The 'fine Holland smoothing cloths' that were provided by the linen draper for the monarch's Body Laundress would most likely have been used in this way.<sup>26</sup> Finally, any frills and

<sup>19</sup> TNA LC5/160, fol.32.

<sup>20</sup> On the development of mangles see P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, pp.168-183.

<sup>21</sup> TNA LC5/48, fol.18.

<sup>22</sup> *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, pp.47-49.

<sup>23</sup> TNA LC5/48, fol.18.

<sup>24</sup> E. Haywood, *A Present for a Maid Servant*, p.75.

<sup>25</sup> E. Haywood, *A Present for a Maid Servant*, pp.75-76.

<sup>26</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.126; LC5/154, fol.167.

areas of lace decoration would have been reshaped using a small stick or tongs that were gently heated, a task that was especially skilled.<sup>27</sup>

After the linen had been laundered and was completely dry, it was important that it was well stored to ensure against damp, damage and dirt. As chapter five discussed, the Body Laundresses, Seamstress and Starcher were provided with trunks and cabinets, made by the royal coffer maker, for storing the linen under their care. These are described in detail in the coffer maker William Johnson's bill of 1706 when the following items were supplied for Queen Anne's Body Laundress, Elizabeth Atkinson:

	l   s   d
For one large Strong Standard Trunk covered with neats leather Barr'd round with Strong Iron plates with a strong inside lock Key and Handles and lined w.th Cloth	08: 00: 00
For one large Elm Chest plated with Iron	01: 10: 00
For two large Cabinets covered with Russia leather with Drawers lined with silk quilted and perfumed & garnished with guilt nailes brass work Locks and Hinges with two painted frames and leather Cases to them	26: 00: 00
For two large Russia leather Trunks lined with quilted silk perfumed and garnished as the two Cabinets abovementioned	10: 00: 00
For one hide made of Ox leather	10: 00: 00 <sup>28</sup>

Corresponding with the advice given in guides to servants, the interiors of these trunks and cabinets were lined with silk quilting and perfumed in order give the linen a pleasant smell and to guard against damp and vermin. As Anne Barker explained in *The Compleat Servant Maid* (1770),

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<sup>27</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.165.

<sup>28</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol.51

Be particularly careful to preserve your linen clean and nice [...]. When you have washed and well dried it, fold it up and scatter in the folding the powder of cedar wood, or cedar small ground, having first perfumed your chest with storax, by which means not only dampness is prevented but worms, moth &c. [...].<sup>29</sup>

The Robes accounts of William III's reign also reveal that before the King dressed and undressed his undergarments were placed inside 'sweet bags', decorative textile pouches that were filled with herbs or scented powder to give the linen a pleasant smell.<sup>30</sup> During the later half of the period it became more common for linen to be stored in presses in royal laundries, although trunks were still provided for transportation. Linen presses were large cupboards usually with shelves on the top and drawers below. At Hampton Court, Kensington and St James's these were provided by the joiner Henry Williams and were described as large wainscot presses with doors, shelves and locks.<sup>31</sup> In order to protect against dust, damp and mildew the interior carcasses of linen presses were commonly lined with brown paper or glazed Holland. The shelves were also lined with paper or cloth big enough to wrap over the linen for further protection.<sup>32</sup> Notably, all of the trunks, cabinets and presses supplied for royal linen were fitted with strong locks. Given the value of royal linen this would have been essential to prevent thefts, although it is clear that this was not always successful. In 1689 four day shirts, six night shirts, two caps, a combing cloth and five pocket handkerchiefs were 'stolen from our Laundress at St James's', and in 1690 three of William III's cravats were 'stole att Kensington'.<sup>33</sup> The cost of replacing the cravats alone amounted to £45.<sup>34</sup>

Due to the payment of wages and allowances to the Body Laundress, Seamstress and Starcher it is difficult to ascertain exactly how often laundry would have been undertaken during a royal residence at Hampton Court. Even where bills do survive for William III's Seamstress and Starcher these do not include details of when or how many items they processed. However, given contemporary attitudes towards personal cleanliness and the importance of clean

<sup>29</sup> A. Barker, *The Compleat Servant Maid*, p.22.

<sup>30</sup> See TNA A03/935-946. On sweet bags see P. Wardle, *For Our Royal Person*, p.68.

<sup>31</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol. 272; LC5/156, fol.369; LC5/157, fol.103.

<sup>32</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.116.

<sup>33</sup> TNA LC5/43, fol. 18; LC9/280, fol.57.

<sup>34</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.57.

linen for health it is likely that body linen was changed on a daily basis, therefore generating considerable amounts of dirty laundry. Clean bed sheets were also important for hygiene, although given that they would have absorbed less bodily dirt, they may have been changed with less frequently. Each year, during the reign of William III, the King's Seamstress and Starcher made up between eighteen and twenty four new nightshirts and dayshirts, but only six pairs of bed sheets, suggesting that the later were less often subjected to the rigors of the wash. The King was also supplied with only 108 'stool duckets' per year suggesting that they would also have been washed with relative frequency.<sup>35</sup> Corresponding with this, studies of laundry practices in elite households have shown that smaller pieces of personal linen were usually washed on a daily or weekly basis while larger items such as bed sheets were done in bulk less frequently.<sup>36</sup> Notably, laundry in noble households was undertaken less regularly than might be expected, as the elite were wealthy enough to accumulate large reserves of linen.<sup>37</sup> At court, it may also have been the case that the schedule of removals between palaces impacted on the laundry routine. It is probable that large quantities of washing, starching, smoothing and perfuming were done prior to the movement of the court to ensure a clean and ready supply for the monarch's use at the next place of residence.

### Royal beds

Alongside the provision of freshly laundered linen, the daily process of making the bed in which the monarch slept was also an important means whereby the comfort and health of the sovereign could be ensured. As chapter four made clear, during this period unclean, damp or unaired beds and bedding were widely considered to be especially dangerous for health. The practice of making and preparing beds was therefore designed to ensure against this. During a royal residence at Hampton Court, the task of making the royal bed was undertaken by the Necessary Woman to the monarch, although instructions for this were not

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<sup>35</sup> See chapter three n.46, 69 & 70.

<sup>36</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, pp.120-127.

<sup>37</sup> Caroline Davidson has cited evidence for an inverse relationship between wealth and frequency of washing, the poor washed weekly, the gentry monthly and the rich quarterly, as only the wealthy had the means to own large quantities of linen. C. Davidson, *A Woman's Work is Never Done*, p.150.

included in bedchamber ordinances. This was in contrast to orders for the early Tudor household, in which very specific stipulations were given ‘As for the making of the Kings bedd’.<sup>38</sup> Dating from 1494, these orders reveal that the process of making the royal bed was traditionally a ceremonious ritual that was honourably performed by the monarch’s Gentlemen Ushers and the Esquires for the Body. Firstly the bed curtains were drawn and held shut, suggesting that no one was allowed to see the bed unmade. With the curtains closed the bedding was then spread on the bed, beaten and then shaken until smooth. Once the bed was made, the curtains were opened, holy water was cast on bed and the servants enjoyed a toast of meat, bread, ale and wine.<sup>39</sup> By the late seventeenth century there is scant evidence to suggest the process of making royal beds was ritualised in this way, and it is probable that there was little difference between bed making at court and in elite households. Within contemporary published guides to servants the most detailed advice on making beds was given in Hannah Glass’s *The Servant’s Directory* (1760). Firstly, she advised, all of the layers of the bedding, the counterpane, the quilt, the blankets, the sheets and pillow cases were to be removed and laid aside, although not on the floor ‘which tho’ ever so clean, must gather some Dust or Dirt’.<sup>40</sup> Instead she recommended that servants should ‘set two Chairs to lay your Bedclothes on’.<sup>41</sup> Secondly, the feather bed and the pillows were to be thoroughly shaken. Due to the weight of the occupant the stuffing of feather beds, in particular, tended bunch around the edges of the tick, leaving a whole in the middle. Shaking and turning the bed was therefore essential as this acted to even out the feathers and also prevented them from becoming flat or crushed. Mattresses, Glass also advised, were to be beaten and turned once a week. During this process it was important that all the bedding was exposed to purifying fresh air, as Glass explained:

[...] throw open all the Windows to air the Rooms. And uncovering the beds to sweeten and air them, besides it is good for the health to air the Bedding, and sweet to sleep in which the fresh air has had access to them, and a great help against Bugs and Fleas.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Early-seventeenth century copies of these orders can be found at BL MSS. Harl. 642, fol.208. See also ‘Stuffe for the Queens Bedd’, fol.211.

<sup>39</sup> BL MSS. Harl. 642, fol.208.

<sup>40</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.28.

<sup>41</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.28.

<sup>42</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.28.

Once these tasks were complete, the bed maker was then to ‘take a soft Brush or Whisk, which you are to reserve for the purpose, and Whisk and Brush the head of the Bed and Vallens’.<sup>43</sup> Whisks were long handled soft brushes that were ideal for removing dust from delicate fabrics in hard to reach or high up places.<sup>44</sup> After this, the bed was then re-made with either fresh or re-used linen, the layers of bedding replaced and then smoothed.<sup>45</sup> Before retirement at night it was also common practice, especially in the winter months, that a warming pan filled with hot coals, was moved around in between the sheets to remove any chill or damp.<sup>46</sup> In the accounts of the Jewel House there are a number of silver warming pans listed amongst bedchamber plate that moved between royal residences.<sup>47</sup> In the collection at Hampton Court there is also an embossed and chased silver warming pan that belonged to Queen Caroline. Today this is displayed on the Raynham Hall bed in her private bedchamber (fig.116).

Prior to the arrival of the monarch at Hampton Court, and after the court’s removal, considerable efforts were also made to clean the beds, and their matching furniture, that had been left at the palace. Whisks, for brushing beds, wall hangings, curtains, chairs and stools, were included in the yearly list of supplies for the Wardrobe Keepers at the palace, indicating that they would have overseen the cleaning of the textiles.<sup>48</sup> In the royal accounts there are also references to ‘long handled round hair brushes’, ‘long handled flat hair brushes’, hand brushes, cloth brushes and velvet brushes for the use of House and Wardrobe Keepers, that would also have been for cleaning beds and their furniture.<sup>49</sup> In addition, the bedding that had been left at the palace, and any that was delivered in anticipation of the courts arrival, was also thoroughly cleaned and aired. The bills of Richard and James Marriott that date from the 1660s and 1670s reveal that prior to the arrival of the court they oversaw the airing of

<sup>43</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.28.

<sup>44</sup> M. Abey –Koch, ‘History of Housekeeping’, *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping*, pp.21-33, p.31.

<sup>45</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.28.

<sup>46</sup> On the use of warming pans see *Domestic Management: or, The Art of Conducting a Family: With Instructions to Servants in General* (London, 1800), p.56.

<sup>47</sup> TNA LC5/43, fol.213. See also BL MSS. Add. 69961, fol.212; LC5/202, fol.322; LC5/151, fol.302; LC5/149, fol.115.

<sup>48</sup> See chapter five n.199.

<sup>49</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.51; LC5/155, fol.210.

bedding and the ‘washing of sheets, ffustians [and] blankets’.<sup>50</sup> It is also likely that if feather beds were especially dirty or had been unused for long periods they would have been emptied out and the linen tick washed. At Hampton Court, the 1674 survey of the palace records that Mr Marriott’s garden had formerly been known as the ‘Feather loft where the beds were dried’.<sup>51</sup> By the time of the survey of 1702 Mr Marriott’s ‘feather room’ was located in the south range of base court although whether it continued to be used for drying and airing bedding after this date is not certain.<sup>52</sup> It is clear, however, that this was still being undertaken somewhere at the palace for in 1736 ‘Two Strong Wooden Horses for airing bedding’ were provided for use at Hampton Court.<sup>53</sup>

Alongside the ongoing work of the Wardrobe Keeper, more thorough cleaning and repairs were also occasionally undertaken by the upholsterers employed by the Great Wardrobe. The fullest account of this type of work at Hampton Court dates from 1727 when a crimson damask bed was cleaned and repaired by John Gilbert, possibly for the queen’s private bedchamber. His work included:

l   s   d	
For piecing out a Crimson Damask Bed & Counterpoint 12 inches Wider & 6 inches longer Embroidering 6 Water Leaves on the corners of ye Outside Vall <sup>s</sup> [valance] piecing out ye Inside Vall <sup>s</sup> & Bases Making good the Lace Cleaning all the Bed with bread & bran making good and piecing out the headcoth and head board.	12: 00: 00 <sup>54</sup>

Notably, Gilbert used bread and bran to clean the bed textiles. This was a common technique that involved rubbing bread crumbs or bran over the textile surface. As both were dry and porous they acted that acted to dislodge the dirt and absorb it.<sup>55</sup> Alternatively, the textiles of royal beds were dry scoured. In 1728, in anticipation of the entertainment of Dutch Ambassadors, John Gilbert

<sup>50</sup> TNA E351/546, fol.12, LC5/136, fol.89, 121, 146-7, 164-5, 180, 183, 197, 217, 246-8.

<sup>51</sup> TNA LC5/201, fol.195.

<sup>52</sup> In the 1702 survey the room was called ‘Mr Marriott’s feather room’ but by 1714 it had been ‘given to Mr Boboison’, an individual who cannot be traced in the establishment books of the royal household. TNA LC5/202, fol.195.

<sup>53</sup> TNA LC5/48, fol.20.

<sup>54</sup> TNA LC9/287, fol.157.

<sup>55</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.36.

was employed to work on yellow damask bed at Somerset House. His bill included, ‘For taking down a Yellow Damask Bed & Window Curtains, ripping to pieces the Counterpoint, Head Cloth, Head Board, Case Curtains and Chair Cases Dry Scouring One Hundred and sixty three yards of yellow Damask in the Bed Curtains, Window Curtains, Twelve Chairs’.<sup>56</sup> Dry scouring was an early version of dry cleaning that involved rubbing the textiles on both sides with turpentine and an absorbent power such as fullers earth, and then wiping with a clean cloth. Stains were also removed from textiles by similar techniques. In 1705 the embroiderer William West was employed at St James’s to work on Queen Anne’s bed and, at the same time, he removed the ‘wax spots’ from two crimson velvet chairs, fourteen stools and four long form cases in the withdrawing room.<sup>57</sup> According to contemporary guides wax was best removed by applying toasted bread or a hot coal wrapped in linen that acted to melt and absorb the spot.<sup>58</sup> Advice was also given to servants on other types of stains. Grease and oil, for example, could be removed with an absorbent powder such as fullers earth or clay moistened with lye, or, like wax, by applying hot bread or a hot coal wrapped linen. Lemon and orange juice were advised for the removal of ink stains, and warm cows milk worked on wine and vinegar.<sup>59</sup>

Considerable care was taken to protect royal beds from damage, yet where it did occur the accounts reveal that the textiles were patched. In December 1690 for example, orders were given for the ‘the Queenes Bleu and White Damaske Bed to be repaired with new inward Vallains [valance] suitable to the Bed, the vallains which did belong to the bed being cut off and stolen out of the Banqueting House’.<sup>60</sup> When repairs were made to beds, it was often the case that the matching chairs and stools also received treatment. At Hampton Court, there are no accounts for work on any of the chairs and stools belonging to the state or private bedchambers. However, two bills relating to the seats in the great closet

<sup>56</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol.124. For further references to the work of upholsterers in cleaning and mending textiles see LC9/139, fol. 188; LC5/44, fol.108; LC5/44, fol.188; LC5/44, fol. 197; LC5/44, fol.219, LC5/47, fol.252; LC5/48, fol.9.

<sup>57</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.234.

<sup>58</sup> Anon, *Valuable Secrets Concerning Arts and Trades or approved directions from the best artists* (London, 1775), p.299.

<sup>59</sup> H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant Maid*, p.70; H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, pp.4 & 6-7.

<sup>60</sup> TNA LC5/123, no.29.

in the king's apartments give a good sense of what this would have involved. In 1713 the upholsterer Hamden Reeve submitted a bill for the following:

	l   s   d
For taking in pieces 6 Backstooles Chairs in her Majesties Closet new making and stuffing and Covering them againe with new curled haire and new Linnen to stuff them in, Covering them with velvet Embroidered and fringed finding sewing silke thread and nails.	12: 00: 00 <sup>61</sup>

Similarly, in 1732 the upholsterer Sarah Gilbert charged £2 8s for 'Ripping the covering from an arm Chair, & addition of curled Hair, Linnen and other Materials and for new stuffing and Covering the same with new Green Damask, Trimmed with Lace', also in the closet at Hampton Court.<sup>62</sup> As these accounts indicate, repairs to chairs and stools could be extensive and involve essentially re-upholstering the whole seat.<sup>63</sup> This is a clear example of the importance of restoring and renewing costly furnishings to avoid waste and the expense of purchasing new.

In addition to these tasks, upholsterers were also employed to undertake work on the bedding of royal beds in order to ensure that it was clean, comfortable and hygienic. In 1703-4 for example, the bedding belonging to Queen Anne's Indian embroidered bed that was set up at Hampton Court was cleaned and repaired by Richard Bealing. His bill for this included:

	l   s   d
For setting up at Hampton Court the Bedd brought from Windsor and mending the same being much out of order	01: 10: 00
For mending a silk Blankett	00: 05: 00
For new Scowering a Sattin quilt	00: 12 :00

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<sup>61</sup> TNA LC9/285, fol.38.

<sup>62</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.106. See also LC5/47, fol. 67 & 76.

<sup>63</sup> On upholstery techniques of the period see L. Wood, *The Upholstered Furniture in the Lady Lever Art Gallery*, pp.19-28; C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furnishing Textiles, Floor Coverings and Home Furnishing Techniques 1200-1950*, pp.225-227; K. M. Walton, *English Furniture Upholstery 1660-1840* (Leeds, 1973).

For new carding ye flocks	00: 06: 00
For new making up the Sattin quilt and Silk sleeve	00: 10: 00
For nailes hooks and small materials used about ye sd Bedd	00: 05: 00
For charges in going there and coming back	00: 05: 00 <sup>64</sup>

As Bealing's bill relates his work included scouring the silk outer casing of the bed quilt. As on bed hangings this would have been done by rubbing the textile with bread and bran or a mixture of turpentine and fullers earth that acted to absorb the dirt. The mercers account for 1703-4 includes a charge for new silk for 'repairing one Sattin quilt for ye s.d Bedd', suggesting that it was also patched in places where the silk was damaged or worn.<sup>65</sup> Notably, Bealing's work on the bedding also involved carding the wool stuffing of the quilt, a technique that involved using a wire comb to remove any dirt and to disentangle the fibres that had formed into lumps. The same method was also used in the care of wool mattresses. In 1732, Sarah Gilbert undertook work on one of George II's beds at St James's that included 'taking to pieces a Sattin Mattress [and] new Carding the Flocks'.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, the contents of feather quilts and beds were also cleaned to rid them of dust and dirt. In September 1708 orders were given for 'emptying Our Down Bed and beating the dust out and filling it again'.<sup>67</sup> This was done by driving the feathers, a procedure that involved beating them in a bag to loosen the dirt. Alternatively, clumps of feathers could be broken up by blowing air into the bed, quilt or pillow using a pair of bellows.<sup>68</sup> According to Thomas Tryon, beds, mattresses and quilts were ideally to be cleaned out at 'least three or four times a Year' to prevent against bugs and fleas.<sup>69</sup>

Despite the efforts to ensure the cleanliness of royal beds, it may nevertheless have been necessary to treat them for bugs. Throughout the period bed bugs, especially unpleasant blood sucking insects, were a common problem

<sup>64</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.29

<sup>65</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.19.

<sup>66</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol.209.

<sup>67</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.60.

<sup>68</sup> C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furniture Materials, Trades and Techniques*, p.82.

<sup>69</sup> T. Tryon, *A Treatise on Cleanliness*, p.10.

even in the homes of the elite.<sup>70</sup> This was to the extent that a whole treatise was written on them in 1730, entitled *A Treatise of Buggs* by John Southall (fig.117).<sup>71</sup> While no accounts relating to bed bugs survive for Hampton Court, it is evident that they were a problem in the courtier lodgings at Kensington during the reign of George II. In 1759 the Lord Chamberlain wrote to his secretary, Sir Robert Wilmot, requesting for ‘a man that cures Bugs & send somebody with [him] to Kensington’.<sup>72</sup> For curing bug infestations contemporary writers advised all sorts of recipes. It was advisable to wash or cook the contents of mattresses three or four times a year, pull the bed apart and wash the frame, anoint the bed with herbal infusions or mercury mixed with egg white, and fumigate the room with sulphur or arsenic.<sup>73</sup> The writer John Southall was also full of advice and naturally keen to promote his own repellent, a ‘Liquor as you may safely touch the Furniture with all over [...] you may depend that mine will not stain or any way hurt the richest Velvet, Silk, or Stuff’.<sup>74</sup> During the later half of the eighteenth century there were numerous firms in London that boasted specialist ‘bug men’, some of whom claimed to have worked on royal beds. In 1775 Andrew Cooke of Holborn Hill proclaimed himself to be ‘Bug destroyer to his Majesty’ and that he had ‘cured 16,000 beds with great applause’.<sup>75</sup>

Alongside the work of upholsterers, and perhaps bug men, joiners to the Great Wardrobe were also employed to undertake repairs on royal beds, on both the basic frame of the bedstock, the carved areas such as the tester, the headboard and the bed feet, and the case rods that held up the case curtains. The fullest account for this type of work at Hampton Court appears in the accounts of 1715 when Richard Roberts undertook work on George I’s bed that was moved from Windsor to the palace. This included ‘mending the carved work of the said Bed and adding two feet pillars twelve feet long and four inches square altering the case rod and new iron work to fix up the said Bed at Hampton Court’.<sup>76</sup> For making repairs to the bed carving, glue, made from boiled animal bones, would

<sup>70</sup> L. O Boynton, ‘The Bed Bug and the ‘Age of Elegance’’, *Furniture History*, 1, 1965, pp.15-31.

<sup>71</sup> J. Southall, *A Treatise on Buggs* (London, 1730).

<sup>72</sup> DA D3155/C2222.

<sup>73</sup> T. Tyron, *The Way to Health, Long Life and Happiness*, pp.444-447; H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, pp.38-40.

<sup>74</sup> J. Southall, *A Treatise on Buggs*, p.38.

<sup>75</sup> Cited in L. Wright, *Warm and Snug*, p.140. See also p.166.

<sup>76</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.343. For other repairs to bed frames and the woodwork of their furniture see TNA LC9/282, fol. 145, LC5/43, fol.122, 202, LC5/45, fol.22, LC5/43, fol.94, LC4/45, fol.343, LC5/47, fol.32.

have been used to add in new pieces of wood. As Joseph Moxon advised in his guide to craftsmen, *Mechanic Exercises* (1677), this was applied while hot with a small brush and then the two pieces of wood were rubbed together so ‘that the Glew may very well touch and take hold of the Wood, and that the Glew on each Joynt may well incorporate’.<sup>77</sup> If the bedstock was upholstered, the existing or new fabric could then be glued over the top, or if it was gilt, a new layer of gilding would have been applied. While in most cases such repairs were relatively minor, involving only the patching of chipped areas, Roberts’s work on George I’s bed also included adding two new ‘feet pillars’ - the posts at the foot end of the bed and applying new bolts and brackets to stabilise the structure as a whole.<sup>78</sup> Richard Roberts’s predecessor, Thomas Roberts, had undertaken similar work on a carved and gilt bed in 1688-9 for which a more complete and detailed bill survives. This included the following:

	l      s      d
For mending a bedstead that was much broke.	01: 00: 00
For piecing the posts and adding severall new parts to it and 4 long bed pins.	
For mending the carving of the said bedstead that was much broke and adding severall new figures to it.	01: 16: 00
For mending the silvering of the aforesaid Bedstead and new silvering severall parts of the tester and Cornish headboard and bedsfeet	03: 15: 00
For mending the case rods of the bed and new fileing them.	00: 06: 00 <sup>79</sup>

Judging by this description, Roberts’s work involved stabilising the bed frame, by ‘piecing the posts’, that is joining them together with new ironwork. He also restored the carved and ‘silvered’ (gilding with silver leaf), areas of loss on the bed tester, headboard and bed feet and also repaired and filed the case rods to restore their shine.

<sup>77</sup> J. Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy works* (London, 1677), pp.101-2.

<sup>78</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.343.

<sup>79</sup> TNA LC9/279, fol.34.

One of the most expensive and labour intensive elements of royal bed design was the passementerie and therefore considerable efforts were made to ensure that it remained in good condition. Although the bills relating to Hampton Court do not detail work on passementerie, evidence does survive for other palaces. In 1703-4 the upholsterer Hamden Reeve charged £3 10s for cleaning the fringe and clipping and combing all the tufts on Prince George of Denmark's state bed at St James's palace.<sup>80</sup> For work on embroideries and metal passementerie a specialist embroiderer was employed. In the same year, William West's bill included a substantial charge of £66 10s for 'cleaning and gilding all the Gold Lace and embroidery' on Queen Anne's crimson velvet state bed, window curtains, and matching chairs and stools at St James's. At the same time he also cleaned and gilded a gold embroidered satin headboard and counterpoint belonging to Prince George's bed, mentioned above, for which he charged £18 15s.<sup>81</sup> While no trace of cleaning substances or re-gilding work has been found on the passementerie in the Royal Collection, advice on this was given in housekeeping manuals of the period. Hannah Glass advised that gold and silver lace was best cleaned by brushing with a soft brush dipped in finely ground talc dampened with spirits of wine.<sup>82</sup> Alternatively, Hannah Wooley recommended rubbing 'it all over very well with burnt Allum beaten fine'.<sup>83</sup> For this the lace was removed from the textile ground and tacked onto a cleaning board. The reference to the re-gilding of passementerie is less explicable and no other occurrences of this can be traced in the royal accounts. In the absence of further evidence it is possible that this involved the application of new gold leaf to the surface of the passementerie threads, although this would not have been permanent as the movement of the textiles would undoubtedly have caused the gold to flake. This process was therefore perhaps an expedient method of renewing the splendour of the state beds at St James's for a special occasion. While cleaning and re-gilding was costly, this was still cheaper and quicker than sourcing new passementerie and would have had the same magnificent effect.

<sup>80</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.71. See also LC9/281, fol. 206; LC5/47 fol.124; LC5/44, fol.197.

<sup>81</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.76.

<sup>82</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.4

<sup>83</sup> H. Wooley, *The Compleat Servant Maid*, p.69.

Such cleaning techniques would also have ensured the longevity of passementerie. Given its value, and its durability in the case of gold and silver pieces, it was common for it to be re-used after the textiles, that it had originally adorned, had worn out. In 1700, for example, the laceman William Elliott provided gold arras lace and gold purle lace for the window curtains and cornices that were made up to match William III's crimson velvet state bed at Hampton Court.<sup>84</sup> By 1730 however, the textiles of the curtains, cornices and valances had begun to degrade and they were replaced by the upholsterer Sarah Gilbert. Her bill records that she made up two new pairs of crimson taffeta curtains and recovered the cornices and valances, but in doing so she trimmed them with 'the Old Gold Lace'.<sup>85</sup> Similarly, when Hamden Reeve provided new curtains for Queen Anne's closet and waiting room at the palace, this involved 'ripping the silver lace off the old Curtains and putting it on the new ones'.<sup>86</sup>

On royal state beds one further costly element in bed design that required cleaning and repair was the decorative plumes of ostrich and egret feathers that surmounted the top of the tester. The art of designing and making up these plumes, and renewing them, was the work of a feather dresser. For the first half of the period Jonathan Chase held the place of featherdresser to the royal household and his bills shed light on the methods he used for cleaning and repairing the feather plumes on state beds. The first occurrence of Chase's work at Hampton Court during the period is in 1689 when he charged £13 13s for cleaning the feathers plumes on two state beds that had been set up for William and Mary's first stay at the palace.<sup>87</sup> He was employed again at Hampton Court in 1700 when William III's velvet state bed was altered and set up by Richard Bealing. Chase undertook the work of cleaning and dressing up 'ye feathers formerly us'd to that bed'.<sup>88</sup> This process seems to have been a usual occurrence when royal beds were taken down to be moved or repaired. Indeed, Chase also worked on Queen Anne's Indian embroidered bed that was moved from Windsor to Hampton Court in 1704. His bill for that year included:

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<sup>84</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.21.

<sup>85</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol.67.

<sup>86</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol.65.

<sup>87</sup> TNA LC9/279, fol.59.

<sup>88</sup> TNA LC5/133, fol.101.

	l s d
For cleaning and fitting up a suite of 81 falls at 12d per fall	04: 01: 00
For cleaning four spriggs at 5s each	01: 00: 00
For two deale chests to put the feathers in.	01: 00: 00 <sup>89</sup>

During the later half of the period Jonathan Chase's successor, William Williams was also employed to work on the bed feathers at Hampton Court. His bill of 1731 includes a charge of £9 for 'Cleaning, Mending and new mounting 120 Falls of fine Ostridge Bed feathers', £1 10s for 'Cleaning and new mounting 12 Heron spriggs for D.o [ditto]', and £2 16s for '16 new Scarlet Tips of Ostridge Feathers for the said spriggs'.<sup>90</sup> Given that by this period William III's crimson velvet state bed was the only bed in the royal apartments that featured plumes of ostrich and heron feathers, it is safe to assume that this is the bed referred to here. After thirty years of use it is likely the plumes of feathers had become dirty and faded, thus necessitating that some of them were cleaned and others replaced. As these accounts make clear housekeeping practices were shaped by the desire to maintain the comfort and hygiene of royal beds while also ensuring that their costly materials were in the best possible condition.

### **Close stools, flushing stools and chamber pots**

During a royal residence at Hampton Court, the task of emptying and cleaning the royal close stools, flushing stools and chamber pots was an essential aspect of housekeeping. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the lack of technological innovation in the design of most sanitary facilities meant that regularly emptying and cleaning them was vital if uncleanness and malodours were to be avoided. If these tasks were neglected, bodily waste presented both a threat to health and an affront to contemporary notions of politeness and civility. As Chapter five showed, the work of emptying and cleaning the royal chamber

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<sup>89</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.15. For further references see LC9/279, fol.73; LC5/44, fol.98; LC5/44, fol.171.  
<sup>90</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.69.

pots and stools was undertaken, or overseen, by the Necessary Woman to the monarch. Ordinances for the bedchamber do not include instructions for this work and, as such, it is difficult to ascertain how, and with what frequency, it would have been done. It can be assumed, however, that close stools and chamber pots in regular use would have required emptying each time they were used by the monarch. Notably, the king's stool room adjoining the great closet had a second door inserted at the backstairs that allowed servants to discreetly perform their duties, when required, without entering the closet itself.<sup>91</sup> Conversely, flushing stools would undoubtedly have required less attendance, as they were essentially self-emptying. In the light of this, it is possible to speculate that they were cleaned only once in the morning as part of the Necessary Woman's daily round of cleaning.

On account of the hidden nature of this type of work, it is difficult to uncover the methods used at court or even within society more broadly. Jonathan Swift's satire *Directions to Servants* (1745) is, however, suggestive of what was not to be done:

Leave your Lady's chamber pot in her Bedchamber window all day to air. [...] When your lady's bed is made, put the chamber pot under it, but in such a manner as to thrust the valance along with it, that it may be in full sight, and ready for your Lady when she hath occasion to use it [...] Never empty the chamber pots until they are quite full [and] do not scour the pot because the smell is wholesome.<sup>92</sup>

Similarly in regard to stool pans, he wrote, make sure when you 'convey away this utensil, that you will do it openly, down the great stairs, and in the presence of the footmen; and, if any body knocks, to open the street- door, while you have the vessel filled in your hands'.<sup>93</sup> Judging by Swift's remarks, cleanliness and discretion in the process of emptying chamber pots, and stools, were the marks of a good servant. Given this, it seems likely that within the royal bedchamber where privacy was especially difficult to ensure, chamber pots and stool pans were emptied into buckets and cleaned in the rooms rather than being removed each time and taken down the backstairs. Certainly by the late eighteenth century

<sup>91</sup> TNA WORKS/50, fol.358.

<sup>92</sup> J. Swift, *Directions to Servants in General* (London: George Faulkner, 1745), pp.75, 88, 89.

<sup>93</sup> J. Swift, *Directions to Servants*, p.87.

it was common practice in elite and middling households that a slop bucket and water were taken into the room, the pots and pans were emptied, cleaned, and rubbed bright with a cloth.<sup>94</sup> The yearly order of pewter chamber pots, stool pans and basins and the Brussels cloth that were provided for William and Mary's Necessary Women may have been used for this purpose.<sup>95</sup> Throughout the cleaning process, particular care in avoiding splashes or spillages would have been necessary especially in the case of close stools that had richly decorated textile exteriors. To ease the removal of stool pans the padded seats of close stools were designed to be removable. Alternatively, it is possible to suggest that close stools might have been temporarily removed in their entirety from stool closets or bedchambers and the stool pan lifted out and emptied in the privacy of a backstairs room.

In her guide to servants, Hannah Glass advised that after cleaning pots and stool pans, leaving a little clean water in the bottom would help to prevent any unpleasant smells.<sup>96</sup> In addition she recommended that chamber pots and stool pans should be thoroughly scalded and scoured twice weekly.<sup>97</sup> Notably, royal close stools were usually provided with 'double panns', suggesting that they could be rotated allowing one to be removed for thorough cleaning.<sup>98</sup> As royal chamber pots were commonly silver this would probably have been done by immersing them in boiling water and then polishing with whiting, a fine and non abrasive pipeclay that was commonly used on plate.<sup>99</sup> Close stool pans, that were usually earthenware or stoneware, would probably have been scoured with sand or soaped with warm water. Judging by Susanna Whatman's housekeeping book, flushing stools were washed daily in this way. In her instructions to her housemaid Susanna requested that she was to 'keep a small mop in the cupboard in the Water Closet and use warm water every day to keep the inside clean'.<sup>100</sup> In frosty weather, she stipulated, only warm and not boiling water was to be used, presumably as very hot water might have caused the toilet bowl to crack.

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<sup>94</sup> P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p82.

<sup>95</sup> TNA LC5/43, fol. 67; LC5/44, fol. 138.

<sup>96</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.29.

<sup>97</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.29.

<sup>98</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.184; LC9/279, fol.90.

<sup>99</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.33.

<sup>100</sup> *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, pp.37-38

At Hampton Court waste from the bedchamber rooms would have been conveyed away via the two flights of service stairs (2 & 4) that led down into Fountain Court (fig.16). On the king's side, this was the only backstairs route up into the bedchamber, it was used by the elite servants of the bedchamber department and politicians who came privately to see the monarch. Correctly timing the removal of waste must therefore have been especially important. One other alternative route may have been to take the waste up to the courtier lodgings on the top floor of the apartments, from where servants could access a more private staircase that led directly down to the ground floor (1) (fig.16).<sup>101</sup> From within the king's private apartments waste could be more easily removed via a number of routes that led out to Fountain Court (fig.17). Once the waste had been removed from the bedchamber it was flushed down a drain or deposited in a cesspool. The accounts for the Office of Works relate that there were numerous cesspools and vaults located around the palace and that men were employed to empty, and clean, them out. When orders were given for this in 1723, it was stipulated that the workers were each to be rewarded with brandy.<sup>102</sup> At Hampton Court much of the waste from the palace was deposited in the river, a practice that continued until the 1870s when it was prohibited by a conservation act.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, it is evident that some of the Necessary Houses at the palace had drains that emptied straight into the Thames. In July 1700, orders were given for the 'repair [of] ye old house of Office at Hampton Court [The Lyons], near ye Wardrobe Keeper's Lodgings, and to Contrive it with a Drain to the River, so as it may be kept sweet and clean [...]'<sup>104</sup>. Waste was also spread on nearby fields as fertiliser. In a surveyor's report on the value of land surrounding the palace that was leased by Jasper English, the Under-Housekeeper, it was noted that 'his Majesty having of late been often at Hampton Court I believe the price of manure may be cheaper'.<sup>105</sup> As a whole, evidence for the removal of

<sup>101</sup> During the reign of William III and Queen Anne, when the apartments on the queen's side were not fully completed, it may have been the case that servants could use the queen's backstairs that led down to Fountain Court from the gallery (4) (fig.16).

<sup>102</sup> TNA Work 4/2, unpaginated.

<sup>103</sup> Due to the burgeoning population of the palace as a Grace and Favour residence in the nineteenth century, in 1867 the Thames Conservation Act served notice on the palace to stop emptying its drains into the Thames by 1870. See S. Thurley, *Hampton Court Palace*, p.330.

<sup>104</sup> TNA LC5/153, fol.5.

waste and the practices of cleaning stools and chamber pots at Hampton Court is scarce, yet as it can be seen from contemporary guides to servants and accounts for the palace that do shed light on this, considerable efforts were made in order that ensure that sanitary facilities were clean and that the process of removing waste was performed discreetly behind the scenes.

### Seat furniture, tables and cabinetwork

Throughout the period, the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court were furnished with seat furniture, tables and cabinetwork that were representative of the highest standards in contemporary design. As chapter two demonstrated, many of these objects were valued especially for the aesthetic effect of their surfaces – the colour and deep shine of different woods, the contrasting effects of inlays, and the rich glow of gilding - all of which contributed to the splendour of the bedchamber rooms. Housekeeping techniques were therefore focussed upon maintaining these surfaces, and even enhancing their appearance. During a royal residence at the palace, the work of cleaning this furniture, on a day-to day basis, was undertaken by Necessary Women and their servants. Judging by the payments to Elizabeth Towers in 1711-12, a year in which she had attended as Necessary Woman at Hampton Court, for ‘towels and rubbers’, ‘flaxon Cloath’ and ‘Swan Skinn’, this was done by dusting and rubbing the surfaces of furniture.<sup>106</sup> Contemporary guides to servants recommended rigorously rubbing wooden furniture, in particular, with leathers, or cloths, each day as this acted to bring out the colour and the shine of the wood.<sup>107</sup> Prior to the invention of French polish for domestic use in the 1820s, this was considered the most efficacious method of cleaning and polishing wooden furniture.<sup>108</sup> This technique would also have been utilised by the Wardrobe Keeper, and his assistants, prior to the arrival of the court. The Marriots’ bills of the 1660s and 1670s include ‘Rubing Cloathes’ and ‘wypers’ that would have been used on wooden furniture.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Warrants etc: June 1701, 1-15', *CTB*, vol. 16: 1700-1701 (1938), pp. 276-285. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>

<sup>106</sup> TNA T53/21, fol.434.

<sup>107</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.37; *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, p.47.

<sup>108</sup> C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furniture Materials, Trades and Techniques* (Ashgate, 2000), p.171; P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.80.

<sup>109</sup> TNA E351-546, fol.12; LC5/138, fol.96.

More complex cleaning and repairs on wooden furniture were undertaken by the joiners and cabinet makers who were employed by the Great Wardrobe. In 1728-29 for example, the bill of the cabinet makers Gumley and Turing for work at the palace included a charge of £4 15s for ‘repairing a wallnutree Bookcase’ with ‘two pieces of new plate Glass &c added’.<sup>110</sup> Repairs were also made to seat furniture, tables and stands with carved wood decoration that was prone to chip and scratch.<sup>111</sup> However, the majority of the work undertaken on wooden furniture was focussed on renewing the surfaces of the veneers by varnishing and polishing. In 1703-4 Thomas Roberts undertook work at Hampton Court that included ‘mending and Varnishing a Wallnutree stand and glass’ for Queen Anne, that had been ‘much Damaged in bringing from the Bath [possibly Bath Spa]’ for which he charged £1 2s 6d.<sup>112</sup> Similar work was undertaken at the palace in 1708-9 by the cabinet maker Gerrit Jensen. His bill for that year included:

	l s d
For mending and new lineing a great Bureau & varnishing and new lining a black folding Table in the Queens Dressing Room [...]	01: 10: 00
For scraping and Varnishing a Wallnutree Table for ye Drawing Room	01: 00: 00
For scraping and polishing two Table boxes & two pair of stands in the little Bedchamber and Princes Bedchamber	01: 10: 00 <sup>113</sup>

The bills of Jensen and Roberts unfortunately do not detail the materials or methods that they used in this type of work. However, judging by the advice given in Stalker and Parker’s *Treatise on Japanning and Varnishing* (1688), it is possible to surmise how these pieces would have been treated.<sup>114</sup> According to Stalker and Parker it was firstly necessary to remove the old layer of wood

<sup>110</sup> This may refer to one of the walnut bookcases with glass panels that survive today in the withdrawing in the king’s private apartments. Plate glass was incredibly expensive to make and this was reflected in their charge of £4 15s, see TNA LC9/287, fol.186.

<sup>111</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.189.

<sup>112</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.35. See also Richard Roberts’s bill of 1729 in the review of the Wardrobe expenses carried out by John Halls, the Comptroller of the Great Wardrobe, LC5/75, fols.11-12.

<sup>113</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.71; LC5/154, fol.395.

<sup>114</sup> J. Stalker and G. Parker, *A Treatise on Japanning and Varnishing* (1688) (Alec Tiranti Ltd, 1998).

varnish if it had discoloured or begun to crackle or flake.<sup>115</sup> This was done using a ‘scraper’, a plane of sharpened metal, and was often described as ‘scraping’, as in Jensen’s bill above.<sup>116</sup> After this a new layer of varnish could be applied. During the seventeenth century traditional wood finishes were either oil or wax based, and although satisfactory they had the disadvantage of darkening woods over time. The proliferation of veneered and marquetry furniture during the seventeenth century therefore resulted in the development of lac-based varnishes (now commonly called ‘French polish’) that had a clear and hard finish.<sup>117</sup> This type of varnish was applied in many coats, allowed to dry and then polished with powdered Tripoly (a fine earth or powdered stone) lubricated with water or with a paste of oil and brick dust.<sup>118</sup> Alternatively, fuller’s earth, pipe clay, whitening, alum and wood ash could be mixed with sweet oil (olive oil) or other oils to make less abrasive polishing pastes.<sup>119</sup> Jensen’s bills for work on furniture at Kensington during the 1690s often include charges for ‘whitening’ that most likely refers to this process.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, John Halls’s 1729 review of the bills submitted by the cabinet makers Gumley and Turing reveals that they charged for treating wooden furniture by ‘polishing with oyl’.<sup>121</sup> The techniques of varnishing and polishing had the effect of protecting the surface of furniture, and enhancing the colour and shine. As Adam Bowett has shown in his study of seventeenth and eighteenth-century furniture design, the brilliancy and luminosity of woods treated with these techniques is remarkable.<sup>122</sup> It is therefore likely that having been varnished and polished the wooden furniture in the

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<sup>115</sup> The process of varnishing first and polishing second differs from the nineteenth century technique of French polishing whereby the two processes were combined by using a ‘rubber’ to both apply the varnish and polish it in a continuous action. See A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.168.

<sup>116</sup> C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furniture Materials, Trades and Techniques*, p.163; L. Trench, *Materials and Techniques in the Decorative Arts, an illustrated Dictionary* (London, 2000), p.550.

<sup>117</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, pp.144-169, Lac was obtained from the sticky exudations of an Indian insect, *Laccifer lacca*, which was gathered from the twigs and branches of the tree on which it lived. It could be bought as stick lac (in its naturally occurring form adhering to the twig), or seed-lac and shell-lac (removed from the twig and broken down into seeds or flakes). A finer, paler varnish was ‘best white varnish’ which was made from Sandanac – the sap of a thuya tree. See also L. Trench, *Materials and Techniques*, p. 512.

<sup>118</sup> J. Stalker and G. Parker, *A Treatise on Japanning and Varnishing*, p.17.

<sup>119</sup> M. Abey-Koch, ‘History of Housekeeping’, p.32. The London cabinet maker Samuel Norman’s inventory of 1760 included 41 fish skins and 5 dozen fins that were also used for polishing woods. European craftsmen also used shark skins that were considered especially good polishing agents as they had large numbers of small sharp ‘teeth’ (dermal dentils) which gently rubbed the fibres of the wood. See C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furniture Materials, Trades and Techniques*, p.1.

<sup>120</sup> TNA LC5/44, fols.36, 104. A polishing paste of ‘whitening’ was used on all different types of veneers including wood, metal, ebony, ivory and tortoiseshell.

<sup>121</sup> TNA LC5/75, fol.5.

<sup>122</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, pp.168-9.

bedchamber would have had an extraordinary visual impact that is quite different to the mellowed appearance of the surviving pieces in the apartments today.

One of the most highly skilled aspects of the maintenance work undertaken by cabinet makers at Hampton Court involved the repair of marquetry pieces. In 1708-9 Gerrit Jensen's bill included:

	l s d
For mending, new silvering and Colouring a Metal Bureau Table and Stands in the Princes Apartment.	03: 10: 00 <sup>123</sup>

This metal bureau would most likely have resembled the one made for William III in the 1690s, almost certainly by Jensen, mentioned in chapter three (fig.89). As silver was prone to tarnish its use in cabinet work was rare in England, and therefore Jensen's charge for 'new silvering' probably refers to re-applying pieces of pewter inlay. Over time such metals were prone to lift from the carcase and break off, necessitating that they were re-applied with glue. The reference to 'colouring' in Jensen's bill is more difficult to explain, but most likely refers to the technique of staining shell or tortoiseshell inlay to give it a better or different colour. Alternatively this could also refer to white wood and bone that were also coloured in order to create a greater variety of hues. Through use and exposure to the sun, inlays were prone to fade, therefore requiring that the individual pieces were re-stained.<sup>124</sup> Where silver was used on cabinetwork, usually for mounts and drawer handles, it was necessary to clean it to remove tarnishing. A bill submitted by Jensen for work on a cabinet, and a table and looking glass at Kensington in 1705-6 suggests that this was done by 'taking of the silver' and 'boylng' it.<sup>125</sup> Once clean, a layer of varnish was applied that prevented the silver from re-tarnishing. A similar process, known as 'lackering', was also used on the brass work of royal furniture.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.198.

<sup>124</sup> My thanks to Sebastian Edwards for his advice on these cabinet making techniques.

<sup>125</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.99.

<sup>126</sup> TNA LC9/170, fol.21; TNA LC9/288, fol.169. On 'lackering' see A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, pp.66-67.

In addition to their work on inlaid pieces, the cabinet makers employed by the Great Wardrobe also cleaned and restored Indian (lacquer) and Japanned furniture at Hampton Court. In 1733 for example, Benjamin Goodison submitted a bill for the following:

l	s	d
		13: 10: 00 <sup>127</sup>

For repairing cleaning and new gilding the  
Frame of a Japan'd Cabinet cleaning &  
repairing the Cabinet & Lacquering the  
Brass Work.

As Japan was a shellac varnish, this cabinet would have been treated by re-varnishing in a similar manner to the surfaces of the wooden furniture discussed earlier.<sup>128</sup> In comparison to Japan, real lacquer was considerably more hard wearing. Despite this, however, it could also be stained by water, and light could cause the surface to discolour and deteriorate.<sup>129</sup> There are some references to the repair of Indian furniture during the 1690s and early 1700s that may have been a result of such problems. In 1703 Jensen was employed at Kensington to mend an Indian bureau in Mary II's old apartments, and in 1712 he repaired 'two Indian stand heads' at Hampton Court.<sup>130</sup> The most efficacious ways of renewing the surface of lacquer was by buffing and polishing.<sup>131</sup> Jensen bills for work on Indian pieces include charges for 'polishing', suggesting that he used this method.

Within the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court some of the most fragile pieces of furniture were the carved and gilt pier tables and stands, and the many gilt picture and mirror frames that were hung throughout the apartments. On account of the fragility of gilt furniture, it may not have been cleaned very often. Guides to servants counselled against insensitive and untrained hands cleaning the delicate surfaces of gilt pieces that were prone to chip and scratch.<sup>132</sup> A linen

<sup>127</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.169. For other similar work see LC9/287, fol.152 and LC5/75, fol.5.

<sup>128</sup> Although the distinction between Indian and Japanned was not always clear, Japan usually refers to false lacquer that was developed in England as a way fulfilling the demand for real lacquer ware. A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, pp.154-155; J. Stalker and G. Parker, *A Treatise on Japanning and Varnishing*, p.17.

<sup>129</sup> F. Halahan and A. Plowden, *Looking after Antiques*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (The National Trust, 2003), p.59; C. Calnan and C. Sitwell, 'Lacquer and Japanning', *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping*, pp.285-391, pp.387-388.

<sup>130</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.104; LC9/284, fol.42.

<sup>131</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.159.

<sup>132</sup> *The Housekeeping book of Susanna Whatman*, pp.38 & 40; P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.93

duster was not considered suitable and therefore manuals recommended gently brushing gilt surfaces with a fine paint brush, a goose wing or blowing with a pair of bellows.<sup>133</sup> Regrettably, there are no accounts that confirm these methods were used at Hampton Court. It is evident, however, that goose wings were used on royal furniture. In March 1713 the Lord Chamberlain issued a warrant requesting that ‘two handle goose wings’, amongst other brushes, were to be provided for the Wardrobe Keeper at Westminster, Thomas Incledon.<sup>134</sup>

Occasionally, when damage did occur to gilt pieces, repairs were made by a specialist carver and gilder. In 1699-1700 for example, Jean Pelletier was employed at Hampton Court to mend four of the gilt frames of the pier tables he had supplied for the king’s state apartments, as they had been damaged during transportation to the palace.<sup>135</sup> In the following year a gilder from Thomas Roberts’s workshop was sent to Hampton Court to ‘mend the guilt Chaires and Sophea’s in the Long Gallery’. For three days work and gold used he charged £3.<sup>136</sup> Although there are no accounts for this type of work that relate specifically to the gilt furniture of the state bedchambers at Hampton Court, Thomas Roberts’s bills for Kensington suggests that it would similarly have been repaired if it had become chipped or broken. His bill for 1705-6 includes a charge of £8 15s for ‘mending six rich carv’d stooles and two arm’d Chaires and repairing the gilding of them being much Damaged in her Majesty’s Bedchamber’.<sup>137</sup>

Most often, gilt work was simply patched with new gold leaf being applied in places where it had flaked off. However, where severe damage had occurred this would have involved working new wood carving to replace areas of loss, applying a new layer of gesso - a mixture of plaster of Paris and glue size – onto which the gold leaf was applied.<sup>138</sup> On most royal furniture this was done by water gilding, a technique that involved applying a mordant of raw linseed, wetting the surface and then gradually the gold leaf with repeated wettings until

<sup>133</sup> M. Abey –Koch, ‘History of Housekeeping’, p.32. Despite this care, contemporary conservators have found that gilt work was in fact damaged by feathers as if broken they could scratch the gilt surface and become lodged in the cracks. See J. Cadapose and V. Marsland, ‘Gilded and Painted Wood’, *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping*, pp.375-383, p. 379.

<sup>134</sup> TNA LC5/155, fol. 210.

<sup>135</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.44

<sup>136</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.91.

<sup>137</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol. 112.

<sup>138</sup> C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Materials*, p.89.

the area was covered. Although gilt work was especially fragile, it was possible to apply substances to clean it. Although the eighteenth-century methods for this have not been passed down to us, nineteenth-century guides for craftsmen recommended using ‘urine, hot spirits of wine or oil of turpentine’ or ‘passing a clean sponge dip’t in gin and water, lightly over the surface’.<sup>139</sup> Urine the strongest of these solvents would have been suitable for use on oil gilding whereas gin and water, that would evaporate more quickly, were recommended for cleaning the more delicate water-gilded surfaces.<sup>140</sup> As a whole, the methods and materials employed in cleaning and restoring gilt and wooden furniture and cabinetwork ensured that such rich, fashionable and valuable pieces remained in the best possible condition. The accounts for the care of this type of furniture in particular, also highlight the extent to which the complex design and construction of high quality furniture rendered housekeeping, at his level, a task mainly for the professionally skilled.

### **Silver, crystal and glass**

Within the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court, silver, crystal and glass were key components in the design of the interiors. As chapter two discussed, the reflective surfaces of mirrors, sconces, chandeliers, candlesticks and fire furniture, both added to the magnificent visual effect of the interiors and acted to enhance the light. During periods of residence at Hampton Court, these items would have required regular cleaning to remove tarnishing, smoke smuts, wax drips and even finger marks in order that they retained their splendour and reflectivity. Within the surviving papers relating to Necessary Women there is little evidence for the methods that were used on silver, crystal and glass on a day-to-day basis. It is possible, however, that the ‘flaxon cloth’ and ‘Brussels cloth’ that are mentioned in Elizabeth Tower’s expenses and in the yearly order of supplies for the monarch’s own Necessary Woman may have used for dusting and buffing silver and mirrors with whitening or alcohol, a technique that was

<sup>139</sup> E. Spon, *Workshop Receipts* (1873-92), cited in M. Gregory, ‘A Review of English Gilding Techniques. Original Source Material About Picture Frames’, *Gilded Wood Conservation and History*, p.116.

<sup>140</sup> M. Gregory, ‘A Review of English Gilding Techniques’, p.116.

recommended in guides to servants.<sup>141</sup> In the case of silver a more thorough clean could be achieved by boiling it or washing it in soapy water. This was considered the most efficacious method of removing drips of candle wax in particular. Evidence for boiling silver, and silver gilt, can be found in abundance in the accounts of the Jewel House.<sup>142</sup> Each year, and prior to special occasions such as a coronation, the royal goldsmith was responsible for the enormous task of boiling all the plate in store.<sup>143</sup> In addition, silver was boiled by the craftsmen who worked for the Great Wardrobe. Gerrit Jensen for example, was employed at Hampton Court in 1710 for ‘putting a new glass in a Silver frame [and] new boyling ye frame [...].’<sup>144</sup> The review of Gumley and Turing’s bills in 1728-29 also reveals that they boiled silver and cleaned it with alcohol.<sup>145</sup>

In the absence of the court, and prior to its arrival, mirrors and sconces were also thoroughly cleaned and repaired by cabinet makers. Gumley and Turing’s substantial bill for work at Hampton Court in 1728, prior to George II’s first residence, included, amongst other tasks, ‘taking down all the looking glasses Repairing new fixing and putting them up again’.<sup>146</sup> Similarly, in 1708 Gerrit Jensen charged £8 ‘for cleaning all the Glasses and Sconces’ in the state apartments at the palace. Additionally, his bill included a charge of £3 ‘For a new Border about the great glass in the Presence and for severall Roses [small decorative embellishments] and Cleaning the glass in the Privy Chamber’, indicating that more extensive repairs were also made.<sup>147</sup> During this period mirrors could easily be repaired in parts. Given the limited technology of the time, making large sheets of glass was incredibly difficult, and therefore mirrors were commonly made up of a several plates that could be replaced if they were damaged or broken.<sup>148</sup> This no doubt accounts for the many different colours of the glass in the original mirrors of the state apartments at Hampton Court today. In addition to breakages, mirrors were also prone to degrade. The foil of tin and mercury that was applied to the back of the glass could be easily ruined by damp

<sup>141</sup> Anon, *The Footman’s Directory and Butler’s Remembrancer* (London, 1825), p.29. On cleaning silver see also P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.35.

<sup>142</sup> TNA LC5/108-113.

<sup>143</sup> See for example, TNA LC5/108, fol.286, LC5/109, fol.91.

<sup>144</sup> TNA LC9/284, fol.25

<sup>145</sup> TNA LC5/75, fols.6-8.

<sup>146</sup> TNA LC9/267, fol.152. See also LC9/170, fol.21.

<sup>147</sup> TNA LC9/282, fol.198.

<sup>148</sup> G. Wills, *English Looking Glasses* (London, 1965).

which penetrated any faults in the foil causing small circular grey ‘blooms’ on the face of the mirror, or even causing the foil to fall off altogether.<sup>149</sup> At royal residences, the backs of mirrors were therefore occasionally re-silvered. In 1733, Benjamin Goodison undertook work at Hampton Court that involved ‘new silvering glasses for sconces & fixing them’ for which he charged 17s 6d.<sup>150</sup> A further account for this type of work survives in the bills relating to Kensington. In 1695, a craftsman by the name of Nicholas Pic was employed for ‘covering the glasses with quicksilver where they wanted repairing’.<sup>151</sup>

In the state apartments at Hampton Court, the queen’s state bedchamber was one of a number of rooms that were furnished with magnificent chandeliers of silver and crystal. These incredibly heavy, yet delicate, objects would have required cleaning in order to remove dust, tarnishing on the silver, drips of candle wax and smoke smuts. While it is possible that such chandeliers were lowered and dusted by the Wardrobe Keepers, thoroughly cleaning them was considered a specialist task for the craftsmen of the Wardrobe. Gumley and Turing’s bill of 1727-8 for work at the palace included taking down all the chandeliers, cleaning and repairing them.<sup>152</sup> Judging by the advice in housekeeping guides it is likely that this would have been done by rubbing each crystal component of the chandelier with cloths or sponges dampened with water or spirits of wine. This was then allowed to dry before buffing with whitening.<sup>153</sup> In addition, Gumley and Turing were also responsible for work on the magnificent rock crystal chandelier that still hangs today the privy chamber in king’s apartments (fig.45). It appears that this was an especially extensive task that they undertook at their workshop and it was therefore recorded as separate item in their bill of 1727-8:

<sup>149</sup> A. Bowett, *English Furniture*, p.130.

<sup>150</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol.178.

<sup>151</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol. 177

<sup>152</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol.129. For further work cleaning the chandeliers in the state apartments at Hampton Court see LC5/48, fol.109.

<sup>153</sup> M. Abey –Koch, ‘History of Housekeeping’, p.31.

l s d

For taking down the Fine Rock Cristall Lustre & Removing it taking to pieces cleaning and new Beautifying the same.	15: 00: 00	<sup>154</sup>
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That the substantial sum of £15 was charged for this task is not surprising. The chandelier in the privy chamber is composed of thousands of tiny beads fashioned in over forty different forms and arranged into an incredibly intricate pattern.<sup>155</sup> The work of taking it apart and correctly reassembling it would therefore have been a highly skilled task.

### Tapestries

At Hampton Court, both the king's and the queen's state bedchambers were hung with tapestries from the historic and highly prized *Joshua* series that had originally been acquired by Henry VIII. On a daily basis, when the court was in residence, it is most likely that these tapestries would have been brushed by Necessary Women to prevent a build up of dust and dirt. Despite this, more extensive cleaning and repairs by the arras-workers of the Great Wardrobe were necessary in order to maintain the condition of the tapestries and ensure their longevity.<sup>156</sup> In her study of early tapestry restoration Wendy Hefford has shown that royal tapestries in regular use were thoroughly cleaned on average once every twenty to thirty years.<sup>157</sup> However, at Hampton Court, it was in 1713, only fourteen years after the initial furnishing of the king's state apartments, that the tapestries were first refreshed. The accounts of that year relate that two men working for the upholsterer Hamden Reeve were employed for twelve days to 'take downe all the tapestry hangings in her majesties apartment & fitting them to the Places and putting them up again'.<sup>158</sup> A bill submitted by John Vanderbank, the Yeoman Arras-Worker of Great Wardrobe, for the same year included a charge of £25 for mending and cleaning tapestries, and coach hire and expenses to Hampton Court, suggesting that on this occasion they were set up on

<sup>154</sup> TNA LC9/267, fol.152. See also LC9/170, fol.21.

<sup>155</sup> M. Mortimer, *The English Glass Chandelier* (Antique Collectors Club, 1999), pp.41-47.

<sup>156</sup> F. Lennard and M. Hayward, *Tapestry Conservation, Principles and Practice* (Oxford, 2006), pp.4-12.

<sup>157</sup> W. Hefford, 'Bread Brushes and Bran', p.66.

<sup>158</sup> TNA LC9/285, fol.30.

looms at the palace.<sup>159</sup> The tapestries in the state apartments were again cleaned in 1731, when Vanderbanks's successor John Ellis oversaw the cleaning and repair of 44 tapestries for which he charged the substantial sum of £287 10s.<sup>160</sup> Up until the early twentieth century, tapestries were cleaned using brushes and by applying bread and bran to absorb the dirt. Evidence for the use of this method on royal tapestries can be found in the arras workers bills throughout the period that often include charges for 'bread, bran [and] Brushes'.<sup>161</sup>

In addition to regular cleaning, the tapestries in the bedchambers at Hampton Court were also repaired, with new threads worked into defective places. In 1690, two pieces from the *Joshua* series (that may have been those later hung in the king's state bedchamber) together with two pieces 'of ye Months' were repaired by Vanderbank and his assistants. Their work was detailed in their bill of 1690-91:

	l s d
For 40 ounces of Gold att 5s 6d	11: 00: 00
For 202 ounces of Silke att 20d	16: 06: 08
For 15 lo [sic] Pound $\frac{3}{4}$ of fine warpe 4s, 6d,	03: 10: 10
For 24 lo [sic] Pound $\frac{1}{4}$ fine woollsted 4s, 6d	04: 10: 00
For 30 pounds of Packthread at 18d	02: 05: 00
For all materialls for scouring and cleansing	
4 pieces of Hangings	04: 00: 00
For a large table to mend the Hangings upon	01: 02: 06
For canvas threads and Lyor used about the lining and repairing the above said pieces of Hangings	08: 16: 00 <sup>162</sup>

As Vanderbank's bill relates the work undertaken on the tapestries involved repairing areas of loss in the warp, the vertical threads through which the horizontal weft threads were drawn. While in modern conservation a less interventionist approach is usually taken, with missing or weak areas being sewn

<sup>159</sup> TNA LC9/285, fol. 26. It is evident from earlier accounts dating from 1661 that the wardrobe at the palace was supplied with a large wooden horse 22ft long for the purpose of supporting tapestries while they were being cleaned. T. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.132.

<sup>160</sup> TNA LC9/288, fol. 69.

<sup>161</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.136-7.

<sup>162</sup> TNA LC9/279, fol.140. A further piece of the Joshua set 'being very much broken' was also repaired in August of that year. This involved the application of another forty ounces of gold and silver thread at a cost of £10, new silk threads, new warp threads and a new canvas backing. See TNA LC9/279, fol.193.

onto colour matched fabric support, historically reweaving was the norm.<sup>163</sup> At Hampton Court, the tapestries were valued not only for their historic associations but also for the narratives that they told. Replacing missing areas of the weft would therefore have been essential if the images were to be clearly understood. During this period it was also the case that less value was placed on the original materiality of historic objects.<sup>164</sup> Although by the late seventeenth century the *Joshua* tapestries hung in the state bedchamber at Hampton Court were considered antique, this evidently did not necessitate a preservationist approach. Rather, the magnificent appearance as a splendid backdrop for bedchamber ceremonies was considered above safeguarding their original materials.

### Fixtures, fittings and the deep clean

In addition to cleaning the furnishings of the royal bedchambers, Necessary Women and their servants also undertook the daily tasks of maintaining all the fixtures and fittings. Judging by the advice given in guides to servants, the first task usually undertaken each morning in winter was removing ashes from the fireplace, cleaning the grate and laying a new fire. The copper ash pan that was supplied to Bridget Holmes in 1689 and the basket to carry coals listed amongst Anne Du Hurst's expenses of 1694 would probably have been used for this purpose.<sup>165</sup> Coal baskets were also regularly supplied to palace Wardrobe Keepers, and the accounts for these reveal that they commonly featured a tin lining that prevented coal dust from soiling the floors.<sup>166</sup> At Hampton Court wood and coal were bought to the backstairs from the wood yard near the river and from coal house that was located in Greencloth yard (now Lord Chamberlain's Court) (figs.20, 21 & 100).<sup>167</sup> The accounts of the Lord Steward reveal that of all the rooms in the royal apartments, the bedchamber and the privy lodgings were allocated the largest quantities of the best quality fuel. In the winter months (November to March) this amounted to 1600 billets (a billet was a

<sup>163</sup> F. Lennard and M. Hayward, *Tapestry Conservation, Principles and Practice*, p.7; W. Hefford, 'Bread Brushes and Bran', p.67.

<sup>164</sup> On historic attitudes towards the material authenticity of old things see D. Lowenthal and M. Binney, eds., *Our Past Before Us. Why do we Save it?* (London: Temple Smith, 1981) and D. Lowenthal, 'Material Preservation and its Alternatives', *Perspecta*, 25, 1989, pp. 67-77.

<sup>165</sup> TNA LC9/279, fol. 78, BL MSS. Add. 5751, fol.179.

<sup>166</sup> See for example TNA LC5/45, fol.138.

<sup>167</sup> Survey of 1674, TNA LC5/201, fol.148 and survey of 1702 TNA LC5/202, fol.196.

small but thick piece of wood) and two quarters of charcoal per day for the bedchamber, and 1800 billets and two quarters of charcoal per day for the privy lodgings.<sup>168</sup> When compared to the lesser quantities of slower burning ‘pitcoal’, that was provided for less important rooms such as the guard chamber, both the wooden billets and the charcoal would have made impressive, roaring fires. To reduce smoking and the risk of fire however, it was necessary that the chimneys within the bedchamber rooms were regularly swept by a local sweep employed by the Wardrobe Keeper or the Under-Housekeeper. While it is unclear exactly how often this was done, Richard Marriott’s disbursements for ‘sweeping ye Chimneys through all is Majesties and ye Queen’s Privy Lodgings for one half yeare ending lady day [25<sup>th</sup> March] 1664’ amounted to the substantial sum of £33 14s 6d, indicating that in winter this was a frequent and extensive task.<sup>169</sup> During summer residences at the palace that were most common particularly during the later half of the period, less cleaning and sweeping would have been required. Nevertheless, Hannah Glass still advised in her guide to servants that in summer the fire irons were to be rubbed and the dirt swept from the grate each day.<sup>170</sup>

Cleaning the floors of the bedchamber rooms was also a daily task, for which Necessary Women had a supply of brooms, mops and pails.<sup>171</sup> Rush matting, that was the predominant floor covering in the apartments, would have been brushed with a broom, and where possible folded back to allow the boards underneath to be swept or rubbed. During the period, damp sand was commonly sprinkled over wooden floors as it acted to ‘lick up all the Dust and Flew’ when it was swept up.<sup>172</sup> Mopping with soapy water would have been limited to stone floors as it was understood that wetting wooden boards could make rooms damp and be the cause of unhealthy vapours.<sup>173</sup> Carpets would also have been brushed

<sup>168</sup> See for example, TNA LS13/41, fols.8-10. In spring and autumn this was reduced to 800 billets and 1 quarter of charcoal for the bedchamber and 900 billets and 1 quarter of charcoal for the privy lodgings. In summer an even lesser amount was allocated, 200 billets and 2 quarters for the bedchamber and the same for the privy lodgings. Judging by the measurements given in the Lord Stewards accounts, a quarter was equivalent to a bushel that weighed 56 pounds.

<sup>169</sup> TNA LC5/138, fol.121. For chimney sweeping at royal residences see also BL MSS. Add.5751A, fol.32; BL Add. MSS. 20101, fol.15; LS1/57, unpaginated; Declared Accounts: Civil List', CTB, vol. 31: 1717 (1960), pp. CXCI-CCXXXIII, [www.british-history.ac.uk/](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/) accessed 30<sup>th</sup> July 2010.

<sup>170</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.23.

<sup>171</sup> TNA LC5/158, fol. 74; BL MSS. Stowe 566, fols. 2 & 5.

<sup>172</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant’s Directory*, p.26; *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, p.37

<sup>173</sup> *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, p.21.

and possibly cleaned by sprinkling them with damp tea leaves and then sweeping. This method, that worked similarly to sand, was recommended by Susanna Whatman in her advice to her housemaid.<sup>174</sup>

In preparation for the arrival of the court the fixtures and fittings of the bedchamber would also have been thoroughly cleaned. Warrants for supplies for Wardrobe Keepers suggest that this would have involved dusting and sweeping the walls, floors and ceilings. An order for Simon de Brienne, the House and Wardrobe Keeper at Kensington included ‘two round brushes with two staves eighteen foot long, two staves fifteen foot long and two staves twelve foot long to cleane the topp of the Roomes’.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, in April 1691, Daniel Child at Whitehall received ‘two long brushes to sweep down ye cobwebbs in ye Lodgings’.<sup>176</sup> The Wardrobe Keepers at Hampton Court were also provided with ‘Flagg brooms [and] birch brooms’, hearth brushes, dust baskets, and tacks, tenterhooks and hammers, the later of which may have been used for undertaking minor repairs.<sup>177</sup> In addition, warrants issued by the Lord Chamberlain suggest that the Wardrobe Keepers at royal residences oversaw the occasional deep cleaning of the royal apartments. This work was akin to annual spring-cleaning, although judging by the timing of the warrants relating to this it was undertaken in accordance with the courts remove or special occasions, rather than on a seasonal basis.<sup>178</sup> Although there are no orders for this that relate specifically to Hampton Court, warrants issued for Whitehall, Kensington and St James’s are revealing.<sup>179</sup> While the floors of the lodgings would only have been swept and dry rubbed during a residence, deep cleaning provided an opportunity for them to be thoroughly washed. As a warrant sent to the Wardrobe Keeper at Whitehall on the 18th December 1690 requested, ‘This is to require you to cause the Floors of the Great Rooms at Whitehall on the King and Queenes side, and ye Gallery to be cleaned & washed before Christmas next’.<sup>180</sup> Taking into account advice given to servants, this would have been done by scouring and mopping with cold

<sup>174</sup> *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, p.39.

<sup>175</sup> TNA LC5/69, fol.136;

<sup>176</sup> TNA LC5/150, fol.213.

<sup>177</sup> TNA LC5/131, no.29; LC5/138, fol.168; TNA LC9/282, fol.51; LC5/150, fol.231.

<sup>178</sup> On historic practices of spring-cleaning see P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, pp.91-96; M. Abey -Koch, ‘History of Housekeeping’, p.31.

<sup>179</sup> References to deep cleaning can be found at TNA LC5/150, fols.260 & 293; LC5/124, no.69; LC5/126, no.52; LC5/43, fol.186; LC5/45, fol.18; TNA LC5/69, fol.60; TNA LC5/73, fol.314.

<sup>180</sup> TNA LC5/150, fol.293.

water and then rubbing with abrasives such as fullers earth or sand.<sup>181</sup> Soap was not deemed suitable as it left a white appearance on the boards, and as Hannah Glass stated in her instructional manual, ‘it receives the marks of the feet’.<sup>182</sup> She also recommended that a pleasant fragrance could be added to boards by rubbing them with ‘Tanzy, Mint, Balm and Fennel’.<sup>183</sup> Additionally, warrants suggest that the walls and ceilings of the state apartments would have been ‘whitened’, a process that probably refers to the application of whitewash on ceilings that were left undecorated. At Kensington, where the state apartments were in regular use during the 1690s, this was undertaken approximately once every five or six years.<sup>184</sup>

During the deep clean it was important to protect all the precious furnishings of the apartments and therefore the upholsterers and joiners of the Great Wardrobe were employed to dismantle and remove it. As a warrant issued for work at Kensington in September 1709 stated:

These are to require you to order the Upholsterer and Joyner to take down the furniture in her Maj.s and the Princes apartments at Kensington and for putting it up again when the House is clean’d.<sup>185</sup>

More permanent fixtures that could not be so easily removed were instead hung with protective cloths. In 1690 Simon de Brienne was supplied with ‘One hundred and fifty Ells of Canvas to Cover ye the hangings in ye King and Queen Majesties lodgings there, to keepe them cleane when the Lodgings are to be Whitened, the Hangings not to be pulled down’.<sup>186</sup> For covering the floors ‘one hundred yards of matting to be used & removed at any time in Roomes when painted or cleaned as also twenty paire of sheetes of three breadths’ were also provided in 1693.<sup>187</sup> For less thorough cleaning jobs it is likely that all the furniture would have been covered rather than removed. This was the case at St.

<sup>181</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.29.

<sup>182</sup> *The Housekeeping Book of Susana Whatman*, p.37; H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.31.

<sup>183</sup> H. Glass, *The Servant's Directory*, p.29.

<sup>184</sup> ‘Whitening’, *OED*, online edition, <http://www.oed.com/> accessed 4<sup>th</sup> June 2010. Kensington Palace was in regular use during the 1690s and the accounts reveal that the apartments were ‘whitened’ in 1690 and again in 1695 TNA LC5/43, fol.186; LC5/150, fol. 260.

<sup>185</sup> TNA LC5/126, no.52. See also TNA LC5/45, fol.18.

<sup>186</sup> TNA LC5/150, fol. 260

<sup>187</sup> TNA LC5/69, fol.60.

James's in 1737 when orders were issued for 'the Cabinet maker to cover all the Glasses, Tables, Stands and other Gilt work in the Prince and Princess of Wales's apartments [and] The Upholsterer to cover the chairs, stools and State Beds &c there, and to provide green Bays and paper for the same'.<sup>188</sup> These extensive cleaning campaigns, that in some cases involved the enormous task of taking down all of the furniture in the royal apartments, are evidence that periodic deep cleaning was considered vital if the cleanliness and condition of the interiors were to be maintained.

### Preservation strategies

From the earliest period, light was regarded as detrimental to furniture and textiles and something to be excluded from houses.<sup>189</sup> Light caused the colours of textiles and furniture to fade and it was therefore imperative that objects were protected from the sun. At Hampton Court sunlight would have been a particular problem within the king's state apartments where the large windows faced to the south. To minimise damage, light control was achieved through shutters on the inside of windows, cane sashes and umbrellos (or umbrellas) that could either be fitted inside or above the window on the outside.<sup>190</sup> Umbrellos were described as 'a Wooden Frame cover'd with cloth or Stuff, to keep off the Sun from a Window', suggesting that they were essentially blinds.<sup>191</sup> There are numerous references to umbrellos being repaired or provided at Hampton Court, suggesting that they would have been used on most of the windows at the palace. In 1692-3 Thomas Roberts was employed to 'take measure for umbrellas' and 'for three umbrellas and putting them up at Hampton Court', most probably in Mary II's rooms in the Water Gallery.<sup>192</sup> Umbrellos were also fitted up at the palace in 1715-6. The joiner Richard Roberts's bill for fitting them up included 'cutting holes in the stone wall to fix the umbrellas and fixing them up with lead', suggesting that these umbrellos might have attached to the outside of the palace

<sup>188</sup> TNA LC5/73, fol.314.

<sup>189</sup> M. Abey -Koch, 'History of Housekeeping', pp. 29-30; *The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman*, p.39. On modern conservation strategies for minimising light damage see L. Bullock, 'Light as an agent of deterioration', *The National Trust Manual of Housekeeping*, pp.93-101; T. B. Brill, *Light: Its Interaction with Art and Antiques* (New York: Plenum Press, 1980).

<sup>190</sup> On window coverings see P. Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Decoration*, p.141; C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furnishing Textiles*, p.224; M. Abey-Koch, 'History of Housekeeping', p.30.

<sup>191</sup> C. Edwards, *Encyclopaedia of Furnishing Textiles*, p.224.

<sup>192</sup> TNA LC5/43, fol.95.

buildings.<sup>193</sup> In 1736 two umbrellos of ‘Fine Green holland’ were also set up at the windows of the Prince of Wales’s dressing room and closet, and four of the same for Princess’s bedchamber and withdrawing room.<sup>194</sup> When used together with cane sashes that were fitted throughout the apartments, these umbrellos would have been used to control the amount of sunlight entering the apartments when the rooms were occupied.<sup>195</sup> During the absence of the court, the Wardrobe Keeper would have been able to close the shutters that were fitted on the inside of all the windows in the state apartments and privy lodgings during the daytime, thereby shutting out the light entirely.

As it is today, dust was also understood to contribute to the discolouring and degradation of furnishings.<sup>196</sup> To protect against this, as well as dirt and light damage, furnishings were commonly protected by curtains and covers that were usually made up in a less costly, more hardwearing textile. These were known as case covers or ‘polite covers’ and often they remained on furniture in daily use, only being removed on special occasions.<sup>197</sup> At Hampton Court, protective cases were supplied for bedchamber furnishings by the upholsterers and cabinet makers of the Great Wardrobe. As discussed in chapters two and three, all royal beds were provided with sets of case curtains that were strung on rods around the outside of the bed. Case curtains are shown in several of Daniel Marot’s engravings for bed designs with the annotation ‘pour conserver le lit contre la poussière’ [for protecting the bed from dust].<sup>198</sup> Modern replicas of case curtains are shown on William III’s state bed and the yellow damask bed in the king’s apartments today (figs.10 & 70). In addition, upholsterers supplied case covers, usually of taffeta, for the chairs and stools that were made up to match the state bed in order to protect the costly and delicate textiles. For example, Phil and Fletcher’s account for the Prince and Princess of Wales’s state bed at Hampton Court included ‘making crimson taffeta loose Covers for the said Chairs and Stools’.<sup>199</sup> Bills also suggest that the window curtains in the state apartments,

<sup>193</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol.343.

<sup>194</sup> TNA LC5/48, fol.12. See also LC5/48, fol.78; LC5/47, fols.177 and 251.

<sup>195</sup> For references to sashes see TNA WORK 5/50, fol.282, LC5/45, fol. 292, LC5/47, fol.138.

<sup>196</sup> J. A. Amato, *Dust: A History of the Small and Invisible* (University of California Press, 2000);

<sup>197</sup> On case covers see M. Swain, ‘Loose Covers, Or Cases’, *Furniture History*, 33, 1997, pp.128-33 and M. Abey –Koch, ‘History of Housekeeping’, p.26.

<sup>198</sup> P. Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, p.171.

<sup>199</sup> TNA LC5/45, fol. 307. This crimson taffeta was provided by the Mercer William Sherrard, see fol.133. For further covers for bedchamber furniture at Hampton Court see LC5/44, fols.133 & 221.

that would have been especially susceptible to light damage, were similarly fitted with protective covers. In 1731 the upholsterer Sarah Gilbert made up twenty false cases of ‘fine white corded Dimity’ for window curtains, valances and cornices bound with strong Holland tape and secured with metal studs for the king’s apartments above and below stairs.<sup>200</sup> Paintings were also often fitted with protective curtains. In the queen’s private bedchamber at Hampton Court, the damask that was ordered for the wall hangings was hung ‘between the pictures and over and under them’, suggesting that they had some form of covering.<sup>201</sup> This was certainly the case in the cartoon gallery at Hampton Court where the precious cartoons, the *Acts of Apostles* by Rapheal were fitted with protective curtains of green damask.<sup>202</sup> These curtains on beds, paintings and hangings would have been drawn by the Wardrobe Keeper in the absence of the court or perhaps even during a residence when the rooms were not in use. For reaching these curtains, that were often high up, the Wardrobe Keepers at royal residences were provided with poles with a hooked end.<sup>203</sup> In 1715 ‘a very long pole with a hooke and ferill to turn the curtains’ was specially provided for use on Prince and Princess of Wales’s state bed at Hampton Court.<sup>204</sup>

Although less prone to fading, wooden, inlaid, lacquer and gilt furniture, and crystal and glass were also commonly covered when not in use. This prevented light damage, a build up of dust and spotting from insects.<sup>205</sup> At Hampton Court many of the furnishings bought for the state apartments were supplied with covers and cases. The carved gilt candle stands that were made by Gumley and Moore in 1715 for Prince and Princess of Wales state bedchamber at the palace were provided with ‘leather Covers to the Ground’.<sup>206</sup> Similarly, in George I’s private bedchamber below stairs, leather cases were made up for a pair of stands and a table, and 1731, a set of ‘leather Covers to hang down to the ground’ were delivered to the palace for a large inlaid table and stands in the

<sup>200</sup> TNA LC5/47, fol. 188.

<sup>201</sup> S. Jenkins, ‘Queen Caroline’s Taste’, p.22.

<sup>202</sup> TNA LC5/47, fols-83-4 & 90.

<sup>203</sup> TNA LC9/281, fol.182; see also TNA LC5/125, no.17. These were usually provided by the joiner to the crown at a cost of 10s.

<sup>204</sup> TNA LC5/54, fol.314. ‘Ferrill’ describes a metal cap that was set around the end of the wooden pole to prevent it from splitting. *OED*, online edition, <http://www.oed.com/> accessed 5<sup>th</sup> June 2010.

<sup>205</sup> M. Abey –Koch, ‘History of Housekeeping’, p.29.

<sup>206</sup> TNA LC5/89, fol.40.

king's closet.<sup>207</sup> Covers were also provided for smaller decorative objects. In 1696 one yard of blue mantua was supplied to cover a clock in the king's bedchamber at Whitehall.<sup>208</sup> It is probable that all the glass and silver in the apartments was similarly encased. Although there are no references specifically to the furnishings of the bedchambers, in 1700 Richard Bealing made up white paragon draw string cases for the rock crystal lustre and the two silver branches in the public rooms of the king's apartments.<sup>209</sup> A further two covers for glass lustres at the palace, this time made up in leather, were provided in 1735 by Henry Goodison at a cost of £4 4s.<sup>210</sup> Rare surviving examples suggest that such leather covers could be quite decorative in their own right. At Ham House the celestial and terrestrial globes in the library both retain their leather covers that were made up in c.1746 in tooled gilt leather (fig.118).

Further protective covers of matting were provided for the floors at Hampton Court.<sup>211</sup> These were laid by the Wardrobe Keeper in anticipation of the courts arrival and were placed in rooms that were to be in constant use or in areas where dirt would be generated by practices such as dining. For example in 1693, a warrant for was issued for:

[...] a matt to lye under the Table to keep the flower [floor] cleane in the [Water] Gallery by the Thames side where her Mats dines also a Matt to be in her Mats Batheing Lodgings where the lords and Ladyes dine, [...] the smallest is for her Mats Table which must be very fine Matt, also [...] deliver sixty five yards of Bulrush Matt of one yard wide to lye the whole length of the Gallery to keep it cleane her Mats intending to come very often to dine there.<sup>212</sup>

It was also common for mats or linen sheets to be laid underneath dressing tables to prevent make-up or hair powder from soiling the floor.<sup>213</sup> For this purpose three pairs of fine sheets were provided in November 1714 to lay under Princess Caroline's toilet at St. James's.<sup>214</sup> These covers served to protect the carpets and the fixed matting in the apartments, and could be easily removed and cleaned as

<sup>207</sup> TNA LC5/89, fol.114; LC5/47, fol. 195.

<sup>208</sup> TNA LC9/280, fol.358.

<sup>209</sup> TNA LC5/44, fol.96

<sup>210</sup> TNA LC9/289, fol.124.

<sup>211</sup> M. Abey -Koch, 'History of Housekeeping', p.26.

<sup>212</sup> TNA LC5/69, fol.60.

<sup>213</sup> M. Abey -Koch, 'History of Housekeeping', p.26.

<sup>214</sup> TNA LC5/72, fol.73.

required. Lastly, in the state bedchambers at Hampton Court, the bed rails that were positioned around the state bed or across the room also helped to protect the precious furnishings both when the rooms were in use and during tours of the palace. Celia Fiennes's account of her visit to Hampton Court relates that bed rails remained in situ even during the absence of the court, indicating that they also functioned much like the modern rope rails of museums and houses open to the public today.<sup>215</sup>

The elimination of light from houses prevented furnishings from fading, yet this also had the adverse effects of exacerbating damp, rot, and creating a perfect breeding ground for moths and vermin that caused considerable damage to furniture and textiles in particular.<sup>216</sup> To protect against this, warrants suggest that the House or Wardrobe Keeper aired the apartments and furnishings by lighting fires.<sup>217</sup> In the depths of winter 1707 a warrant was issued for charcoal for the Under-Housekeeper at Somerset House:

Her Majesty having commanded that fires should be made sometimes in the great apartments at Somerset house to aire ye Rooms and preserve ye furniture from spoiling I desire your Grace will please to order a fit allowance of Wood and Charcole be delivered to Mr Hutton Under Housekeeper of Somerset house for that purpose.<sup>218</sup>

Airing was also undertaken prior to the arrival of the court to ensure that the apartments were not damp.<sup>219</sup> Richard Marriott's half yearly disbursements included charges for 'ayreing' and in 1710 James Marriot received 'Two Large Braziers to Run upon Wheels with two Large Copper Basons finely Chaised for Airing ye Lodgings' at a cost of £30.<sup>220</sup> In shape and size these most probably resembled two less decorative braziers that survive in the king's apartments today (fig.119). These would have been filled with hot coals, and the air arising from them would have dried out any damp in the apartments and the furnishings. Supplies of 'Iron Baskets for Carrying Hot Ashes out of all the Lodgings' and

<sup>215</sup> *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p.335.

<sup>216</sup> M. Abey –Koch, 'History of Housekeeping', p.29.

<sup>217</sup> Maria Hayward has shown that orders to prevent damage by moths had been in force since the early Tudor period. See M. Hayward, 'Repositories of Splendour', p.144.

<sup>218</sup> TNA LC5/154, fol.305.

<sup>219</sup> DA, D3155-C2877.

<sup>220</sup> TNA E351/546, fol.12; LC9.284, fol.24.

'Iron Shovells with Handles to Carry the lighted Charcoal' that were delivered to the Wardrobe Keepers may also have been used for this purpose.<sup>221</sup> At Hampton Court efforts to air the lodgings are also evidenced in an order for 'twelve baskets lined for Coles [...] and foure large fire shovels to carry Coales into the Privy Lodgings' to be delivered to James Marriot.<sup>222</sup> Warrants for the supply of charcoal suggest that the process of airing of the apartments could last up to one week in order to ensure that the rooms were thoroughly dry. In February 1689 Simon de Brienne received pitcole and charcoal for airing the rooms at Kensington on the '15<sup>th</sup> & to continue for 7 days'.<sup>223</sup>

A further important aspect of the preservation strategies employed by the Wardrobe Keeper was monitoring the condition of goods by taking inventories. Orders for inventories of furnishings to be undertaken at Hampton Court appear in the accounts in 1695, 1699, and 1727, yet it is likely that they would have been taken on at least a yearly basis.<sup>224</sup> This could sometimes be a substantial undertaking, as it is clear from the following order sent to the House and Wardrobe Keeper at Windsor during the reign of Queen Anne:

It is Our Will and Pleasure that you [...] make and transmit to our High Treasurer an Exact Inventory of all our Goods [...] describing distinctly the particulars in each Room, Closett, Cupboard, Shelf, Staircase or other place within the said Palace & House, to writ, as to the Hangings, whether the same are Silk, Tapestry Needlework or what else, and whether mixed with Silver or Gold, with the History or figures (if any) also the Contents thereof in English yards or Ells & Inches, as to the Beds, Chairs, Stools and Windowe Curtains what the same are made of, how adorned with God or Silver Lace Fringe or otherwise, how long the same have been set up, and whether they were new at the time of putting up or brought from any other of our palaces, or from the Removing Wardrobe [...] and to make Catalogues or schedules of all Books, pieces of China and other things whatsoever belonging to us [...].<sup>225</sup>

<sup>221</sup> TNA LS13/155, fol.125.

<sup>222</sup> TNA LC5/124, no.54.

<sup>223</sup> TNA LS1/33, unpaginated.

<sup>224</sup> In July 1695 Marriot received orders 'to make a true and exact Inventory of all his Majesties Goods whatsoever in your Custody & Charge and that you present to me a faire copy thereof signed by you that I may send order to ye Clarks of ye Robes and Wardrobes to make a Booke of Charge until a further survey may be had [...]' TNA LC5/151, fol. 420. For orders for the 1699 inventory see LC5/152, fol. 233. For the 1727 inventory see LC5/159, fol.144.

<sup>225</sup> BL Add. MSS. 69961, fols.54-56.

In addition, the Wardrobe Keeper also stamped royal goods using printing ink and ‘marking balls’ or stamps shaped into a crown and the monarch’s initials or HC for Hampton Court.<sup>226</sup> Today a stamp with ‘HC’ and ‘1661’ that would have been used for this purpose remains in the collection at the palace (fig.120). Stamping was done on the underside of furniture, as in the example of two walnut chairs originally from Whitehall palace that are now in the Brown Gallery at Knole. These bear the mark ‘W P’ for Whitehall palace on the webbing on the underside (fig.121).<sup>227</sup> There are also five x-frame chairs at Knole that are stamped on the underside with ‘H C’ for Hampton Court and ‘1661’, a mark possibly made by the extant stamp at Hampton Court. These practices were important in order that precious furnishings could be clearly identified as belonging to the monarch or to the palace. Stamping may also have had the added advantage of deterring thefts.

## Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, all types of furnishings within the bedchambers at Hampton Court were subject to cleaning, repair and preservation strategies. Textiles were brushed, scoured and re-stuffed, wood, lacquer and inlay were dusted and rubbed, mirrors were polished and silver was boiled and buffed. Worn or damaged objects were also patched and repaired. In this the choice of methods and materials was at all times shaped by the original, or desired, appearance of objects and their intended use. Where furnishings were valued especially for the aesthetic qualities of their surfaces, their colour, reflectivity, shine or glow, efforts were focussed upon maintaining this. The repair of damage and removal of dirt from furnishings served to ensure that objects retained their magnificent appearance and thus contributed to the splendour of the bedchamber interiors. In some instances, housekeeping practices also served to improve objects beyond their original state. The care of wooden furniture in particular highlights that the simple daily practices of dusting and polishing not only removed dirt; they also played an important part in deepening the colours of

<sup>226</sup> These were provided by the coffer-maker. See for example, TNA LC5/42 fol.308; LC5/154, fol.6. In 1703, a set of irons for marking AR was provided for the removing wardrobe at a cost of 12s. LC9/282, fol.25.

<sup>227</sup> G. Beard, *Upholsterers*, p.91.

woods and augmenting their shine. Housekeeping techniques were therefore a means to enhance as well as maintain. The desire for health and comfort was also key in shaping the care of bedchamber furnishings at Hampton Court. The practices of laundry and the making of beds in particular responded to understandings of the way in which dirt, damp and malodours were understood to impact upon the body and its wellbeing. The evidence discussed in this chapter clearly shows that considerable efforts were made in order to ensure that the bedchamber rooms and their furnishings were clean, dry and well aired, all of which were considered essential for the preservation of health. Lastly, housekeeping practices were shaped by the desire to preserve goods that were extremely valuable in a monetary and a symbolic sense. The care taken in covering furniture and objects with cases and curtains, and the methods of controlling light and preventing against damp, highlights the extent to which good housekeeping was important if waste was to be avoided and the long-term survival of objects was to be ensured. Therefore while the practices discussed in this chapter are seemingly everyday and mundane, they were nevertheless a vital underpinning for the use of the royal bedchambers as a space in which royal power was expressed and as a home where comfort and respite could be sought.

## **Conclusion**

This research began with the intention of exploring and analysing the practices, role and significance of housekeeping within the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court. Within histories of the palace, during the period between 1689 and 1737, the lives of servants and everyday domestic practices have been largely untold. This thesis contributes to reducing this disparity by shedding new light on the lower ranking servants who worked within the bedchambers when the court was in residence, and those who cared for the palace interiors during its absence. Through an analysis of the work of these individuals it also demonstrates that there was a symbiotic relationship between housekeeping and the lives of monarchs at Hampton Court.

One of the key assertions of this thesis is the dual significance of the royal bedchambers at the palace. Alongside the rooms of state and business, that have been discussed in some previous studies, the dissertation also examines, in detail, the intimate and domestic spaces of the bedchamber that were nonetheless meaningful on account of the politicisation of the royal body. This duality is explored through a discussion of the furnishing of these rooms that ranged from the splendour of state beds to the private luxury of royal close stools. In turn, the thesis argues, the significance of the bedchamber interiors impacted upon the motivations for, and the practices of, good housekeeping. During a royal residence at the palace, the magnificence of the state bedchambers and the ceremonial presentation of monarchy were, to a great extent, dependant upon housekeeping and the servants who undertook this work. Cleaning practices ensured that the aesthetic qualities of furnishings, their vivid colours, sparkle and shine, were maintained as a fitting reflection of royal splendour. Simultaneously, within the inner apartments of the bedchamber, housekeeping underpinned the rituals of royal private life through maintaining the comfort and hygiene of these rooms. Practices such as laundry, airing and the making of beds all contributed to the smooth running of the bedchamber district and the wellbeing of the monarch. Contrary to the traditional perception of the early modern period as an age in which cleanliness was largely neglected, the evidence discussed in this thesis

clearly demonstrates that within the royal bedchambers a clean and pristine environment was desired and actively worked towards.

Furthermore, as the thesis suggests, the significance of the bedchamber also had consequences for the servants who worked within these rooms. In particular, the discussion of Necessary Women, the Body Laundress, the Seamstress and Starcher, highlights the way in which these lower ranking offices held the potential for women to wield status and influence through the skill and trust that was implicit in their work, and by means of their role in caring for the monarch's most private and intimate possessions. Women such as Bridget Holmes, Mary Foiston and Jane Ireland, whose work has been brought to light by this study, merit further research.

A further key conclusion of this thesis is the significance of the many long periods when Hampton Court lay empty, and the spheres of activity that took place in the absence of the monarch. The research on the identity, and work, of the resident Keepers of the Standing Wardrobe and the Privy Lodgings who worked at Hampton Court during these intervals provides an understanding of the important place of these servants in the history of the palace. Contrary to the assertion in *The Present State of the British Court*, 'that little more is to be said of them', it can be seen that the Wardrobe Keepers played a fundamental role in ensuring the condition and the long-term survival of the most precious and costly furnishings.<sup>1</sup> For most of the period, it was these individuals who lived at Hampton Court and cared for the interiors, to the extent that their work deserves to be considered alongside the periods of royal occupation. In addition, the thesis stresses the important function of the craftsmen of the Great Wardrobe who were employed to undertake specialist cleaning and repairs in the absence of the court. The discussion of their work highlights the extent to which expert skill was required in the care of royal furniture and that, alongside the production of new goods, this work was a key element of their trade. As such, the research contained within this thesis contributes to our knowledge of the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court in the period 1689-1737, by offering a more

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<sup>1</sup> Anon, *The Present state of the British Court*, p.29.

complete picture of how these rooms were inhabited by domestic servants as well as the monarch. It also demonstrates the significant role played by housekeeping as an essential underpinning for the palaces use as a home and as a splendid place of court.

After 1737 Hampton Court was no longer occupied as a royal residence and, as a consequence, the furnishings of the royal bedchambers began their slow transformation into the historic objects that we know today. Although George II no longer wished to reside at the palace, his intentions were never officially announced and for the rest of his reign, and that of George III, the apartments lay waiting for the arrival of the king. In 1820, however, Hampton Court began a new life as an art gallery and a tourist attraction. Under the instruction of George IV some six hundred paintings were removed from Kensington, of which three quarters were hung throughout the state apartments at Hampton Court. Five years later a further forty artworks were hung at the palace, to which more were later added by William IV. This necessitated that some furniture originally belonging to Hampton Court was removed in order to make room for the paintings.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the lodgings traditionally assigned to the servants of the bedchamber for the duration of their attendance at Hampton Court, together within those in the Tudor half of the palace, were transformed into residences for the recipients of Grace and Favour, a function that they would continue to fulfil up until the 1990s.<sup>3</sup> In 1838, the role of the state apartments as a gallery was made official. In that year, the death of Lady Emily Montagu, the last resident House and Wardrobe Keeper at Hampton Court, provided a stimulus for the palace to be opened as a tourist destination.

Despite the predominance of paintings at Hampton Court, the furnishings of the royal bedchambers were not wholly sidelined and the state beds, in particular, remained an important element within the collection. Between 1820 and 1840, two additional state beds that had belonged to Queen Anne and Queen Charlotte, were also moved to the palace from Windsor, creating the largest collection of beds at any royal residence. Anne's bed was displayed in the

<sup>2</sup> S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.312.

<sup>3</sup> For the most comprehensive discussions of Grace and Favour see P. Gaunt, *The Fountain Court of Hampton Court Palace*, vol.2, and S. E. Parker, *Grace and Favour*.

queen's presence chamber and later the withdrawing room, while Charlotte's bed was erected in the king's state bedchamber (figs.122 & 123). This resulted in the removal of William's state bed to a room in the queen's private apartments where it was displayed alongside Caroline's state bed and the Prince of Wales's travelling bed (fig.124).<sup>4</sup> While these beds were considered to be of secondary importance to the paintings collection, they were nevertheless appreciated as relics of a bygone age of monarchy. Over the late eighteenth century, state bedchamber ceremony declined in accordance with the more bourgeois style of monarchy adopted by George III. By the reign of Queen Victoria it had entirely ceased and as such no new state beds were commissioned during and after her reign. Significant changes within the royal household were also underway from the reign of George III. Edmund Burke's economic bill of 1782 passed the dissolution of the Great Wardrobe and the Jewel House, and the abolition of eighty places under the Lord Chamberlain, and thirty under the Lord Steward, thereby creating a more modest household.<sup>5</sup> In regard to the bedchamber, the office of Groom of the Stole was discontinued in 1837, and while the lower ranking offices of the bedchamber continued to be fulfilled, it was by women who were considered to be part of a much more private institution.<sup>6</sup> The long years of Victoria's rule saw the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in England and, as a consequence, the status and political influence of the bedchamber department waned. The so called 'bedchamber crisis', of May 1839, when the young Queen refused to staff her bedchamber in accordance with the wishes of the ruling Tory party, resulting in resignation of their leader Lord Peel, shows that initially the department was considered to be politicised. During the later half of her reign, however, when constitutional politics was firmly

<sup>4</sup> This arrangement of the beds at Hampton Court in one room was, in fact, following in a long tradition of bed displays that can be dated back to the Tudor period. In 1599 when the travellers Thomas Platter visited Hampton Court they recorded: 'We entered a room containing many fine royal beds, also numerous canopies and royal chairs all very lavish and ornate [...] We soon came to the king's quarters and saw the royal bed, of red satin set and embroidered with gold, which he had with him at the siege of Boulogne [...] In another room we were shown a bed where the queen's brother was born, against her will [sic] [...] In another apartment we were shown a very costly bed which the queen's mother and her ladies worked themselves'. See P. Razzell ed., *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (London: Caliban Books, 1994), pp.69-70. Similarly in 1598 when the Swiss scholar Paul Hetzener visited Windsor Castle he was shown five ancient royal beds set up in one chamber – those of Henry VII and his Queen, those of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn and that of Edward VI. See P. Thornton, 'The Royal State Bed', *Connoisseur*, 195, June 1977, pp.137-147, p.137.

<sup>5</sup> R. O. Bucholz and J. Sainty, *Officials of the Royal Household*, p.lxxvi.

<sup>6</sup> On the fate of the office of Groom of the Stole see D. Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy', pp.217-219.

established, the bedchamber department lost the last vestiges of the political significance that it had once held.<sup>7</sup>

As a consequence of these shifts, the royal household and court customs increasingly became a subject for antiquarian study. As early as 1790, the Society for Antiquaries published *A Collection of Ordinances for the Government of the Royal Household*, and, in 1791, Samuel Pegge wrote, *Curialia or an historical account of some of the branches of the Royal Household*.<sup>8</sup> With the decline of ‘State and Parade’, Pegge argued, ‘every trace of ancient splendour becomes of some value, and an object of record’.<sup>9</sup> While the state apartments at Hampton Court were firstly considered to be a picture gallery, the continuing display of the royal beds, and their furniture, is suggestive of the desire to exhibit them as objects of historical interest.<sup>10</sup> In parallel, a number of other late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century royal state beds, that had been acquired by courtiers as perquisites or gifts, were displayed at aristocratic houses such as Knole, Chicksands Priory and Chatsworth.<sup>11</sup> One of the most notable was the bed believed to be the one in which Mary of Modena gave birth (or pretended to give birth) to Charles, Prince of Wales in 1688 that is now at Kensington Palace and cared for by Historic Royal Palaces. From the late 1700s this was exhibited as part of the antiquarian collection of Sir George Osborn at Chicksands Priory (fig.125).<sup>12</sup> However, over the nineteenth and early twentieth

<sup>7</sup> The Tories requested that Victoria staffed her bedchamber with ladies who were the wives or daughters of men who supported the party. On the ‘bedchamber crisis’ see K. Chase and M. Levenson, ‘I never saw a man so frightened: The young Queen and the parliamentary Bedchamber’, in M Homans and A Munich eds., *Remaking Queen Victoria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.200-218 and C. Beem, *The Lioness Roared*, chapter four in particular.

<sup>8</sup> *A Collection of Household Ordinances*; S. Pegge, *Curialia or an historical account of some of the branches of the Royal Household &c &c*, 2 vols. (London, 1791).

<sup>9</sup> S. Pegge, *Curialia*, vol.2, p.vii.

<sup>10</sup> John Baxendale has argued that the late Georgian era saw both the birth of popular tourism at royal residences, and the redefinition and revival of monarchical heritage as an important aspect of national consciousness. See J. Baxendale, ‘Royalty, Romance and Recreation: The Construction of the Past and the origins of Royal Tourism in Nineteenth Century Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, 4, 3, 2007, pp.317-339. See also D. Cannadine, ‘The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’’, c.1820-1977, in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.104-164.

<sup>11</sup> On the Stuart beds at Knole see G. Jackson-Stops, ‘A Courtiers Collection’; M. Jourdain, *Stuart Furniture at Knole* (London: Country Life, 1952) and C. Rowell, ‘The King’s Bed and its furniture at Knole’. On the Chatsworth bed that belonged to George II see A. Westman, ‘A Royal Bed at Chatsworth’.

<sup>12</sup> V&A file on the Mary of Modena Bed, Department of Furniture, Textiles and Fashion. I would like to thank James Yorke for his assistance in accessing this material. On the history of Chicksands Priory see C. Grayson, *Chicksands: A Millennium of History* (Shefford Press, 1992). For early accounts of the bed at Chicksands see J. Byng Torrington, *The Torrington Diaries, containing the tours through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (later fifth viscount Torrington)*, ed., J. Beresford (London, 1938), p.116. See

centuries, this did not result in the strict preservation of the royal beds and their furnishings.<sup>13</sup> In the case of Queen Caroline's bed at Hampton Court, photography of the 1880s shows considerable evidence of neglect and deterioration by the Lord Chamberlain and the Office of Works, who were at this time responsible for administering the palace (fig.124). Conversely, Queen Charlotte's bed was heavily restored a number of times by re-gilding with oil and by remounting the original embroidery of the bed textiles onto several different colour silk grounds, pea green, blue, gold and most notably purple, a fashionable Victorian colour.<sup>14</sup> In the 1890s Mrs Rowley Lambert, one of the Grace and Favour residents at palace, who considered herself to be 'a good Art Worker', was granted permission by the Lord Chamberlain to restore the embroidery on the bed's curtains, counterpane, valances and head board.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Charlotte's bed, in particular, such restoration attempts are still clearly visible on the bed today and have been the subject of rigorous debate amongst Historic Royal Palaces's conservators and curators. In the recent project to conserve and redisplay the bed the recognition that all alterations to objects represent an aspect of their history led to the conservation of these changes rather than their removal. This also prompted research into the fate of the beds at Hampton Court during the palace's early life as tourist attraction, although much is still unknown.<sup>16</sup> The care of the royal beds and their furnishings as historic objects represents an area for further research.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, research undertaken into the provenance of the royal beds at Hampton Court, by the historian F.J. Rutherford,

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also E. Shepherd, *Memorials of St James's Palace*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans Green and Co, 1894), vol. 2, p.11.

<sup>13</sup> It was not until the 1970s that conservation rather than restoration was fully established. Prior to this there was less emphasis on preservation and retaining the original materials of objects. For a discussion of this see D. Lowenthal and M. Binney, eds., *Our Past Before Us*, and D. Lowenthal, 'Material Preservation', pp. 67-77.

<sup>14</sup> M. Jordan and M. Takami, 'The Purple Puzzle: the object spoke', paper given at 'Textiles and Text: Re-establishing the links between archival and object based research' conference at The University of Southampton, 11<sup>th</sup>-113<sup>th</sup> July 2006. I am grateful to Mika and Maria for allowing me to read a transcription of their paper.

<sup>15</sup> For documents relating to Mrs Rowley's work see TNA LC1/450; LC1/451 & LC1/452.

<sup>16</sup> In 2003 the textile historian Annabel Westman was commissioned by Historic Royal Palaces to undertake archival research on Queen Charlotte's state bed. Her research revealed, through guidebooks, articles and correspondence, the movement of the bed between rooms at Windsor castle, its removal to Hampton Court Palace, its re-location between rooms in the palace and its many different colour incarnations. A. Westman, unpublished 'Report on Queen Charlotte's state bed', 2003, Hampton Court Palace, Conservation and Collections Care department library.

prompted a re-display of the furniture in the state apartments.<sup>17</sup> Significantly, the two state beds originally belonging to William III and George and Caroline, as Prince and Prince of Wales, were returned to their original locations. This was reflective of a new scholarly and public appreciation of the baroque half of the palace, and the state apartments as historic interiors, an interest that was to grow as the century progressed. Today, under the ownership of the Royal Collection and the guardianship of Historic Royal Palaces's curators and conservators, the furnishings remaining in the royal bedchambers at Hampton Court are a highlight for visitors to the palace. Reflecting the shift away from restoration towards modern practices of conservation, the desire to preserve the material integrity of the objects lies at the heart of Historic Royal Palaces's approach to their care and display.<sup>18</sup> It is the aim of Historic Royal Palaces and the Royal Collection to secure the long-term survival of the furniture at the palace for the benefit of future generations, while at the same time ensuring that the expectations of the visiting public are fulfilled.<sup>19</sup> In many ways, the curators and conservators working at the palace are the descendants of the bedchamber servants, the Wardrobe Keepers and the craftsmen who were responsible for housekeeping during the palace's life as a royal residence. Although their motivations for the care and preservation of the interiors, and their approaches to the materiality of the objects, are starkly different, there are many similarities between the housekeepers of the past and present. As in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, conservators and curators face the problems of dust and light damage, harm caused by insects, and the detrimental effect of many visitors to the palace. Their work, although assisted by modern technology, is also essentially the same in that it is based upon the skills of cleaning, monitoring and preserving. However, one marked difference remains in that the care of bedchamber furnishings, and the staff who undertake this work, are less hidden than in the past. In the public presentation of Hampton Court today, aspects of conservation work have been showcased in order to tell a more complete story of the furnishings in the collection (fig.126). Similarly, as this thesis has demonstrated,

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<sup>17</sup> See introduction n.4.

<sup>18</sup> On conservation theory see S. Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005) and B. Appelbaum, *Conservation Treatment Methodology* (Oxford: Elsevier, 2007).

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to Zoe Roberts and Sebastian Edwards for sharing their knowledge on conservation and display and the specific approaches adopted by Historic Royal Palaces.

to omit housekeeping practices from the history of Hampton Court in the period between 1689 and 1737 is to tell only half the story. As histories of servants, the backstairs and the everyday lives of great houses grow in popularity, Historic Royal Palaces's support for this thesis marks a step towards the inclusion of past housekeepers, and their work, in the history and future display of Hampton Court.

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**Figure 1.** *William III* by Godfrey Kneller, oil on canvas, 243.8 x 147.3 cm, 1690, The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

**Figure 2.** *Mary II* by Godfrey Kneller, oil on canvas, 223.5 x 146.7 cm, 1690, The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 3. The king's and queen's state apartments, Hampton Court Palace, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, 1690s, author photograph, 2008.



Figure 4. Fountain Court, The king's and queen's state apartments, Hampton Court Palace, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, 1690s, © Historic Royal Palaces

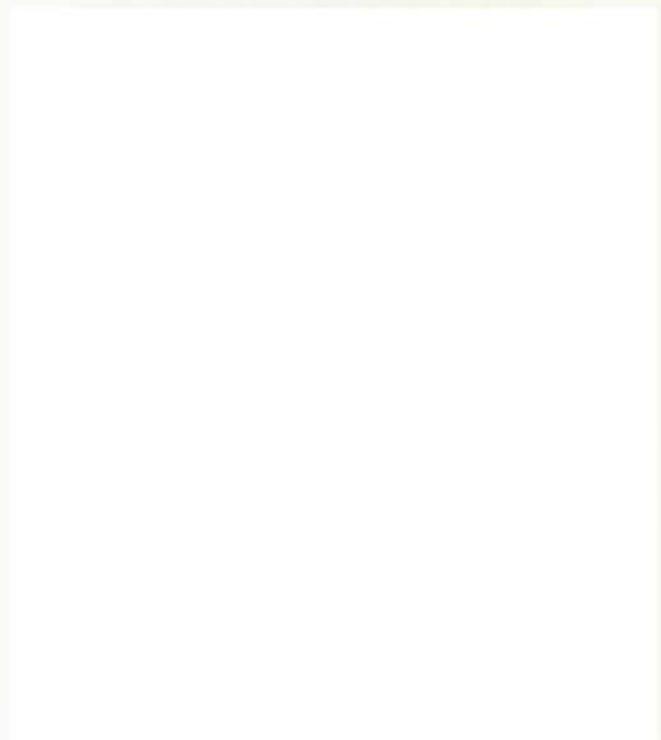


Figure 5. *Queen Anne* by Charles Jervas, oil on canvas, 215.3 x 147.3 cm, c.1702-14,  
The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 6. *George I* by Godfrey Kneller, oil on canvas, 240 x 132.7 cm, 1715. The  
Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 7. *George II when Prince of Wales* by Godfrey Kneller, oil on canvas, 239.1 x 147.3 cm, 1716. The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Figure 8. *Caroline of Ansbach when Princess of Wales* by Godfrey Kneller, oil on canvas, 240 x 141.6 cm, 1716. The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 9. A palace of two halves, aerial view of Hampton Court, © Historic Royal Palaces.

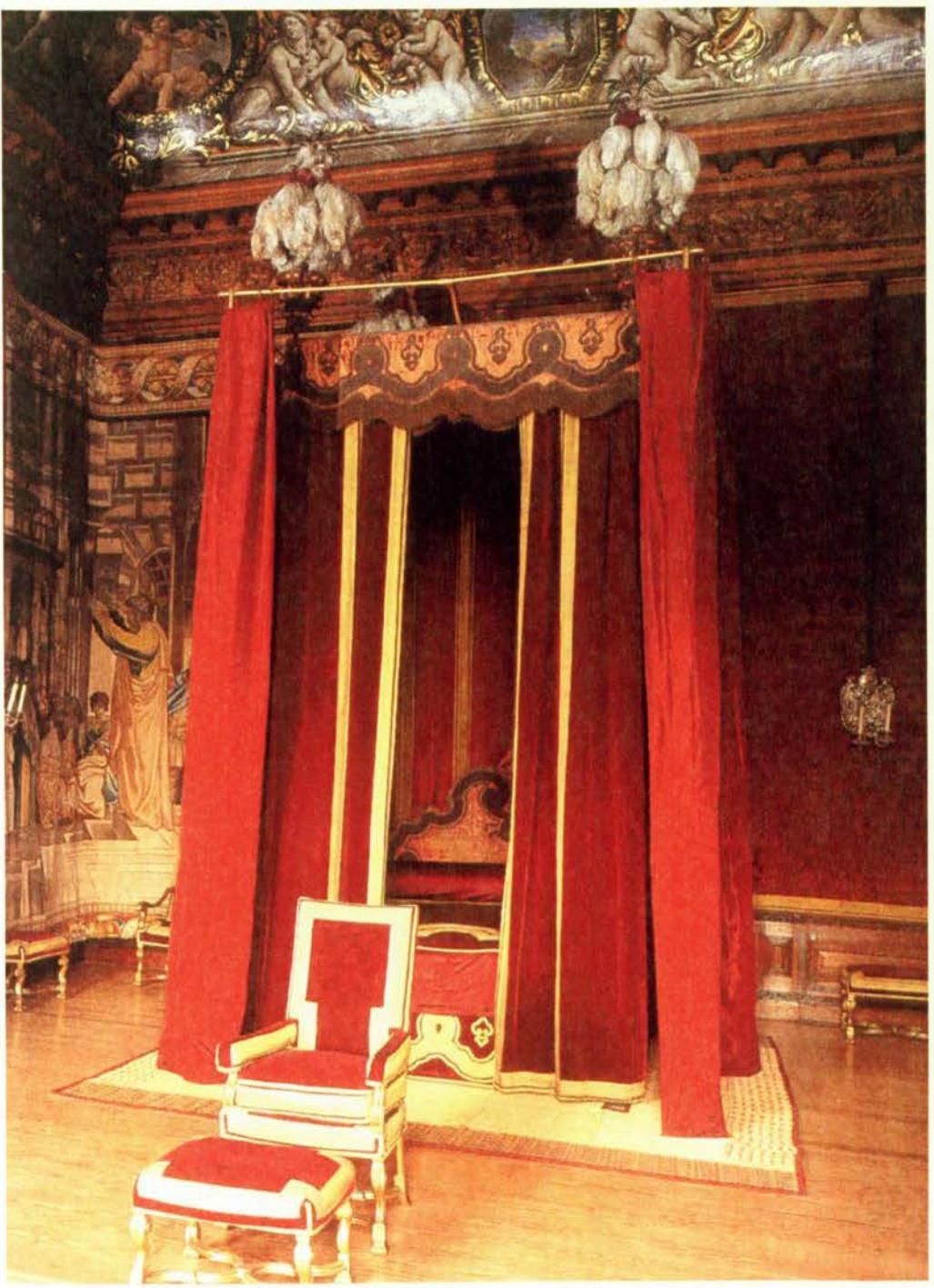


Figure 10. William III's state bed, c.1690s, the king's state bedchamber, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 11. The Prince and Princess of Wales state bed, also known as Queen Caroline's state bed, 1715, the queen's state bedchamber, Hampton Court Palace, G. Beard, *Upholsterers*, fig.137.



Figure 12. Queen Anne's state bed, 1714, as displayed in the queen's presence chamber before its recent conservation, Hampton Court Palace  
© Historic Royal Palaces.



Figure 13. Queen Charlotte's state bed, 1772-8, the Prince of Wales's bedchamber, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces

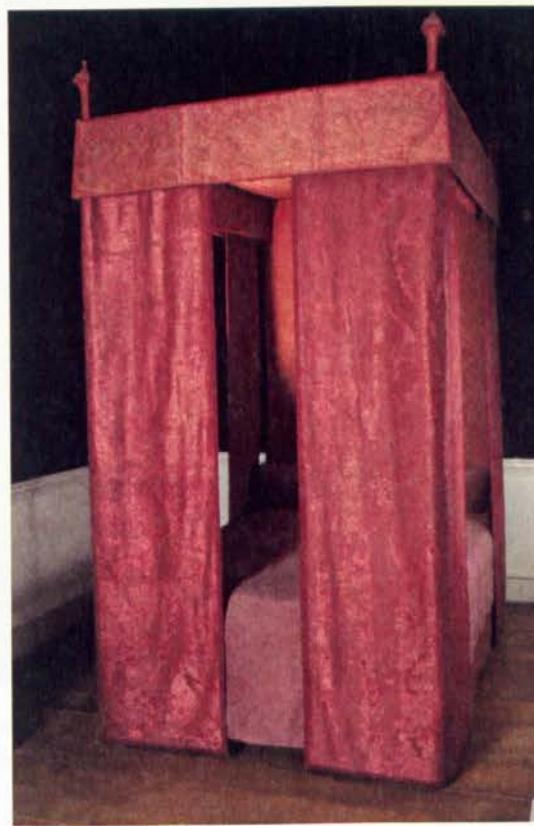


Figure 14. The Prince of Wales's travelling bed, c.1715, The Cumberland Suite, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces



Figure 15. The Raynham Hall bed, c.1727, the queen's private bedchamber, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces

Figure 16. Earliest surviving plan of the principal floor of the state apartments, Hampton Court Palace, 1717, TNA WORK 34/34, showing the bedchamber district marked in red (key overleaf).

Key to figure.16

*The king's state apartments*

A - Great stairs  
B - Guard chamber  
C - Presence chamber  
D - Eating or dining room  
E - Privy chamber  
F - Withdrawing room  
G - State bedchamber  
H - Little bedchamber  
I - Stool closet  
J - Great closet  
K - Cartoon gallery  
L - Waiting room for the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber  
M - Waiting room or closet?  
N - Communication Gallery

1 - Stairs to the courtier lodgings on the top floor of the king's apartments  
2 - Backstairs to the king's bedchamber  
3 - King's private backstairs

*The queen's state apartments*

O - Great stairs  
P - Guard chamber  
Q - Presence chamber  
R - Dining room  
S - Privy chamber  
T - Withdrawing room  
U - State bedchamber  
V - Gallery  
W - Closet  
X - Waiting and service room

4 - Service backstairs to the queen's bedchamber  
5 - Queen's backstairs

*The queen's private apartments*

k - Stool closet  
l - Withdrawing room  
m - Bedchamber  
n - Dressing room  
o - Bathing room  
p - Service room  
q - Stool closet  
r - Dining room  
s - Service room  
t - Private oratory

Figure 17. Detail of earliest known plan of the ground floor of Hampton Court Palace showing the king's private apartments, 1717, TNA WORK 34/46.

- a - East closet
- b - Bedchamber
- c - West closet
- d - Stool closet
- e - Private gallery or orangery
- f - Withdrawing room
- g - Dining room
- h - Closet
- i - Closet?
- j - Apartments for the Groom of the Stole.  
(Given to the Earl of Albemarle 1700-1702)

Figure 19. Survey of the lodgings at Hampton Court taken in 1674 plotted onto a reconstructed first floor plan, drawing by Daphne Ford,  
S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.123, (key overleaf).

*Key to figure 19 (S. Thurley, Hampton Court, p.145)*

'Over the Gallery up staires next ye Gate'  
(West Gatehouse, south side)

- 1 Secretary Coventry
- 2 Gentlemen Usher Daily Waiter to the King, Mr Duppia
- 3 Another of the King's Gentlemen Ushers
- 4 Sir Edmund Carteret, Gentlemen Usher to the King
- 5 Signet Office
- 6 Lord Chancellor Keeper
- 7 Sir Alexandra Frazier, the King's First Physician
- 8 The Secretary of Scotland

'Up Staires on ye left hand ye Gate' (West Gatehouse, north side)

- 9 Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber to the King: Mr Darcy
- 10 Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber to the King: Sir Paul Neale
- 11 Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber
- 12 Queen's Gentlemen Ushers Quarter Wayters
- 13 King's Barbers
- 14 Esquires of the Body
- 15 Lord Arlington, Secretary of State

'Entering in att ye Back Gate called the Greenecloth Yard' (Ld Chamberlain's Court)

- 16 Comptroller's Lodgings
- 17 The Compting House
- 18 Mr Cofferer
- 19 Mr Regner
- 20 Clerke Comptroller

'Pastry Yard' (Master Carpenter's Court)

- 21 Clerke of the Kitchen
- 22 Office of the Scullery
- 23 Clerke of the Robes
- 24 Confectionery
- 25 Offices of the Pastry

'In the Paved Passage at the Bottom of ye Hall Staires'

- (North Cloister)
- 31 Officers of the Boiling House

'The Greate Space' (the Serving Place)

- 32 The Avenir
- 33 Sir William Borman
- 34 Master of the Household
- 35 Second Clerke Comptroller

'In the Court behind' (now Tennis Court Lane)  
36 Mr Chase, the king's apothecary

- 'The Paved Court' (Clock Court)
- 37 Vice Chamberlain to the King
  - 38 Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
  - 39 Master of the Horse

'In the Gallery coming from ye King's Guard Chamber to ye Chappell'

- 40 Groom of the Stool to the King
- 41 The Grooms of the Chamber in the Screen in the Great Hall
- 42 The King's Waiters dine in a room within the King's Guard Chamber
- 43 The Queens waiters dine within the Queen's Guard Chamber
- 44 The Duke of York's Lodgings

Rooms of State and Royal Lodgings in 1674  
(compiled from various sources)

- A King's Guard Chamber
- B King's Presence Chamber
- C King's Privy Chamber
- D The Dark Drawing Room
- E King's Privy Lodgings and Privy Gallery
- F Privy Garden Stairs
- G Paradise
- H King's New Building next Paradise
- I King's former Dressing Room
- J King's former Private Bedchamber
- K Queen's Rich Bedchamber
- L Queen's Dressing Room?
- M The Balcony Room
- N Queen's Withdrawing Room
- O Queen's Closet
- P Queen's Privy Chamber
- Q Queen's Presence Chamber
- R Queen's Guard Chamber
- S The Queen's Gallery
- T The Horn Gallery

Figure 20. Survey of the lodgings at Hampton Court taken in 1674 plotted onto a reconstructed ground floor plan, drawing by Daphne Ford, S. Thurley,  
*Hampton Court*, fig.122.

- 'In the first Court on ye Right hand of ye Gate'  
(West Gatehouse, south side)
- 1 The Groom Porter
  - 2 The Queen's Gentlemen Ushers
  - 3 Mr Marriott, Wardrobe Keeper
  - 4 Queen's Gentlemen Ushers Daily Waiters
  - 5 Queen's Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber
  - 6 Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard
  - 7 Queen's Gentlemen Ushers' Privy Chamber
  - 8 Captain of the Pensioners
  - 9 Maids of Honour

- 'Under ye Gate' (West Gatehouse)
- 10 Treasury Chamber Office
  - 11 Porter's Lodge

- 'On ye left of ye Gate' (West Gatehouse, north side)
- 12 Serjeant Porter
  - 13 Dean of the Chapel
  - 14 Mistress Laundress to the King
  - 15 The Duke's Wardrobe

- 'North side of ye Court' (Base Court)
- 16 Standing Wardrobe
  - 17 Removing Wardrobe

- 'Under the two arches on the left hand of the Inner Gate' (north east corner of Base Court)
- 18 Great and Privy Buttery
  - 19 Room belonging to the Great Buttery
  - 20 Room belonging to the Privy Buttery
  - 21 Pantry where the bread is delivered

- 'Entering att ye back Gate called the Greeneclot Yard (Lord Chamberlain's Court)
- 22 Jewel House
  - 23 Comptroller's Cellar
  - 24 King's Coal House
  - 25 Sir Stephen Fox
  - 26 Spicery Office
  - 27 Wax Chandlery

- 'Under the Passage into ye Pastry Yard'  
(Master Carpenter's Court)
- 28 Bottle House
  - 29 Clerk Comptroller

- 'Pastry Yard (Master Carpenter's Court)
- 30 Fish Larder
  - 31 Pastry Office

- 'The Paved Passage' (Fish Court)
- 32 The Boiling House (Lord Chamberlain's Laundry)
  - 33 The Wet Larder
  - 34 Larder
  - 35 Dry Larder
  - 36 Comptroller's Kitchen
  - 37 Master of the Horse's Kitchen
  - 38 Livery Kitchen

- 'Paved Passage at the Bottom of ye Hall Staires'  
(West Serving place and North Cloister)
- 39 Scullery
  - 40 Hall and Kitchen and Lord Steward's side Kitchen
  - 41 Silver Scullery and Pewter Scullery
  - 42 The Almonry

- 'The Court on the right hand back-side the Hall'  
(Hall Courtyard)
- 43 Scullery to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State

- 'In the Passage' (North Cloister)
- 44 Great Wine Cellar
  - 45 Sergeant of the Wine Cellar
  - 46 Lord Chamberlain's Scullery
  - 47 First Clerk of the Kitchen
  - 48 Lord's side kitchen, now the Duke's
  - 49 Lord Chamberlain's kitchen
  - 50 First Clerk of the Kitchen
  - 51 Gentlemen Usher of the Wine Cellar to the King
  - 52 King's Privy Kitchen
  - 53 Master Cooke
  - 54 Offices of the Queen's Master of the Horse

- 'In the Prince's Court' (Chapel Court)
- 55 The Queen's Chirurgeon
  - 56 The Queen's Apothecary
  - 57 Mr Chase, the King's apothecary
  - 58 The Duke's Offices
  - 59 'A long room for the Musick to practice, and the Children of the Chapel at the further end'.
  - 60 The Duke of York

- 'The Paved Court' (Clock Court)
- 61 Lord Treasurer
  - 62 Master of the Horse
  - 63 Bottle House
  - 64 The King's Robes
  - 65 Plumber
  - 66 Lord Privy Seal

*Key to figure 20 cont.*

'The Passage to the Closyter Court (Fountain Court)

67 The Council Chamber

'The passage leading out of the Paved Court to the Chapel'

68 The Queen's Sweet Coffers

69 Grooms of the Privy Chamber to the King

'In the Court called Chappell Court' (Round Kitchen Court)

70. 'A new building' 1<sup>st</sup> door Pantry and Cellar to the King's Lord Chamberlain to the King; 2<sup>nd</sup> door Vice Chamberlain to the King; 3<sup>rd</sup> door Groom of the Stool to the Queen

'Next the Greate Staires'

71 The Queen's Privy Kitchen

'In the passage out of the Chappell Cloyster to the Cloyster Court (East Cloister)

72 Yeoman of the Mouth to the Queen

73 Queen's Bottle House

74 Under Housekeeper

'In the Cloister Court' (Fountain Court)

75 The Queen's Robes

76 Groom of the Stool to the Queen

77 Countess of Penalva

78 Lodgings of the Groom of the Stool to the Queen

79 The Lord Steward's Lodgings

80 Duchess of Cleveland

81 Laundress and Starcher to the Queen

82 Duchess of Cleveland

83 The Queen's Confectionary

84 Groom of the Stool to the Queen

85 Countess of Penalva

86 Pages of the Backstairs to the Queen

'In the Court between the Chappell and Horne Gallery'

(former Queen's Great Gallery)

87 Serjeant of the Vestry to the King

88 The Duke's Lodgings

89 The Queen's Priests

90 Lady Killigrew, the Queen's Dresser

91 Secretary to the Queen

92 Lord Chamberlain to the Queen

Figure 21. Plan of the Palace as completed for William III with the locations of lodgings marked according to the 1702 survey. Drawing Daphne Ford, S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.324.

Key to Figure 21 (S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, p.326)

'The First Court' (Base Court)

- 1 Mr Secretary Vernon
- 2 Lord Keeper
- 3 Mr Vanhulse
- 4 Doctor Hutton
- 5 Sir Richard Blackmore
- 6 Lord Cutts
- 7 Lord Scarborough
- 8 Secretary of Scotland
- 9 Secretary Sir Charles Hedges

35 Sir Charles Issac

36 Mr Lowman

37 Lord Steward's Lodgings

'In the Prince's Court by the Chappell' (Chapel Court)

38 Prince's Lodgings

'In the New Cloyster Court' (Fountain Court)

39 Lord President

'In the Second Court' (Clock Court)

- 10 Pastry Office
- 11 Ewry Office
- 12 Mr Vice Chamberlain
- 13 Mr Boyle
- 14 Lord Treasurer
- 15 Master of the Horse

Rooms of State

- A Old guard chamber
- B Old presence chamber
- C Council chamber (with passage room and 2 closets adjoining)
- D King's great stair
- E King's guard chamber
- F King's presence chamber
- G King's eating room
- H King's privy chamber
- I King's withdrawing room
- J King's great bedchamber
- K King's little bedchamber
- L Gentlemen of the Bedchamber
- M King's closet
- N Closet
- O Green Gallery
- P Backstairs
- Q Cartoon Gallery

'In the Green Cloath Court' (Lord Chamberlain's Court)

- 16 Lord Wharton, Comptroller
- 17 Board of the Greencloth
- 18 Lord Montague
- 19 Sir William Forester

'In the next Court Yard' (Master Carpenter's Court)

- 20 Mr Clarke, 1<sup>st</sup> Clerk of the Kitchen
- 21 Serj. Hardiman for the Scullery and Charcoale house
- 22 Belonging to the Fish Larder
- 23 King's Footmen
- 24 Pastry Office
- 25 Sempstress and Starcher

'In the Cloyster on the left hand' (Fish Court)

- 26 Mr Reniat, Surgeon
- 27 Mr Vantone, Surgeon
- 28 Second Clerk of the Kitchen
- 29 Larder Lodgings

'In the passage behind the Great Hall (North Clositer)

- 30 Lord Albemarle's Kitchen offices
- 31 Scullery Office
- 32 Aenor
- 33 Sir James Forbes
- 34 Master of the Household

Figure 22. Rota for the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to George I, 1717-1718  
British Library MSS ADD.CH 76134.

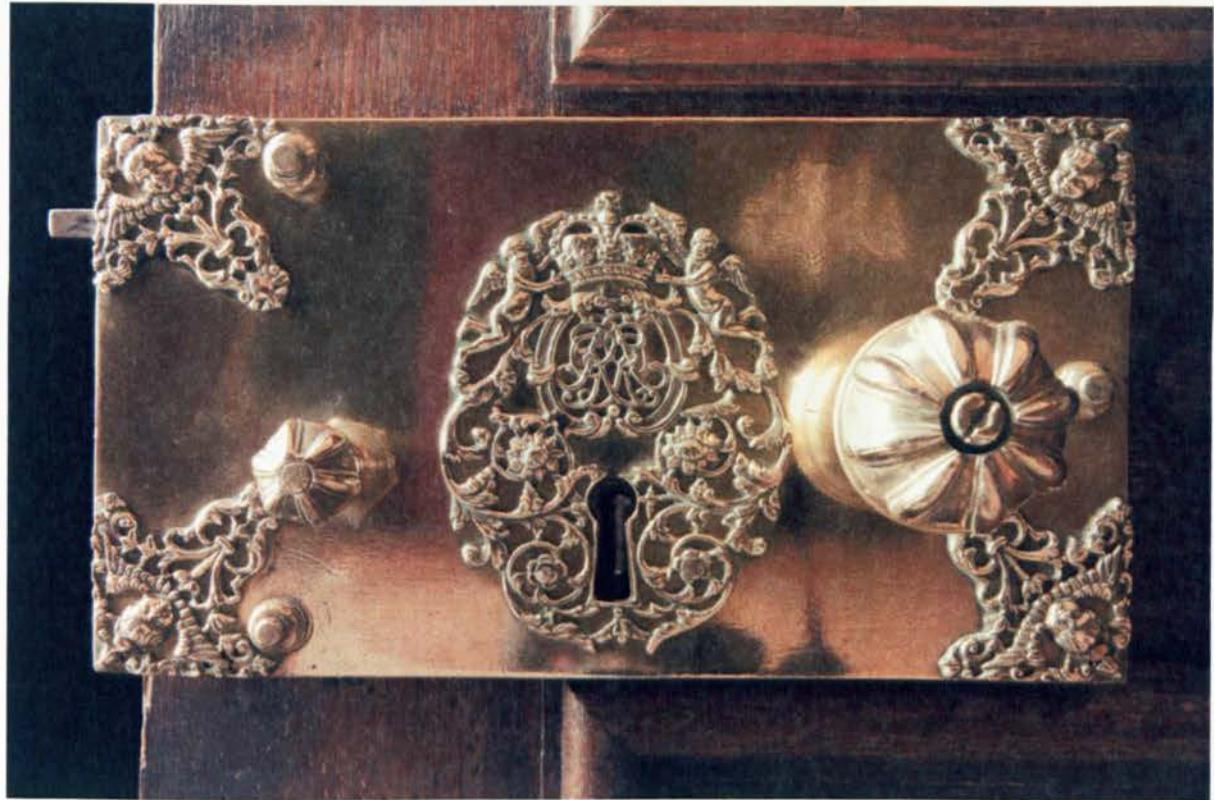


Figure 23. Brass lock engraved with William and Mary's cipher, the king's state apartments, Hampton Court Palace, designed by Josiah Key, 1699-1700, © Historic Royal Palaces.

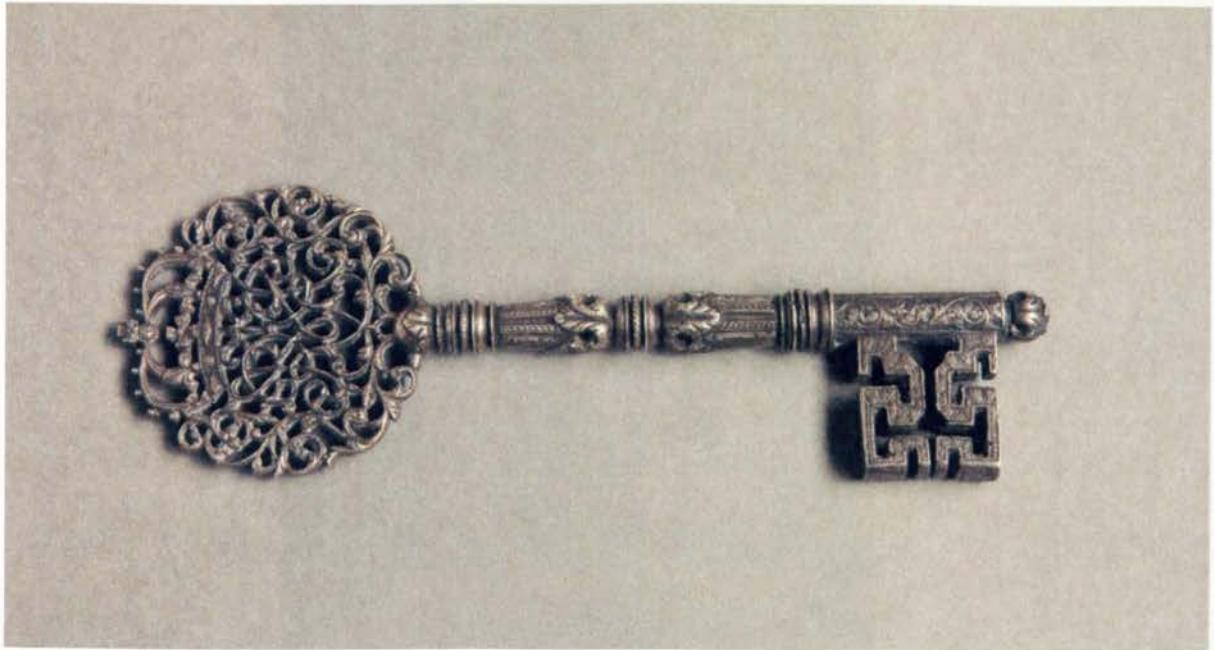


Figure 24. Replica key with William and Mary's cipher, the king's state apartments, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.



Figure 25. Hans William Bentinck, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Portland, Groom of the Stole to William III, oil on canvas, 1397 mm x 1175 mm, studio of Hythinth Rigaurd, 1698- 1699, © The National Portrait Gallery.

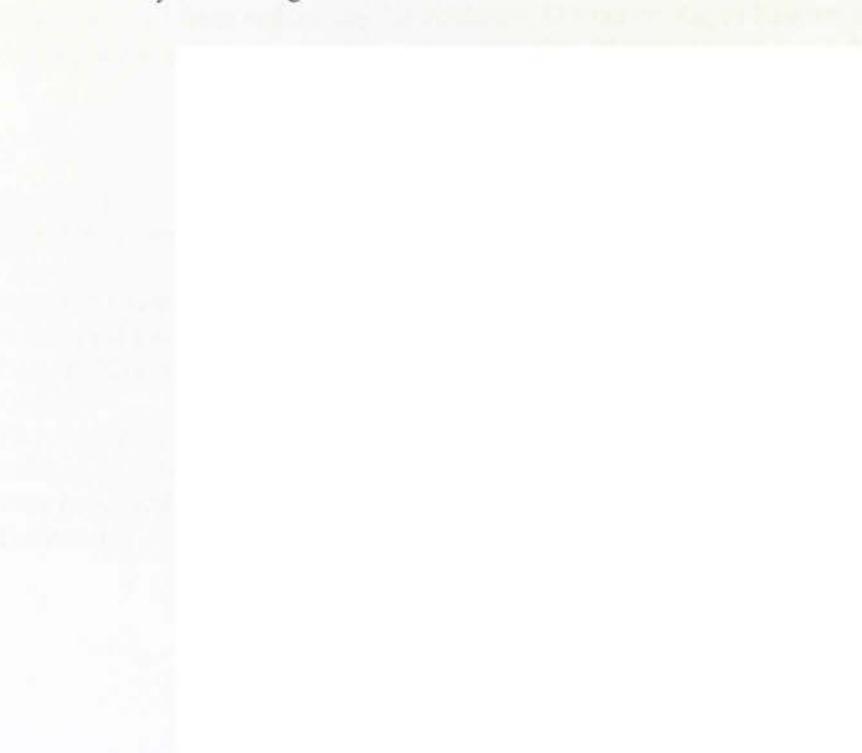


Figure 26. Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough, Groom of the Stole to Queen Anne, oil on canvas, 1058 mm x 884 mm, after Sir Godfrey Kneller, c.1700, © The National Portrait Gallery.

Figure 27. Plan of the king's apartments as built by Sir Christopher Wren 1689-94, deduced from archaeological evidence, © Historic Royal Palaces, drawing by Daphne Ford, S. Thurley, 'The Building of the King's Apartments', fig.1.

A - Great stairs	L - Waiting room for the Gentlemen of
B - Guard chamber	Bedchamber
C - Court	M - Little bedchamber
D - Presence chamber	N - Court
E - Eating or dining room	O - Stool room
F - Fountain Court	P - King's private backstairs
G - Gallery	Q - Great closet
H - Privy chamber	R - Gallery
I - Withdrawing Room	S - Closet
J - State bedchamber	T - Stairs to the second floor courtier lodgings
K - Backstairs	

Figure 28. Plan of the king's apartments 1702 showing the changes to the arrangement of the bedchamber, © Historic Royal Palaces, drawing by Daphne Ford, drawing by Daphne Ford, S. Thurley, 'The Building of the King's Apartments', fig.2.

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| a - Great stairs          | l - Waiting room for the Gentlemen of Bedchamber |
| b - Guard chamber         | m - Backstairs                                   |
| c - Court                 | n - Court  |
| d - Presence chamber      | o - Great closet                                 |
| e - Eating or dining room | p - Stool room                                   |
| f - Privy chamber         | q - King's private backstairs                    |
| g - Gallery               | r - Gallery                                      |
| h - Fountain Court        | s - Closet                                       |
| i - Withdrawing Room      | t - Stairs to the second floor courtier lodgings |
| j - State bedchamber      |  |
| k - Little bedchamber     |  |

Figure 29. Plan of the top floor of king's apartments showing the allocation of the courtier lodgings, 1702 © Historic Royal Palaces, drawing by Daphne Ford, drawing by Daphne Ford, S. Thurley, 'The Building of the King's Apartments', fig.3.

- A William Blathwayt Secretary for War
- B Necessary Woman
- C Groom of the Bedchamber
- D & E Courts
- F Madame Overkirke, Frances van Aerssen, wife of Henry Nassau, Master of the Horse
- G Lord Halifax, Charles Montague, Auditor of the Exchequer
- H Lord Romney, Henry Sydney, Groom of the Stole
- I Master of the Robes, Cornelius de Nassau.
- J Gold Staff Officers
- K Gentlemen of the Bedchamber in waiting
- L Duke of St Albans, Charles Beauclerk, Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.



Figure 30. The backstairs, the king's state apartments, Hampton Court, 1690s, author photograph, 2011.

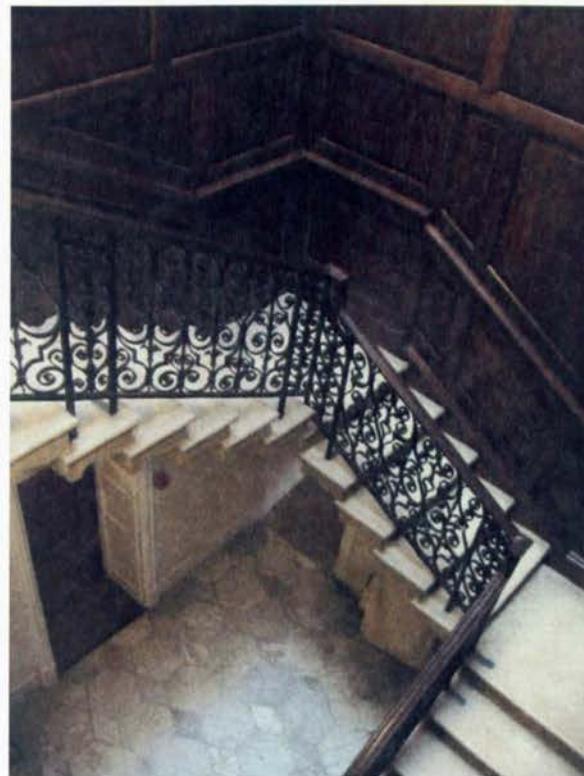


Figure 31. The king's private backstairs, the state apartments, Hampton Court, 1690s, author photograph, 2011.

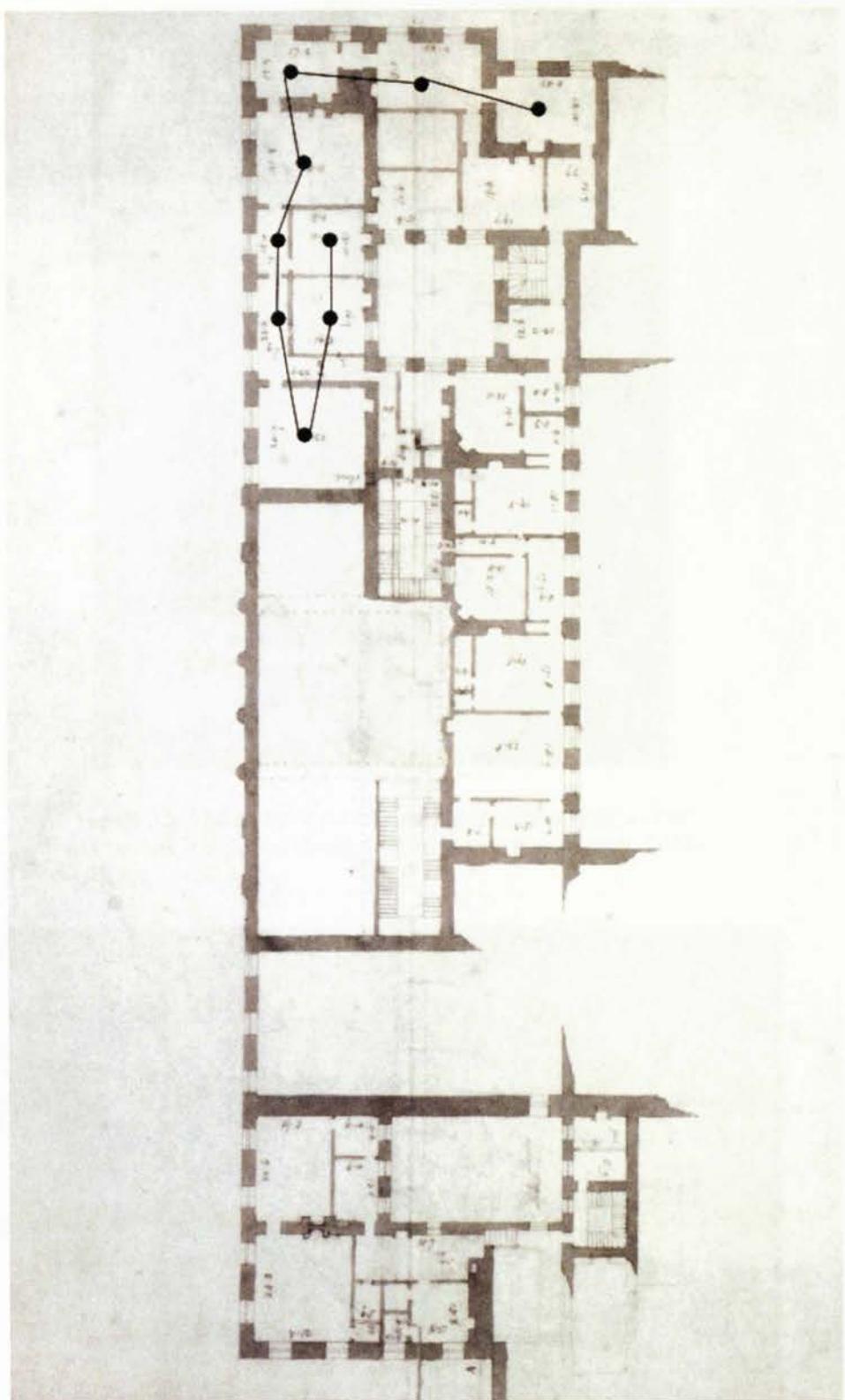


Figure 32. Plan of the half storey above the queen's state apartments, 1717, WORK 34/35, showing the lodgings given to Arnold Joost Van Keppel, the Earl of Albemarle 1700-1702.



Figure 33. The queen's private backstairs, the queen's state apartments, Hampton Court, 1690s, author photograph, 2011.



Figure 34. The backstairs, the queen's state apartments, Hampton Court, 1690s, author photograph, 2011.

Figure 35. The James II bed or the Venetian Ambassador's bed, c.1680s,  
Knole, Kent, G. Beard, *Upholsterers*, fig.66.



Figure 36. Daniel Marot, Design for a state bedchamber, c.1695, P. Thornton,  
*Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, fig.50.

Figure 37. The Melville Bed, c.1700, possibly designed by  
Daniel Marot, © Victoria & Albert Museum.



Figure 38. The king's state bedchamber Hampton Court Palace, as furnished for William III in 1700, © Historic Royal Palaces.



Figure 39. Jean Pelletier, Table, one of a pair, carved and gilded pine with slate top, overlaid with giallo marble c.1699, The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

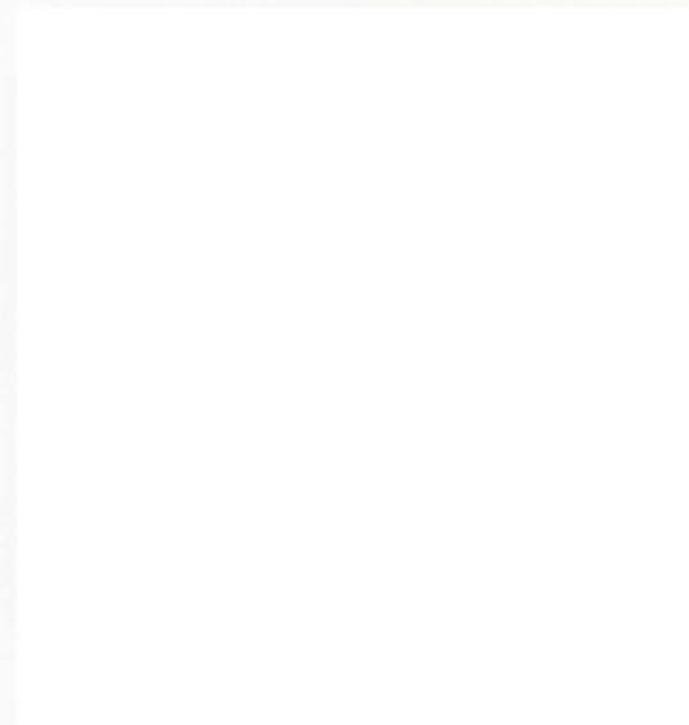


Figure 40. Jean Pelletier, candle stand, one of two pairs supplied for Hampton Court, carved and gilded wood, c.1701, The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 41. Carved and gilt rail, dating from the reign of Charles II with alterations probably by George I, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 42. Carved and gilt rail set up in the king's state bedchamber, Hampton Court Palace, S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.194.



Figure 43. Replica ostrich and egret feather plumes on William III's state bed, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces, Conservation and Collections Department.



Figure 44. Gold orrice lace and fringing on the inside of the tester of William III's state bed, Hampton Court Palace, author photograph, 2008.



Figure 45. The king's privy chamber, as furnished for William III, 1699-1700, Hampton Court Palace, author photograph, 2008.



Figure 46. The king's great closet, as furnished for William III, 1699-1700, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.



Figures 47 & 48. Silk and linen covered wool mattress with silk tufting, William III's state bed, 1690s, Hampton Court Palace, author photographs, 2008.

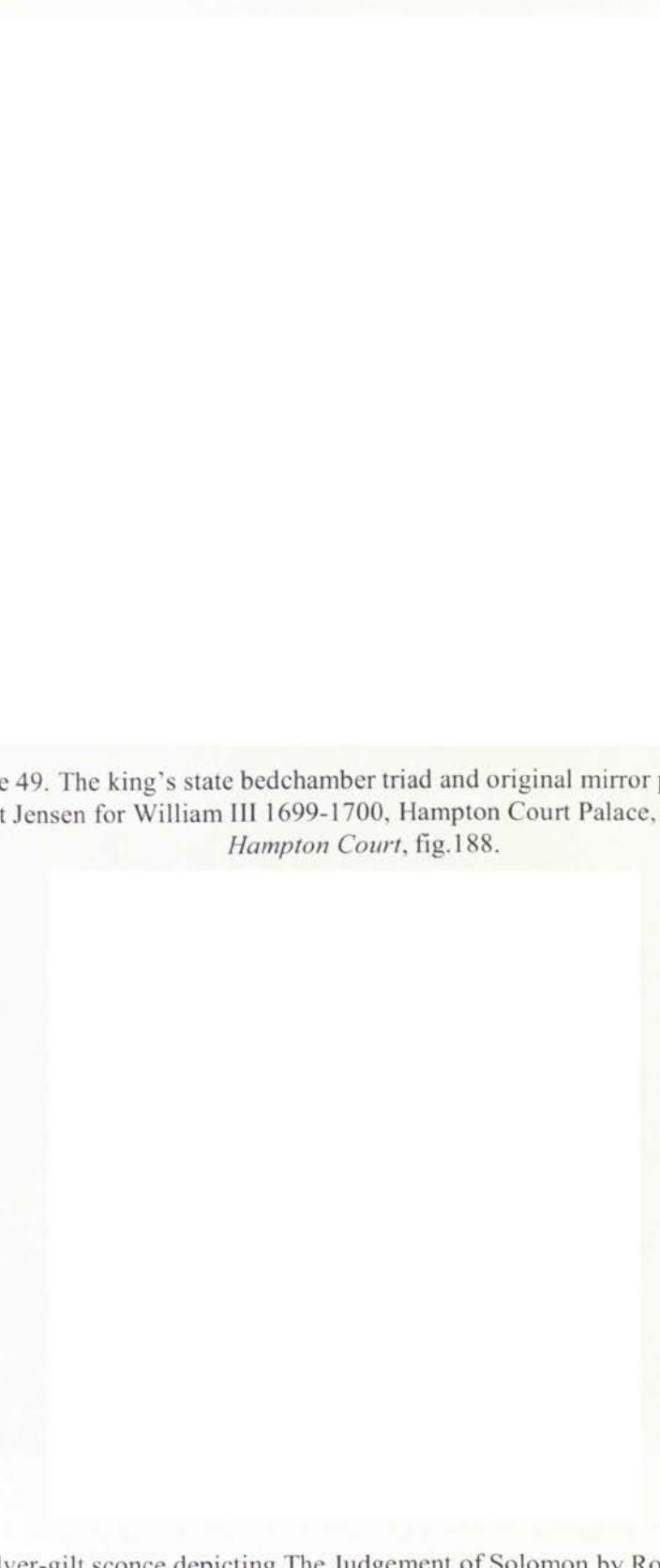


Figure 49. The king's state bedchamber triad and original mirror provided by Gerrit Jensen for William III 1699-1700, Hampton Court Palace, S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.188.

Figure 50. Silver-gilt sconce depicting The Judgement of Solomon by Robert Smythier, 1686. Originally from a set of six silver sconces made for James II but later embossed with William and Mary's cipher. In his 1742 guide book George Bickham recorded that these sconces were hung in the king's state bedchamber at Hampton Court, suggesting that may have been those originally hung in the room in 1699. They were later gilded by George IV. The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 51. Antonio Verrio, Endymion in the arms of Morpheus with Diana the moon goddess, 1701, painted ceiling decoration, the king's state bedchamber, Hampton Court Palace, author photograph, 2008.



Figure 52. The queen's state bedchamber, Hampton Court, as furnished for the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1715, © Historic Royal Palaces.



Figure 53. Carved bed head, the Prince and Princess of Wales state bed, 1715, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces, Conservation and Collections Care Department.

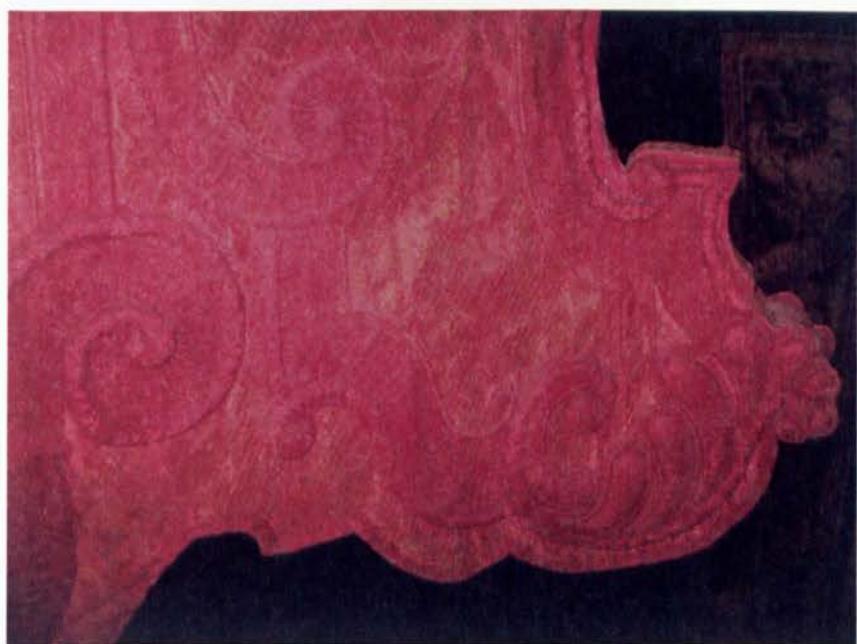


Figure 54. Detail showing the lacework on the carved tester cornice, The Prince and Princess of Wales State bed, 1715, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces, Conservation and Collections Care Department.



Figure 55. The queen's privy chamber with the original canopy of estate, as furnished for the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1715, Hampton Court Palace,  
© Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 56. James Moore, Candle Stand, one of pair, c.1715. Gilded and gessoed wood, pine and lime, possibly supplied for the Prince and Princess of Wales's state apartments at Hampton Court. The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figures 57-59. James Thornhill, details from the decorative scheme for the queen's state bedchamber, From top to bottom, the Princess of Wales, the Prince of Wales and their eldest son Frederick, 1715, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.



Figures 60. James Thornhill, ceiling decoration for the queen's state bedchamber, 1714-5, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 61. Gobelin tapestry, *The Audience of Cardinal Chigi at Fontainbleau* (1664), T. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Baroque*, cat. no.44.

Figure 62. *Private Audience of the Archduchess Maria Josefa*, etching and engraving, Paris, 1719, M. Snodin and N. Llewellyn, *Baroque*, fig.5.42.

Figures 63 & 64. Anonymous print, *La reception faite au Roy d'Angleterre par le Roy a St. Germain en Laye*, 1689, and detail of the same, British Museum.

Figures 65 & 66. The King's bed and detail of the headboard, Knole, Kent,  
© National Trust picture library.



Figure 67. Wedding suit worn James II when Duke of York, on his marriage to Mary of Modena in 1673. Wool embroidered with silver and gilt thread and lined with red silk, Victoria & Albert Museum.

Figure 68. Pieter Persoy, *The Death Bed of Queen Mary II*, illustration in Samuel Gruterus, *Funeralia Mariae II Britanniarum* (Haarlem 1695), Rijksmuseum.



Figure 69. Carved decoration by Grindling Gibbons, 1699-1700, the west closet, the king's private apartments, Hampton Court Palace © Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 70. The king's little bedchamber, Hampton Court, with replica bed and matching textiles, as furnished for William III in 1701,  
A. Westman, 'Splendours of State', fig.vi.



Figures 71 & 72. The private bedchamber, the king's private apartments, Hampton Court, author photograph, 2011.

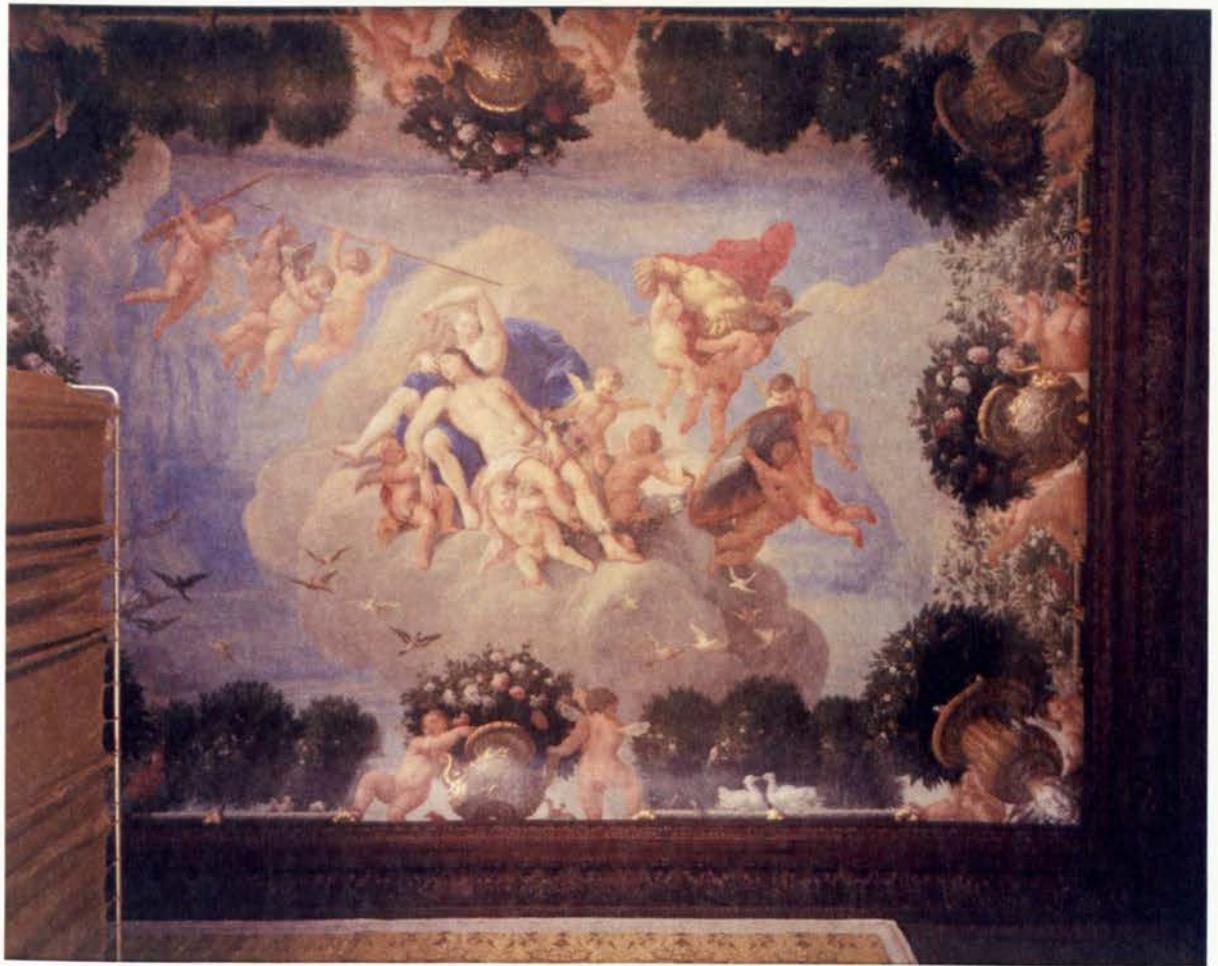


Figure 73. Painted ceiling decoration by Antonio Verrio, 1701, the king's little bedchamber, Hampton Court, © Historic Royal Palaces.



Figures 74 & 75. Walnut chest with silk quilted interior and drawer, possibly supplied for William III's little bedchamber by Gerrit Jensen, 1700-1701, the king's great closet, Hampton Court, © Historic Royal Palaces Conservation and Collections Care Department.



Figure 76. John Souch, *Sir Thomas Ashton at the Deathbed of his Wife*, 1635, oil on canvas, 203.5 x 7215.1 cm, © Manchester Art Gallery.

Figure 77. Linen pillowcase with bobbin lace insertions and whitework embroidery, 1600-1700, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 78. Waistcoat, white linen with silk ribbons, said to have been worn by William III during the last days of his life in March 1702, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, © Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 79. Sketch of a French folding bed, perhaps for servants or for use in travelling, eighteenth century, P. Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, fig.146.

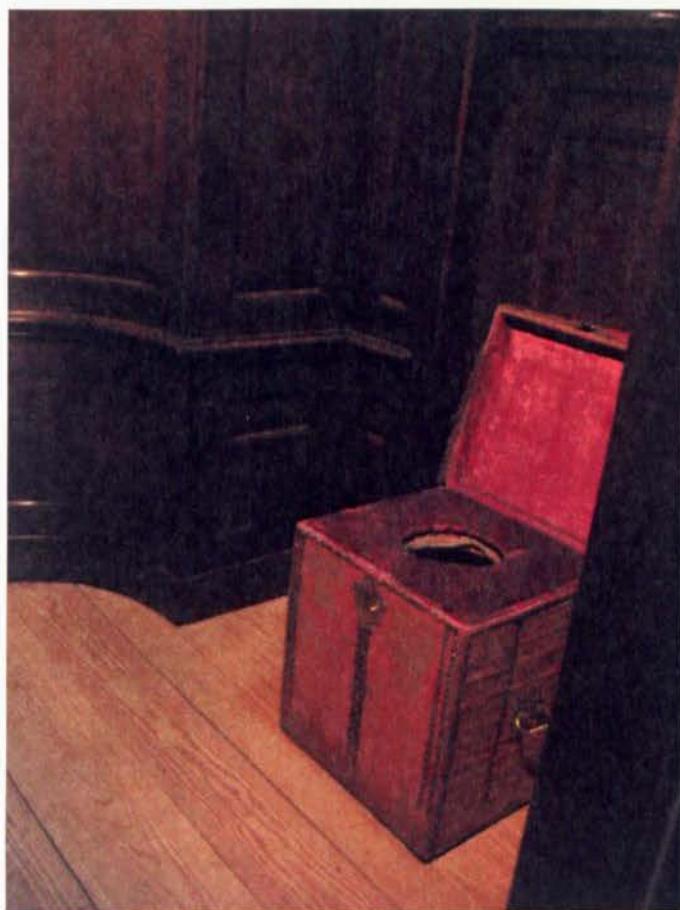


Figure 80. The king's stool closet adjoining the great closet, 1699-1700, the king's state apartments, Hampton Court Palace, author photograph, 2008.



Figure 81. Velvet covered close stool thought to have belonged to William III, the king's stool closet, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 82. Close stool designed to appear as a leather bound book attributed to Louis XIV, Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 'Property sold by Order of the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon', 11<sup>th</sup> June 1993, p.10.

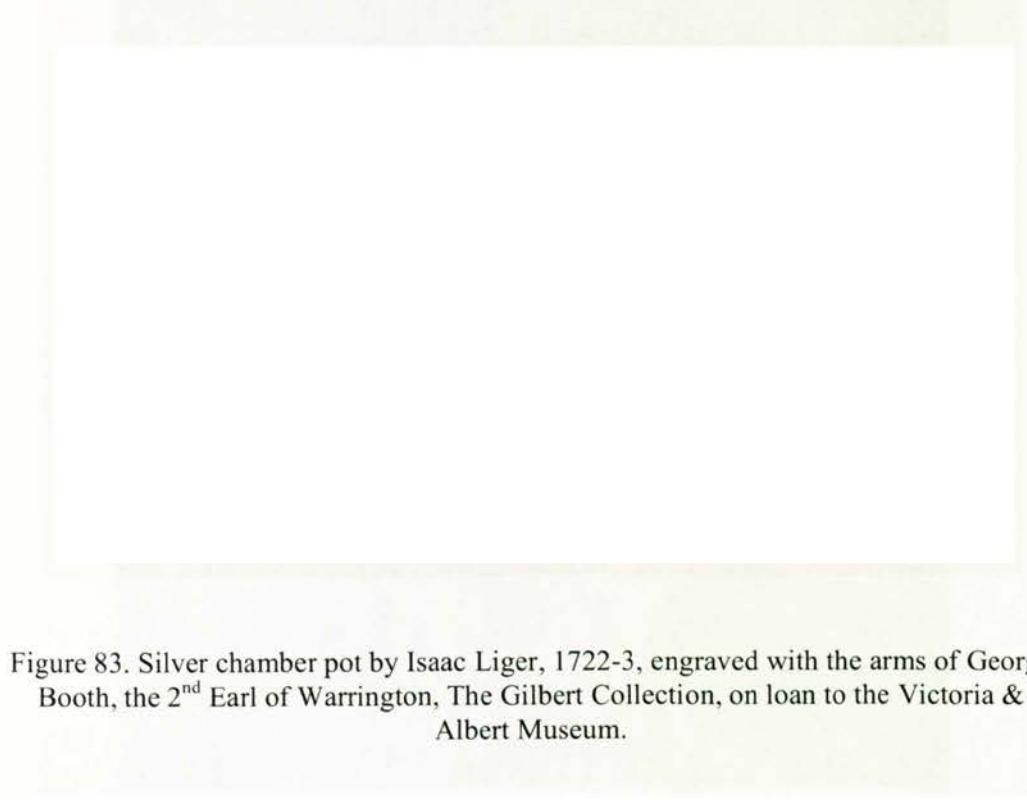


Figure 83. Silver chamber pot by Isaac Liger, 1722-3, engraved with the arms of George Booth, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Warrington, The Gilbert Collection, on loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum.

Figure 84. Detail from 'A Curtain Lecture', a broadside ballad, by Thomas D'Urfey, London, 1690, Domestic Interiors Database.



Figure 85. The bathing room as furnished for Princess Caroline 1715-16, the queen's private apartments, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.



Figure 86. The east closet, the king's private apartments, Hampton Court Palace, © Historic Royal Palaces.

Figure 87. Chair of carved walnut covered with crimson velvet, c.1700, attributed to Thomas Roberts, now shown in the east closet (above), the king's private apartments, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 88. The queen's private withdrawing room, Hampton Court Palace,  
© Historic Royal Palaces.



Figure 89. Writing table, decorated with marquetry in metal, c.1695. This piece bears the cipher of William III and is attributed to Gerrit Jensen, A Bowett, *English Furniture*, plate 6.25.

Figure 90. Cabinet on a stand, japanned with four lacquer panels, c.1715, maker unknown, made for George I's bedchamber at Kensington Palace, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 91. Siphon wheel barometer made for William III, c.1700 by Thomas Tompion, shown today in the king's great closet, Hampton Court Palace, The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

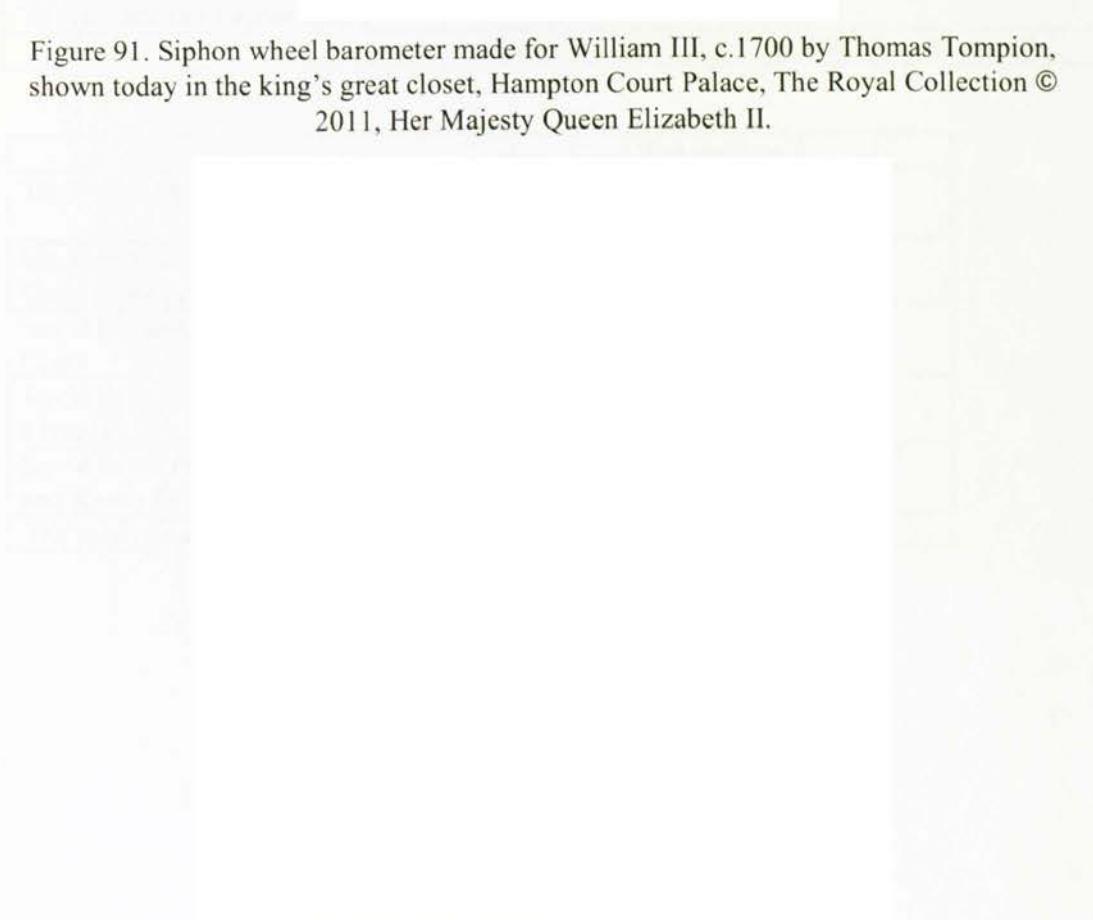


Figure 92. Pair of tulip vases, c.1694, tin-glazed earthenware, commissioned by Mary II, The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Figure 93. Review of the Wardrobe expenses, CUL, Pol Pap, 45, 28.

The amount of sundry articles provided for His Majesty's Service in the Office of His Majesty's Great Wardrobe under the Inspection of John Hall Comptroller of the same from Michelmas 1729 to Michelmas 1736 shewing the Differences between the present and former Rates from whence appears a saving to His Majesty in those seven years only the sum of 36, 359:15:00.

The several Tradesmen Respectively	The present rates			The former rates		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
To the Upholsterer	25692	14	3	50850	14	5
To the Cabinet Maker	19663	15	9	59526	15	9
To the Chair and Bedstead -maker	11279	18	5	16725	18	5
To the Silk and Woosted Laceman	3720	16	6	4379	16	6
To the Bookseller	1785	11		2052	11	
To the Trunk- maker	1439	18	10	1612	18	10
To the Arras- worker	1046	14	10	2092	14	10
	64629	9	7			
To Ballance the former Rates	32390					
	£97019	9	7	£97019	9	7

		The savings	
	£	s	d
The saving in the above articles	£ 32390		
Sav'd in Settling sundry Bills of ye Great & Removing Wardrobe	1185	15	
Sav'd in Sundry Embroidery of Heralds Coats	22		
Sav'd in the Yeomans and Warders Liverys	2540		
Sav'd in the Game-Keeper Trumpeter and Kettle Drummers Liverys	222		
The total of savings for the above time	36359	15	



Figure 94. Elizabeth Abrahall's monument, Westminster Abbey, London. The inscription reads: 'Next this place lyeth the body of Elizabeth Abrahall the wife of Gilbert Abrahall a Page of ye Backstaires to her Maj; <sup>tie</sup> Queen Ann. She was Mrs Starcher to her Maj: and Departed this Life on the 9<sup>th</sup> March 1919 in the 73 year of her Age'.



Figure 95. Henry Morland, *A Lady's Maid Soaping Linen*, c.1765-82, oil on canvas, 945 x 819 mm, Tate Collection.

Figure 96. Henry Morland, *A Laundry Maid Ironing*, c.1765-82, oil on canvas, 916 x 817 mm, Tate Collection.

Figure 97. Plan of the ground floor of the apartments of the Princesses Ann and Amelia in Chapel Court, Office of Works, 1718. The service range, including the laundry, was located on the ground floor of the north range while the Princesses living quarters were situated above the east range.

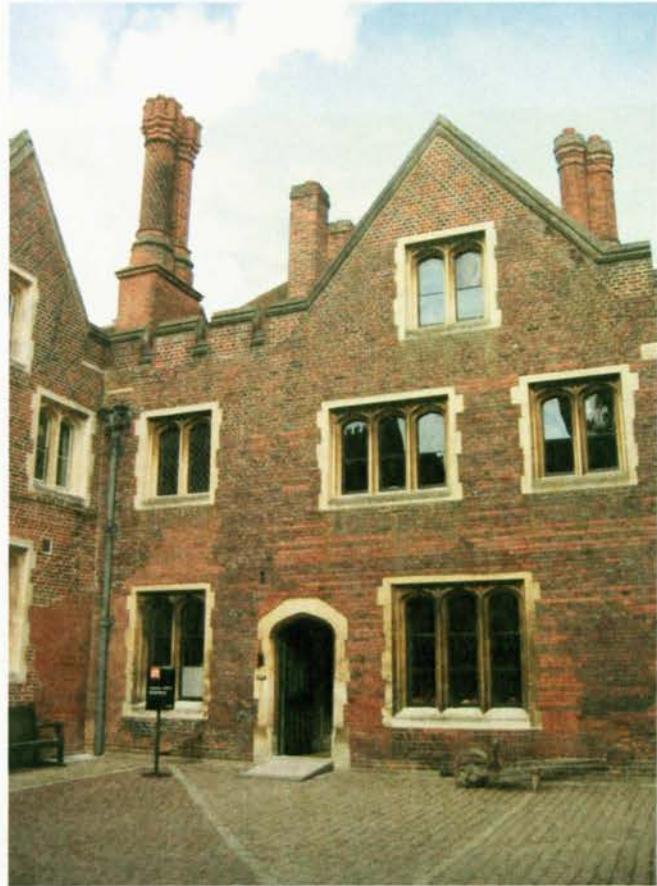


Figure 98. The Seamstress and Starcher's lodgings (right) and the Pastry Office (left) in Master Carpenter's court, author photograph, 2011.

Figure 99. View of the north side of Hampton Court taken across the titlyard for Cosimo III de Medici during his English tour in 1669. The titlyard towers surviving at this date can be seen on the left of the image. S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.80.

Figure 100. Plan of Hampton Court Palace, by Henry Wise, c.1710, pen and brown ink, Sir John Soane Museum, vol.III/39.

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| 1. Wood yard                                     | 9. Garden            |
| 2. Bake house                                    | 10. Pond Garden      |
| 3. Scalding house                                | 11. Garden           |
| 4. Toy Inn                                       | 12. The Privy Garden |
| 5. The Vallery                                   | 13. Fountain Court   |
| 6. The Banqueting House                          | 14. Clock Court      |
| 7. A garden for the keeper of the Privy Lodgings | 15. Base Court       |
| 8. Hothouse                                      |                      |

Figure 101. Ink and wash drawing by Bernard Lens, 1733, looking west along Barge Walk, with the corner of the Banqueting House (right) and, in the distance the wood yard, the bake house and the scalding house and the Toy Inn, S Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.262.



Figure 102. Plan showing the location of George I's German kitchen, marked on this plan as the 'Prince of Wales's side kitchen', S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig. 260.

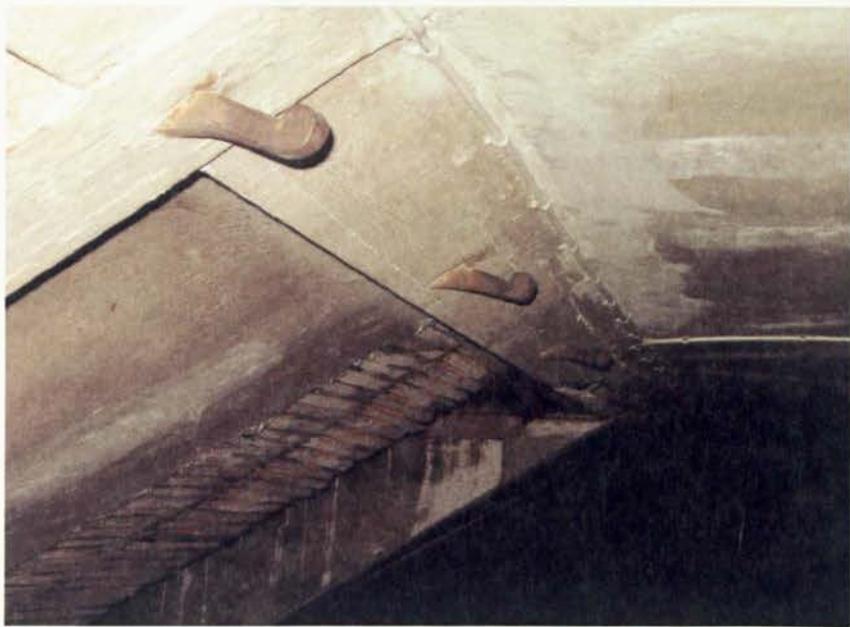


Figure 103. Ceiling hooks possibly for hanging washing lines from, the German kitchen attic, Hampton Court Palace, author photograph 2011.



Figure 104. Nineteenth century mangle, the German kitchen attic, Hampton Court Palace, author photograph 2011.

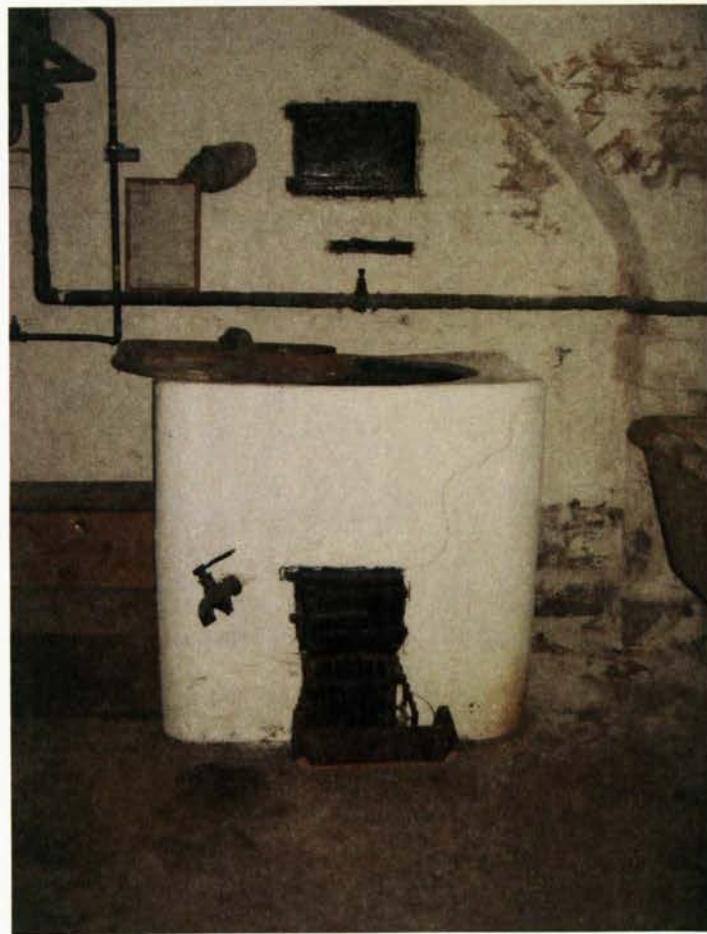


Figure 105. Inbuilt copper for heating water, located in the basement of the German kitchen, Hampton Court Palace, author photograph, 2011.

Figures 106 & 107. *Briget Holmes* by John Riley, 1686, oil on canvas, 2247 x 1490mm, and detail of the same, The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

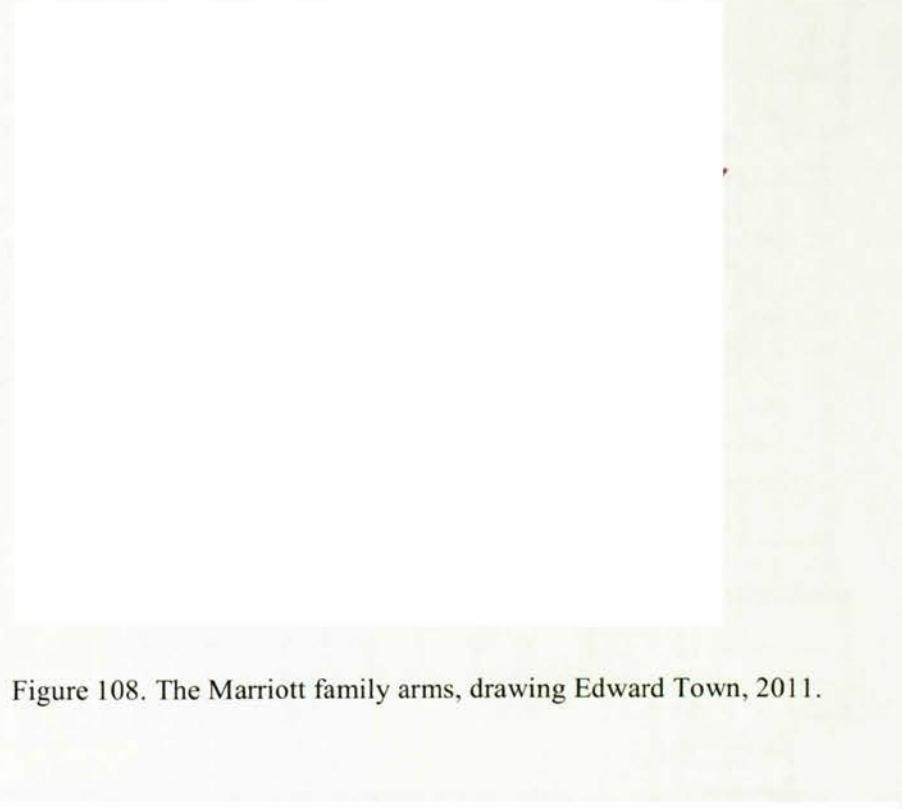


Figure 108. The Marriott family arms, drawing Edward Town, 2011.



Figure 109. Reconstructed plan of Hampton Court gardens in 1547, showing the location of the Mount Garden, drawing Daphne Ford, Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.88.

Figure 110. Plan of the ground floor of Hampton Court, c.1717, WORK 34/46, showing the location of the Wardrobe Keeper's lodgings and work places as recorded in the survey of the palace taken in 1702.

Figures 111 & 112. Top -  
Detail from Leonard Knyff, *A  
View of Hampton Court*, oil on  
canvas, 153 x 216cm, c.1702-  
14, The Royal Collection ©  
2011, Her Majesty Queen  
Elizabeth II.  
Below – Detail from Leonard  
Knyff, *Hampton Court Palace*,  
drawing, 412 x 585mm,  
c.1702, British Museum.

Figure 113. Paul Sandby, *Sandpit Gate Lodge, Windsor Castle* c.1754, pen and watercolour drawing, showing two laundresses, one washing linen in a large wooden tub and the other heating water over a fire, C. Davidson, *A Woman's Work is Never Done*, fig.89.

Figure 114. Mrs Grosvenor, Laundress to Queen Charlotte, late-eighteenth century mezzotint, P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.186.

Figure 115. The Beningbrough Hall laundry, showing drying racks suspended from the ceiling and ironing tables fitted around two sides of the room, P. Sambrook, *The Country House Servant*, p.125.

Figure 116. Queen Caroline's Warming Pan, embossed and engraved silver, © The Royal Collection © 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.



Figure 117. Jonathan Southall, *A Treatise of Buggs* (London, 1730), Gale, Eighteenth Century Collections Online.

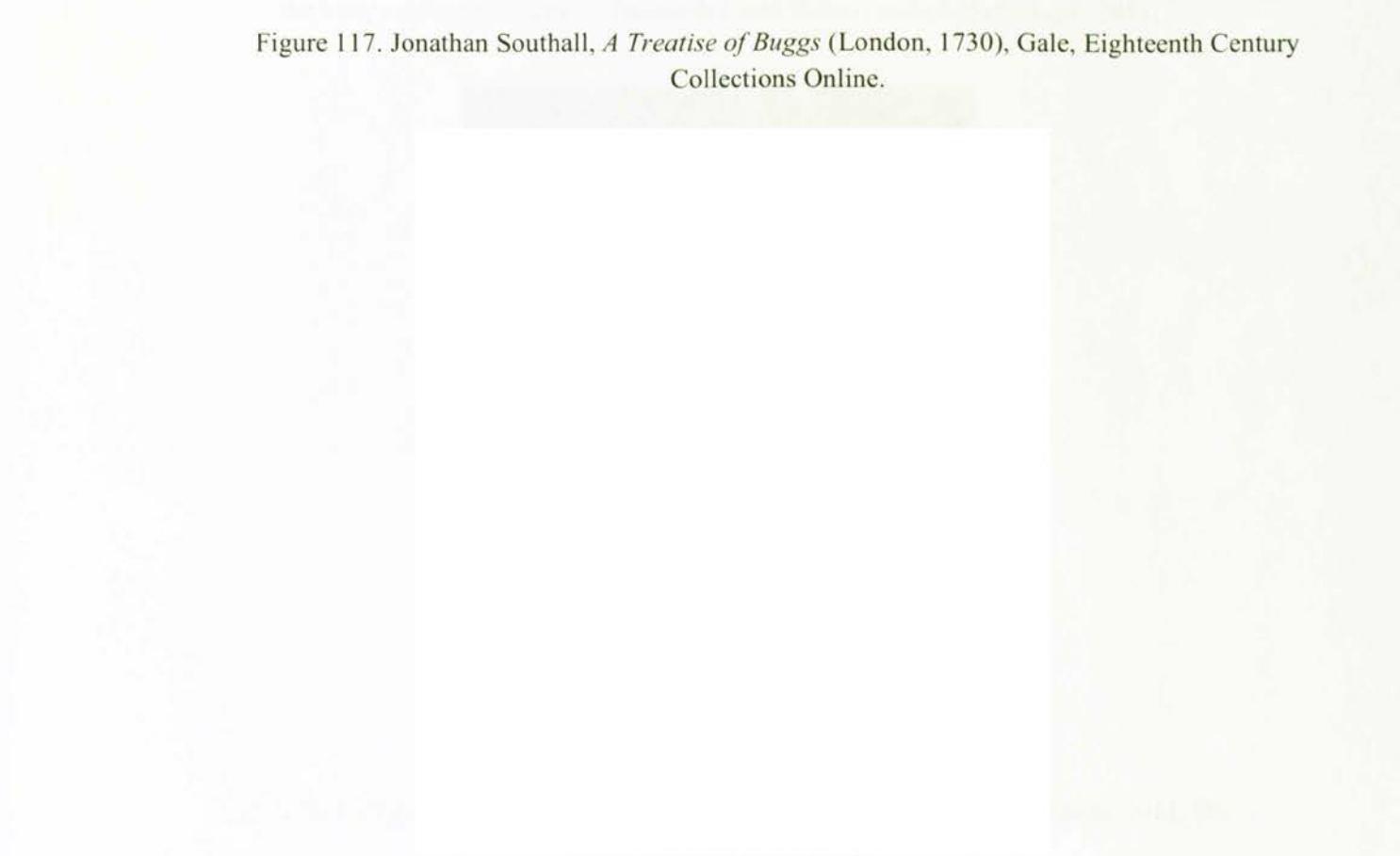


Figure 118. Leather cover on one of the globes in the library at Ham House, Surrey, c.1745, P. Thornton, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration*, fig.299.



Figure 119. Metal brazier, one of a pair, possibly eighteenth or nineteenth century, shown in the king's state apartments at Hampton Court Palace, author photograph, 2011.



Figure 120. Iron stamp, with CR for Charles II and 1661, © The Royal Collection, 2011, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Figure 121. WP stamp for Whitehall Palace, printed onto the girt-webbing of an upholstered walnut chair, Knole, Kent, G. Beard, *Upholsterers*, fig.31.

Figure 122. Queen Anne's state bed in the queen's withdrawing room where it was moved to in 1938, photograph 1960, S. Thurely, *Hampton Court*, fig.371.



Figure 123. R Cattermole, *The King's State Bedchamber*, watercolour, 1816, illustration for Pyne's *History of the Royal Residences*, 1819, © Historic Royal Palaces.

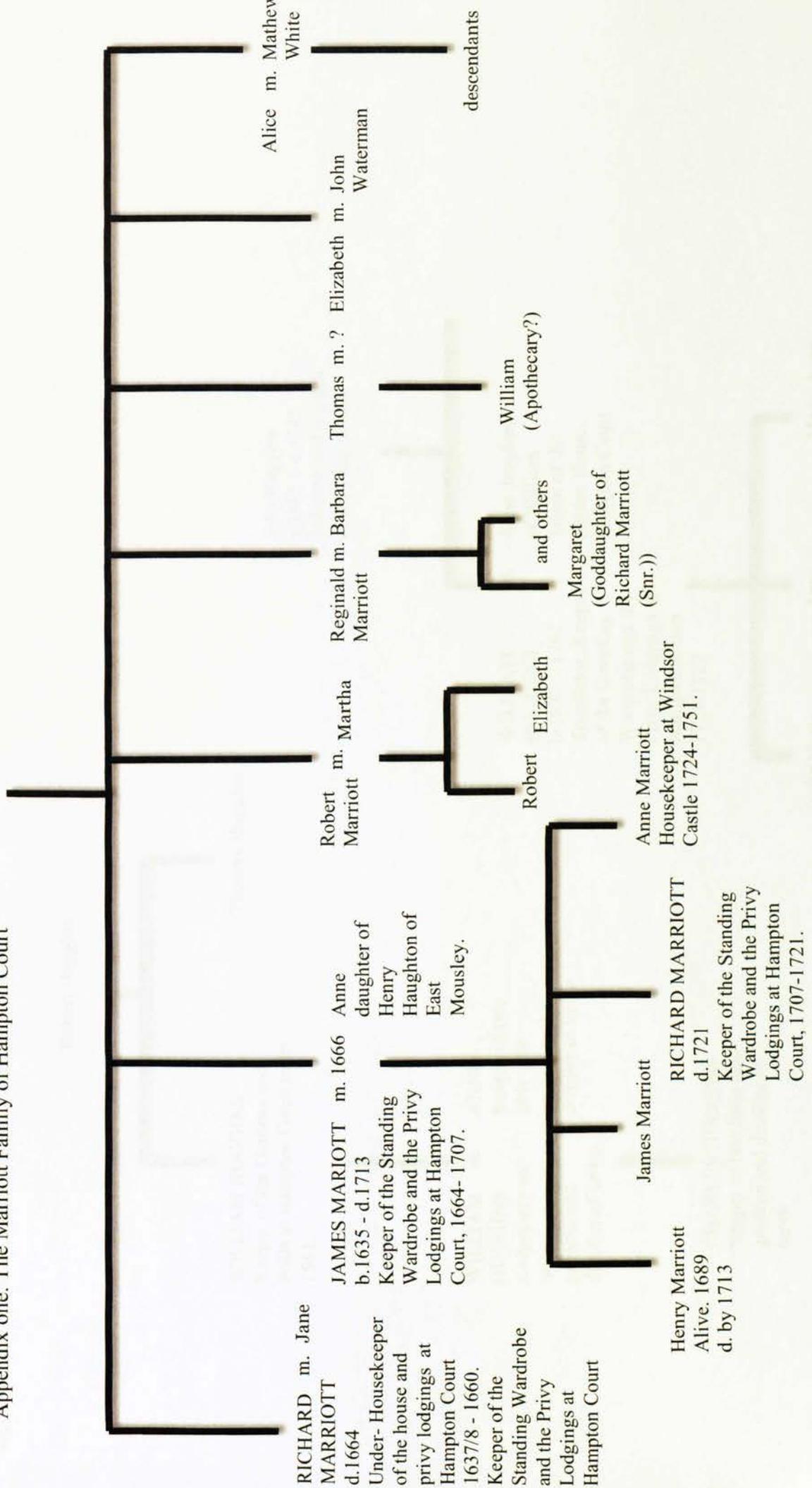
Figure 124. From left to right, The Prince and Princess of Wales's state bed (or Queen Caroline's state bed), the Prince of Wales's travelling bed and William III's state bed as displayed in the queen's private dining room by the 1880s. Notably, the curtains at the foot end of the Prince and Princess of Wales's state bed are considerably degraded and appear to be tied to the posts. photograph, c.1910, S. Thurley, *Hampton Court*, fig.313.

Figure 125. Mary of Modena's bed or the 'Warming pan bed' in the King James Bedchamber, Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire, photographed by Bedford Lemere, 1893, English Heritage National Monuments Record.



Figure 126. Historic Royal Palaces Conservation and Collections Care team event showcasing the conservation of the textiles of Queen Anne's state bed, 2010 © Historic Royal Palaces, Conservation and Collections Care.

Appendix one. The Marriott Family of Hampton Court



Appendix Two. The Huggins family of Hampton Court

Robert Huggins

WILLIAM HUGGINS  
Keeper of the Gardens and  
Stills at Hampton Court from  
1561.

Thomas Huggins

John Huggins  
b.1665 – d.1745  
Solicitor and warden  
of the Fleet prison

WILLIAM HUGGINS  
m.  
Keeper of two  
little new  
gardens and  
distiller of herbs

WILLIAM HUGGINS  
b.1696 – 1761  
Translator. Keeper  
of the Standing  
Wardrobe and the  
Privy Lodgings at  
Hampton Court

CHARLES HUGGINS  
Keeper of two little new  
gardens and distiller of  
herbs

Anna Maria  
d.1793

Jane

Maria Anna  
d.1783