

**‘that whyche ys nedefoulle and nesenary’:
The Nature and Purpose of the Original
Furnishings and Decoration of Hardwick Hall,
Derbyshire**

**Two Volumes
(Volume Two)**

Gillian White

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the History of Art

University of Warwick, Centre for the Study of the Renaissance

March 2005

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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^e 8th. Time. A Seat of S^r. W^m. Cavendish in Lincolnshire exchanged wth 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^r 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).

¹ Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, III, p. 574, example 11.387.

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 Northawe²

In the chaple *ex*³

In primis a fronte of dornyx & a nother pece of dornyx wth the pictor of
Chryste in the myddeste that hangythe above the Alter.

Itm the pictor of Chryste nallyd apou the Crosse.

Itm a lytle table of golde of the pictor of Chryste & ow^f lady & saynt Iohn

Itm seynte George

Itm a table of the byrthe of chryste⁴ A nother of mary maudelyn.

Itm a sup[er]altare.

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

Itm ij candlestyks of latten wth a tap[er] of wood carvyd

Itm a whyte vestement of sattyn of brygs wth all things that belongythe
thereto.

Itm ij masse boks & one portes

Itm a hallywater stocke wth a sprynkle

Itm a cruyt of Tynn & a nother of leade

Itm a pewt[er] bole for hallybre⁵

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

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

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.

⁴ This picture could be one of the pictures of the Virgin Mary in the 'Gallerie' and 'lowe great Chamber' at Hardwick in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, pp. 49 and 52).

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 taffata 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

[page 6]

wth ij trestells

the

window

Itm a Ioyned forme & a Ioyned stole⁸

Itm ij cobeIernes wth a bere & a tonn standing in the hed

Itm iij^{or} latyn plats wth nosys.

Itm hangyngs abowte the hall of grene saye payntyd

It the byble in Englysche.

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 iij 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 Houshold 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.

p Itm a skrene of wykers to stand before the fyre
in the ote loft Itm a cobberd
 Itm vj Ioyned stoles & iiij^{or} 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 iiij^{or} curteyns of saye grene /
 Item ^w a tostyng forke.
 Itm a payntyd clothe w^t y^c pictor of kyng harry y^c viijth
 ow^r sou[er]eygne lord & kyng harry y^c vijth & y^c vjth edward the forthe &
 Rycherd the third⁹

In the new parler *ex.*

In primis a table of fyrrre coveryd wth grene clothe & ij trestles
 Itm a cobberd coveryd wth grene clothe
 Itm a playne square table. *nowe in the newe parlor*
 Itm iij chayres coveryd wth lether & one coveryd wth blew damaske.
 Itm xij Ioyned 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 Houshold Stuff*, p. 49).

[page 7]

of the pictor of ow^r sou[er]eigne lord the kyng
of the pyctor of the frenche kyng¹⁰ &
a of the frenche Quene¹¹.
Itm ij other tables one wth towe Antycke boys¹² & the other of a story of
the byble¹³
Itm the kyngs armys
Itm one payre of payntyd bellowes
Itm a tostyng forke & a payre of snuffers
Itm a glasse.
Itm a payre of playyng tables
Itm iiij^{or} curtens of yelow say
Itm one payre of tongs & a fyre pann
Itm a payre of Andyerns wth heds of latten
Itm ij plats of latten for ca[n]dles wth iiij^{or} nosys
Itm iij englysche boks scilt Chawcer ffroyssarte cronicles & a boke of
ffrenche & Englysche.
Itm a Rownd table of Cypre in the lytle p[ar]ler *in vyntsents cha[m]b[er]*
Itm a plate wth ij nosys in the same lytle p[ar]ler.

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 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 49).

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.

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' (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 50).

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' (*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^e tester & vallanns of of grene
sylke. *y^e tester in the wardropp*

Itm iij curteyns panyd sersenet blew & red.

[page 8]

Itm ij fether bedds & a fyne Q y on¹⁴

Itm ij bolsters of fethers & ij pyлло[]¹⁵

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

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 grene 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 storrye of
davyd

Itm iij curtens red for the wyndow iij 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^v).

Itm a payre of snuffers & a tostyngge forke.

Itm a glasse of Stele, *broken*

Item a stole.

Note y^t all things belongyng this chamber ys markyd wth W E C & 1

mystres Starnolds s[er]juants 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 & 1 & iiij styches.

[page 9]

The grete chamber over the new¹⁷

In primis a bedstede wth iiij^{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[er]yd wth whyte fustya[n] & iiij bolstarrs the one of downe coveryd wth whyte fustyan the other two of fethers cou[er]yd 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^v).

Itm ij pyllowes

Itm a fyne quylte 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 poynte of tapstre wth Imagere

Itm the chamber hangyd wth iiij^{or} pecs of tapstre.

Itm iiij pecs of verder vnder the wyndowys

Itm a glasse of stele.

Itm ij £ cofers bownd wth Ierne In the one ys yower Evydence & the other ys emptye

Itm iiij 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 & y^e other ys a loyned stole

Itm a payre of Andyerns wth hedds of latten

Itm a payre bellowes gylytd 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.

[page 10] Itm iiij square cowschyns one of a other of fustya[n] of

at london naples imbroderyd wth golde th of redd velvet wth whyte

lysts

lacking Itm a case of combs

Itm a dosyn of ffs newe¹⁹

lacking

Itm ij casys of grene saye for the Andyerns hedds

Note also y^t all the gere y^t belongyth this chamber ys m[ar]kyd wth W.E.C.
&. N.

The closet wthin the grete chamber *ex*

at London

Itm yt ys hangyd halfe abowte wth red & yelow saye and a Antyke 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 wth harts conyes & other bests²⁰

at london

Itm hangyd wth grene saye & redd

Itm ij curteyns for y^c wyndow of the same.

Itm a paynted cobberd

Itm a plate of latten wth one nose

Itm a loyned bord coveryd wth redd saye & grene.

Note that all the gere belongyng thes chamber ys m[ar]kyd wth 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^v).

In primis a bedstede gylted

Itm a tester of grene sattyn wth yower Ansetoryes armes on yt imbroderyd
wth clothe of gold.

Itm v curtenns of grene sarse taffata.

Itm ij fetherbedds & ij bolsterrs of fethers.

[page 11] 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 wth saynt Georg²¹

Itm a redd flege

lacking Itm a coveclothe of blewe velvet

Itm ij chayres of lether

lackith Itm iij^{or} coiwschians of redd reysed velvet for the ~~ehamber~~ chapele.

Itm iij tables one of kyng harry y^e vijth a other of quene Ann²² the third of
lukeres²³.

Itm ij long coywschyns the one of chekerd sylke. wth 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 wth a grene clothe apon yt.

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

²² This portrait may be identified with the portrait of 'Quene Anne' in the 'Gallerie' at Hardwick in 1601 (*Of Household Stuff*, p. 49).

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 wth hedds of latten

Itm a fyre pann

Itm a payre of tongs

Itm a payre of bellowes carvyd

laekith

Itm a payre of snuffers & a dosyn of bedstafs

Itm a cofer bownd a bowte wth Iren

Itm ij covers of grene for the Andyernes.

Note y^t all the gere y^t belongythe to this chamber ys m[ar] kyd wth

W.E.C.& S.

In the presse chamb[er] *ex*

In primis the chamber hangyd wth paynted clothes of Antyke worke

Itm a bedsted a tester of grene saye & redd & certayns of y^c same

Itm a pallet clothe a fetherbed a bolster ij pyllowes

Itm a payre of blanketts a coverlet of verdre

It a Ioyned stole

Itm a whyte flege.

Itm a lytle cheyre & a chayre of walnut tree

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

Note y^t the gere belongyng this chamber ys markyd wth W.E.C. & P.

In the gallare hangyngs of payntyd clothes

It a plate of latten

Itm a standyng bedstede & a tester p ed²⁴ wth iij curteyns of the same.

Itm ij cheyrs of walnot tree.

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

Itm one pyllow A cownter poynte 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 y^f belongythe this cha[m]ber ys markyd wth W.E.C.
& I.S & iij styches

In the Inner chamber *ex*

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 *ex*

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 poynte 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 y¹ this gere ys m[ar]kyd wth W.E.C. & g & ~~fyve~~ styches.

In the chamber over the ał hall. *ex*

In primis a grete blake bedstede wth Antycke worke

the curtenns at london Itm a tester of sylke wth grene levs & pownegranetts of gold wth iij
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 wth canvas
Itm²⁵ one whyte & a other Redde

Itm a nother cownter poynte of sylke panyd one halfe w¹ fustyan drawn
wth flowers & the other halfe sylke.

p[ar]t at london and Itm the chamber ys hangyd wth yelow & redd saye

p[ar]t at northaw

Itm iij curteyns for the windowes of the same

Itm a grett cownter wth ij levs & a cobberd clothe of bawdkyn

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

Itm a Ioyned forme

Itm two Andyernes wth 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 y^t all the gere y^t belongyth this chamber ys m[ar]kyd wth W.E.C. & g
& fyve styches

In the blacke chamb[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 w^{ch} ys of fustyan.

one of the a fyne quylte to lyy on & ij pyllows.

pillows

remaynith at

london

Itm ij bolsterrs one of downe & y^e 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 bellows

Itm a cobberd wth grene saye

the grene

Itm ij chayres one of cheker sylke & y^e other grene satten.

satten at

london

²⁶ This tester is reminiscent of the 'bedde white silke wrought wth golde' at Chatsworth in 1559 (Appendix Two).

[page 14]

Itm iij tables one of hell²⁷ A nother of a woma[n] lyyng in her bed &
pullyng a man by the cote & the third of ow^f lady kyssyng her sonn²⁸ *It a
coyschyn of redd velvet wth whyt lyst*

Itm a payre of Andyernes wth hedds of latten

Itm a fyre pann & a payre of tongs

Note y^t all the gere y^t belongythe this chamber ys m[ar]kyd wth W.E.C. &
b.

In the redd chamber. *ex*

In primis a standyng bedstede of redd & a tester of scarelet imbroderyd wth
letters of clothe of gold wth M & A.²⁹

one of the

Itm v cortynns of redd taffata, ij fether bedds ij bolstarrs

ffetherbedds

lacking

Itm a mattres.

one pillow at

Itm a fyne quylte to lyy on ij pyllowes Tow payre of blanketts one payre

london

fustyan & y^c other wollen

Itm a red flege blanket *in the blacke chamber*³⁰

Itm a cowtre poynte of tapstree /

Itm a coyschyn of red velvet wth whyte lyst

Itm a cobberd of loyned worke coveryd wth saye

²⁷ This picture is identifiable with 'the picture of hell' in the 'Gallerie' at Hardwick in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 50).

²⁸ This picture could be one of the pictures of the Virgin Mary in the 'Gallerie' and 'lowe great Chamber' at Hardwick in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, pp. 49 and 52).

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.

³⁰ Inserted above the line.

Itm ij chayres one of lether & a nother of wood

Itm a loyned stole

Itm iij tables one of y^e iij kyngs colen³¹ a nother of ow^r lady & her sonn³²
the thyrd of Gabryell & ow^r lady³³

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 y^t all this gere ys markyd wth W.E.C. & R

[page 15]

In the bruschyng chamber *ex*

In primis a bruschyng bord wth a carpet & a nother bord
wthowt a carpet.

Itm ij coferrs.

Itm one cobbord *in th*³⁴

Itm a presse for Rayle

Itm a close chayre in the Iaks howse

Itm a Rownd bord in the gallary *now in my m^{rs} chambre*

³¹ 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).

³² This picture may be one of the two pictures of the Virgin Mary in the 'Gallerie' and 'lowe great Chamber' at Hardwick in 1601 (*Of Houshold 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 'lowe Chapple' at Hardwick in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, pp. 51-2).

³⁴ Corner of the page lost.

In my masters chamber *now Removyd ex*

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

w Itm a standyng bedstede

Itm a tester of blacke & yelow satten Imbroderyd wth Rosys

in y^e Itm iij curteyns of tawnye sarsenet

gentylwominse

chamber

in my m^{rs} Itm a mattres a fetherbed a bedd of downe a quylte a bolster

chambre

Itm iij pyllowes

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

one of the Itm ij blankets of redd flege

flege blankets

at london

y^e Itm a coverlett of verdre

gentylwomans

bed

one at london Itm ij mantles one on my m^{rs} bed

one in the Itm iij tables one of the trynnye imbroderyd wth gold a other of the pictor

gallery of my masters father³⁵ *in my ladys closett a other wth a curten of tawny*

in my m^{rs} sarsenet a nother of saynt Rooke *at london* & y^e forthe of the iij kyngs of

chambre Colleyn³⁶

Itm iij 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 Chappell' at Hardwick in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 51).

Itm a grett flaunders cheste cov[er]yd wth red lether & bownd a bowt wth

Ierne

w Itm a old cheste to putt *in the galery* spyse in wth a carpet *in the w*

w Itm a long w cheste bownd wth Ierne & a nother lytle blacke cheste bownd
wth Ierne *in my ladys closet*

Itm a carvyd cheste. *at the brosshyngebord*

w Itm a close chayre & a nother lytle chayre

w Itm a cobberd wth a carpet

Itm ij Ioyned stoles *one in my m^{rs} chamber*

w Itm a lyttle clothe payntyd wth a woma[n] spynnyng

w Itm *ij* cowischyns of frame worke.

Itm ij Andyerns

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

Note y^t this gere ys m[ar]kyd wth W.E.C. & M.

[page 16]

In the nursere *now Removyd ex*

mayds In primis the chamber hanged wth grene & iij paynted clothes the one of

cha[m]bre lukeras³⁷ a nother of mary maudelyn the therd of saynt Iohn baptyste

w

w³⁸ Itm a bedstede

the maydens Itm a mattres a fetherbed a bolster a pyllow

cha[m]bre

Itm a whyt flege

³⁷ Lucretia was also the subject of a picture in the 'Chaple chamber'.

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

w Itm a chare

Itm a closse stole of the chylds

Itm a cradle

w Itm a mantle A cradle clothe of brystowe redd

one in y^e w Itm ij Andyerns.

Itm a fyre pann

Itm a w chafer of brasse

at the Itm a stole wth iij fete in the chamber by the Iaks y^t belongythe to the
brosshyngbord nursere.

Itm a bord wth ij trestells

in the Red Itm a cheste lyke a deske

chambre

Itm iij 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 pyllow *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 sersse.~~

Itm a bersse in the w

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

In the maydyns chamber *Rem ex*

at london In primis the chamber hangyd wth payntyd clothes

in y^e maydes Itm a bedstede. /

cha[m]bre

Itm a mattres a bolster w^t *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 vnderne the mattres.

[page 17]

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

cha[m]bre w wth a carpet of verder lynyed wth canvas.

old megge Itm a coverlet of ~~blew & Red~~ whyte & grene & a nother of yelow³⁹

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 kytchyn *Removyd ex*

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

mote

Itm a nother payre of Andyerns w^{ch} be not occupied

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^c thyrd of
longe Rowes of dyu[er]se colors wroight after Arroys faschyon, & iij pecs
of Arrowes

at london Itm fyve lytle eurteyns cowischyns of grene saye clothe

lacking Itm a old tester orange color & blacke sarsenett

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

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

[...] Imbroderyd wth my masters armys & frynges of gold & lynyd wth whyte

fustyan⁴⁰ And a nother quylte of whyte & blacke velvet imbroderyd

Rownd about wth fryers knotts harts hedds & conyes & In the mydyst

imbroderyd my masters & my mystres armys & lynyd wth yelowe luke⁴¹

[...] Itm ij 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 &

⁴⁰ 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 tafytay Embrodred wyth gold' in the 'chapele chamber' there in the 1560s (Appendix Three, fol. 1^v).

⁴¹ 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^v).

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

*[lac]king** Itm a cobbord clothe of purple sylke & gold

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

*lacyng** Itm iiij large pecs of tapstree wth grene flowers & redd & other colors w^{ch}
hangythe in the kytchyn chamber

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

ij lackithe Itm iij other cov[er]letts for s[er]juants 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.

m^{rs} katheryn w Itm a crossebow in a lether case. w^t a wyndles & a case for arrowes /

w Itm a lute.

Itm a payre of virgynols.

w Itm a frame to worke lase in. /

lacking Itm a old buttrey cofer

w Itm vj trussyng cofers for a clothe sacke

at london It ij caseketts

w Itm ij gardavyansys /

w Itm ij Stylytoryes

chapel Itm a grete table for a alter of the iij kyngs of collyn⁴²

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 ij grett one in the w standerds bownd wth Iren & coveryd wth lether
at london

w Itm ij other old coffers in one of y^e w^{ch} ly cou[er]letts & in the other schets.

In the grete gallary *ex*

[...] In primis the hedd of a cobberd & ij grete dorys carvyd for a chapell wth
 dyverse bords of waynscote *store hows*

y^e *baynhows* Itm a stone of marble to grynde colors on & ij lyttle stons more to grynd
 colors on.

G chambre Itm in the clockehowse a grene standyng bedstede w^t pyllers for the same.
Nowe in the gentylwomens chambre

[page 19] In the trussyng cofor bownd wth I that
 standithe in my mystres close[t]
 thes p[ar]celles folowyng.⁴³

Rem iij fyrste x towells of dyaper

Rem ij Itm ix ~~towells~~-table clothes dyap[er]

Rem one Itm cobberd clothes dyap[er] dyap[er]

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

⁴² 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).

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
& *iiij* damaske y^t be verye olde.

Rem a dozen

& *ix*

Rem ij Itm ij cobberd clothes of damaske

Rem iiij Itm vj table clothes of damaske

Rem iiij Itm vj towells of damaske.

[...] *by Alyce* Itm a payre of camarycke schets to ley on my m^{rs} bed in chyldbbed

stylys to my

lady

Itm vj camarycke pyllowbers

Itm ~~iiij~~ v payre of fyne holland schets & one odd schete for my mystres to
ly in chyldbbedd in

Rem ij payr Itm xiiij payre of fyne holland pyllowberris.

It a wyndow cloth wroight wth thred.

In the fyrre cheste y^t standythe

in the gentlewomans chamb[er]

nexte to my masters chamber.

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

Itm xxxvj^{ti} payre of schets wherof xxv^{ti} payre be fyne & the reste curse.

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

Itm xxx^{ti} payre of schets whereof xx^{ti} 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 xxⁱⁱ table clothes whyche be newe whereof xiiij payre be for my
w^t 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
viiijth 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 w^{ch} be new whereof iiij^{or} payre be fyne.
dosen, and ix
napkins

In a nother lyttle coffer
w^tin my mystres closet

lackyng Itm certeyn broken Copis
Itm iij pecys of blew sylke to make a bedd of
nothyng Itm a nother cofer of Cyprys wthin 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.

- 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.
- ij at london* It halfe a dosyn of square sawsers for caraways & bysketts.
- vj at london* Itm a dosyn of square poryngerrs
- ~~ij at london~~* Itm viij Rownde plats to laye vnderneath pastys *ij lacking*
- Itm 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 garnysche* 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^t came frome hyldershm
- lacking* Itm a nother garnysche of narrowe brymmed vessell wth a charger /
- lacking*
- It a old garnesche of pewter vessell w^t a charg[er].

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

- at london* Itm a garnysche of pewter vessell pownsyd⁴⁵ & a charger unpownsyd
- lacking*
- on bason at* Itm v basyns & v ewers of sylu[er] 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 london* Itm vj fayre basyns for possetts ij byg & iij of the myddle sorte and one lytle one
- at london* Itm a grete basyn to caste Iely in *changyd for new vessell*
- lacking** Itm iij basyns to wassche hands In two bygger and one lytle /
- Itm a pewter bowle for a closse cheyre
- one at london* Itm ij bowlis of pewter
- the other*
- lacking**
- Itm ij hallywater stocks
- Itm vij pewter candlestycks
- Itm a pewter ladle
- the other* Itm ij square salts of pewter. *wherof one at london*
- lacking*
- Itm a laver wth iijj cocks
- at london** Itm a coffyn of pewter wth cover to bake a pye in

⁴⁵ Inserted above the line in the same hand.

[page 22]

- at london**⁴⁶ 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 iiij pynt potts sylu[er] faschyon for wyne of pewter
- at london** Itm iij flagganns 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**
- one at london* Itm ij pottle potts ij quarte potts iij pynts *lackithe** & a ~~pynt~~ di pynte for
of the one bere
- quart potts*
- lackith**
- Itm a payre of anets *at london*
- on lackith y^e* Itm xiiij chamber potts
- other at*
- london**
- one at london** Itm vij p[er]fume panns wth the potts
Itm ij panns to warme bedds wth all *wherof one ys broken*
- ii lackythe** Itm vj chafyn dysches
Itm ij a skymmers *one at london*
- Itm ij gylte copper candlestycks wth y^e fete to sett on the a Aulter
- ij at london* Itm v other alter candlestycks ij byger & iij 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 viii** 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 xlaten basyns.

lacking & iij

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 wthowt covers *one at lodon y^e 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^r

Itm my masters bow /

Itm a schefe of arrowes. /

[page 23]

Mystres Cassebeys chamb[er] *ex*

In the ote lofte In primis a standyng bedstede where geres lyythe⁴⁷ / & a tester of blewe & red⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The words 'where geres lyythe' are inserted above the line but in the same hand.

X w Itm a mattres.

Itm a fetherbedd w ij bolstarrs w⁴⁹

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 S^r Wyllm chambre the other in the Norce[]*

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

w Itm iiij smale paynted pyctors pynned on *now ij*

broken w Itm ij cobbyerns /

Itm a bord to laye gere on & a schelfe.

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

The fyrst 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 faschyon & 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 hogshedd to chypp bred in

Itm iij formes or sets for bere.

Itm iij hogsheds

Itm ij dosyn of square trenchers of wood

Itm ij glassys wth covers /

Itm xxv^{ti} 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^e
third almost emptye.

Itm a butte wth sacke almoste emptye.

Itm a huche for candles

[page 24]

In the kyttchyn

In the kyttchin fyrste xj brasse potts grette & smale whereof one ys Ierne

Itm ix brasse panns ij of them grette to sethe brawne in & there of vj
gallanns a pece & iij smale & one olde.

Itm ij kettles one bygger & one lesser

Itm ij posenets

Itm one colynder /

Itm ij brasse chafars the one to f sethe beffe in & y^e other to hete water.

Itm on lattyn ladle

Itm one lattyn skymmer.

Itm x spyttts of Iren fyve of them bygg & the other lesse
Itm iij trevyttts.
Itm vj knyfs /
Itm iij fryyng panns
Itm ij drypyng panns /
Itm ij payre of Iren Racks.
Itm in the chimneis ij longe barrs of Iren wth iij pothangers
Itm ij grydyerns one bygg & one lesse /
It ij payre of pothangers
Itm a payre of musterd quernis /
Itm a old payre of musterd querns
Itm one stone mortar wth a pestle /
Itm a musterd pott of pewt[er]
Itm ij potts of peweter for vergis & venyger
Itm ij trayse.
Itm one fleschehoke.
Itm one brasse mortar & one of Ierne wth pestle of Ierne
Itm ij chafyng dysches
Ite 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 xij porryngers wth ij ers a pece
Itm vij disches. & xij platters & tenn old sawsers.

Changyd

Itm vj rownd 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 iij buckyng tobbs
Itm ij wasching stoles

[page 25]

The larder *ex*

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

In the pastre *ex*

In primis iij bords to worke on
Itm a tarte pyle of waynscotte & iij^{of} other pyls iij of them new & y^c 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*

iiij^{or} emptye In primis v hogshedds wth bay salte *iiij^{or}* of the[m] full & y^c vth halfe full

Itm a cofere full of grete p[er]chers

Spent Itm ij grete runelets & a kelderkyn wth smale candles

Spent Save Itm ij kylderkynns & a halfe & halfe a hogshedd of whyte salte

one

Spent It a cofer for candles wth ij partytions whereof one p[ar]tytion ys full of grete candles /

Itm *iiij^{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^t a cou[er]

Itm a cheste to put bred in & p[ar]tysyons for otemele

Itm a brann tubbe/

Itm a bultyng hogshedd

Itm ij schelfs / & 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.

[page 26]

ex In the fyrste chamber in the gallarye where S^r Clere lyythe

In primis a bedstede a mattres / a fetherbed / a bolstar

Ther

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

It a presse to ley there gere on⁵¹

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 wth grene flowers ~~lynnyd~~ one of them lynnyd wth canvas & y^c other onlynyd

Itm a tester of redd bokeram & grene

It the chamber hangyd abowte wth red saye

Itm a presse

ex In the ij^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 wth blacke & red ~~fasehione~~ spotts dyap[er] fashion the other grene & redd *A lytle quylt*

Itm a tester of payntyd clothe wth ij other clothes payntyd w^{ch} hange a pon the wall.

It a presse.

⁵¹ This could be 'ou[er]'.

ex In the plowmenns chamber.

In primis ij bedsteds

one in y^e ote It a pon the one ij mattressys tow bolstarrs & ij cou[er]letts one dyap[er]

loft faschion & y^e other blew & yelow

one in y^e ote Itm apon the other bed ij old matressis a old bolster a blankett & a old

loft coverlett.

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 fethe⁵²

Itm a payre of blanketts /

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

[page 27]

The chamb[er] ou[er] y^e 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]

faschion.

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.

the warren[er] In primis v bowes

hath one &

brake an other

Itm vj schefs of arrowes wth redd lether casys

Itm xij salletts

Itm xij payre of splents

Itm xij payre of harnes iiij^{or} for fotemen & viij for horsemen

Itm xiiij gorgetts & a naperne of mayle

Itm iiij^{or} bylls.

Itm vij new Iacks. & ij olde Iacks

[page 28]

fyrst a lytle table wth ij trestles

Itm ij formes /

Itm a schelfe. /

Itm a cope

Itm iiij forms more /

Itm a trowighe to stamp crabbs In.

Itm a frame wth ij bords nayled to the Ioysts afore the chymney to lay
chese on

Itm a chese presse

Itm a kennell wth 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 wth iij^{or} fete. ij trene dysches
 Itm x erthen mylke panns grete & smale iij erthen potts *ij lefte*
 Itm a butter charme wth a cover & the staff
 Itm vj chesefats grete & smale & ij 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 wth iij bords to lay on chesys
 Itm ij settles to sett on mylke panns /
 Itm ij schelfs
 Itm a marke for the chesys wth W. & C.
 Itm vj stomp[er]s to breke crabbs
 Itm a baskett coveryd to kepe henns⁵³ mete in. *all to terme*
 Itm a old clothe of lynen to hange over the mylke
 Itm mylke dysches⁵⁴
 Itm one butter dysche and a staffe
 Itm ij clensyng dysches for mylke.

[page 29]

In a lytle closett wth in the chamber ou[er] y^c hall

a In primis vij potts of brasse

⁵³ The word 'henns' is inserted above the line in the same hand.

⁵⁴ No quantity is given.

Itm one grete kettle

Itm iiij brasse panns whereof iij be bygg & one lyttle.

Itm a posenete /

Itm a brode chafar

Itm a colynder /

Itm iij fryyng panns

Itm ij stone morters a bygger & a lesser.

Itm ij spyce morters a bygger & a lesser w^t 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 iiij Andyernes. /

Itm v spyttys whereof iij be flatt & ij Rownd.

Itm iij caseme[n]ts of Iren to sett glasse in

Itm ij curtyn rodde of Iren for a Alter.

Itm iij chesefatts & one seweter to cover y^c chese

It one lytle posenete.

It there remaynythe in a old fle frayle old Iren & other old gere. /

Itm ij stols to worke in

Itm lytle basketts.

[page 31]

In the brewyng howse *ex*

In primis a leade wth a trowighe that bryngyth in the wat[er]

Itm a nother trowigh of waynscote w^{ch} 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 & iij meschyng pylls & ij
basketts to sett y^c 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 w^{ch} standyth ou[er] the fate

Itm a skopet to take worte owte of the leade

Itm a tunnell. /

Itm vij yeste tobbs

Itm iij 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 xx^{ti} bunches of new lathes

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

[page 32]

In the Store howse

Itm vj nowks / w^t v chayns of Iren to draw wth

Itm iij^{or} payre of toggs of Iren

Itm xj hoks of Iren /
Itm iij Axes
Itm ij bylls
Itm iij pycheforks /
Itm iij^{or} wymbles /
Itm one perser
Itm a payre of pynsers /
Itm a hammer
Itm a boket bownd abowte wth Iren /
Itm iij mattocks /
Itm iij bunches of lathes
Itm ij schovles /
Itm a spade.
Itm iij horsecolers. /
Itm iij^{or} horse colers of straw
Itm ij carte keps /
Itm a new lanterne
Itm iij^{or} dongcarts /
Itm a wayne & a carte schodd

In the Stable.

In primis for my master ij saddles wthall things to them belongyng
Itm for my mysters ij saddles
Itm ij olde syde saddles /
Itm iij bolster saddles

Itm one buffe saddle /

Itm one padd saddle /

Im a sompter saddle.

wthall 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.

[page 33]

Itm vj collers ./

Itm iij hemppyn halterrs

Itm one packe saddle wth a wantye & a gerthe

Itm ij corryng combs /

Itm a mane combe.

Itm a here to robb the horsys wth

Itm vij payre of pasterells

Itm iij pyllyons & iij pyllyone eh clothes

Itm iij clothes for the syde saddle

Itm a foteclothe for my master ./

Itm a brusche

Itm a schovell & a colerake

Itm a lether clooke bagge

Itm a heddstall & a paterell geltyd.

It a plate ./ a hamm[er] /

Item a skonse /

Itm ij bynns wth ij paddlocks.

[page 39]

Suche stuffe as ys at london⁵⁵

In my masters chamber.

In primis the chamber hangyd wth payntyd clothes

Itm a bedsted /

Itm a mattres /

Itm ij fetherbedds.

Itm ij bolsters /

note y^t one Itm ij payre of blanketts /

payre of y^e

blanketts be

lynsey wolsey

Itm ij fleggs

Itm iiij pillowes /

Itm one cownterpoynte ./

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 wth v curteynys of sylke

Itm iiij curteyns 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 carvyd⁵⁶ w^t a cobberd e in yt

Itm ij cofers bownd wth Iren & coveryd wth 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 bedstede

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 wth 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.

[page 41]

Suche stufte as ys at hyldershm⁵⁷

In the hall

In primis one table wth ij standyng trestells

Itm a cobberd / ij tables standyng apou 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 Ioyned forme / iij Ioyned Stols / one playne forme

Itm a playne table bord for the Scriptoriy

Itm one cheste wth 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 wth skarelett imbroderyd wth letters one for my m^r & 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 lether

Itm one coiwschyn of whyte fustyan imbroderyd wth a rose

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

callyd the gentlewomanns 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 iii^{or} ~~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 Iacks of lether.
Itm one collynder of latten
Itm a fryyng pann
Itm one drypyng pann /
Itm ij trayse
Itm one bredd grate /
Itm one brasse pann for assches
Itm one payre of musterd querns
Itm ij brode pannels /
Itm vj bere barrells
Itm one lytle runlett.

In the closet

In primis a ~~sup[er]altare~~-sup[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 wth pewter /
 Itm iij borrall dysches of glasse for frut
 Itm iij sawsers of the same mettell
 It one gylte sawser of y^c same mettelle
 It ij salts of y^c 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 posenets of
 brasse / ij payre of pottehoks / one grete chaf[er] /
 Itm one bakyng pann /
 Itm a trevet / one gret kettle / one brasse mortar wth pestle /
 Itm a stone mortar wth pestle ./ a stone mort[er] w^t pestle /
 It a flesche hoke / a drypyng pann of pla⁵⁹
 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^r George Cavendysche chamber⁶⁰

In primis the cha[m]ber hangyd wth redd clothe

Itm a bedstede /

⁵⁹ The end of this word is lost in the binding.

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 Ioyned stols / one cheyre.

In Iohn Tomsons cha[m]ber

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 chamb[er] a bedsted

In the maydens chamb[er]

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

Margaretts Cotesworts chamber.

fyrst one bedsted / one mattres. / one bolster /

The plowemenns chamber

fyrst ij bedds steds ij mattresses / iij bolsters 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

In the buttere

fyrst ij settells iiij schelves

Itm one cheste one hang schelfe

[page 44]

In the carvyd settle in my mystres chamber

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

Itm in the other halfe remaynyth certeyn stuffe belongyng to the chaple

fyrst one Alter clothe panyd w^t redd & grene & lynyd wth canvas

Itm a othe Alter clothe panyd wth grene & redd wth garters fryngyd redd
yelow & grene

Itm a corporas case of clothe of tyssewe & velvet on the one syde & white
dama on y^e other syde

Itm a table imbroderyd wth Imagis of gold

Itm a vestment of orynge sarsenet / the albe w^t the stole /

Itm ij whyte curtynns wth 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 Cavendissh’ 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^t 10th Eliz: 1553 – Inventory of the Goods of S^r. W^m. 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: ‘19^o Augusti 1^o Eliz: our p[ar]te of a Quinte p[ar]te deed & Inventory of Intayle of plate howshold

stuffe & Cattell, made [to?] S^r 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.¹ 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 xxixth day of August in the fyrste yere of the raygn of O^r 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.² 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

¹ Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance*, p. 10.

² Information about individuals mentioned in the text may be found in *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 'four paier of cobberds'. 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 Houshold 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 duple gilte conteyninge⁴

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

Item one porrynger silver wth two eares p[ar]cell gilte /

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

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

Item three grete bolles wth one cou⁵ silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item fyve bere Juggs of silver wth fyve cous wrought of sondrey fassyons gilte /

Item three playne Juggs of silver wth two cous gilte. /

Item one litle cupp silver wth cou gilt

Item three saltes with two cous sylver and gilt /

Item one litle trencher salte silver wth cou gilte /

Item foure litle lowe salts silver /

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

Item one lesser Jugge silver wth 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 wth heddes gilte /

Item one dossen spones called slyppes silver /

Item five stone Jugges trymed and garnished wth silver. /⁶

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

⁵ 'Cover' and similarly thereafter.

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 wth silver gilte /⁷

Item seaven chased gobletts one cover sylver

Item fyve playne gobletts w^tout cove^rs silver /

Item one boll wth a cover of silver gilte /

Item one boule wth a cover of silver gilte /

Item one posnet wth three fete a cover & ladell to the same all silver /

Item a chafinge dishe fynely wrought wth a cover silver. /

Item one greate salte wth a cover of silver gilte /

Item twelve sawcers silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item syx platters silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item xxiiij^{ti} disshes silver p[ar]cell gilte. /

Item xxiiij^{ti} plate for trenchers silver p[ar]cell gilte /

Item two dossen spones silver with knobes gilte. /

Item Twelve Candelstyckes silver /

Item one Leepott sylver.

Item one pott to warme drinke in silver /

Thies p[ar]celles above written	} m ^l m ^l C xxiiij ^{ti} ounces ⁸
conteyne in waight	}

Hangings of Clothes of arras xlviij peces / whereof are wth sylke sixtene peces /
the others of Courser sortes / .

⁷ ‘Eight stone Juges trymed with silver and guilt not wayed’ at the end of the 1601 list of plate (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 61).

⁷ This may be ‘a toasting forke of wood trymed with silver’ in the 1601 inventory (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 61). The toasting fork follows the stone jugs in 1601 as it does here, which might help to influence the identification.

⁸ 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 same⁹
/ fyve Curtens to the same blacke and white damaske / one bedsted for the same
black and white / two chayres / one litle stole / and one longe Cusshyon of the
same. /¹⁰

Item one Bedde blewe silke single valans with birdes and golde / one quilte of the
same / one Bedsted to the same blewe. /¹¹

Item one bedd wth single valans of grene satten / one quilte to it of grene sarsenet /
one bedsted of grene to the same. /¹²

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 golde¹³ / fyve curtens of
purple taffata / one very faire bedsted to the same and of the same collo^r as the
bedde / two chayres / one litle stole and one longe cusshyon of the same /¹⁴

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 about wth fryers knotts harts hedds & 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 frence' in the 'Pearle bed chamber' in 1601 (*Of Houshold 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 'y^e noble mans [...] chamber' in the 1560s Chatsworth inventory (Appendix Three, fol. 1^v).

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^v). The bedsted itself may be identified with 'a bedsted paynted grene 'in the 'ffynishers Chamber' in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 23).

¹³ This quilt may be identified with one at Northaw: 'a quylte of taffata purple color Imbroderyd wth my masters armys & frynges 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 frence, and the bedes head with armes in it, a Counterpoint of purple taffetie imbrodered rownde about with letters and armes in the myddest and frenged with golde frence, Fyve Curtins of purple and yelowe taffetie' (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 35). However, the identification with the bed in 'y^e 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 collo^f redd for the same bedde / two chayers / one litle stole / and one longe Cusshyon of the same. /¹⁶

Item one bedde white silke wrought wth golde / one coveringe of the same wo^rke & makinge. / one bedsted to the same playne / .¹⁷

Item one bedd of murrey and yelowe velvet duble valans ymbrothered wth golde fyve Curtens to it of yalowe and murrey damaske / one quilt of crymsyn satyn ymbrothered wth golde / one very faier bedsted agreable for the same bedde / two chaires / one litle stole / and one longe Cushyon of the same. /¹⁸

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 yelowe and white damaske / one Coveringe for the same bedd of blacke velvet roed wth silver / ymbrodered wth perle and purle / one very faire bedsted agreable to the same Bedde / two chayers / one litle stole and one longe cusshyon of the same. /¹⁹

[with] v curtens of purple Tayfytay [and] one qwelt of purple tafytay Embrodred wyth gold' (Appendix Three, fol. 1').

¹⁵ The 'sarvents chamber' at Chatsworth in the 1560s contained 'one bedd off tawny & whyt damaske' (Appendix Three, fol. 2).

¹⁶ Probably identifiable with the bed in the 'redd chamber' at Northaw: 'a standyng bedstede of redd & a tester of scarelet imbroderyd wth letters of clothe of gold wth M & A / ... v cortynns of redd taffata' (Appendix One, p. 14).

¹⁷ This may be identifiable with 'a bedstede & a tester of sylke whyte wth 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 murry & yelowe vellet Embrodreth wth gold [/] v curtens off murry & yelow damask [/] one qwelt of cremson saten Embrodret wth gold [/] ij chares & a stewll off murry & yelow velvet [/] one long qweshen of murry 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

[Start of second column]

Item one bedde with duple 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 litle stole and one longe Cusshinge of the same²⁰

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 agreable to the same / Two chayers one litle stole / and one longe Cusshyn of the same: / .²¹

Item one bedd wth double valens 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 litle 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 frence, 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 sutable to the bed' (*Of Household 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 & Eglentyne [...] one qwelt off blak vellet Rode wth sylver & Embrodred wth perle [...] one gret chare of blak cloth off golde [/] one stewart 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 & murrey coulored velvet imbrodered with golde and silver twist, double vallans of murrey and tawnie velvett, with golde, silver and silk frence, 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 murrey wrought velvet [...] too Chares and a stoole of murrey and yellowe velvet with murrey silke and golde frence [...] a long quition of murrey and oring coulored velvet imbrodered with golde twist' (*Of Household 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 vellet [...] v curtens off grene & whyt damask [...] one long qweshen of the same the bedd ys' (Appendix Three, fol. 2^v).

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 Cusshyn 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 Sy^r Willm Cavendishe and my Ladyes
armes /²³

Item one Turkey Carpett 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^rds..

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 bredes.

Item fyfitye 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^r lase' (Appendix Three, fol. 3^y). 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 xxxⁱⁱ bolsters / a wth fethers
Item thirte pillowes with fethers /
Item twente quilts of woll. /
Item fortye matterysse
Item tenne longe borde clothes of damaske
Item twente 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 twente 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 spyttis.
Item foure lesser spyttis.
Item foure paier of cobberds.
Item six grete potts of brasse
Item foure lesser potts of Brasse
Item eight grete 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 /

[Deed attached to the inventory]

To all menne to Whome this p[re]sent wrytting [...] Indented shall com be herdd
senne or redd Elizabeth Cavendyshe Wydowe late Wyffe of Sir Wyllyam
Cavendyshe knyght decessed²⁵ sendith gretynge in ower lord god everlastynge
Knowe ye that I the sayd Dame Elizabeth for dyvs & many good and reasonable
causes & considerations me & my conscience specially movynge and for this
confidence put in me by the sayde Syr Wyllyam Cavendyshe my husbond 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 vy²⁶ trusty and lovyng ffrynde Syr Robert Catlyn knyght chief
justice of the plees before the Quene ower souerygn ladye²⁷ Syr Rychard Sackvyle
knyght²⁸ Gylbert Gerrard the Quenes attorney genall²⁹ and Wyllyam Clark
gentylman³⁰ all such platt hangynge beddyng ymplements of howshold & other
goods & cattalls w^{ch} 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 hangynge 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 hereafter

²⁵ Sir William Cavendish died in October 1557.

²⁶ The other copy provides 'very'.

²⁷ Sir Robert Catlyn, appointed a Justice of the Common Pleas in October 1558 and Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench the following January, died 1574.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ 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 & lymtyd 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 admynstrators 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]p[er]tys of the same or of any parte therof to be therof made or hadd by reason of the same: And After my deceesse that they and euy of them shall prmytt & suffer henry Cavendyshe nowe sonne & heyre of the sayd Syr Wyllyam 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]p[er]tye of the same or of any parte therof And that after the deceesse 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 Wyllyam Cavendyshe brother of the saide henry & theyer males of the body of the same Wyllyam 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]p[er]ty of the same or of any part therof And that after the deceesse of the same Wyllyam & 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 Wyllyam 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 specyfied & menconyd in the sayde Codicill wthout 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 wthout 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 & Admynstrators 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 wthout 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 wthout 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 Implements Cattalls & other the p[re]mysses to such prson or prsons and in such mann[er] & forme as the sayde Dame Elizabeth shall lymytt appoynt or declare by any wrytting sygned wth my hands And yf I shall not happen to make any such wrytting 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

Wylliam Seyntlowe knyght whom I entend god wylling to take to husband³² 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 p[ro]pertye of the same or of any parte therof by the sayde Syr Wylliam Sentlowe In Wytnes wherof to evy p[ar]te of this p[re]senti Indentuer I the sayde Dame Elizabeth Cavendyshe have putte my hand & seale geven the xxixth day of August in the fyrste yere of the raygn of O^r Souerygn ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of Englonde 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:

iiij 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. 3^v).

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,

³ Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance*, p. 12, n. 10; Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, p. 53, n. 2.

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.⁴ 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

⁴ Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, I, p. 574, item 11.387 and illustration.

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.

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.

[fol. 1]

Tyms Chamb⁶

v pesses of Arres / ij of davydd one of Saloma Jugement one of Elle Raveshment /

one off burning off his hand /⁷

one long Tourky carpet⁸

one sqware Tourky carpet

ij Tourky carpets for Cobberts //

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

Itm a stewll off cremesen saten wth lace of gold

Itm ij stewlles off cloth off gold paned wth purple cremesen vellet

Itm one of Coushen paned wth purple vellet

one long qweshen off murry & yalew vellet

one other long qweshen off Rowsett vellet

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^v). 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^v). 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.

⁷ Santana 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).

⁸ In 1601 'one turkie carpet' of unspecified shape remained (Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance*, p. 25).

one other qweshen of cloth of gold & cremesen damaske

iiij arres qweshens

It iiij formes covered wth blew cloth

one long table /

one sqwarre 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 chamber¹⁰

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

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 yelow 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 black 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 wth sylver & Embrodred wth perle

ij whyt fleges /

one payre of fustyan blanketts

one down bedde /

ijj qwelts /

one bolst^r /

ij pylewes

one gret chare of blak cloth off golde¹³

one stewart off sylver & blak cloth of gold /

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

one lone qweshen of Tousshew¹⁴ & blak vellet off a fret /

ij turky carpets¹⁵

one payre of Andyrens

one payre of tongs

one fyer shovell /

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

ij cobberts

[fol. 1^v]

y^enoble mans [...] chaber¹⁶

one bedd of blew sylke & byrds off gold¹⁷

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).

¹⁴ The spelling is very indistinct but the meaning seems to be 'tissue'.

¹⁵ In 1601 'too turkie Carpetes' remained (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 25).

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 'noble mans 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^r

ij pyllews

one chare of blak vellet

one stewll of blak vellet

one qweshen of blew tayfyta qweltd /

one coverge¹⁸ for the cobbert off Rowssett cloth & ij [...] of russet vellet

one cobbert

one payre off Andyrons /

one curten for the wyndow of grene saye

= the stewll hows¹⁹

one close stewll wth [an open?] pan under ytt

ij basens

ij chamber pots

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 spots [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).

¹⁸ 'covering'

¹⁹ 'Closet' of the set of rooms associated with the 'noblemans Chamber' in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 25).

The chamber next the noble mans [...] Chamber²⁰

one bedd off grene breges saten²¹

one qwelt of grene saersnet

one payre of blankets /

one fether bedd /

one bolst^r

ij pylewes

v curtens of the saersnet

one qweshen for the wyndew of Redd chekerd sylke /

one gret chare of blak cloth gardyt wth vellet

one stewll of purple vellet

one carpet for the cubbert of grene clothe /

one cobbert

one curten for the wyndew of grene saye /

y^e chapple chamber²²

iiij peses off arres off the story off davydd & barsaba²³

one bedd off cloth of sylver & purple cloth of gold²⁴

v curtens of purple Tayfytay

²⁰ Probably the 'Servantes chamber' of the set of rooms associated with the 'noblemans Chamber' in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 25). The missing word was rendered as 'maid' by Stallybrass.

²¹ May be identified with the 'bedd wth single valans of grene satten [and] one quilte to it of green sarsenet' in the 1559 inventory (Appendix Two).

²² 'Chapple Chamber' in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 25).

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.

²⁴ This bed appears in the 1559 inventory as 'one bedde of clothe of silver and clothe of golde purple wth double valens one quilte to the same of purple taffata inbrodered wth 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
ijj blanketts
one payre of fustyans
one down bedd /
one bolst^f /
one qwelt
ij pyllews
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 wth 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 chamber²⁶

iiij peses of tapstre

one bedd off tawny & whyt damaske²⁷

²⁵ The quilt may be one at Northaw: 'a quylte of taffata purple color Imbroderyd wth my masters atmys & frynges of gold lynyd wth 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 blanks²⁸

one fether bedd /

one bolst^r /

one coverlet /

a gret lether [chair]²⁹

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 hows³⁰

iiij peses of arres off the story off davydd & barsebe³¹

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^fs

ij pylewes

one gret chaire

one lyttell chare

a stewll

one long qweshen of the same the bedd ys /

one other long qweshen of cloth of sylver & cremysen cloth of gold Embrodret off
cremysen vellet /

ij Turkey carpets

ij cobberd

one payre of Andyrans /

one payre of tongs

one fyer shovell /

a [...] pan /

ij curtens of grene say for the wyndewes

one curten = the closet wyndew

y^e servands chamber³²

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^r

ij pyllewes

one woud chare

one Close stewll /

one Erthe pan /

one chamber pot

one basen

[fol. 2^v]

M^s leche³⁴ chamber³⁵

ij peses of Tapstre

one payre of blanks³⁶

one fether bedd

a qwelt /

a bolst^r

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'. Stallybrass, 'Bess of Hardwick's Buildings and Building Accounts', p. 391.

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

³⁶ 'blankets'

one lytell chare of russet vellet
one other lether
a payre of Andyrans of yron
a fyer shovell /
ij gret coffers
one Rownd table /

Ellens chamber³⁷

v peses of grene cloth³⁸
one bedd of cloth off golde cloth off sylver & grene vellet³⁹
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^fs

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^v). 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 peeces of grene cloth hanginges' (*Of Household Stuff*, p. 26).

³⁹ Identifiable with the 'bedde wth double valans of clothe of golde / clothe of silver / and grene velvet made of frets wth 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.

one bolst^r

ij 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

ijj curtens of grene saye for the wyndews

one clos stewll

one Erthe pan

one chamber pot

one basen

y^e purple bedd chamber⁴¹

iiij peses of Tapstre off the story off prodygus /⁴²

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

⁴⁰ In 1601 'twoo 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 frence, 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^rs /

ij bolst^rs /

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 wth cloth of gold /

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

ij carpets of blew cloth tremde wth whyt vellet /

ij cobberts /

one payre of Awndyrons

one payre of tongs

ij curtens of grene saye for the wyndews

Counterpoynt of purple taffetie imbrodered rownde about with letters and armes in the myddest and frenged with golde frenge, Fyve Curtins of purple and yellowe taffatie' (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 35).

[fol. 3]

The servands chamber⁴⁴

one bedd of cloth of gold & cremysen vellet /

ijj curtens of whyt & yelow saersnet /

one covering of Tapstre

one payre of blankets /

one fether bedd /

one bolst^f

one close stewll /

one Erthe pan /

one basen

one chamber pot

The hye gayt hows⁴⁵

v peses of arres /

one bedd of murrey & yelow vellet Embrodreth wth gold⁴⁶

v curtens off murrey & yelow damask

one qwelt of cremson saten Embrodret wth gold /

ijj chares & a stewll off murrey & yelow velvet

one long long qweshen of murrey cloth of gold

one long qweshen of cremysen saten /

⁴⁴ Probably 'the Inner Chamber to purple chamber' in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 26).

⁴⁵ Probably the 'middle gatehouse Chamber' in 1601 (*Of Houshold 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 duple valans ymbrothered wth golde fyve Curtens to it of yalowe and murrey damaske / one quilt of crymsyn satyn ymbrothered wth golde / one very faier bedsted agreable for the same bedde / two chaires / one litle 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 /

y^e 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 /
iij qwesshens of cremesen vellet /
vj Joind stewllises /
one long tabale

one cobbert

one payre of Awndyrons of yron

[fol. 3^v]

The lytell [hot?] hows chamber

one canpye of blak damask & Tayfytay

one Redd flege

one payre of blankets /

one fether bedd /

one qwelt /

one bolst^r

one pylewe /

one mat^s /

ij peses of tapstre /

one qweshen of blak vellet /

one qweshen of blak saten

one qweshen off grene Chekert sylke /

one Joind stewll /

iiij 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 bolst^r /

one canypye of dornix /

one [...] flege /

one whyt coverlet

one payre of blanks

one fether bedd /

one bolst^r /

vij coffers

A new hand begins.

In my lads chambre⁴⁹

on bedd of Red cloth trymyd w^t silu^r lase⁵⁰

v curtens off mokado Red

on cwylk off Red s[ar]cenett

on Red fflage

on whitt fflage

ij qwylts

on down bedde

iiij bolsters

⁴⁹ That is, 'my lady's chamber'.

⁵⁰ This is probably identified with the 'bedd wth single valens of redde clothe layed wth 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^r cavendissh⁵¹ the other off my m^r⁵² an other off my lady⁵³

& an other off my lady Jane /⁵⁴

on longe quousshyn off blake velvett

on long quousshyn off Red velvett

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 Houshold Stuff*, p. 50). None of Bess's sons had been knighted at this stage and so could all be considered as 'm^r 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 Houshold Stuff*, p. 52) and this is presumably the one now hanging in the Long Gallery there (HHE/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 Houshold 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 (HHE/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 Houshold 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 Arabella (my Lord's first wife) and the picture of Queen Jane Grey' (*HMC Bath*, IV, 235). 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.

on long quousshyn off blew ~~velvett~~ tafata
vi peces off hangyns off blew cloth
vj grett Coffars
on square bord
on Cuppe borde
on long cloth for the cupbord
iij curtans silke hangyng ou⁵⁵ the tables /
ij curtans gren say ffor the wyndoes

The Cony bedd chambre⁵⁶

on bedd Callyd the cony bedd
on qwylt grene s[ar]cenett
on Red flage
ij blanketts
ij qwylts
on feyther bedd
on bolster
iij pilloes
iiij peces off hangyns off arres the story filius pdigus⁵⁷
on grett coffar

⁵⁵ 'over'

⁵⁶ This chamber is not mentioned in the 1601 inventory. It did not overlook the coneygree, mentioned in 1601 (*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 'cownter poynte of verder wth bucks & conys & other bests' in 'mistres starnolds chamber' at Northaw in the 1540s or the 'cov[er]lett of tapstree wth harts conyes & other bests' then in the 'lytle chamber', or even the 'quylte of whyte & blacke velvet imbroderyd Rownd about wth fryers knotts harts hedds & conyes & In the mydyst imbroderyd my masters & my mystres armys' from 'the chamber over the kyttchyn' (Appendix One, pp. 8, 10 and 17).

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 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 55).

iiij 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

iiij Carpetts

on pece off hangyng arres

In nycolys chambre

on ffeyther bedd

on bolster

ij blanketts

on Couerlett

In mousholl chambre⁵⁸

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

The text concludes half way down fol. 4.

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 Invnatory⁵⁹

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 iij blanketts iij Couerletts

In the same chambre on feyther bedd on bolster ij Cou^rletts

In the nursry ij feyther bedds ij bolsters on pillow iij blanketts on rositt fflage
on⁶⁰ Cou^rlett ij Coueryng tapstre hangyng Red & yewlow on arke on long Coffar
iij Cofars in margett kepyng iij Ioinyd stoles on payr virgynalls⁶¹

In the dayhowse iij mattris iij bolsters ij blanketts iij Cou^rletts on trusebedd on
testor blak & yewlow / ij curtans yewlew ij grett Coffars on pyllow

In the porters lodge on mattris on bolster on blankett on Couerlett⁶²

In the chambre next the chapell on trusebedd on tester Red & tawny sylke on
feyther bedd on bolster on blankett on Cou^ryng tapstre on quousshyn tapstre⁶³

⁵⁹ This part of the document deals with the ground floor.

⁶⁰ Possibly 'ij' or 'iij', although the noun is singular.

⁶¹ In 1601 there was a 'payre of virginalls' in store in the 'middle wardrop' at Chatsworth (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p.23) and another in the 'lowe great Chamber' (p. 25).

⁶² Presumably still the 'Lodg' in 1601 (*Of Houshold Stuff*, p. 28).

In the sam chambre on trus bedd on testor murrey & blew silke ij feyther bedds ij
bolsters iij blanketts ij Couletts hangyngs old cloths payntyd

In the next chambre on trusbedd on testor silk w^t pomgranett ij fether bedds ij
bolsters iij blanketts iij Cou^rletts 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 iij Cou^rletts on Coueryng tapstre

In fyve bedd chambre on trusbedd on testor whitt & gren silk on ffeyther bedd on
mattris ij bolsters iij blanketts on Cou^rlett on Cou^ryng tapstre

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

verso

In the old⁶⁵ porters lodge ij blanketts ij Cou^rletts

The under towre ij mattris on bolster ij blanketts ij Cou^rletts

The klok chambre iij mattris ij bolsters on old blankett iij Cou^rletts⁶⁶

⁶³ Possibly the 'Chamber within the Chapple' in 1601 (*Of Houshold 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 blankett ij Cou^rletts

The Red chamber on mattris on bolster on blankett 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 Houshold 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. 192^v 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 (London: HMSO, 1965 and 1971), 1, ed. by E.G.W. Bill (1965), pp. 170 and 196.

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.

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In the name of God Amen the seaven and twentieth 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 faithe &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
knowen 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

Testamentum Di
Elizabetha
Comitissa Salopi

¹ Absent from the original will, Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9.

especiallie in the tyme of my approaching 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 liue in all vnitie and naturall affection:
and withall to quyett setle and contynewe the possessions of
all suche Jewells plate furniture of houshold 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 ffirst 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 beleeuing 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 bodye~~ into the
earthe whereof yt came, and to be buried in All Hallowes
churche at Derbye in the place of the same churche where yt
is appoynted and Determynd that my Tombe and monument
shalbe erected and builte, which at this present ys finished
and Wanteth nothing but setting vp.² And I especiallie will
and require that my ffunalls be not ouer sumptuous or

Confirmat

[.....]

1612

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 performed 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
188v my hande and Seale at any tyme [/] thereafter⁴ 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

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 thowsand poundes lefte vnbestowed and not disposed
 by any suche schedule or wrytinge as aforesayed: Then my
 Will ys that the same parte so lefte in the same Wryting
 vnbestowed 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 euery 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 shillinges a peece in money, the money to
 be payed them the daye of my ffunerall. Allso I giue vnto my
 very loving graundchild Arbella Stewart⁵ my christall glasse
 trymmed with siluer and guilte and sett with lapis Lazarus
 and aggetts⁶ and one Sable the head beyng of gould sett wth
 Stone and a white Ermyn Sable the head likewise of gould
 ennamiled 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.⁷ And I giue
 to my sayed graundechild Arbella Stewart one thowsand
 poundes in money. And I giue to my Daughter Grace wife of
 my sonne Henry Cavendishe a hundred Aungells to buy her

All and evry the
 legaceys
 conteyned in this
 my last will and
 giuen to my
 graundchilde
 Arbella Stewart :
 I haue revokd
 vnder my hand
 and Seale E:
 Shrewsbury.

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 glasse with a foote of sylvar and gylte tryned with lapus and agets' (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).

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 'geuen 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
ffurniture of houshold 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 qyene 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 accomlishe the age of
eighteene yeres I do will shalbe payed to her alltogether 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 accomlishe 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^f ffrauncys wife of my Sonne Henry Peirpoynte
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
189 poundes to buye hym [/] A Ringe withall to weare for me
And to their daughter Elizabeth Stapleton nowe wife of
Richard Stapleton sonne and heire apparaunt of Brian
Stapleton esq^f Twentie poundes to buye her a Ringe withall
to weare for me: To their sonne in lawe George Manners
and their 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 goldsmyth', 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 wth .x. Rubies and iij sasers and one dyamond wth ij pcyures 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 twoe other of the Daughters of my sayed Sonne Henry Peirpoynte and my daughter ffrauncys either of them twenty poundes a peece 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 mayntenne onlye & yf she ouerliue her sayed husband.¹⁰ 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 of at Chatesworthe Hardwicke and Oldcoates in the Countie of Derby and to obteyne some plate beddinges hangings and other furniture of houshold 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 hartelie praye that with gods pleasure the same shall so longe contynewe for their better Service vnto their Prince and Countrie: Therefore I giue vnto my sayed Wellbeloued sonne

All and eury the

¹⁰ Anne, wife of Sir Henry Bainton, was the daughter of Bess's husband, William Cavendish, by his first wife, Margaret Bostock.

Countrie: Therefore 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 graundchilde 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 howsehold stuffe nowe
remaying 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 houshold 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

legaces conteyned
in this my last will
and giuen to my
Sonne Henry
Cavendish I haue
revoked vnder my
hand and Seale
E: Shrewesbury

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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 houshold stuffe nowe and at the tyme of
my Decease remaying or beyng at my house or howses at
Hardwicke and which nowe and at [/] ~~Hardwick and whiche~~
~~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 Remynders ouer and to the like intent and
purpose asys before Limited touching my furniture of
houshold 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 remaying and
beyng at my house at Oldcoates in the sayed Countie of
Derby for the ~~møre~~ 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 sayed 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^r 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 ffower or
more lawfull witnesses present at my soe Doynge 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 as¹¹ 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 hurte 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 affeccion and
due acknowledging of the many righte princelye favoures
longe contynewed vnto me her true and faithfull servaunte

¹¹ Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'is'.

from my most gracious¹² Sovereigne 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
humble beseeching her sacred Maiestie to accept that poore
widowes Myte as a Remembraunce from her that hath
allwayes beyne a Dutifull and faithfull harte to her highnes:
To whose most excellent Ma^{tye} I make this my most humble
earnest and last requeste that yt would please her highnes to
haue compassion and to be good and gracious to my poore
graund childe Arbella Stewart accordnglie as her Maiestie
hath most graciouslye oftenten tymes sayed vnto me that she
would do for her poore Orphant nowe lefte only to depend
vppon her gracious prouidence: And I most humble
beseeche her Maiestie to receyve the sayed¹³ Arbella Stewart
to attend vppon her highnes yf it may so stande with her
gracious pleasure as the cheifest comforte vnto my sayed
poore desolate Orphant, for whose most ~~speeiall~~¹⁴ faithfull
Loyaltie 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 humble 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

¹² Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 adds 'and'.

¹³ Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'poore' crossed out.

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 towardes
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
euery 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 their 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 euery 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 their n[at]urall lyves onlye. And for defaulte of suche
heire male Then I will that euery 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 their naturall lyves onlye. And after all their 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 successiuelie one after an other for terme of their 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 their naturall lyves onlye, I especiallye appoynting and most earnestlye chardging euery my sayed seuerall executors vpon his dutie towards me and vpon the faithfull confidence which I repose in hym that he will for and during his seuerall tyme of Executo^rshippe when yt shall happen see all my legaceys which before in this my Will ar not lymited to any certeyne tyme when the same shalbe payed to be trulie payed dischargd and performed within sixe monethes next after my deathe: And my ffuneralls and other Legaceys which ar before in this my Will lymited to a certeyne tyme that he will see the same trulie accomplished finished and dischargd accordingle. 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: Therefore
submitting my selfe therein vnto the omnipotent power and
secreat pleasure of Almightye 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 vncerteyne¹⁵ 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 vppon some that is appoynted to be my
sole executor and whoe then may happen to be within age
and not of sufficient Judgment or disreccion to see or [/
190v cause my ffuneralls and bequestes and Legaceys to be
dischardged according to the true intent and meaninge of this
my saied last will therefore having no lesse regarde to haue
my will performed then I haue to make the same in this
behalf I am to desire and earnestly entreate the assistaunce
of suche noble and honorable persons and myndes and of
suche my good ffreindes 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 England¹⁶
his grace and S^r Thomas Egerton knighte Lorde keeper of the
greate Seale of England¹⁷ my good ffreind and brother John
Manners of Haddon in the sayed Countie of Derby esquire¹⁸
and my sayed loving Sonne Henry Peirpoynt of Holme
Peirpoynt in the Countie of Nottingham esquyer¹⁹ to yeald
me their 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 vppon these conditions and Contingents
folowinge that ys to saye that yf my sayed sonne William
Cavendish dye in my lifytyme 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
Deceasse and before he shall finishe and perfectlie
discharge 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

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).

¹⁷ Sir Thomas Egerton (1540-1617), created Lord Keeper in 1596 and Lord Chancellor in 1603.

¹⁸ John Manners (c. 1528-1611), second son of the 1st 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.

¹⁹ Henry Pierrepont was the husband of Bess's daughter, Frances. H/279/9 has 'Pierepont' throughout.

and Legaceys which ar to be performed by payment of money within sixe monethes next after my Decease, the sayed william his sonne or any other person ~~or 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 ar 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 their 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 at²⁰ this tyme beyng my sayed good Brother John Manners and my loving sonne Henry Pierpoynte and the Surviuor 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 agreeyng 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 [/]
191 twoe Monethes then next after shall with so mucche of the
sayed somme of fyve thowsand one hundred and twoe
poundes as shall suffice for that purpose Discharge finishe
and perfect so mucche 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 mucche 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 mucche of my money

²¹ The £5102 are accounted for in Hardwick Drawers, H/279/13.

legaceys and bequestes w^{ch} 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 mucche 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 their propper vse one hundred poundes a peece in recompence of their paynes and kyndenes in discharging my truste in them reposed: and so mucche more of my executor²² as shall satisfie to my saied Brother John Manners and my sonne Henry Pierpoynte and the Surviuor 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 their travaile Counsell and iorneyes taken for the performance of my sayed truste reposed as aforesayed with this my speciall and hartie request to my saied honorable freindes and the rest that ouer and besides suche their 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.

remembraunce of the twoe thowsand poundes more that is bestowed of James Cavendishe and ffrauncys Cavendishe children of my sayed Sonne William Cavendishe to either of them one thowsand poundes and of the benefitt that shall arise theruppon 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 sayed 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 thowsand poundes bestowed vppon his sayed twoe children James and ffrauncys and the benefitt therof shalbe disposed of and for them according to this my Will as allso that the said somme of ffyve thowsand one hundred and twoe poundes so locked vp in the sayed chest and so Deliuered vnto hym for the true intents 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 thowsand one hundred and twoe pounds or any other person for the tyme beyng 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 Archbishoppe 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 Surviuor of
my sayed brother Manners and Sonne Pierpoynte shall not be
my executors or executor of any my goods Jewells credits
Debtes plate houshold 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
191v allowing²³ by theise presents confirming [/] the authoritie of
my sayed sonne william Cavendishe and of the sayed
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^r 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^r at
this tyme beyng my brother John Manners and my Sonne

²³ Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 inserts 'and'.

Henry Pierpoynte or some of them shalbe my executors as
aforesayed and shall haue Dischardged the truste in them
reposed and soe their 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 mercey
to graunte) may Well liue to be my executor and to
discharge 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 neuerthelesse my last and verye earnest request
to my sayed honorable ffreindes the Lord Archbishoppe
Lord Keeper or Lord Chauncellor at this tyme beyng my
kynde brother John Manners and my lovyng Sonne Henry
Pierpoynte and to euery of them ys that after suche tyme as
their 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 their 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 their 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 mynde full

course he doth take to see the saied twoe seuerall legaceys of
a thowsand poundes a peece to James and ffrauncys children
of my saied sonne William to be dylie performed and
Disposed of for their 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
amongest my children) And whereas there hath ben
vnkyndnes offred 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 Iniuryes 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. ffather my Will ys that my sayed honorable
ffreindes the Lord Archbishoppe of Canterburie Lord keeper
or Lord Chauncellor at this tyme beyng my loving brother
John Manners and my Sonne Henry Pierpoynte shall haue
euery of them his saied seuerall Legacey of a hundred
poundes payed within sixe monethes after my deceasse to
euery of them y^t 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 erected and set vp in the place appoynted for yt in my life tyme: Then I will that a hundred poundes parcelle of the sayed ffyve thowsand one hundred and twoe poundes shalbe ymployed towards the setting vp therof and for the full finishing of all things 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 testam^t 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 y^e 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 witesse that this present writing Indented is my true and only last will and testament, I do hereby revoke renounce and vtterlie 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

mentioned 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
 Shrewsburye Dowager as her last will and testament the daye
 and yere within written in the presence of vs Nicholas
 Kynnersley²⁴ John Needham James Starkie²⁵ John Haywood
 Lawrence Brodebent:²⁶ George Chaworthe²⁷ William
 Reason²⁸ ffrauncys Parker:²⁹ Tymothie Pewsie,³⁰ John
 Chapman John Hayward John Dandridge³¹ Abraham

²⁴ Kynnersley 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.

Sheldon³²: George Pott: Thomas Banes³³: Edward Row
Thomas Atkinson Robert Parker.³⁴

Be yt knowne that whereas I Elizabeth Countesse of
Shrewsbury Dowager made my last will and testament in
Wryting bearing Date the seven and twentieth daye of Aprill
in the three and fortithe yere of the Raigne of most o^r
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
Determynd and resolued 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
192v Legacey [/] or bequest I do therefore 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.

graundchilde Arbella Stewart and Henry Cavendishe had neuer ben named nor memoed³⁵ in the same: And for and concerning all other thinges in my sayed last will mentioned other then the sayed Legaceys to my sayed graundchilde 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 and or Schedule be and be adiudged 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 graundchilde Arbella Stewart or to my sayed sonne Henry Cavendishe and in all other poyntes 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 twentieth 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 ffrance and Ireland Defender of the faithe &c: 1602. E:

Shrovesburye: Subscribed sealed and published in the

³⁵ Hardwick Drawers, H/279/9 has 'mentioned'.

presence of vs John Bentley³⁶ Tymothie Pusye: William
Claye Abraham Sheldon Nicholas Kynnersley John
Hayward³⁷ 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 put³⁸ ffyveteenth daye of August in the
fourthe yere of the Raigne of oure Soueraigne Lord James by
the grace of god kinge of Englande ffraunce 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 of³⁹
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: Cartwrighte⁴⁰ John Hayward:
William Claye Robert Redhills Hamend Noble Robert
Parker: John Hall: Edw: Bagshawe.⁴¹

Memorand that the sayed Countesse within the space of
Twentie 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 chardged 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
Almeshouse 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
193 with all that belonged to yt in that Chaumber [/] (except the
hanginges which she would not giue her: Allso she gaue
vnto her Sonne S^r Charles Cavendishe knighte fower
thousand markes for hym to bestowe on land for his twoe
sonnes viz twoe thowsand markes a peece for either of his
Sonnes: Allso she gaue to M^{rs} Elizabethe Digbie⁴² one
hundred poundes: To M^{rs} fflorence Blackwell ffortie
poundes: To M^{rs} Marye Cartwrighte thritie poundes: To

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 twentie poundes: Allso she toulde the sayed Lord Cavendishe her Sonne that M^r Claye of Criche did owe her one hundred poundes, wherof she did giue ffiftie poundes to the sayed M^r Claye and ffiftie poundes she gaue to his daughter M^{rs} Mary Claye.⁴³ 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^r walther Cope knight⁴⁴ either of them twentie poundes: And likewise at diuers tymes within the sayed space of twentie dayes next before her deathe 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 hurte yt.

and I doe make
you my Executor

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

Place	Baynard's Castle, London
Date	1536
Owner	Katherine of Aragon
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', <i>The Camden Miscellany</i> , 3 (1855), 1-41 (pp. 1-21)
Purpose	On her death but not probate. Items to be taken back into the Royal Wardrobe.
Notes	Arranged by type No valuations
Place	Chatsworth, Derbyshire
Date	c. 1559
Owner	Elizabeth Cavendish, later Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick)
Source	Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Hardwick Drawers, H/143/2
Purpose	Attached to a deed of entail
Notes	Arranged by type No valuations See Appendix Two.

Place Chatsworth, Derbyshire

Date Mid to late 1560s

Owner Elizabeth Cavendish, later Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick)

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

Purpose Unknown

Notes Arranged room by room

No valuations

Incomplete and informal

See Appendix Three.

Place Chatsworth, Derbyshire

Date 1601

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

Source *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

Notes Arranged on room by room. Plate and linen listed separately.

No valuations

See Appendix Four for complete list of all documents concerning will and inventory.

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
Source 'Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Thomas Owen of Condover, 1599', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 53:2 (1950), 200-6
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', <i>Furniture History</i> , 7 (1971), 1-40; Lindsay Boynton, <i>The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601</i> (London: Furniture History Society, 1971); <i>Of Household Stuff: The 1601 Inventories of Bess of Hardwick</i> (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

Notes 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

Source *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, preserved at Penshurst Place*, Historical Manuscripts Commission Series 77, 6 vols (London: HMSO, 1925-66), I (1925), pp. 278-98

Purpose Unknown

Notes Arranged by type, some parts in summary
No valuations

Place Kenninghall, Norfolk
Date 1546
Owner Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk
Source Public Record Office, LR 2/115, fols 1- 57
Purpose Attainder
Notes Jewels listed first, then plate, apparel and textiles. The lesser furnishings follow room by room.
No valuations

Place Kimberley, Norfolk
Date 1588
Owner Sir Roger Wodehouse
Source Leonard G. Bolingbroke, 'Two Elizabethan Inventories',
Norfolk Archaeology, 15 (1902), 91-108
Purpose Probate
Notes Arranged room by room
Valuations

Place Lacock House, Wiltshire
Date 1575
Owner Sir Henry Sharrington
Source Thelma E. Vernon, 'Inventory of Sir Henry Sharrington: Contents of Lacock House, 1575', *Wiltshire Archaeological Society Magazine*, 63 (1968), 72-82

Purpose Intended for probate purposes, attached to a draft will of 1575, not proved

Notes Plate listed first, then hangings by room, then other items by room

Valuations

Place **Lambeth Palace**

Date 1575

Owner Archbishop Parker

Source William Sandys, 'Copy of the Inventory of Archbishop Parker's Goods at the time of his Death', *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844), 1-30

Purpose Probate

Notes Room-by-room, although plate is listed separately at the end.

Valuations

Also mentions a few items at Croydon.

Place **Leicester House, London**

Date 1580

Owner Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester

Source Longleat House, The Dudley Papers, V, fols 1- 15 [on CD-ROM]

Purpose Domestic

Notes Arranged by type

No valuations

Place **Leicester House, London**

Date 1584

Owner Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester

Source *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Bath Preserved at Longleat*, Historical Manuscripts Commission Series 58, 5 vols, (London: HMSO, 1904-1980), IV (1968), p. 207

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

Source Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 'Essex House, formerly Leicester House and Exeter Inn', *Archaeologia*, 73 (1923), 1-54.

Purpose Probate

Notes Arranged room by room, except for apparel
Valuations

Place **Lombard Street, London**

Date 1590

Owner Sir Thomas Ramsay

Source F.W. Fairholt, 'On an Inventory of the Household Goods of Sir Thomas Ramsay, Lord Mayor of London 1577', *Archaeologia*, 40 (1866), 311-42

Purpose Probate
Notes Arranged room-by-room, finishing with plate and linen listed separately
Valuations

Place **Lumley Castle, County Durham**

Date 1590

Owner John, Lord Lumley

Source Lionel Cust, 'The Lumley Inventories', *Walpole Society*, 6 (1917-18),
15-35

Purpose Unknown

Notes Pictures listed first. Other furnishings summarised by type.
Summary valuations

Place **Lumley Castle, County Durham**

Date 1609

Owner John, Lord Lumley

Source Mary F.S. Hervey, 'A Lumley Inventory of 1609', *Walpole Society*,
6 (1917-18), 36-50

Purpose Probate

Notes Hangings, textile furnishings and some plate listed by type. Pictures and
lesser furnishings then listed room-by-room.
Valuations

Place	Northaw, Hertfordshire
Date	1540-47
Owner	William Cavendish
Source	Devonshire MSS, Chatsworth, Un-numbered document in box marked ‘Bess and Earls Misc. II’
Purpose	Domestic
Notes	Arranged room by room No valuations Appendix One
Place	Sheffield Castle, Yorkshire
Date	1582
Owner	George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury
Source	‘An Inventorie of all the Houshold Goods and Furniture belonginge to George Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield-Castle and the Lodge. A’o 1582’, <i>British Archaeological Journal</i> , 30 (1874), 251-63
Purpose	Domestic
Notes	Arranged by type No valuations 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).

Place **Syon House, Middlesex**

Date 1553

Owner Duke of Northumberland

Source Public Record Office, E 154/2/39, fols 19-36

Purpose Attainder

Notes Furnishings which were to be sold listed by type; furnishings to be delivered to named individuals listed room-by-room

 The former category has valuations.

Place **Temple Newsam, Yorkshire**

Date 1565

Owner Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox

Source F.W. Crossley, 'A Templenewsam Inventory, 1565',
Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 25 (1920), 91-103

Purpose 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

Notes Arranged room by room

 Valuations

Place **Titchfield House**

Date 1601

Owner Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton

Source Public Record Office, LR 1/10

Purpose Attainder

Notes Arranged room by room

Valuations

Place West Firle

Date 1556

Owner Sir John Gage

Source R. Garraway Rice, 'The Household Goods, Etc., of Sir John Gage, of West Firle, Co. Sussex, K.G., 1556', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 45 (1902), 114-27

Purpose Probate

Notes Arranged by type

No valuations

Place Wollaton

Date 1601

Owner Sir Percival Willoughby

Source Pamela Marshall, *Wollaton Hall: An Architectural Survey* (Nottingham: Nottingham Civic Society, 1996), pp. 94-9

Purpose Unknown

Notes Arranged room by room

No valuations

Source also provides other Wollaton inventories.

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', <i>The Camden Miscellany</i> , 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

Portraits	67
Heraldic	19
Religious	9
Parts of the world	4
Maps	3
Historical	2
Total	104

Pictures at Hardwick Old Hall in 1601

long gallerie	twentie several pictures
(p. 38)	too pictures of mother of pearle
	too pictures of plaster
	twelve pictures of the twelve months
Total	36+

'with drawing Chamber' (p. 47)

Subject	Possible provenance
the Quene of Scottes	
the same Quene and the King of Scotcs with their Armes both in one	
the King and Quene of Scotcs hir father & mother in an other	
The Erle of Leycester	
Sir William Seyntlowe	Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3)
the prodigall sonne	One 'story of the byble' at Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)
Marie the Countess of Shrouesbury	Purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 46)
Sir Charles Cavendishe	
Sir Charles his first wife	
Ulisses and Penelope	Painting dated 1570

'high great Chamber' (p. 48)

Subject	Possible provenance
King Henry the Eight ¹	Two pictures of Henry VIII at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 6 and 7)
Quene Elizabeth ²	One picture of Queen Elizabeth purchased in 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)
Quene Marie ³	One picture of Queen Mary purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48 ^v)
Edward the sixt ⁴	One picture of Edward VI purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48 ^v)
Duke Dolva	
Charles the Emperor	
Cardinal Woolsey	Purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48 ^v)
Cardinall Poole	Purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48 ^v)
Stephen Gardenner	Purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a fol. 48 ^v ,)

Fowre pictures of the fowre partes of the worlde

A looking glass paynted about with the Armes of England

¹ Another picture of the sitter in the 'Gallerie'.

² Other pictures of the sitter in the 'Gallerie' (2) and 'lowe 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	Possible provenance
Quene Elizabeth ⁵	One picture of Queen Elizabeth purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)
Edward the second	Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600) ⁷
Edward the third	Purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a fol. 48 ^v)
Rychard the third ⁶	Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
Henry the fourth	Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
Henry the fyft	Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
Henry the sixt	Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 6)
Edward the fourth	Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 6)
Rychard the third	Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 6)
Henry the seaventh	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^r ... 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 ⁸	Two pictures of Henry VIII at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 6 and 7)
Edward the sixth ⁹	One picture of Edward VI purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48 ^v)
Quene Marie ¹⁰	One picture of Queen Mary purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 48 ^v)
Quene Elizabethes picture in a less table ¹¹	One picture of Queen Elizabeth I purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)
The King of Fraunce	Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)
Henry, King of Scottes	
James, King of Scottes	
The picture of Our Ladie the Virgin Marie	Three pictures of the Virgin Mary at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 5 and 14)
Quene Anne	Northaw, 1540s (p. 11)
Henry, the third King of Fraunce in a little table	
The Duke of Bullen ¹²	
Phillip, King of Spayne	

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. 199^v, has 'Duke of Bulloigne'.

Two twynns	Possibly Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)
Queene Katherin	Possibly purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, December 1599-April 1600)
The Erle of Southampton	
Mathewe, Erle of Lenox	
Charles, Erle of Lenox ¹³	
George, Erle of Shrouesbury ¹⁴	
My Ladie ¹⁵	One picture of Bess, Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3 ^v)
Lord Bacon	
The Marquess of Winchester	
the Ladie Arbella ¹⁶	One picture of Arbella 1577, another 1589. Probably the later one.
Mr Henry Cavendishe	
The Lord Straunge	
The Lord Cromwell	

¹³ Another picture of the sitter in the 'lowe great Chamber'.

¹⁴ Another picture of the sitter in the 'lowe great Chamber'.

¹⁵ Other pictures of the sitter in the 'lowe great Chamber' and 'my Ladies with drawing Chamber'.

¹⁶ Another picture of the sitter in the 'lowe great Chamber'.

Mrs Ann Cavendishe ¹⁷	
The Duke of Somerset	
Sir Thomas Wyet	
The storie of Joseph	One 'story of the byble' at Northaw, 1540s (p. 7)
a table of Iverie carved and guilt with little pictures of the natyvitie	Northaw, 1540s (p. 5)
the picture of hell	Northaw, 1540s (p. 14)
'lowe great Chamber' (p. 52)	
Subject	Possible provenance
Quene Elizabeth ¹⁸	One picture of Queen Elizabeth purchased 1599 (Hardwick MS 10a, fol. 39)
George, Erle of Shrouesbury ¹⁹	

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 Treasurer	
The Ladie Margaret, Countess of Lenox Charles, Erle of Lenox, her sonne ²⁰	
The Ladie Arbella her grandChilde ²¹	One picture of Arbella 1577, another 1589. Probably the earlier one.
My Ladies picture ²²	One picture of Bess, Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3 ^v)
Sir William Cavendishe	Chatsworth, 1560s (fol. 3 ^v)
Mr. William Cavendishe the elder	
Mr. William Cavendishe the younger	
The Virgin Marie	Three pictures of the Virgin Mary at Northaw, 1540s (pp. 5 and 14)
Mr. Thomas Cavendishe, father to Sir William Cavendishe twelve tables with Armes in them	Northaw, 1540s (p. 15)

²⁰ Another picture of the sitter in the 'Gallerie'.

²¹ Another picture of the sitter in the 'Gallerie'.

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 picture²³

a glass with my Ladies Armes

a mapp

three tables with armes in them

Possible provenance

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

'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'.

'the lowe Chapple' (pp. 51-2)

Subject

two pictures of our Ladie the Virgin Marie and the three Kinges
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 Basteane²⁴

Possible provenance

²⁴ Bastian Pages, a member of the household of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was with her during her captivity.

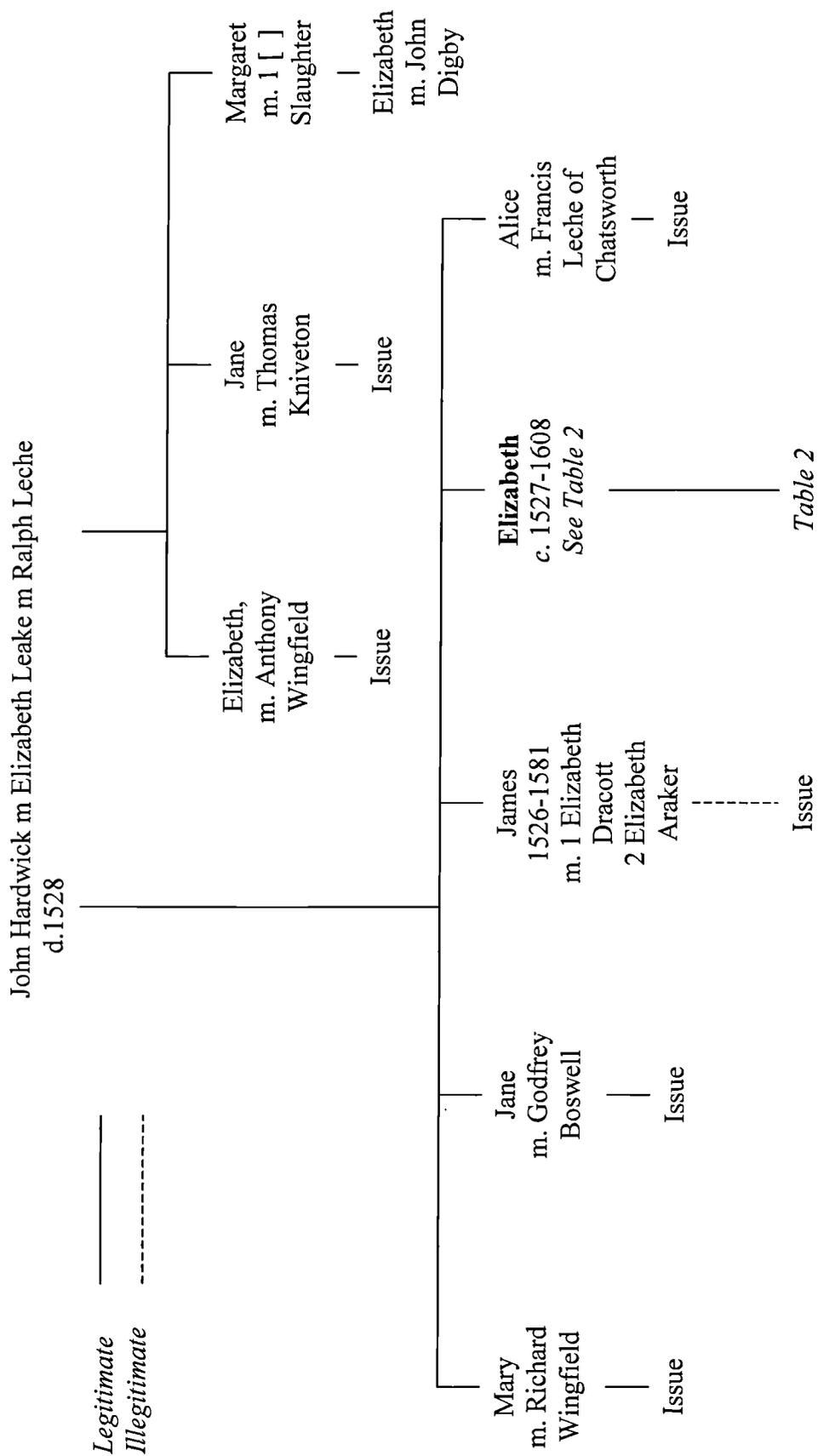


Table One: Hardwick and Leche.

Elizabeth Hardwick 1527-1608 m.

Legitimate —————
Illegitimate - - - - -

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

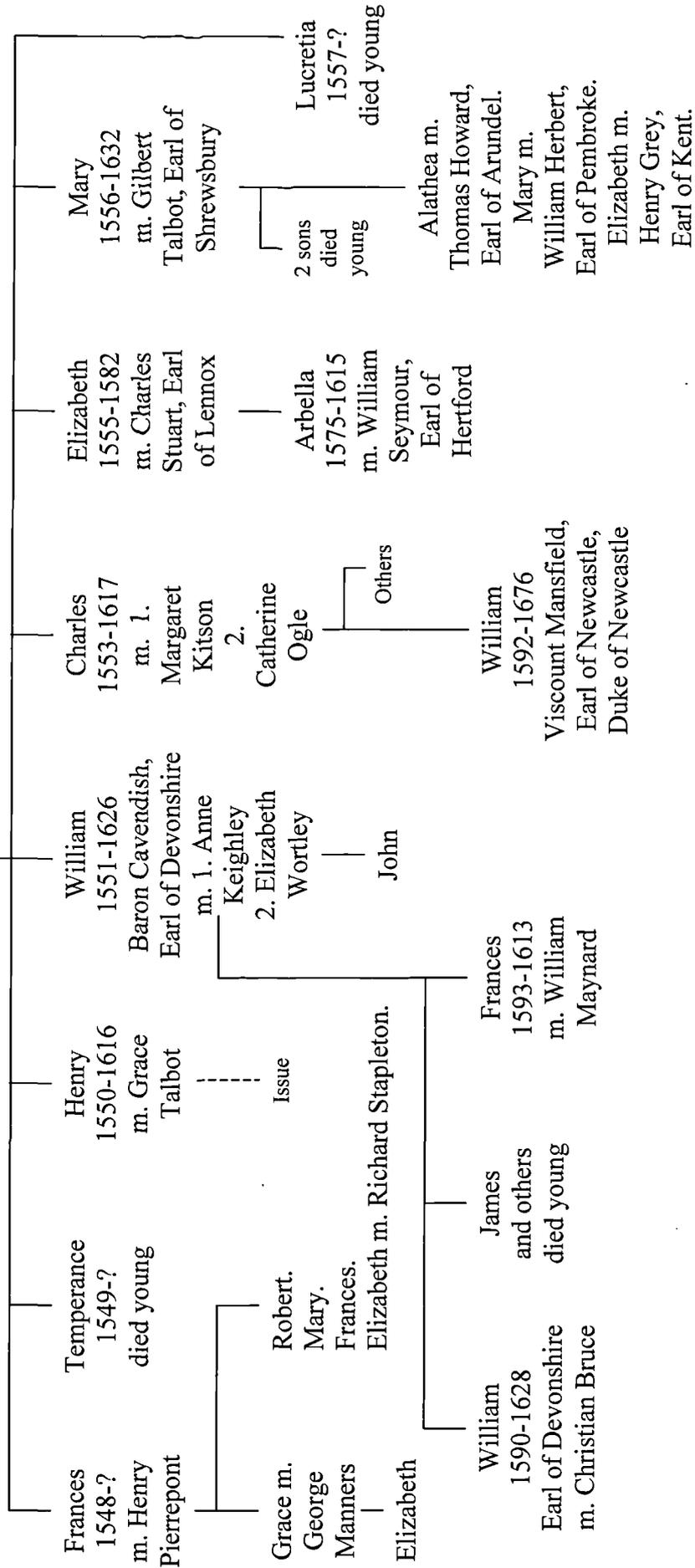


Table Two: Hardwick and Cavendish.



Illustration 1: The west front of Hardwick New Hall.

From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn

(London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 12.

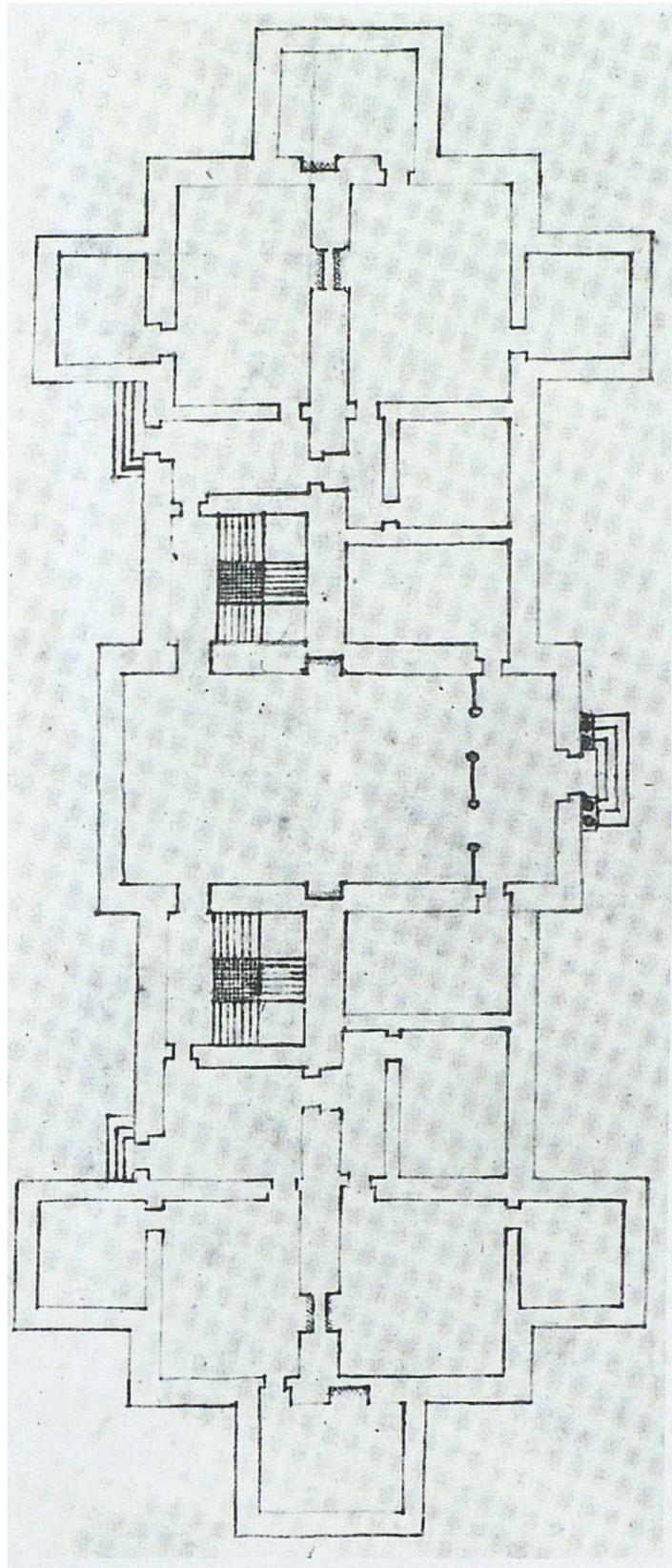
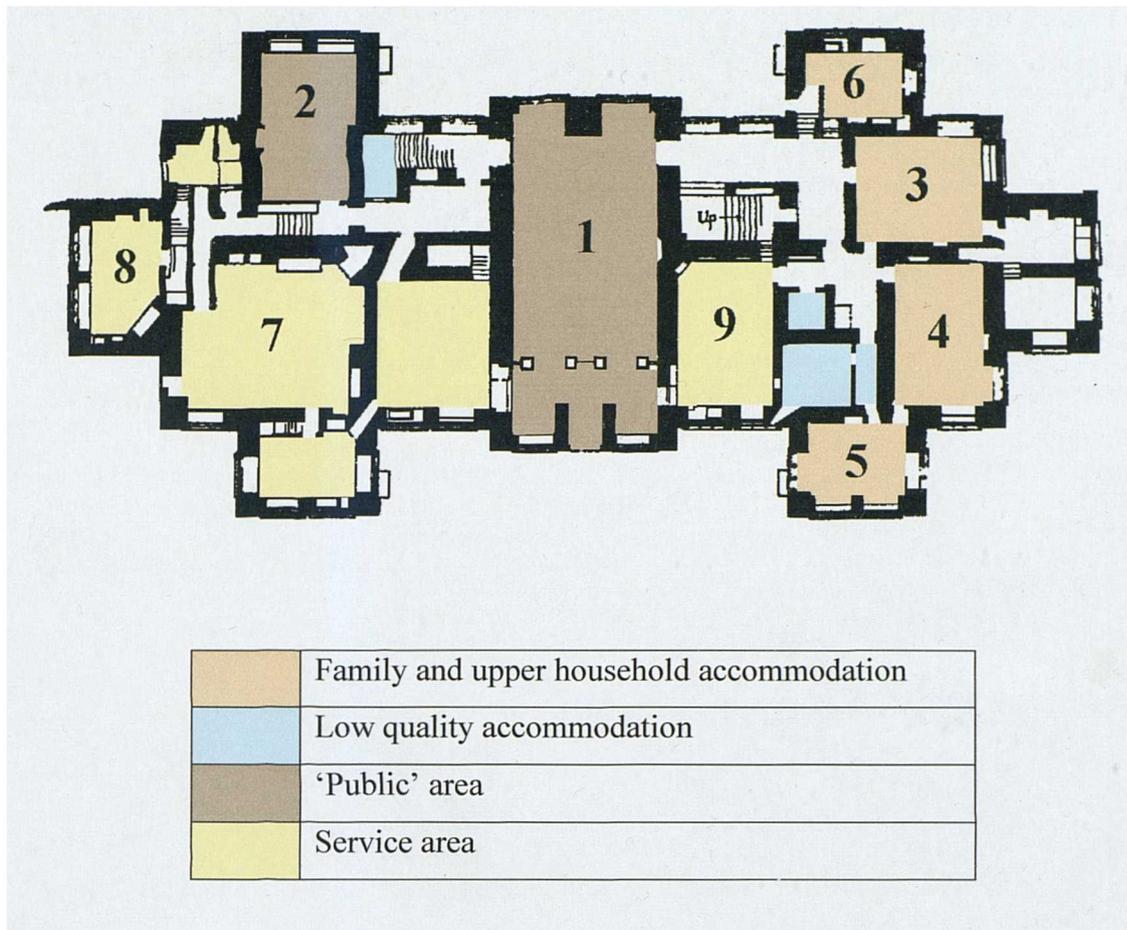
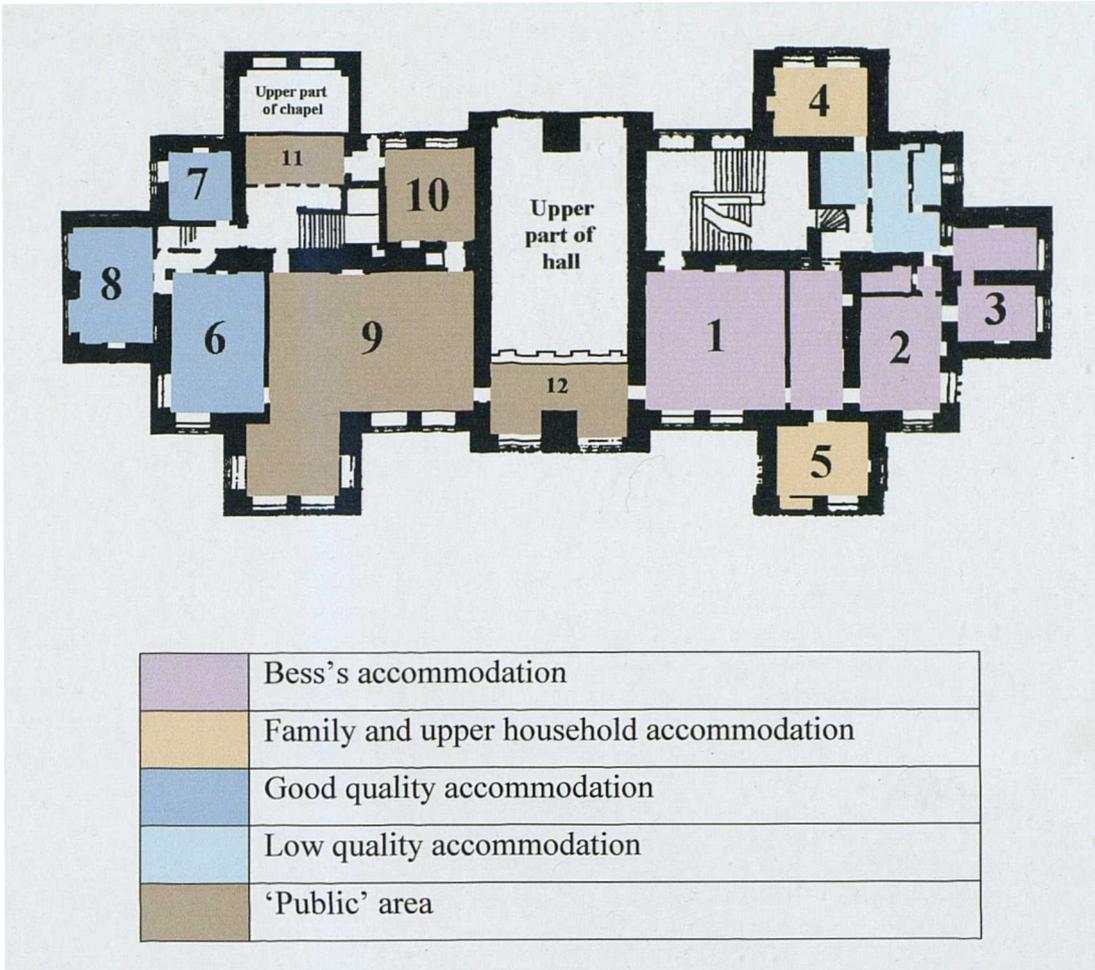


Illustration 2: Variant plan for Hardwick New Hall by Robert Smythson.
From Mark Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*,
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 147.



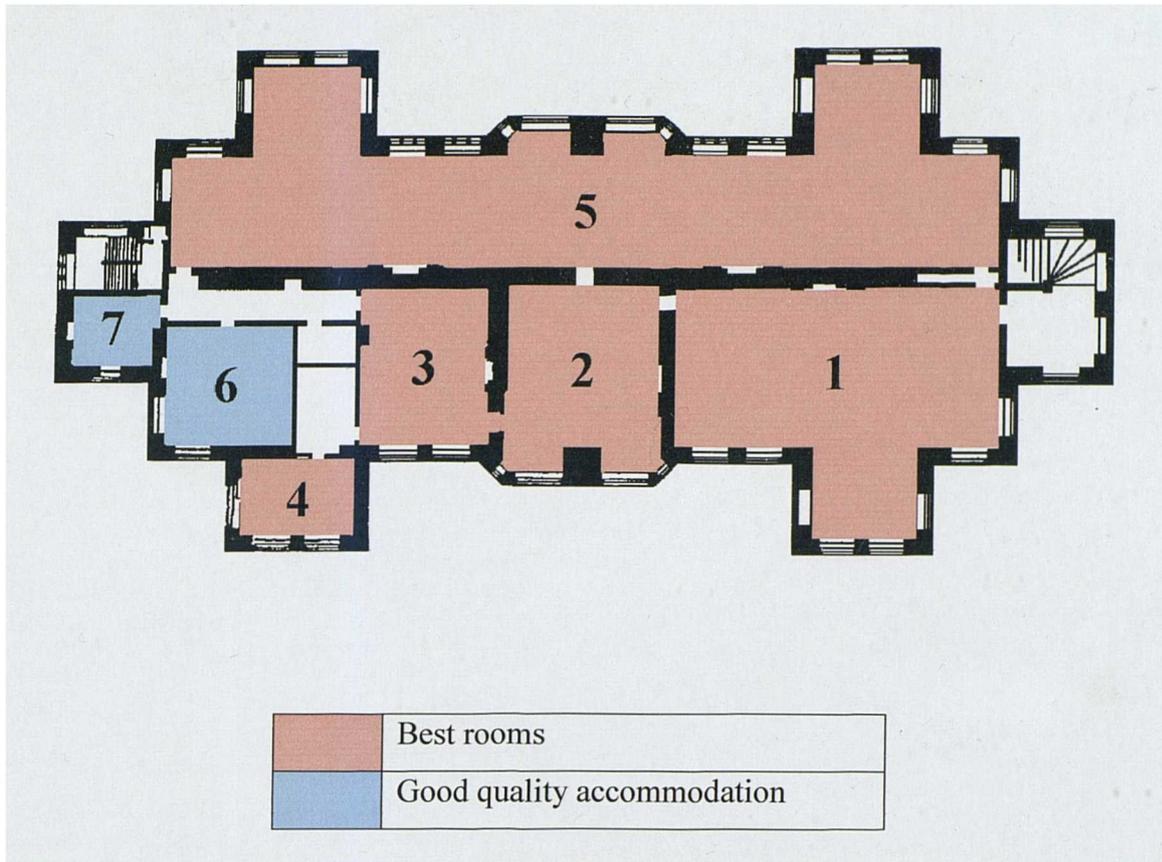
- 1 hale
- 2 lowe Chapple
- 3 Mr. William Cavendishe's Chamber
- 4 Nurserie
- 5 Mrs. Knyvetons Chamber
- 6 Chamber at the end of the walke
- 7 kitchin
- 8 Pastrie
- 9 Pantrie

Illustration 3: Ground floor of Hardwick New Hall in 1601.



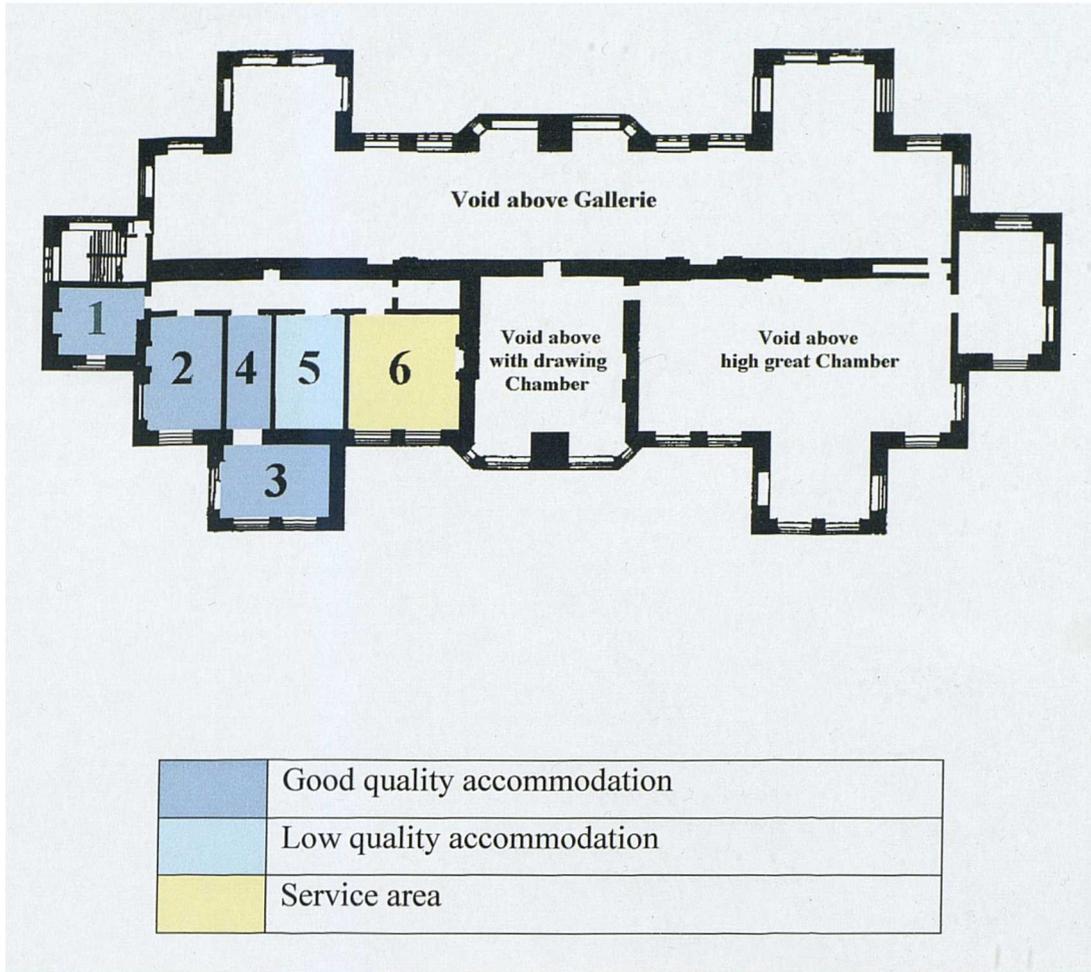
- 1 my Ladies with drawing Chamber
- 2 my Ladies Bed Chamber
- 3 the Maydes Chamber [and]
Closet within the Maydes Chamber
- 4 my ladie Arbells Chamber
- 5 Prodigall Chamber
- 6 Shipp bed Chamber
- 7 Jacobs Chamber
- 8 Tobies Chamber
- 9 lowe great Chamber
- 10 little dyning Chamber
- 11 upper Chapple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

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



- 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.



- 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 6: Top floor of Hardwick New Hall in 1601.



Illustration 7: The south façade of Hardwick Old Hall.

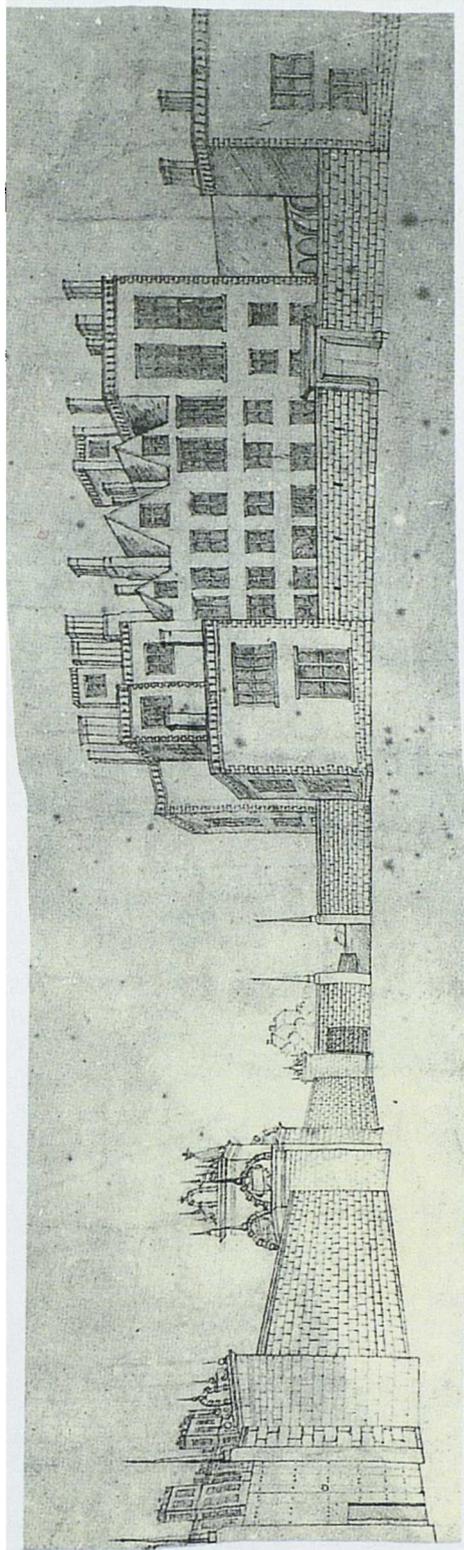


Illustration 8: The north façade of Hardwick Old Hall from a seventeenth-century drawing now at Audley End.

From Lucy Worsley, *Hardwick Old Hall*
(London: English Heritage, 1998), p. 6.

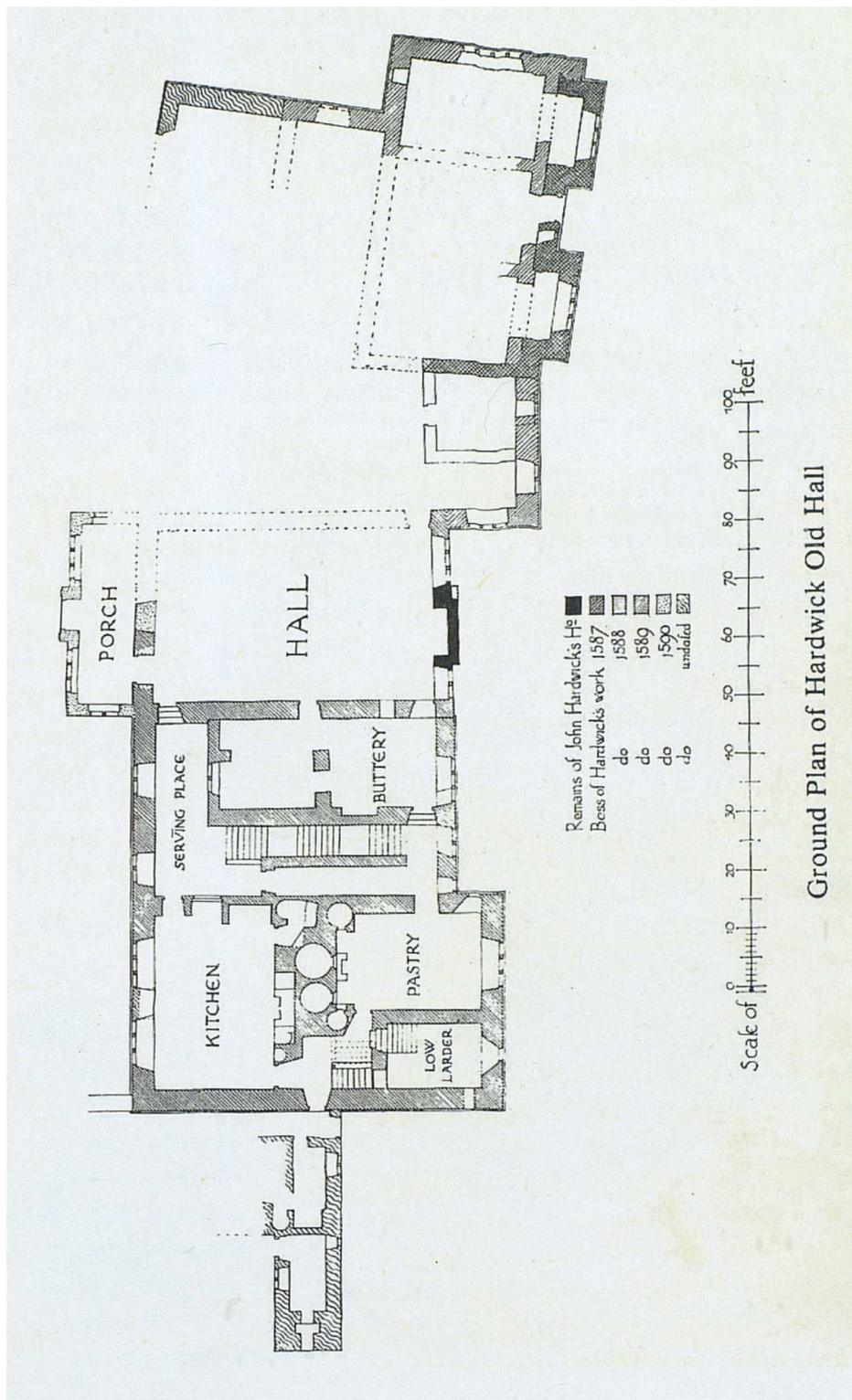


Illustration 9: The sequence of building at Hardwick Old Hall according to Basil Stallybrass.

From David N. Durant and Philip Riden, *The Building of Hardwick Hall, Part 1: The Old Hall, 1587-91* (Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society, 1980), p. xvi.

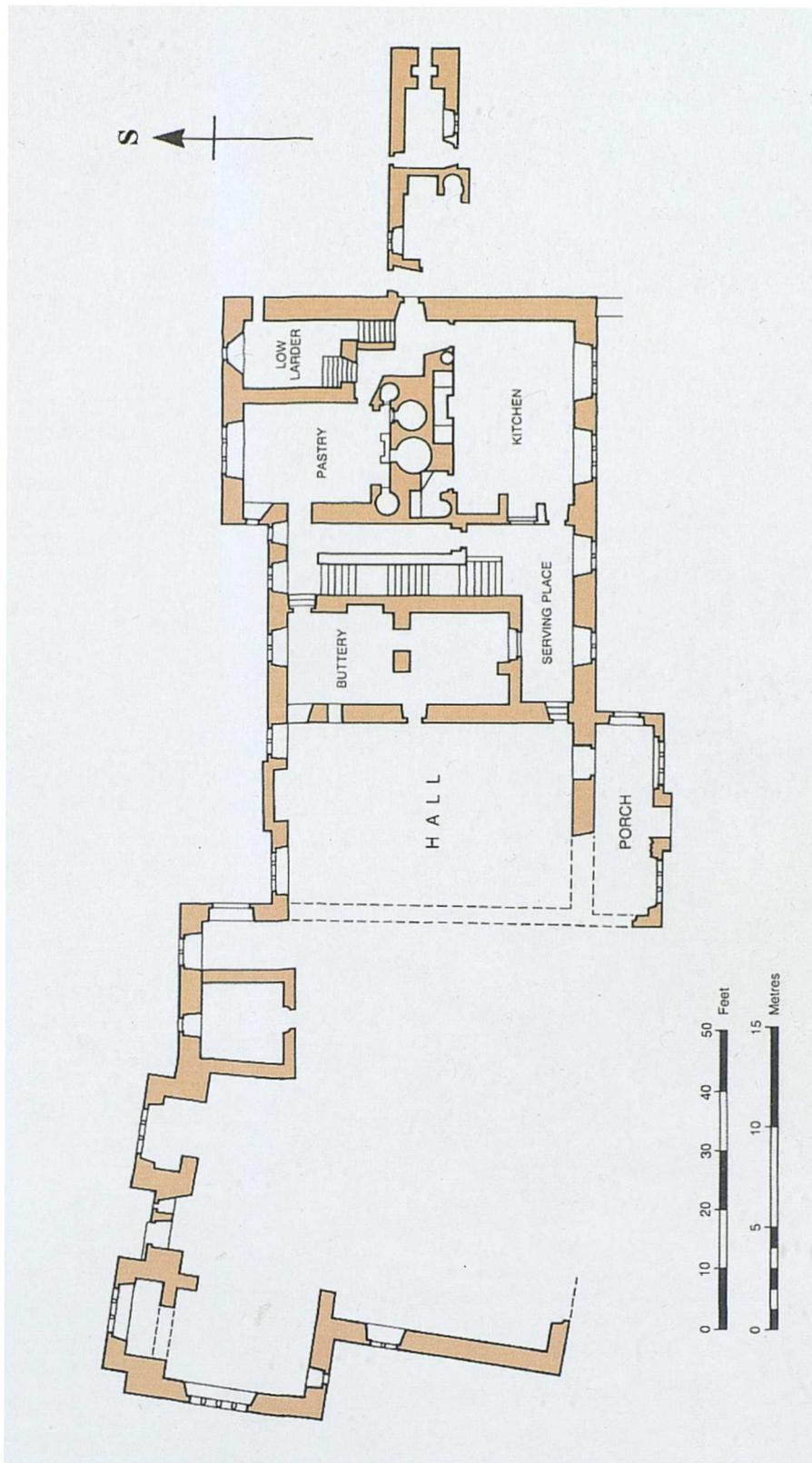


Illustration 10: Plan of the surviving ground floor of Hardwick Old Hall.
From Lucy Worsley, *Hardwick Old Hall* (London: English Heritage, 1998),
inside back cover (direction arrow corrected).

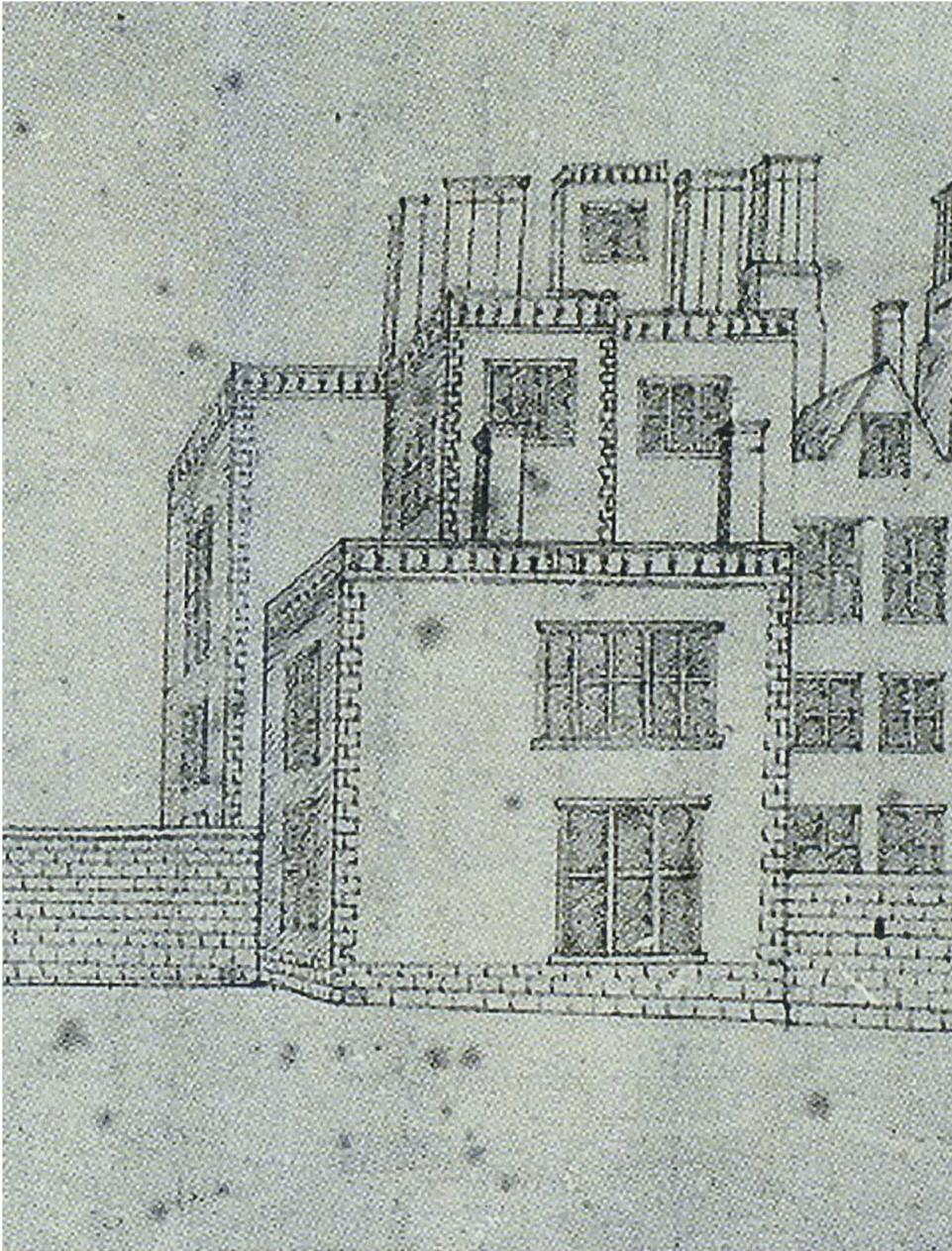
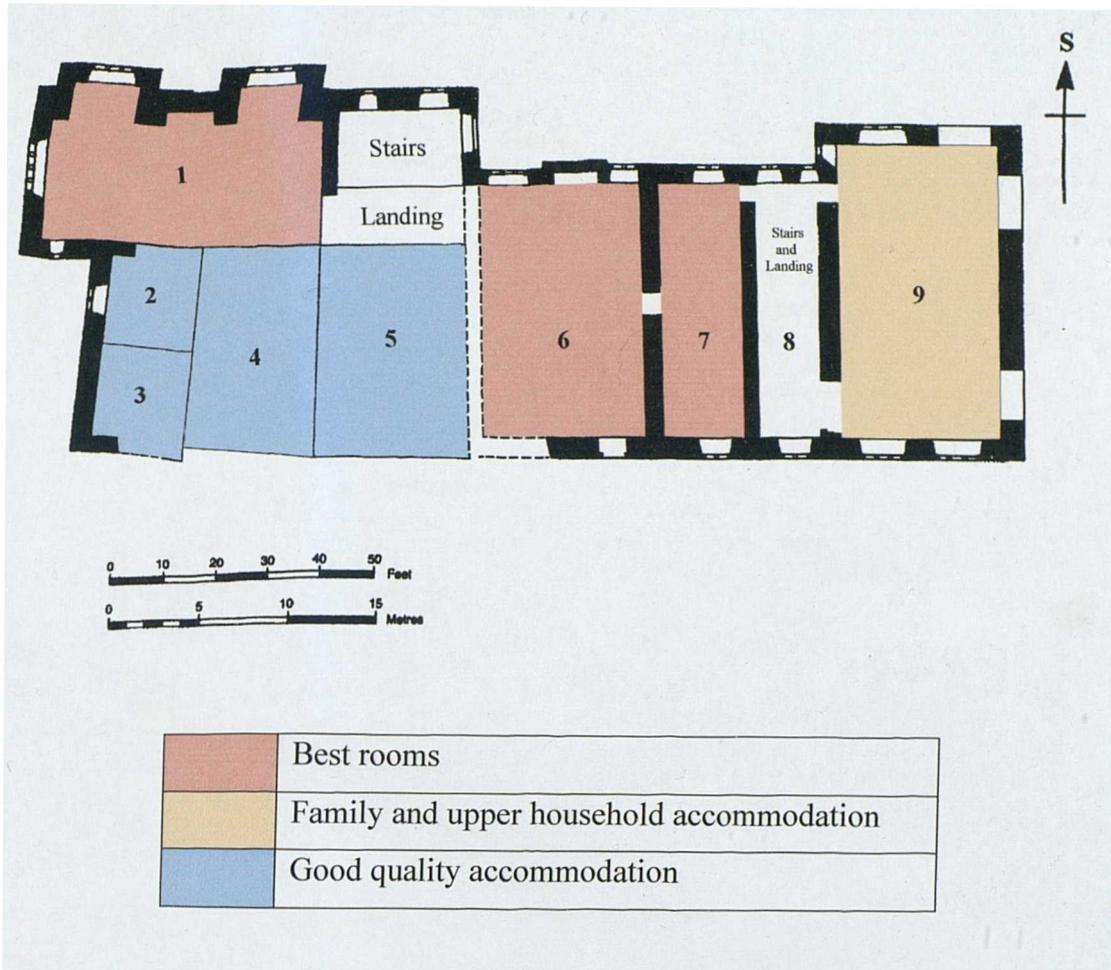


Illustration 11: Detail from a drawing of Hardwick Old Hall
now at Audley End.

From Lucy Worsley, *Hardwick Old Hall* (London: English Heritage, 1998), p. 6.

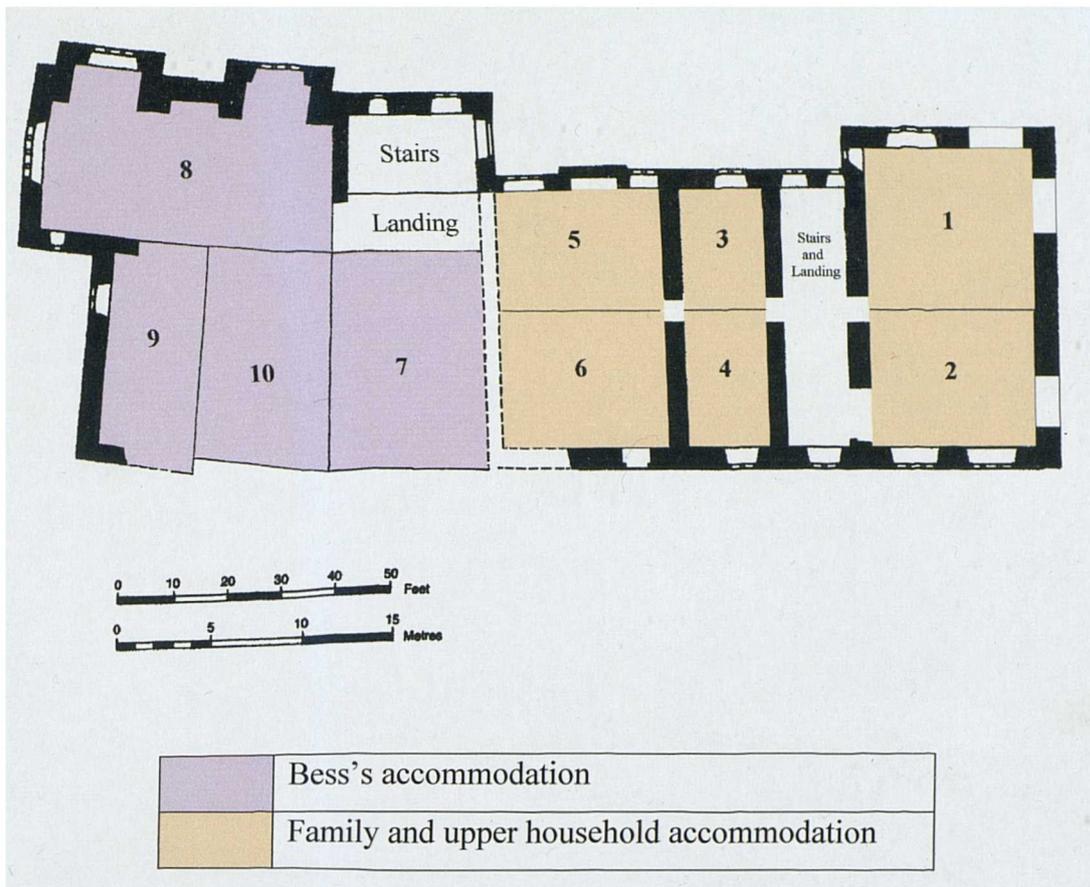


Illustration 12: Hardwick Old Hall from the north-east.



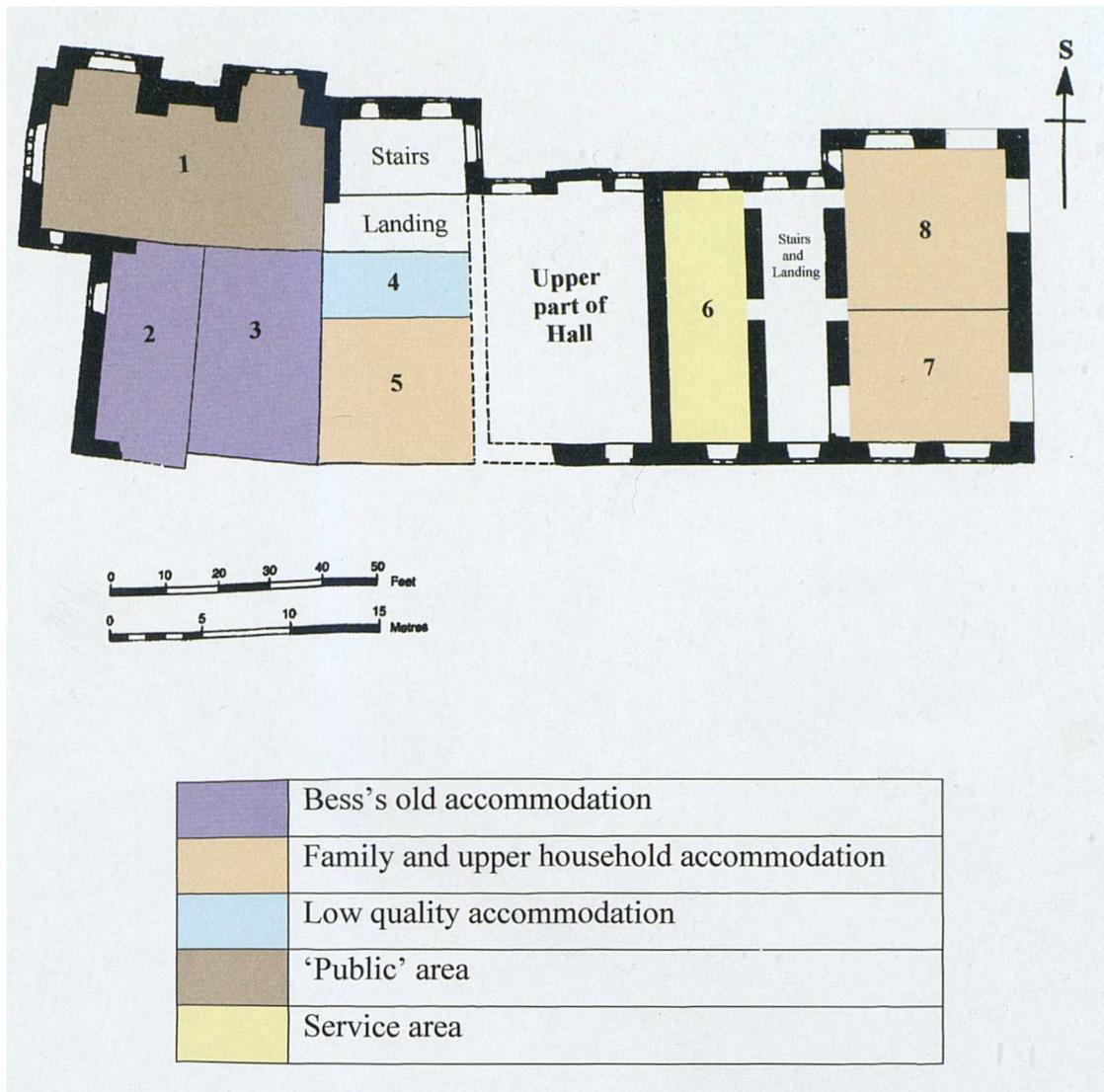
- 1 Forest great Chamber
- 2 Chamber at the side of the Forrest greate Chamber
- 3 bed Chamber to Forrest great Chamber
- 4 withdrawing Chamber
- 5 Chamber at the Forrest great Chamber dore
- 6 bed Chamber the best lodging
withdrawing Chamber
- 7 ? Inner Chamber to the best lodging
- 8 ? Gallerie by the best lodging
- 9 Hill great Chamber

Illustration 13: Conjectural layout of the top floor of
Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.



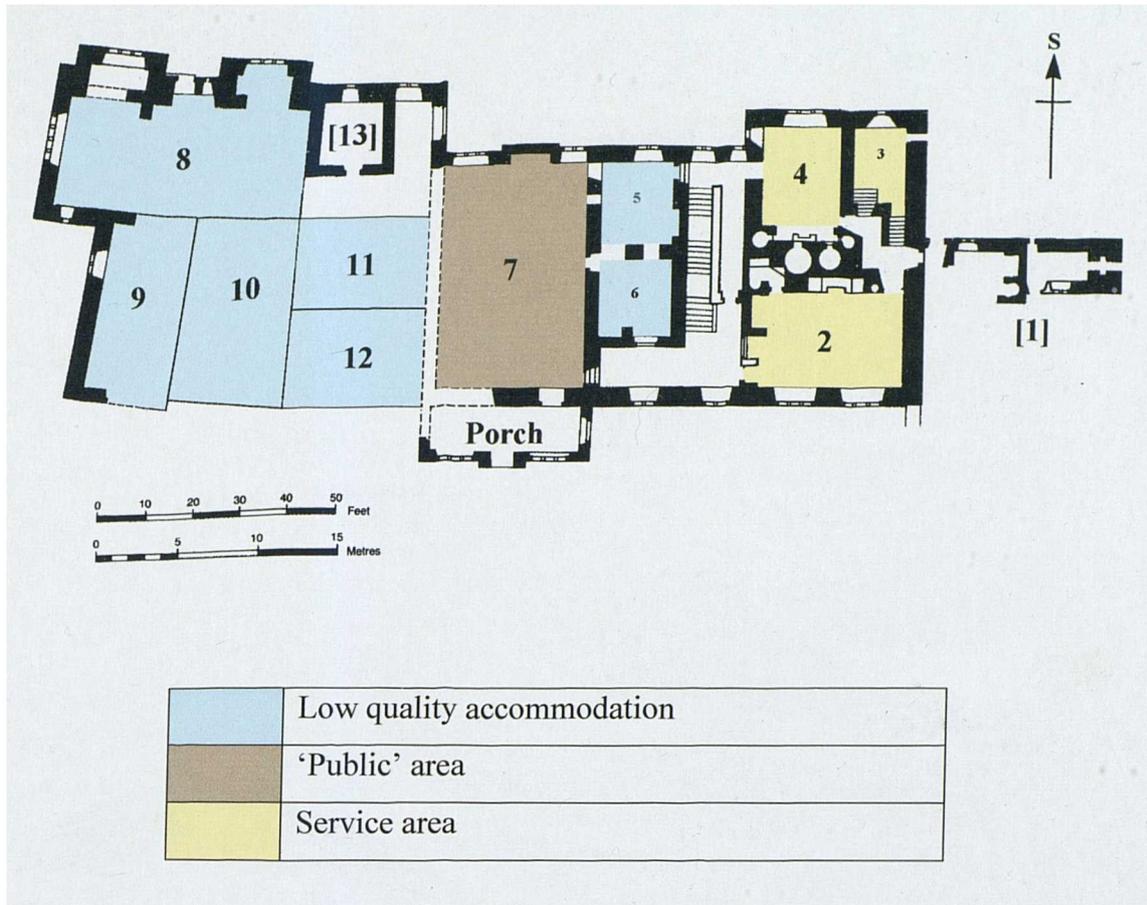
- 1 Corner Chamber over Mr. William Cavendishe's Chamber
Inner Chamber to the Corner Chamber over Mr. Cavendishes Chamber
- 2 Corner Chamber next the Court
Inner Chamber to that Chamber
- 3 Mr. Digbies Chamber
- 4 Mr. Reasons Chamber
- 5 and 6 Mr. Manners his Chamber / Inner Chamber to Mr. Manners Chamber
Mr. Fortescues Chamber / Inner Chamber
- 7 long gallerie
- 8 my Ladies withdrawing Chamber
- 9 sceeled Chamber next my Ladies with drawing Chamber
- 10 my Ladies Chamber
Inner Chamber

Illustration 14: Conjectural layout of the second floor of
Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.



- 1 lowe dyning Chamber
- 2 my Ladies olde bed Chamber
- 3 utter Chamber [to the above]
- 4 little Chamber at the lowe dyning Chamber dore
- 5 Mrs Knyvetons Chamber
- 6 wardrop
Chamber over agaynst the wardrop
- 7 Nurserie
utter Chamber
- 8 Mr. William Cavendishes Chamber

Illustration 15: Conjectural layout of the first floor of Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.



- 1 [Privy block]
- 2 kytchin
- 3 lowe Larder / Larder / or Chamber above the Larder
- 4 pastrie
- 5 a Chamber at the side of the hale (ushers Chamber) / service area below
- 6 a Chamber within that Chamber / service area below
- 7 halle
- 8 Corner Chamber uppon the grounde
- 9 the next Chamber to it
- 10 the Chamber over agaynst that Chamber on the grownd
- 11 Chamber at the upper end of the halle
- 12 too Chambers at the end of the Gallerie the dore opening into the Court
- 13 [water supply below / stairs above]

Illustration 16: Conjectural layout of the ground floor of
Hardwick Old Hall in 1601.

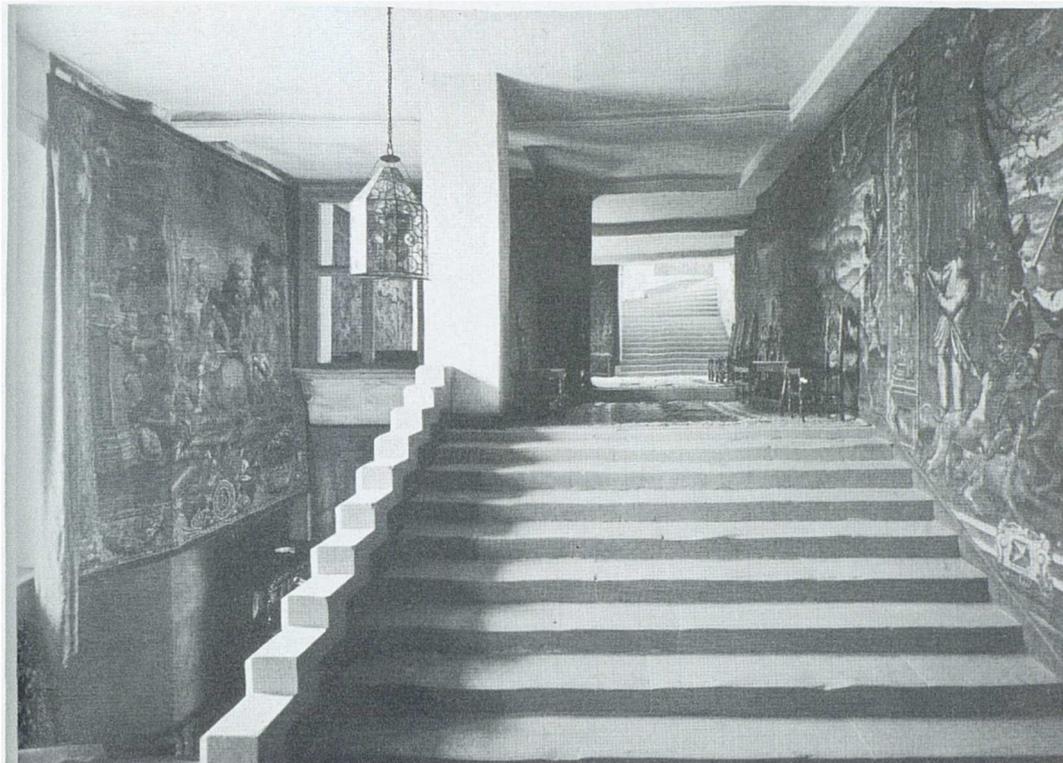
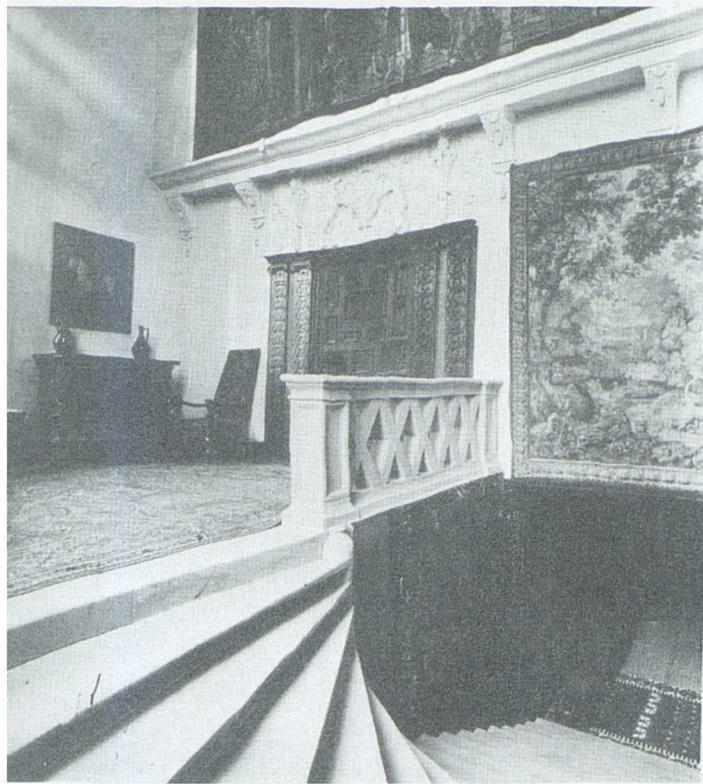


Illustration 17: The main, south stairs.

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*
(London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), p. 159.

The photographs were originally taken by *Country Life*, probably in the 1920s.



Illustration 18: The 'high great Chamber'.
National Trust Photographic Library.

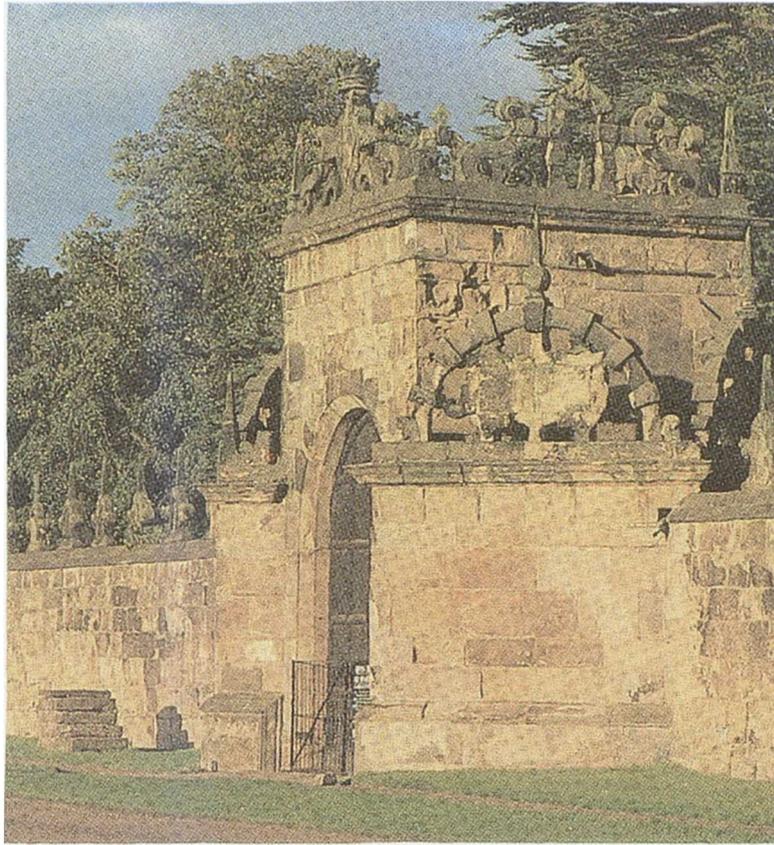


Illustration 19: The gatehouse.
Above: view from outside the walls.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
(London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 47.
Below: view from the west court.

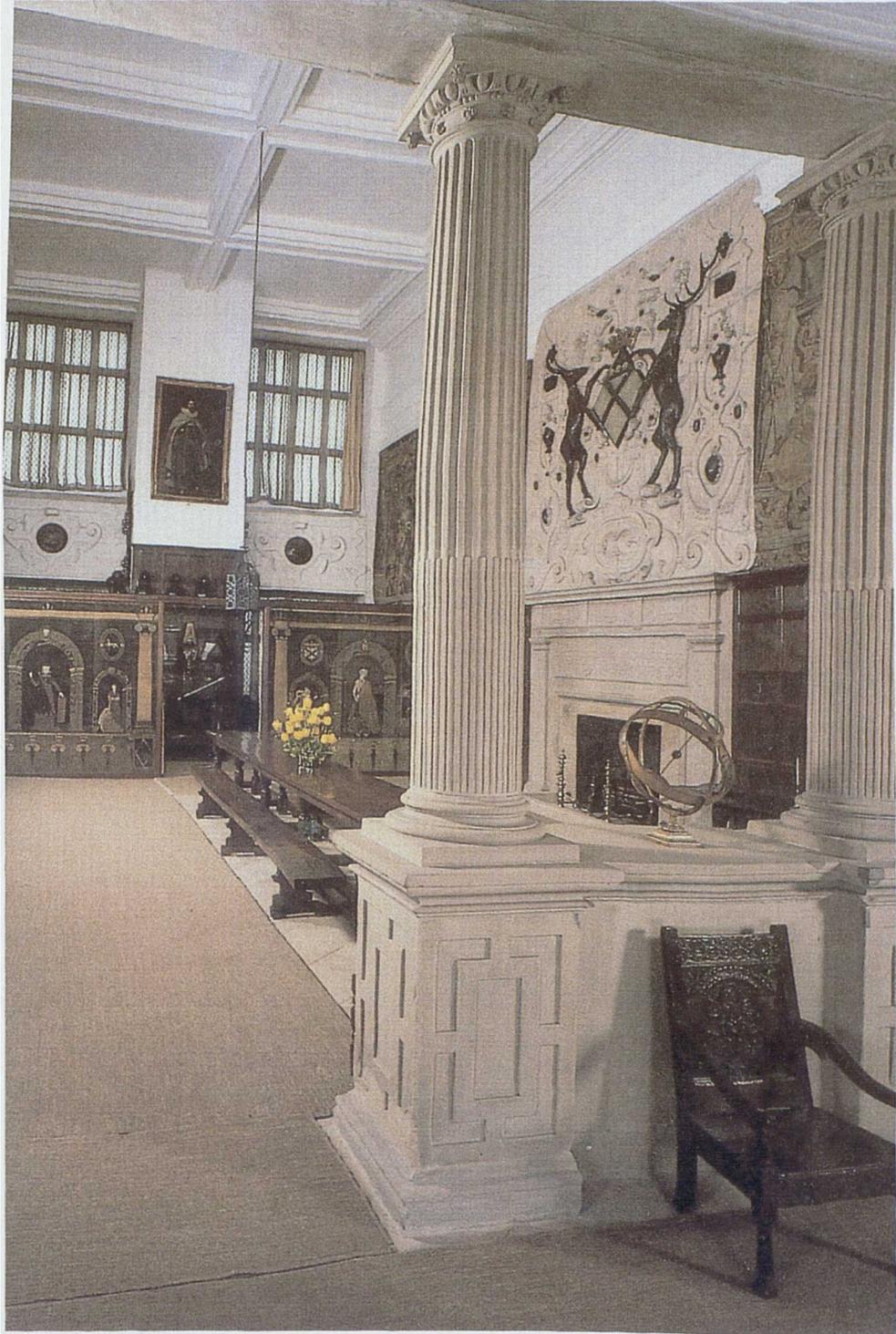


Illustration 20: The 'hale'.
From Gillian White, *A Very Goodly Prospect*
([London]: The National Trust, 1997), p. 9.



Illustration 21: The screen in the 'hale'.
From Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England:
Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family*
(Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 152.



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.

Above: from Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn (London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 30.



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.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 25.



Illustration 27: Tapestry from a set showing the story of Ulysses.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 24.



Illustration 28: Detail of a tapestry depicting falconry from the set known as the Devonshire Hunting Tapestries.

From Linda Woolley, *Medieval Life and Leisure in the Devonshire Hunting Tapestries* (London: V&A Publications, 2002), p. 8.



Illustration 29: Embroidered panel depicting Architecture
from the Liberal Arts series.

From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 262.



Illustration 30: Detail from a painted hanging depicting Saul on the road to Damascus, from a set of hangings of The Acts of the Apostles. From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 279.

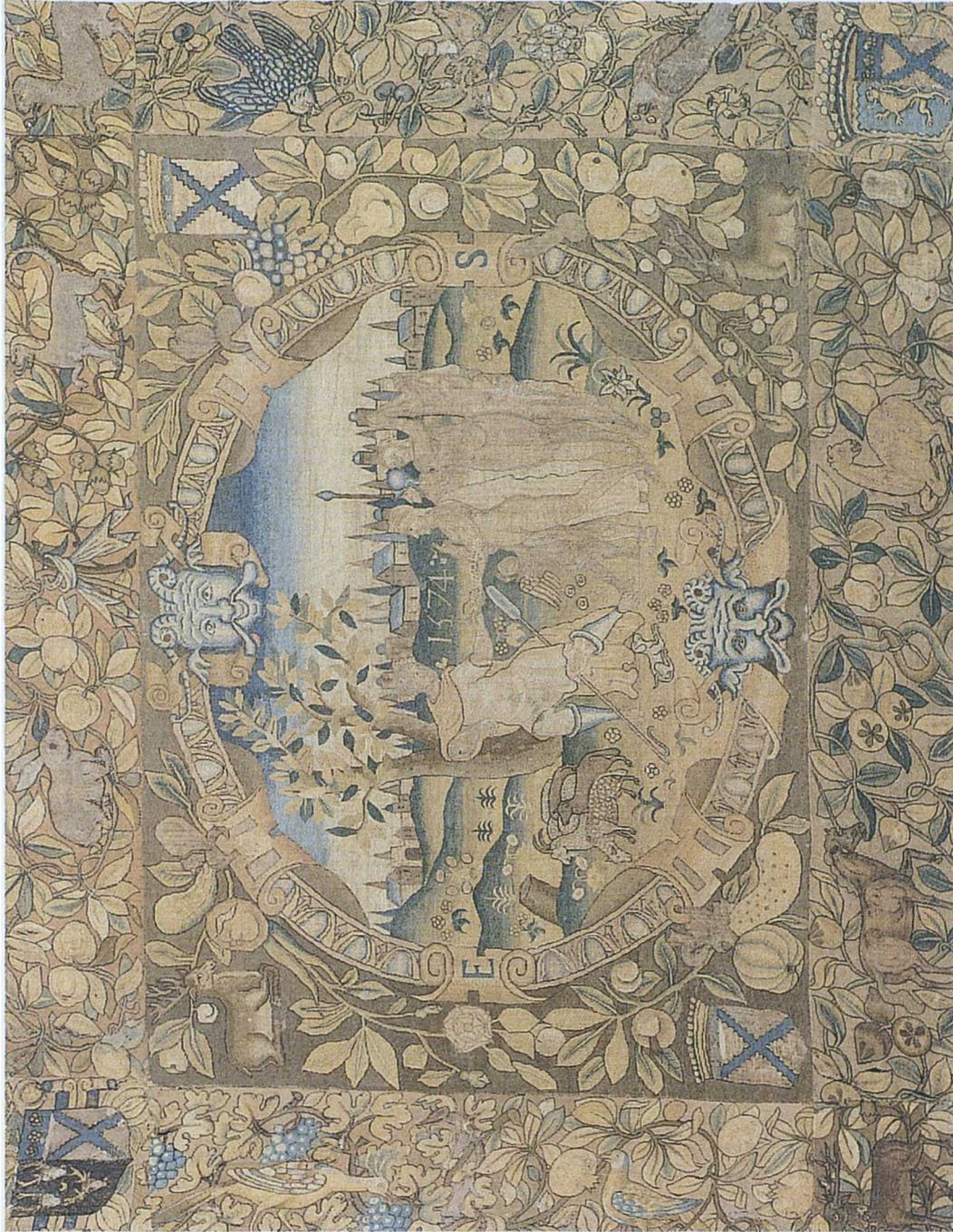


Illustration 31: Needlework table carpet depicting *The Judgement of Paris*, 1574. From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 55.

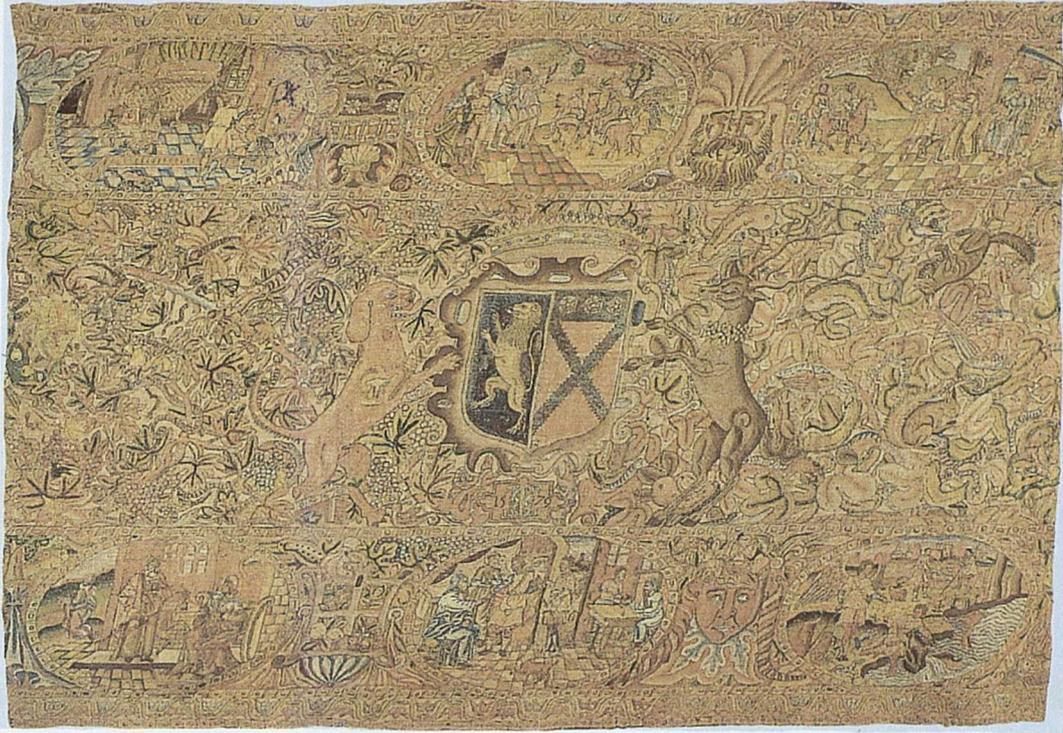


Illustration 33: Two details from a needlework table carpet depicting the story of Tobias, 1579.
From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 256.



Illustration 34: Two panels associated with the best bed.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), pp. 65 and 67.

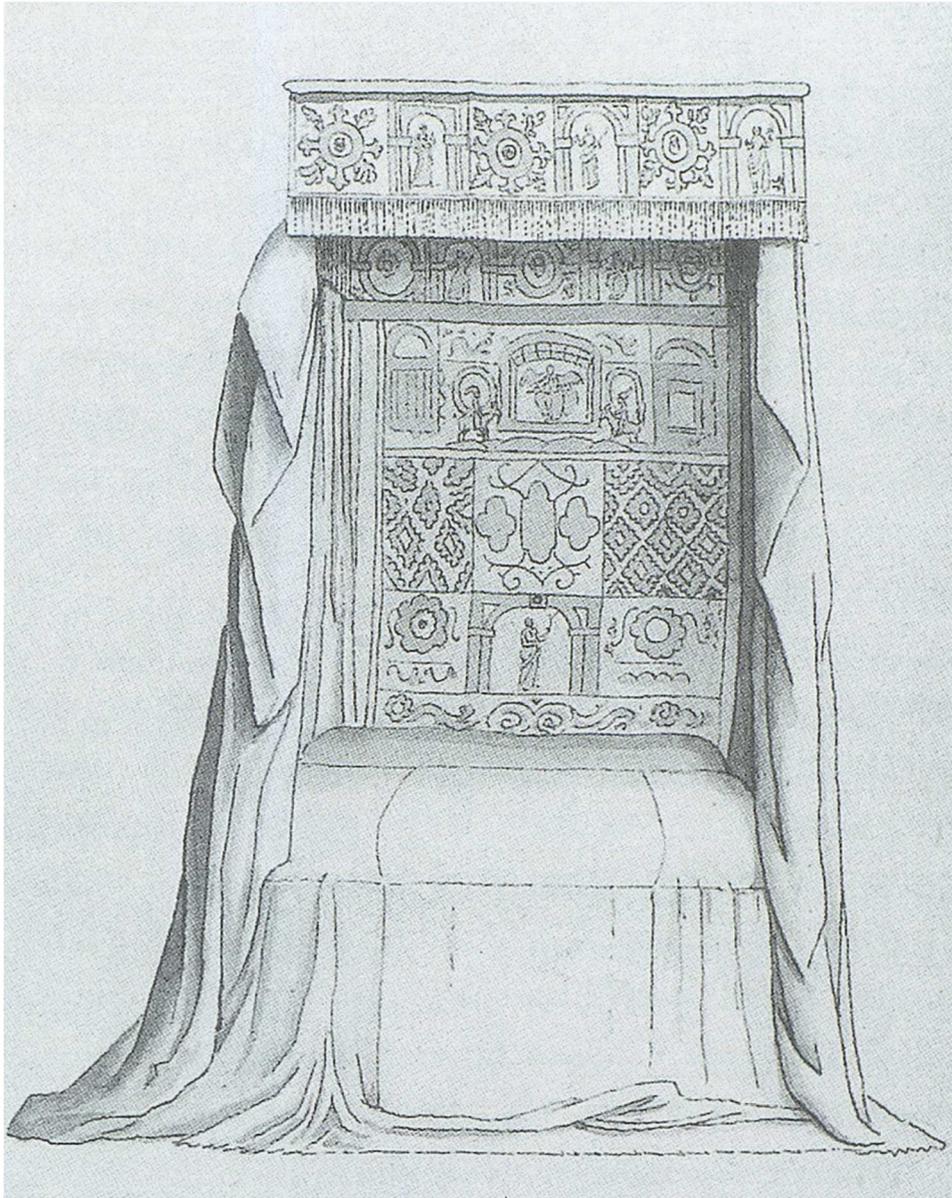


Illustration 35: Drawing of a bed with hangings made of fragments of the Elizabethan best bed hangings, S.H. Grimm, 1785.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 73.

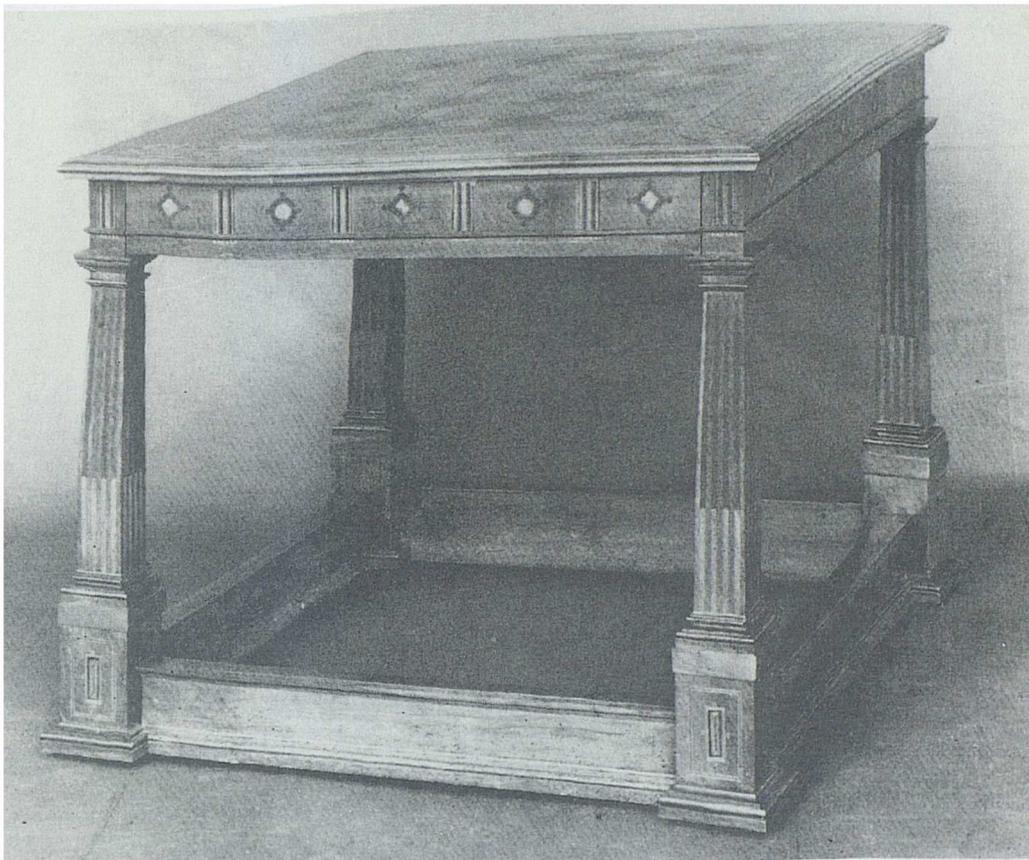
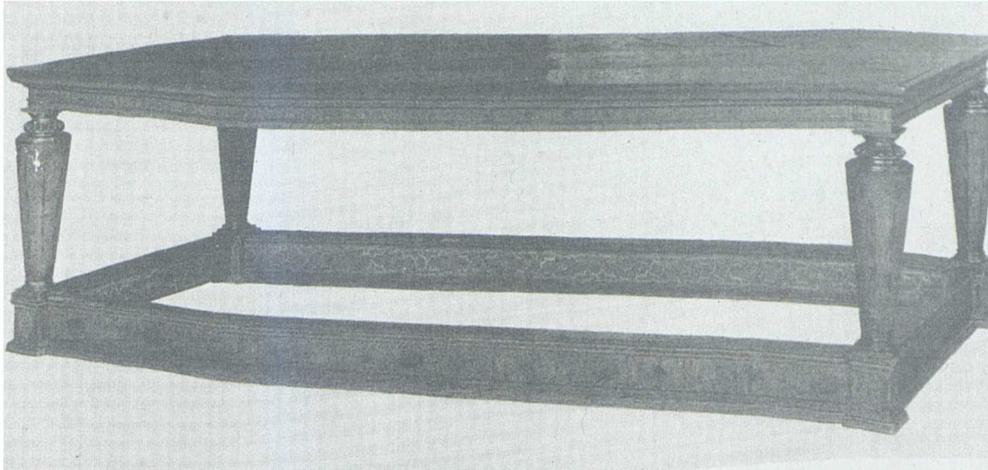


Illustration 36: Two inlaid tables from Hardwick Hall.
Above: the 'Eglantine' table (see also illustration 50).
Below: table inlaid with depictions of playing cards.
From Lindsay Boynton, *The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601*
(London: The Furniture History Society, 1971), plates 12 and 13.



Illustration 37: The 'drawing table Carved and guilt standing uppon sea doges
inlayde with marble stones and wood'.
From Timothy Mowl, *Elizabethan & Jacobean Style*
(London: Phaidon, 1993), p. 17.

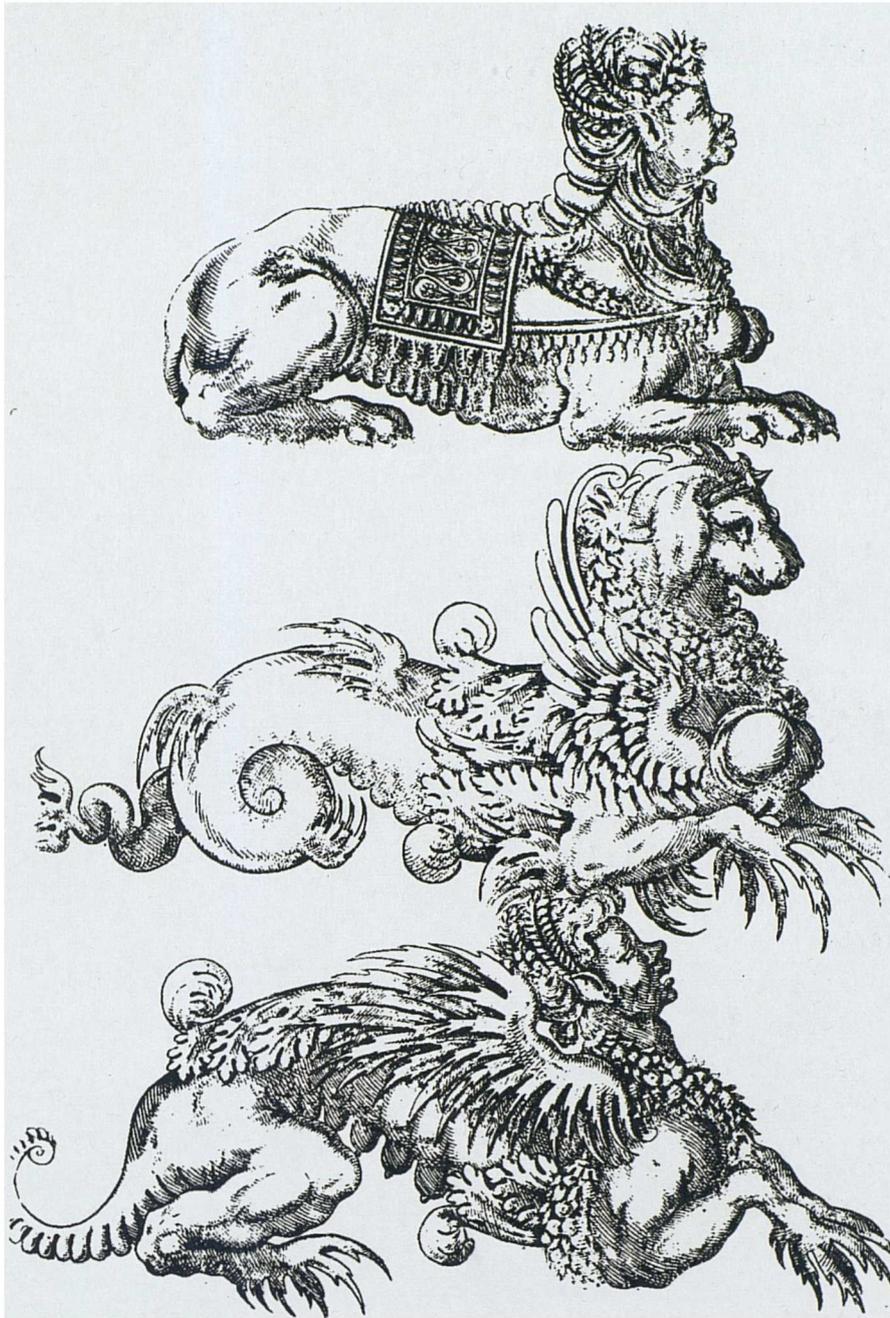


Illustration 38: Designs for sphinxes and terms by
Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, c. 1560.
From Simon Jervis, *Printed Furniture Designs Before 1650*
(London: Furniture History Society, 1974), fig. 100.

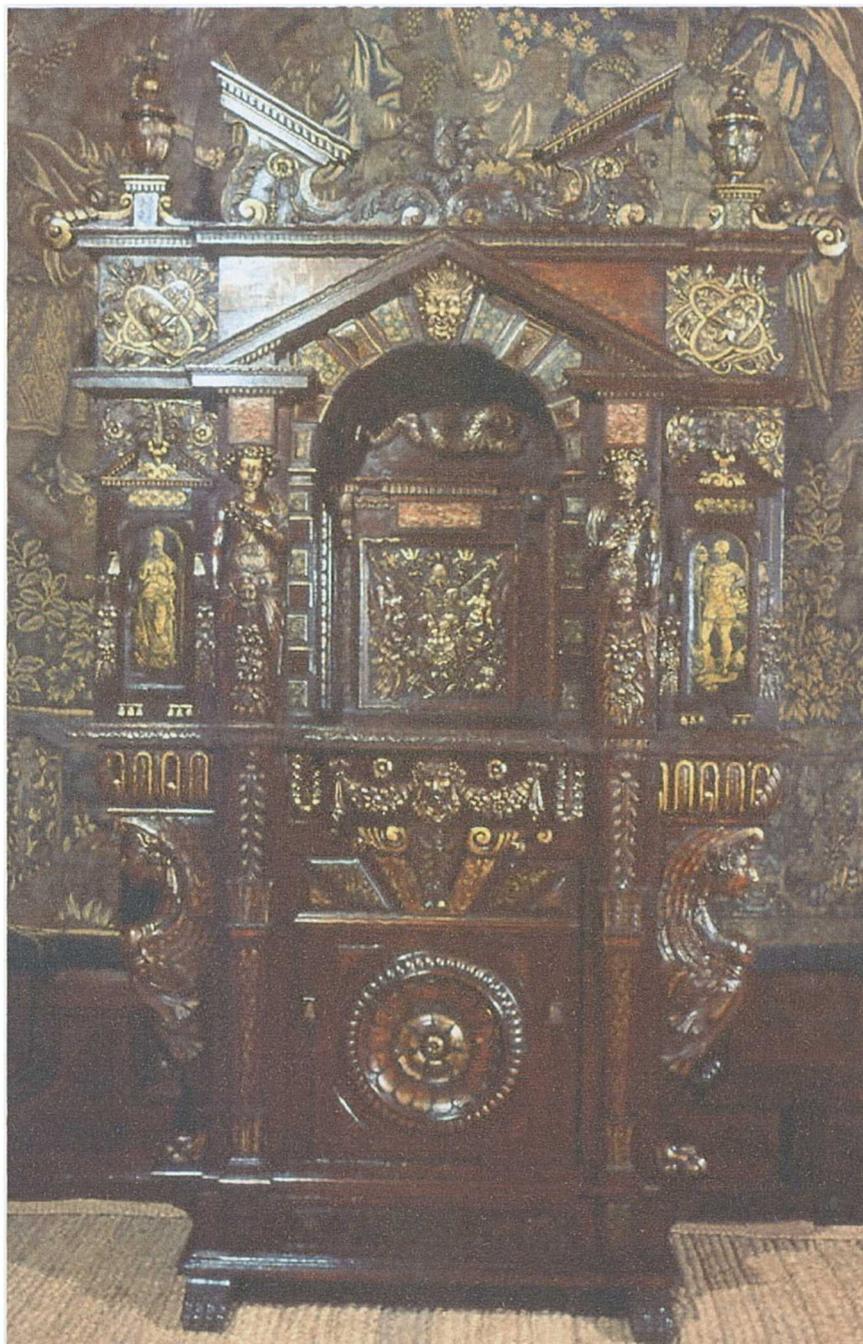


Illustration 39: Cabinet derived from designs by du Cerceau, French, c. 1560s or 1570s.

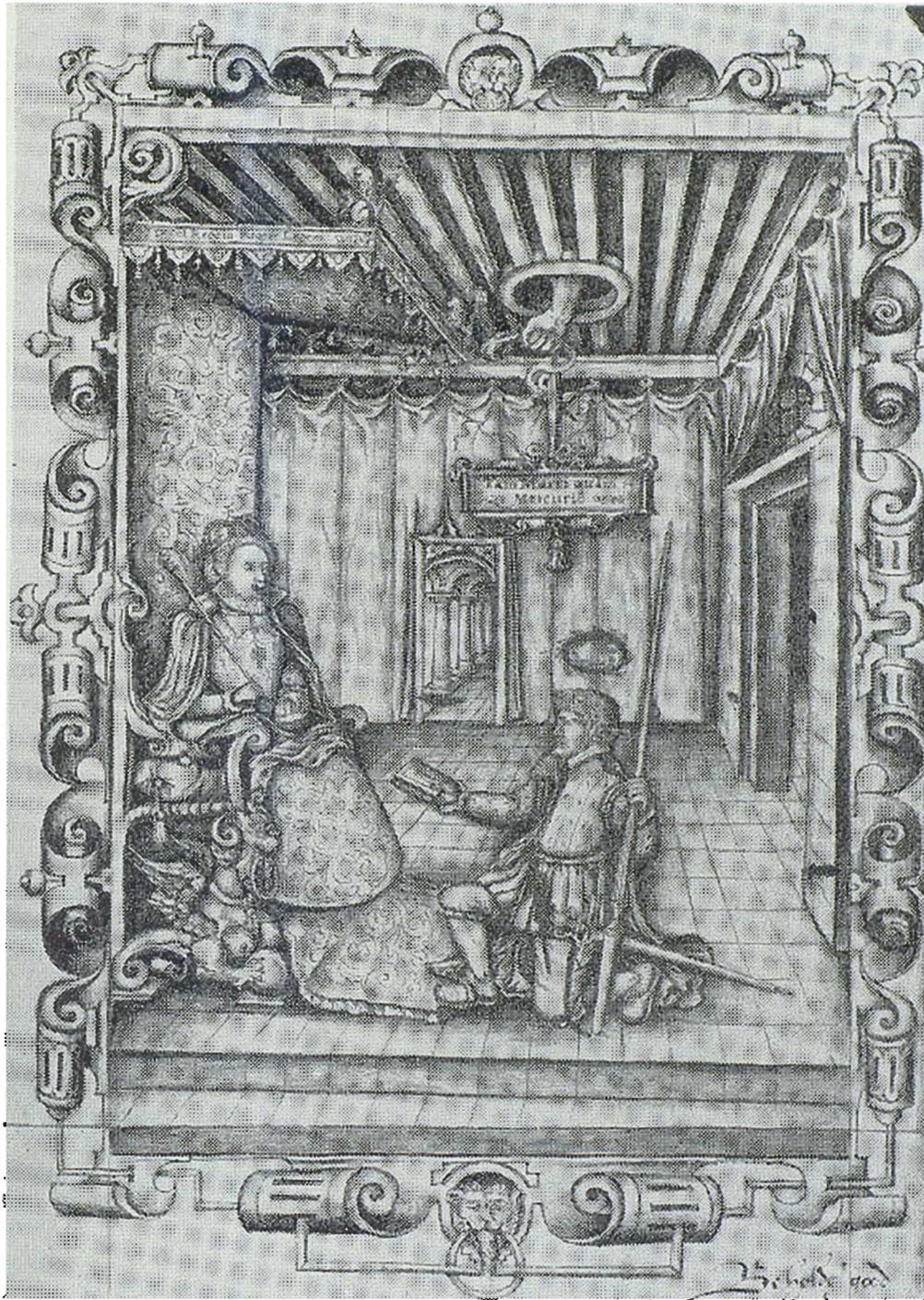


Illustration 40: George Gascoigne presenting a copy of *Hemetes the heremyte* to Queen Elizabeth. B.M. Royal MS 18.A.XL VIII, fol. 1.
From Roy Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 101.



Illustration 41: *Sir William Cavendish*, attributed to John Bettes, c. 1549.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
(London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 6.



Illustration 42: *Bess of Hardwick*, by a follower of Hans Eworth, c. 1550-1560.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 8.



Illustration 43: *Ulisses and Penelope*, attributed to John Balechouse, 1570.
From *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630*,
ed. by Karen Hearn (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), p. 101.



Illustration 44: Overmantel in the 'hale'.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
(London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 50.



Illustration 45: Overmantel in 'my Ladies with drawing Chamber'.
Photograph by Kate Wheeldon.

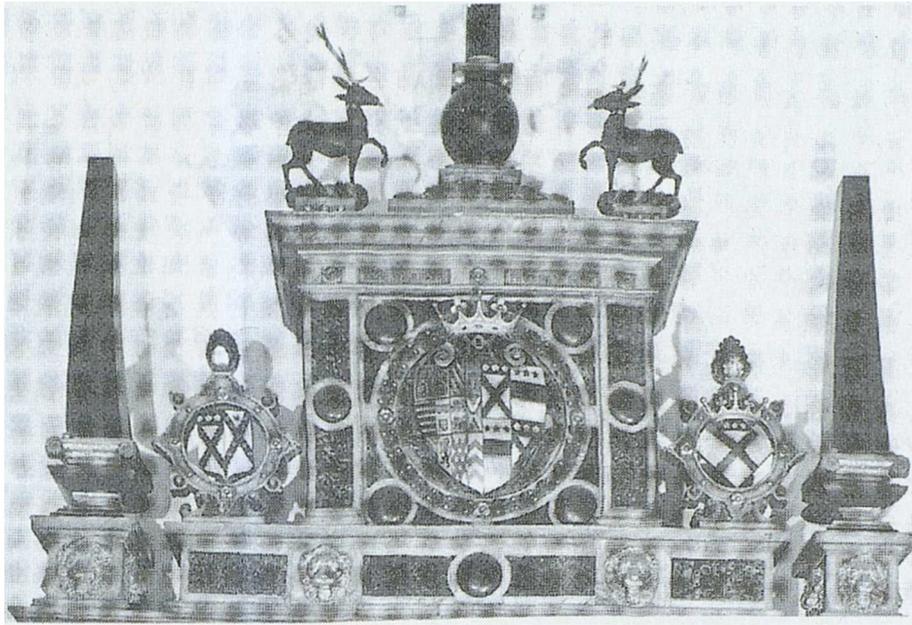


Illustration 46: The arms of Hardwick quartering unidentified arms on the tomb of Bess of Hardwick at Derby Cathedral and on the Gideon tapestries.
From Pamela Kettle, *Oldcotes: The Last Mansion Built by Bess of Hardwick* (Cardiff: Merton Priory Press, 2000), p. 24 (above) and Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 23 (below).



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 50: Embroidered panel with the initials 'ES' from the best bed.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 40.

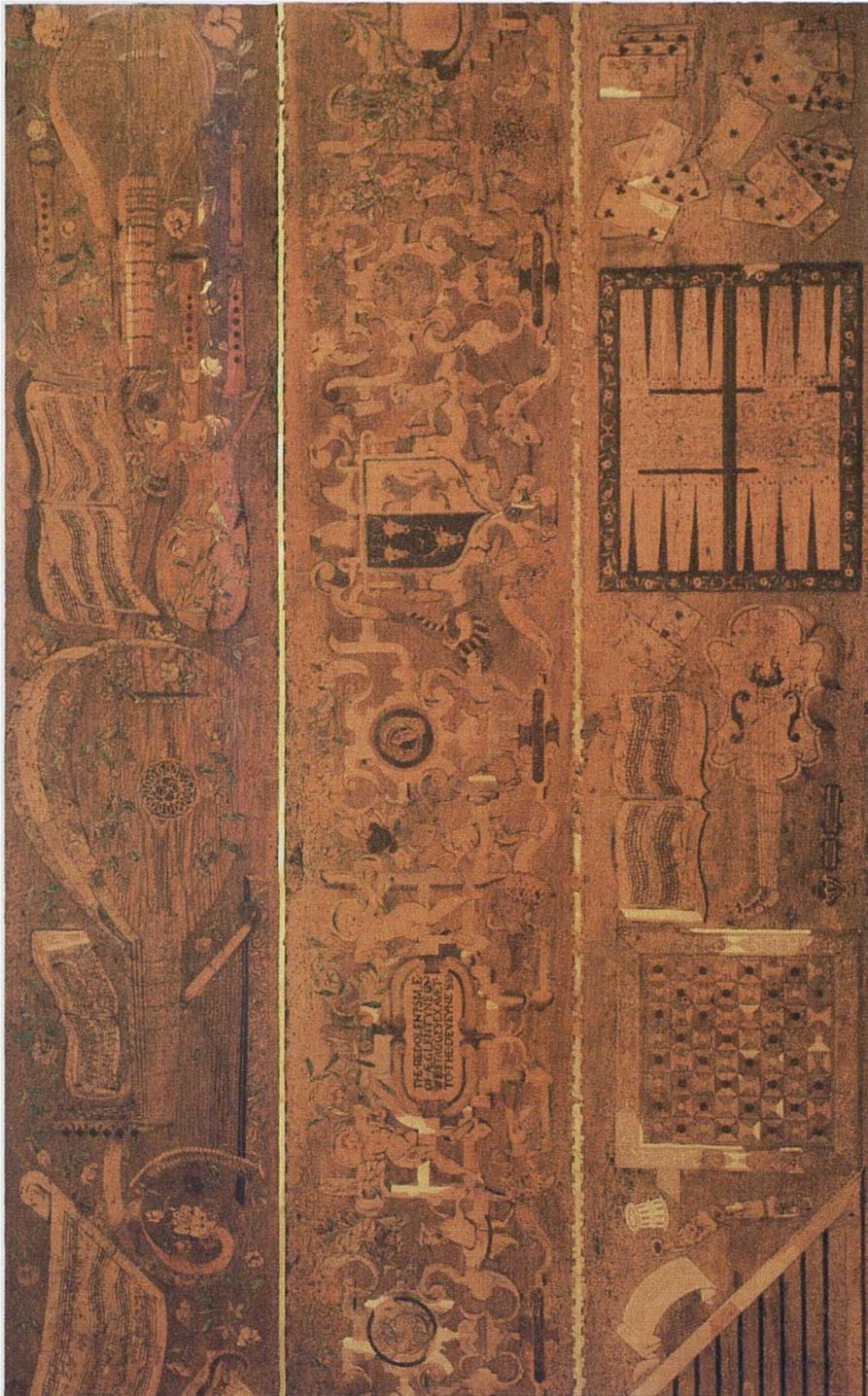


Illustration 51: Part of the top of the 'Eglantine' table, c. 1568.
From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 249.

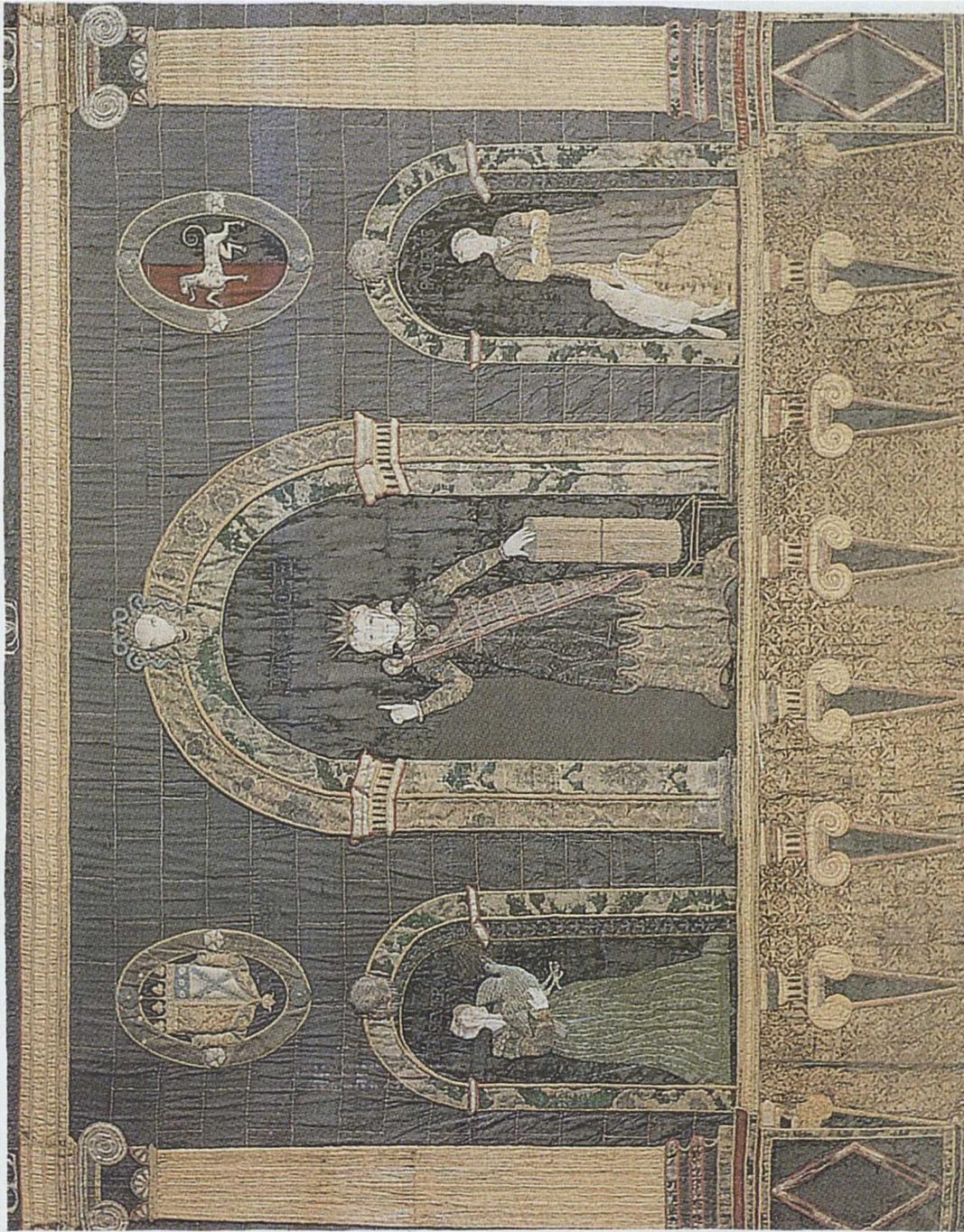


Illustration 52: Penelope with Perseverans and Paciens, appliqué panel, c. 1573.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
(London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 23.



Illustration 53: Lucretia with Chasteti and Liberaliter, appliqué panel, c. 1573.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 68.



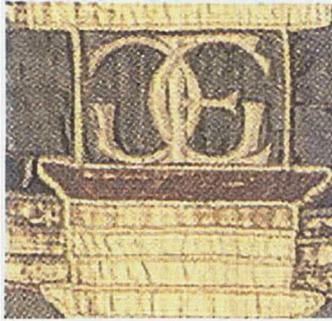
Illustration 54: Zenobia, detail from appliqué panel, c. 1573.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), frontispiece.



a



b



c



d



e

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.

Top: from Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn (London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 27.

Centre: from Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 51.

Bottom: National Trust Photographic Library.



Illustration 57: Overmantel in the 'lowe great Chamber'.

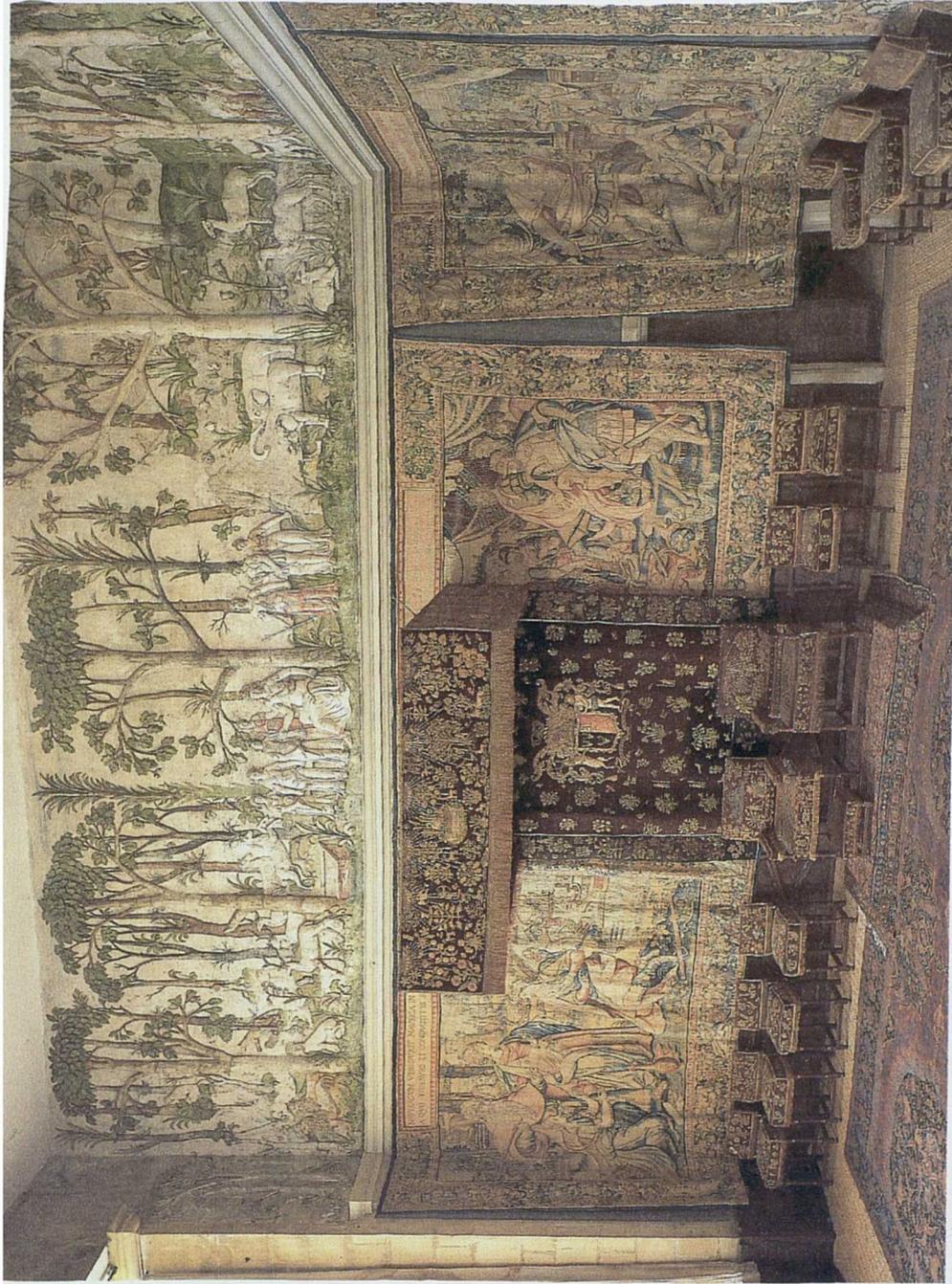


Illustration 58: Diana and her court from the north wall of the 'high great Chamber'.
From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 270.

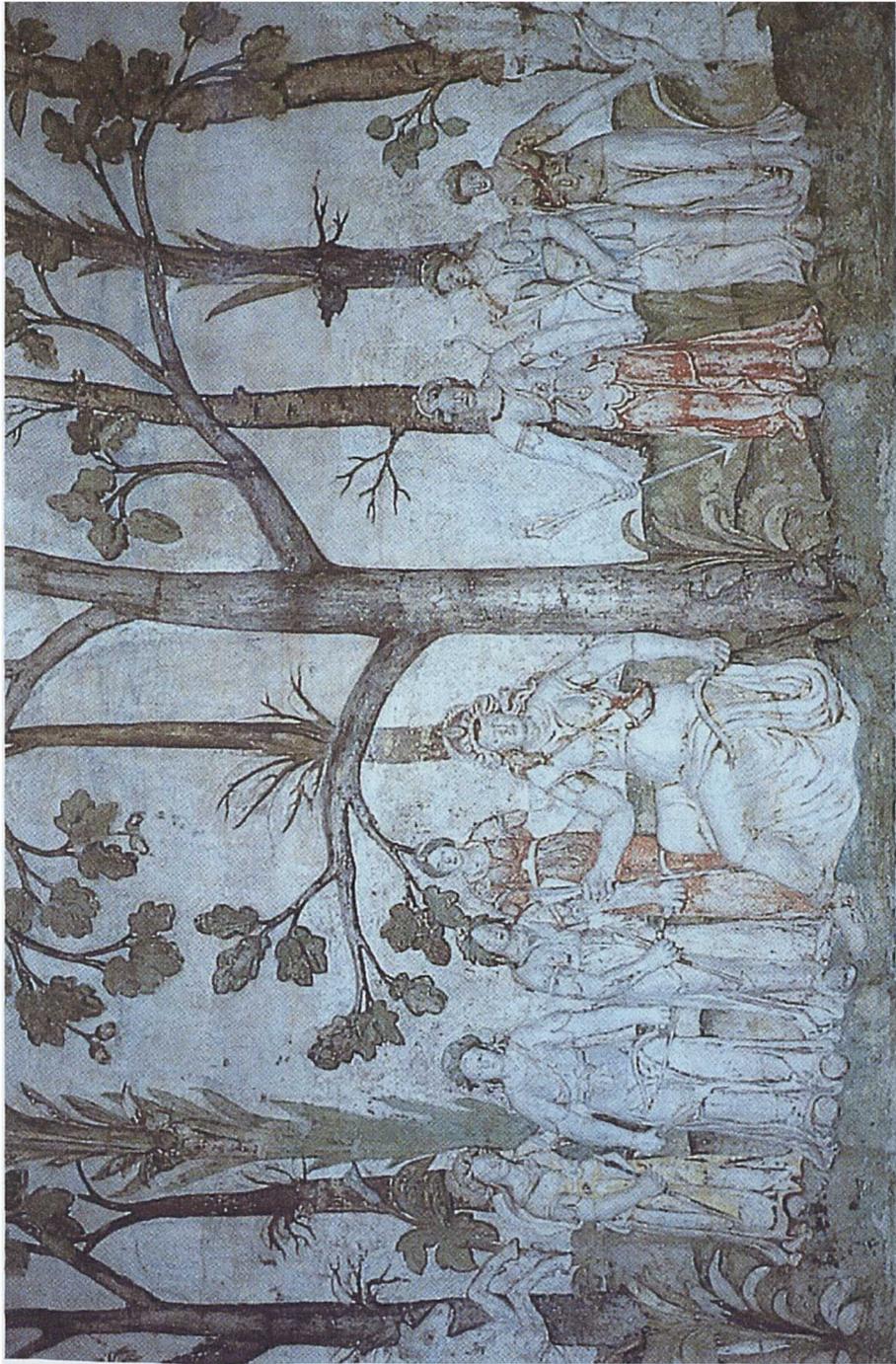


Illustration 59: Detail of the figure of Diana from the frieze in the 'high great Chamber'.
From Gillian White, *A Very Goodly Prospect* ([London]: The National Trust, 1997), p. 19.

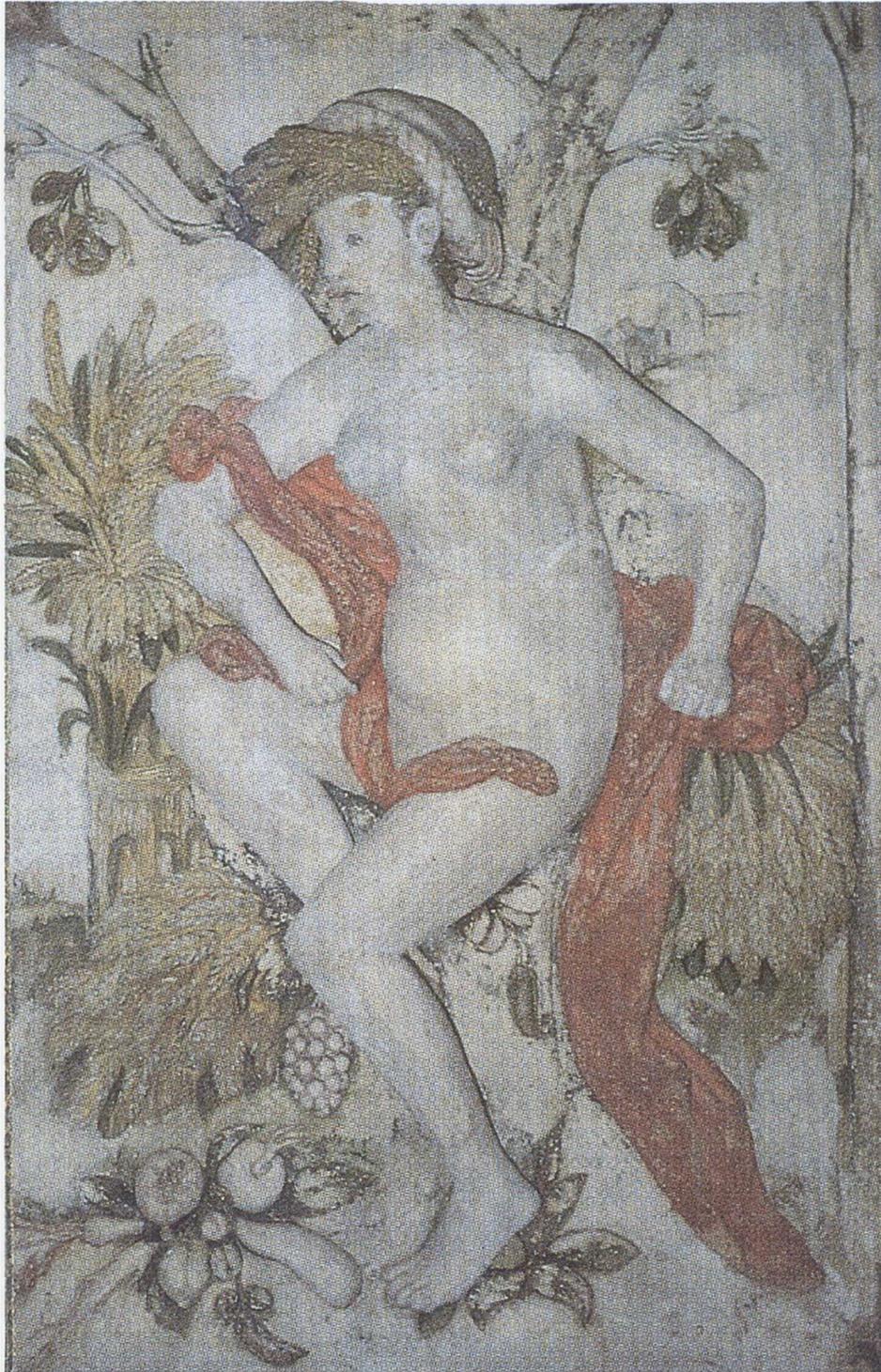


Illustration 60: Ceres from the south wall of the window recess in the
‘high great Chamber’.
From Gillian White, *A Very Goodly Prospect*
([London]: The National Trust, 1997), p. 18.



Illustration 61: Spring or Venus chastising Cupid
from the north wall of the window recess in the 'high great Chamber'.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*,
rev. edn (London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 21



Illustration 62: Details from the frieze in the 'high great Chamber'.



Illustration 63: Hunting scene from the south wall of the 'high great Chamber' frieze. From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 272.



Illustration 64: Philips Galle after Johannes Stradanus, depiction of a Bear Hunt in *Venationes Ferarum, Avium, Piscium ...* (Antwerp, 1578).
From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 272.



Illustration 65: Detail of a wall painting depicting *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* from Cullen House, Banffshire.

From Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland Publishing, 2003), p. 212.

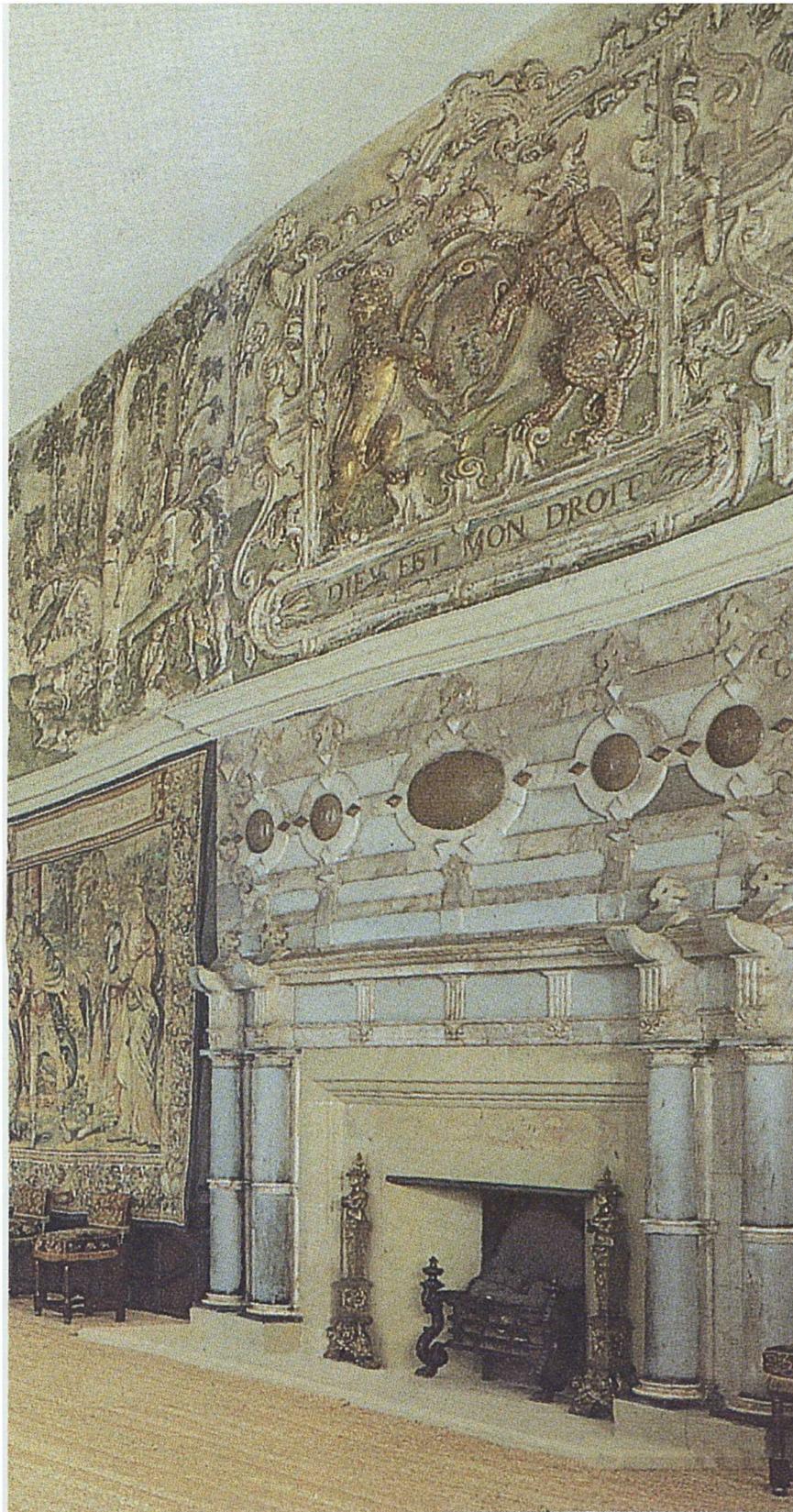


Illustration 66: Royal arms on the frieze in the 'high great Chamber'.
From Mark Girouard, *Hardwick Hall*, rev. edn
(London: The National Trust, 1989), p. 33.



Illustration 67: Title page from *The Bishops' Bible*, 1568.
From *The Holie Bible*, trans. Matthew Parker (London: [n. pub.], 1568), title page,
in *Early English Books Online* <<http://gateway.proquest.com>>
[accessed 13 August 2004]

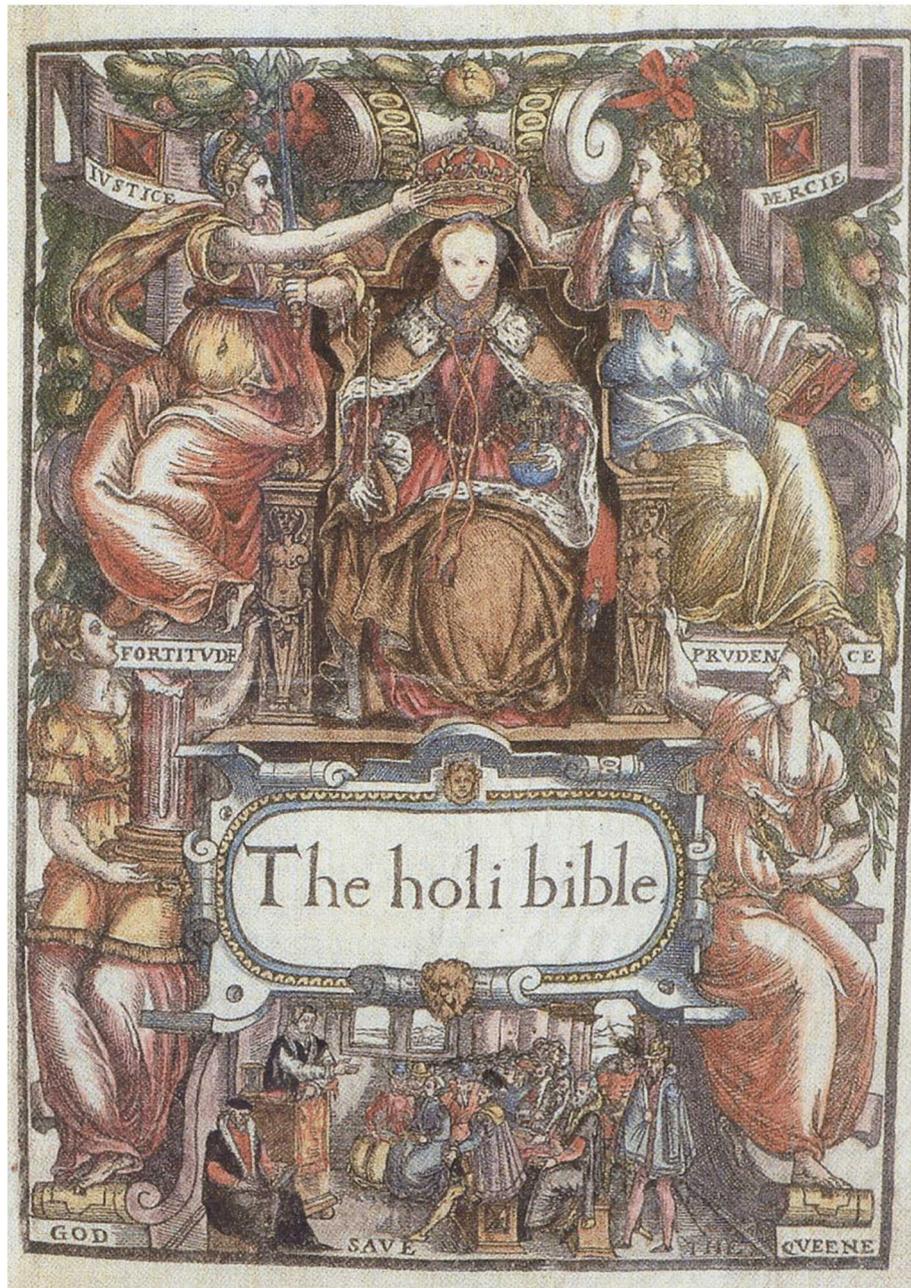


Illustration 68: Title page from *The Bishops' Bible*, quarto edition, 1569.
From *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*,
ed. by Susan Doran (London: Chatto & Windus), p. 29.



Illustration 69: *Elizabeth I with the Cardinal and Theological Virtues*,
unknown artist, c. 1598.

From *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*,
ed. by Susan Doran (London: Chatto & Windus), p. 197.



Illustration 70: Faith and Mahomet, appliqué hanging, early 1590s.
From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 261.



Illustration 71: Hans Collaert, perhaps after Crispijn van der Broeck, Fides, from a set of *The Virtues* (1576).

From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 260.



Illustration 72: Temperance and Sardanapalus, appliqué hanging, early 1590s.
From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*
(New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 259.



Illustration 73: Hans Collaert, perhaps after Crispijn van der Broeck, *Temperantia*, from a set of *The Virtues* (1576).
 From Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 258.



Illustration 74: *Queen Elizabeth I*, workshop of Hilliard, 1590s.
From Santana M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 37.



Illustration 75: Woodcut after, or possibly by, Nicholas Hilliard, 1590s.
From Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 150.



Illustration 76: Detail from *Queen Elizabeth I*,
workshop of Hilliard, 1590s.

From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles*
(London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 37.



a



b

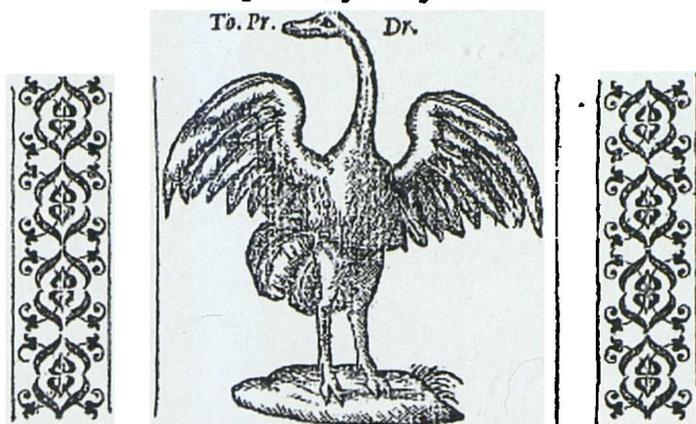


c

Illustration 77: Details from *Queen Elizabeth I*, workshop of Hilliard, 1590s.
From Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 37.

Nil penna, sed usus.

meere, pennis legit.



TH E Hippocrites, that make so great a shoue,
 Of Sanctitie, and of Religion sounde,
 Are shaddowes meere, and with out substance goe,
 And beinge tri'de, are but dissemblers founde.
 Thise are compar'de, vnto the Ostriche faire,
 Whoe spreades her winges, yet sealdome tries the aire.

*Martialis 3.
 Decipit alios verbis,
 vultuque benigno
 Nilis nisi sibi vestigia
 dissimulat oris.*

G 2

Fortissima.

DEVISES.

55

Nil penna sed usus.

The fethers are of no force, but vse-



If you marke well the monstrous bird call'd an Ostrich, you see how with great preparation and ostentation of her feathers, she endeouours to take a great flight, and yet for all that is not an inch higher from the ground when shee hath done all that shee can:

D 4 The

Illustration 78: Three depictions of an ostrich.

Top: from Geoffrey Whitney, *A choice of emblemes* (London, 1585), p. 51.

Left: from *The heroicall devises of M. Claudius Paradin*, trans. P. S. (London, 1591), p. 55.

Above: detail from *Queen Elizabeth I*, workshop of Hilliard, 1590s, from Santina M. Levey, *An Elizabethan Inheritance: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (London: The National Trust, 1998), p. 37.