

# THE HARDWICKS OF HARDWICK HALL IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES<sup>1</sup>

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In 1987 David Crook provided for the first time a clear account of the early history of the estate at Hardwick, in the parish of Ault Hucknall, and its owners from its creation in the early 13th century,<sup>2</sup> sweeping away the mixture of half-truth and fiction which had previously served as a history of the Hardwick family.<sup>3</sup> Dr Crook assembled the available evidence for the first six generations of the family, taking the story down to the beginning of the 15th century. After 1400, as he noted, both the family archives and other sources become more plentiful. This article continues the history of the Hardwicks from where Dr Crook left off until the sale of the estate following the death, probably in 1580, of James Hardwick, when it was purchased by William Cavendish, the second son of James's sister Elizabeth and her second husband Sir William Cavendish. As well as completing the descent of the estate over a further six generations, I have also sought to rescue both James Hardwick, the last head of the family to live at Hardwick, and the early life of the most famous of his five sisters from the confusion they have suffered in the past, and looked at the career of Bess's mother's second husband, Ralph Leche, who makes little showing in previous accounts of the Hardwick family.

## **The Hardwicks in the Fifteenth Century**

The estate at Hardwick came into existence in the second quarter of the 13th century, when land there was granted by Robert Savage, lord of the manor of Stainsby, to a man named Jocelin who, like Robert, originally came from Sussex. Jocelin was still alive in 1268 but was probably dead by Michaelmas the following year, when his son William witnessed a charter concerning the neighbouring manor of Staveley. He certainly had the estate by 1271, when Henry III granted him free warren in his demesne lands in Hardwick, Oldcotes and Freebirch (in Brampton).<sup>4</sup> William, whose wife was Denise, added to the estate inherited from his father and was a more important figure in Derbyshire. He was quite often described as a knight and in the 1280s served as one of the two coroners for the county. William, who consistently used the surname 'Stainsby', died in 1289.<sup>5</sup>

William of Stainsby's eldest son and heir was another Jocelin, born in 1269, whose wife was Margaret and who was dead by 1324. He appears to have been succeeded by a son named Robert, who probably died in 1329. The next holder of the estate was John of Stainsby, presumably Robert's son, who appeared as head of the family at the Quo Warranto hearings in the county in 1330. He was still alive ten years later.<sup>6</sup> Robert was followed by a son named Nicholas, who was dead by 1379, when his daughter Alice, who was then within age, successfully claimed two thirds of the estate at Hardwick in an action against John Wortley; the other third was probably held by Nicholas's widow in dower.<sup>7</sup> Hardwick is next mentioned in 1391, when William Lowe

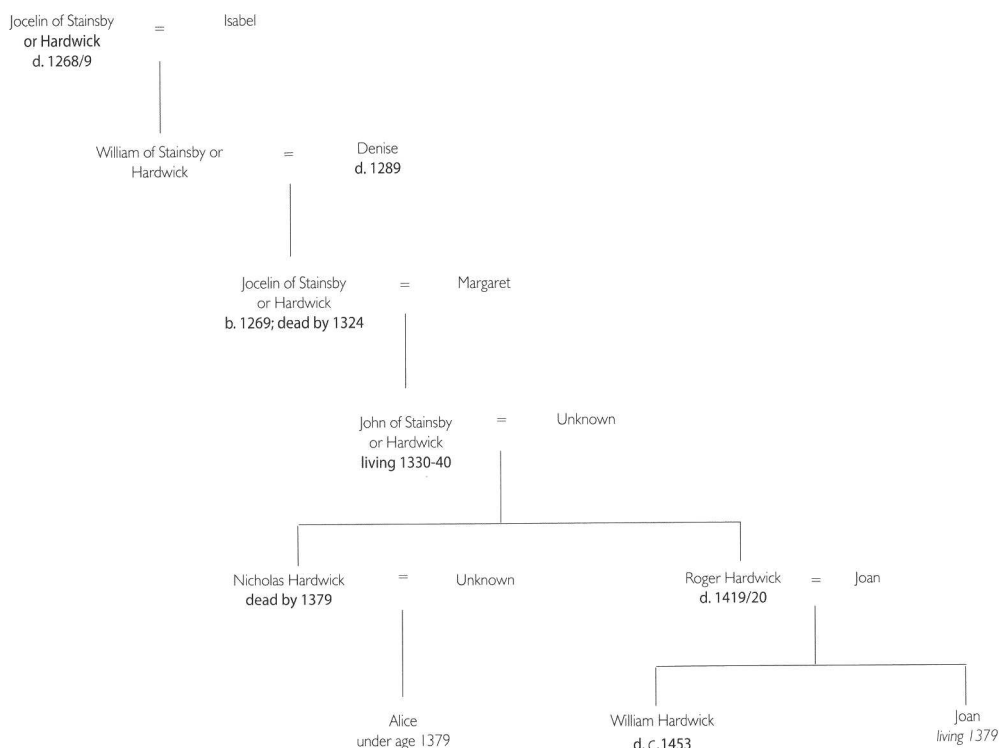


Fig. 1: The descendents of Jocelin of Stainsby.

of Chesterfield granted the estate to Roger Hardwick and Joan and his wife, which he had previously had by feoffment from Roger.<sup>8</sup> As Dr Crook suggested, the deed of 1391 appears to be a reconveyance following the discharge of a mortgage. How the estate had come to Roger, who was clearly considerably older than Alice, is less clear. The best suggestion is probably that Roger was a younger brother of Nicholas and had inherited the estate following the death without heirs of Alice sometime between 1379 and 1391.<sup>9</sup>

Roger Hardwick was still alive in 1414–15, when he settled his estate at Hardwick and in Astwith, Northope, Hardstoft, Oldcotes, Heath, Sutton in the Dale, Glapwell, Stainsby and Houghton on seven feoffees, to hold the lands to the use of Roger himself and his wife Joan, with the proviso that John, the first-born son of Isabel, the wife of William Hardwick, should inherit no part of the estate but be altogether excluded.<sup>10</sup> The list of places where Roger held land shows that his holdings remained confined to Hardwick and nearby, and that the family were not among the wealthier gentry families of Derbyshire of this period. Nor did they hold major office in the county, although Roger was a tax collector on several occasions between 1402 and 1419.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, he was sufficiently well-connected to call on three knights (Sir Henry Pierrepont of Holme Pierrepont near Nottingham, Sir John Leeke of Sutton near Hardwick, and Sir Nicholas Wortley of Wortley in south Yorkshire), as well as another member of the Wortley family, two local landowners of similar standing to himself (Robert

Whittington of Whittington and William Barley of Barlow, both near Chesterfield), and the rector of Hemsworth (one of the Wortley family's estates) to act as his feoffees.

Roger was probably dead by the autumn of 1420, when William Hardwick 'of Hardwick' (implying that he was now head of the family) sold a small estate in Calow.<sup>12</sup> William served as a tax collector in 1434,<sup>13</sup> the year in which he also appears (as a 'gentleman') in the well-known list of gentry who undertook not to maintain peace-breakers.<sup>14</sup> Otherwise little is heard of him until 1451, when he bought a messuage and a bovate of land and meadow at Heath from John Turner of Nottingham.<sup>15</sup> William was the earliest member of the family to appear in the pedigree which James Hardwick produced to the heralds at the first visitation of Derbyshire in 1569, in which William's wife was said to be an unnamed daughter of the Goushill family, lords of a portion of the manor of Barlborough.<sup>16</sup> In 1414–15 William's wife was named as Isabel, who may or may not have been the same person. What is certain is that William was never married to Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Goushill and widow of Sir Robert Wingfield, which was one of the more fanciful notions of 19th-century writers on the Hardwick family.<sup>17</sup>

William Hardwick must have been dead by the autumn of 1453, when three feoffees, Thomas Glapwell and John Hawson, both chaplains, and John Savage, vicar of Tutbury (presumably a member of the family who remained the Hardwicks' feudal superiors as lords of Stainsby), quitclaimed the family's estate, which they had had by feoffment of William Glapwell, vicar of Heath, to Roger Hardwick.<sup>18</sup> At the same time William Leghes granted to Roger Hardwick of Hardwick and Nichola his wife the capital messuage called Hardwick and six pieces of land (presumably the adjoining demesne) in which he had lately been enfeoffed by Roger.<sup>19</sup> Finally, John Savage and William Hardwick made a release to Roger Hardwick esq. of lands in Astwith and elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> The William Hardwick who was party to this transaction, and also to the quitclaim by John Savage, was obviously not Roger's father but must have been another member of the family chosen to act as a feoffee. Nor is it entirely clear that Roger was his father's eldest son, given the reference to John Hardwick as the first-born son of William's wife Isabel in the settlement of 1414–15. It is possible that John's father was a previous husband of Isabel's and that John and Roger were half-brothers, not full brothers.

Roger Hardwick's wife Nichola was the eldest daughter of Robert Barley of Barlow.<sup>21</sup> The couple were already married when Roger's father died c.1453, which possibly places his birth around 1430. Roger had a large family, apparently all with Nichola, the only wife named in the visitation pedigree of 1569. On that occasion only three children are mentioned, a son John, a daughter Anne, who married Ralph Rochford of Bedfordshire, and an unnamed daughter who married a member of the Woolhouse family of Glapwell.<sup>22</sup> In a settlement of 1489, however, Roger's other sons were listed as William, Ranulph (a chaplain), Thomas, Edmund and Martin, and his daughters as Elizabeth, Margaret, Agnes and Joan.<sup>23</sup> This makes a total of six sons and either five daughters (if the girl who married into the Woolhouse family was one of the four named in 1489) or six (if she was not).

Apart from having a large family, there appears to be nothing remarkable about Roger Hardwick. There is no evidence, for example, that he added to the family's

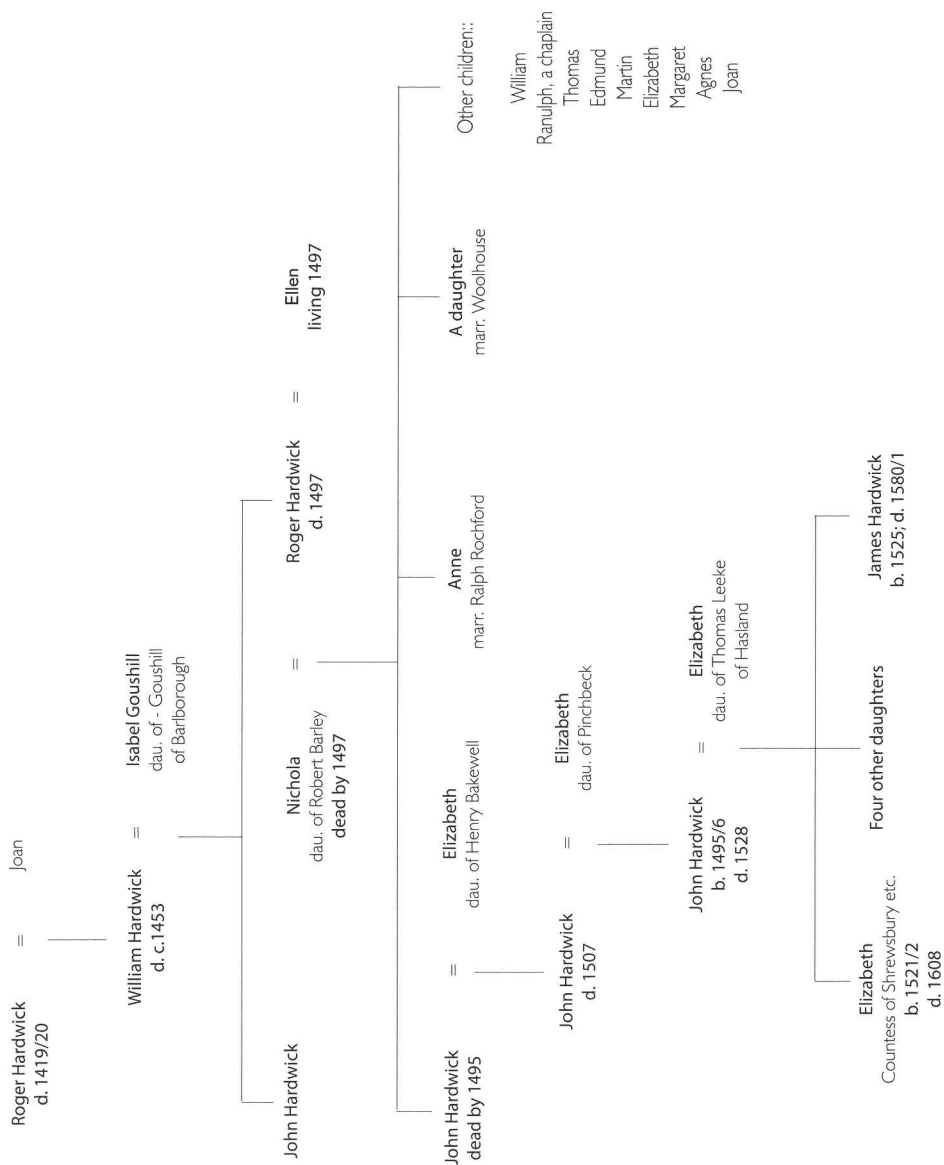


Fig. 2: The Hardwicks of Hardwick, c.1400–1600.



estate. On the contrary, during the 1480s his son and heir John made at least eight sales of land to Henry Foljambe of Walton, near Chesterfield, all in reversion, with the conveyance to take effect when his father died. The sales included messuages and land at Northope, Hardstoft, Oldcotes, Heath and Astwith.<sup>24</sup>

For Foljambe these transactions fit into a wider pattern of extensive purchases in Chesterfield and neighbouring parishes in the last quarter of the 15th century, as he considerably enlarged his family's estate. Most of the acquisitions were small, often from widows or from children who had moved away from the district, and a number were reversionary, taking effect after the vendor's death.<sup>25</sup> It is less clear why Roger Hardwick's son was either able or willing to dispose of parcels of his inheritance, all close to the family's home at Hardwick, while his father was still alive. The obvious conclusion is that the family were in some financial difficulty, the origin and nature of which cannot be deduced from surviving muniments, and that Roger Hardwick had authorised his son and heir to make sales to a major local landowner who was buying property aggressively in this period. No evidence survives of other sales, for example to the Foljambes' great rivals, the Leekes of Sutton, whose home estate was much closer to Hardwick than Walton. The purchases from John Hardwick were in fact Henry Foljambe's only acquisitions near Hardwick: most of the additions to his estate were in or immediately adjoining Chesterfield.

John Hardwick married Elizabeth, said to have been a daughter of Henry Bakewell of Bakewell, although the arms tricked in 1569 (*paly of eight, argent and azure; a chief gules*) are quite different from those usually said to have been borne by the Bakewell family (*or, three magpies proper*).<sup>26</sup> John was still alive in 1489, when his father settled his estate on eight feoffees to uses declared in his will made the same year. The feoffees were to hold the lands to the use of Roger during his lifetime, thereafter to the use of John for his life, followed by John's son John, with remainder in default of issue of either son or grandson to Roger's five other sons and four of his daughters. His daughter Anne, the wife of Ralph Rochford, was not included in the entail. The list of feoffees was headed by two substantial Nottinghamshire figures, Sir Henry Pierrepont and Sir Henry Willoughby, followed by John Rochford (presumably a relation of his daughter Anne's husband), Francis Pierrepont, Peter Frescheville of Staveley and Robert Barley of Barlow, all of whom were described as esquire, and John Frescheville and Ralph Greenhalgh gentlemen.<sup>27</sup> The Greenhalghs were the Hardwicks' neighbours across the county boundary at Teversal.<sup>28</sup>

Roger did not die in 1489 and made a fresh settlement six years later to a group of eleven feoffees, headed by Thomas Savage, bishop of Rochester, and including once again the two Pierreponts, Willoughby, Rochford, Barley, Greenhalgh and the two Freschevilles, together with William Tapton and Roger Frescheville. On this occasion Roger specified that his daughter Anne Rochford was to retain the lands granted to her, and that his wife Ellen (his first wife Nichola was evidently dead and he had remarried) was to retain her jointure lands in Heath. His son John was also dead by this date, leaving a son, another John, as heir apparent to his grandfather. After Roger's death his lands were to pass not to this John, however, but to four of Roger's sons, William, Thomas, Edmund and Martin, for their lives, subject to a payment of £3 yearly to his grandson.<sup>29</sup> The estate conveyed on this occasion was described many years later as comprising the messuage called Hardwick Hall, 60 acres of meadow and

60 acres of wood in Hardwick within the lordship of Stainsby; a messuage and 2 bovates of land in Hardstoft; a messuage and 3 bovates of land in Northope; a messuage and 2½ bovates of land in Astwith; two messuages and 2 bovates of land in Heath; 2 bovates of land in Oldcotes; and one messuage in Glapwell.<sup>30</sup>

It is not clear why the lands were entailed in favour of Roger's younger sons, unless his grandson John was within age in 1495. This is possible but by no means certain. His father, as the eldest son, had presumably been born within a few years of his own parents' marriage, which we know took place before 1453, and had probably himself married in the 1470s. In any case, Roger left his lands to his sons for the whole of their lives, not until his grandson came of age, as he might have done had John been a minor in 1495. Alternatively, it is possible that John's father had made separate provision for his son. The younger John married Elizabeth, a daughter of the Pinchbeck family of Pinchbeck (Lincs.).<sup>31</sup>

Roger Hardwick died in July 1497,<sup>32</sup> followed ten years later by his grandson and heir John, the husband of Elizabeth Pinchbeck. John Hardwick died seised of an estate said to comprise six messuages, 200 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow and 30 acres of pasture within the lordship of Stainsby, held of Sir John Savage as of his manor of Stainsby by a third part of a knight's fee, a yearly rent of 12d., 1lb. of pepper, 1lb. of cummin and a gillyflower (or a clove), together with suit of court at Stainsby. In addition, a moiety of a bovat of land at Glapwell, worth 3s. 4d. yearly, was held of John Leeke as of his manor of Pleasley, by fealty and a rent of 4d.<sup>33</sup> He also had a messuage and 20 acres of land in Chesterfield, where in the late 1490s he was in dispute with the prior of Thurgarton.<sup>34</sup>

John died on 10 February 1507 but the Chancery did not issue a writ for an inquest until 20 November and the inquest was not held until 14 January 1508.<sup>35</sup> This allowed time for the family to make provision for his estate to pass to John's son and heir, a third John Hardwick, who was only 11 when his father died. In a deed ostensibly executed on the same day as the writ was issued, Sir Henry Willoughby, John Frescheville and Ralph Greenhalgh conveyed to John Hardwick, the grandson of Roger Hardwick, and his wife Elizabeth (Pinchbeck) a messuage in Heath and six closes of land in Hardwick. These premises they had received of the feoffment of Roger Hardwick, with remainder to Roger's children Ranulph, Thomas, Martin, Elizabeth, Margaret, Agnes and Joan,<sup>36</sup> all of whom were presumably dead by 1507. Although the feoffees of 1507 include three of those named in 1495, the lands must have been the subject of a separate feoffment, since that of 1495 included the whole of Roger's estate.

By another deed also dated 20 November 1507 John Hardwick (who had in fact died the previous February) was said to have enfeoffed Sir Henry Willoughby, John Fitzherbert and Ralph Bradshaw in the same six closes in Hardwick, together with what was described as a messuage in Heath and 60 acres of land, 60 acres of pasture and 10 acres of meadow there, to hold to the use of the feoffor and Elizabeth his wife and their heirs.<sup>37</sup> This appears to represent a portion of the family's estate that had become detached from the rest (including the capital messuage at Hardwick and most of the land there) and had been held by Roger's grandson John. If this is the case, it may explain why in 1495 Roger gave his younger children a life interest in his entire estate, reserving only a small yearly rent to his grandson.

Presumably the escheator became aware of these deeds executed after John Hardwick's death, and in October 1508 held another inquest, *virtute officii*, at which the jury reiterated that John had died on 10 February 1507 seised of the same estate as that described at the earlier inquest, and that his heir was his son John, now aged 12.<sup>38</sup>

Although John was well within age when his father died, he was already married.<sup>39</sup> His wife Elizabeth was the daughter of Thomas Leeke of Hasland, the second son of William Leeke of Sutton and of Langford in Nottinghamshire, and his wife Catherine, the daughter of Sir Thomas Chaworth.<sup>40</sup> William was in turn the son and heir of Sir John Leeke and his wife Alice, the daughter and heiress of John Grey, the last male representative of the Sandiacre branch of his family, who were also lords of Sutton.<sup>41</sup> John and Elizabeth, who presumably did not live as man and wife for some years after 1507, perhaps not until John came of age in 1516, had six children, a son James and five daughters, living in January 1528 when John conveyed his estate to feoffees and made a will.

On 6 January that year John enfeoffed Sir Edward Willoughby, John Leeke esq., Henry Marmion esq., Thomas Leeke gent., Edward Beresford gent., Richard Spalton yeoman and Robert Peret clerk in an estate comprising a capital messuage called Hardwick Hall, 100 acres of land, 100 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood and 15 acres of meadow in Hardwick; two messuages, 60 acres of land, 80 acres of pasture and 10 acres of meadow in Heath; 10 acres of land and 10 acres of pasture in Glapwell; and 40 acres of pasture, 70 acres of arable and 10 acres of wood in Oldcotes.<sup>42</sup> From this description it appears that the portion in Heath, which seems to have been detached from the rest of the estate in Roger Hardwick's time, had been reunited with Hardwick Hall and the land in Hardwick itself.

Three days later John made a will, in which he asked to be buried in Ault Hucknall church in the archway between the chancel and the new (i.e. south) aisle. He asked his feoffees to allow his wife to occupy Hardwick Hall and the demesnes for 20 years, paying 14 marks a year to his executors John Leeke and Henry Marmion. Elizabeth was to have custody of their children, finding them meat and drink until they were 15 years of age, for which she was to be allowed 26s. 8d. yearly by his executors. They were to occupy his other lands in Derbyshire and Lincolnshire for a term of 24 years and to keep John's son and heir until he was of full age, when he was to receive his 'marriage money' towards setting up house. The executors were also to use the income from lands in their custody to pay his legacies. He left 40 marks to each of his five daughters for their marriage when they came of age, with any surplus to be divided between them; survivors were to share the portions of any of the girls who died within age.<sup>43</sup>

A few weeks afterwards, on either 25 or 29 January, John Hardwick died, leaving as his heir his only son James, aged three. Two inquests were held, one in October 1528 and the other the following August. On the first occasion the jurors traced the history of the estate from the feoffment supposedly made by John's father in 1507, but the second jury went back to the genuine settlement made by Roger Hardwick in 1495. They found that Hardwick Hall and the lands elsewhere in Ault Hucknall and Heath, valued at £13 15s. 4d. a year, were held of John Savage esq., son and heir of Sir John Savage deceased, by the service of a third of a knight's fee, rent of 12d. yearly and suit of court at Stainsby. The small estate in Glapwell was held of the earl of Shrewsbury

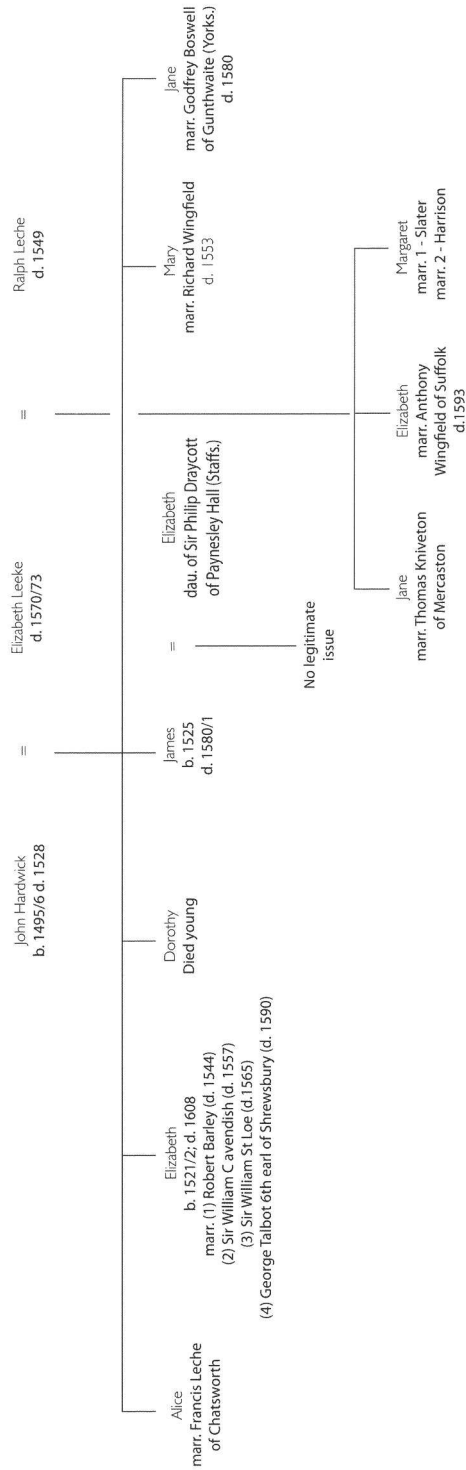


Fig. 3: Bess of Hardwick and her family.

as of his manor of Pleasley by fealty and rent of 4d. a year. Since John's death the rents and profits of all the lands had been received by his widow Elizabeth and by John Leeke, one of the executors.<sup>44</sup>

### **Elizabeth Hardwick and her family**

John Hardwick's early death, aged about 33, left his widow with six small children, the prospect of a lengthy wardship for her three-year-old son, and the need to find marriages for her five daughters with a portion of only 40 marks to offer prospective husbands, as well as possible difficulties in dealing with both her husband's executors and whoever bought her son's wardship. Before discussing the career of John and Elizabeth's only son James, the last male head of the family, it is worth bringing together what is known of his mother, his sisters and his half-sisters, since this helps to correct traditional accounts of the early life of his most famous sibling.

John Hardwick did not name his five daughters in his will, although it is clear that all were still alive and there is no question of the youngest being born posthumously.<sup>45</sup> One of the five, Dorothy, later died within age sometime before the mid 1540s, when Godfrey Boswell, who had married one of her sisters, sued for a marriage portion which he claimed had not been paid.<sup>46</sup> Dorothy is shown as the youngest daughter in one version of the visitation pedigree,<sup>47</sup> although she may be positioned thus simply because she died young. The printed pedigree<sup>48</sup> and at least one other manuscript<sup>49</sup> name only four daughters.

Boswell's Chancery bill and the various texts of the visitation differ in the order in which they list the four surviving daughters. Boswell names them as Mary, Elizabeth, Alice, Dorothy 'and the said Jane' (i.e. his wife).<sup>50</sup> The syntax more or less requires Jane to be listed last, even if she was not the youngest, but it is not clear whether the others are arranged in order of their date of birth. The published visitation pedigree names the girls as Jane, Mary, Elizabeth and Alice;<sup>51</sup> in a copy made in 1615 they appear as Mary, Jane, Alice and Elizabeth;<sup>52</sup> and in another early manuscript they are given as Alice, Elizabeth, Mary and Jane,<sup>53</sup> the reverse of the printed pedigree. Both manuscripts make James his parents' third child, but differ as to which of his sisters were older and which were younger than him. On the other hand, both 'pair' the four girls consistently (Alice with Elizabeth, Mary with Jane) on either side of James. In the published text the arrangement of the children appears to have been distorted to fit the printed page and can probably be discounted.

Only for two of the six children can approximate dates of birth be established. James was said to be aged three on 2 October 1528 and three-and-a-half on 24 August 1529,<sup>54</sup> placing his birth between the last week of August and the beginning of October 1525. His sister Elizabeth (the only one of the six for whom a monumental inscription or a burial registration has ever been found) was said to have been in around the 87th year of her age when she died on 13 February 1608.<sup>55</sup> If she was in fact exactly 86, Bess was born sometime between 13 February 1521 and 12 February 1522. Although the present inscription on her monument in All Saints', Derby, cannot have been inserted before 1665 (since it describes her grandson William Cavendish as duke of Newcastle),<sup>56</sup> the plaque clearly replaces another which must have been part of the original design. There is therefore no reason to believe that her age and possibly other details were not simply copied from one inscription to the other. The general accuracy of the age given there

is in any case confirmed by at least three pieces of contemporary evidence. Bess was within age when she married for the first time, shortly before her husband's father died on 30 May 1543.<sup>57</sup> If, as appears to have been the case, she was still under age on that day, she must have been born on or before 29 May 1522. She was, however, of age on 28 March 1545 (i.e. she was born on or before 28 March 1524) when she commenced proceedings in the court of Common Pleas to secure dower in her first husband's estate and also brought a Chancery action with the same object.<sup>58</sup> Finally, Bess was said to be aged 84 in a letter that appears to date from early in 1606.<sup>59</sup> This once again places her birth in 1521 or the early part of 1522.

The best conclusion to be drawn from the limited evidence seems to be that the Hardwicks' two oldest girls were Alice and Elizabeth, of whom the latter was three or four years older than James, and that Mary and Jane were younger than their brother. We know that their father was 11 on 10 February 1507 and 12 on 16 October 1508,<sup>60</sup> and must therefore have been born between 17 October 1495 and 9 February 1496. He was already married, or at least espoused, on 20 November 1507,<sup>61</sup> but we do not know when he and Elizabeth Leeke began to live as man and wife. If it was not until John came of age, out of wardship and able to secure livery of his lands, it would have been late in 1516 or early in 1517. A possible sequence of births between then and John's death in January 1528 would thus be as follows: Alice (c.1518), Elizabeth (1521 or early 1522), James (1525), Mary (1526) and Jane (1527).<sup>62</sup> This chronology suggests that Dorothy was among the older girls, born between Alice and Elizabeth, or between Elizabeth and James. Mary and Jane, both then still single, are coupled together in a Star Chamber action which dates from sometime before 1547,<sup>63</sup> which is perhaps additional evidence that they were the two youngest girls.

This outline cannot be refined from what is known of the marriages of James's four surviving sisters. Alice Hardwick married Francis Leche, the head of a family which had held the manor of Chatsworth since the 15th century. Francis, born on 1 November 1525, was the grandson of George Leche, who died in 1505, and the son of Roger Leche (who died in 1527) and his wife Anne, the daughter of Robert Hesilrige of Northamptonshire.<sup>64</sup> The two families were in fact linked twice over, since Roger's younger brother Ralph married Alice's mother as her second husband.<sup>65</sup> In 1547 Francis Leche sold his estates at Chatsworth and Cromford to Thomas Agard, whose son and heir Francis Agard in turn sold the manors in 1549 to Sir William Cavendish and his wife Bess,<sup>66</sup> and presumably left Derbyshire.

Bess's first husband was Robert, the son of Arthur Barley of Barlow, a manor which his family had held since the 13th century.<sup>67</sup> Arthur was 26 in 1533, when he succeeded his father, another Robert Barley.<sup>68</sup> He died in May 1543, when his son Robert, born in January 1530, was only 13.<sup>69</sup> Robert was, however, already married by 1543 to Bess, who was about eight years his senior. As David Durant suggested, this espousal was probably a device to protect the Barley estate from the worst effects of wardship,<sup>70</sup> which were mitigated if an infant heir was married. Bess's own parents had taken part in a similar arrangement at some date before 1507, when her paternal grandfather died leaving an heir within age. There appears to be no record of when Robert and Bess were married, although it was before Arthur Barley died<sup>71</sup> and was probably in the 1530s. Sometime between 1533 and 1538 Arthur had sold his son's wardship and marriage to Ralph Leche, Bess's stepfather, together with the house at

Barlow Lees and some of the family's estate in Barlow worth in all £10 0s. 4d. a year.<sup>72</sup> Ralph in turn claimed that he had sold Robert Barley's wardship and marriage to Henry Marmion, one of John Hardwick's executors, although Ralph's tenant at Barlow Lees, William Courtenhall, denied any knowledge of such an arrangement.<sup>73</sup> On balance, however, it seems likely that Ralph Leche, sensing the chance to make a profit from a portion of the Barley family's estate, arranged for his stepdaughter Bess to become espoused to Robert. They were too young to live as man and wife and the marriage ended before they could have children.

The Barleys' attempts to stave off the problems of wardship were dealt a further blow when Robert died in December 1544, aged 14, leaving his brother George, also within age, as his heir. On this occasion Sir Peter Frescheville, on the pretext that the manor of Barlow was held by knight service of his own manor of Staveley, entered the lands held by Robert at his death (which his widow claimed were in fact held in socage), took custody of the heir and refused to pay dower to Bess. In 1545–6 Bess sued for dower in both the Chancery and Common Pleas and was eventually successful in securing one-ninth of the estate (i.e. a third of a third, since two thirds of the manor of Barlow was subject to dower due to Robert's mother and grandmother).<sup>74</sup> This she and her second husband, Sir William Cavendish, whom she married in 1547, appear to have exploited to the full, with the result that as soon as George Barley came of age he in turn sued the Cavendishes for extensive damage to his estate.<sup>75</sup>

Bess's first marriage, if such it can be called, lasted only a few years and seems to have been no more than a business arrangement to suit her stepfather and her husband's family. It did, however, leave her with a small dower estate, worth about £24 a year in 1546,<sup>76</sup> which gave her an income independent of anything her family could offer. In fact, in the Chancery proceedings against Sir Peter Frescheville she claimed that Ralph Leche was 'condemned in great sums of money' (which, as we shall see, was undoubtedly the case) and that her mother was very poor and unable to help herself, much less Bess.<sup>77</sup>

Although some of the details remain unclear, there is enough record evidence relating to Bess's marriage to Robert Barley to dismiss the tradition, which appears to originate with Sir William Dugdale in the mid 17th century, that the two met in London while Bess was in service with Lady Zouch and he became ill during a visit to the capital.<sup>78</sup> Part of the story (that Robert fell so deeply in love with Bess that he settled a 'large inheritance' in lands upon her and her heirs) is clearly nonsense, since Robert's father was still alive and he had no lands to leave, and it may be that the entire story is a fiction. Dugdale attributes the tale to 'some ancient gentlemen', although since it relates to events said to have taken place over a hundred years before he was writing the story must have passed through more than one generation. Bess may have gone into service in the household of Lady Zouch of Codnor Castle, and as a result may have spent some time in London, but the rest appears to be an early example of the way in which legends grew up around Bess as one of the most famous women of her age.

By contrast, the marital history of John and Elizabeth Hardwick's two youngest daughters was straightforward. Mary married Richard Wingfield, the fifth son of Sir Anthony Wingfield of Letheringham (Suffolk), successively comptroller and vice-chamberlain of the household to Henry VIII and later the king's executor and captain of the guard to Edward VI, who died in 1553.<sup>79</sup> It was presumably Bess's second



husband, Sir William Cavendish, who would have known Sir Anthony as a fellow officer of the royal household, who found his sister-in-law her husband.<sup>80</sup> The couple, who lived at Crowfield and Wantisden in Suffolk, had four sons and two daughters.<sup>81</sup> One of the sons was the soldier Sir John Wingfield of Withcall, near Louth (Lincs.), who in 1581 married at Stenigot, in the same part of the county, Susan, the daughter of Richard Bertie and his wife Catherine, the widow of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Susan had previously been married to Reynold Grey of Wrest (Beds.), who in 1572 was summoned to Parliament as earl of Kent but died without issue the following year. Sir John died at Cadiz in 1596.<sup>82</sup> Another of their sons, Anthony, who was born c.1552, became a Cambridge scholar and in the late 1570s was Greek reader to the queen. Towards the end of his life (he was still alive in 1611) Wingfield was tutor to William and Charles Cavendish, the sons of Bess's youngest son Charles Cavendish.<sup>83</sup> Mary Wingfield appears to have died before her husband, since a letter of Anthony's of 1590 (the year before Richard died) mentions his father's recent remarriage.<sup>84</sup> Presumably some time after Mary's marriage to Richard Wingfield, her half-sister Elizabeth Leche married his younger brother, another Anthony Wingfield.<sup>85</sup>

Jane Hardwick became the wife of Godfrey Boswell (or Bosvile) of Gunthwaite in Penistone (Yorks.), whose family also leased the Derbyshire manor of Beighton from Lord Dacre of the South. Godfrey succeeded to the family's estates on his father's death in 1542, when he was 23.<sup>86</sup> He was therefore several years older than his wife, assuming she was born c.1527. The date of Jane's marriage cannot apparently be fixed exactly, although she was married by the mid 1540s, when she was probably in her late teens, since Godfrey Boswell was the son-in-law who, sometime between 1544 and 1547, sued John Hardwick's executors for his wife's marriage portion.<sup>87</sup> Indeed he may have commenced the action soon after the marriage, once he realised that neither the surviving executor (Henry Marmion), much less Ralph Leeke, the son and heir of John Leeke, the other executor, was going to pay up without such pressure. Godfrey died in 1580; his wife appears to have predeceased him. The couple had one son, Francis, who was born c.1563 and died without issue shortly after he married in 1586, and four daughters, who all married into south Yorkshire gentry families.<sup>88</sup>

Finally, what of the later years of the Hardwick girls' mother? Shortly after the inquisition of August 1529 (when she was still a widow)<sup>89</sup> Elizabeth married Ralph Leche, the uncle of Francis Leche who had married her daughter Alice.<sup>90</sup> Exactly when appears to be impossible to establish, although in the late 1530s Elizabeth said that she and Ralph had been married 'for the space of ten years and more'.<sup>91</sup> She was young enough when she married for the second time to have at least three children (born in 1532-4) with Ralph.<sup>92</sup>

Elizabeth's second marriage appears to have been marred by her husband's financial problems. She claimed that at the time of the marriage Ralph had an income of £17 a year from lands and tenements, as well as 'great substance' of moveable goods. On the other hand, as a younger son whose elder brother (Roger Leche) had died young leaving a son and heir (Francis), he had little prospect of inheriting the family's estates. Instead, he seems to have tried to make his way by buying leaseholds, including the valuable rectories of Wirksworth and Ashbourne belonging to the dean (or dean and chapter) of Lincoln, and by acquiring the office of deputy bailiff for the large Duchy of Lancaster manor of Wirksworth.<sup>93</sup> He also tried to make money from wardships,



including those of Robert Barley, as we have already seen, and of William Leigh of Egginton, who later accused Leche of attempting to deprive him of part of his inheritance, namely the manor of Calver.<sup>94</sup>

These and possibly other speculations led Leche into debt, and in 1533–4 he was bound to Sir Ralph Dodmer, an alderman and former mayor of London, in the sum of £500, secured on his estates in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Staffordshire. Leche defaulted and Dodmer seized the lands. Dodmer died in April or May 1536 and later the same year his widow Margaret sold the debt to Sir Henry Sacheverell, who in turn sold the outstanding balance of £260 to Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Savage. In 1541 Dame Elizabeth sued a number of tenants on Leche's estates at Wirksworth, Ashbourne and Handsacre (Staffs.) for failing to pay rent to her and accused them of forging leases to justify their action.<sup>95</sup> The tenants denied forgery and claimed that Sir Thomas Pope, who in 1536 had married Margaret Dodmer, had told them that the debt had been repaid and that they should resume paying rent to Leche.<sup>96</sup>

Some years before, in 1536–7, Dame Margaret Dodmer and John Wiseman, the executors of Sir Ralph's will, had accused five men, one of whom was also a defendant in 1541, of seizing the tithes of lamb and wool from both Ashbourne and Wirksworth, the income from which should have been used to settle Leche's debts.<sup>97</sup> The defendants claimed that they were merely doing the same as they had for the previous eight or nine years as Ralph's servants, collecting some 200 lambs at the end of May, which they then sold, together with a payment of 5s. 4d. in respect of sheep sold before the tithing.<sup>98</sup>

Leche was also in trouble on his accounts as deputy bailiff of the manor and soke of Wirksworth, where arrears of £175 had built up by Michaelmas 1536. Leche defaulted on an agreement to settle the debt by 1541 and at Michaelmas that year the Duchy seized his lands. As in the case of the money due to Dodmer, the debt came into the hands of Elizabeth Savage, who in 1542 paid half the sum due and was granted a Duchy lease of Leche's lands from 1 December that year until the debt had been settled. After Dame Elizabeth died her executor, John Savage, accused Joan Lee, one of Leche's tenants in Handsacre, of forging a lease so that she could enter premises there, the rent from which should have been paid to him. She completely denied the charge.<sup>99</sup>

Ralph Leche himself counter-attacked against what he seems to have regarded as a conspiracy by the Savages and Sir Henry Sacheverell. In the early 1540s he claimed that although he was discharged by Sir Thomas Pope from the debt due to Dodmer at Michaelmas 1539, since then Sacheverell, Elizabeth Savage and others had kept him out of his lands and taken the profits, including £97 (i.e. eighteen months') rent due to the dean and chapter of Lincoln for the parsonages of Ashbourne and Wirksworth, which he had been obliged to pay himself to avoid losing the lease.<sup>100</sup> He renewed the attack on Sacheverell a couple of years later, seeking recovery from him of two years' rent for the two parsonages, amounting to £129 6s. 8d.<sup>101</sup> Sacheverell described the bill as purely malicious and one of several exhibited against him by Leche in both the Chancery and Star Chamber.<sup>102</sup>

By the early 1540s Leche's difficulties had become more serious since he was now a prisoner in the Fleet.<sup>103</sup> This, he claimed, made him unable to secure justice in two other suits. One was against Nicholas Agard, whom he accused of unlawfully entering

two messuages and 200 acres of land of his in Sheldon, part of the manor of Ashford.<sup>104</sup> The other was against the bailiffs of Dame Elizabeth Savage, whom he claimed had wrongfully entered a much larger estate (20 messuages and 1,000 acres of land) in Sheldon, Holmesfield, Dronfield, Wirksworth, Matlock and Bonsall, which had been his for twenty years and more.<sup>105</sup>

Exactly when Leche was imprisoned is unclear. In 1536 he was described as of Hardwick,<sup>106</sup> where presumably he had lived since his marriage to Elizabeth. A couple of years later she accused him of deserting her and her children. Elizabeth claimed that she was dependent on the charity of friends for her livelihood and asked the Chancery to order that Ralph make some payment to her; she did not seek his return, nor did she suggest that he was then in prison.<sup>107</sup> It may be significant that at about this time Leche's servants at Wirksworth and Ashbourne, when challenged over the tithes of wool and lamb from the two parsonages, spoke of paying the proceeds to Elizabeth, rather than her husband.<sup>108</sup> It is unclear when he was released or whether he and Elizabeth resumed living as man and wife, and if so where, since Hardwick would have passed to Elizabeth's son James once he came of age in 1546.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, sometime between 1544 and his death in 1549 Ralph (apparently no longer in the Fleet) and Elizabeth jointly sued William Hey and William Milner, to whom they had sold their lease of the bloomery and bloomsmithy on the Barley estate at Barlow, for the value of five dozen of ironstone worth £4 left at the works which they claimed had not been included in the sale.<sup>110</sup>

Ralph Leche died on 13 December 1549, seised of a rather scattered freehold estate valued at a total of £20 a year, including premises in Holmesfield (at Unthank and Cordwell), Ilkeston, Alvaston, Wirksworth, Bonsall, Matlock, Cromford, Middleton by Wirksworth, *Soterhurst*, Wardlow, Litton, Calton (in Edensor), Chesterfield and Dronfield. He and Elizabeth were jointly seised for their lives and in survivorship, with remainder to Ralph's right heirs, in a messuage and 140 acres of land in Sheldon, held of the manor of Ashford for 23s. 8d. a year but said to be worth £10 beyond charges. His coheirs were his three daughters from his marriage to Elizabeth, all within age and unmarried: Jane (aged 17), Elizabeth (16) and Margaret (15).<sup>111</sup>

Elizabeth Leche was living at Northope, on her son's estate in Ault Hucknall, early in 1550, a few months after her husband's death.<sup>112</sup> Around this time she was sued by her son-in-law, William Cavendish, in two actions concerning land in Beeley and the parsonage of Edensor,<sup>113</sup> and by Ralph North about a lease of land in Edensor.<sup>114</sup> She in turn, on this occasion said to be of Hardstoft, sued William Rowland, a husbandman, also of Hardstoft, over household goods which had been entrusted to Elizabeth Simpson, who later married Rowland.<sup>115</sup> She was still living at Hardstoft in about 1560, when she wrote to her younger daughter Elizabeth (her middle daughter by her second marriage), telling her that she had sent some of her younger children to Chatsworth because the plague was rife among her neighbours, while others were staying with her until the sickness had passed.<sup>116</sup> In 1566 she thanked her elder daughter Elizabeth (then the dowager Lady St Loe) for some kindness shown to her youngest daughter, Margaret, then in her early thirties, and at the same time asked Lady St Loe to lend her brother James money he urgently needed.<sup>117</sup>

Elizabeth Leche was still alive in 1570, when her dower estate, which she had held since the death of her first husband in 1528, was included in a survey of her son's lands.

At Hardstoft she had the messuage 'or grange' called Northope (which was probably where she lived), a moiety of Webster's farm, and seven other holdings; she also had several tenements at Heath, including Nether Shepherd Closes, which lay to the north of the village near Oldcotes, where there were coal mines in 1570.<sup>118</sup>

Elizabeth must then have been over 70, given that her first child was probably born c.1518. She was dead by November 1573, when James Hardwick leased a house in Hardstoft, previously occupied by his late mother, together with land there and at Stainsby, to David Sherbrooke, a graduate physician, then of Stanley (Notts.).<sup>119</sup> This may have been the house, now lost, named Northope, to which Sherbrooke added a new parlour and two chambers over it before he died sometime between December 1587 and November 1590, leaving the farm to his wife Mary during her widowhood, with remainders to his son Michael and nephew William Sherbrooke.<sup>120</sup> In 1598 William assigned the lease to John Calow of Pilsley (in North Wingfield), David's son-in-law, and in 1601 John and his son Francis Calow sold the premises to Anthony Glossop, who was probably acting on behalf of the countess of Shrewsbury.<sup>121</sup> The house cannot apparently be identified in William Senior's survey of Hardstoft, made in 1609–10,<sup>122</sup> and has since disappeared.

Well before their mother died, Elizabeth's daughters by her second husband had all themselves married. The eldest, Jane, became the husband of Thomas Kniveton of Mercaston in south-west Derbyshire, whose son William was made a baronet by James I in 1611;<sup>123</sup> and the youngest, Margaret, married two otherwise unidentified husbands named Slater and Harrison.<sup>124</sup> The middle girl, Elizabeth, married Anthony Wingfield, a younger brother of her half-sister Mary's husband Richard Wingfield; it was presumably they who introduced the couple. Elizabeth was Anthony's third wife; his second had died in 1562.<sup>125</sup> They appear to have had no issue.<sup>126</sup> From at least 1569, if not before, Wingfield was a gentleman usher to the queen and in the 1580s had lodgings in St John's hospital in Blackfriars.<sup>127</sup> He was one of Bess's sources of information concerning the Court during the 1570s, when she was rarely in London herself.<sup>128</sup> Wingfield died in 1593.<sup>129</sup>

This outline of Elizabeth Hardwick's life after 1528, and that of her daughters by her second husband, helps to emphasise that although neither the Hardwicks nor the Leches were among the leading families of early 16th-century Derbyshire, they were nonetheless gentry, able to appear at the heralds' visitation of 1569 with their right to bear arms unchallenged. All the daughters of whose husbands anything can be discovered married into gentry families of comparable standing to their own, even though John Hardwick left only 40 marks apiece to his daughters and Ralph Leche, certainly in real estate, probably had even less to offer. Set against this background, Bess's second marriage, to a senior Crown official with no connections with Derbyshire, stands out as a quite remarkable occurrence, which transformed her fortunes and created a gulf between her and her sisters and half-sisters.<sup>130</sup>

### **The rise and fall of James Hardwick**

When John Hardwick's estate came to be surveyed in connection with the sale of his son's wardship, it was divided into three parts.<sup>131</sup> Lands in Astwith, Northope and Hardstoft worth a total of 60s. a year were reserved for the jointure of Amy Rochford. She was presumably a daughter (or granddaughter) of John Hardwick's great-aunt

Anne and her husband Ralph Rochford, although she is not mentioned in John's will and why she was able to claim a jointure in his estate is unclear.<sup>132</sup> Other land in Heath, Oldcotes and Glapwell, and in Morton (Lincs.) worth 100s. a year was to be sold with the ward. The origin of this last estate, valued at 66s. 8d. in 1529, is also unclear. The Lincolnshire escheator did not hold an inquest after his death and there is no reference to the family holding lands in the county at any earlier date. The acquisition was probably connected with John's father's marriage to Elizabeth Pinchbeck, although firm evidence seems to be lacking.<sup>133</sup> Morton was the only place outside the immediate neighbourhood of Hardwick where the family had any holdings before James Hardwick's day, and the estate had passed out of their possession by 1570.<sup>134</sup> Finally, Hardwick Hall itself, valued at £10 a year, and lands described as lying within the lordship of Heath worth 54s. 4d. were to remain in the king's possession. The total annual value of the estate was thus £20 14s. 4d.

James Hardwick's wardship, including land worth £5 a year, was sold in March 1530 for £20 to a courtier named John Bugby (or Buckby), an officer of the King's Pantry.<sup>135</sup> Bugby became involved in a dispute with John Leeke, one of John Hardwick's executors, and in 1533 a privy seal was directed to Leeke ordering him to appear before the master of the court of Wards and to deliver James to him.<sup>136</sup> This may have been connected with a dispute, dramatised in the ensuing Star Chamber proceedings as a violent attack on Hardwick Hall, between Bugby on one side and John Leeke and Henry Marmion (aided and abetted, it was claimed, by at least three other 'riotous persons') on the other, in which Bugby was ejected from the house and Leeke and Marmion took possession.<sup>137</sup>

James would have come out of wardship in 1546. Over the following thirty years he made great efforts to enlarge the estate he inherited from his father, partly by purchases close to Hardwick and partly by others further afield in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. As a result he became heavily indebted and eventually had to convey all his estates to trustees to sell for the benefit of his creditors. Because virtually all his estate records have been lost (the only significant survival is a rental of 1570),<sup>138</sup> as have many of the deeds relating to his purchases, it is impossible to reconstruct James's career, or his finances, in detail. On the other hand, it is possible to improve on bald (and inaccurate) statements that he ended his days 'bankrupt', as a result of wild speculation in the mid 16th-century land market.<sup>139</sup>

Hardwick's acquisitions began within a few years of his coming of age. In 1549 he took a 21-year lease of a large block of land in Chesterfield which had previously belonged to the gilds there, dissolved two years earlier, and some premises they owned in Coventry, for a rent of £34 12s. 2d. a year.<sup>140</sup> In 1558 or a little earlier he assigned his interest in the Chesterfield estate to the alderman and burgesses, who applied for a new lease for 99 years, a step which involved them in a lengthy dispute with the 6th earl of Shrewsbury, the lord of the manor of Chesterfield.<sup>141</sup> Also in 1549 Hardwick purchased from Roger Hereford of Sufton (Herefs.) and John Prideaux of the Inner Temple for £171 premises in Winster (including a watermill), Shirebrook, Offerton and Aldwark, previously belonging to a chantry in Fenny Bentley church, which Hereford and Prideaux had bought from the Crown a few months before.<sup>142</sup> Two years later he bought land in Bakewell from Edward Lord Clinton.<sup>143</sup> Either then or later he made another purchase from Clinton, of messuages and land in Houghton Bassett.<sup>144</sup> Other

acquisitions around the same date included part of the tithes of Barlow, late of Beauchief abbey, and some premises in Houghton (in Langwith), previously belonging to Felley priory, both leased from the court of Augmentations.<sup>145</sup> In the early 1550s, as James was presumably establishing his position locally, he was involved in litigation with his neighbour Roger Greenhalgh concerning access through Greenhalgh's manor of Teversal to Newbound mill,<sup>146</sup> and with Thomas Allen of Lound (in Heath), whom he claimed had dispossessed him of five acres of land there.<sup>147</sup>

By 1553 (and quite possibly several years before) James Hardwick was married.<sup>148</sup> His wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Philip Draycott of Paynesley Hall in the parish of Draycott in the Moors in north Staffordshire, and the widow of Godfrey Foljambe, the head of a cadet branch of the Walton family who was himself of Plumbley (in Eckington) and Moorhall (in Barlow).<sup>149</sup> James settled a jointure of £200 on Elizabeth, with Sir Philip Draycott and his grandson and heir John Draycott acting as feoffees, secured on the manor of Hardwick.<sup>150</sup> Elizabeth had three sons with Godfrey Foljambe, and in the early 1550s James Hardwick, acting as the stepfather and guardian of the oldest, also named Godfrey, was in dispute with Robert Lee over allegations of waste of wood on the Moorhall estate at Unthank, Millthorpe and Holmesfield.<sup>151</sup> Elizabeth Hardwick, who was still alive in 1573,<sup>152</sup> appears to have predeceased her husband, since she is not mentioned in the dealings between James and his creditors in the late 1570s, although her date of death has not been established. According to Durant, James married for a second time in 1576 to a woman named Elizabeth Araker of Lound, who died in 1580.<sup>153</sup> Hardwick had no legitimate issue but was survived by an illegitimate son named John, who used the surname Hardwick.<sup>154</sup>

James's marriage to Elizabeth Foljambe brought him the use during her lifetime of quite an extensive estate, mainly in north-east Derbyshire, with outlying property in the Peak and in Nottinghamshire and south Yorkshire.<sup>155</sup> Indeed, his marriage seems likely to have provided some of the resources for James's further purchases in the 1550s and later. He also raised money during most, if not all, of his career through loans from London merchants, using his existing estate as security. In 1554 he conveyed what he described as his 'manor' of Winster (the former chantry estate bought five years earlier), together with premises in Aldwark, Heath, Pleasley and Ault Hucknall to Richard Knight of London in return for £150 and to provide collateral security for two statute staples he had entered into with Knight, each for £200.<sup>156</sup> Two years later he was able to repay the debt and recover the premises.<sup>157</sup> In 1564 James mortgaged his lease from Sir John Savage of the coal beneath Savage's manor of Stainsby and Heath to his brother-in-law, Sir William St Loe, for £100.<sup>158</sup> On this occasion also the debt appears to have been repaid, since James was trying to use the lease again as security for a loan a couple of years later.<sup>159</sup>

Hardwick continued to make small purchases in the 1550s and 1560s. In 1554 he bought premises in Stainsby and Hardstoft from Sir John Byron of Newstead (Notts.) and his bastard son,<sup>160</sup> and in 1561 made a small addition to his holdings in Winster.<sup>161</sup>

In 1559 and 1562 Hardwick made two quite large purchases from the court of Augmentations, including in both cases a mixture of premises close to his home and others further afield. The latter he seems to have sold on quite quickly, since they do not appear on his rental in 1570. In 1559 he paid £410 15s. for the rectories of Cuckfield

(Sussex) and Sutton in Ashfield (Notts.); premises at West Cotton and Hardingstone (Northants.); and land at Stony Houghton, in Pleasley. The rectory of Sutton was valued at £7 8s. 6d. a year, although it was charged with outgoing of £4 13s. 4d. to the vicar, 26s. 8d. to the dean of Lincoln, 4s. to the archbishop of York, and 7s. 6d. to the archdeacon of Nottingham. The land at Houghton was worth 17s. a year.<sup>162</sup> Three years later Hardwick paid a further £762 12s. for the manor of Aldwark in the Peak, late of Darley abbey; the rectory of Ilkeston and the advowson of the vicarage, together with lands in Little Hallam, previously held by Dale abbey; the rectory of Basford (but not the advowson of the vicarage), near Nottingham, formerly of Catesby priory; a tenement in Kirkby in Ashfield, late of Newstead priory; and land at Hawton near Newark, late of Thurgarton. The total yearly value of all the premises was £20 18s. 9d., less outgoing of 21s. 4d. from the rectory of Ilkeston payable to the bishop and archdeacon.<sup>163</sup>

Hardwick also held at least two Augmentations leases in the 1560s. One related to lands at Bunny and Kinoulton in south Nottinghamshire, which he acquired by assignment from Anthony Barley in 1566 and which he in turn assigned to Richard Parkins in 1574;<sup>164</sup> the other was of land at Bunny late of Ulverscroft priory (Leics.), which Hardwick leased for 21 years from 1567 and the Crown re-leased in reversion four years later to Robert Power.<sup>165</sup>

Another glimpse of Hardwick's financial operations and problems comes from two letters to his sister Elizabeth, which probably date from December 1565 and January 1566. In both he refers to attempts to borrow money from a man named Clarke, which failed, and so he asks Bess for £100 'or even £50', offering as security either his lease of his coal mine in Heath or a mortgage of his freehold lands in Aldwark, 'and I will give for interest what you will'. He adds that he needs the money within a week or 'it will come too late to save my farm'. This second appeal was reinforced by a letter from their mother, asking Bess to lend as much as she thinks the Aldwark estate is worth, even if she and James cannot agree a value. Alternatively, she suggests Bess buys James's estate at Little Hallam, which was better land than Aldwark and furthermore 'stands on coal, which I think is very good for you'. She would much rather Bess bought Little Hallam than someone else. Elizabeth adds that Sir Francis Leeke was negotiating (presumably from a position of strength) to buy land in various places from James, which if he succeeds 'would be a great discomfort to me'. She concludes by stressing, as James does, the urgency of his need for money.<sup>166</sup>

Hardwick's last major purchase before 1570, when his sole surviving rental provides a detailed picture of his estate, was in 1568, when he paid Peter Vavasour of Spaldington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, £1,030 for the manor of Langwith Bassett, close to Hardwick, including premises in Pleasley, Houghton, Scarcliffe, Shirebrook and 'Milnhouses'.<sup>167</sup> The following year he bought some land in Pleasley and Houghton from Roger Fretwell of Edlington, near Doncaster, for £30.<sup>168</sup> The Fretwells were tenants of the Savages at Oldcotes<sup>169</sup> and it is possible that the vendor may have a member of the family who had moved away and was happy to sell land he had inherited in Derbyshire.

The rental of 1570 lists a total annual value for James Hardwick's estate of about £390 (Table 1).<sup>170</sup> Since no figures are available for any earlier years, for example at the time of his father's death in 1528 or when James entered into possession of his



**James Hardwick's Estate in 1570**

<b>Freeholds</b>	<b>Annual Value (£)</b>
<i>Derbyshire</i>	
Hardwick	92
Hardstoft	18
Astwith	2
Heath	12
Winster	4
Aldwark	10
Langwith Bassett and Houghton Bassett	48
Houghton Felley with Shirebrook and Glapwell	12
Little Hallam	4
<i>Nottinghamshire</i>	
Bunny and Kinoulton	9
Sutton in Ashfield rectory and Hucknall	96
Basford rectory and Hawton	5
Rents paid in kind	11
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>323</b>
Leaseholds	17
Lands held in right of his wife	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>

*Source:* DC, Hardwick MS 12 (all figures in round pounds).

*Table 1*

father's estate in 1546, it is impossible to say by how much he had increased either acreage or rental; nor is it possible to list all the purchases he had made between about 1550 and 1570.<sup>171</sup> Given the much greater extent of the estate in 1570 compared with its size in 1507, when his grandfather died, it is clear that he had made significant additions and presumably enjoyed a much larger income than either his father or earlier members of his family.

The rental opens with a valuation of £65 for the demesne parkland at Hardwick, including 40s. for the house, courts, barns, and dovecote. No tenant is named for this entry and if these premises were in hand the actual income from the estate would be significantly reduced from the nominal total.<sup>172</sup> Since James is always described in deeds as 'of Hardwick' and no evidence has been found that he ever lived anywhere else, it seems likely that the hall and park were in hand and the figure given in the rental was not in fact receivable.

The brief description of the house and outbuildings does not offer any evidence for or against the suggestion that James rebuilt the family's capital messuage, and that part of the existing ruins of the Old Hall at Hardwick dates from his time, rather than being entirely the work of his sister in the 1580s. On the other hand, the various blocks of building do not stand at right-angles to each other, and some of the walls of the hall

range appear to be older than the rest of the ruins. These features suggest that James may have begun to build a new house, which was left incomplete at his death, and that Bess initially intended merely to complete the work, before deciding to build a completely new mansion a short distance away.<sup>173</sup>

The demesne outside the park at Hardwick was let in 1570 for £28 a year,<sup>174</sup> as was the land immediately adjoining at Hardstoft, Astwith and Heath, although much of it was held rent-free for life by James's mother Elizabeth Leche, presumably as her jointure estate.<sup>175</sup> The other local freeholds, at Langwith Bassett, Houghton Bassett, Houghton Felley, Shirebrook and Glapwell, were all let to rent-paying tenants, including the manor house and park at Langwith.<sup>176</sup> By far the most valuable of the local estates was the rectory of Sutton in Ashfield, including copyhold and freehold land there and at Hucknall under Huthwaite.<sup>177</sup>

Hardwick's freehold estates further afield were much smaller. About £14 a year came from those in the Peak at Winster and Aldwark, £4 from Little Hallam near Ilkeston, and just over £14 from the Nottinghamshire lands at Bunny, Kinoulton and Hawton, and Basford rectory. In addition to rents paid in cash totalling £312 (including the hall and park at Hardwick), capons, hens, geese and chickens were due from tenants on most of the estates in both Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and the great tithes at Basford were paid in kind.<sup>178</sup>

As well as his freehold estates Hardwick had various leaseholds, although the net income from these was only about £17 in all. Thus his lease of the manor of Tibshelf from St Thomas's Hospital produced only 8s. 6d. beyond the rent of £35 11s. 2d., and another from the dean of Lincoln of the rectory of Mansfield (including the chapels at Mansfield Woodhouse and Skegby) was worth only 5s. more than the rent due. In this case, however, Hardwick's own leases to his tenants expired in 1575 and, as he noted, he could then expect to re-let the estate for £100 a year beyond the dean's rent.<sup>179</sup> By contrast, his lease of King's Mill<sup>180</sup> at Mansfield Woodhouse, which he had for a term of 34 years, was worth £6 beyond the rent of 34s. 8d., and Langwith rectory, leased for the life of the incumbent, was worth £10 a year.<sup>181</sup> No value was placed on a 60-year lease of the chantry lands in Chesterfield, on which a rent of 58s. was payable.<sup>182</sup>

Hardwick's third source of income was rent from lands he held in right of his wife Elizabeth, meaning her third share, as his widow, of the estate of her previous husband, Godfrey Foljambe of Plumbley and Moorhall. A total of about £48 was made up of small sums from a number of places around Chesterfield (including £7 from Moorhall itself), and further afield at Abney, Ashford and Hope in the Peak, Heage in mid Derbyshire, Wales in south Yorkshire, and Skegby, Halam and Budby in Nottinghamshire. In some cases rent capons and chickens were also due from the tenants.<sup>183</sup>

The rental indicates that almost all Hardwick's income came from rents. A bole furnace for smelting lead is mentioned at Hardwick but no value was attached to it.<sup>184</sup> The only other evidence that Hardwick was, like many of the Derbyshire gentry of his day, involved in the lead trade comes from a bond of 1562 in the sum of £340 given to William Gee, the leading Hull merchant, for the delivery of 20 fother of lead at the King's Beam in the city in two instalments.<sup>185</sup> In 1550 Hardwick had leased the coal beneath Sir John Savage's manor of Stainsby and Heath but this was of no value in 1570,<sup>186</sup> either because the mine was worked out or (which seems more likely) because James had pledged the lease as security for a loan, as he did in 1564<sup>187</sup> and offered to do again in 1565–6.<sup>188</sup>



There was a marlpit on the estate at Houghton Felley but no value was placed on it.<sup>189</sup> On the other hand a coal mine at Tibshelf was worth 33s. 4d. a year (although it was in hand, rather than let for this sum) and a marlpit there, also in hand, was worth 5s.<sup>190</sup>

The rental of 1570 provides a picture of James Hardwick's estate at almost, but not quite, its greatest extent, since a few later purchases can be identified. In 1570 itself he bought a tenement and land in Bonsall from Richard Wensley of Calke and other premises from George Pidcock,<sup>191</sup> neither of which appears on the rental. More important was the purchase in 1573–4 of the manors of Sutton in Ashfield, where Hardwick already had the parsonage, and Rowthorne, immediately adjoining Hardwick to the east. The vendors were Gervase Nevile and his wife Anne, one of the two granddaughters and coheirs of Roger Greenhalgh of Teversal, who died seised of the two manors in 1563.<sup>192</sup> Anne and her sister Elizabeth, who married Francis Molyneux, evidently divided their inheritance between them in such a way that the Neviles had the whole (rather than a moiety) of Sutton and Rowthorne, while Francis and Elizabeth had the whole of Teversal.<sup>193</sup> The manor of Sutton included common of pasture there and in Huthwaite,<sup>194</sup> the Rowthorne estate included six mills and also lands and other premises in Glapwell, Northope, Heath, Oldcotes, Houghton Bassett, Houghton Felley, Shirebrook, Astwith, Tibshelf, Hardstoft, Little Hallam, 'Little Bonsall', and two places which cannot certainly be identified, *Dale* and *Rake*.<sup>195</sup>

This appears to have been James Hardwick's last purchase.<sup>196</sup> Given the limited survival of his muniments and almost complete loss of his estate records,<sup>197</sup> it is impossible to establish his total expenditure between about 1550 and the early 1570s, nor how exactly his acquisitions were funded. On the other hand, it is clear from stray references that he borrowed money, both with and without mortgage security. For example, in 1575 he gave a statute staple bond in £500 to his nephew Henry Cavendish of Tutbury,<sup>198</sup> presumably to secure a debt of £250. Sometime towards the end of his life (after 1577) he paid off a debt of £339 to one Francis Holbrooke, for which he had entered into a bond in £600.<sup>199</sup> The purchase of Rowthorne seems to have involved Hardwick being bound to Thomas Clay in the sum of £700 payable to Gervase Nevile.<sup>200</sup> Undated abstracts in the Hardwick muniment register refer to James repaying a loan of 100 marks to Henry Foljambe, to James Woodcock respiting the payment of £240 due to him from Hardwick, and to a recognisance from Hardwick for the repayment of £400 to Edward Forth.<sup>201</sup>

Some disposals of small parcels towards the end of his life may also represent an attempt to raise cash to pay creditors. Thus in 1574 Hardwick sold a meadow in Heath to John Clay of Glapwell for £15, and also the unexpired term of a Crown lease of lands in Bunny and Kinoulton.<sup>202</sup> In 1575 he sold land at Hardstoft to John Woodham<sup>203</sup> and in 1577 conveyed three messuages, a cottage and land at Little Hallam to Edward Holt of Hathern (Leics.) for £100, reserving to himself a rent of £4 a year.<sup>204</sup> Possibly at about the same time he sold land in Sutton in Ashfield acquired a few years earlier to two different purchasers.<sup>205</sup>

One possible reason for James's financial problems in his later years may have been the death of his wife, when he would have lost the income he had previously enjoyed from the portion of the Foljambe family's estate which she had held in dower, worth some £48 a year. Elizabeth Hardwick's date of death appears to be unrecorded,

although it occurred sometime between 1573 and the crisis that came to a head a few years later.

As so often in the case of someone who has borrowed extensively, it was a hostile reaction by one, comparatively small, creditor which brought down the entire pack of cards.<sup>206</sup> In February 1573 Hardwick became bound to John Mendham, a citizen and mercer of London, in the sum of £200 to secure a debt of £100; two years later he entered into another bond to Mendham in £300, presumably to secure £150, although there was later a dispute as to whether the original debt was subsumed in the larger sum or whether the total debt was £250. Mendham's attempt to recover his money evidently revealed the full extent of Hardwick's indebtedness to others, and in about 1578<sup>207</sup> he was required to convey all his real estate to Sir Thomas Bromley, the Lord Chancellor, and Thomas Fanshawe, the Queen's Remembrancer, who were to satisfy Hardwick's creditors by the sale of part of his lands and dispose of the rest as Hardwick should appoint. In March 1580, when Hardwick was imprisoned in the Fleet, Bromley wrote to three senior Derbyshire JPs ordering them to establish the value of Hardwick's lands, which he had stated to be worth more than £6,000.<sup>208</sup> This figure, about 15 years' purchase on the annual income of £388 given in the rental of 1570, was probably realistic, especially as the rental did not include the manors of Sutton and Rowthorne. William Cavendish later claimed that the whole of the estate would not have satisfied Hardwick's debts.<sup>209</sup>

The conveyance of Hardwick's estates to Bromley and Fanshawe was not concluded until a fine, presumably to fortify an earlier bargain and sale, was executed in November 1580.<sup>210</sup> Bromley and Fanshawe also secured the assignment of leases granted by Hardwick, for example of Sutton rectory from Walter Culpepper,<sup>211</sup> and in 1581 got James's son John to give up his lease of the manor of Tibshelf.<sup>212</sup>

Having taken control of the estate, Bromley and Fanshawe announced that they would settle with Hardwick's creditors, 'and divers did compound with them'. After selling some land to meet these claims, in 1583<sup>213</sup> Bromley and Fanshawe conveyed the bulk of Hardwick's estates to William Cavendish, the second son of James's sister Elizabeth and her second husband Sir William Cavendish, on condition that Cavendish settle any further claims from Hardwick's creditors. One of the deeds executed as part of this sale included a schedule of Hardwick's debts totalling £500, together with an undertaking by Cavendish that he would satisfy any further claims.<sup>214</sup> Cavendish also agreed that leases made by Hardwick of his purchased lands should be allowed to stand,<sup>215</sup> although in at least two cases Cavendish secured an assignment of the unexpired term.<sup>216</sup> Before agreeing to these arrangements Cavendish insisted, with characteristic caution, that Bromley and Fanshawe obtain retrospective licences to alienate lands held in chief to cover Hardwick's purchase from the Nevilles in 1573 and their own conveyance from Hardwick in 1580.<sup>217</sup>

In the meantime James Hardwick died, apparently in 1580 or early in 1581, still a prisoner in the Fleet.<sup>218</sup> No evidence has been found that he left a will, although in 1585 Godfrey Northedge, describing himself as son and heir of John Northedge, obtained administration of Hardwick's personal estate,<sup>219</sup> presumably because James had died owing his father money. It seems unlikely that at that stage there would have been any personal estate left to seize.

All Hardwicks's lands seem to have been sold either to William Cavendish or to others and nothing was left for his son John to inherit. This outcome conflicts with Cavendish's claim in 1597 that one reason why Bromley and Fanshawe agreed to sell the estate to him was that he undertook to convey any land left after the creditors had been satisfied to John.<sup>220</sup> Cavendish, on the other hand, evidently wished to ward off possible claims from James's illegitimate heir and granted John two annuities of £20 each, one out of the manor of Tibshelf, which James had previously held on lease from St Thomas's Hospital, and the other out of Hardwick itself.<sup>221</sup> In the early 1590s this payment of £40 a year was being made by Bess, rather than William,<sup>222</sup> and it was she who in March 1594 gave her nephew a lump sum of £200 in exchange for the two annuities, which John duly surrendered to William.<sup>223</sup> Possibly at the same time William secured a general release from John.<sup>224</sup> He also made John a party to the conveyance from Bromley and Fanshawe to Cavendish of his father's manors and freehold estates, presumably to ensure that John was left with no grounds to claim his inheritance at a later date.<sup>225</sup>

Bess evidently remained on friendly terms with John Hardwick, who was always accorded the title 'Mr' by her bookkeeper. In May 1594 she gave him £5 to buy sheep, and in December that year sent him 20s. when he gave her some capons. In June 1595 she lent him £8 for six months, apparently without security.<sup>226</sup> John settled at Williamthorpe in the adjoining parish of North Wingfield, where his son, also John, was baptised in 1578.<sup>227</sup> John Hardwick senior was still of Williamthorpe in 1603, when the Master of Requests instructed three JPs (one of them William Cavendish) to question eight local men to establish what debts John owed them.<sup>228</sup> His son was buried at North Wingfield in February 1611; a second entry a month later, also for the burial of 'John Hardwick the younger', may simply be a duplicate or may be an inaccurate reference to his father's death.<sup>229</sup> He would then have been about 60<sup>230</sup> and does not seem to be heard of after this date.

Cavendish appears to have settled with most of James's creditors in 1583, securing a standard form of release to avoid future claims. At least three such deeds survive, signed by Edward Ford of Rochford (Essex), John Jones, citizen and merchant taylor of London, and John Chalenor, citizen and haberdasher.<sup>231</sup> These examples indicate that James had been borrowing money from London merchants, not merely from neighbours in Derbyshire.

This is also clear from litigation in which Cavendish was later involved with creditors whose claims he sought to rebut. In 1595–7 he took action against the executors of John Mendham (his widow Mary and her new husband John Clarke) and Edward Hungerford, who had employed Mendham as his factor and whose money Mendham had lent to Hardwick. Cavendish accused both of proceeding against his tenants at Aldwark and elsewhere, where extents for debt had been taken at well below the true value of the lands.<sup>232</sup> He was successful, at least against the Clarkes, from whom he obtained a release of all actions and debts.<sup>233</sup> Also in 1597 he refused to pay £40 to Elizabeth Brend of Wittenham (Berks.), which she claimed James Hardwick had bound himself to pay her when she came of age; Cavendish argued that he was under no obligation to pay because the debt had not been included in the schedule drawn up in 1583.<sup>234</sup> Cavendish's caution and thoroughness when winding up Hardwick's affairs is also illustrated by his decision to obtain an exemplification of the enrolment of the deed

of 1554 by which James had temporarily assigned Winster and other estates to Richard Knight.<sup>235</sup>

### **Conclusion: A turning point**

William Cavendish's purchase of his uncle's lands was an important turning point in the convoluted history of the creation of the Cavendish estate, a story which extends from the marriage of William's parents in 1547 until his own death in 1626.<sup>236</sup>

In the first place, the sale marked the end of three-and-a-half centuries of the Hardwicks at Hardwick Hall, illustrating how the shortcomings or misfortunes of one person could destroy a position built up over generations. All was not entirely lost, since the estate, as enlarged by James Hardwick, was kept largely intact and indirectly stayed in the family's hands, in that effective control (although not the legal title) passed to the only one of James's sisters who was in a position to act. Bess was not, as is sometimes said, her brother's heir: she and her three surviving sisters were his coheirs, subject to any claim his only son John might have been able to make, despite the handicap of illegitimacy. None of her sisters, however, nor her half-sisters, would have had the resources, even if they had had the inclination, to buy James Hardwick's estate as a whole. Had Bess not been the wife of one of the wealthiest peers in England, the most likely outcome would have been the division of the estate between James's sisters and his son, possibly with some further sales to repay his debts. In the event, Hardwick and the lands inherited or purchased by James remained intact, as an identifiable unit within the Cavendish family's much larger estate, until after the death of the 10th duke of Devonshire in 1950.

Where did William Cavendish find the money to buy James Hardwick's estate in 1583, for which he paid £9,500? None of William's own household accounts or rentals survive for this period (nor any of his mother's), and so it is impossible to be certain of his income or the extent of his lands. According to his stepfather, George Talbot 6th earl of Shrewsbury, the money came from the Talbot estates and was the largest of a number of purchases made by William and his younger brother Charles, since the two came of age in 1572–4, on behalf of their mother, who married Shrewsbury in 1567. A year after the Hardwick purchase, the estrangement between Shrewsbury and his wife became an open rift, much to the annoyance of the queen, who ordered her minister Burghley to resolve the matter. As part of the claims and counterclaims made to Burghley, the earl's officials listed expenditure totalling £25,600 by the two younger Cavendishes over the previous twelve years, of which the purchase of James Hardwick's lands represented over a third. This money, they insisted, had come from their master, whose wife had an income of £5,000 a year (including £700 from her brother's lands), ten times the amount allowed her in a post-nuptial marriage settlement. They also claimed that William Cavendish had an income of £700 from land, apart from further large sums from his wife's lands, lead smelting and money-lending.<sup>237</sup>

Even if Shrewsbury was mistaken in accusing Bess and her sons of taking his money to buy James Hardwick's estate, the mere fact that the earl believed this to be the case may have been enough for him to lose patience and publicly separate from his wife. The timing strongly suggests that the Hardwick sale of 1583 was the final straw that brought their marriage to an end. If so, it was a fortuitous coincidence for Bess, since

the estate provided her with both an income and somewhere to live after she was ejected from Shrewsbury's houses at Sheffield and elsewhere, and was unable, at least for a time, to regain possession of Chatsworth, which in July 1584 the earl seized from her son William.<sup>238</sup>

Bess did not simply move to Hardwick in 1584: as soon as she had recovered from Shrewsbury the revenues assigned to her and her sons she started building there. It is probably impossible to be certain what stage any work begun by her brother had reached by, say, 1578, when his insolvency would have brought progress to a halt, and nothing is known of earlier houses on the site. But whether the Old Hall dates in part from James's time or before, or whether it is entirely Bess's work, what is certain is that soon after she returned to Hardwick Bess began building.<sup>239</sup> Admittedly, she largely lost interest in the house once it was finished in 1590 and started on a completely new mansion nearby, but again the sale of 1583 was a turning point. Hardwick, not Chatsworth, remained Bess's principal residence until her death in 1608, as it was her son William's between then and 1626, and continued to be the administrative headquarters of the estate until the end of the 17th century.<sup>240</sup> This would not have been the case had William not been able to buy James Hardwick's lands in 1583, since Bess, still subject to coverture despite the break-up of her marriage, could have not made the purchase herself. Only after Shrewsbury died in 1590 did William settle Hardwick (and some of the other estates he had bought on her behalf between 1572 and 1584: the remainder passed to his younger brother Charles) to his mother's use for her life, and it was only at her death that these lands, and those she herself purchased in her last widowhood, came permanently to William.<sup>241</sup>

The creation of the Cavendish estate has tended to be seen as a linear process, driven inexorably by Bess of Hardwick's unswerving determination to lay the foundations of a dynasty that would long outlive her. Bess herself appears never to have expressed any such ambition in her surviving letters, nor in her will. The nearest that any contemporary comment comes to imputing dynastic ambitions is the inscription on her monument in All Saints', Derby, although it remains unclear when the sentiments expressed there were first composed, or by whom.<sup>242</sup> The earliest post-mortem tribute to Bess is conventional in its praise,<sup>243</sup> and it seems to be only with the writings of Sir William Dugdale in the mid 17th century<sup>244</sup> and Nathaniel Johnston a generation later<sup>245</sup> that Bess began to be seen as a uniquely ambitious woman. This view was forcibly restated in 1791 by Edmund Lodge, for whom she was a 'woman of masculine understanding and conduct; proud, furious, selfish, and unfeeling',<sup>246</sup> and in 1819 by Joseph Hunter, for whom she was a termagant who in 'an evil hour' ensnared his hero, George earl of Shrewsbury, into marriage and proceeded to ruin his life.<sup>247</sup> Bess's first female biographer, Louisa Stuart Costello, writing in 1844 and presumably influenced by Lodge, described her as 'daring, masculine, forbidding and selfish'; fascinating but lacking in feminine qualities.<sup>248</sup> It was only with the publication in 1910 of what might be described as the earliest modern biography, by Maud Stepney Rawson, that a different view began to emerge, a process continued by later authors, most of whom (in contrast to earlier writers) have also been women.<sup>249</sup> The 'dynastic ambitions', however, have not gone away, as illustrated by the subtitle of Durant's 1977 biography, the only 20th-century study written by a man.

Bess may have been the wealthiest dowager in England between 1590 and 1608, but this need only have been the result of the vagaries of genealogy among what was, after all, a very small group of about forty peers, of whom fewer still were earls. No other magnate family, it appears, lost its head in this period, leaving a dowager so well placed.<sup>250</sup> Nor was Bess necessarily the most ruthless, or even the most efficient, estate administrator of her day: it may simply be that her activities are better documented than those of any of her contemporaries, male or female. Her surviving account books certainly indicate that she was well-served by loyal, honest and competent senior officials.<sup>251</sup>

A close examination of Bess's long life suggests that fortunate timing and coincidence played a much larger part in her success than her biographers have admitted. There was nothing inevitable about her remarkable rise from her birth into an old-established, if not especially prosperous, gentry family in north-east Derbyshire to her death 86 years later as the immensely wealthy widow of the 6th earl of Shrewsbury. It was a complex story, which could have ended very differently but for good luck on several occasions, combined with the accident of Bess's own longevity and that of her son William, not to mention the early deaths of some of the other protagonists. As I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>252</sup> Bess's success also owed a good deal to at least three others in her family: her second husband Sir William Cavendish, her second son William 1st earl of Devonshire, and (odd though it may seem given his ultimate failure) her only brother James, whose career forms the centrepiece of the chapter of the story told here.

## REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted to the Duke of Devonshire KCVO, CBE, DL for kindly allowing me to make extensive use of the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth in the preparation of the article, and to Mr Matthew Hirst and his staff for facilitating access to the collection, for which the abbreviation 'DC' has been used in the references here. Other abbreviations follow the conventions of the Victoria County History.
- <sup>2</sup> D. Crook, 'Hardwick before Bess: the origins and early history of the Hardwick family and their estate', *DAJ*, cvii (1987), 41–54.
- <sup>3</sup> See in particular 'Some memorandums concerning the family of Hardwick, of Hardwick, co. Derby', *The Reliquary*, xxii (1881–2), 241–3.
- <sup>4</sup> Crook, 'Hardwick before Bess', 45; Freebirch is the modern name for a tenement known until the 19th century as 'Threebirches' (*P.N. Derb.*, 221).
- <sup>5</sup> Crook, 'Hardwick before Bess', 45–7.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 47–9.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.
- <sup>8</sup> DC, Hardwick Charter 350.
- <sup>9</sup> Crook, 'Hardwick before Bess', 49–50.
- <sup>10</sup> DC, Hardwick Charters 353, 354; Crook, 'Hardwick before Bess', 50–1.
- <sup>11</sup> *Cal. Fine R.* 1399–1405, 116, 187, 251–3; *ibid.* 1405–13, 182; *ibid.* 1413–22, 151, 300.
- <sup>12</sup> *Feet of Fines*, no. 1054.
- <sup>13</sup> *Cal. Fine R.* 1430–7, 192.
- <sup>14</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1429–36, 411.
- <sup>15</sup> DC, Hardwick Charter 355.



- 16 The best available Hardwick pedigree from the 1569 visitation is that published in 'Pedigrees contained in the Visitations of Derbyshire, 1569 and 1611', *Genealogist*, vii–viii (1891–2), reissued separately as *Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees, 1569 and 1611* (1895). The pedigree in BL, Harl. MS 6592, f. 22, which includes tricked arms, is usefully reproduced in facsimile in M. Barlow, *Barlow Family Records* (n.d. [1932]), pl. 19.
- 17 'Some memorandums', 241–3; cf. P. Riden, 'Sir William Cavendish (1508–57). Tudor civil servant and founder of a dynasty', *DAJ*, cxxix (2009), n. 122 at p. 255, where the evidence for the impossibility of this connection is set out in full.
- 18 DC, Hardwick Charters 357, 358.
- 19 DC, Hardwick Charter 359.
- 20 DC, Muniment Register (c.1600) (Bess and Earls' Miscellanea, Box 1, no. 26), p. 304.
- 21 Visitation pedigree, 1569 (the printed text says 'eldest daughter'; Harl. MS 6592 merely says 'daughter' but includes a trick of the Barley family arms).
- 22 The printed pedigree says 'Woodhouse' but the name is given as Woolhouse in Harl. MS 6592, which is almost certainly correct.
- 23 DC, Hardwick Charters 368, 369.
- 24 DC, AS/328; Hardwick Charters 360–367.
- 25 S.M. Wright, *The Derbyshire Gentry in the Fifteenth Century* (Derbyshire Record Society, viii, 1983), 26–7. Many of the deeds relating to these purchases survive, both in the Foljambe family's muniments (Notts. Archives, DD/FJ) and, ironically, in DC, Hardwick Charters, since William Lord Cavendish bought a number of premises in Chesterfield area from the Foljambe family c.1608, when their estate began to be dismembered.
- 26 D. & S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia. V. Derbyshire* (1817), p. c; M. Craven, *A Derbyshire Armory* (Derbyshire Record Society, xvii, 1991), 9.
- 27 DC, Hardwick Charters, 368, 369. I have standardised the last name in this list as Greenhalgh throughout this article; contemporary spellings also include Greenall and Greenalgh.
- 28 R. Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), 270–1.
- 29 DC, Hardwick Charter 370.
- 30 TNA, C 142/50/102.
- 31 Visitation pedigree, 1569. The pedigree of the Pinchbecks in A.R. Maddison (ed.), *Lincolnshire Pedigrees. III* (Harleian Society, lii, 1904), 783–4, does not further identify Elizabeth.
- 32 *Cal. Fine R.* 1485–1509, 245 (writ of *diem clausit extremum*, 15 July 1497; either the escheator failed to make a return to the writ or the record of the inquest has since been lost).
- 33 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii. 247, 533–4.
- 34 TNA, C 1/207/77.
- 35 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii. 247.
- 36 DC, Hardwick Charters 371, 372.
- 37 TNA, E 150/743/8, the Exchequer copy of the first of two IPMs taken after the death of John Hardwick, Roger's great-grandson, in 1528. Although the two documents bear the same date, the jurors are clearly not reciting Hardwick Charters 371–372, which name different feoffees and different lands (as well as a different feoffor).
- 38 *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VIII*, iii. 533–4.
- 39 DC, Hardwick Charters 371, 372.
- 40 Visitation pedigree, 1569 (Harl. MS 6592).
- 41 Thoroton, *Notts.*, 29 (recte 25), 84. For the possible significance of this connection between the Hardwicks and the Greys in explaining why in 1547 John Hardwick's daughter Elizabeth married Sir William Cavendish at Bradgate Hall (Leics.), the seat of Henry Grey, marquess of Dorset, see Riden, 'Sir William Cavendish', 244.
- 42 TNA, E 150/743/8.

- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> TNA, E 150/743/8 and C 142/47/25, the Exchequer and Chancery copies of the IPM taken on 2 October 1528, both give John's date of death as 25 January, but the inquest held on 24 August 1529 (C 142/50/102) gives the date of death as 29 January, which was the one later used by the court of Wards when dealing with James's wardship (TNA, WARD 9/129, f. 109).
- <sup>45</sup> TNA, E 150/743/8.
- <sup>46</sup> TNA, C 1/1102/37 (dateable to 1544–7).
- <sup>47</sup> DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 18, a semi-facsimile copy made in 1615 of an unidentified original, in which pedigrees from the visitations of 1569 and 1611 (at which of course the Hardwick family did not appear) are combined. This MS seems to be superior to the published version of the two pedigrees.
- <sup>48</sup> *Derbyshire Pedigrees 1569–1611*.
- <sup>49</sup> BL, Harl. MS 6592, p. 22.
- <sup>50</sup> TNA, C 1/1102/32.
- <sup>51</sup> *Derbyshire Pedigrees 1569–1611*.
- <sup>52</sup> DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 18 (where Jane is called 'Joan' in obvious error, and Dorothy appears after Elizabeth).
- <sup>53</sup> BL, Harl. MS 6592, p. 22.
- <sup>54</sup> TNA, E 150/743/8; C 142/50/102.
- <sup>55</sup> Glover, *History*, ii (1), 466.
- <sup>56</sup> *Complete Peerage*, ix. 524.
- <sup>57</sup> TNA, C 142/68/51.
- <sup>58</sup> DC, Bess and Earl's Miscellanea, Exemplification of Common Pleas proceedings, 1553; TNA, C 1/1101/17.
- <sup>59</sup> *HMC Salisbury*, xvi. 360.
- <sup>60</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii. 247, 533–4.
- <sup>61</sup> DC, Hardwick Charters 371, 372.
- <sup>62</sup> i.e. as in BL, Harl. MS 6592, p. 22, and the opposite of DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 18.
- <sup>63</sup> TNA, STAC 2/22/359.
- <sup>64</sup> TNA, C 142/46/11; DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 73 (a pedigree of the Leches of Chatsworth not included in *Derbyshire Pedigrees 1569–1611*).
- <sup>65</sup> See below, p. 153.
- <sup>66</sup> Lysons, *Derb.*, 147, 252; DC, AS/1; DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 73; Riden, 'Sir William Cavendish', 245.
- <sup>67</sup> See generally M. Barlow, *Barlow Family Records* (1932).
- <sup>68</sup> TNA, C 142/55/69.
- <sup>69</sup> TNA, C 142/68/51.
- <sup>70</sup> Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, 10–11.
- <sup>71</sup> TNA, C 1/1101/17.
- <sup>72</sup> TNA, C 1/860/14. The bill is addressed to Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor 1532–8, but must presumably date from 1533 or later, when Arthur succeeded his father.
- <sup>73</sup> TNA, C 1/860/14.
- <sup>74</sup> TNA, C 1/1101/17 (Bess's Chancery action for dower in Robert's estate); DC, Exemplification of Common Pleas proceedings (1553). The former gives Robert's date of death as the last day of December; the latter cites an inquest taken on 5 Oct. 1545 at which Robert was found to have died on 19 Dec. 1544.
- <sup>75</sup> TNA, C 1/1291/17; Riden, 'Sir William Cavendish', 243–4.
- <sup>76</sup> DC, Exemplification of Common Pleas proceedings (1553).
- <sup>77</sup> TNA, C 1/1101/17; below, pp. 153–5.



- <sup>78</sup> W. Dugdale, *Baronage of England* (1675), ii. 420; the story reappears in Nathaniel Johnston's MS 'History of the Earls of Shrewsbury' (vol. v., pp. 259–61 in the copy in the library at Chatsworth).
- <sup>79</sup> J. Corder (ed.), *The Visitation of Suffolk 1561* (Harl. Soc., new ser. ii–iii, 1981–4), 213, 219–20.
- <sup>80</sup> Riden, 'Sir William Cavendish'.
- <sup>81</sup> Corder, *Visitation of Suffolk*, 220; the Derbyshire visitation texts mention only three sons.
- <sup>82</sup> *Complete Peerage*, vii. 170–1; *Oxford DNB*, sn. Sir John Wingfield.
- <sup>83</sup> *Oxford DNB*, sn. Anthony Wingfield (c.1552–c.1611).
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>85</sup> Below, p. 156.
- <sup>86</sup> Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii. 345–7; 'Alliance of the Hardwick and Bosville families', *The Reliquary*, xxiv (1883–4), 10. Both these sources use the latinized form of the surname, but in the Chancery bill of 1554–7 Godfrey calls himself Boswell.
- <sup>87</sup> TNA, C 1/1102/37.
- <sup>88</sup> Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, ii. 345–8.
- <sup>89</sup> TNA, C 142/50/102.
- <sup>90</sup> DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 73.
- <sup>91</sup> TNA, C 1/845/34, a Chancery bill apparently dating from between 1533 and 1538 since it is addressed to 'Sir Thomas Audley', who was ennobled in Nov. 1538. If the description of Elizabeth as a widow in Aug. 1529 is correct this hardly leaves enough time for her and Ralph to have been married for ten years or more in 1538, unless Elizabeth's solicitor drew the bill incorrectly and it dates from 1538–44, after Audley was created Lord Audley of Walden and before he resigned the Great Seal a few days before his death (*Complete Peerage*, i. 348–9).
- <sup>92</sup> TNA, C 142/90/31; DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 73. The chronology suggests that Elizabeth may have lost a pregnancy, or a child in infancy, before the oldest of the three girls who were living in 1549 was born.
- <sup>93</sup> TNA, C 1/930/55; C 1/1160/10; J.C. Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (1875–9), ii. 363–5, 539.
- <sup>94</sup> TNA, C 1/846/27–28.
- <sup>95</sup> TNA, C 1/1064/5; one of the defendants' answers to this bill (C 1/1064/11) said the statute was taken in 26 Hen. VIII (1534–5). For Dodmer see A.B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of London* (1908–13), ii. 25, 169, 234.
- <sup>96</sup> TNA, C 1/1064/6, 8, 9, 11; *Oxford DNB*, sn. Sir Thomas Pope.
- <sup>97</sup> TNA, C 1/930/55.
- <sup>98</sup> TNA, C 1/930/56.
- <sup>99</sup> TNA, C 1/1160/10–11.
- <sup>100</sup> TNA, C 1/1243/26–27.
- <sup>101</sup> TNA, C 1/1140/17.
- <sup>102</sup> TNA, C 1/1140/19.
- <sup>103</sup> Leche describes himself thus in TNA, C 1/1243/26 and C 1/1140/17, as well as the bills cited in this paragraph.
- <sup>104</sup> TNA, C 1/1140/41.
- <sup>105</sup> TNA, C 1/1140/15–16.
- <sup>106</sup> TNA, C 1/1160/10.
- <sup>107</sup> TNA, C 1/845/34; see above, n. 91 for the date of this bill.
- <sup>108</sup> TNA, C 1/930/56.
- <sup>109</sup> Below, p. 157.
- <sup>110</sup> TNA, C 1/1141/38.

- <sup>111</sup> TNA, C 142/90/31. The visitation pedigree (DLSL, MS 6341, p. 73) reverses the order of the two older girls, but the ages are quite clear in their father's IPM.
- <sup>112</sup> TNA, C 142/90/31.
- <sup>113</sup> TNA, C 1/1208/20–22. This case and the those cited in the next two notes must date from after Ralph Leche's death in Dec. 1549 and before that of Lord Rich, the Chancellor, in Dec. 1551.
- <sup>114</sup> TNA, C 1/1250/64.
- <sup>115</sup> TNA, C 1/1243/25. The 19th-century catalogue entry for this bill states that it describes Elizabeth Simpson as Elizabeth Leche's 'stepdaughter', implying that she married for a third time. I cannot make out this word in those portions of the bill that can be read today and have found no other evidence that Elizabeth remarried after Ralph Leche died.
- <sup>116</sup> Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.428(47).
- <sup>117</sup> Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.428(48); below, pp. 159–60 for the context of the request concerning James.
- <sup>118</sup> DC, Hardwick MS 12, ff. 2v.–5.
- <sup>119</sup> DC, H/288/6.
- <sup>120</sup> *Derb. Wills*, no. 179.
- <sup>121</sup> DC, H/288/6.
- <sup>122</sup> *Senior Survey*, 25–7.
- <sup>123</sup> *Complete Baronetage*, i. 51.
- <sup>124</sup> DLSL, MS 6341, p. 73.
- <sup>125</sup> Corder, *Visit. Suffolk*, 213, 220, 358–60, 229.
- <sup>126</sup> Corder, *Visit. Suffolk*, 220; Derbyshire visitation of 1569 (DLSL, Local MS 6341, p. 73).
- <sup>127</sup> He is called a gentleman usher in a survey of St John's in 1586 or 1587, printed in A. Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (Louvain, 1908), 47, 49, and by Corder, *Visit. Suffolk*, 220. The *Oxford DNB* article on his nephew and namesake Anthony Wingfield, the son of Richard and Mary Wingfield, calls him a gentleman pensioner and gives his date of death as 1594.
- <sup>128</sup> Durant, *Bess*, 91.
- <sup>129</sup> Corder, *Visit. Suffolk*, 220; Feuillerat, *Documents*, 437.
- <sup>130</sup> Riden, 'Sir William Cavendish' discusses Bess's second marriage in the context of Cavendish's life as a whole.
- <sup>131</sup> TNA, WARD 9/129, f. 104 for this paragraph.
- <sup>132</sup> I have failed, even with considerable help from the county archives service, to locate a pedigree of a Bedfordshire family named Rochford that might explain why Amy was entitled to a jointure.
- <sup>133</sup> Identification of the estate is not helped by the fact that there are four parishes named Morton in Lincolnshire, none particularly close to Pinchbeck, where Elizabeth's family lived. The name is given as 'Orton' in the survey of 1529 and as Morton in the grant of the wardship the following year (*L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2831). There is no parish called 'Orton' in Lincolnshire.
- <sup>134</sup> DC, Hardwick MS 12, James Hardwick's rental of 1570, makes no mention of Morton.
- <sup>135</sup> TNA, WARD 9/149, f. 27; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), 2831.
- <sup>136</sup> *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, *Addenda*, i (1), 304.
- <sup>137</sup> TNA, STAC 2/17/15–16.
- <sup>138</sup> DC, Hardwick MS 12.
- <sup>139</sup> Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, 8, 104–5. Only a 'trader' (not a landowner) could become bankrupt in the sense used by the Bankrupts Act of 1571.
- <sup>140</sup> TNA, E 310/47, m. 1.

- <sup>141</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 292–3; J. Blair and P. Riden (ed.), *Records of the Borough of Chesterfield and related documents, 1204–1835* (Chesterfield, 1980), 117; P. Riden, *Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield* (Chesterfield, 1984), 54–66.
- <sup>142</sup> DC, H/244/3.
- <sup>143</sup> DC, Muniment Register, p. 307.
- <sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- <sup>145</sup> TNA, E 310/47, mm. 32, 37. The Houghton premises must have been in Houghton Felley, not Stony Houghton, the portion of the hamlet in Pleasley.
- <sup>146</sup> TNA, C 1/1229/8.
- <sup>147</sup> TNA, C 1/1303/10–12.
- <sup>148</sup> This *terminus ad quem* is derived from TNA, C 1/1303/13–14, a Chancery bill dated (from the name of the Chancellor) to 1551–3.
- <sup>149</sup> W.F. Carter, *Notes on Staffordshire families* (Staffs. Historical Collections, 1925), 128–33; *Visit. Staffs.* 1583 (Staffs. Hist. Colls., iii (2)), 75; *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, 1253; ‘History of the family of Foljambe. By Nathaniel Johnston, M.D. 1701’, *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, ii (1835), 82–5. Johnston makes Elizabeth the first wife of Godfrey Foljambe, but to fit the other evidence (which appears conclusive) she must have been his second wife, and Katherine Hugh his first.
- <sup>150</sup> DC, Muniment Register, pp. 129, 131.
- <sup>151</sup> TNA, C 1/1303/13–14.
- <sup>152</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, 68.
- <sup>153</sup> Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, 257. Durant does not give a source for this statement and I have not traced one, nor any other evidence for a second marriage. No wife is mentioned in connection with the sale of James’s lands in the late 1570s.
- <sup>154</sup> See below, p. 164.
- <sup>155</sup> DC, Hardwick MS 12; most of these also appear in lists of the estate of Godfrey Foljambe and his father Roger (‘History of the family of Foljambe’, 83–4).
- <sup>156</sup> DC, H/244/4.
- <sup>157</sup> DC, H/244/5.
- <sup>158</sup> DC, AS/413. In 1559 St Loe married (as his second wife) James’s sister Elizabeth to become her third husband and died in 1565: P. Riden, ‘Bess of Hardwick and the St Loe inheritance’, in P. Riden and D.G. Edwards (ed.), *Essays in Derbyshire History presented to Gladwyn Turbutt* (Derbyshire Record Society, xxx, 2006), 80–106.
- <sup>159</sup> Below, p. 161.
- <sup>160</sup> DC, Hardwick Charter 375 (in which Byron’s son is named John in one place and James in another); Muniment Register, p. 149. A licence to John Byron and Alice his wife to alienate lands in Hardstoft and Stainsby to James Hardwick, issued in 1563 (*Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 550) may have been a retrospective grant to cover this sale, rather than another purchase by Hardwick.
- <sup>161</sup> DC, H/244/6–7.
- <sup>162</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1558–60, 358.
- <sup>163</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 318; there is a slightly fuller abstract in DC, Muniment Register, pp. 213–14.
- <sup>164</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1572–4, 560.
- <sup>165</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, 23.
- <sup>166</sup> Folger Shakespeare Library, X.d.428(34), (35), (48), dated 1 Dec., 20 Jan. and ‘Wednesday’ (no year). David Durant’s transcript of letter 34 (NUMD, Durant Papers) notes that this letter refers to the marriage of Hardwick’s cousin Willoughby to a daughter of Mr Littleton of Worcestershire, the contract for which (NUMD, Mi 7/183/19) is dated 20 Nov. 1565, and suggests that the letter may date from 1564. I think it is more likely to be 1 Dec. 1565,

shortly after, not eleven months before, the contract (and presumably the marriage), in which case letter 35 must date from 20 Jan. 1566, a Sunday. James's deadline for the loan (27 Jan.) would thus also be a Sunday, which fits his mother's statement in letter 48, presumably written the following Wednesday (23 Jan.), that James must have the money before next Sunday, 'or else it will do small pleasure'. 'Mr Clarke' is possibly the Chesterfield innkeeper and leading man of business, Ralph Clarke, for whom see P. Riden, *Tudor and Stuart Chesterfield* (Chesterfield, 1984), 54–71 *passim*.

167 DC, H/275/4–6; I cannot identify the last place named in the conveyance.

168 DC, H/275/7.

169 Members of the family are said to be 'of Oldcotes' in several entries in DC, Muniment Register.

170 DC, Hardwick MS 12.

171 In addition to those discussed above, the Muniment Register at Chatsworth includes other entries apparently recording purchases by Hardwick for which no dates are given. None of these deeds appear now to be in the archives at Chatsworth.

172 Although the title on the modern binding of Hardwick MS 12 describes the contents as a 'Survey' (which would normally include premises in hand as well as let), the contemporary heading to the first page describes the document as 'The rent rolls of James Hardwick esq. of his revenues due to him at the Annunciation 12 Eliz. and Mich. following [1570] for one whole year', implying that it is a statement of income rather than holdings.

173 For discussion of these points see M. Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era* (1966), 118–20; Durant, *Bess*, 154–5; D.N. Durant and P. Riden (ed.), *The Building of Hardwick Hall. Part 1. The Old Hall, 1587–91* (Derbyshire Record Society, iv, 1980), introduction; L. Worsley, *Hardwick Old Hall* (English Heritage).

174 DC, Hardwick MS 12, ff. 1–2; in general figures given in the text from this source have been reduced to round pounds.

175 DC, Hardwick MS 12, ff. 2v.–5.

176 *Ibid.*, ff. 7v.–10.

177 *Ibid.*, ff. 12–14v.

178 *Ibid.*, ff. 15–23.

179 *Ibid.*, ff. 28–9.

180 The usual modern name for the mill, which is described in the rental as 'the queen's mill'.

181 DC, Hardwick MS 12, f. 29v.

182 *Ibid.*, f. 30; this was not the lease of the Chesterfield gild lands, granted to Hardwick in 1549, which he had long before assigned to the alderman and burgesses of the town.

183 *Ibid.*, ff. 42–44.

184 *Ibid.*, f. 2.

185 DC, Hardwick Charter 376; for Gee and the Derbyshire lead trade generally in this period see D. Kiernan, *The Derbyshire Lead Industry in the Sixteenth Century* (Derbyshire Record Society, xiv, 1989).

186 Hardwick MS 12, ff. 4v.–5.

187 DC, AS/413.

188 Hardwick MS 12, ff. 4v.–5.

189 DC, Hardwick MS 12, ff. 9v.–10.

190 *Ibid.*, f. 28.

191 DC, AS/275; Muniment Register, p. 100.

192 Thoroton, *Notts.*, 267.

193 *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, 65, 68; Thoroton, *Notts.*, 267; DC, AS/1347; Muniment Register, pp. 127, 129–30, 146–7, 159–60.

194 *Cal. Pat.* 26 Eliz. I (LIS 287), 164.

- <sup>195</sup> Ibid., 163; *Dale* is possibly Sutton in the Dale (the modern Sutton Scarsdale).
- <sup>196</sup> Unless any of the undated abstracts in the Muniment Register of deeds which no longer survive date from 1574 or later.
- <sup>197</sup> There appears to be only one lease of Hardwick's at Chatsworth, a demise for 21 years of a windmill and land belonging to it in Hardstoft, for 21 years from 1576 (H/288/5).
- <sup>198</sup> DC, Hardwick Charter 379.
- <sup>199</sup> DC, Hardwick MS 12, f. 48 (undated but refers to Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls between 1577 and his death in 1581: *Oxford DNB*).
- <sup>200</sup> DC, Muniment Register, p. 147.
- <sup>201</sup> Ibid., p. 130.
- <sup>202</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, 560.
- <sup>203</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 30 *Eliz. I* (LIS 297), 98.
- <sup>204</sup> DC, AS/875.
- <sup>205</sup> DC, Muniment Register, p. 162.
- <sup>206</sup> Except as indicated, the account that follows is based on two Chancery bills of William Cavendish's of 1595 and 1597 (TNA, C 2/Eliz./C5/5 and C 2/Eliz./C11/56), and his answer to another of 1597 (C 2/Eliz./B21/24).
- <sup>207</sup> In the bill of 1595 Cavendish gives the date of the conveyance as 21 *Eliz.* (1578–9); in the bill of 1597 he says 20 *Eliz.* (1577–8); the answer of 1597 does not give any dates.
- <sup>208</sup> *HMC Rutland*, i. 118–19.
- <sup>209</sup> TNA, C 2/Eliz./B21/24.
- <sup>210</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 26 *Eliz. I* (LIS 287), 162; DC, Muniment Register, p. 131 (a reference to a bargain and sale that does not survive at Chatsworth).
- <sup>211</sup> DC, Muniment Register, pp. 159, 161.
- <sup>212</sup> DC, H/272/1; Muniment Register, p. 151.
- <sup>213</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 25 *Eliz. I* (LIS 286), 50.
- <sup>214</sup> DC, Muniment Register, p. 129.
- <sup>215</sup> Ibid., p. 162.
- <sup>216</sup> Ibid., p. 147 (land in Rowthorne leased to Thomas Clay); p. 151 (the manor of Tibshelf leased to Peter Roos).
- <sup>217</sup> *Cal. Pat.* 26 *Eliz. I* (LIS 287), 162, 163, 164; 25 *Eliz. I* (LIS 286), 50.
- <sup>218</sup> In his Chancery bill of 1597 Cavendish dates Hardwick's death to in or about 21 *Eliz.* (1578–9) (he does not mention his death in the bill of 1595), but Bromley's order to the JPs of 5 March 1580 (*HMC Rutland*, i. 118–19) indicates that he was still alive. A letter of 12 April 1581 from the earl of Rutland to the steward of Mansfield manor court concerning Hardwick's copyhold lands there describes him as 'lately deceased' (ibid., i. 126). Cavendish's Chancery answer of 1597 (C 2/Eliz./B21/24) states that he believed James died in gaol.
- <sup>219</sup> Lichfield Record Office, B/C/10i/8, f. 52v. The entry in the act book merely describes Hardwick as of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, but Northedge is a north-east Derbyshire name and the surrogate granting the admon was John Cooke, the vicar of North Wingfield. This seems to make it fairly certain that the grant relates to James Hardwick of Hardwick.
- <sup>220</sup> TNA, C 2/Eliz./B21/24.
- <sup>221</sup> DC, Muniment Register, p. 130.
- <sup>222</sup> DC, Hardwick MS 7, ff. 44v., 55v., 74.
- <sup>223</sup> Ibid., f. 87; Muniment Register, p. 130.
- <sup>224</sup> DC, Muniment Register, p. 126.
- <sup>225</sup> Ibid., p. 130; it is particularly unfortunate that this important conveyance appears not to have survived, and so John's precise part in it remains unknown.

- 226 DC, Hardwick MS 7, ff. 91v., 110, 123v.
- 227 Information from North Wingfield parish register kindly supplied by Cliff Williams.
- 228 *HMC Rutland*, i. 392.
- 229 I am once again indebted to Mr Williams for this information.
- 230 James Hardwick came of age in 1546 and was certainly married by 1553 (above, pp. 157, 158), suggesting that John may have been born c. 1550; this would in turn be consistent with the birth of (presumably) his eldest son in 1578. There are no probate grants in either the Lichfield court or the PCC corresponding with these burial entries.
- 231 TNA, E 210/10893, E 210/10350, E 211/576.
- 232 TNA, C 2/Eliz./C5/5; C 2/Eliz./C11/56.
- 233 DC, Muniment Register, p. 131.
- 234 TNA, C 2/Eliz./B21/24.
- 235 DC, H/244/8.
- 236 This story is summarised in P. Riden and D. Fowkes, *Hardwick: a great house and its estate* (2009), ch. 2; see also the later chapters of Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*.
- 237 BL, Lansd. MS 40, ff. 88–146; Durant, *Bess*, chs. 8 and 9 provides a clear general account of the dispute.
- 238 Durant, *Bess*, 121.
- 239 Durant, *Bess*, 155–7; for a more detailed chronology of Bess's work on the Old Hall, see Durant's introduction to *The Building of Hardwick Hall. Part 1*.
- 240 Riden and Fowkes, *Hardwick*, ch. 3.
- 241 The evolution of the estate between 1590 and 1608 can be traced from original deeds in the H series at Chatsworth and abstracts in the muniment register in Bess & Earls' Miscellanea.
- 242 Above, p. 150.
- 243 W. Sampson, *Virtus post Funera Vivit* (1637).
- 244 Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 420–2.
- 245 In his MS History of the Talbot Family, of which there is a copy at Chatsworth.
- 246 E. Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners* (1791), xvii.
- 247 Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire* (1869 edn), ch. 6; the quotation (which also appears in the first edition of 1819) is from p. 84.
- 248 L.S. Costello, *Memoirs of Eminent Englishwomen* (1844), i. 10.
- 249 M.S. Rawson, *Bess of Hardwick and Her Circle* (1910) was followed at some distance by Ethel Carleton Williams, *Bess of Hardwick* (1959), before David Durant's book, published in 1977 and deservedly in print ever since, provided a much more authoritative account. Mary S. Lovell, *Bess of Hardwick. First Lady of Chatsworth* (2002) represented (in every sense) a lengthy step back into the world of romantic speculation. Three slighter works, Alison Plowden, *Mistress of Hardwick* (1972), Elizabeth Eisenberg, *This Costly Countess: Bess of Hardwick* (c. 1985), and Kate Hubbard, *A Material Girl: Bess of Hardwick, 1527–1608* (2001), illustrate Bess's continuing appeal to women biographers.
- 250 I have not checked every upper peerage family of the late 16th century to test this assumption, but I suspect that if there was a comparable case she would have come to light by now. Neither in *Crisis of the Aristocracy* (1965) nor *Family and Fortune* (1973) did Lawrence Stone find anyone similar to Bess.
- 251 DC, Hardwick MSS 6–9 cover all but the last few years of Bess's final widowhood. If a better series of household accounts for a peerage family with an income of £10,000 a year survives elsewhere for this period they have escaped my attention.
- 252 Riden and Fowkes, *Hardwick*, ch. 2, which summarises the material set out at greater length here.