‘that whyche ys nedefoulle and nesesary’:

The Nature and Purpose of the Original
Furnishings and Decoration of Hardwick Hall,
Derbyshire

Two Volumes
(Volume Two)

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Appendix One

Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Un-numbered document in box marked

‘Bess and Earls Misc. II’,

An inventory of the contents of Northaw, c. 1540-1552

Description

The document consists of ten sheets of paper folded in half and stitched together. Each sheet is approximately 31.7 cm (height) x 42.3 cm (width). There is a single later sheet of paper stitched to the front with a title page. The whole is stitched into a cardboard binder. The document has suffered damage, particularly to the tops of the pages. This damage has been mended with the addition of a substance which is now discoloured and brittle. There is a watermark on some of the pages consisting of a hand with a flower at the tip of the fingers, a figure like a ‘3’ on the palm and the initials ‘RP’ on the wrist. Pages 3, 4, 40, 34 – 7, 40, 45 and 46 are blank.

The inventory is in secretary hand but has been annotated in less formal hands, primarily in the left margin, by several people checking the inventory and noting discrepancies. One of these people is Bess. Alterations to the annotations show that the document has been used to check against the household contents on more than one occasion. Page numbers have been added later in pencil.

Inscription on inner, later cover: ‘An Old Inventory of Goods at Northamebury in K. Henry y° 8th. Time. A Seat of Sr. Wm. Cavendish in Lincolnshire exchanged w° K. Hen 8th. for Abbey Land wrote abt the Year 1540’.
Subject

Although fol. 5 has been badly damaged at the top of the page, there is enough of the title left to show that the inventory refers to Northaw and not Northamebury. The word ‘Northaw’ remains and, although the page is lost after the end of that word, enough survives to show that the final ‘e’ of ‘Northawe’ was followed by a gap, not another letter.

The inventory also lists some items in London and at Hildersham.

Date

The document does not carry an original date. The later inscription suggests about 1540. Cavendish owned Northaw between 1540 and 1552. Bess would have been in a position to annotate the inventory after 1547, when she married William Cavendish. The contents of the ‘lytle parler’ (p. 6) include a picture of King Henry VIII ‘ow’ sou[er]ygne lord’, which puts a closing date of 1547 on the inventory. A similar example of the watermark is known from a Hamburg document dated 1544.1

Acquisition

The inventory was purchased for Chatsworth at Sotheby’s in June 1977 at the sale of the collection of manuscripts previously owned by Sir Thomas Phillips, Bt (1792-1872).

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Transcription notes

The long ‘s’ has been shortened throughout. The abbreviated ‘er’ and ‘m’ or ‘n’ have been expanded in square brackets. The document’s use of ‘I’ for ‘J’ has been retained. For clarity, a new line has been started for each entry beginning with ‘Item’, which is usually but not exclusively the practice in the document. Annotations have been printed in italics. In order to keep the identification of marginal notes with the items to which they refer extra spacing has been used which is not present in the original document. Underlined phrases are also underlined in the document and are the subject of annotations. Areas where text is known or presumed to be lost have been left as gaps and a footnote added to indicate loss.

Annotations in Bess’s hand have been marked with an * but no attempt has been made to differentiate between the other annotators’ hands.
oods movabl
at Northawe\textsuperscript{2}

In the chaple  \textit{ex}\textsuperscript{3}

In primis a fronte of dornyx & a nother pece of dornyx w\textsuperscript{th} the pictor of Chryste in the myddeste that hangythe above the Alter.

Itm the pictor of Chryste nallyd apone the Crosse.

Itm a lytle table of golde of the pictor of Chryste & ow\textsuperscript{th} lady & saynt Iohn

Itm seynte George

Itm a table of the byrthe of chryste\textsuperscript{4} A nother of mary maudelyn.

Itm a sup[er]altare.

Itm iiij dyap[er] alter clothes & ij dyap[er] towells.

Itm ij candlestyks of latten w\textsuperscript{th} a tap[er] of wood carvyd

Itm a whyte vestement of sattyn of brygs w\textsuperscript{th} all things that belongythe thereto.

Itm ij masse boks & one portes

Itm a hallywater stocke w\textsuperscript{th} a sprynkle

Itm a cruyt of Tynn & a nother of leade

Itm a pewt[er] bole for hallybre\textsuperscript{5}

Itm a close box for to ley the crosse in & a holly wat[er] sprynkle of wood

\textsuperscript{2} The top of the page is badly damaged and only these parts of words remain.

\textsuperscript{3} This squiggle has been rendered as ‘ex’ although it is far from clear. It appears throughout the inventory and seems to be a mark made by someone checking the inventory after the initial writing. The same mark is also found in Hardwick MS 1, Household Accounts 1551-2.

\textsuperscript{4} This picture could be one of the pictures of the Virgin Mary in the ‘Gallerie’ and ‘l owe great Chamber’ at Hardwick in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, pp. 49 and 52).

\textsuperscript{5} The end of the last word is lost in damage to the edge of the page but ‘holy bread’ is easily understood.
Itm ij cowischyns one of Blacke velvet & the other of clothe of gold on the one syde & red taffita on the other syde.

Itm a chalesse & a corporas of blew Imbroderyd wth gold wth a the pyctor of Saynte Iohn on hit & a clothe in hit.

Itm a clothe to hange above the alter panyd wth grene sattyn & Imagere of gold & a fronte of blew velvet wth starrs and mons of gold

Itm a vestement of tyssewe & purple velvet wth all things that thereto belongythe.

Itm a table of yvery wth sondry stories of the gospell.6

In the lytle parler now Removyd ex

in the garrett

In primis a table wth ij trestles and a carpet of tapstere

w7 Itm v cowyschins of verder & flowers

w Itm iiij cheyres one of fyrre a other of lether the third of wood

---

6 This ivory may be identifiable with 'a table of Iverie carved and guilt with little pictures in it of the natyvitie' in the 'Gallerie' at Hardwick in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 50).
7 This 'w', which occurs frequently, may indicate that the item was in the wardrobe at a later period.
8 Damage to the top of the page has affected the lines to this point. Presumably the name of the room has also been lost although it becomes apparent below that it is the hall.
Itm a skrene of wykers to stand before the fyre

in the ote loft

Itm a cobberd

Itm vj Ioined stoles & iiiij ot fotestoles.

w

Itm in the chimney one payre of Andyerns a fyre schovell & a payre of
w
tongs

w

Itm the parler hangyd wth grene say payntyd

w

Itm a glasse / & a payre of snuffers.

Itm iiiij ot curteyns of saye grene /

Item w a tostyng forke.

Itm a payntyd clothe wth y e pictor of kyng harry ye viijth

ow sou[erleygne lord & kyng harry ye viijth & y e viijth edward the forthe &

Rycherd the third

In the new parler   ex.

In primis a table of fyrre coveryd wth grene clothe & ij trestles

Itm a cobberd coveryd wth grene clothe

Itm a playne square table. nowe in the newe parlor

Itm iiij chayres coveryd wth lether & one coveryd wth blew damaske.

Itm xij Ioined stoles & vj fotestols.

Itm vj cowischins of verder & byrds

9 These three lines concerning pictures have been written in a very similar but slightly less neat hand, as though they had been added shortly after the original inventory. Their addition shortens the gap between the end of the contents of the 'lytle parler' and the heading for the next room, the 'new parler'. All these monarchs are depicted in the 'Gallerie' at Hardwick in 1601, although not necessarily in this format (Of Household Stuff, p. 49).
of the pictor of ow' sou[er]eigne lord the kyng
of the pyctor of the frenche kyng\textsuperscript{10} &
a of the frenche Quene\textsuperscript{11}.

Itm ij other tables one w\textsuperscript{th} towe Antycke boys\textsuperscript{12} & the other of a story of the byble\textsuperscript{13}
Itm the kyngs armys
Itm one payre of payntyd bellowes
Itm a tostying forke & a payre of snuffers
Itm a glasse.
Itm a payre of playyng tables
Itm iiiij or curtens of yelow say
Itm one payre of tongs & a fyre pann
Itm a payre of Andyerns w\textsuperscript{th} heds of latten
Itm ij plats of latten for ca[n]dles w\textsuperscript{th} iiiij or nosys
Itm iiij englyshe boks scilt Chawcer ffroyssarte cronicles & a boke of ffrenche & Englyshe.
Itm a Rownd table of Cypre in the lytle p[ar]ler \textit{in vynsents cha[m]b[er]}
Itm a plate w\textsuperscript{th} ij nosys in the same lytle p[ar]ler.

\textsuperscript{10} The picture of the ‘frenche kyng’ may be identified with the picture of the ‘King of Fraunce’ in the ‘Gallerie’ at Hardwick in 1601 (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 49).
\textsuperscript{11} Damage to the top of the page has caused the loss of the starts of these three lines and the end of the first line.
\textsuperscript{12} It is possible, although far from definite, that this picture of ‘towe Antycke boys’ might have been in the ‘Gallerie’ at Hardwick in 1601 as ‘Twoo twynns’ (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 50).
\textsuperscript{13} The Bible story might be ‘the prodigall sonne’ in the ‘with drawing Chamber’ at Hardwick in 1601 or ‘The storie of Joseph’ in the ‘Gallerie’ (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, pp. 47 and 50).
In the gallare by mystres

Starnolds chamber  ex

Itm a latten platte wth one nose

Itm before the buttree dore a nother plate wth one nose

mistres starnolds chamber.  ex

In primis a whyte bedstede wth y' tester & vallanns of of grenie

sylke.  y' tester in the wardropp

Itm iij curteyns panyd sersenet blew & red.

Itm iij fether bedds & a fyne Q  y on14

Itm iij bolsters of fethers & ij pyllo[  ]15

Itm a payre of fustyan blanketts & a payre of wollen blankets

at london.  

Itm a flege blanket of dyverse colors.

Itm a cownter poynte of verder wth bucks & conys & other bests16

Item a benche coveryd wth grenie say & a pyllow vnder nethe

Itm a cobberd wth clothe apon yt yelow redd & grene.

Itm the hangyng of the chamber ys of canvas & payntyd wth the storye of
davyd

Itm iiij curtens red for the wyndow iiij of them red & the forthe panyd red

& yelow.

Itm ij cheyrs of lether / one in the blacke chambre

Itm ij Andyerns a payre of tongs & a fyre pann

---

14 Although part of the line is lost, it is likely that the missing words are 'Quilt to lie on', which appear later on.
15 Damage to the top of the page makes these lines incomplete.
16 This counterpoint may have contributed to the naming of the 'Cony bedd chambre' at Chatsworth in the 1560s (Appendix Three, fol. 3°).
Itm a payre of snuffers & a tostynge forke.

Itm a glasse of Stele, broken

Item a stole.

Note yt all things belongyng this chamber ys markyd wth W E C & I mystres Starnolds s[er]uants Chamber  ex

In primis A bedstede a tester of grene blewe & red saye

Itm a fetherbed ij bolsters ij pyllowes a payre of blanketts

Itm a coverlet of old verder

Itm the chamber hangyd wth paynted clothes of Antyke worke

Itm a chare & a Ioyned stole

Itm a bord wth a payre of trestles

Note that all the gere belongyng this chamber ys markyd wth W E C & I & iiiij stytches.

[page 9] The grete chamber over the new17

In primis a bedstede wth iiiij or whyte pyllers gylte.

Itm a tester of blew damaske wth flowers of gold18

Itm fyve curteyns of blew damaske

Itm a pallat clothe & ij fetherbedds

Itm a bedd of downe cou[erlyd] wth whyte fustyan & iiij bolstarrs the one of downe coveryd wth whyte fustyan the other two of fethers cou[erlyd] wth teke.

---

17 The corner of the page is lost.
18 This could be identified with 'one bedd of blewe sylke wth flowres of gold' in 'my lady [...] chamber' at Chatsworth in the 1560s (Appendix Three, fol. 3*).
Itm ij pyllowes
Itm a fyne quylyte to lyy on. a payre of fustyan blanketts
Itm a payre of wollen blanketts
Itm a blankett of redd flege

at london
Itm a cownter poynyte of tapstre wth Imagere
Itm the chamber hangyd wth iijth peccs of tapstre.
Itm iij peccs of verder vnder the wyndowys
Itm a glassee of stele.

Itm ij f cofers bownd wth Ierne In the one ys yower Evydence & the other ys emptye
Itm iij chayres the byggest of tawny vellvett a nother of purple velvet a nother of sylke wth grene flowers & golde the forthe of redd reysyd velvet.
Itm a cobberd coveryd wth grene clothe

at london
Itm ij Stoles the one coveryd wth sylke & ye other ys a Ioyned stole
Itm a payre of Andyerns wth hedds of latten
Itm a payre bellowes gyltyd a fyre pann & a payre of tongs

Item ij longe coywschyans of sylke the one ys of redd satten chekerd on bothe syds the other of grene sylke wth flowers & pownegranetts of gold as the chayre ys & the backesyde three panys of other sylke
Itm a tostyng Iron & a payre of snuffers.

lacking
Itm a case of combs
Itm a dosyn of ffs newe

lacking

Itm ij casys of grene saye for the Andyers hedds

Note also yt all the gere y belonyth this chamber ys m[ar]kyd wyth W.E.C.

&. N.

The closet wythin the grete chamber  ex

at London

Itm yt ys hangyd halfe abowte wyth red & yelow saye and a Anityke border..

at london

Itm a chere of Walnott tree

In the lytle chamb[er] at the enteryng

in to the sayd grete chamber.  ex

In primis a fether bedd a bolster a payre of wollen blankets

Itm a pyllow /

Itm a whyte flege.

the Covering

Itm a cov[er]lett of tapstree wyth harts conyes & other besis

at london

Itm hangyd wyth grene saye & redd

Itm ij curteyns for y wyndow of the same.

Itm a paynted cobberd

Itm a plate of latten wyth one nose

Itm a joyned bord coveryd wyth redd saye & grene.

Note that all the gere belongyng thes chamber ys m[ar]kyd wyth W.E.C. N.

& ij styches

19 Damage to the top of the page has led to the loss of these words.

20 This coverlet may have contributed to the naming of the ‘Cony bedd chambre’ at Chatsworth in the 1560s (Appendix Three, fol. 3").
In the Chaple chamber.  

In primis a bedstede gylted

Itm a tester of grene sattyn w\textsuperscript{th} yower Ansetoryes armes on yt imbroderyd w\textsuperscript{th} clothe of gold.

Itm v curtenns of grene sarse taffata.

Itm ij fetherbedds & ij bolsterrs of fethers.

[lacking] It ne bedd of fustyan & a downe bolster of

Itm ne Quylte to lyy on

Itm ij pyllowes

Itm a payre of fustyan blanketts & a payre of woll

Itm a cowneter poynte of verder w\textsuperscript{th} saynt Georg\textsuperscript{21}

Itm a redd flege

\textit{lacking} Itm a coveclothe of blewe velvet

Itm ij chayres of lether

\textit{lackith} Itm iiiij\textsuperscript{or} coiwschians of redd reysed \textit{velvet} for the chamber chaple.

Itm iiij tables one of kyng harry y\textsuperscript{c} vij\textsuperscript{th} a other of quene Ann\textsuperscript{22} the third of lukeres\textsuperscript{23}.

Itm ij long coywschyns the one of chekerd sylke. w\textsuperscript{th} whytt knotts & grene the other of the one syde ys of redd vellvet & whyte lysts the other syde ys of grene flowers & powngranetts of goold

Itm a square coywschyn of red velvet & whyte lyste

Itm a cobberd w\textsuperscript{th} a grene clothe apon yt.

\textsuperscript{21} Damage to the top corner of the page has caused some loss in these four lines.

\textsuperscript{22} This portrait may be identified with the portrait of ‘Quene Anne’ in the ‘Gallerie’ at Hardwick in 1601 (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 49).

\textsuperscript{23} Lucretia was also the subject of a painted hanging in the ‘nursere’. Bess and William Cavendish named their youngest daughter Lucrece but it is debateable whether this actually demonstrates a particular affinity with the classical story.
Itm a stele glasse. *broken*

Itm a payre of Andyerns *th* hedds of latten

Itm a fyre pann

Itm a payre of tongs

Itm a payre of bellowes carvyd

*leekith*

Itm a payre of snuffers & a dosyn of bedstafs

Itm a cofer bownd a bowte *th* Iren

Itm ij covers of grene for the Andyernes.

Note yt all the gere *t* belongythe to this chamber ys m[ar] kyd *th* W.E.C.& S.

In the presse chamb[er] *ex*

In primis the chamber hangyd *th* paynted clothes of Antyke worke

Itm a bedsted a tester of grene saye & redd & certayns of *e* same

Itm a pallet clothe a fetherbed a bolster ij pyllowes

Itm a payre of blanketts a coverlet of verdre

It a loyned stole

Itm a whyte flege.

Itm a lytle cheyre & a chayre of walnut tree

Itm a bord *th* ij trestells *th* a clothe of grene say lynyd *th* canvas apon yt.

Note *t* the gere belongyng this chamber ys markyd *th* W.E.C. & P.

In the gallare hangyngs of payntyd clothes

It a plate of latten

332
In the chamber

Itm a standyng bedsted & a tester p

d24 wth iij curteyns of the same.

Itm ij cheyrs of walnot tree.

Itm a mattres a fetherbed ij bolstarrs a payre of blanketts of wollyn

Itm one pyllowe A cownter poynete of verder lynyd wth canvas wth the
pyctor of saynte Iohn the baptyste

Itm hangyngs for the chamber of payntyd clothe

Itm a cobberd

Note that all the gere yf belongythe this cha[m]ber ys markyd wth W.E.C.
& I.S & iiiij styches

In the Inner chamber

In primis a standyng bedsted a tester of bawdekyn grene & redd

Itm a fetherbed ij bolstarrs a payre of blanketts a mattres

Itm a coverlett wth grene flowers & redd lynyd wth canvas

Itm a cheyre

Note that the gere belongythe this chamber ys m[ar]kyd wth W.E.C. & I.

In the chamber by the grete gallare

In primis the chamber hangyd wth payntyd clothes

Itm a standing bedstedd & a tester of redd saye & yelow

Itm a fetherbed ij bolsters ij blanketts

Itm one pyllowe.

Itm a cownter poynete of verder wth whyte pans & redd wth flowers

---

24 Damage to the top of the page affects the heading and the first line of contents.
Itm a presse

at london

Itm ij chayrs one of wood of the olde faschion & the other of walnot tree.

Note y\(^1\) this gere ys m[ar]kyd w\(^{th}\) W.E.C. & g \& fyve-styches.

In the chamber over the al hall.  ex

In primis a grete blake bedsted w\(^{th}\) Antycke worke

the curtenns at

london

Itm a tester of sylke w\(^{th}\) grene levs & pownegranetts of gold w\(^{th}\) iiij curtenns of grene sylke & purple.

[page 13]

Itm a pallet clothe a fether bedd a downe bedd ij one of fethers & a nother of downe a fyne Quylte

Itm a payre of wollen blanketts A cownter poynt flowers whyte redd & grene lynyd w\(^{th}\) canvas

Itm\(^{25}\) one whyte & a other Redde

Itm a nother cownter poynte of sylke panyd one halfe w\(^{th}\) fustyan drawen flowers \& the other halfe sylke.

p[ar]t at

london and

p[ar]t at

northaw

Itm iiij curteyns for the windowes of the same

Itm a grett cownter w\(^{th}\) ij levs & a cobberd clothe of bawdkyn

Itm iiij chayres one of blewe velvet & the other two of lether.

Itm a loyned forme

Itm two Andyernes w\(^{th}\) latten hedds.

\(^{25}\) Damage to the top corner of the page has led to loss of words here.
Itm a fyre pann & a payre of tongs

Itm a dyoll.

Note yt all the gere yt belongyth this chamber ys骂kyd wth W.E.C. & g & fyve styches

In the blacke cham[er]. ex

In primis a bedstede & a tester of sylke whyte wth flowers of gold & v curtens of blew taffata.26

Itm a mattres a pallet clothe a fetherbed a bedd of downe wth ys of fustyan.

one of the pillows

remaynith at

london

Itm ij bolsterrs one of downe & y⁵ other of fethers

Itm ij payre of blanketts one payre of fustya[n] & the other wollen.

Itm a blankett of redd flege

at london

Itm a cowntre poynte of verde tapstree wth Imagere.

Itm a Ioyned stole. & a long settle by the bedde syde

Itm a stele glasse

Itm a payre of carved bellowes

Itm a cobberd wth grene saye

the grene

satten at

london

---

26 This tester is reminiscent of the ‘bedde white silke wrought wth golde’ at Chatsworth in 1559 (Appendix Two).
Itm iiij tables one of hell\textsuperscript{27} A nother of a woma[n] lyyng in her bed & pullyng a man by the cote & the third of ow'[lady] kyssyng her sonn\textsuperscript{28} It a *coyschyn of redd velvet w*\textsuperscript{th} *whyte lysts*

Itm a payre of Andyernes \textsuperscript{29} with hedds of latten

Itm a fyre pann \& a payre of tongs

Note y'[l] all the gere y'[l] belongythe this chamber ys m[ar]kyd \textsuperscript{W.E.C.} \& b.

In the redd chamber. \textit{ex}

In primis a standyng bedstede of redd \& a tester of scarelet imbroderyd \textsuperscript{w}th letters of clothe of gold \textsuperscript{w}th M \& A.\textsuperscript{29}

\textit{one of the}

Itm v cortynns of redd taffata, \textit{ij fether bedds ii bolstarrs}

\textit{ffetherbedds}

\textit{lacking}

Itm a mattres.

\textit{one pillow at}

Itm a fyne quylyte to lyy on \textit{ij pyllowes} Tow payre of blanketts one payre

\textit{london}

fustyan \& y'[e] other wollen

Itm a red flege blanket \textit{in the blacke chamber}\textsuperscript{30}

Itm a cowtre poynte of tapstree /

Itm a coyschyn of red velvet \textsuperscript{w}th whyte lysts

Itm a cobberd of loynded worke coveryd \textsuperscript{w}th saye

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{27}This picture is identifiable with ‘the picture of hell’ in the ‘Gallerie’ at Hardwick in 1601 (\textit{Of Household Stuff}, p. 50).}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{28}This picture could be one of the pictures of the Virgin Mary in the ‘Gallerie’ and ‘lowe great Chamber’ at Hardwick in 1601 (\textit{Of Household Stuff}, pp. 49 and 52).}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{29}This bed may be identified with the ‘bedd redd clothe ymbrodered with golde letters’ at Chatsworth in 1559 (Appendix Two). The names represented by ‘M’ and ‘A’ are unknown.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{30}Inserted above the line.}
Itm ij chayres one of lether & a nother of wood
Itm a loyned stole
Itm iiij tables one of ye iiij kyngs colen a nother of ow' lady & her sonn the thryd of Gabryell & ow' lady
Itm a payre of carvyd bellowes
Itm a payre of Andyernes wth latten hedds
Itm a payre of tongs
Itm a fyre pann
Itm a payre of snuffers
Itm a loyned Stole
Note yt all this gere ys markyd wth W.E.C. & R

In the bruschyng chamber ex
In primis a bruschyng bord wth a carpet & a nother bord wth owt a carpet.
Itm ij coferrs.
Itm one cobbor in th
Itm a presse for Rayle
Itm a close chayre in the Iaks howse
Itm a Rownd bord in the gallary now in my m" chambre

31 This picture may be one of the ‘too pictures of our Ladie the Virgin Marie and the three Kinges’ in the ‘Iowe Chapple’ at Hardwick in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 51).
32 This picture may be one of the two pictures of the Virgin Mary in the ‘Gallerie’ and ‘Iowe great Chamber’ at Hardwick in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, pp. 49 and 52).
33 This picture of the Annunciation is identifiable with ‘the salutation of the Virgin Marie by the Angle’ in the ‘Iowe Chapple’ at Hardwick in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, pp. 51-2).
34 Corner of the page lost.
In my masters chamber now Removyd ex

w & handyd In primis the chamber hangyd w th grene saye payntyd

w Itm a standyng bedstede

Itm a tester of blacke & yelow satten Imbroderyd w th Rosys

in y Itm iiij curteyns of tawnye sarsenet
gentylwomins chamber

in my m Itm a mattres a fetherbed a bedd of downe a quynte a bolster

chambre

Itm iiij pyllowes

Itm ij payre of blanketts one pare fustyan & y other wollen

one of the Itm iiij blankets of redd flege

flege blankets

at london

y Itm a coverlett of verdre
gentylwomans bed

one at london Itm iiij mantles one on my m bed

one in the Itm iiii tables one of the trynyte imbroderyd w th gold a other of the pictor
gallery of my masters father in my ladys closset a other w th a curten of tawny

in my m sarsenet a nother of saynt Rooke at london & y forthe of the iij kynge of

chambre Colleyn

Itm iiiij curteyns of grene saye.

35 This may be identified with the portrait of 'Mr Thomas Cavendishe, father to Sir William Cavendishe' in the 'lowe great Chamber' at Hardwick in 1601 (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 52).
36 This picture may be one of the 'too pictures of our Ladie the Virgin Marie and the three Kinges' in the 'lowe Chapple' at Hardwick in 1601 (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 51).
Itm a grett flaunders cheste cov[er]yd w\textsuperscript{th} red ither & bownd a bowt w\textsuperscript{th} Ierne

w  Itm a old cheste to putt in the galery spyse in w\textsuperscript{th} a carpet in the w  

w  Itm a long  w cheste bownd w\textsuperscript{th} Ierne & a nother lytle blacke cheste bownd w\textsuperscript{th} Ierne in my ladys closet

Itm a carvyd cheste. at the broshyngbord

w  Itm a close chayre & a nother lytle chayre

w  Itm a cobberd w\textsuperscript{th} a carpet

Itm iij loynd stoles one in my m\textsuperscript{rs} chamber

w  Itm a lyttle clothe payntyd w\textsuperscript{th} a woma[n] spynnyng

w  Itm iij cowischyns of frame worke.

Itm iij Andyerns

w  Itm a tostyng Ierne a w payre of tongs & a payre of snufflers

Note yt this gere ys m[ar]kyd w\textsuperscript{th} W.E.C. & M.

In the nursere now Removyd ex

mayds  In primis the chamber hanged w\textsuperscript{th} grene & iij paynted clothes the one of cha[m]bre  lukeras\textsuperscript{37} a nother of mary maudelyn the therd of saynt Iohn baptyste

w

w\textsuperscript{38}  Itm a bedsted

the maydens  Itm a mattres a fetherbed a bolster a pillow

cha[m]bre

Itm a whyt flege

\textsuperscript{37} Lucretia was also the subject of a picture in the ‘Chaple chamber’.

\textsuperscript{38} Inserted above the line.
Itm a payre of blanketts.

Itm a coverlet of verder

Itm a tester of grene saye wth curteyns of the same

Itm a chare

Itm a closse stole of the chylds

Itm a cradle

Itm a mantle A cradle clothe of brystowe redd

one in yf w Itm ij Andyerns.

Itm a fyre pann

Itm a w chafer of brasse

at the Itm a stole wth iiij fete in the chamber by the Iaks yf belongythe to the

brosshyngbord nurserere.

Itm a bord wth ij trestells

in the Red Itm a cheste lyke a deske

chambre

Itm iiij coywschyns

All this gere ys m[ar]kyd wth W.E.C. & T.

In the gentle womans chamber Removyd ex

w In primis the chamber hanged wth paynted clothes grene saye

w Itm ij payntyd clothes pynnyd on the saye

w in the G Itm a bedsted & a tester of payntyd clothe

chambre

Itm a fetherbed

Itm a bolster a pypow at london & a payre of blanketts
Itm a blanket of whyte flege & a coverlet of Arrys

w in the G Itm ij fyrre chests

chambre

Itm a nother cheste for spyse.

in the ote loft Itm a presse

Itm a-sense.

Itm a bersse in the w

All thys gere ys markyd wth W.E.C. & a llot hole..

In the maydys chamber Rem ex

at london In primis the chamber hangyd wth paynthyd clothes

in y maydes Itm a bedsted. /

chambre

Itm a mattres a bolster wth old megge

old megge Itm a payre of blanketts a whytte tester of lyne[n] clothe in the maydys

chambre

w Itm a old carpet vndernethe the mattres.

[in page 17]

in wakerells Itm a w schypp chest & a old long chest wth wrytyngs & o

chambre w wth a carpet of verder lyned wth canvas.

old megge Itm a coverlet of blew & REd whyte & grene & a nother of yelow

in the garrett Itm a trundle bed

old megge Itm a mattres / a bolster ij coverletts one of grene & blacke the other of
garrett yelow & blewe. a payre of blanketts

[39 Damage to the top corner of the page affects these lines.]
All thys gere ys markyd wth W.E. &. C & a Crosse

In the chamber over the kyttchyn *Removyd ex*

**ou[er] the** In primis a table wth ij trestles & ij formys & ij Andyerns

**mote**

Itm a nother payre of Andyerns wch be not occupuyed

Itm a presse wherein remaynyth a carpet for the parler of & Armis and w dyverse knotts & iij carpetts more ij of them of tapstree & y^6^ thyrdf of longe Rowes of dyu[er]se colors wroight after Arroys fashchyon, & iij pecs of Arrowes

**at london** Itm fyve lytle eurteyns cowischyns of grene saye clothe

**lacking** Itm a old tester orenye color & blacke sarsenett

**p** Itm one dosyn of coyschynns of tapstree wth powndgarnetts & flowers

[... ] Itm a nother presse wherein remaynythe a quylyte of taffata purple color

[... ] Imbroderyd wth my masters armys & frynges of gold & lynyd wth whyte fustyan ۴۰ And a nother quylyte of whyte & blacke velvet imbroderyd Rownd abowt wth fryers knotts harts hedds & conyes & In the mydyst imbroderyd my masters & my mystres armys & lynyd wth yelowe luke ۴۱

[... ] Itm iij coiwschyons of clothe of tyssewe & velvet. panyd & the backesyd **hall** purple velvet & a long coyschyn of purple satten

**w** Itm a tester of whyte satten wth flowers of gold & v curtaynes of whyte &

---

۴۰ This quilt may be identified with the quilt of 'purple taffata inbrodered wth golde' at Chatsworth in 1559 (Appendix Two) and the 'qwelt of purple taffaty Embrodred wyth gold' in the 'chaple chamber' there in the 1560s (Appendix Three, fol. 1').

۴۱ The white and black velvet quilt is similar in its base fabric to the one with the first bed of the Chatsworth 1559 inventory, although the later reference makes no mention of the elaborate decoration (Appendix Two). This quilt may also have contributed to the naming of the 'Cony bedd chambre' at Chatsworth in the 1560s (Appendix Three, fol. 3').
tawny sarsenet.

Itm a tester of grene & Red satten of brygis.

hall Itm a tester of clothe of tyssew & grene velvet imbroderyd

[page 18] Itm ij payre of blanketts

[la]ck[ing]* Itm a cobbord clothe of purple sylke & gold

at london* Itm a rownde sparver of grene saye & redd.

lacyng* Itm iiiij large pecs of tapstree w^ch grene flowers & redd & other colors w^ch hangythe in the kyttchyn chamber

w Itm a nother pece of tapstree y^ys old of Imagere

ij lackithe Itm iiij other cov[er]letts for s[er]uants whereof one ys yelow & redd spottyd whyte and blewe.

[...] w Itm a nother yelow & redd spottyd whyte & blake & a nother all redd & yelow

Itm a nother of blewe and grene.

mrs katheryn w Itm a crossebow in a lether case. w^j a wyndles & a case for arrowes /

w Itm a lute.

Itm a payre of virynols.

w Itm a frame to worke lase in. /

lacking Itm a old buttrey cofer

w Itm vj trusseyng cofers for a clothe sacke

at london It ij caseketts

w Itm ij gardavyansys /

w Itm ij Stylltoryes
chapel  Itm a grete table for a alter of the iij kyngs of collyn

one lacking  Itm iij flasketts for clothes to lyy in whe[n] thei be wayschte
          Itm iij lynne[n] wheles & one wollen whele.

one of the[m]  It ii grett one in the w standerd bownd w\textsuperscript{th} Iren & coveryd w\textsuperscript{th} letter

at london

w  Itm iij other old coffers in one of ye \textsuperscript{th} ly cou[er]letts & in the other schets.

In the grete gallary  ex

[... ] In primis the hedd of a cobberd & iij grete dorys carvyd for a chapell w\textsuperscript{th}
          dyverse bords of waynscote  store hows

\textsuperscript{y} baynhowes  Itm a stone of marble to grynde colors on & iij lyttle stons more to grynd
          colors on.

G chambre  Itm in the clockehowse a grene standyng bedstede w\textsuperscript{th} pyllers for the same.

\textit{Nowe in the gentylwomens chambre}

[page 19]  In the trussyng cofor bownd w\textsuperscript{th} I  that
          standithe in my mystres close[t]
          thes p[ar]celles folowyng.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{Rem iij}  fyrste x towells of dyaper

\textit{Rem ij}  Itm ix towells-table clothes dyap[er]

\textit{Rem one}  Itm cobberd clothes dyap[er] dyap[er]

\textit{Rem xxj}  Itm iij dosyn and viij napkyns of dyap[er] w\textsuperscript{ch} be olde
          Itm iii\textsuperscript{or} fyne napkyns for wafars of dyap[er]

\textsuperscript{42} This picture may be one of the ‘too pictures of our Ladie the Virgin Marie and the three Kinges’
in the ‘Iowe Chapple’ at Hardwick in 1601 (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 51).
\textsuperscript{43} Damage to the corner of the page has affected these lines.
Rem a dozen Itm ij dosen & fyve good napkyns damaske & one dosyn & ix napkyns of damaske y^1 be verye olde.

Rem a dozen & ix

Rem ij Itm ij cobberd clothes of damaske

Rem iiiij Itm vj table clothes of damaske

Rem iiiij Itm vj towells of damaske.

[...] by Alyce Itm a payre of camarycke schets to ley on my m^1^ bed in chyldbed styls to my lady

Itm vj camarycke pellowbers

Itm iiiij v payre of fyne holland schets & one odd schete for my mystres to ley in chyldbed in

Rem ij payr Itm xiiij payre of fyne holland pellowberrs.

It a wyndow cloth wroght w^th^ thred.

In the fyrre cheste y^1^ standythe in the gentlewomans chamb[er]

nexte to my masters chamber.

In primis a old schete in the bottem of the cheste.

Itm xxxvj^1^ payre of schets wherof xxv^1^ payre be fyne & the reste curse.

In a nothe fyrre cheste in y^e^ same chamb[er]

Itm xxx^ii^ payre of schets whereof xx^ii^ payre of them be fyne & x payre course.
In the coffer that stondyth nexte the cobberd in the brusching chamber

lackithe
In primis a old tabel clothe that lyythe in the bottome

remaining xiiij
Itm xxth table clothes whyche be newe whereof xiiij payre be for my

w' note one
masters owne table & & vj payre of them fyne & viij payre of them

was broken
somewhat curser an the other vj be for the halle.

lackythe
Itm more iiij or old table cloths fyne & ij curse

viijth
Itm xiiij towells for my masters owne table

remaining & ij

for the

chamber

Rem vij
Itm xv coberd clothes

of napkins vii
Itm viij dosyn of playne napkyns wth be new whereof iiij or payre be fyne.

dosen, and ix

napkins

In a nother lyttle coffer

w’in my mystres closet

lackyng
Itm certeyn broken Copis

Itm iiij pecys of blew sylke to make a bedd of

nothyng
Itm a nother cofer of Cyprys wth in the same closet wherin remaynythe old
tableclothes & old schets & other smale gere.

at london
It more more in my mystres closet a payre of playng tables.
In the closet at the gentlewoman's b

haulfe a dosyn In primis di a dosyn of square platters.
remayning

one lacking Itm one dosyn of square dysches for fruts
haulfe lacking Itm di a dosyn of suckytt dysches square.
i j at london It halfe a dosyn of square sawsers for caraways & bysketts.
v j at london Itm a dosyn of square poryngerrs
i j-at-london Itm viij Rownde plats to laye vnderneth pastys  ij lackyng
I tm ij dosyn lakyng one of Rownd trenchers sylu[er] faschyon
one dosen Itm ij dosyn of square trenchers of pewter.
changed the
other at
london

Itm one dosyn & a halfe of rownd trenchers
the-garnishe Itm one garnysche of vessell of the old faschyon & a charger
changed-at
london

lacking

Itm a nother garnysche of the sylver faschyon & a charger
lacking

Itm a garnysche of new vessell y came frome hyldershm
lacking

Itm a nother garnysche of narrowe brymmed vessell w th a charger /
lacking

It a old garnesche of pewter vessell w a charg[er].

---

44 Damage has caused the loss of the last word on this line.
at londone

Itm a garnysche of pewter vessell powernd⁴⁵ & a charger unp Pownd

lacking

on bason at

Itm v basyns & v ewers of syluer faschyon

londo[n] and

an ewere

Itm a pewter f dysche wth iij feate & one old dysche for the same to stand in.

ij at londone

Itm vj fayre basyns for possetts iij byg & iij of the myddle sorte and one lytle one

at londone

Itm a grete basyn to caste lely in changyd for new vessell

lacking*

Itm iij basyns to wassche hands In two bygger and one lyttle /

Itm a pewter bowle for a closse cheyre

one at londone

Itm iij bowlis of pewter

the other

the other

lacking*

Itm iij hallywater stocks

Itm vij pewter candlestycks

Itm a pewter ladle

the other

Itm iij square salts of pewter. wherof one at londone

lacking

Itm a laver wth iij cocks

at londone*

Itm a coffyn of pewter wth cover to bake a pye in

---

⁴⁵ Inserted above the line in the same hand.
at london
Itm v pottell potts sylver faschyon for wyne of pewter

j at london
Itm v quarte potts sylver faschyon for wyne of pewter

j at london
Itm iiiij pynt potts sylver faschyon for wyne of pewter

at london*
Itm iiiij flaggans for wyne ij new & one olde.
Itm ij quarte potts of the taverne faschyon

the pynte
Itm a pynte & a halfe pynte of the same faschyon.

lackithe*
on lackith y
Itm xiiij chamber potts

other at
london*

one at london*
Itm vij p[er]fume panns w th the potts
Itm ij panns to warme bedds w th all w herof one ys broken

ii lackythe*
Itm vj chafyn dysches

Itm ij a skymmers one at london
Itm ij gylte copper candlestycks w th y e fete to sett on the a Aulter

ij at london
Itm v other alter candlestycks ij byger & iiij lesse

iiii
Itm xj candlestycks of the new faschyon

remanynge*

---

46 The corner of the page is missing so a specific number of items at London may be lost.
Itm vj newe candlestyks & one lyttle to wryte by.

lackithe vii*

Itm ij gret candlestycks at london & vj other candlestyckes

one ij lacking

Itm ix latten potts to sett herbs In

and the ii one

at london*

iiij basons

Itm x latten basyns.

lacking & iiij

at london

ij-plates-[

Itm iij latyn plates

platts at

london

lacking.

Itm a dosyn of rownd trenchers in a box for frute

Itm ij latten hedds for Andyernes at london

Itm ij lytle chaferrs of latten wth owt covers one at lodon yf other lackyng

Itm a fayre locke of the new faschyon.

Itm a sup[er]altare. /

Itm a serse. /

Itm ij walkyng stafs for mi m'

Itm my masters bow /

Itm a schefe of arrowes. /

Mystres Cassebeys chamb[er] ex

In the ote loftie In primis a standyng bedstede where geres lyythe\(^47\) & a tester of blewe &

red\(^48\)

---

\(^{47}\) The words ‘where geres lyythe’ are inserted above the line but in the same hand.
Itm a mattres.

Itm a fetherbed w ij bolstarrs w

w a payer of blanketts. & a old cov[er]lett of tapstre lynyd wth canvas note hit
was chang[ ]

there was non Itm a old redd mantle. /

Itm ij chayrs one in Sr Wyllm chambr the other in the Norce[ ]

w Itm the chamber hangyd wth payted clothes one pane grene & the other
Redd

w Itm iiij smale payted pyctors pynned on now ij

broken w Itm iiij cobbyerns /

Itm a bord to laye gere on & a schelfe.

All this gere ys marked wth W.E.C. &

The first chamber butterey.

In primis one quarte pote of pewter.

Itm iiij or Iacks new wth covers & ij old wth owt covers

Itm tenn candlestycks iiij bell fashyon & vj other old candlestycks.

Itm ij pewter salts & one old salte.

Itm a pewter tonnell

Itm stone crusys. /50

Itm a lyttle bole of pewter. pownecyd

Itm a standyng table wth ij formes.

Itm a bynn.

48 The end of the line is lost.
49 The two letters ‘w’ here are inserted above the line.
50 The number has been omitted.
Itm a old cobbord
Itm a old hogshed to chypp bred in
Itm iij formes or sets for bere.
Itm iij hogsheds
Itm iij dosyn of square trenchers of wood
Itm iij glassys wth covers /
Itm xxvii kyldekynns & iij barrells
Itm a coffer wth locke & key to lay in table clothes.

In the wyne seller
Itm iij hogshedds wth claret wyne the one full a other halfe full & more y\textsuperscript{e} third almost emptye.
Itm a butte wth sacke almoste emptie.
Itm a huche for candles

[page 24] In the kyttchyn
In the kyttchin fyrste xj brasse potts grette & smale whereof one ys lerne
Itm ix brasse panns ij of them grette to sethe brawne in & there of vj gallanns a pece & iij smale & one olde.
Itm iij kettles one bygger & one lesser
Itm iij posenets
Itm one colynder /
Itm iij brasse chafars the one to f sethe beffe in & y\textsuperscript{e} other to hete water.
Itm on lattyn ladle
Itm one lattyn skymmer.
Itm x spytts of Iren fyve of them bygg & the other lesse
Itm iiij trevytts.
Itm vj knyfs /
Itm iiij fryying panns
Itm ij drypyng panns /
Itm ij payre of Iren Racks.
Itm in the chimneis iiij longe barrs of Iren wth iiij pothangars
Itm ij grydyerns one bygg & one lesse /
It iij payre of pothangers
Itm a payre of musterd quernis /
Itm a old payre of musterd querns
Itm one stone morter w th a pestle /
Itm a musterd pott of pewter
Itm ij potts of peweter for vergis & venyger
Itm ij trayse.
Itm one fleschehoke.
Itm one brasse morter & one of Ierne wth pestle of Ierne
Itm ij chafyng dysches
Itte a gresse pann of latten
Itm a sesterne of leade
Itm a bredgrate /
Itm a fyre forke.
Itm one pann to bake tarts in /
Itm xiiij porryngers w th ij ers a pece

Changyd
Itm vij disches. & xij platters & tenn old sawsers.
Jim vj round porryngers new/
It a clevyng axe to cutt beffe
Itm a kynnell to wasche disches in/
Itm a tubb to wat[er] fysche In
Itm in the kytchyn yerd one hogshed for fethers
Itm one barrell for asches / & one for lyy /
It iiij buckyng tobbs
Itm ij wasching stoles

[page 25] The larder  ex

In primis iiij standyng tables
Itm a sarse made w^th here
Itm ij hogsheds w^th vergis & one barrell w^th vergs
Itm ij bryne tubbs /
Itm a troighe to salte meat in
Itm a tallow tubbe.
Itm a laver of leade & one fyrken
Itm iiij lytle vessells w^th venyger
Itm iiij sowsynge tubbs one bygger & one lesser.  one broken

In the pastre  ex

In primis iiij bords to worke on
Itm a tarte pyle of waynscotte & iiij other pyle iiij of them new & y^e forthe old.
Itm a lyttle pypkyn for yeste /
Itm xij sacks for corne
Itm a emptye hogshed wth a table on yt.

In the salte howse  ex

\textit{iii}ij\textsuperscript{or} emptye
In primis v hogshedds wth bay salte \textit{iii}ij\textsuperscript{or} of the[m] full & y\textsuperscript{c} y\textsuperscript{th} halfe full
Itm a cofere full of grete p[er]chers

\textit{Spent}
Itm ij grete runelets & a kelderlyn wth smale candles

\textit{Spent Save}
Itm ij kylderkyynns & a halfe & halfe a hogshedde of whyte salte

\textit{one}
It a cofer for candles wth iij partytions whereof one p[ar]tytion ys full of
grete candles /
Itm \textit{iii}ij\textsuperscript{or} baskets lynyd wth lether.
Itm ij bygg bells for a chaple.

In the bewltyng howse  ex

In primis a bultyng huche /
Itm a knedyng troighe w\textsuperscript{t} a cou[er]
Itm a cheste to put bred in & p[ar]tysons for otemele
Itm a brann tubbe/
Itm a bultyng hogshed
Itm ij schel[fs] / & a planke to stand on
Itm ij mowlds to make candles in / one of leade the other of wood
It ij Ravells to bowlte wth one curser & one fyner.
ex In the fyrste chamber in the gallarye where Sr Clere lyythe

In primis a bedstede a mattres / a fetherbed / a bolster

Itm a payre of blanketts of wollen ij cou[er]lets the one yelow & redd the other whyte wroight w' blacke at bothe ends.

It a presse to ley there gere on

ex In the second chamber where cruyfe lyythe

In primis a bedsted / a mattres / a fetherbedd / a bolster

Itm a payre of russett blanketts

Itm ij coverletts w'h grene flowers lyny'd one of them lyny'd w'h canvas & y' other onlynyd

Itm a tester of redd bokeram & grene

It the chamber hangyd abowte w'h red saye

Itm a presse

ex In the ii'd chamb[er] where S[er] Willm & ye baylye lyythe

In primis a bedstede / a fetherbed / a bolster ij blanketts

Itm ij coverletts one whyte w'h blacke & red fashione spotts dyap[er] fashion the other grene & redd A lytle quylt

Itm a tester of payntyd clothe w'h ij other clothes payntyd w'ch hange a pon the wall.

It a presse.

51 This could be 'ou[er]'.

356
In the plowmen's chamber.

In primis ij bedsted

one in yᵉ ote

It a pon the one ij mattressys tow bostars & ij cou[er]letts one dyap[er]

loft

fashion & yᵉ other blew & yelow

one in yᵉ ote

Itm apon the other bed ij old matressis a old bolster a blankett & a old

loft

coverlet.

The fyfte chamb[er]

there brystows me[n] do lyy -/ & have these p[ar]cells folowyng

In primis a bedstede / a mattres a fetherbed / a bolsters of fethe

Itm a payre of blanketts /

Itm ij cou[er]letts wᵒ Imagere / a mattres.

[page 27]

The chamb[er] ou[er] yᵉ gate where the warren[er]s dolyy. ex

In primis a bedsted / a fether bed / a bolster / a paire of blanketts

Itm ij cov[er]letts the on of Imagere vnlynyd the other whyte dyap[er]

fashion.

Itm a payntyd clothe of the pictor of Chryste

a nother at the bedds hedd of blew canvas

In the horsekep[er]s chamb[er] ex

In primis a mattresse / a bedstede / a bolstar / ij blanketts

Itm a cou[er]lett grene & redd. an old tester

52 The end of this word is lost in the binding of the book.
In the armarye ex

the warren[er]  In primis v bowes
hath one &

brake an other

Itm vj schefs of arrowes w^{th} redd lether casys
Itm xij sallets
Itm xij payre of splents
Itm xij payre of harnes iiij^{or} for fotemen & viij for horsemens
Itm xiiij gorgetts & a naperne of mayle
Itm iiij^{or} bylls.

Itm vij new lacks. & ij olde lacks

[page 28] In the dayhowse ex

fyrst a lytle table w^{th} ij trestles
Itm ij formes /
Itm a schelfe. /

Itm a cope
Itm iiiij forms more /
Itm a trowighe to stamp crabbs In.
Itm a frame w^{th} ij bords nayled to the loysts afore the chimney to lay chese on
Itm a chese presse
Itm a kemnell w^{th} tow eris to salte chese yn /

Itm ij paylys a lyttle & a grete
Itm a trene platter
Itm a quayle penn
Itm a Ioyns bord to worke *all this lacing*
Itm a forme to drawe bord on
Itm a stole w¹⁰ iij or fete. i j trene dysches
Itm x erthen mylke panns grete & smale iij erthen potts *ij lefte*
Itm a butter charme w¹⁰ a cover & the staff
Itm vj chesefats grete & smale & i j sewters belongyng to the chesefats.
Itm xj payntyd trenchers /
Itm iij old straynyng dysches to strayne mylke yn *ij lefte*
Itm a lytle ladder /
Itm a frame w¹⁰ iij bords to lay on chesys
Itm i j settles to sett on mylke panns /
Itm i j schelfs
Itm a marke for the chesys w¹⁰ W. & C.
Itm vj stom[er]s to breke crabbs
Itm a baskett covering to kepe henns" mete in. *all to terme*
Itm a old clothe of lynen to hange over the mylke
Itm mylke dysches²⁴
Itm one butter dysche and a staffe
Itm i j clensyng dysches for mylke.

In a lytle closett w¹⁰ in the chamber ou[er] y⁵ hall
a In primis vij potts of brasse

---
²³ The word ‘henns’ is inserted above the line in the same hand.
²⁴ No quantity is given.
Itm one grete kettle
Itm iiij brasse panns whereof iiij be bygg & one lyttle.
Itm a posenete /
Itm a brode chafar
Itm a colynder /
Itm iiij fryyng panns
Itm ij stone morters a bygger & a lesser.
Itm ij spyce morters a bygger & a lesser wth ij pestles.
Itm a flesche hoke.
Itm a drypyng pann of Iren.
It ij crokyd Irens to take a potte frome the fyre wthall
Itm iiiij Andyernes. /
Itm v spytts whereof iiij be flatt & ij Rownd.
Itm iiij caseme[n]ts of Iren to sett glasse in
Itm ij curtyn rodds of Iren for a Alter.
Itm iiij chesefatts & one seweter to cover y^e cheze
It one lyttle posenete.
It there remaynythe in a old ffe frayle old Iren & other old gere. /
Itm ij stols to worke in
Itm lytle baskettts.

In the brewyng howse  ex
In primis a leade wth a trowighe that bryngyth in the wat[er]
Itm a nother trowigh of waynscote wth convayyth the worte owt of the leade
Itm a boket bownd wth Iren & a chayne of a yerd long to yt to take vp water for the leade

Itm a meschyng fate & a trowighe vnder yt & iiij meschyng pylls & ij baskets to sett yf staffe in & a schovell to take vp graynys.

Itm a fate wherein worte dothe worke

Itm a nother lesser fate wherein thei put the smale worte

Itm a bygg worte keler wth standyth ou[er] the fate

Itm a skopet to take worte owte of the leade

Itm a tunnell. /

Itm vij yeste tobbs

Itm iiij settles for bere /

Itm a cover to the leade

Itm a cole Rake /

Itm a tonnyng tobb

ex Itm there ys a nage of free stone redy wroighte ly for a condyte lyyng a brode

In the ote chamber

there remaynythe xxth bunches of new lathes

It a lode of waynscott palys carvyd w many pecs of waynscott

In the Store howse

Itm vj nowks / wth v chayns of Iren to draw wth

Itm iiij payre of toggs of Iren
Itm xj hoks of Iren /

Itm iij Axes

Itm ij bylls

Itm iij pycheforks /

Itm iij wyrmles /

Itm one perser

Itm a payre of pynsers /

Itm a hammer

Itm a boket bownd abowte wth Iren /

Itm iiij mattocks /

Itm iij bunches of lathes

Itm ij schovles /

Itm a spade.

Itm iiij horsecolers. / 

Itm iij horse colers of straw

Itm ij carte keps / 

Itm a new lanterne

Itm iiij dongcarts / 

Itm a wayne & a carte schodd

In the Stable.

In primis for my master ij saddles wth all things to them belongyng

Itm for my mysers ij saddles 

Itm ij olde syde saddles / 

Itm iiij bolster saddles
Itm one buffe saddle /
Itm one padd saddle /
Im a sompter saddle.

w^th^th all things belongyng to thes saddles
Itm ij clothesacks & iij malys /
Itm ij male pellyonns
Itm vj clothes for horses
Itm vj bridles & one snafle /
Itm a brake
Itm iij brydles for my mystres /
Itm a fotestole.

Itm vj collers ./
Itm iiiij hemppyn halterrs
Itm one packe saddle w^th^th a wantye & a gerthe
Itm ij corryyn combs /
Itm a mane combe.
Itm a here to robb the horsys w^th^th
Itm vij payre of pastereolls
Itm iij pyllyons & iij pyllyone ed clothes
Itm iij clothes for the syde saddle
Itm a foteclothe for my master ./
Itm a brusche
Itm a schovell & a colerake
Itm a lettere clooke bagge
Itm a heddstall & a paterell geltyd.
It a plate ./ a hamm[er] /  
Item a skonse /  
Itm ij bynns w^{th} ij paddlocks.

Suche stuffe as ys at london^{55}

In my masters chamber.

In primis the chamber hangyd w^{th} payntyd clothes  
Itm a bedsted /  
Itm a mattres /  
Itm ij fetherbedds.  
Itm ij bolsters /  

Note yf one  
Itm ij payre of blanketts /  
Payre of yf  
Blanketts be  

Lynsey wolsey  
Itm ij fleggs  
Itm iiiij pillowes /  
Itm one cownterpoynyte ./  
Itm on long cowischyn the one syde ys red satten chekerd & the other syde ys grene sylke & whytt knotts.  
Itm a tester of blew sylke & gold w^{th} v curteynys of sylke  
Itm iiij curteynys of saye for the windowes

^{55} Cavendish's London house was in Aldersgate, not Newgate Street as Durant has suggested (Durant, Bess of Hardwick, p. 16).
Itm ij cobberds.

Itm iiij chayres ij of them sylke the other two lether

Itm iiij stolys carvyd /

Itm ij coywschyns

Itm a long frame & the table on yt

Itm a grene carpyt for the same bord.

Itm a nother lyttle table carvyd\(^{56}\) w\(^{t}\) a cobberd e in yt

Itm ij cofers bownd w\(^{th}\) Iren & coveryd w\(^{th}\) lether.

Itm ij Andyerns

Itm a fyre pann /

Itm a payre of tongs.

Itm a basket for coles .

Itm a close chayre

In the maydens chamb[er]

In the maydens fyrst a bedsted

Itm a tester of blewe sylke & tawney

Itm a mattres /

Itm a fetherbed /

Itm a bolster /

Itm ij payre of blanketts

Itm a coverlet lynyd w\(^{th}\) canvas

Itm iiij candlestyks

Itm a basyn to wasche hands in

\(^{56}\) The word ‘carvyd’ is inserted above the line in the same hand.
Itm ij chamber potts /
Itm a tostyng forke
Itm a dosyn of beddstafs.

Suche stuffe as ys at hyldershm

In the hall
In primis one table w↑th ij standyng trestells
Itm a cobberd / ij tables standyng apon the benche /
Itm one forme / & iij payntyd clothes hangyng in y↑e hall & one of them hangyng before the chimney.

In the chimney parler
In primis one cobberd /
Itm a schorte table /
Itm one Joyned forme / iiii Joyned Stols / one playne forme
Itm a playne table bord for the Scryptory
Itm one cheste w↑th iij or fete .
Itm one Andyerne.
Itm a payre of tongs /
Itm one cole rake /
It one fyre pann
Itm ij chayres of wood coveryd w↑th skarelett imbroderyd w↑th letters one for my m↑f & a other for my mystres.

57 Hildersham in Cambridgeshire.
In my masters chamber

In primis a bedsted standyng.

Itm a trundle bedd

Itm a turnyd chayre of wood / & one bord wth ij trestles

Itm a long carvyd settle /

Itm ij lytle stoles /

Itm a a cofer of wood /

Itm a nother playne settle

Itm a cofer bownd wth Iren cou[er]yd wth blacke letter

Itm one coiwschyn of whyte fustyan imbroderyd wth a rose

In the chamb[er] ou[er] my masters chamb[er]

callyd the gentlewomans chamb[er]

In primis a cobberd & a payre of new trestles

Itm a bord for a presse /

Itm a close chayre /

Itm a corse brusche

Itm a fyne brusche.

[page 42]

In primis ij pewter potts for wyne58

Itm ij brasse potts /

It iiiijt brasse potts kettles I whereof the on ys for to brew wthall.

Itm a gredyerne /

---

58 As the entry starts, ‘In primis’, it is presumably a new room and yet the inventory clerk has not named it.
Itm ij cobyerns /
Itm one trevet
Itm one payre of potthoks /
Itm one potthoke
Itm one Ierne pele /
Itm one Ierne forke /
Itm a drepyng pann of Ierne /
Itm ij chopyng knyfs
Itm ij black lacks of lether.
Itm one collynder of latten
Itm a fryyng pann
Itm one drypyng pann /
Itn ij trayse
Itm one bredd grate /
Itm one brasse pann for assches
Itm one payre of musterd querns
Itm ij brode panns /
Itm vj bere barrells
Itm one lytle runlett.

In the closet

In primis a su[er]altare
Itm the chamber hangyd wth payntyd clothes
Itm one Image of the trynyte / & ij other
It a settle
Itm a fyre pann /
It one payre of tongs
Itm / Itm one serse /
It vj crusys whereof one is cou[er]yd w\textsuperscript{th} pewter /
Itm iij borrall dysches of glasse for frut
Itm iij sawsers of the same mettell
It one gylte sawser of ye\textsuperscript{e} same mettle
It ij salts of ye\textsuperscript{e} same one of the[m] gylte /
Itm iij eweres of glasse & one blew / iij standyng bere glasses / ij bols for wyne of glasse ij brasse potts one bygg then the other / ij pozenets of brasse / ij payre of pottehoks / one grete cha[er] /
Itm one bakyng pann /
Itm a trevet / one gret kettle / one brasse morter w\textsuperscript{th} pestle /
Itm a stone morter w\textsuperscript{th} pestle . / a stone mort[er] w\textsuperscript{e} pestle /
It a flesche hoke / a drypyng pann of pla\textsuperscript{59}
iij chopynge knyfs / one grete baskett for bred
Itm one payre of Irysche tables /
It one trene traye
Itm one payre of potthangyngs.

[page 43]  In m\textsuperscript{f} George Cavendysche chamber\textsuperscript{60}

In primis the cha[m]ber hangyd w\textsuperscript{th} redd clothe
Itm a bedstede /

\textsuperscript{59} The end of this word is lost in the binding.
\textsuperscript{60} George Cavendish, William’s elder brother, gentleman-usher to Cardinal Wolsey and later his biographer. This is probably a room kept for his use rather than his permanent residence as he is believed to have retired to his own house in Suffolk after his master’s fall.
Itm the tester of payntyd clothes wth the pyctor Chryste.

It ij loyned stols / one cheyre.

In Iohn Tomsons chambre

fyrst one bedsted /

Itm a mattres / a fetherbed / one payre of tester of blew wth curteyns of blew sarsenet. / ij bolsterrs /

The tow nexte chambers.

fyrste one mattres - one bolster in ethe chamber a bedsted

In the maydens chamber

first one bedstede one mattres / one bolster / ij cou[er]lets - wyche ys blew & grene.

Margarettys Cotesworts chamber.

fyrst one bedsted / one mattres. / one bolster /

The plowemenns chamber

fyrst ij bedds steds ij matresses / iiij bolsterrs v olde cou[er]letts.

It there remanythe one new cou[er]lett wth yelow crowns & the reste ys

Itm [-] one empty bolster of canvas

It one Emptye pyllow of canvas

370
In the buttere

fyrst ij settells iiiij schelves

Itm one cheste one hang schelfe

In the carvyd settle in my mystres chamber

fyrste remayntyhe in the settle one halfe of the settle certynn stuffe boks.

Itm in the other halfe remayntyh certeyn stuffe belonging to the chaple

fyrst one Alter clothe panyd w\textsuperscript{1} redd & grene & lynyd w\textsuperscript{th} canvas

Itm a other Alter clothe panyd w\textsuperscript{th} grene & redd w\textsuperscript{th} garters fringlyd redd yelow & grene

Itm a corporas case of clothe of tyssewe & velvet on the one syde & white dama on y\textsuperscript{e} other syde

Itm a table imbroderyd w\textsuperscript{th} Imagis of gold

Itm a vestment of orynge sarasen / the albe w\textsuperscript{l} the stole /

Itm ij whyte curtynns w\textsuperscript{th} whyte sylke frenge /

Itm one masse boke

Itm one byble / ij primers .
Appendix Two

Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers H/143/2, Inventory of Chatsworth and deed of entail, 1553 (1559)

Inscription on storage envelope

‘Inventory of the goods of Sir William Cavendish and a deed to continue the same in the family. 1553’

Description

Hardwick Drawers H/143/2 consists of two versions of the inventory and deed, one apparently a fair copy and one a rougher version. The fair copy has been transcribed here. Each version consists of two documents on vellum, the inventory and the deed, which are folded into each other at the bottom and linked by a tag of folded vellum which retains a blob of wax but no seal imprint. The signature ‘Elizabeth Cavendish’ is written across the vellum tag and the upturned fold of the inventory. The fair copy of the inventory measures 46.5 cm (width) x 53.8 cm + 3.5 cm turned up (length); the deed is 48.3 cm (width) x 24.7 cm + 3 cm turned up (length). The two copies of the documents do not vary in contents although they do vary a little in spelling. These variations have not been noted below.

On the exterior of the fair copy in a later hand: ‘19th Aug 10th Eliz: 1553 – Inventory of the Goods of Sir Wm. Cavendish, with a Deed Annexed for continuing the same in the family Executed by the Countess.’

On the exterior of the other copy, in one later hand: ‘19th Augusti 1st Eliz: our par te of a Quinte par te deed & Inventory of Intayle of plate howshold
stiffe & Cattell, made [to?] Sr Robt: Catlyn & al by Eliz Countesse of Shrewsburye:

In another later hand on this copy: ‘1553 Inventory of the Goods of Sir William Cavendish’.

Date

At some point subsequent to their writing the documents have been externally dated 1553 and this has been allowed to continue in the documentation of the collection and has been accepted by authors such as Santina Levey. However, it is unclear where this date has come from. The inventory itself is undated and bears no internal evidence which might lead to the suggested date. The deed, which gives a purpose to the inventory, is clearly dated ‘the xxix\textsuperscript{th} day of August in the fyrste yere of the raygn of O\' Souerygn ladye Elizabeth’. This date of 1559 is also backed up by internal evidence that Bess is the widow of William Cavendish and expects shortly to marry William St. Loe, as well as the evidence of the named office holders, such as Gilbert Gerrard, who became Attorney-General in that year. Whilst it is possible that an earlier inventory was attached to the deed in 1559, it seems unlikely that a listing of the contents of an earlier, barely started Chatsworth or, indeed, of the old house which preceded the Cavendish house, would still be appropriate for the purposes outlined in the deed after six more years of building and furnishing the great mansion. It is therefore firmly suggested here that the whole document should be considered to date from

\footnote{Levey, \textit{An Elizabethan Inheritance}, p. 10.}
\footnote{Information about individuals mentioned in the text may be found in \textit{Oxford Dictionary of National Biography}, ed. by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).}
1559 and that the date 1553, which only appears in a later hand on the exterior of the documents, is a simple error.

Analysis

Like the 1601 inventory, this inventory has a specific purpose which is made clear in the attached deed. Bess asserts her right to enjoy the listed items during her lifetime, after which they will descend to her children and their heirs in a clearly delineated order, with alternative arrangements for the disposal of the property in the event of all her children dying without issue. The inventory therefore only lists items which have some value and several basic, domestic items, such as household cloths, travelling covers for coffers and ordinary non-silver pots and cutlery are not included. More peculiar is the absence of any plain furniture, with the single exception of ‘foure pair of clobberds’. Obviously, Chatsworth had a full supply of tables, forms, stools and other necessary furniture and it can only be assumed that these were considered to be without value, either in purely monetary terms or because they were disposable items which the householder might expect to replace on a regular basis. If so, it is reasonable to wonder what made the cupboards special. There can be no suggestion that the inventory has not survived in its entirety since it so clearly has a beginning, middle and end on the same sheet of vellum, and because the two versions of the documents have the same contents.

It is notable in the description of beds that the word ‘bed’ is taken to mean the ensemble of bed hangings and coverings and that the bedstead is a completely separate item, associated with the ‘bed’ but not included in the term. Some of these bedsteads are described as ‘agreeable’ to the hangings and some others are
described as having a colour, one, for example, being black and white, another blue, another green, one red and another the same colour as its bed hangings. It is unclear whether this indicates that the bedsteads are painted or wrapped in fabric. It is also notable that the description of most of the beds ends with two chairs, a stool and a long cushion. This grouping is more definite here than in any of Bess’s other inventories and gives the strongest suggestion that the textile furnishings of a good bedroom should be *en suite*, although it is not necessary for the bed hangings to be of one fabric or colour.

An attempt has been made to identify items which also appear in the 1601 inventories of Chatsworth and the Hardwick Halls, the partial inventory of Chatsworth in the c.1560s, which appears as Appendix Three, and the Northaw inventory of the 1540s, which appears as Appendix One.³

**Transcription notes**

The long ‘s’ has been shortened throughout. The clear distinction between ‘u’ and ‘v’ has been kept. Where a ‘p’ with a line through the stem has been used in the document, this has been expanded and the added letters placed in square brackets. Line endings have not been followed but the start of each new entry in the inventory has. The inventory is written in two columns and although that layout has not been followed here, the break between columns has been noted. Apparent corrections in the text have been noted by dotted underlining. There is a mark like a slash [ / ] at the end of most lines of the inventory, which appears to have been added contemporaneously but after the writing of the main body of text. Within inventory entries these slashes function as commas. They have been

³ *Of Household Stuff*: Hardwick Drawers, H/143/6; ‘Northaw Inventory’.
transcribed as ‘/’. Bold type has been used in the deed where the original documents make use of larger and heavier script.
[Inventory]

In primis one Bason and Ewer silver duble gilte conteyninge

Item one posset Bason silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Itm one porrynger silver w\textsuperscript{th} two eares p[ar]cell gilte /

Item two greate stadinge potts silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item one grete standinge cupp with a cover sylver and gilte /

Item three greate bolls w\textsuperscript{th} one cou\textsuperscript{5} silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item fyve bere Juggs of silver w\textsuperscript{th} fyve cous wrought of sondrey fassions gilte /

Item three playne Juggs of silver w\textsuperscript{th} two cous gilte. /

Item one litle cupp silver w\textsuperscript{th} cou gilt /

Item three saltes with two cous sylver and gilt /

Item one litle trencher salte silver w\textsuperscript{th} cou gilt /

Item foure litle lowe salts silver /

Item one white Jugge with a cou fastened to it silver /

Item one lesser Jugge silver w\textsuperscript{th} a cou p[ar]cell gilte /

Item a peper boxe of silver gilte /

Item a castinge botell of silver gilte /

Item two paier of Snoffers silvers /

Item three dossen spones silver w\textsuperscript{th} heddes gilte /

Item one dossen spones called slyppes silver /

Item five stone Jugges trymed and garnissched w\textsuperscript{th} silver. /\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{4} No figure representing weight in ounces, which should reasonably follow, is given in either copy of the inventory.

\textsuperscript{5} `Cover' and similarly thereafter.

\textsuperscript{6} In general it is not possible to identify plate in this inventory with plate in the 1601 inventory because of the lack of detail in the descriptions here. However, these jugs may be amongst the
Item one Tosting forke trymed w\textsuperscript{th} silver gilte /\footnote{Eight stone Juges trymmed with silver and guilt not wayed’ at the end of the 1601 list of plate (Of Household Stuff, p. 61).}

Item seaven chased gobletts one cover sylver

Item fyve playne gobletts w\textsuperscript{th} out cove’s silver /

Item one boll w\textsuperscript{th} a cover of silver gilte /

Item one boule w\textsuperscript{th} a cover of silver gilte /

Item one posnet w\textsuperscript{th} three fete a cover & ladell to the same all silver /

Item a chafinge dishe fynely wrought w\textsuperscript{th} a cover silver. /

Item one greate salte w\textsuperscript{th} a cover of silver gilte /

Item twelve sawcers silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item syx platters silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item xxiiij\textsuperscript{ii} disshes silver p[ar]cell gilte. /

Item xxiiij\textsuperscript{ii} plate for trenchers silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item two dossen spones silver with knobes gilte. /

Item Twelve Candelstykkes silver /

Item one Leepott sylver.

Item one pott to warme drinke in silver /

\[
\text{Thies p[ar]celles above written } \begin{array}{ll} \text{m} & \text{m} \text{ C xxiiij\textsuperscript{ii} ounces} \end{array}\]
\[
\text{conteyne in waight } \begin{array}{ll} \text{m} & \text{m} \text{ C xxiiij\textsuperscript{ii} ounces} \end{array}\]

Hangings of Clothes of arras xlviij peces / whereof are w\textsuperscript{th} sylke sixtene peces /

the others of Courser sortes / .

\footnote{This may be ‘a tosting forke of wood trymmed with silver’ in the 1601 inventory (Of Household Stuff, p. 61). The toasting fork follows the stone jugs in 1601 as it does here, which might help to influence the identification.}

\footnote{As a simple measure of Bess’s increased status, it may be noted that whereas the total weight of her plate in 1559 was given as 2124 ounces, by 1601 it had risen four-fold to 8366 and an eighth ounces, plus five groups of unweighed items.}
Beddes

Item one bedde blacke and white velvet, the valans doble / one quilte of the same / fyve Curtens to the same blacke and white damaske / one bedsted for the same black and white / two chayres / one little stole / and one longe Cusshyon of the same. /

Item one Bedde blewe silke single valans with birdes and golde / one quilte of the same / one Bedsted to the same blewe. /

Item one bedd wth single valans of grene satten / one quilte to it of grene sarsenet / one bedsted of grene to the same.

Item one bedde of clothe of silver and clothe of golde purple wth double valans one quilte to the same of purple taffata inbrodered wth golde / fyve curtens of purple taffata / one very faire bedsted to the same and of the same colo as the bedde / two chayres / one little stole and one longe cusshyon of the same. /

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9 The quilt of black and white velvet is reminiscent of one at Northaw, although that was significantly more elaborately decorated: a ‘quylte of whyte & blacke velvet imbroderyd Rownd abowt wth fryers knotts harts heddys & conyes & In the mydeyst imbroderyd my masters & my mystres armys & lynyd wth yelowe luke’ (Appendix One, p. 17 – note that pagination refers to the internal page numbering of the document).

10 This whole bed cannot be identified in the 1601 inventory but the curtains could be identified with the ‘Fyve Curtins of black and white damask layde about with golde lace and golde frenges’ in the ‘Pearle bed chamber’ in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 44). Such an identification would make considerable assumptions about the durability of curtains. They are more likely to be identified with the ‘v curtens off blak & whyt damaske’ in ‘the noble mans bedd chamber’ in the Chatsworth inventory of the c. 1560s (Appendix Three, fol. 1).

11 This bed is not identifiable in the 1601 inventory but is probably the ‘bedd of blew sylke & byrds off gold [with] one qwelte of the same’ to be found in ‘y5 noble mans [ ... ] chamber’ in the 1560s Chatsworth inventory (Appendix Three, fol. 1†).

12 Identified with ‘one bedd off grene breges saten [with] one qwelt of grene saersnet in the chamber next the noble mans [ ... ] Chamber’ in the 1560s Chatsworth inventory (Appendix Three, fol. 1†). The bedsted itself may be identified with ‘a bedsted paynted grene ‘in the fynishers Chamber’ in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 23).

13 This quilt may be identified with one at Northaw: ‘a quylte of taffata purple color Imbroderyd wth my masters armys & frynes of gold & lynyd wth whyte fustyan’ (Appendix One, p. 17).

14 Although by no means identical, this bed could have formed part of the furnishings in the ‘bed Chamber to Forrest great Chamber’ at Hardwick Old Hall in 1601: ‘a tester bedeshead and double vallans of Cloth of golde and purple sattin with golde and purple silk frenges, and the bedes head with armes in it, a Counterpoint of purple taffetie imbrodered rownde about with letters and armes in the myydest and frenged with golde frenges, Fyve Curtins of purple and yellowe taffetie’ (Of Household Stuff, p. 35). However, the identification with the bed in ‘y5 chaple chamber’ at Chatsworth in the 1560s is much more certain: ‘one bedd off cloth of sylver & purple cloth of gold
Item one bedd white and tawny damaske single valans / one playne bedsted to the same. /\(^{15}\)

Item one bedd redd clothe ymbrodered with golde letters double vallans / one quilt to it redde sarsenet / fyve Curtens redde taffata / one bedsted playne colo\(^{5}\) redd for the same bedde / two chayers / one little stole / and one longe Cusshyon of the same. /\(^{16}\)

Item one bedde white silke wrought w\(^{th}\) golde / one coveringe of the same wo\(\)ke & makinge. / one bedsted to the same playne / .\(^{17}\)

Item one bedd of murrey and yelowe velvet doubel valans ymbrothered w\(^{th}\) golde fyve Curtens to it of yalowe and murrey damaske / one quilt of crymsyn satyn ymbrothered w\(^{th}\) golde / one very faier bedsted agreeable for the same bedde / two chaires / one little stole / and one longe Cusshyon of the same. /\(^{18}\)

Item one bedd w\(^{th}\) double valans of blacke velvet ymbose\(d\) w\(^{th}\) clothe of golde and clothe of silver / the velvet ymbrodered with golde and perle / with fyve Curtens of yelowe and white damaske / one Coveringe for the same bedd of blacke velvet roed w\(^{th}\) silver / ymbrodered w\(^{th}\) perle and purle / one very faire bedsted agreeable to the same Bedde / two chayers / one little stole and one longe cusshyon of the same. /\(^{19}\)

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\(^{15}\) The ‘sarvants chamber’ at Chatsworth in the 1560s contained ‘one bedd off tawny & whyt damaske’ (Appendix Three, fol. 1\(\)').

\(^{16}\) Probably identifiable with the bed in the ‘redd chamber’ at Northaw: ‘a standyng bedstede of redd & a tester of scarelet imbroideryd w\(^{th}\) letters of clothe of gold w\(^{th}\) M & A / … v cortynns of redd taffata’ (Appendix One, p. 14).

\(^{17}\) This may be identifiable with ‘a bedstede & a tester of sylke whyte w\(^{th}\) flowers of gold’ in ‘the blacke chamber’ at Northaw (Appendix One, p. 13).

\(^{18}\) Although this bed has many similarities with the furnishings of the ‘undre gayt hows’ at Chatsworth in the 1560s, it is more likely to be the one found then in the ‘hye gayt hows’: ‘one bedd of murray & yelowe vellet Embrodreth w\(^{th}\) gold [\(\) v curtens off mury & yelow damask [\(\) one qwelt of cremson saten Embrodret w\(^{th}\) gold [\(\) ij chares & a stewll off mury & yelow velvet [\(\) one long qweshen of mury cloth of gold’ (Appendix Three, fols. 2 and 3).

\(^{19}\) With later alterations, this probably formed the basis of the bed in the ‘Pearle bed chamber’ at Hardwick in 1601: ‘a tester bedes head and double vallans of black velvet imbrodered with silver
Item one bedde with duble vallens of murrey and yelowe velvet cutt quarrell wise ymbrodrd wth golde and silver / the seames layed with bone lace of golde / with fyve Curtens of blewe and yalowe taffata / one Couering to the same bedde of murrey velvett / and clothe of golde one bedsted to the same / two chayers / one little stole and one longe Cushmange of the same

Item one bedde wth double valans of clothe of golde / clothe of silver / and grene velvet made of fretts wth Curtens of white and grene sarsenet / a bedsted agreeable to the same / Two chayers one little stole / and one longe Cusshyn of the same: /

Item one bedd wth double valans of clothe of golde paned wth blewe frynged satten and wrought with golde / one Coveringe to it of the same stuffe with Curtens of yalowe and blewe taffata / two chayers / one little stole and one longe cussen of the same

golde and pearle with sivines and woodbines fringed with golde silver and black silk with my Ladies and Sir William Cavendishes Armes in the bedeshead, Fyve Curtins of black and white damask layde about with golde lace and golde freng, and golde lace downe the middest [...] a Counterpoynt of black velvet stript with silver, imbrodered with pearle and purle [...] a long quition of black velvet imbrodered with golde, silver, and pearle suitable to the bed' (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 44). In the 1560s, most of this suite of furnishings, albeit with different bed curtains as observed above in note 9, appears to have been in the 'noble mans bedd chamber' at Chatsworth: 'one bedd off cloth off gold & cloth of sylver Embrodret wth woodbynds & Eglyntyne [...] one qwelt off blak vellet Rode wth sylver & Embrodred wth perle [...] one gret chare of blak cloth off golde [...] one stewell off sylver & blak cloth of gold / [...] one long qweshen of the same that the bedde ys' (Appendix Three, fol. 1).

20 Parts of this bed seem to have survived to be placed in 'Tobies Chamber' at Hardwick New Hall in 1601, although they have clearly been given a different headcloth and curtains, which are either new or, more likely, from another bed: 'a tester of oring & murry coulored velvet imbrodered with golde and silver twist, double vallans of murry and tawnie velvett, with golde, silver and silk freng, all imbrodered with twyst and the seames layde on with bone lace and armes in the bedes head, fyve Curtins of yellowe and red damaske layde with parchment lace of golde and silke over the seames [...] a Counterpoynt paned with cloth of golde and murry wrought velvet [...] too Chares and a stoule of murry and yelowe velvett with murry silke and golde freng [...] a long quition of murry and oring coulored velvet imbrodered with golde twist' (Of Houshold Stuff, pp. 50-1). The identification depends on the similarity of 'yelowe' and 'oring'.

21 May be identified with the contents of 'Ellens chamber' at Chatsworth in the 1560s: 'one bedd of cloth off golde cloth off sylver & grene velvet [...] v curtens off grene & whyt damask [...] one long qweshen of the same the bedd ys' (Appendix Three, fol. 2').
Item one bedde with double valens grene and white paned and frynged velvet wth curtens of grene and white sarsenet / one bedsted agreable to the same / to chayers one lytle stole and one longe Cussyn of the same. ²²

Item one bedd wth single valens of redde clothe layed wth lace of redde sylke and silver one bedsted gilte carven worke with Syf Willm Cavendishe and my Ladyes armes ²³

Item one Turkey Carpet conteyninge vij yardes in length and in breddethe three yardes ²⁴

Item one Turkey Carpet in length fyve yardes in breddeth three yardes /

Item three turky Carpetts for square bords.

Item Sixtene turky Carpets for Cupbo'ds..

Item six downe beddes /

Item Thirtie fetherbeddes /

Item syxtene payer of fustyan blanketts.

Item Thirtye paier of wollen Blankets.

Item syxtene fledgs /

Item ten paier fyne shetes of iij breds.

Item fyftye payer of courser shets.

Item six dossen pillowberes /

Item six bolsters of downe

Item xij pillowes of downe

²² This could be identified with the bed in ‘y e servands chamber’ at Chatsworth in the 1560s, although there is little description to go on: ‘one bedd off grene & whyt velvet’ (Appendix Three, fol. 2).

²³ This may be identified with the bed in ‘my lads [lady’s] chambre’ at Chatsworth in the 1560s: ‘on bedd of Red cloth trymyd w’ silu’ lase’ (Appendix Three, fol. 3’). The later inventory does not describe the bed structures themselves so it is not possible to identify the bedstead carved with the Cavendish and Hardwick arms. It seems wholly appropriate, however, for this to have been in Bess’s own room.

²⁴ It would be reasonable to assume that these Turkey carpets would survive until 1601 but they cannot be firmly identified there because the later inventory does not give dimensions.
Item xxxth bolsters / a wth fethers
Item thirtye pillowes with fethers /
Item twentye quilts of woll. /
Item fortye matterysses
Item tenne longe borde clothes of damaske
Item twentye cupbord clothes of damaske
Item ten longe towels of damaske
Item twenty shorte towelles damake
Item ten square bod'e clothes of damaske
Item ten dossen of damaske napkins. /
Item twentye lether cofers bounde wth Iron
Item xij payer of Aundyors /
Item six fire shovells [inserted between lines]
Item xij payer of tongs.
Item eight fyer forkes /
Item six grete spytts.
Item foure lesser spytts.
Item foure paier of cobberds.
Item six greate potts of brasse
Item foure lesser potts of Brasse
Item eight greate brasse pannes
Item fyve lesser brasse pannes /
Item foure garnishe of pewter vessell
Item fortye drawinge oxen /
Item fortye mylche kyne
Item twentye heyfers of iij yeres olde
Item twentye steres of three yeres old
Item fyve hundrethe yewes
Item syx hundreth wethers /
To all menne to Whome this p[re]sent wryttyng [...] Indented shall com be herdd senne or redd Elizabeth Cavendyshe Wydowe late Wyffe of Sir Wyllyam Cavendyshe knyght decessed[^25] sendith gretyng in ower lord god everlastyng

Knowe ye that I the sayd Dame Elizabeth for dyvs & many good and reasonable causes & considerations me & my conscience specially movyng and for this confidence put in me by the sayde Syr Wyllyam Cavendyshe my husband towarde the advauncement of the childerin begotton bytwyne the same Syr Wyllyam Cavendyshe & me have geven & grauntyd and by theis p[re]sentts do gyve and graunt unto my vy[^26] trusty and lovyng ffrynde Syr Robert Catlyn knyght chief justice of the plees before the Quene ower souerygn ladye[^27] Syr Rychard Sackvyle knyght[^28] Gylbert Gerrard the Quenes attorney genal[^29] and Wyllyam Clark gentylman[^30] all such platt hangyngs beddyng ymplements of howshold & other goods & cattalls wch bene conteyned & specyfyed in a codicill annexed to these p[re]sentts To have to them and to the long lyver of them as long as they & the longest lyver of them shall suffer & prmytt the same plate hangyngs beddyng ymplements goods & cattalls & evy p[ar]te & p[ar]cell of them to goe & be to such Intentts occupacons & uses of the same as yn theis p[re]sentts ar heraftter

[^25]: Sir William Cavendish died in October 1557.
[^26]: The other copy provides ‘very’.
[^27]: Sir Richard Sackville, created Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations in 1548 (renewed under Queen Mary), knighted in 1549, in 1552 a commissioner for the sale of chantry lands, a privy councillor under Mary and Elizabeth, several times an MP, died 1566.
[^28]: Sir Gilbert Gerrard, called to the bar in 1539, appointed Attorney General by Queen Elizabeth I on 22 January 1558/9, involved in various legal commissions including trying participants in the Northern Rebellion in 1570 and the trial of the Duke of Norfolk in the following year, knighted in 1579, Master of the Rolls in 1581 and Chief Commissioner of the Great Seal in 1591, died 4 February 1592/3.
[^29]: William Clark remains obscure. There is nothing to suggest that these men were anything other than professional acquaintances of Bess, although they may have been colleagues or associates of her late husband.
declaryed & lymytyd and uppon condicon to do & p[er]forme & suffer to be
p[er]formyd the same intents occupacons & uses of the p[re]myss that ys to say
that the sayde Syr Robert Catlyn Syr Rychard Sackvyle Gilbert Gerrard &
Wyllyam Clarke & evy of them and the survivor of them & the executors and
admynystrators of the survivors of them shall prmytt & suffer me the sayde Dame
Elizabeth duryng my lyffe to have thoccupacon weryng & usyng of the same plate
hangyngs ymplementts beddyng goods & cattalls wthout any altacon or change of
the p[ro]pertyes of the same or of any parte therof to be therof made or hadd by
reason of the same: And After my decesse that they and euy of them shall prmytt
& suffer henry Cavendyshe nowe sonne & heyre of the sayd Syr Wylyyam
Cavendyshe begotten on my bodye & theyer males comynge of the body of the
same henry to have thoccupacon weryng and usyng of the sayde plate & all other
the p[re]myss specyfyed in the sayd Codicill wthout any change or altacon of the
p[ro]pertye of the same or of any parte therof And that after the decesse of the
same henry Cavendyshe & of theyer males of hys body
[         ]31 the sayde Syr Robert Catlyn Sir Rychard Sackvyle Gylbert Gerrard &
Wyllyam Clarke shall suffer & p[er]mytt Wylyyam Cavendyshe brother of the
saide henry & theyer males of the body of the same Wylyyam to have the usyng
weryng & occupacon of the sayde plate goods & cattalls & of all other the
p[re]mysses menconyd in the sayde codicil wthout any change or altacon of the
p[ro]pertye of the same or of any part therof And that after the decesse of the same
Wylyyam & of theyer males of hys body kommyng the sayde Syr Robert Catlyn
Sir Rychard Sackvyle Gylbert Gerrard & Willm Clarke shall suffer & prmytt
Charells Cavendyshe brother of the sayd Wylyyam Cavendyshe and theyer males

31 This version has a gap at this point filled with a pattern of pen strokes. The other copy of the
deed has no gap.
of the bodye of the same Charells to have thoccupacon weryng & usyng of the
sayde plate goods cattalls & all other the p[re]myss specyfyed & menconyd in the
sayde Codicill w[th]out any change or altacon of the p[ro]pertye of the same or of
any prte therof And yf any of the sayde sonnes of the sayde Sir Wyllyam
Cavendyshe shall happen to dye w[th]out yssue male of ther boddyes Cumyng as ys
aforesayd that then the sayde Syr Robert Catlyn Syr Rycharde Sackvyle Gylbert
Gerrard & Wyllyam Clarke ther executors & Admynystrators shall suffer the
doughters begotten bytwyne me and the saide Syr Wyllyam Cavendyshe & the
sevall heyres of the bodyes of any of the sayde doughters to have thoccupacon
weryng & usyng of all the sayde plate hangyngs ymplementts goods & cattalls
and other the p[re]mysses w[th]out any altacon of the p[ro]perty of the same or of
any part therof to be made by them or any of them And yf yt shall happen al the
chyldern begotten betwyne the sayde Syr Wyllyam Cavendishe & me to decesse
w[th]out yssue of any of ther boddyes that then the sayd Syr Robert Catlyn Syr
Rycharde Sackvyle Gylbert Gerrard & Wyllyam Clark shall geve & graunt all the
sayde plate hangyngs Implementts Cattalls & other the p[re]mysses to such prson
or prsons and in such mann[er] & forme as the sayde Dame Elizabeth shall lymytt
appoynyt or declare by any wryttyng sygned w[th] my hands And yf I shall not
happen to make any such wryttyng that then the sayde Syr Robert Catlyn Syr
Rycharde Sackvyle Gylbert Gerrard & Wyllyam Clark shall geve & graunt al the
sayde plate ymplementts goods cattalls & other the pmysses menconyd in the
sayde codicill uppon resonable request to them made to Syr
Wyllyam Seyntlowe knyght whom I entend god wyllyng to take to husbond the same gyfte & graunt to be made to hym in suche forme as the same may as much as the lawe of thys realme wyll suffer or as by the lernyd yn the same lawe cann be devysyd come after bye decesse to theyer betwyne hym and me to be begotten wthout any altacon of the provertye of the same or of any parte therof by the sayde Syr Wyllyam Sentlowe In Wytnes wherof to evy parte of this present I the sayde Dame Elizabeth Cavendyshe have putte my hand & seale given the xxixth day of August in the fyrste yere of the raygn of Our Souerygn ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of Englond ffraunce & Ireland defender of the fayth &c

32 The exact date of Bess’s marriage to Sir William St. Loe is unknown but it appears to have been later in 1559. He died, again at an unknown date, probably in 1565. They had no children.
Appendix Three

Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers H/143/6,

Fragmentary inventory of Chatsworth, 1560s

Inscription on storage cover

There are three inscriptions in three different hands, all of them nineteenth or twentieth century:

[first hand] ‘Fragment of an inventory [mention of “2 great chairs of cloth of gold” – and “1 little chair of cloth of gold” – “story of David & Barseba” – “Bed of cloth of silver & bed of cloth of gold” – “4 pieces of tapestry of the story of Prodygus”] (Prodigal Son?)’¹

[second hand] ‘Date? Elizabethan?’

[third hand] ‘This is no doubt an inventory of Chatsworth (Old Hall) Cf “Mr Leche’s Chamber” The ‘turret’ [“at the bridg end”] and ‘Purple Bed Chamber’ are mentioned in the Chatsworth wage book of 1576-80 - B.S.’²

Description

The document consists of three sheets of paper, approximately 31 cm (length) x 41 cm (width), each folded in half and the whole stitched together. There is also a single sheet of the same paper, folded and headed ‘An Invnatory’. This sheet is not attached but has stitch holes which match the stitching on the other sheets. The sheets of paper have a watermark consisting of a hand with the

¹ The words in round brackets have been inserted in the second hand.
² It is likely that the initials ‘B.S.’ stand for Basil Stallybrass, who was researching in the Chatsworth archives at the start of the twentieth century.
thumb to the left, with a five-point flower at the fingertips, a line across the base of the fingers, a shape like a '3' on the palm and the initials 'RP' underneath on the lower palm or wrist. The document has no formal page or folio numbers and so the numbering used below is informal for the purposes of this transcription.

**Date**

The document does not carry a date on or in it. Santina Levey suggests 1562-3 and David Durant assigns a tentative date to it of 1564, although neither gives reasons for this.³ It was certainly compiled before the alterations which added a new storey of elaborate rooms to the top of the house in the 1570s. There is only one apparent piece of internal evidence to suggest a date and that appears in the list of pictures to be found in Bess’s own chamber:

> iiiij tables the on off m r cavendissh the other off my m r an other off my lady & an other off my lady Jane (fol. 3v).

The most likely identity of ‘my m r’ is William St. Loe, to whom Bess was married between 1559 and early 1565. As the inventory shows a distinct development from the previous inventory, Appendix Two, which was considered adequate in 1559, this later inventory is likely to have been closer to the end of that period than the beginning. It is also reasonable that the clerk should continue to refer to ‘my m r’ until the next master appeared, that is when Bess married George Talbot late in 1567. The earlier inventory of 1559 seems to have been occasioned by the desire to have her affairs in order before her forthcoming third marriage. It is a reasonable possibility, therefore, that this partial inventory could have been occasioned by the widowed Bess making preparations for the capture of a fourth husband. Although there is no firm date, it is likely that 1562-3 is a little early,

being too close to the 1559 inventory, and that a proper date of c. 1565-7 should be considered.

This exact watermark, which might help the question of dating, has not been identified but it is extremely similar to the watermark on the Northaw inventory of the 1540s, differing only in the line across the base of the fingers. That watermark has been identified as belonging to the mid-1540s. There is no question of this inventory being that early, so it may be supposed that the clerks merely used up available paper.

Analysis

The purpose of this inventory is unknown. It is obviously a rough draft rather than a finished document and it is impossible to know whether a final document was ever made or whether the project was abandoned. Historians have apparently considered the inventory to be more fragmentary than it really is and this, in addition to the difficult scrawl of the clerk, seems to have limited its appeal. However, it appears to constitute a complete circuit of the most important rooms on the first floor, together with many of the service rooms on the ground floor, the greatest omissions being the chapel and hall, both of which would have appeared on the ground floor. The inventory makes a considerable contribution to understanding the spatial organisation of Chatsworth before the additions of the 1570s and I hope to return to this in the future.

The inventory appears to demonstrate a great development from the earlier inventory of 1559 but, without knowing the circumstances of its writing, it is not certain that they compare like with like. The description of the contents on a room-by-room basis tends to make this inventory seem more impressive and yet

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there are only sixteen elaborate beds to compare with the fourteen in 1559 and the number of tapestries appears to be the same.\(^5\) Whilst it may be remembered that the later inventory is incomplete, all the good rooms are accounted for and it is unlikely that any more luxurious beds lay in the unlisted rooms, even if it were supposed that the chapel and hall could have had good wall-hangings.

An attempt has been made to identify items which also appear in the 1601 inventories, and in the inventories of Northaw in the 1540s and Chatsworth in 1559, which appear as Appendices One and Two.

**Transcription notes**

The long ‘s’ has been shortened throughout. The writer has used a symbol like a ‘y’ with a loop curling up and crossing the stem where a ‘t’ would appear at the end of words. This has been rendered as ‘t’ throughout. The writing is very swift and informal, which makes transcribing difficult. Much of the writing is so hurried the letters are not formed properly, so that in some places an intelligent guess must be made as, for example, ‘enbrodered’ or ‘embrodered’. This has not been noted on the transcript. Many entries start with a shape that could be ‘a’ or, more probably, a quick version of ‘one’. It has been rendered as ‘one’ here.

Within each room the list of contents is continuous. In the main part of the transcript the items have been separated for ease of reading. In the separate section headed ‘An Invnatory’ the items have not been separated because the entries are so brief.

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\(^5\) There are forty-three tapestries in the main part of the inventory to compare with forty-eight in 1559 but the ‘Invnatory’ also contains tapestries which are difficult to count clearly.
Tyms Chamb\textsuperscript{6}

v pess of Arres / ij of davyd one of Saloma Jugement one of Elle Ramshment /
one off burning off his hand /\textsuperscript{7}
one long Tourky carpet\textsuperscript{8}
one square Tourky carpet

ij Tourky carpets for Cobbets //

ij gret chares off clothe of gold & one lyttel chaire off cloth off gold

Itm a stewll off cremesen saten w\textsuperscript{th} lace of gold

Itm ij stewlles off cloth off gold paned w\textsuperscript{th} purple cremesen vellet

Itm one of Coushen paned w\textsuperscript{th} purple vellet

one long qweshen off murry & yalew vellet

one other long qweshen off Rowsett vellet

\textsuperscript{6} The name 'tymes Chamber' appears in the 1601 inventory of Chatsworth (Of Household Stuff, p. 25). The editor has noted that 'The name is likely to be a reference to Tyme or Timothie Pusey who, having joined the household in the late 1580s or early 1590s, became Bess's trusted steward at Hardwick and also her legal advisor' (p. 32). However, the appearance of the room in this earlier inventory must cast doubt on this explanation. The chamber does not appear to be a personal space and the contents seem to compare well with the contents of the 'lowe great Chamber' at Hardwick New Hall in 1601, which was a general reception area, a place of business, a mess room for the upper household and a place for informal dining. The intermittent nature of the surviving household records means that it is impossible to show exactly when Timothy Pusey joined Bess's retinue. He appears in the list of wages for Christmas 1591, when he is one of several men in receipt of £4 per annum (Hardwick MS 7, fol. 5). He seems to rise during the 1590s, when his annual wages increase to £6 13s. 4d. in 1592 and then £10 the following year, where they remain (Hardwick MS 7, fols 48 and 81\textsuperscript{3}). He does not appear on a surviving charter until 1601, the same year in which he witnesses Bess's will. He never rises above the other non-family men of the upper household and remains comparable with, amongst others, William Reason. A will which is almost certainly the same Timothy Pusey's is dated 20 November 1641 and, following his death, probate was concluded in 1647 (National Archives: Public Record Office, PROB 11/202, fols 340-340\textsuperscript{2}). It is clear, therefore, that Pusey was not in the household in the 1560s, let alone that he was significant enough to have a room named after him. The most likely explanation for the name of the room is that it is named for 'Time', perhaps for some decorative reason now lost.

\textsuperscript{7} Santina Levey notes: 'Although this sounds like a mix of different sets, the survival at Hardwick of three pieces - the Judgement of Solomon, the Rape of the Sabine Women and the Story of David - all with matching borders, plus another of Mucius Scaevola thrusting his hand into the fire, and a fifth possibly showing King David, which have near-identical borders, suggests that this was a put-together set of heroes and that it has survived complete, if not undamaged (An Elizabethan Inheritance, p. 12).

\textsuperscript{8} In 1601 'one turkia carpet' of unspecified shape remained (Levey, An Elizabethan Inheritance, p. 25).
one other qweshen of cloth of gold & cremesen damase

iiij arres qweshens

It iiij formes covered wth blew cloth

one long table /

one squarre Table

ij cobberts

iiij joined stewlles /

a gret glas to lowk =9 /

ij gret […]

a payre of gret Awndyres /

a payre of tongs & j fyer shovell

a payre of Tables /

The noble mans bedd chamber⁹

iiij peses of the best arres /

one bedd off cloth off gold & cloth of sylver Embrodret wth woodbynds & Eglentyne¹¹

v curtens off blak & whyt damaske /¹²

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⁹ The symbol `=' is used by the writer to mean 'in'.
¹⁰ The ‘noblemans Chamber’ in 1601.
¹¹ This bed may be identified with one listed in the 1559 inventory: ‘Item one bedd wth double valans of blacke velvet ymbosed wth clothe of golde and clothe of silver / the velvet ymbrodered with golde and perle / with fyve Curtens of yellowe and white damaske / one Coveringe for the same bedd of blacke velvet roed wth silver / ymbrodered wth perle and purle’ (Appendix Two.). With later alterations, it probably formed the basis of the bed in the ‘Pearle bed chamber’ at Hardwick New Hall in 1601: ‘a tester bedes head and double vallans of blacke velvet imbrodered with silver golde and pearle with sivines and woodbines fringed with golde silver and black silk with my Ladies and Sir William Cavendishes Armes in the bedeshead, Fyve Curtins of black and white damask layde about with golde lace and golde frenge, and golde lace downe the middest […] a Counterpoynt of black velvet stript with silver, imbrodered with pearle and purle’ (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 44).
¹² These curtains may be identified with the five curtains of black and white damask which appeared with the first bed described in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two).
one qwelt off blak vellet Rode w\textsuperscript{th} sylver & Embrodred w\textsuperscript{th} perle

ij whyt fleges /

one payre of fustyan blanketts

one down bedde /

ij qwelts /

one bolst\textsuperscript{t} /

ij pylewes

one gret chare of blak cloth off golde\textsuperscript{13}

one stewell off sylver & blak cloth of gold /

one long qweshen of the same that the bedde ys //

one lone qweshen of Tousshew\textsuperscript{14} & blak vellet off a fret /

ij turky carpets\textsuperscript{15}

one payre of Andyrens

one payre of tongs

one fyer shovell /

ij cortens for the wyndowes of tawny [...] /

ij cobberts

one bedd of blew sylke & byrds off gold\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{13} The great chair, stool and long cushion also accompany this bed in 1559 but by 1601 only the 'long quition of black velvet imbrodered with golde, silver, and pearle sutable to the bed' remained en suite (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 44).

\textsuperscript{14} The spelling is very indistinct but the meaning seems to be 'tissue'.

\textsuperscript{15} In 1601 'too turkie Carpetes' remained (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 25).

\textsuperscript{16} The missing word was rendered as 'maid' by Stallybrass but this does not seem appropriate ('Bess of Hardwick's Buildings and Building Accounts', p. 390). Probably 'the Inner Chamber' of the set of rooms associated with the 'noblemans Chamber' in 1601 (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 25).
one qwelte of the same
v curtens of blew damaske /
one redd flege
one payre of blankets
one fether bedd
one bolst'
i j pyllews
one char of blak vellet
one stewll of blak vellet
one qweshen of blew tayfyta qwelted /
one coverge\textsuperscript{18} for the cobbert off Rowssett cloth & iij [...] of russet vellet
one cobbert
one payre off Andyrons /
one curten for the wyndow of grene saye

= the stewll hows\textsuperscript{19}

one close stewll w\textsuperscript{th} [an open?] pan under ytt

ij basens

ij chamber pots

\textsuperscript{17} This bed is not directly identifiable in the 1601 inventory, although it does have some degree of similarity with 'a tester and vallans of blewe sattin & golde spotes [and] a quilt of the same stuff' in the same room in that year. However, it is the second bed to be described in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two).

\textsuperscript{18} 'covering'

\textsuperscript{19} 'Closet' of the set of rooms associated with the 'noblemans Chamber' in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 25).
The chamber next the noble mans [...] Chamber

one bedd off grene breges saten

one qwelt of grene saersnet

one payre of blankets /

one fether bedd /

one bolst'

ij pylewes

v curtens of the saersnet

one qweshen for the wyndew of Redd chekerd sylke /

one gret chare of blak cloth gardyt w\textsuperscript{th} vellet

one stewll of purple vellet

one carpet for the cubbert of grene clothe /

one cobbert

one curten for the wyndew of grene saye /

\textsuperscript{y\textdegree} chaple chamber

ijj peses off arres off the story off davydd & barsaba

one bedd off cloth of sylver & purple cloth of gold

v curtens of purple Tayfytay

\textsuperscript{20} Probably the ‘Servantes chamber’ of the set of rooms associated with the ‘noblemans Chamber’ in 1601 (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 25). The missing word was rendered as ‘maid’ by Stallybrass.

\textsuperscript{21} May be identified with the ‘bedd w\textsuperscript{th} single valans of grene satten [and] one quilte to it of green sarsenet’ in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two).

\textsuperscript{22} ‘Chapple Chamber’ in 1601 (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 25).

\textsuperscript{23} These tapestries cannot be identified in the 1601 inventory but may be amongst the suite of eight tapestries of the story of David in the Low Great Chamber at Hardwick in that year.

\textsuperscript{24} This bed appears in the 1559 inventory as ‘one bedde of clothe of silver and clothe of golde purple w\textsuperscript{th} double valans one quilte to the same of purple taffata inbrodered w\textsuperscript{th} golde / fyve curtens of purple taffata’ (Appendix Two). The great chair and stool which follow were probably also part of the 1559 ensemble.
one qwelt of purple tafytay Embrodred wyth gold /\(^{25}\)
one whyt flege
iij blanketts
one payre of fustyans
one down bedd /
one bolst' /
one qwelt
ij pylewes
one gret chare off purple cloth of gold
one stewll of purple vellet & cloth of Tashew
one long qweshen of whyt saten Embrodred wyth gold
one long qweshen of blak cloth of gold & whyt vellet
ij carpets for the cobberts of blew cloth gayrdyt w\(^{th}\) wyt saten
ij cobberts
one payre of Andyrens /
j payre of tongs
one fyer shovell /
ij curtens of grene say for the wyndews

[fol. 2]

The sarvents chamber\(^{26}\)

iiiij peses of tapstre
one bedd off tawny & whyt damaske\(^{27}\)

\(^{25}\)The quilt may be one at Northaw: 'a quylte of taffata purple color Imbroderyd w\(^{th}\) my masters atmys & frynges of gold lynyd w\(^{th}\) white fustyan' (Appendix One, p. 17 – note that the page reference applies to the internal pagination of the document).

\(^{26}\)Still called ‘the Servantes Chamber’ in 1601 (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 25).
one qwelt off blew & whyt saersnet
one payre of blanks
one fether bedd /
one bolst /
one coverlet /
a gret lether [chair]
ij gret coffers /
one close stewll /
one chamber pot
one erthe pan
one basen /
a curten of grene saye = the stewll hows wyndew

The undre gayt hows

iiij peses of arres off the story off davydd & barsebe
one bedd off morey & yelow vellet Embrodred wth gold & sylver /
v curtens off murey & yelow damask
one qwelt of cloth of gold & murry velet /
one redd flege
one whyt flege
one payre of fustyans

27 This is probably identifiable with the ‘bedd white and tawny damaske single valans’ in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two).
28 Presumably blankets.
29 The meaning is clear although the exact spelling is blurred.
30 The ‘lowe gatehowse Chamber’ in 1601.
31 These cannot be identified in the 1601 inventory but may be among the suite of eight tapestries of the story of David in the ‘lowe great Chamber’ at Hardwick in 1601. However, not every tapestry depicting David in this inventory can be assigned to the ‘lowe great Chamber’.
one down bedd /
one fether bedd
ij qwelts /
ij bolst’s
ij pylewes
one gret chaire
one lyttell chare
a stewil
one long qweshen of the same the bedd ys /
one other long qweshen of cloth of sylver & cremysen cloth of gold Embrodret of
cremysen vellet /
ij Turky carpets
ij cobberd
one payre of Andyrons /
one payre of tongs
one fyer shovell /
a [...] pan /
ij curtens of grene say for the wyndewes
one curten = the closet wyndew

\[ y^e \text{ servands chamber}^{32} \]

one bedd off grene & whyt velvet /\(^{33}\)
one qwelt off grene blewe & yelowe saersnet /

\(^{32}\) Perhaps the ‘Inner Chamber there’ next to the ‘lowe gatehowse Chamber’ in 1601.
\(^{33}\) This may be identified with the ‘bedde with double valens grene and white paned and frynged
velvet’ in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two).
one payre of blankets
one payre of fustyans
one fether bedd /
one bolst'
ij pylewes
one woud chare
one Close stewll /
one Erthe pan /
one chamber pot
one basen

[fol. 2v]

M's leche superscribed to chamber.

ijj peses of Tapstre
one payre of blanks
one fether bedd
a qwelt /
a bolst'
ij pylewes
one long qweshen of blak saten

34 Mistress Leche was Bess's mother, Elizabeth, who had married Ralph Leche, a younger son of the Leches of Chatsworth, soon after the death of John Hardwick. She had a position, perhaps honorary, in Bess's household and was often left by her daughter to take care of operations at Chatsworth whilst Bess was away. The reading of it as 'Mr Leche' by 'B.S.', Basil Stallybrass, which led to the comment on the storage cover which is given above, seems inaccurate and may have led that reader to speculate on an earlier date for the inventory. However, by his 1913 article, in which the rooms are listed, he had altered his opinion and presented it as 'M's Leche'.

35 In 1601 this was probably 'the Inner Chamber to Ellins Chamber' (Of Household Stuff, p. 26).

36 'blankets'
one lytell chare of russet vellet
one other lether
a payre of Andyrons of yron
a fyer shovell /
ij gret coffers
one Rownd table /

Ellens chamber

v peses of grene cloth
one bedd of cloth off golde cloth off sylver & grene vellet
one qwelt of grene cloth of sylver & grene vellet /
v curtens off grene & whyt damask
one redd flege
a whyt flege
one payre of fustyans
one down bedd /
ij qwelts /
one mat's

37 In 1601 this was 'Hellens Chamber' (Of Household Stuff, p. 26). The editor notes that 'Helen or Ellen Steward was the housekeeper at Chatsworth'. There is, however, no evidence that she was with Bess at this early stage. She first appears in the surviving evidence in the list of wages at Christmas 1591, when she received £2 per annum - little by comparison with Bess's personal ladies - at which rate she remained. Nicholas Steward, who may have been her husband and was responsible for the plate, received £2 13s. 4d. at the same time (Hardwick MS 7, fol. 5*). It seems inappropriate for a room of some status to have been named after a fairly unimportant household servant. It may be a possibility that the room was named for Bess's aunt, Marcella Linaker, who was on Bess's household staff, received an annual wage of £4, lived at Chatsworth and was often left in charge when Bess and William Cavendish were absent. A room next to Mistress Leche might be appropriate. A third possibility, entirely hypothetical, is that the room had some decorative association with Helen of Troy.

38 In 1601 there were also 'fyve pieces of grene cloth hanginges' (Of Household Stuff, p. 26).

39 Identifiable with the 'bedde w\textsuperscript{th} double valans of clothe of golde / clothe of silver / and grene velvet made of frets w\textsuperscript{th} Curtens of white and grene sarsenet' in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two). The long cushion 'the same the bedd ys' was presumably also part of these furnishings in 1559.

402
one bolst'
i j pylewes
one gret chare
one stewll
one long qweshen of the same the bedd ys
one long qweshen off cloth of sylver & Toushew
one other of Cremysen cloth of gold && whyt vellet
one Carpet of grene cloth
ij cubberts /40
one payre of Awndyrons
one payre of tongs
iij curtens of grene saye for the wyndews
one clos stewll
one Erthe pan
one chamber pot
one basen

  ye purple bedd chamber41

iiiij peses of Tapstre off the story off prodygus /42

one bedd off cloth of gold & purple saten Rowd wyth gold43

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40 In 1601 'two Cubberdes' remained (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 26).
41 Also the 'purple Chamber' in 1601, although by then the purple furnishings had gone (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 26).
42 Four pieces of tapestry of the Prodigal Son are also to be found in the 'Cony bedd chambre' below. By 1601 the tapestries of the story of the Prodigal Son had left this room but three such tapestries are to be found in the 'Prodigall Chamber' at Hardwick New Hall (Of Houshold Stuff, p. 55). Levey, An Elizabethan Inheritance (p. 105) suggests that one of these tapestries was transferred to Bess's son, Charles, as it was later recorded at Welbeck.
43 This bed and the two chairs and purple cushion below were in the 'bed Chamber to Forrest great Chamber' in Hardwick Old Hall in 1601: "a tester bedeshead and double vallans of Cloth of golde and purple sattin with golde and purple silk frenge, and the bedes head with armes in it, a
one qwelt of the same /

v curtens of purple & yelow Tayfytay

one redd flege

one whyt flege

one payre of fustyans

one blanket

one down bedd /

ij qwelts /

one mat's /

ij bolst's /

ij pylewes

a gret Chare of purple cloth of gold

a lytell chare of the same the bedd ys /

a qweshen of purple saten Imbrodred w\textsuperscript{th} cloth of gold /

a qweshen of cremysen cloth of gold & blak vellet Rowd wyth sylver /

ij carpets of blew cloth tremde w\textsuperscript{th} whyt vellet /

ij cobberts /

one payre of A wndyrons

one payre of tongs

ij curtens of grene saye for the wyndews
The servands chamber

one bedd of cloth of gold & creamys vellet /
iij curtens of whyt & yelow saersnet /
one covering of Tapstre
one payre of blankets /
one fether bedd /
one bolst'
one close stewll /
one Erthe pan /
one basen
one chamber pot

The hye gayt hows

v peses of arres /
one bedd of murry & yelow vellet Embrothreth wth gold
v curtens off murry & yelow damask
one qwelt of cremson saten Embrothret wth gold /
ij chares & a stewll off murry & yelow velvet
one long long qweshen of murry cloth of gold
one long qweshen of creamysen saten /

44 Probably ‘the Inner Chamber to purple chamber’ in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 26).
45 Probably the ‘middle gatehouse Chamber’ in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 22).
46 This bed, with chairs, stool and one long cushion, appears in the 1559 inventory as: ‘one bedd of murrey and yelowe velvet double valans ymbrothered wth golde fuye Curtens to it of yalowe and murrey damaske / one quit of crymsyn satyn ymbrothered wth golde / one very faier bedsted agreeable for the same bedde / two chaires / one little stole / and one longe Cushyon of the same’ (Appendix Two).
ij Turky carpets

ij coberts /

one payre of Andyrens

one payre of tongs

one fyer shovell /

one [...] pan /

ij curtens for the wyndows of grene saye /

one gret coffer /

one chare of Redd vellet /

one Erthe pan

one chamber pot /

one basen

one joind stewll /


ye gret chamber over the pantrie

vj peses of Tapstre /

one long Turky Carpet

one long carpet of grene cloth

one Tourky carpet for the cobbert /

one ij chare of grene cloth /

ij formes covert wth Tawny cloth /

ij off Rosset cloth /

ij qwesshens of cremsen vellet /

vj Joind stewllises /

one long tabale
one cobbet
one payre of Awndyrons of yron

[fol. 3 dishonest]
The lytell [hot?] hows chamber

one canpye of blak damask & Tayfytay
one Redd flege
one payre of blankets /
one fether bedd /
one qwelt /
one bolstf
one pylewe /
one mat’s /
iij peses of tapstre /
one qweshen of blak vellet /
one qweshen of blak saten
one qweshen off grene Chekert sylke /
one Joind stewll /
iij gret coffers

my lady [...] chamber47

one bedd of blewe sylke wth flowres of gold48

47 The missing word was rendered as ‘maid’ by Stallybrass.
48 This may be identifiable with ‘a tester of blew damaske wth flowers of gold’ at Northaw (Appendix One, p. 9).
one [...] flege
one blanket /
one down bedd /
one bolstf /
one canypye of dornix /
one [...] flege /
one whyt coverlet
one payre of blanks
one fether bedd /
one bolstf /
vij coffers

A new hand begins.

In my lads chambre⁴⁹

on bedd of Red cloth trymyd wᵗ siluᵗ lase⁵⁰
v curtens off mokado Red
on cwylk off Red s[ar]cenett
on Red fflage
on whitt fflage
ij qwylts
on down bedde
iij bolsters

⁴⁹ That is, ‘my lady’s chamber’.
⁵⁰ This is probably identified with the ‘bedd wᵗ single valens of redde clothe layed wᵗ lace of redde sylke and silver’ in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two).
on grett chayr grene chekytt silke
on lytyll chayr blake velvett
ij leyther cheres
on payr anders
on payr off tongs
on fyer shovell
iiij tables the on off m' cavendissh51 the other off my m52 an other off my lady53
& an other off my lady Jane54
on longe quousshyn off blake velvett
on long quoussshyn off Red velvet

51 The part played by these pictures in discovering a date for the inventory has already been noted. The identity of this sitter depends on the inventory writer's accuracy with the use of the term 'Mr'. The description would most accurately belong to Henry Cavendish, Bess's eldest son, of whom there was a portrait in the Gallery at Hardwick New Hall in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 50). None of Bess's sons had been knighted at this stage and so could all be considered as 'm' cavendissh'. However, if the inventory clerk had been inaccurate and used 'Mr' instead of 'Sir', the obvious subject of this painting would be Bess's second husband, Sir William Cavendish, who was dead by the time of this inventory. There was a portrait of him in the Low Great Chamber at Hardwick New Hall in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 52) and this is presumably the one now hanging in the Long Gallery there (HH/E/P/7), attributed to John Bettes. As this picture was probably painted before Cavendish's death in 1557 and was in the house in 1601, it is reasonable to expect to find it amongst the pictures in this intermediate inventory.
52 Probably Sir William St. Loe, of whom there was a portrait in the 'with drawing Chamber' in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 47).
53 There were three portraits of Bess in the 1601 inventory. This is probably the portrait of her attributed to a follower of Hans Eworth, which now hangs in the Long Gallery at Hardwick (HH/E/P/73).
54 The picture of 'my lady Jane' is the only one which cannot be identified in the 1601 inventory. It could be hidden amongst the 'twentie several pictures' at Hardwick Old Hall in that year (Of Household Stuff, p. 38) but it seems unlikely that the identity of the sitter would have been forgotten. The most likely 'Jane' is Lady Jane Grey. Bess had links with the Grey family of long standing and Jane Grey, her sister Katherine and both her parents were godparents to various of Bess's children. Arbella Stuart, as late as 1602, was able to say that she would recognise the picture or handwriting of Lady Jane Grey, which suggests knowledge of some surviving items in Bess's household where Arbella had been brought up (The Letters of Lady Arbella Stuart, p. 121). It is a possibility that by 1601 the portrait of Lady Jane Grey, if it were indeed she, had passed into Arbella's ownership. Furthermore, in her will of 1673 Frances, Duchess of Somerset, the second wife of Arbella's husband, William Seymour, bequeathed 'my picture of the Lady Arbella (my Lord's first wife) and the picture of Queen Jane Grey' (HMC Bath, iv, 255). The picture of Arbella is still at Longleat. Duchess Frances was the conduit through which so many of Arbella's papers reached the collection there. A portrait of Lady Jane Grey was allegedly seen by Byng at Hardwick in 1789 but it is possible to argue that this was not an accurate identification (see Chapter Three, note 293). The other – and less likely – suggestion for 'lady Jane' is Lady Jane Dudley, wife of John Dudley, who was successively Countess of Warwick and Duchess of Northumberland, and who was mother of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Bess and William Cavendish had a connection with the Dudleys in the middle of the century and Jane Dudley was, like Jane Grey, godmother to Temperance Cavendish, who died young.

409
on long quousshyn off blew velvet tafata
vi peces off hangyngs off blew cloth
vj grett Coffars
on square bord
on Cuppe borde
on long cloth for the cupbord
iiij curtans silke hangyng ou\textsuperscript{55} the tables /
ij curtans gren say ffor the wyndoes

The Cony bedd chambrequ\textsuperscript{56}

on bedd Callyd the cony bedd
on qwylt grene s\textsuperscript{ar}cenett
on Red flage
ij blanketts
ij qwylts
on feyther bedd
on bolster
iiij pilloes
iiij peces off hangyngs off arres the story filius pdigus\textsuperscript{57}
on grett coffar

\textsuperscript{55} 'over'
\textsuperscript{56} This chamber is not mentioned in the 1601 inventory. It did not overlook the coneygree, mentioned in 1601 (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 30), which was on the other side of the house at some distance. It is likely that the name comes from the decoration of the bed-hangings and that these could have included the 'cównter poynte of verder w\textsuperscript{ab} bucks & conys & other bests' in 'mistres starnolds chamber' at Northaw in the 1540s or the 'cov[er]lett of tapstree w\textsuperscript{ab} harts conyes & other bests' then in the lytle chamber', or even the 'quylte of whyte & blacke velvet imbroaderyd Rownd abowt w\textsuperscript{ab} fryers knotts harts hedds & conyes & In the mydyst imbroaderyd my masters & my mystres armys' from 'the chamber over the kyytchyn' (Appendix One, pp. 8, 10 and 17).
\textsuperscript{57} Tapestries of the story of the Prodigal Son also appear in the 'purple bedd chamber', above. In 1601 three pieces of tapestry of the Prodigal Son are to be found in the 'Prodigall Chamber' in Hardwick New Hall (\textit{Of Houshold Stuff}, p. 55).
iij cupbords
on chayer blake velvett sutable
on old chayr blew velvett

[fol. 4]
The s[er]vantt chambre

on testor off rositt silke wroght
on feyther bedd
on bolster
ij blanketts
on Coueryng tapstre

In the waredrope

iij Carpetts
on pece off hangyng arres

In nycolys chambre

on ffeyther bedd
on bolster
ij blanketts
on Couerlett
In mousholl chambre\textsuperscript{58}

on feyther bedd
on bolster
on blankett
on Cou'lett

In the tyrrett off the south

on feyther bedd
on bolster
ij pilloes
ij blaketts
on Cou'lett
on Coueryng tapstre

\textit{The text concludes half way down fol. 4.}

\textsuperscript{58} Stallybrass, 'Bess of Hardwick's Buildings and Building Accounts', p. 391, asserts that Sir William St. Loe had a servant called Mousehall.
On a separate sheet

An Inventary

The chambre att the seller dore ij feyther bedds ij lytyll bolsters v Couerletts on bord / on old chayre

The Couks chambre on feyther bedde on mattris on bolster ij blanketts ij Couerletts on lytyll bord

In the next chambre ij feyther bedds ij bolsters iiij blanketts iiij Couerletts

In the same chambre on feyther bedd on bolster ij Cou'letts

In the nursry ij feyther bedds ij bolsters on pillow iiij blanketts on rositt filage on Cou'let ij Coueryng tapstre hangyng Red & yewlow on arke on long Coffar iiij Cofars in margett kepyng iiij Ioinyd stoles on payr virgynalls

In the dayhowse iiij mattris iiij bolsters iiij Cou'letts on trusbeedd on testor blak & yewlow / ij curtans yewlew ij grett Coffars on pyllow

In the porters lodge on mattris on bolster on blanket on Couerlett

In the chambre next the chapell on trusbeedd on tester Red & tawny sylke on feyther bedd on bolster on blanket on Cou'ynig tapstre on quousshyn tapstre

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59 This part of the document deals with the ground floor.
60 Possibly 'ij' or 'iiij', although the noun is singular.
61 In 1601 there was a 'payre of virginalls' in store in the 'middle wardrop' at Chatsworth (Of Household Stuff, p.23) and another in the 'lowe great Chamber' (p. 25).
62 Presumably still the 'Lodg' in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 28).
In the sam chambre on trus bedd on testor murrey & blew silke ij feyther bedds ij bolsters iiij blanketts ij Couletts hangyngs old cloths payntyd

In the next chambre on trusbedd on testor silk w' pomgranett ij fether bedds ij bolsters iiij blanketts iiij Cou'letts on quoushy[n] tapstre hangyngs old of cloths pentyd

In the next chambre on trusbedd on testor [ ...] & blew silk ij [feather beds]64 ij bolsters ij blanketts iiij Cou'letts on Coueryng tapstre

In fyve bedd chambre on trusbed on testor whitt & gren silk on ffeyther bedd on mattris ij bolsters iiij blanketts on Cou'lettt on Cou'nyng tapstre

the Inner chambre on trusbedd on testor iiij feyther bedds iiij bolsters vj blanketts ij Couerletts on Coueryng tapstre hangyng old clothes pentyd

verso

In the old65 porters lodge ij blanketts ij Cou'letts

The under towre ij mattris on bolster ij blanketts ij Cou'letts

The clok chambre iiij mattris ij bolsters on old blanket iiij Cou'letts66

62 Possibly the ‘Chamber within the Chapple’ in 1601 (Of Household Stuff, p. 28).
64 There are holes in the paper but enough remains to suggest these words although the exact spelling is unclear.
65 Inserted above the line.
The brewhouse on mattris on bolster on blanket ij Cou'letts

The Red chamber on mattris on bolster on blanket on Couerlett

---

66 The only clock mentioned at Chatsworth in 1601 is in the 'gatehouse turretes', which did not exist at this earlier period, although the earlier gatehouse may have had its own turrets (Of Household Stuff, p. 24). There is nothing to suggest that the chamber here described is high above the ground.
Appendix Four
The Will of Bess of Hardwick

The will of Bess of Hardwick has not hitherto been published in full. Heavily edited extracts appeared in Arthur Collins, *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendishe, Vere, Harley, and Ogle* (London: [n. pub.], 1752), pp. 15-18, prefaced by Collins' comment that

She made her last Will and Testament several years before she died, when she was in full Health; and forasmuch as it shews her Piety and Prudence, with her Turn of Thought in Writing, as well as containing many remarkable Particulars, I shall insert the Preamble, and the most memorable Parts of it (p. 15).

Collins omitted large sections of the will, altered words and phrases to clarify, simplify or enable links in the text, and changed it to modern – for 1752 – English spelling and punctuation.

The text presented here is from The National Archives: Public Record Office, PROB 11/111, fols 188-193. This was the copy of the will made for the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The National Archives: Public Record Office, PROB 10/254 provides another copy of the text.

There are other versions of the will in the archives at Chatsworth:

1. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9, is the original will with codicils and inventories. This original will has been checked against the PRO copy and, although there are differences of spelling and punctuation, there are no significant differences of content or meaning.
2. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/10, is the probate copy of the will and inventories, including both codicils and the memorandum. It is dated 14 March 1607/8. There is an attached note in Latin concerning the grant of probate on that date and the seal of the probate court. It was written by Edmund Woodall and there is a reference to his £10 payment for this in Hardwick MS 29, p. 34, where it is also shown that the whole process of probate on Bess’s will cost £40 10s. 4d.

3. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/12, is another copy of the will with the 1607 codicil but excluding the inventories. This was made for William Cavendish and is dated 3 March 1607/8. Each part of the document bears the signatures of those who witnessed the copy, not those who witnessed the original will and codicils.

4. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/11, is another copy of the will, attested by Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, and dated 16 June 1609. It has the codicil of 15 August 1607 but not the earlier one of 1603 in which Bess disinherits Arbella Stuart and Henry Cavendish, nor any record of the verbal additions made by Bess in her last days. It is also written by Edmund Woodall. Several of the key words are not only of a large size and in heavy ink but also picked out in gold.

In addition to these versions of the will, the archives at Chatsworth also contain other documents relating to Bess’s will, death and funeral:

1. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/17, is a memorandum of the verbal declarations made by Bess subsequent to her will and in the last few days of her life, as heard by Elizabeth Digby and Mary Cartwright, her ladies-in-waiting. It forms the basis of the final memorandum
which begins on fol. 192r of the text transcribed below and brings the
document to a conclusion. Slightly prejudicial references to William
Cavendish, by then Lord Cavendish, unsurprisingly do not appear in the will.

2. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/13, is a schedule of
funeral expenses and legacies paid, signed by William Cavendish.

3. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/278/7, is a bundle of
twenty-two receipts dated 1608 for legacies granted under Bess’s will.

4. Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/143/17, is a
memorandum of declarations made by Bess subsequent to her will.

Certain documents transcribed in Nathaniel Johnson, *Lives of the Earls of
Shrewsbury*, 6 vols, (unpublished MS, Chatsworth Library: 1692), v, pp. 401-15,
show that Mary Talbot believed that undue influence had been brought to bear on
Bess by William Cavendish to turn her against Mary and Charles. The allegations
also concerned alleged attempts to kill Bess and to hide her final nuncupative will.
Some of these documents may be traced to the Talbot and Shrewsbury papers now
in Lambeth Palace Library, MS 708, fol. 205 and MS 710, fol. 61. These are
summarised in *A Calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers in Lambeth
Palace and the College of Arms*, ed. by E.G.W. Bill and G.R. Batho, 2 vols

In this transcription, punctuation and capitalisation are as found in the
original document, although they are sometimes difficult to discern. The use of ‘u’
and ‘v’ is as found in the original and has not been modernised. The original long
‘s’ has been modernised. Original line breaks are not preserved but original page
breaks are shown thus: [/]. Where the original text cannot be understood this is
indicated thus: [...].
It may be helpful to refer to the genealogical tables.
In the name of God Amen the seaven and twentith daye of Aprill and in the three and fortith yere of the happie Raigne of oure most gracious Soueraigne Ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of England ffrance and Ireland Defender of the faihte &c and in the yere of oure Lorde god one thowsande sixe hundred and one : I Elizabeth Countesse of Shrewsburye. lately wife of George late Earle of Shrewsburye Deceased having learned aswell out of the holy Worde of god as by the common experience of the worlde that all fleshe must change this mortall life and that the hower and tyme of Deathe ys most vncerteyn and not to be knownen to any mortall creature, and accompting yt not the leaste parte of euery christian whilest healthe and memorye best serue so to dispose of suche goodes and thinges as god hath lent them during this mortall life that after theire Deathe noe sute nor controuersie maye dulye be had or moued for the same Do nowe by this my Wrytinge Indented in my perfect healthe and good memorye I thanke my most mercifull father for yt, ordeyne and make this my last will and testament aswell to haue my mynde quyett from all wordlie respectes in all comfortable manner whollie to attend gods secrett pleasure at all tymes of my sicknes and

1 Absent from the original will, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9.
especiallie in the tyme of my approching Departure out of
this transitorye worlde as allso for to prevent all sutes
Debates and controuersies that other wise mighte arise or be
moued amongst my children whome I most cheifelie desire
and hartelie praye to luye in all vnitie and naturall affection:
and withall to quyett setle and contynewe the possessions of
all suche Jewells plate furniture of houshould Debtes goodes
and chattells as god of his most gracious goodnes hath
vouchsaffed to bestowe on me and which I shall haue and
Leave at the tyme of my Deathe accordinge as I purpose the
same in manner and forme folowinge first and principally
I Commend and committ my soule into the handes of my
most mercifull and heavenlie father most humblie
beseeching hym and most faithfullie beleeving that he will
place the same in the most blessed companye of his elect
there most comfortablie to praise his most holie name for
euermore. And my Bodie I committ my bydye into the
earthe whereof yt came, and to be buryed in All Hallowes
churche at Derbye in the place of the same churche where yt
is appoynted and Determyned that my Tombe and monument
shalbe errected and builte, which at this present ys finished
and Wanteth nothing but setting vp. And I especiallie will
and require that my ffunalls be not ouer sumptuous or

\[\text{Confirmat}\]
\[\text{1612}\]

\[1612\]

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2 The church has now become Derby Cathedral. The tomb was probably by Robert Smythson and
one design for it, although not exactly as executed, survives amongst his drawings. Girouard, 'The
Smythson Collection', pp. 30 and 69.
otherwise perfourmed with twoe muche vayne and idle
chardge requyring only that they be accomplished in decent
and convenient order fit for that estate and Degree wherunto
yt hath pleased my most mercifull god to preferre me ffor the
which my ffuneralls I will and appoynte twoe thowsand
poundes to be bestowed and the same to be finished within
three monethes next after my decease.\(^3\) And allso I will and
appoynte that my ffamilie be kept together at my ordinarie
expenses vntill my bodye shalbe buryed: And likewise that
my houshould Servauntes haue allowaunce of meate and
drunke and Lodging at my like chardge at my house at
Hardwicke yf they will take yt there by the space of one
whole monethe next after my ffunerall for the better
bestowing of them selues in the meane tyme : And I giue and
appoynte one thowsand poundes to be payed and bestowed
amongst my Servaunts in suche manner and forme as the
same or any parte therof by any schedule or wryting vnder
my hande and Seale at any tyme [\_] thereafter\(^4\) shall from
tyme to tyme during my life be set downe limited declared or
appoynted. and the same to be payed according to the saied
Schedule within tenne dayes next after the finishing of my
saied ffunerall. And yf there be any parte of the saied somme

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\(^3\) The exact date of Bess's funeral is unknown, although in a letter to Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, from the Earl of Arundel it is stated that the funeral will be on 4 or 5 May 1608. *A Calendar of the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers*, ii, p. 252. References to the funeral expenses may be found in Hardwick MS 29, intermittently through pp. 4-43 and p. 90. It is clear that more than £2000 was spent.

\(^4\) Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'hereafter'.
of one thousand pounds left unbestowed and not disposed by any such schedule or writing as aforesaid: Then my Will ys that the same parte so left in the same Wryting unbestowed shalbe disposed and bestowed to suche person or persons be they Servauntes or not servaunts and to suche vse or vses as I by the same Schedule shall nominate and set downe: Allso I giue and bequeathe to every of the poore of my Almehouse of my foundation at Derbye that shalbe there living at the tyme of my Deceasse one mourning gowne and twentie shillings a piece in money, the money to be payed them the daye of my funerall. Allso I giue vnto my very loving grandchild Arbella Stewart my christall glasse trimmed with siluer and guilte and sett with lapis Lazarus and aggetts and one Sable the head beyng of gould sett with stone and a white Ermyn Sable the head likewise of gould enamiled and set with stone and all my Pearle and Jewells which I shall haue at the tyme of my deathe except suche as shalbe otherwise bequeathed by this my last will. And I giue to my sayed grandchild Arbella Stewart one thousand pounds in money. And I giue to my Daughter Grace wife of my sonne Henry Cavendishe a hundred Aungells to buy her

5 Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'Stuart', Arbella's preferred spelling, throughout.
6 A list of unknown date probably in Bess's handwriting records 'a glase with a foot of sylvar and gylte tryned with lapus and aggetts' (Sheffield Archives, MD 6311/5). It is possible, but far from certain, that this should be associated with Bess's list of items 'geuen by the scotys qyene to my lord and me' (Sheffield Archives, MD 6311/4).
7 No complete inventory of Bess's jewels at this time is known. However, Sheffield Archives, MD 6311 contains several partial lists of jewels of various dates, including 1567 and 1592, and a very rough list of items 'geven by the scotys quene to my lord and me'. The same series of documents also includes lists of plate.
a Rynge to weare for me. And to William Cavendishe sonne
and heire Apparunt of my sonne William my Cuppe of Lapis
Lazarus with the Cover to yt all garnished with gould
ennameled⁸ as an heireloome to goe with the house of
Hardwicke and to stand entayled after the sayed William the
Younger his Deceasse in suche manner and forme as my
furniture of houshould stuffe at my howse or howses at
Hardwicke stand hereafter by theise presents entayled. And I
giue to James Cavendishe second sonne of my saide sonne
William One thowsand poundes The whiche Thowsand
poundes together with all the profitt that may arise theruppon
and be raysed after the Rate of Twentie nobles in the
hundred by the yere from the tyme of the saied sixe
monethes after my deceasse vntill the sayed James shall
accomplishe the age of Twentie yeres I will shalbe payed
alltogether at one whole payment to hym by my saied
Sonne William his father his heires executors or assignes or
somme of them when he the saied James shall accomplishe
the sayed age of Twentie yeres Allso I giue to ffrauncys
Cavendishe Daughter of my sayed sonne William One
thowsand poundes the which thowsand poundes together
with all the profitt that may arise theruppon and be raysed
after the Rate of Twentie nobles in the hundred by the yere

⁸ As with the crystal glass trimmed with lapus above, a list of unknown date probably in Bess’s
handwriting records ‘a cupe of lapers and goulde’ (Sheffield Archives, MD 6311/5). It is possible,
but far from certain, that this should be associated with Bess’s list of items ‘geuen by the scotys
quene to my lord and me’ (Sheffield Archives, MD 6311/4).
from the tyme of the sayed sixe monethes after my Decease
vntill the sayed ffrauncys shall accomplishe the age of
eighteene yeres I do will shalbe payed to her alltogeather at
one whole payment by my said Sonne william her father his
heires executors or assignes or some of them when she the
sayed ffrauncys shall accomplishe the sayed age of eighteene
yeres: The which twoe seuerall Legaceys of a thowsand
poundes a peece so giuen to the sayed James and ffrauncys
children of my sayed Sonne william my mynde ys the same
shalbe payed fourthe of my Debtes: Allso I giue vnto my
daught' ffrauncys wife of my Sonne Henry Peirpyoynte
esquyer my greate booke of gould sett with stones, with her
fathers Picture and my picture drawne in yt and twoe
hundred poundes in money: ⁹ And to Robert Peirpointe Sonne
and heire apparaunt of the saied Henry and ffrauncys thirtie
poundes to buye hym [/] A Ringe withall to weare for me
And to theire daughter Elizabeth Stapleton nowe wife of
Richard Stapleton sonne and heire apparaunt of Brian
Stapleton esq' Twentie poundes to buye her a Ringe withall
to weare for me: To theire sonne in lawe George Manners
and theire Daughter Grace his nowe wife, a hundred Angells
to buy them a Cuppe: And to Elizabeth Manners Daughter of

⁹ It is possible that this book is the one mentioned in the accounts for May 1550 as 'my wyffe
Booke being sett wt stones made by Gardener the goldsmith', which cost in total £13 6s. (Folger
Shakespeare Library, MS X.d.486. It is probably also identifiable with the entry in a list of jewels
in 1567: 'Itm one booke of gold w[h].x. Rubies and iij sasers and one dyamond w[h] ij pyctures in
the same' (Sheffield Archives, MD 6311/1 and MD 6311/3).
the sayed George and Grace twentie poundes to buye her a Rynge to weare for me. To ffrauncys Peirpoynte and Marie Peirpoynte towne other of the Daughters of my sayed Sonne Henry Peirpoynte and my daughter ffraunys either of them twenty poundes a piece to buye either of them a Ringe to weare for me. Allso I will and bequeathe that my executor for the tyme beyng shall paye ffyve poundes in money after my Deceasse yerelie to my Daughter Anne Baynton during her husbands life and hers for and towards her mayntenence onlye & yf she ouerliue her sayed husband. Then I will that yerelie payment to cease, and my sayed executor to paye to her ffiftie poundes in money within sixe monethes next after her sayed husbands decease, to be by her disposed at her best liking. And because yt hath pleased god to giue me leave to vndertake and performe some buildinges at my houses ef at Chatesworthe Hardwicke and Oldcoates in the Countie of Derby and to obteyne some plate beddinges hangings and other furniture of housshould the which I greatlie desire should be well preserved and contynewe at my sayed houses for the better furnishing therof into whose possession soeuer of my bloud the sayed houses shall come as I truste and most hartielie praye that with gods pleasure the same shall so longe contynewe for theire better Service vnto theire Prince and Countrie: Therfore I giue vnto my sayed Wellbeloued sonne

10 Anne, wife of Sir Henry Bainton, was the daughter of Bess’s husband, William Cavendish, by his first wife, Margaret Bostock.
Countrie: Therfore I giue vnto my sayed Wellbeloued sonne Henry Cavendishe and the heires male of his bodye: And for defaulte of suche yssue then to my saied sonne william Cavendishe and the heires male of his bodye And for want default of suche yssue to the heires females of the bodye of the sayed William Cavendishe my sonne of my sayed Sonne William: And for defaulte of suche yssue to the heires females of the bodye of the sayed James Cavendishe second sonne of my sayed Sonne william: And for defaulte of suche yssue to my lovinge grundchilde Arbella Stewart, and to ffrauncys Cavendishe Daughter of my sayed sonne william Cavendishe and to the heires of the saied Arbella and ffrauncys Cavendishe for euer: All my plate Bedding Hanginges and other furniture of howsheould stuffe nowe remayning at my saied house at Chatsworthe and which ar set downe by waye of Inventarye in one Schedule to theise presents annexed All which furniture of housshould stuffe my minde and will ys shall contynewe and remayne there at my saied house at Chatsworthe aforesaied: Allso I will and bequeathe vnto my saied Sonne william Cavendishe and the heires males of his bodye. And for Defaulte of suche yssue, then to remayne vnto the heires females of the bodye of the saied william Cavendishe sonne of my sayed Sonne william And for defaulte of suche yssue to the heires females of the bodye of the saied James Cavendishe second sonne of my
sayed sonne william. And for defaulte of suche issue Then to 
remayne to my lovinge graundchilde Arbella Stewart and to 
ffrauncys Cavendishe Daughter of my saied sonne william 
Cavendishe and to the heires of the saied Arbella and 
ffrauncys for euer: All my plate Bedding hanginges: and 
other furniture of houshould stuffe nowe and at the tyme of 
my Decease remayning or beyng at my house or howses at 
Hardwicke and which nowe and at [?] Hardwicke and which 
nowe and at the tyme of my decease ar set downe by waie of 
Inventory in one other scedule to theise presents annexed all 
which ffurniture of houshold stuffe at my house or houses at 
Hardwicke my mynde and will ys shalle contynewe and 
remayne at my saied house or houses at Hardwicke: And I do 
further by theise presents will bequeath and giue vnto my 
saied sonne william Cavendishe and the heires males of his 
bodye wth like Remaynders ouer and to the like intent and 
purpose asys before Limited touching my furniture of 
houshould stuffe at my house or howses at Hardwicke all the 
beddings hanginges and other ffurniture of houshold stuffe 
which at the tyme of my decease I shall haue remayning and 
beyng at my house at Oldcoates in the sayed Countie of 
Derby for the more better and more suer contynewing of the 
same at my said house there in like manner as ys before 
prouided for my house or houses at Hardwicke. And to thend
that all my saied plate Bedding hanginges and other
ffurniture before bequeathed may the longer contynewe and
be reserved at and vnto my sayed howses in suche sorte as I
haue before bequeathed the same, I especiallie will declare
and appoynte that noe pretended will gifte or devise to any
other person or persons of the sayed former bequeathed plate
Beddinges hanginges or furniture to be allowed or held good
in Lawe vnlesse the same be shewed fourthe in wryting by
my owne hand hereaft to be sealed and subscribed and by
me openlie published and declared to be my last will with
revocation of all former willes in the presence of fflower or
more lawfull witnesses present at my soe Doyng the same.
And I further will and especially requyer that all and euery of
the sayed persons to whome the vse and occupacon of the
sayed plate Bedding hanginges and other furniture as\textsuperscript{11} so
nowe generallie bequeathed or appoynted as aforesayed shall
haue speciall care and regarde to p[re]serue the same from all
manner of wett mothe and other houertie or spoyle therof and
to leave them so preserved to contynewe at the sayed
seuerall houses as aforesayed for the better furnishing them
therewithall. And in token of my most loyall affeccon and
due acknowledging of the many righte princelye favoures
longe contynewed vnto me her true and faithfull servaunte

\textsuperscript{11} Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has ‘is’.

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from my most gracious\textsuperscript{12} Soveraigne Ladye and Mistris the Quenes most excellent Maiestie I do giue vnto her highnes twoe hundred poundes in gould to be bestowed of a Cuppe of gould to be presented to her most gracious Maiestie moste humblie beseeching her sacred Maiestie to accept that poore widowes Myte as a Remembrance from her that hath allways beyne a Dutifull and faithfull harte to her highnes: To whose most excellent M\textsuperscript{14} I make this my most humble earnest and last requeste that yt would please her highnes to haue compassion and to be good and gratious to my poore graund childe Arbella Stewart accordinglie as her Maiestie hath most graciouslye offten tyymes sayed vnto me that she would do for her poore Orphant nowe lefte only to depend vpon her gracious prouidence: And I most humblie beseeche her Maiestie to receyve the sayed\textsuperscript{13} Arbella Stewart to attend vpon her highnes yf it may so stande with her gracious pleasure as the cheifest conforte vnto my sayed poore desolate Orphant, for whose most special\textsuperscript{14} faithfull Loyalitie and carefull willing service vnto her highnes in all true allegeaunce I do and dare answere for her as for my selfe. And I do further most humblie entreate her most royall Maiestie that yt would please her to be good and gracious to all my children which humble Sute I presume to make the

\textsuperscript{12} Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 adds 'and'.
\textsuperscript{13} Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'poore' crossed out.
\textsuperscript{14} Not in Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9.
rather in respect of my former faithfull service and Desire
pardon for my presumption in theise requests, the [/]
the which her Maiesties euer most gracious vsuage towards
me emboldneth me thus to preferre to her fauorable and most
gracious consideration. And I do ordeyne and make my saied
Sonne william Cavendishe the true and onlie executor of this
my last will and testament for and during his life: And after
his Deathe Then I will and appoint that william Cavendishe
the Sonne and heire apparaunt of my sayed Sonne william
shalbe the sole executor of this my sayed last will for the
tearme of his life onlye And after his Deathe then I will that
every heire male of the bodye of the sayed William
Cavendishe the sonne of my sayed Sonne William shalbe the
sole executor of this my last will successiuelie one after
another for the tearme of theire naturall lyves onlie: And for
defaulte of suche heire male of the bodye of the sayed
william Sonne of the saied william Cavendishe my sonne:
Then I will that James Cavendish second sonne of the saied
william my Sonne shalbe the sole executor of this my last
will, for the terme of his life onlye. And after his Deathe then
I will that every heire male of the bodye of the sayed James
Cavendishe the second sonne shalbe the sole executor of this
my sayed last will successiuelye one after an other for terme
of theire n[atu]ral lyves onlye. And for defaulte of suche
heire male Then I will that every heire male of my sayed
sonne william shalbe the sole executor of this my sayed last will successiuelie one after an other for the tearme of theire naturall lyves onylye. And after all theire Deathes and for defaulte of suche heire male of my sayed Sonne william Cavendishe his bodye Then I will and ordeyne that euery heire of my sayed Sonne william Cavendishe his bodye shalbe the sole executor of this my sayed last will successiuely one after an other for terme of theire naturall lyves onlye. And for Defaulte of suche yssue heire of the bodie of my sayed sonne william Cavendishe, Then I will and ordayne that euery righte heire of my sayed Sonne william Cavendishe shalbe the sole executor of this my sayed last will successiuelie one after an other for terme of theire naturall lyves onlye, I especiallye appoyntinge and most earnestlye chardging euery my sayed seuerall executors vppon his dutie towards me and vppon the faithfull confidence which I repose in hym that he will for and during his seuerall tymes of Executo'shippe when yt shall happen see all my legaceys which before in this my Will ar not limted to any certeyne tym when the same shalbe payed to be trulie payed discharged and performed within sixe monethes next after my deathe: And my ffuneralls and other Legaceys which ar before in this my Will limted to a certeyne tym that he will see the same trulie accomplished finished and discharged accordinglie. And further considering with my
selfe howe frayle and subiect to Chaunge, the life of man ys
in this transitorie worlde and that the same may be well
compared to a shadowe which vanisheth awaye with euery
Clowde and hathe no Contynewaunce certeyne: Therfore
submitting my selfe therein vnto the omnipotent power and
secreat pleasure of Almighty god that yf it be his will which
I hartelye praye and wishe to the Contrarye to call out of this
worlde my sayed Sonne William Cavendishe in my life tyme
or in shorte tyme after my decease before he shall or maye
accomplishe and performe this my last will and testament
and by suche vnlooked for and vncerteyne Deathe or by
other meanes my sayed Sonne do faile in performance of the
same, or by suche deathe impose the burthen of
p[er]formance therof vpon some that is appoynted to be my
sole executor and whoe then may happen to be within age
and not of sufficient Judgment or discretion to see or [/]
cause my ffuneralls and bequestes and Legaceys to be
dischardged according to the true intent and meaninge of this
my saied last will therfore having no lesse regarde to haue
my will performed then I haue to make the same in this
behalfe I am to desire and earnestly entreate the assistaunce
of suche noble and honorable persons and myndes and of
suche my good ffireindes in whome I repose my cheifest
confidence: And herein I am most earnestly and hartelye to

15 Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'vntymely'.
request and beseeche my honorable good freinds my Lorde
Archbishoppe of Canterburye cheife primate of England\textsuperscript{16}
his grace and Sr Thomas Egerton knighte Lorde keeper of the
greate Seale of England\textsuperscript{17} my good ffreind and brother John
Manners of Haddon in the sayd Countie of Derbye esquire\textsuperscript{18}
and my sayed loving Sonne Henry Peirpoynet of Holme
Peirpoynet in the Countie of Nottingham esquyer\textsuperscript{19} to yeald
me theire kynde and loving assistaunce in this behalfe and to
be my executors of this my sayed last will to this ende and
purpose and only vpon theise conditions and Contingents
folowinge that ys to saye that yf my sayed sonne William
Cavendish dye in my lifetyme the sayed william Cavendishe
his sonne or any other person or heire male before appoynted
to be the succeedinge executor beyng at the tyme of my
Decease within the age of twentie and one yeres, Or yf my
sayed sonne Willm Cavendishe shall happen to dye after my
Decease and before he shall finishe and perfectlie
dischardge my sayed ffuneralls by the tyme appoynted by
this my last will or before he shall haue payed and performed
all suche money bequests and Legaceys I meane bequeasts

\textsuperscript{16} In 1601 when Bess wrote her will the Archbishop of Canterbury was John Whitgift (1583-1604). At the time of her death in 1608 he had been succeeded by Richard Bancroft (1604-1611).
\textsuperscript{17} Sir Thomas Egerton (1540-1617), created Lord Keeper in 1596 and Lord Chancellor in 1603.
\textsuperscript{18} John Manners (c. 1528-1611), second son of the 1\textsuperscript{st} Earl of Rutland. Married Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall and inherited that property as her husband in 1567. He was not Bess's 'brother'. He had been the brother of Gertrude Manners, the first wife of George Talbot, and was therefore uncle to the Talbot children, two of whom had married Cavendish spouses. John Manners's son, George, married Bess's grand-daughter, Grace Pierrepont.
\textsuperscript{19} Henry Pierrepont was the husband of Bess's daughter, Frances. H/279/9 has 'Pierrepont' throughout.
and Legaceys which are to be performed by payment of money within sixe monethes next after my Decease, the sayed william his sonne or any other person or heire male before appoynted to be the succedinge executor beyng at the tyme of my sayed sonne William Cavendishe his Decease within the age of Twentie and one yeres or yf my sayed Sonne William doe lyve three monethes after my decease and shall not haue dischardged my sayed ffuneralls within the sayed three monethes or liue sixe monethes next after my decease and shall not haue Dischardged my sayed money Legaceys and bequests which are appoynted to be performed by payment of money within the sayed sixe monethes Then and not otherwise I do by this my will and testament presuming of theire honourable and loving consents therunto ordayne and make the sayed my honorable ffreindes, the Lord Archbishopp of Canterbury the sayed Lord Keeper or Lord Chauncellor at\(^\text{20}\) this tyme beyng my sayed good Brother John Manners and my loving sonne Henry Pierpoynste and the Survuior of the sayed John and Henry my executors or executor of the somme of fyve thowsand one hundred and twoe poundes of good and lawfull readye money which is tould and Compted put vp in bagges and locked vp in a Chest and Deliuered to my sayed

\(^{20}\) Hardwick drawers, H/279/9 has ‘for’, crossed out, having inserted the ‘at’ above the line, throughout.
Sonne William Cavendishe for hym to take the charge
therof, and for his heires executors and Administrators to be
answerable for the same, in such sorte as shalbe agreeying to
and with the true intent of this my Will. And my minde and
will ys that yf my sayed honorable good ffreindes the Lord
Archbishopp of Canterburye Lord keeper or Lord
Chauncellor at this tyme beyng my sayed good Brother John
Manners and my sonne Henry Pierpoynte or the Survivor of
the sayed John and Henry they or any of them by reason of
any suche Contingents Casualties or Condicons as
aforesayed or any of them comming to passe shall fortune to
be my executors or executor of the sayed Somme of ffyve
thowsand one hundred and twoe poundes: Then my Will and
expresse mynde ys they or some of them within [\]
twoe Monethes then next after shall with so muche of the
sayed somme of ffyve thowsand one hundred and twoe
poundes as shall suffice for that purpose Dischardge finishe
and perfect so muche of my sayed ffuneralls as shalbe lefte
vnfinished or vnperfected by any the meanes or casualties
aforesayed:21 And that they or some of them shall allso with
so muche of the saied somme of ffyve thowsand one hundred
and twoe poundes as shall suffice for that purpose paie and
discharge within three monethes next after suche their
authoritie or executorshippe begonne so muche of my money

21 The £5102 are accounted for in Hardwick Drawers, H/279/13.
legaceys and bequestes wth by my sayed will ar to be
performed with payment of money and appoynted therby to
be payed within sixe monethes after my Deceasse: And that
my sayed honorable good Lords and my good brother
Manners and sonne Pierpoynte or some of them shall allso
take and receyue so muche of the residue of the sayed
somme of ffyve thowsand one hundred and twoe poundes as
shall or maye suffice to satisfie to euery of them to euery of
theire propper vse one hundred poundes a peece in
recompence of theire paynes and kyndenes in dischardging
my truste in them reposed: and so muche more of my
executor22 as shall satisfie to my saied Brother John Manners
and my sonne Henry Pierpoynte and the Survivuor of them or
to suche person or persons as the sayed Lord Archbishop
Lord keeper or Lord Chauncellor at this tyme beyng shall
employe in and abowte the same of and for all suche costes
expenses and charges which they or either of them shalbe at
in or abowte theire travaile Counsell and iorneys taken for
the performance of my sayed truste reposed as aforesayded
with this my speciall and hartie request to my saied
honorable freindes and the rest that ouer and besides suche
theire disposing of the saied somme of ffyve thowsand one
hundred and twoe poundes, they will haue Care and

22 Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'more of my executor' inserted above the line and 'thereof' also' crossed out.
remembrance of the twoe thousand poundes more that is
bestowed of James Cavendishe and ffrauncys Cavendishe
children of my sayed Sonne William Cavendishe to either of
them one thousand poundes and of the benefitt that shall
arise therupon that the same may be ordred and performed
according to the true entent and meaning of this my sayed
last will. And I straightlie chardge my saied sonne Willm
Cavendishe of the loue and dutie of a childe towards me that
during his life he will take suche order that whether he liue
or dye that aswell the sayed twoe thousand poundes
bestowed vppon his sayed twoe children James and
ffrauncys and the benefitt therofshalbe disposed of and for
them according to this my Will as allso that the said somme
of ffyve thousand one hundred and twoe poundes so locked
vp in the sayed chest and so Deliuered vnto hym for the true
intsents and purposes aforesd may be allwayes in readynes
when soeuer he hym selfe or any of my sayed fower
executors of the sayed Somme of ffyve thousand one
hundred and twoe pounds or any other person for the tyme
beynge which by the true Intent and meaninge of this my
sayed last will shall haue occasion and oughte of righte to
vse the same: So that my mynde and will ys that my sayed
honorable good freindes the Lord Archbishopp of
Canterbury Lord Keeper of the greate Seale or Lord
Chauncellor at this tyme beyng my loving brother John
Manners and my sonne Henry Pierpoynte or the Survivor of my sayed brother Manners and Sonne Pierpoynte shall not be my executors or executor of any my goods Jewells credits Debtes plate houshould stuffe or other thinges (other then of the sayed somme of fyve thowsand one hundred and twoe poundes of readie money locked as aforesayed in a chest for those purposes and true intents before in this my Will declared. I the sayed Countesse in all other Respectes allowing by theise presents confirming [?] the authoritie of my sayed sonne william Cavendishe and of the said William Cavendish Sonne of my saied sonne william euery the heires male of the bodye of the sayed William Cavendishe sonne of my sayed Sonne William and of the sayed James Cavendishe second sonne of the sayed william Cavendishe my sonne and of euery heire male of the bodye of the sayed James Cavendishe, and of all the rest as they successiuelie ar appoynted executor of my sayed last will euery of them to be my executo' successiuelie in order according to the true Intente and meaning of this my last will and of the conditions and Contingents therein conteyned. And further yf it shall so fortune that my sayed honorable ffreindes the Lord Archbishopp of Canterburie his grace at this tyme beyng, the sayed Lord keeper or Lord Chancello' at this tyme beyng my brother John Manners and my Sonne

23 Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 inserts 'and'.
Henry Pierpoynhte or some of them shalbe my executors as aforesayed and shall haue Dischardged the truste in them reposed and soe there executorshippe to be ended. Or yf it shall so fortune that not any of them shall at all become my executors of my last will by reason that my sayed Sonne William Cavendishe (which I desire god of his greate merce to graunte) may Well liue to be my executor and to dischardge this my last will, and so by possibilitye the rest with gods grace may be of lawfull age and sufficient to do the like Yet neuerthelessse my last and verye earnest request to my sayed honorable ffreindes the Lord Archbishopp Lord Keeper or Lord Chauncellor at this tyme beyng my kynde brother John Manners and my lovynge Sonne Henry Pierpoynhte and to euery of them ys that after suche tyme as theire sayed Executorshippe shall happen to be so ended as afore sayed and vntill they shall happen to be my executors as aforesayed and during the tyme of theire sayed executorshippe that they and euery of them will accept and take vpon them to be Supervisors of this my last will and testament touching suche thinges wherof they ar not my executors, and giue theire best counsell favoure and furtheraunce to my executor for the tyme beyng to and for the true and faithfull performance of this my last will. And that yf neede require they will not lett to vnderstand of suche my executor for the tyme beyng what carefull and myndefull
course he doth take to see the saied twoe seuerall legaceys of
a thousand poundes a peece to James and ffrauncys children
of my saied sonne William to be dulie performed and
Disposed of for theire vse and benefitt according to this my
last will. And lastlie moste earnestlie Desiringe them (yf
there be occasion ) to make and maynteyne peace and vnitie
amongst my children) And whereas there hath ben
vnkyndnes offered me by my Sonne in lawe the Earle of
Shrewsburie and my daughter his wife and likewise by my
sonne Charles Cavendishe by thevel meanes: I do
notwithstanding remitt all wronges and Injuryes which they
haue done against me and do praye god to blesse them and to
blesse and prosper theirs as allso to blesse all the Rest of my
children with all concord and good temporall and heavenlie
blessings. ffurther my Will ys that my sayed honorable
ffreindes the Lord Archbishoppe of Canterburye Lord keeper
or Lord Chauncellor at this tyme beynge my loving brother
John Manners and my Sonne Henry Pierpoynte shall haue
every of them his saied seuerall Legacey of a hundred
poundes payed within sixe monethes after my deceasse to
every of them y\textsuperscript{i} shalbe then lyving. And I giue vnto my
sayed loving brother John Manners one standing Cuppe of
aboute fortie ounces weighte which her most gracious
Maiestie did giue me at the last Newyerestyde. Allso yf my
Monument or Tombe [/] beyng allradye finished and made
be not errected and set vp in the place appoynted for yt in my life tyme: Then I will that a hundred poundes parcelle of the sayed fflyve thowsand one hundred and twoe poundes shalbe ymployed towards the setting vp therof and for the full finishing of all thinges therto belonging. And all the Residue and remayne of all my goodes Debtes and Chattells which doth or shall remayne ouer and aboue that which shall dischardge or paye my ffuneralls guifts and legaceys heretofore specified and bequeathed in this my last will and testam1 and which I shall not otherwise dispose of or giue awaye in my life tyme I speciallie will giue and bequeathe the same to my sayed sonne William Cavendish to his onlie vse & behoofe for euermore. Allso I giue vnto my sayed Sonne william Cavendish all the Deedes wrytinges and evidences in my possession or at my disposition at the tyme of my Deathe the which any wayes name or conteyne any of yᵉ Mannors landes tenements and hereditaments which at any tyme ought to be remayne or contynewe vnto my sayed Sonne William Cavendishe by force or the true meaning of any guifte or Conveyaunce thereof heretofore intended or made. And in witnesse that this present writing Indented is my true and only last will and testament, I do hereby revoke renounce and vttterlie disavowe all other willes and testaments by me at any tyme heretofore made or published and all other wordes and wrytinges any wayes to be
mentyoned or preferred to be my last will vnlesse the same shalbe by my owne hand after this tyme sealed and subscribed and by me openlie published and Declared to be my last will: with revocation of all former willes in the presence of fower or more lawfull witnesses present at my so doynge the same: And for more confirmation of the premisses, I here openlie and very advisedlye seale this writing Indented with the Seale of my Armes and subscribe the same with my owne hande and openlie, in all sinceritie publishe and declare this onlie to be my last will and testament the very daye and yere first aboue written. E: Shrovesbury: Sealed subscribed and published by the Righthonorable the withinnamed Elizabeth Countesse of Shrewburye Dowager as her last will and testament the daye and yere within written in the presence of vs Nicholas Kynnersley  

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24 Kinnersley was Bess’s steward at Wingfield.
25 Starkey was one of Bess’s household chaplains and tutor to her son William’s children. He was to commit suicide in 1603, apparently over his involvement in Arbella’s plots.
26 In 1595 Broadbent was the Queen’s Receiver at Nottingham. It is unclear whether he later entered Bess’s service.
27 Chaworth was one of Bess’s legal advisors and married to her step-niece, Mary Kniveton.
28 Reason was Bess’s receiver.
29 Parker’s name appears in the list of servants’ wages for 1600.
30 Pusey was by this time Bess’s steward and the most prominent and highly placed of the gentlemen of her household.
31 Dandridge’s name appears in the list of servants’ wages for 1599.
Be yt knowne that whereas I Elizabethe Countesse of Shrewsbury Dowager made my last will and testament in Wryting bearing Date the seven and twentith daye of Aprill in the three and fortithe yere of the Raigne of most of' gracious soueraigne Ladye the Quenes most excellent Maiestie that nowe is that nowe forasmuche as I haue chaunged my mynde only touching all and euery guifte Legacey and bequest made Limited or appoynted in or by my sayd last will either vnto my graundchilde Arbella Stewart or vnto my Sonne Henry Cavendishe and am fullie Determyned and resolved that neither my sayed graundchilde Arbella Stewart nor the sayed Henry Cavendishe nor either of them shall take or haue any benefitt by any suche guifte Legacey [/] or bequest I do therfore by this Codicill Declare that my Will ys that all and euery guifte Legacey and bequest by me seuerallie giuen limited or appoynted either to my sayed graundchilde Arbella Stewart or to my sayed Sonne Henry Cavendishe by my sayed last will shalbe vtterlie frustrate voyde and of none effect as thoughe my sayed

32 Sheldon's name appears in the list of servants' wages for 1599.
33 Banes was probably in the household of William Cavendish. In 1602 he is recorded as music master to William and Frances Cavendish, Bess's grandchildren.
34 There seems little doubt that the witnesses not individually identified were also in the employ of Bess or William Cavendish.
grandchilde Arbella Stewart and Henry Cavendishe had neuer ben named nor memoed in the same: And for and concerning all other things in my sayed last will mentioned other then the sayed Legaceys to my sayed grandchilde Arbella Stewart and to Henry Cavendishe I do by this present Codicill confirme and ratifie my sayed last will to stand good and firme. And my Will ys that this Codicill or Schedule be and be adiuaged and taken to be parcell of my sayed last will and to be of force by the righte of a schedule Codicill or by any other Righte in the best manner that may be: And I will and require my executor for the tyme beyng and named in my sayed last will that he do not nor will not paye nor cause to be payed or deliuered any of the sayed Legaceys by me giuen by my saied last will either vnto my sayed grandchilde Arbella Stewart or to my sayed sonne Henry Cavendishe and in all other poynettes trulie and faithfully to performe my sayed last will. In Witnesse wherof to this present Codicill I haue set to my Seale and subscribed my name the twentith daye of Marche in the fyve and fortithe yere of the Raigne of oure most gracious Soueraigne Ladye Eliza: by the grace of god Quene of England ffraunce and Ireland Defender of the faithe &c: 1602. E:

Subscribed sealed and published in the
presence of vs John Bentley 36 Tymothie Pusye: William
Claye Abraham Sheldon Nicholas Kynnersley John
Hayward 37 Robert Parker John Hall.

Be yt knowen vnto all men that I the within named
Countesse beyng of good and perfect memorye (thankes be
to god) Do this put 38 ffyveteenth daye of August in the
fourthe yere of the Raigne of oure Soueraigne Lord James by
the grace of god kinge of Englande ffaunce and Ireland and
of Scotlande the fortithe Declare and publishe this within
Written togeather with the Schedule or Codicill sealed with
my Seale and subscribed with my hande therunto annexed to
be the last will and testament of me the sayed Countesse:
And I do hereby in euery article Clause Sentence matter of 39
thinge therein conteyned ratifie establishe and confirme the
same according to the true meaning of the within Written
Will and of the saied Schedule or Codicill (any matter or
thinge heretofore done or happened to the Contrary therof in
any Wise notwithstandinge In Witnesse wherof I haue
hereunto subscribed my name with my owne hande the Daye
and yere last aboue mentioned in the presence of: E:

36 Bentley was one of Bess’s chaplains and her bailiff at Duffield. In a letter to Mr. Eltofts in 1608
he complained bitterly about Bess’s failure to leave him anything in her will: ‘The late Countess
bequeathed me only one Legacy, a dirty journey to London to witness her last will’ (A Calendar of
the Shrewsbury and Talbot Papers, ii, p. 250). The letter also names the people, including Bentley,
who accompanied Bess’s body to Derby and fixes the date of this removal as Tuesday 16 February
1607/8.
37 Hayward’s name appears in the servants’ wages for 1600.
38 Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has ‘p[re]sent’.
39 Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has ‘and’.
Shrovesbury. William Bowes Nicholas Lowe: Timothie Pusye Robet Bruen: Geo: Cartwrighte

Memorand that the sayed Countesse within the space of Twenty Dayes next before her death beyng of perfect mynde and remembraunce Did by Word add vnto her Will formerlie made in Wrytinge as followethe: ffirst she chargd her sonne Willm Lord Cavendishe to bestowe one hundred poundes or some thinge that the profit therof might be bestowed as occasion should require for repayring her Almehouse at Derbye for euer: Allso she tould the sayed Lord Cavendishe her Sonne that she would giue haue hym giue to her Daughter Shrewsburye from her the pearle Bedd with all that belonged to yt in that Chaumber [.] (except the hanginges which she would not giue her: Allso she gaue vnto her Sonne Sr Charles Cavendishe knighte fower thowsand markes for hym to bestowe on land for his tWO sonnes viz tWO thowsand markes a peece for either of his Sonnes: Allso she gaue to Mrthes Elizabethe Digbie one hundred poundes: To Mrthes Florence Blackwell ffortie poundes: To Mrth Marye Cartewrighte thritie poundes: To

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40 A gentleman of Bess's household, presumably related to her lady-in-waiting, Mary Cartwright.
41 Bagshawe was Bess’s steward at Kirkby.
42 Elizabeth Digby, the daughter of Bess's half-sister Mary, was the most important of Bess’s ladies-in-waiting.
Dorothie Jepson twenty poundes: Allso she toulde the sayed Lord Cavendishe her Sonne that M' Claye of Criche did owe her one hundred poundes, wherof she did giue fiftie poundes to the sayed M' Claye and fiftie poundes she gaue to his daughter M' Mary Claye. Allso she gaue to the Righthonorable the Earle of Salisbury a Cuppe of goulde of hers beyng of the valewe of one hundred poundes or therabouts Allso she gaue to the Deane of his Maiesties chappell and to S' walther Cope knighte either of them twenty poundes: And likewise at diuers tymes within the sayed space of twenty dayes next before her death she sayed to the sayed Lord Cavendishe her sonne: I haue made my Will and haue made you my Executor. and I neither haue done nor will do any thinge to houre yt.

43 Mary Claye married Bess's steward, Timothy Pusey.
44 Sir Walter Cope, d. 1614, builder of Holland House, was a politician who became Chamberlain of the Exchequer in 1609 and Master of the Wards in 1613.
Appendix Five

Inventories consulted in Chapter Three

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Baynard’s Castle, London</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Katherine of Aragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>J.G. Nichols, ‘Inventories of the Wardrobes, Plate, Chapel Stuff, Etc. of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, and of the Wardrobe Stuff at Baynard’s Castle of Katharine, Princess Dowager’, The Camden Miscellany, 3 (1855), 1-41 (pp. 1-21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>On her death but not probate. Items to be taken back into the Royal Wardrobe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged by type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Chatsworth, Derbyshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>c. 1559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Elizabeth Cavendish, later Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/143/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Attached to a deed of entail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged by type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>See Appendix Two.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Chatsworth, Derbyshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Mid to late 1560s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Elizabeth Cavendish, later Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/143/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged room by room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incomplete and informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>See Appendix Three.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Chatsworth, Derbyshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Elizabeth Talbot, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Appended to the Countess’ will, with the intention of itemising goods which she was bequeathing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged on room by room. Plate and linen listed separately.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>See Appendix Four for complete list of all documents concerning will and inventory.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Place: Cheseworth, Sussex
Date: 1549
Owner: Thomas Seymour, Lord Admiral
Source: Henry Ellis, ‘Inventories of Goods, Etc., in the Manor of Cheseworth…’  
Sussex Archaeological Collections, 13 (1861), 118-26
Purpose: Attainder
Notes: Lists hangings first on a room-by-room basis. Then other textiles by type and not room-by-room, then furniture. Finally service areas by function.
No valuations

Place: Condover, Shropshire
Date: 1599
Owner: Thomas Owen
Purpose: Probate
Notes: Arranged by type
Valuations

Place: Gilling Castle, Yorkshire
Date: 1594
Owner: Sir William Fairfax
Source: Edward Peacock, ‘Inventories Made for Sir William and Sir Thomas
Fairfax, Knights, of Walton, and of Gilling Castle, Yorkshire, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, *Archaeologia*, 48 (1885), 121-56 (pp. 123-36)

**Purpose**
Domestic

**Notes**
Plate listed first, then room by room, linen listed last.

**Valuations**

**Place**
**Hardwick Halls, Derbyshire**

**Date**
1601

**Owner**
Elizabeth Talbot, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick)

**Source**
Lindsay Boynton, ‘The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601’, *Furniture History*, 7 (1971), 1-40;
Lindsay Boynton, *The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601* (London: Furniture History Society, 1971);
*Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick* (London: The National Trust, 2001);
Public Record Office, Probate 11/111 fols. 188-92;
Public Record Office, Probate 10/254;
Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9;
Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/10.

**Purpose**
Appended to the Countess’ will, with the intention of itemising goods which she was bequeathing
Arranged room-by-room
No valuations
See Appendix Four for complete list of all documents concerning will and inventory.

Place: Healaugh, Yorkshire
Date: 1568
Owner: Lord Wharton
Source: Joan Evans, ‘An Inventory of Thomas Lord Wharton, 1568’, Archaeological Journal, 102 (1945), 134-50
Purpose: Probate
Notes: Arranged by type
Valuations

Place: Kenilworth Castle
Date: 1583
Owner: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester
Purpose: Unknown
Notes: Arranged by type, some parts in summary
No valuations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Kenninghall, Norfolk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Public Record Office, LR 2/115, fols 1-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Attainder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Jewels listed first, then plate, apparel and textiles. The lesser furnishings follow room by room. No valuations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Kimberley, Norfolk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Sir Roger Wodehouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source        | Leonard G. Bolingbroke, ‘Two Elizabethan Inventories’,  
Norfolk Archaeology, 15 (1902), 91-108 |
| Purpose       | Probate                                     |
| Notes         | Arranged room by room                       |
|               | Valuations                                  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Lacock House, Wiltshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Sir Henry Sharington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Intended for probate purposes, attached to a draft will of 1575, not proved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Plate listed first, then hangings by room, then other items by room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Valuations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Lambeth Palace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Archbishop Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>William Sandys, ‘Copy of the Inventory of Archbishop Parker’s Goods at the time of his Death’, Archaeologia, 30 (1844), 1-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Probate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Room-by-room, although plate is listed separately at the end. Valuations Also mentions a few items at Croydon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Leicester House, London</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Longleat House, The Dudley Papers, V, fols 1-15 [on CD-ROM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged by type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Place: Leicester House, London
Date: 1584
Owner: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester
Purpose: Unknown
Notes: This published source is merely a summary, with particular emphasis on pictures.

Place: Leicester House, London
Date: 1588
Owner: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester
Purpose: Probate
Notes: Arranged room by room, except for apparel Valuations

Place: Lombard Street, London
Date: 1590
Owner: Sir Thomas Ramsay
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Lumley Castle, County Durham</th>
<th>Lumley Castle, County Durham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1590</td>
<td>1609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>John, Lord Lumley</td>
<td>John, Lord Lumley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Probate</td>
<td>Probate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged room-by-room, finishing with plate and linen listed separately</td>
<td>Hangings, textile furnishings and some plate listed by type. Pictures and lesser furnishings then listed room-by-room.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Northaw, Hertfordshire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1540-47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>William Cavendish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Un-numbered document in box marked ‘Bess and Earls Misc. II’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged room by room</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix One</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Sheffield Castle, Yorkshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>‘An Inventorie of all the Houshold Goods and Furniture belonging to George Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield-Castle and the Lodge. A’o 1582’, <em>British Archaeological Journal</em>, 30 (1874), 251-63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Domestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged by type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The published inventory ends with a list of items belonging to the Earl which were being used by the Queen of Scots and her household (pp. 260-63).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Syon House, Middlesex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Duke of Northumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Public Record Office, E 154/2/39, fols 19-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Attainder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Furnishings which were to be sold listed by type; furnishings to be delivered to named individuals listed room-by-room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The former category has valuations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Temple Newsam, Yorkshire</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>F.W. Crossley, ‘A Templenewsam Inventory, 1565’, <em>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</em>, 25 (1920), 91-103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Made on the occasion of the confiscation of the Earl’s estates in England following his refusal to obey the Queen’s order to return to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged room by room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Valuations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Titchfield House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Public Record Office, LR 1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Attainder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged room by room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valuations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>West Firle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Sir John Gage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Probate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged by type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Wollaton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Sir Percival Willoughby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>Arranged room by room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No valuations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source also provides other Wollaton inventories.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Place: Not known

Date: 1536

Owner: Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond

Source: J.G. Nichols, 'Inventories of the Wardrobes, Plate, Chapel Stuff, Etc. of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, and of the Wardrobe Stuff at Baynard's Castle of Katharine, Princess Dowager', *The Camden Miscellany*, vol. 3, 1855, 1-41 (pp. 1-21)

Purpose: On his death but not probate. Items to be taken back into the Royal Wardrobe.

Notes: Arranged by type

No valuations
Appendix Six

Pictures in the 1601 inventory

The list of pictures has been taken from Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick (London: The National Trust, 2001). The figures in brackets after each room name refer to this.

References under ‘Possible provenance’ are to:

Northaw, 1540s: Chatsworth, Un-numbered document in box marked ‘Bess and Earls Misc. II’ (see also Appendix One)

Chatsworth, 1560s: Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/143/6, Fragment of inventory of Chatsworth (see also Appendix Three)

Purchased in 1599: Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick MS 10a.

It is important to note that the pictures listed here are not necessarily the same as the ones surviving today with the same subjects, as William Cavendish, Bess’s son, commissioned Rowland Lockey to paint copies of many paintings which then existed in the early seventeenth century.

Where no possible provenance has been given it is reasonable to assume that the pictures were painted during the 1570s and 1580s, when Chatsworth was at its most magnificent, but for which no inventories or accounts are known.

Where a piece from this period has a known date, that is given.

A thematic summary of the pictures at Hardwick New Hall is given first, followed by the list of pictures at the Old Hall. No pictures are listed in the 1601 inventory of Chatsworth. The full list of pictures at Hardwick New Hall in 1601, with their locations and possible provenances, is then given.
Summary of pictures at Hardwick New Hall in 1601

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portraits</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heraldic</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parts of the world</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>104</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pictures at Hardwick Old Hall in 1601

- Long gallerie (p. 38)  
  - Twenty several pictures
  - Too pictures of mother of pearle
  - Too pictures of plaster
  - Twelve pictures of the twelve months

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>36+</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘with drawing Chamber’ (p. 47)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Possible provenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the Quene of Scottes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the same Quene and the King of Scottes with their Armes both in one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the King and Quene of Scottes hir father &amp; mother in an other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Erle of Leycester</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir William Seyntlowe</td>
<td>Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the prodigall sonne</td>
<td>One ‘story of the byble’ at Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie the Countess of Shrouesbury</td>
<td>Purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Charles Cavendische</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Charles his first wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulisses and Penelope</td>
<td>Painting dated 1570</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'high great Chamber' (p. 48)

Subject

King Henry the Eight\(^1\)
Quene Elizabeth\(^2\)
Quene Marie\(^3\)
Edward the sixt\(^4\)
Duke Dolva
Charles the Emperor
Cardinal Woolsey
Cardinall Poole
Stephen Gardenner

Fowre pictures of the fowre partes of the worlde

A looking glass paynted about with the Armes of England

Possible provenance

Two pictures of Henry VIII at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 6 and 7)
One picture of Queen Elizabeth purchased in 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)
One picture of Queen Mary purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48\(^v\))
One picture of Edward VI purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48\(^v\))

\(^1\) Another picture of the sitter in the 'Gallerie'.
\(^2\) Other pictures of the sitter in the 'Gallerie' (2) and 'Iowe great Chamber'.
\(^3\) Another picture of the sitter in the 'Gallerie'.
\(^4\) Another picture of the sitter in the 'Gallerie'.
‘Gallerie’ (pp. 49-50)

Subject
Quene Elizabeth\(^5\)
Edward the second
Edward the third
Rychard the third\(^6\)
Henry the fourth
Henry the fyft
Henry the sixth
Edward the fourth
Rychard the third
Henry the seaventh

Possible provenance
One picture of Queen Elizabeth purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)
Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)\(^7\)
Purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a fol. 48\(^\prime\))
Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 6)
Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 6)
Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 6)
Two pictures of Henry VII at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 6 and 11)

\(^5\) Other pictures of the sitter in the ‘high great Chamber’, ‘lowe great Chamber’ and below.
\(^6\) Although Richard III is given in all versions of the inventory, Richard II is probably meant as he would naturally occur here in this sequence.
\(^7\) This and the other possible purchases in December 1599 – April 1600 are based on the entry in the accounts ‘for fyve pictures bought by my m’... 001-13-04’ At 6s. 8d. each, the pictures purchased then could well be small portraits of monarchs. The fifth monarch not otherwise accounted for is ‘Quene Katherin’, below.
Henry the Eight
Edward the sixt
Quene Marie
Quene Elizabethes picture in a less table
The King of Fraunce
Henry, King of Scottes
James, King of Scottes
The picture of Our Ladie the Virgin Marie
Quene Anne
Henry, the third King of Fraunce in a little table
The Duke of Bullen
Phillip, King of Spayne

Two pictures of Henry VIII at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 6 and 7)
One picture of Edward VI purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48v)
One picture of Queen Mary purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48v)
One picture of Queen Elizabeth I purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)
Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)

Three pictures of the Virgin Mary at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 5 and 14)
Northaw, 1540s (p. 11)

---

8 Another picture of the sitter in the 'high great Chamber'.
9 Another picture of the sitter in the 'high great Chamber'.
10 Another picture of the sitter in the 'high great Chamber'.
11 Other pictures of the sitter in the 'high great Chamber', 'lowe great Chamber' and above.
12 National Archives: Public Record Office, PROB 11/111, fol. 199v, has 'Duke of Bulloigne'.
Twoo twynns
Quene Katherin
The Erle of Southampton
Mathewe, Erle of Lenox
Charles, Erle of Lenox\textsuperscript{13}
George, Erle of Shrouesbury\textsuperscript{14}
My Ladie\textsuperscript{15}
Lord Bacon
The Marquess of Winchester
the Ladie Arbella\textsuperscript{16}
Mr Henry Cavendishe
The Lord Straunge
The Lord Cromwell

Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)
Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
One picture of Bess, Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3\textsuperscript{v})
One picture of Arbella 1577, another 1589. Probably the later one.

\textsuperscript{13} Another picture of the sitter in the 'Iowe great Chamber'.
\textsuperscript{14} Another picture of the sitter in the 'Iowe great Chamber'.
\textsuperscript{15} Other pictures of the sitter in the 'Iowe great Chamber' and 'my Ladies with drawing Chamber'.
\textsuperscript{16} Another picture of the sitter in the 'Iowe great Chamber'.

468
Mrs Ann Cavendish
t
The Duke of Sommerset
Sir Thomas Wyet
The storie of Joseph
a table of Iverie carved and guilt with little pictures of the natyvitie
the picture of hell

One ‘story of the byble’ at Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)
Northaw, 1540s (p. 5)
Northaw, 1540s (p. 14)

‘Iowe great Chamber’ (p. 52)

Subject
Quene Elizabeth
George, Erle of Shrouesbury

Possible provenance
One picture of Queen Elizabeth purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)

---

17 First wife of Bess’s son, William Cavendish.
18 Other pictures of the sitter in the ‘high great Chamber’ and ‘Gallerie’(2).
19 Another picture of the sitter in the ‘Gallerie’.
A glass with his and my Ladies Armes in it
the Lord Burleigh, Lord Tresorer
The Ladie Margaret, Countess of Lenox
Charles, Erle of Lenox, her sonne\textsuperscript{20}
The Ladie Arbella her grandChilde\textsuperscript{21}
My Ladies picture\textsuperscript{22}
Sir William Cavendishe
Mr. William Cavendishe the elder
Mr. William Cavendishe the younger
The Virgin Marie
Mr. Thomas Cavendishe, father to Sir William Cavendishe
twelve tables with Armes in them

One picture of Arbella 1577, another 1589. Probably the earlier one.
One picture of Bess, Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3\textsuperscript{v})
Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3\textsuperscript{v})
Three pictures of the Virgin Mary at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 5 and 14)
Northaw, 1540s (p. 15)

\textsuperscript{20} Another picture of the sitter in the ‘Gallerie’.
\textsuperscript{21} Another picture of the sitter in the ‘Gallerie’.
\textsuperscript{22} Other pictures of the sitter in the ‘Gallerie’ and ‘my Ladies with drawing Chamber’.
‘my Ladies with drawing Chamber’ (p. 53)

Subject

my Ladies picture

a glass with my Ladies Armes

a mapp

three tables with armes in them

Possible provenance

One picture of Bess, Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3°)

‘Jacobs Chamber’ (p. 51)

Subject

a map with a frame

Possible provenance

‘Prodigall Chamber’ (p. 55)

Subject

the picture of the Lady Elizabeth Talbott

Possible provenance

23 Other pictures of the sitter in the ‘Gallerie’ and ‘lowe great Chamber’.

471
‘the lowe Chapple’ (pp. 51-2)

Subject

two pictures of our Ladie the Virgin Marie and the three Kings

the salutation of the Virgin Marie by the Angle

Possible provenance

Three pictures of the three kings at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 14, 15 and 18)

Northaw, 1540s (p. 14)

‘wardrop’ (p.45)

Subject

a frame with armes paynted in it

A table with a mapp

a picture of Bastean²⁴

Possible provenance

²⁴ Bastian Pages, a member of the household of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was with her during her captivity.
Table One: Hardwick and Leche.

John Hardwick m Elizabeth Leake m Ralph Leche
d.1528

Legitimate
Illegitimate

Elizabeth,
m. Anthony
Wingfield
Issue

Jane
m. Thomas
Knivetont
Issue

Margaret
m. 1 [ ]
Slaughter

Elizabeth
m. John
Digby

Mary
m. Richard
Wingfield
Issue

Jane
m. Godfrey
Boswell
Issue

James
1526-1581
m. 1 Elizabeth
Dracott
2 Elizabeth
Araker

Elizabeth
c. 1527-1608
See Table 2

Alice
m. Francis
Leche of
Chatsworth
Issue

Table 2
Elizabeth Hardwick 1527-1608 m.
1. Robert Barley or Barlow 1529-1544
2. William Cavendish 1508-1557
3. William St. Loe c. 1520-1565
4. George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, c. 1522-1590
Illustration 1: The west front of Hardwick New Hall.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
Family and upper household accommodation

Low quality accommodation

‘Public’ area

Service area

1  hale
2  lowe Chapple
3  Mr. William Cavendishe’s Chamber
4  Nurserie
5  Mrs. Knyvetons Chamber
6  Chamber at the end of the walke
7  kitchin
8  Pastrie
9  Pantrie

Illustration 3: Ground floor of Hardwick New Hall in 1601.
Bess’s accommodation
Family and upper household accommodation
Good quality accommodation
Low quality accommodation
‘Public’ area

1 my Ladies with drawing Chamber
2 my Ladies Bed Chamber
3 the Maydes Chamber [and]
   Closet within the Maydes Chamber
4 my ladie Arbells Chamber
5 Prodigall Chamber
6 Shipp bed Chamber
7 Jacobs Chamber
8 Tobies Chamber
9 lowe great Chamber
10 little dyning Chamber
11 upper Chapple
12 Over the skreyne in the halle

Illustration 4: First floor of Hardwick New Hall in 1601.
Best rooms

Good quality accommodation

1 high great Chamber
2 with drawing Chamber
3 best bed Chamber
4 little Chamber within the best bed-chamber
5 Gallerie
6 Pearle bed chamber
7 gallery Chamber

Illustration 5: Second floor of Hardwick New Hall in 1601.
Illustration 6: Top floor of Hardwick New Hall in 1601.

1 stayre Chamber
2 greene bed Chamber
3 Turret Chamber
4 utter Chamber to the Turret Chamber
5 servantes Chamber next to the wardrop
6 wardrop
Illustration 7: The south façade of Hardwick Old Hall.
Illustration 8: The north façade of Hardwick Old Hall from a seventeenth-century drawing now at Audley End.

Illustration 9: The sequence of building at Hardwick Old Hall according to Basil Stallybrass.

Illustration 10: Plan of the surviving ground floor of Hardwick Old Hall.
Illustration 11: Detail from a drawing of Hardwick Old Hall now at Audley End.
Illustration 12: Hardwick Old Hall from the north-east.
Illustration 13: Conjectural layout of the top floor of

Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.
Illustration 14: Conjectural layout of the second floor of Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.
Illustration 15: Conjectural layout of the first floor of Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.
[Privy block]
kytchin
lowe Larder / Larder / or Chamber above the Larder
pastrie
a Chamber at the side of the hale (ushers Chamber) / service area below
a Chamber within that Chamber / service area below
halle
Corner Chamber uppon the grounde
the next Chamber to it
the Chamber over agaynst that Chamber on the ground
Chamber at the upper end of the halle
too Chambers at the end of the Gallerie the dore opening into the Court
[water supply below / stairs above]

Illustration 16: Conjectural layout of the ground floor of
Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.
Illustration 17: The main, south stairs.
Above: the landing outside the ‘high great Chamber’.
Below: the ascent from first to second floor.
From Mark Girouard, Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House
The photographs were originally taken by Country Life, probably in the 1920s.
Illustration 18: The 'high great Chamber'.
National Trust Photographic Library.
Illustration 19: The gatehouse.
Above: view from outside the walls.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
Below: view from the west court.
Illustration 20: The 'hale'.
Illustration 21: The screen in the 'hale'.
Illustration 22: The 'Gallerie'.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
(London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 34.
Illustration 23: Entrance to ‘my Ladies with drawing Chamber’ from the main, south stairs and detail of plasterwork cartouche.

Illustration 24: Details of the north stairs above the second floor. Above: the coarsely finished bottom of the stairs overhead. Below: the edges of the steps adjoining the central support in a turning section. The rough wooden partition is visible in both.
Illustration 25: The roof looking towards the banqueting chamber in the south turret.
Illustration 26: Tapestry from a set depicting the story of Abraham.
Illustration 28: Detail of a tapestry depicting falconry from the set known as the Devonshire Hunting Tapestries.
Illustration 29: Embroidered panel depicting Architecture from the Liberal Arts series.
Illustration 32: Needlework table carpet depicting ‘a rose and antickes’.
Illustration 33: Two details from a needlework table carpet depicting the story of Tobias, 1579.
Illustration 35: Drawing of a bed with hangings made of fragments of the Elizabethan best bed hangings, S.H. Grimm, 1785.
Illustration 36: Two inlaid tables from Hardwick Hall. 
Above: the 'Eglantine' table (see also illustration 50). 
Below: table inlaid with depictions of playing cards. 
Illustration 37: The ‘drawing table Carved and guilt standing uppon sea doges inlayde with marble stones and wood’.
Illustration 38: Designs for sphinxes and terms by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, c. 1560.
Illustration 39: Cabinet derived from designs by du Cerceau, French, 
c. 1560s or 1570s.
Illustration 40: George Gascoigne presenting a copy of *Hemetes the heremyte* to Queen Elizabeth. B.M. Royal MS 18.A.XL VIII, fol. 1.
Illustration 44: Overmantel in the ‘hale’.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
Illustration 45: Overmantel in ‘my Ladies with drawing Chamber’.
Photograph by Kate Wheeldon.
Illustration 46: The arms of Hardwick quartering unidentified arms on the tomb of Bess of Hardwick at Derby Cathedral and on the Gideon tapestries.


Illustration 47: Overmantel in ‘my ladie Arbells Chamber’.
Photograph by Kate Wheeldon.
Illustration 48: Overmantel in ‘Prodigall Chamber’.
Photograph by Kate Wheeldon.
Illustration 49: Overmantel in the 'Shipp bed Chamber'.
Photograph by Kate Wheeldon.
Illustration 51: Part of the top of the ‘Eglantine’ table, c. 1568.
Illustration 52: Penelope with Perseverans and Paciens, appliqué panel, c. 1573.
Illustration 53: Lucretia with Chasteti and Liberaliter, appliqué panel, c. 1573.
Illustration 54: Zenobia, detail from appliqué panel, c. 1573.
Illustration 55: Family emblems from appliqué panels of Virtuous Women, c. 1573.

a) Talbot and Hardwick arms from the Penelope panel (detail of 51).

b) Talbot hound from the Penelope panel (detail of 51).

c) Initials 'E', 'G' and possibly 'T' from the Lucretia panel (detail of 52).

d) Initials 'E', 'G' and 'S' from the Zenobia panel (photograph David Bostwick).

e) Cavendish and Talbot arms from the Artemesia panel (photograph David Bostwick).
Illustration 56: Needlework cushion covers depicting the stories of Phaeton, Europa and the Bull, and Actaeon and Diana.

Bottom: National Trust Photographic Library.
Illustration 57: Overmantel in the 'lowe great Chamber'.
Illustration 59: Detail of the figure of Diana from the frieze in the ‘high great Chamber’.
Illustration 61: Spring or Venus chastising Cupid from the north wall of the window recess in the 'high great Chamber'.
Illustration 62: Details from the frieze in the ‘high great Chamber’.

Illustration 65: Detail of a wall painting depicting *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* from Cullen House, Banffshire. 
Illustration 66: Royal arms on the frieze in the ‘high great Chamber’.
Illustration 67: Title page from *The Bishops’ Bible*, 1568.
Illustration 68: Title page from *The Bishops’ Bible*, quarto edition, 1569.
Illustration 69: Elizabeth I with the Cardinal and Theological Virtues, unknown artist, c. 1598.
Illustration 70: Faith and Mahomet, appliqué hanging, early 1590s.
Illustration 71: Hans Collaert, perhaps after Crispijn van der Broeck, Fides, from a set of The Virtues (1576).
Illustration 73: Hans Collaert, perhaps after Crispijn van der Broeck, Temperantia, from a set of *The Virtues* (1576).
Illustration 74: *Queen Elizabeth I*, workshop of Hilliard, 1590s.
Illustration 76: Detail from *Queen Elizabeth I*, workshop of Hilliard, 1590s.
Illustration 77: Details from *Queen Elizabeth I*,
workshop of Hilliard, 1590s.
THE Hippocrates, that make so great a shewe,
Of Sanctitie, and of Religion founde,
Are shaddows mere, and with out substance goe,
And beinge tri'de, are but defemblers founde.
These are compar'de, vnto the Ostriche faire,
Whoe spreads her winges, yet scaldome tries the aire.

DEVISES.

Nil penna sed resus.
The feathers are of no force, but vie-

If you marke well the monstruous bird cal'd
an Ostrich, you see how with great prepara-
tion and order of her feathers, she
endeavors to take a great flight, and yet for
al that is not an inch higher from the ground
when she hath done all that shee can:

Illustration 78: Three depictions of an ostrich.