

SIR WILLIAM CAVENDISH: TUDOR CIVIL SERVANT AND FOUNDER OF A DYNASTY

By PHILIP RIDEN

(School of History, University of Nottingham, Nottingham NG7 2RD)

The widely lamented death of the 11th duke of Devonshire in 2004 served to remind many organisations and individuals how much Derbyshire owes to the Cavendish family, who since the early 17th century have been the largest private landowners in the county. This is therefore an appropriate moment to look back at the origins of the Cavendish family in Derbyshire and in particular at the achievements of the founder of the dynasty, Sir William Cavendish, who died in 1557.¹ Most accounts of the family in the sixteenth century dwell mainly on the later career of Sir William's third wife, Elizabeth, the daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick Hall in the parish of Ault Hucknall.² Important though Bess of Hardwick is in the story of the Cavendish family, proper weight should also be given to her second husband, since it was he who established the family in Derbyshire and laid the foundations on which Bess was to build. Equally, Sir William was only able to buy estates in the county at Chatsworth and elsewhere as a result of a successful career as a civil servant.

Servant of Thomas Cromwell

William Cavendish was one of three sons who survived to adult life of Thomas Cavendish and his first wife Alice, the daughter and heir of John Smith of Cavendish (Suffolk).³ Thomas was an official in the Pipe Office of the Exchequer, for which his salary in 1516 was £10 a year.⁴ Earlier members of the family had been London mercers, including Thomas's grandfather William Cavendish, who died in 1433.⁵ The family were probably, but cannot definitely be shown to be, related to other London families of the same name, including those to which Stephen Cavendish, a late fourteenth-century alderman and mayor of the city, and Sir John Cavendish, the chief justice killed by a mob in 1381, belonged, some of whom were also mercers and drapers.⁶ In 1359 Thomas Cavendish's family acquired the manor of Overhall in Cavendish⁷ and in 1522 his lands there were worth £25 a year.⁸

Alice Cavendish died in 1515 and was buried at St Botolph's, Aldersgate.⁹ Thomas himself died in 1524. He was then living in the parish of St Alban, Wood Street, but asked to be buried in the church of St Thomas of Acres, the traditional burying place of London mercers, alongside his grandfather William.¹⁰ He was survived by a second wife named Agnes, who was still alive and unmarried in 1531,¹¹ an unmarried daughter Mary (born in 1503), and three sons, George (born in 1494), Thomas (born in 1506) and William (born in 1508).¹²

Thomas's heir, George Cavendish, succeeded to the family's estates and entered the service of Thomas Wolsey. He retired from public life after Wolsey's fall in 1529 and went to live at Glemsford in Suffolk, where, between c.1554 and 1558, he compiled a life of Wolsey that remained unpublished until 1641.¹³ George died in 1561 and was

succeeded by a son and grandson, both named William, of whom the latter in 1569 sold the manor of Overhall, although later generations of the family continued to live in Cavendish until the early seventeenth century.¹⁴ All that seems to be known of the younger Thomas Cavendish is that he was a knight of St John of Jerusalem and died unmarried.¹⁵

Equally little appears to be known of William Cavendish's early life. He did not attend either university or, as other members of his family did, Gray's Inn.¹⁶ He is first heard of when he began his career as a servant of Thomas Cromwell, an appointment he probably secured through his brother George. If so, he must have begun working for Cromwell before 1529, although he first appears in Cromwell's papers as his clerk in 1531–2.¹⁷ In the spring and summer of 1533 Cavendish was concerned with the surrender of Christchurch (or Holy Trinity), Aldgate, a house of Austin canons.¹⁸ In December that year he was at Ely (Cambs.), where he took over as auditor and receiver¹⁹ during the vacancy following the death of Bishop West the previous April. Between then and April 1534, when Thomas Goodrich was consecrated, Cavendish received over £2,000 for the temporalities of the see, which he passed to Cromwell.²⁰ While he was at Ely Cavendish was accused by a Cambridge scholar, Robert Farrington, of refusing to pay 4 marks due to him,²¹ about which Farrington was still complaining in February 1539.²² On his way there he apprehended a 'strong and notable thief' making off with the king's plate at Cambridge.²³

By 1535 Cavendish was sufficiently trusted by Cromwell to be given a letter of attorney to receive all sums due to the king in his master's name.²⁴ Further preferment followed in 1536. When the Court of Augmentations was established Cavendish was appointed in April that year as one of the ten original auditors of the court, a post that brought with it a fee of £20 plus profits.²⁵ For the next couple of years Cavendish travelled widely receiving the surrender of religious houses, signing pension lists, and dealing with other matters, mostly in the Midlands and Home Counties. In June 1536 he took the surrender of Little Marlow priory (Bucks.);²⁶ in September he was in Bedfordshire, dissolving the Augustinian priory at Bushmead and other houses;²⁷ and in October he was at the Cistercian abbey at Bruern (Oxon.).²⁸ In March 1537 Cavendish travelled to Dover, where he found four dissolved houses (Dover priory, West Langdon abbey, Bradsole (or St Radegund) abbey and the priory of St Sepulchre, Canterbury) all without a collector or bailiff, a deficiency he rectified.²⁹

In February 1538 Cavendish took the surrender of Abingdon abbey (Berks.).³⁰ Also that year he was the commissioner responsible for the dissolution of houses at Merevale (Warw.), Dieulacres (Staffs.), St Thomas's, Stafford, Dale and Repton (Derb.), Pipewell (Northants.), Gracedieu in Belton (Leics.), and Barnwell (Cambs.),³¹ as well as the Grey Friars in Aylesbury (Bucks.).³² In October 1538 he was with Thomas Lee at Lilleshall (Salop.)³³ and Darley near Derby.³⁴ The following month Cromwell ordered the two to go to Essex to dissolve houses at St Osyth and Colchester.³⁵

In the summer of 1538 Cavendish performed a rather different task for Cromwell when he secured the appearance at York assizes of a priest from Lincolnshire who gave evidence against Henry Litherland, vicar of Newark (Notts.) that sent him to the gallows for high treason. He also, with a Mr Dalison of Lincolnshire, took an inventory of Litherland's goods after his execution.³⁶

As the process of surrender and dissolution wound down during 1539 Cavendish authorised the pensions to be paid to members of a number of houses, including St Mary Overy, Southwark,³⁷ Godstow and Studley (Oxon.),³⁸ and Ashridge and Missenden (Bucks.).³⁹ He also took the surrender of St Albans abbey (Herts.) in December that year.⁴⁰ In 1540 Cavendish signed the list of pensions payable at Leeds priory (Kent),⁴¹ and was among those commissioned to take the surrender of Christchurch, Canterbury.⁴² In June that year he had to face allegations of malpractice concerning the surrender of Darley, Pipewell, Merevale, Lilleshall and St Thomas's, Stafford.⁴³

Sometime in the early 1530s William Cavendish married for the first time. His wife was Margaret, the daughter of Edmund Bostock of Cheshire,⁴⁴ who between January 1534 and April 1540 bore him four daughters and a son, of whom only two of the daughters survived to maturity, Catherine (born in 1535), who married Thomas Broke, the son of Thomas Lord Cobham, and Anne (b. 1540), who became the wife of Sir Henry Baynton.⁴⁵ The Cavendishes would have spent part of their time in London but also leased a house and estate at Northaw (Herts.) from St Albans abbey, of which in October 1534 Cavendish was pressing the abbot to make a grant in fee. This he resisted, explaining to Cromwell that such a grant might lead to a claim by the donor for the return of the premises.⁴⁶ Despite these doubts, the abbot did obtain a licence to alienate the manor to Cavendish in March the following year.⁴⁷

In September 1536 Cavendish tried unsuccessfully to secure the auditorship of the priory of St John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell, the head house of the order in England. Although the income was small, the office would provide meat and drink for himself and two servants with their liveries and accommodation, thus easing the cost of maintaining a household in London, which at present was wasting 'a great part of his small living'. Sir William Weston begged Cromwell not to press his case, since the post had been given to someone else shortly before he knew of Cavendish's interest in it.⁴⁸ Cavendish was also unsuccessful about the same time in being appointed auditor to the 4th earl of Shrewsbury,⁴⁹ although he did obtain a similar post with Sir Edward Seymour, then recently created Viscount Beauchamp, the brother of Queen Jane.⁵⁰

Other grants of land, mainly in Hertfordshire, followed the purchase of Northaw. In October 1538 he and his wife were granted the chapel of St Laurence in the Busshe of Wormeley in Cheshunt, which had belonged to Thetford monastery (Norfolk), and a piece of land in Tallington (Lincs.), with a ruined watermill, late of Bushmead monastery (Beds.).⁵¹ In November the same year they acquired the manor of Birchall in Hertingfordbury (Herts.).⁵² Either then or later Cavendish also leased the manor of Hatfield Regis (or Bishop's Hatfield) elsewhere in the county, which was still in his hands in 1550,⁵³ and Ponsbourne in the same parish.⁵⁴ Most important, in February 1540, a year after he had accepted the surrender of St Albans abbey, Cavendish and his wife were able to purchase in fee the manor of Northaw, the rectory there, and premises at Marden (in Tewin), Cuffley, Childwick and elsewhere in Hertfordshire, all late of St Albans.⁵⁵

As he became established in Hertfordshire, local appointments followed, including in January 1535 membership of the commission of sewers, of which he was also made an auditor.⁵⁶ In February 1540 he was put on the commission to deliver the gaol of

the late abbot of St Albans and the commission of the peace for the abbot's private liberty.⁵⁷

Cavendish also bought former monastic property further afield. In October 1538 he expressed interest in leasing the site of Lilleshall abbey,⁵⁸ where he took possession and bought some of the contents.⁵⁹ A year later he was granted a 21-year lease of the house, together with the abbey's granges at Shirlowe (in Great Erccall) and Chirsall and Watling Street (both in Lilleshall) and the manor of Ardbrightley in St Alkmund (Salop). The lease also included the site of the Grey Friars in Stafford, Rushton Grange in Wolstanton, premises at Burslem and Stoke, late of Hulton monastery, and some land belonging to Brewood nunnery, all in Staffordshire.⁶⁰ The grant of Northaw included Cardigan priory in west Wales, together with the rectories of Cardigan, Berwick and Tremeyn, which had belonged to the house, and all its other possessions.⁶¹

Commissioner in Ireland

Cavendish's personal and official life both changed direction in the summer of 1540. On 9 June his wife Margaret died and was buried at St Botolph's, Aldersgate, beneath the monument to his mother Alice.⁶² Three weeks later Thomas Cromwell, who in 1536 had been created Lord Cromwell and April 1540 made earl of Essex, was attainted. He was executed the following month.⁶³ Cavendish survived Cromwell's fall and in August that year was appointed, together with Thomas Walsh, a baron of the Exchequer, and John Mynne, an auditor of the same court,⁶⁴ one of three commissioners to travel to Ireland to assist the recently appointed Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St Leger, to survey and where necessary reallocate the king's lands there; investigate the accounts of the vice-treasurer, Sir William Brabazon, about which there had been serious complaints; allot lands to those advanced to honour in advance of the next meeting of the Irish Parliament; and reduce the number of garrisons in the country.⁶⁵ They were initially allowed diets from 14 August for sixty days: Walsh was to have 20s. a day and Mynne and Cavendish 13s. 4d. each.⁶⁶

St Leger sailed from Chester on 5 August, arriving at Dublin seven days later. The three commissioners joined him on 8 September.⁶⁷ Between then and the following spring St Leger and the commissioners travelled widely in Ireland,⁶⁸ going as far west as Kilmallock (co. Limerick) in February 1541, where St Leger believed no Deputy had ventured for a hundred years.⁶⁹ The following month the king gave directions for the dissolution and sale of the friaries in Ireland by the Deputy, chancellor, chief justice and three commissioners.⁷⁰ Cavendish and his colleagues had since November the previous year already taken the surrender of a number of other Irish religious houses and prepared surveys of their possessions.⁷¹

In May the king agreed that Cavendish should remain in Ireland for a year after Walsh and Mynne had returned to perfect the vice-treasurer's accounts at Michaelmas.⁷² On 17 June the Privy Council advised St Leger that the three commissioners should return to England, where they might make a 'transumpt' of their survey of the king's lands in Ireland, which could be sent back with Cavendish.⁷³ On 28 June Cavendish and his fellow commissioners signed a report to the king concerning the meeting of the Irish Parliament at which Henry was declared king of Ireland.⁷⁴ They were ready to return to England at the end of August.⁷⁵

Cavendish duly returned to Ireland in the autumn of 1541. On his return he and Mynne (Walsh having meanwhile died) reported to the Council that they had found little substance to the complaints made against William Brabazon, chiefly by Robert Cowley, the former Master of the Rolls in Ireland. They also pointed out that they had laboured in Ireland for three whole years, spending one complete year in the country, making surveys and taking accounts. Since their return to England they had made duplicates of their books to be sent back to Ireland, and now wished to be discharged from their commission.⁷⁶ St Leger had already praised their work highly. He commended Cavendish for his painstaking approach (recalling the journey to Limerick, through such frost and snow as St Leger had never ridden in) and for being a man that little feared the displeasure of any other in the king's service.⁷⁷

While he was back in England in 1541 Cavendish contracted a second marriage,⁷⁸ to Elizabeth Parys, the daughter of Thomas Parker of Poslingford (Suffolk) and widow of William Parys, whose father, Sir Philip Parys (d. 1558), was the receiver-general of the Court of Augmentations between 1540 and 1544.⁷⁹ Presumably because of his commitments in Ireland, the marriage did not take place until November 1542, at the Black Friars in London.⁸⁰ Elizabeth had two daughters by Cavendish, Susan, born in October 1543, and Joan, born in February 1545,⁸¹ neither of whom appears to have survived to maturity.⁸²

During his second marriage Cavendish continued to live in London and at Northaw in Hertfordshire (where he was required to contribute to the muster in 1544),⁸³ and also had the use of the Parys family's house at Hildersham (Cambs.).⁸⁴ He remained in his post as an auditor in the Court of Augmentations, responsible for a circuit that included Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Bedfordshire, Surrey and Sussex, and for the estates of St Albans abbey.⁸⁵ In 1544 he took a 21-year lease from Augmentations of rents due from Ivinghoe rectory (Bucks.), late of Ashridge college, and from the manor of Weston (Sussex), late of Durford abbey.⁸⁶ The following year he sold a messuage called 'le Bere' (i.e. presumably the Bear) in Aldersgate Street, a former St Albans possession.⁸⁷

Treasurer of the Chamber, marriage and the move to Derbyshire

In 1546–7, as in 1540, Cavendish's official career and private affairs both changed direction at the same time. His wife Elizabeth died, probably sometime in 1546, giving birth to a third child, who also died.⁸⁸ In January that year the Privy Council ordered him and a man named Colthurst to proceed to Boulogne (Pas-de-Calais) as auditors there, allowing them 10s. a day each for their diets (less than Cavendish had had for his stay in Ireland), 4s. each for two clerks apiece, and wages of 6d. a day for four other servants.⁸⁹ A month later this order was cancelled and others (one of them John Mynne) were sent in their place.⁹⁰

Instead of going to Calais, on 19 February Cavendish was appointed to the more prestigious post of treasurer of the Chamber, succeeding Sir Anthony Rous, who had died.⁹¹ The news provoked a complaint (which was slightly ironic, given how near Cavendish had come to being posted abroad) to Sir William Paget, the principal secretary, from the king's agent at Antwerp, Stephen Vaughan. As well as saying that he urgently needed money, Vaughan noted bitterly how men who served the king out of sight overseas got passed over, while those who managed to stay at home got

preferment.⁹² To add to Vaughan's discomfort, Cavendish was knighted a few months after his appointment.⁹³ His salary as treasurer was £100 a year, plus as much again for his diets.⁹⁴ He was also paid £20 for his clerks under him, £10 for boat hire, and £10 for office expenses.⁹⁵

Cavendish's career as treasurer got off to a slightly uncertain start when in March 1546 he was reminded that he should bring in the declaration of his accounts to the Council every week.⁹⁶ The warning was not repeated and so was presumably heeded. From that month Cavendish was given warrants at most meetings of the Council for the rest of Henry VIII's reign and throughout that of Edward VI to issue money from the Chamber.⁹⁷ He was occasionally summoned to attend the Council⁹⁸ but the tradition that he was a member⁹⁹ is mistaken.¹⁰⁰ Cavendish did, however, sit in the Commons for Thirsk in the Parliament of 1547.¹⁰¹

As soon as he was appointed treasurer Cavendish prepared a statement of the Chamber's financial position, complaining that his office was being deprived of several accustomed sources of revenue, without which he would be unable to pay any but the most urgent warrants. He drew up a brief estimate of debts owed by the Chamber, gathered out of the books of Rous's predecessor, Sir Brian Tuke, whose executors had still not handed over the records he needed to produce a full account. Cavendish asked that commissioners, either from the Council or elsewhere, should be appointed to peruse the debts and decide which were good or bad, so that both he and the General Surveyors could proceed with their duties.¹⁰² Sir William Paget and Sir Walter Mildmay were asked to investigate and in December 1548 Cavendish submitted a list of replies to their interrogatories. He was still unable to say how much his office owed, since he did not have all the specialties and bonds from Tuke's executors. But he believed the office was indebted to the sum of £14,000 and stated that he had no ready money in hand. He supplied a list of regular payments due for fees, wages, annuities and other ordinary payments, although in some cases he did not know if the payments were to continue for the life of the recipient or during pleasure.¹⁰³

At the beginning of his time as treasurer Cavendish's country home remained his Hertfordshire seat at Northaw. He was among the gentlemen of that county deputed to attend the Admiral of France on his visit to Henry VIII in 1546¹⁰⁴ and the following year was reappointed to the commission of the peace in Hertfordshire.¹⁰⁵ His domestic arrangements were to change radically following his third marriage in August 1547.¹⁰⁶

Cavendish's new wife was Elizabeth, one of five daughters of John Hardwick of Hardwick Hall, who died in 1528, and his wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Leeke of Hasland, near Chesterfield.¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth appears to have been born *c.* 1521.¹⁰⁸ She was certainly still under age when she married her first husband, Robert Barley of Barlow, some time before his father's death in May 1543.¹⁰⁹ Robert himself died in December 1544, aged 15, leaving a younger brother George as his heir.¹¹⁰ The following year Robert's widow, by then of age, successfully sued George Barley's guardian, Sir Peter Frescheville of Staveley, in the court of Common Pleas for dower,¹¹¹ and also brought a Chancery action with the same object.¹¹²

As a result of these suits Elizabeth secured dower equal to one ninth of the value of his family's estate, *i.e.* a third of a third, since the estate was already encumbered with dower payments due to Robert's mother and grandmother. The unencumbered third

was valued at £80 a year, out of which Bess was awarded dower of £24 12s. 8d.¹¹³ She appears to have made the most of this small sum. Once George Barley came of age he accused both his former guardian and the Cavendishes of illegal entry into his lands during his minority, concealment of evidences, and a huge amount of damage to the estate, including cutting both timber and underwood, digging for ironstone and occupying smithies, digging coal mines, taking down fences round the park at Barlow, and destroying six fishponds and a rabbit warren.¹¹⁴

How the daughter of a minor Derbyshire landowner and the widow of another came to meet, much less marry, a senior civil servant with homes in London and Hertfordshire has never been satisfactorily explained.¹¹⁵ The only suggestion that Elizabeth ever lived in London before her second marriage comes from a tradition connected with her first marriage that appears to originate with the Yorkshire antiquary Nathaniel Johnston (1627–1705), who in 1692 claimed to have been told by ‘some ancient gentlemen’ that Elizabeth was in London, attending ‘Lady Zouch’, when she met Robert Barley, who was lying sick in the capital.¹¹⁶ Johnston then follows Dugdale, writing a generation earlier, in claiming that Barley ‘settled a large inheritance in lands on her and her heirs’ in the event of his dying without issue by her, which he did.¹¹⁷ Since Robert was in his early teens when he and Elizabeth married, and moreover his father was still alive, this statement is plainly nonsense, as the tradition of the courtship in London may also be.

An alternative explanation, for which there appears to be no direct evidence but is perhaps plausible given that Cavendish and Elizabeth were married at Bradgate House (Leics.),¹¹⁸ the seat of Henry Grey, marquess of Dorset, is that the bride was then in service with Dorset’s wife Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, 1st duke of Suffolk.¹¹⁹ The Hardwick and Grey families were remotely connected through Elizabeth’s mother, whose father, Thomas Leeke, was the younger son of William Leeke, the son and heir of John Leeke and his wife Alice, the daughter and heir of John Grey, the last male representative of the Sandiacre branch of his family.¹²⁰ Through a common ancestor who lived in the reign of Henry III, the Greys of Sandiacre were kin of the Greys of Ruthin (Denb.), the branch of the family to which Dorset belonged.¹²¹ This may have been sufficient for the newly widowed Elizabeth Barley to have secured help from her distant kinswoman, but the notion that she was related rather more closely through one of her father’s ancestors to Frances Brandon herself is fanciful.¹²²

Between June 1548 and March 1557 the new Lady Cavendish bore William five daughters and three sons, of whom all but two of the daughters survived.¹²³ In the midst of this almost annual sequence of confinement and childbirth Elizabeth is said to have persuaded her husband first to sell his estates in Hertfordshire and elsewhere in the Midlands and instead to buy a house and lands in her native county, and then to build a new house on the site of the one he had purchased. This traditional account, which appears first to have been written down by Collins in the mid eighteenth century,¹²⁴ seems likely to be correct, if only because it is difficult to think of any other reason why an official at court would give up an estate conveniently close to London, where he had been living for more than a decade, and move to a much more remote county with which he had no connection except through his wife, where he would have to set about building a new house.

The estate which they (or she) chose to purchase was at Chatsworth in the Derwent valley on the edge of the Peak. The manor had belonged for some generations to a family named Leche¹²⁵ until in May 1547 Francis Leche sold his estates in Derbyshire and Staffordshire to Thomas Agard, then of Bective (co. Meath) but presumably a member of the family that had lived at Foston, in south-west Derbyshire, since the early fourteenth century.¹²⁶ A little over two years later, in December 1549, Francis, son and heir of Thomas Agard, sold to Sir William Cavendish and Elizabeth his wife the manors of Chatsworth and Cromford, with land in a number of other parishes nearby and also Repton in the Trent valley.¹²⁷

Other purchases extended their estate in the Low Peak. Early in 1550 Cavendish and his wife acquired the manor of Ashford, in the Wye valley a few miles north of Chatsworth, from Henry Neville, earl of Westmorland,¹²⁸ and later the same year bought the rectory of Edensor, adjoining Chatsworth, from William Place and Nicholas Spakeman.¹²⁹ The funds for both the purchase from the Agards and these other acquisitions appear to have come, at least in part, from the sale in 1550 of the manor of Childwick and the estate at Marden in Hertfordshire.¹³⁰

The final, irrevocable stage in the move to Derbyshire came in June 1552, when Cavendish sold to the Crown his home manor of Northaw and other Hertfordshire estates at Cuffley, Birchall and Cheshunt, together with the manor of Fernfield and Haringay and the rectory of South Mimms in Middlesex, the site of Cardigan priory in west Wales, estates at Tallington, Fulbeck, Beckingham, North Rauceby and Cathorpe (Lincs.), Barnby (Notts.), and other lands. In exchange Cavendish received from the king a long list of estates in Derbyshire and other counties, mostly former monastic property.¹³¹ At first sight the patent appears to be reeling off a shapeless mass of manors, messuages and odd parcels of land. In fact, the acquisitions fall into two groups. On the one hand there were several manors and other lands in different parts of Derbyshire, some but not all close to his new seat at Chatsworth. These he evidently saw as the nucleus of a family estate in the county: most if not all were still in the hands of his son, the 1st earl of Devonshire, in the early seventeenth century¹³² and some remained in the possession of his descendants until recent times. The rest consisted mainly of numerous small parcels of land in several different counties, which he appears to have seen as short-term investments. Few if any belonged to the family fifty years later¹³³ and the only two manors outside Derbyshire included in the grant were sold on almost at once.¹³⁴

The acquisitions in Derbyshire consisted of four principal estates and four smaller properties.¹³⁵ All were former monastic land. Closest to Chatsworth was the manor of Meadow Place in Youlgreave, with lands in Conksbury in the same parish, a cottage in Winster, a messuage and two yardlands in Youlgreave, the advowson of the vicarage of Youlgreave, and the great tithes there, all of which had previously belonged to Leicester abbey. Higher up the Wye valley lay the manor of Blackwell, including land there and in Ashford, late of Lenton priory (Notts.), and premises in the same area at *Staunton*, *Shepcote Place*, Topley and *Dowsedale*,¹³⁶ together with a mill at Blackwell known (rather oddly, since Blackwell lies in the Wye valley) as Derwent mill. Cavendish also received tithes previously held by Lenton in Kingsterndale, Cowdale, Staden, Ashford, Blackwell, Chelmonton, Monyash, Fairfield, Flagg, Bradwell, Buxton, Chapel

en le Frith, Shallcross, Fernilee, Cowlow¹³⁷ and Hazlebadge, including tithes from mills in Buxton and Ashford.

In mid Derbyshire the former Darley abbey estate at Pentrich and Oakerthorpe (including Longcroft and other land in the adjoining parish of South Wingfield), the nearby manor of Butterley, the great tithes of Oakerthorpe, and a coal mine in Pentrich were included in the grant. The fourth of the major estates lay on the Staffordshire border and had previously belonged to Tutbury priory, the site of which was included in the grant, together with the manors of Doveridge, Marston on Dove and Church Broughton, and land in Scropton, Hatton, Sapperton and Hollington.

The smaller Derbyshire acquisitions consisted of land in 'Byley' (which could be an error for Beeley, although the context perhaps makes Birley more likely) and Hackenthorpe, late of Beauchief abbey; Grindlow Grange, two parts of the chapel there, and other land in Hope parish, formerly belonging to Lilleshall abbey (Salop); an estate at Flagg late of Merevale abbey (Warw.); and land at Fairfield which had previously belonged to the nunnery at Derby.

Of the estates outside Derbyshire included in the grant the greatest number were small parcels of land scattered widely across Lincolnshire, most of which had previously belonged to religious houses in the county. They included premises at Billingham (late of Kyme monastery); Ruskington, Brandon and Ancaster (late of the preceptory of the order of St John of Jerusalem at Temple Bruer); Horblin, Sudbrook, Ancaster and South Ormsby (late of St Katharine's priory, Lincoln); Edlington near Halstead and Blackney Fen (late of Bardney abbey); Wainfleet (late of Hagnaby priory); Potter Hanworth and Braunston (late of Thurgarton priory, Notts.); Waddington (late of the preceptory of the St John's at Eagle); Minting (late of Westminster cathedral); Holton (some late of Sixhill priory and the rest late of Bullington monastery); Beckering (late of Bullington monastery); Middle Rasen (late of Wellowe monastery); and Hotoft (late of Markby priory). Some other land at Blankney had come to the Crown through the attainder of John Lord Hussey in 1537.¹³⁸

Among the other small estates were three in Nottinghamshire, at Coddington (late of St Katharine's, Lincoln), Woodhouse in Norwell (late of the college at Southwell), and Clayworth (late of Mattersey priory). Finally, there were parcels of land and other property scattered widely from Cornwall to Northumberland. In the south-west Cavendish was granted the manor of Wotton Abbot (Dorset), late of Abbotsbury monastery; the advowson of the rectory of Sampford Courtney in Devon (the only item in the entire grant for which no previous holder is named); a mill and some land in Hatherleigh, also in Devon (late of Tavistock abbey); and premises in Tamerton and St Stephen by Launceston (Cornwall), late of Launceston priory. In Herefordshire he received land at Much Cowarne, late of Lymbroke priory, and the income previously paid to a chantry in the church there. In the east and south-east the grant included reclaimed marshland at Barking (Essex), late of the monastery there; land at Stilton (Hunts.), late of Rushmead priory (Beds.); the manor, rectory and advowson of the vicarage of Temple Ewell in Kent, late of St John of Jerusalem; and a piece of meadow in Walton (Surrey), late of Merton priory. Finally, there was a messuage and land at Denton in Northumberland, late of the nunnery at Newcastle.

The entire grant was extended at the yearly value of £269 9s. 2½d. beyond the reserved rents, and before deducting fees totalling £17 15s. 4d. payable to manorial

bailiffs and stewards and £10 12s. 10d. in pensions and procurations. The rents best illustrate how the core of the estate lay in Derbyshire and how small were many of the acquisitions in other counties. Of the total reserved (£35 7s. 2½d.) no less than £29 14s. 2d. (84 per cent) was due from manors and other lands in Derbyshire (including the site of Tutbury priory, just over the border in Staffordshire).

Cavendish and his wife made a few small purchases after 1552 to augment their newly acquired home estate. In 1553–6 they bought three messuages and some land in Chatsworth, Baslow and Beeley from Roger Shaw of Somersall (in Brampton), another messuage and land in Chatsworth and Beeley from a family named Byrd, and three messuages and land in Edensor from Thomas Allen of Calton Lees.¹³⁹ They also made at least one sale, in 1557, to Richard Wensley of Wensley for £400 of premises in Grindlow, Chelmorton, Hollington, Goatscliff, Youlgreave and Repton.¹⁴⁰

Sir William Cavendish's move from Hertfordshire to Derbyshire is illustrated by a shift in local office-holding. In a list of general pardons at the start of Mary's reign he was described as of Northaw, alias of Chatsworth, alias of London,¹⁴¹ and the following year was included in the commission of the peace for both Hertfordshire and Derbyshire.¹⁴² In 1555, however, he appears only under Derbyshire in a list of justices.¹⁴³ As early as November 1552 he was a candidate for sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, although he was not chosen.¹⁴⁴

Final years and aftermath

Cavendish was evidently well regarded by Edward VI, who made a bequest of £200 to him in his will.¹⁴⁵ Unlike a number of other senior officials who had served her brother, William was reappointed treasurer by Queen Mary,¹⁴⁶ although far fewer warrants were issued to him by the Council during her reign than that of Edward VI.¹⁴⁷

Cavendish remained in office until his death but the last few months of his life were overshadowed by an accusation that he owed a large sum to the Crown. In April 1537 a commission of privy councillors, headed by the lord treasurer, the marquess of Winchester, was appointed to take Cavendish's accounts as treasurer of the Chamber and of the former court of General Surveyors, going back to Henry VIII's time.¹⁴⁸ On 9 October his accounts were returned to him, accompanied by a claim that he owed £5,237 5s., which he was asked to acknowledge, and either attend the Council personally, or if he was too ill to do so to send one or two of his clerks, to answer in more detail and receive the Council's orders.¹⁴⁹

Cavendish replied in a written statement admitting the debt and begging for mercy for his poor wife and innocent children. He offered his lands, fees, goods and money towards settlement of the debt, although he claimed that because of his long and grievous sickness these were of no value. He appointed two of his clerks, William Cade and Robert Bestney, to attend the Council and answer questions concerning his accounts. In a postscript Cavendish gave the yearly value of his lands in possession as 300 marks (with those in reversion worth a further 200); in tenths, annuities and rents reserved, and from fees and annuities, he had a further £440 a year; while in goods and ready money he had very little.¹⁵⁰

In a further statement Cavendish complained that his servant Thomas Knot, whom he had inherited from Tuke and kept on for eleven years, had run away during his

illness, leaving him £1,231 1s. 8d. in debt, beyond bills and obligations amounting to a further £500 which Knot had taken within him. Cavendish had paid Henry VIII £1,000 for the office of treasurer of the Chamber less than two years before the king's death, and lost a further £200 through the purchase of provisions for his abortive posting to Boulogne. Immediately after the king died the Lord Protector and the earl of Warwick (later duke of Northumberland) kept Cavendish from his office as treasurer, by which he claimed he lost 5,000 marks (reckoning his total yearly income from the office as 500 marks), apart from £500 spent in litigation to recover the office. By remaining in London at that time at the command of the Protector and the Council to make provision for victualling ships then at sea, for which he was promised 6s. 8d. a day, Cavendish lost a further £240 when Somerset was committed to the Tower. Cavendish had also lent money and paid wages to servants of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary, none of which had been repaid, and was still owed £240 for wages and diets from his time in Ireland in the early 1540s. Finally, he had spent 1,000 marks in finding men to support the queen at the beginning of her reign against the late duke of Northumberland.¹⁵¹

On 12 October Bestney handed over to Winchester a book containing an account of Cavendish's debts and his pleas for mercy,¹⁵² but there is no evidence that either he or Cade appeared before the Council.¹⁵³ Cavendish died at his home in London on 25 October, aged 49; his wife had travelled from Chatsworth to be with him.¹⁵⁴ He was buried five days later at St Botolph's, Aldersgate, his coffin accompanied by a procession that included two white branches, twelve stave torches, three great tapers and an undisclosed number of escutcheons.¹⁵⁵ The cause of his death is unknown, although Professor Loades makes that point that Cavendish was one of three senior officials to die within as many months, possibly from the influenza epidemic which was then at its height.¹⁵⁶

Despite the fact that he was obviously ill for some weeks before he died, Cavendish appears not to have left a will.¹⁵⁷ This may have added to the 'great misery'¹⁵⁸ in which his widow found herself, in her mid thirties with (probably) six children of her own, all under age, and two stepdaughters from her husband's first marriage to look after.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, in April 1557 Cavendish had securely enfeoffed all his recently acquired estates in Derbyshire to the use of himself and his wife for their lives, generally with remainder to his eldest son and heir Henry, although Pentrich and Oakerthorpe were to pass to his second son William. These arrangements avoided the risk that the Court of Wards would seize the lands, since Henry was only six when his father died.¹⁶⁰ In 1561 Henry's wardship and marriage were granted to Sir Francis Knollys, the vice-chamberlain of the household,¹⁶¹ with an annuity of £9 10s., rising to £20 on the death of any tenants for life holding lands worth more than £10 a year.¹⁶² By this date Elizabeth Cavendish had taken an important step towards resolving her problems by remarrying. Her third husband, Sir William St Loe, whom she married in August 1559,¹⁶³ was also a courtier. His principal country estate was at Chew Magna in north-east Somerset but he also owned the manor of Tormarton in south Gloucestershire and other land nearby.¹⁶⁴

There remained the question of the debt due on her husband's accounts, which fell within the scope of a bill introduced into Parliament in January 1558 concerning all those accountable to the queen. The bill passed all its stages in the Lords¹⁶⁵ and was

given a second reading in the Commons before the queen indicated early in March that she did not wish it to proceed.¹⁶⁶ As Elizabeth observed to Sir John Thynne shortly before the measure was abandoned, had it passed it would have undone both her and her children and a great number of others.¹⁶⁷ The same or a similar bill was introduced in the first Parliament of the new reign in March 1559. Again it completed all its stages in the Lords and was given a second reading in the Commons but did not pass into law.¹⁶⁸ Instead St Loe and his wife were prosecuted in the Exchequer, where they claimed that the debt should not be recovered from lands which Cavendish acquired long after he was appointed treasurer. The attorney-general objected and the case was heard in the Exchequer Chamber, when a search of the records revealed many cases of processes being made against the lands of deceased officials. In these circumstances St Loe, Elizabeth and Henry Cavendish sought pardon from the queen, which was granted in return for a fine of £1,000,¹⁶⁹ less than a fifth of the amount said to be due on Cavendish's accounts.

Elizabeth's third marriage lasted only a few years: Sir William St Loe died early in 1565.¹⁷⁰ A little over two years later, in the summer of 1567, Bess married for the fourth and last time to become the second wife of George Talbot, 6th earl of Shrewsbury.¹⁷¹ He died in 1590 and Elizabeth remained a widow until her own death in 1608.¹⁷²

By the mid 17th century the tradition was well established that by outliving four, much older husbands Bess of Hardwick had acquired estates from each of them and for this reason died immensely wealthy, laying the foundations on which the noble houses of Devonshire and Newcastle were built.¹⁷³ This tradition is erroneous. Bess was slightly older than her first husband and an almost exact contemporary of both St Loe and Shrewsbury; only Cavendish was significant her senior, by about thirteen years. More fundamentally, her marriages did not result in a progressive aggrandisement of her estate. Bess obtained nothing beyond her rightful dower from her first marriage and the estate accumulated by her second husband was settled on two of their sons, with Bess given only a life interest. Her third husband did leave her his lands in Somerset and Gloucestershire outright, the use of which passed to her new husband in 1567. In 1572, however, Shrewsbury conveyed all the estates she had held at the time of her marriage to her two younger sons by her second husband, William and Charles Cavendish, who were then close to coming of age. The Somerset portion of the Western Lands, as they became known, passed to Charles Cavendish in 1586; the Gloucestershire portion remained with Bess, although those too came to Charles after she died in 1608. His son, William Cavendish, earl, marquess and finally duke of Newcastle, sold both halves of the estate after the Restoration.¹⁷⁴ More important, the great estates of the 6th earl of Shrewsbury passed at his death to his son Gilbert.¹⁷⁵ None of them came to Bess, nor, except by purchase, as in the case of Bolsover,¹⁷⁶ to her sons. She did, however, receive some £3,000 a year in dower from the Talbot estate between 1590 and 1608, which represented about a third of her income in those years.¹⁷⁷

When Bess died in 1608 she left her purchased estates, accumulated during her last widowhood, to her second son William. By this date Cavendish, who in 1605 was raised to the peerage as Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, had already made a number of purchases himself, beginning in the 1570s, as soon as he came of age. These early acquisitions included, in 1583, his mother's family home, Hardwick Hall, and the

rest of the estate assembled by her brother James, who died, apparently insolvent and with no legitimate issue, in 1581. After Bess was widowed for the last time, William conveyed both the Hardwick estate and other lands bought before 1590 to his mother, but by this date he was already buying lands on his own account. William also made an advantageous marriage to a Lancashire coheiress, Anne Keighley, by which he acquired two manors in that county as well as Keighley in the West Riding. On the other hand, however much Bess may have wished to favour William as her *de facto* heir, she could not set aside her second husband's settlement of 1557, by which after her death Chatsworth and the rest of the Cavendish inheritance, apart from the mid Derbyshire lands centred on Pentrich, passed to her eldest son Henry. Almost as soon as their mother was dead, however, William persuaded Henry to sell the reversion of most of his lands. Thus when Henry died in 1616 the bulk of the estates purchased by Sir William Cavendish between 1550 and his death were united with those accumulated by Bess after 1590 and those her son William had acquired by purchase or marriage. Two years later, as a reflection of his greatly increased wealth, William was advanced to the vacant earldom of Devonshire, for which he paid £10,000.¹⁷⁸

In a nutshell, the extensive estate held by the 1st earl of Devonshire when he died in 1626 derived from three main sources: purchases by Sir William Cavendish between 1549 and his death in 1557, purchases by his son William from 1572 onwards (together with an inheritance from his first wife), and purchases by Bess during her last widowhood. It is perhaps worth adding that the parallel growth of the estate of the first earl of Newcastle also owed something to purchases by Charles Cavendish after he and his brother William secured the income from their father's lands in 1572, and that it was he, rather than William, who obtained their mother's Western Lands. Most of the Newcastle estate, however, came from other sources, including purchases by Charles Cavendish from the 7th earl of Shrewsbury.¹⁷⁹

Viewed in this light Sir William Cavendish, who was married to Bess for only ten years and had no connection with Derbyshire except through her, should be seen as the founder of the greatest landed estate in the county to at least the same extent as his more famous third wife. Moreover, had Bess not made such a remarkable leap in social standing by her second marriage, from the parish gentry of Scarsdale to the court society of London, she would hardly have secured another wealthy courtier, much less one of the most prominent peers of his day, as her third and fourth husbands. She might simply have reverted to provincial obscurity, instead of ending her days living in state in a splendid house of her own creation. Derbyshire has benefited greatly from the wealth and generosity of the Cavendish family, as the exceptionally wide range of tributes paid to the 11th duke of Devonshire demonstrated, but, despite the enduring fascination of his ancestor Bess of Hardwick, proper credit should be given to both halves of the union which laid the foundations of the family's greatness.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ I am greatly indebted to the Duke of Devonshire for permission to make use of documents in the Devonshire Collection and very grateful to the staff of the Collections Department at Chatsworth for their generous assistance. The abbreviation DC in endnotes refers to the Devonshire Collection; other abbreviations follow the conventions of the Victoria County History.

- ² The first modern biography of Bess, M.S. Rawson, *Bess of Hardwick and her circle* (1910), devotes 33 pages out of 363 to her life before her marriage in 1567 to George Talbot, 6th earl of Shrewsbury. In E.C. Williams, *Bess of Hardwick* (1959), the figure is 57 pages out of 268, and in D.N. Durant, *Bess of Hardwick. Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast* (1977), 49 out of 227. The most recent biography, M.S. Lovell, *Bess of Hardwick. First Lady of Chatsworth. 1527–1608* (2005), allows about 200 pages out of 480 for the period. This includes a more detailed account than previous books of Bess's third marriage, to Sir William St Loe, although for this aspect of Bess's life see my article, '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.
- ³ F. Bickley, *The Cavendish Family* (1911), 6; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), 227.
- ⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, ii (1), 877.
- ⁵ J.H. Round, 'The origin of the Cavendishes', in idem, *Family Origins and Other Studies* (1930), 25, 30–2.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 23–7.
- ⁷ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 1–3.
- ⁸ *HMC Ancaster*, 495.
- ⁹ A. Collins, *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendish, Holles, Vere, Harley, and Ogle* (1752), 6; BL, Add. MS 5861, ff. 193r.–v.
- ¹⁰ TNA, C 142/42/170–171; Collins, *Historical Collections*, 7; Round, 'The origin of the Cavendishes', 25.
- ¹¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, 276.
- ¹² The dates of birth of Mary and her three brothers, and of other children who did not survive, and the dates of death of their parents are written in a Sarum missal (*Whissale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (Rouen, 1497)), formerly at Chatsworth, now in the British Library (IC 43969), which Mrs Jack, in her article on Sir William in *Oxford DNB*, was the first to notice. Collins, *Historical Collections*, 7 made William the second surviving son and later writers have followed him, even though Thomas is named before William in their father's will (*ibid.*). If his age (44) is stated correctly on the portrait of William now at Hardwick the painting must date from c.1552, not 'c.1540' as Durant (*Bess of Hardwick*, facing 114) suggested. George's date of birth as given in the missal is confirmed by the age (29) stated in his father's IPMs (TNA, C 142/42/170–171). R.S. Sylvester (ed.), *The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey by George Cavendish* (Early English Text Society, cxliii, 1957), p. xvii misread this figure as 24 and thus made George an 11-year-old undergraduate at Cambridge, whereas in fact he would have been about 16.
- ¹³ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 7–9; Sylvester, *Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*; R. Lockyer (ed.), *Thomas Wolsey late Cardinal his life and death written by George Cavendish his gentleman-usher* (1962), 10–11.
- ¹⁴ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 10.
- ¹⁵ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 7.
- ¹⁶ J. Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521–1889* (1889), includes references to his two elder sons, Henry and William (later 1st earl of Devonshire), in 1567 and 1572, and his grandson William, later 2nd earl, in 1602, as well as what are probably two Suffolk kinsmen, William (1543) and Thomas (1577).
- ¹⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, 275, 718. There is one earlier reference to William in this source, but the index entry (vol. iv, no. 269(4)) is a misprint and the item has not been traced. It could date from any year between 1524 and 1530.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, v, 718; vi, 101, 422; vii, 20–1; E.J. Davis, 'The beginning of the Dissolution: Christchurch, Aldgate, 1532', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser. viii (1925), 127–50.
- ¹⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 604; vii, 608.

- 20 Ibid., xxi (1), 67.
- 21 Ibid., vi. 604; vii. 608.
- 22 Ibid., xiv (1), 148.
- 23 Ibid., vi. 604.
- 24 Ibid., ix. 77.
- 25 Ibid., xiii (1), 573.
- 26 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, x. 495; *VCH Bucks.*, i. 359–60.
- 27 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi. 171.
- 28 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi. 253; *VCH Oxon.*, ii. 81.
- 29 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 263; *VCH Kent*, ii. 136, 171, 174, 143.
- 30 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), 109, 114; *VCH Berks.*, ii. 39.
- 31 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 177.
- 32 Ibid., xiii (2), 196.
- 33 Ibid., xiii (2), 244.
- 34 Ibid., xiii (2), 261.
- 35 Ibid., xiii (2), 296.
- 36 Ibid., xiii (2), 51–2.
- 37 Ibid., xiv (2), 139, 142.
- 38 Ibid., xiv (2), 189, 193.
- 39 Ibid., xiv (2), 97–8.
- 40 Collins, *Historical Collections*, 9; *VCH Herts.*, iv. 412.
- 41 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv. 142.
- 42 Ibid., xv. 147.
- 43 Ibid., xvi. 357–8; xviii (2), 123.
- 44 Collins, *Historical Collections*, 9; Brodhurst, ‘Sir William Cavendish’, 83, says that Bostock was of Whatcroft (Ches.). The family cannot be identified in J.P. Rylands (ed.), *The Visitation of Cheshire in the year 1580* (Harl. Soc., xviii, 1882).
- 45 Collins, *Historical Collections*, 10. These and details of Cavendish’s other marriages and children are taken from a pocket book of Sir William Cavendish which c.1907 was in the library at Welbeck Abbey (Notts.) (Brodhurst, ‘Sir William Cavendish’, 83) but which c.1977 had apparently disappeared (Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, 232).
- 46 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vii. 482–3; for the house see J.T. Smith, *English Houses 1200–1800. The Hertfordshire Evidence* (1992), 16; idem, *Hertfordshire Houses. Selective Inventory* (1993), 134–5. There is an inventory of Northaw, dating from the time of Cavendish’s second marriage (since it also mentions his wife’s house at Hildersham, Cambs.) in DC, Bess and earls’ misc., box 2.
- 47 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii. 186.
- 48 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi. 166, 170, 171, 181; cf. *VCH Middlesex*, i. 193–200 for the importance of the house.
- 49 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi. 171.
- 50 Ibid., xi. 328; *Complete Peerage*, ii. 40.
- 51 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 281; *VCH Herts.*, iii. 456.
- 52 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 220.
- 53 *Cal. Pat.* 1549–51, 71.
- 54 *VCH Herts.*, iii. 105.
- 55 *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv. 155.
- 56 Ibid., viii. 50.
- 57 Ibid., xv. 114.
- 58 Ibid., xiii (2), 244.
- 59 Ibid., xiii (2), 347–9.

- ⁶⁰ Ibid., xiv (2), 302; xiv (1), 607.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., xv, 115.
- ⁶² Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11; BL, Add. MS 5861, f. 193v.
- ⁶³ *Complete Peerage*, iii, 556–7.
- ⁶⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 49.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., xv, 613; *State Papers, Hen. VIII* (Rec. Com.), iii, 227–31. The latter generally gives fuller details of the papers relating to this commission than the former; *Cal. S.P. Ireland 1509–73* merely lists them. For the wider background to Cavendish's work in Ireland see S. Bradshaw, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1974), 146–61, 181–98; the surveys made of the lands of religious houses were printed in N.B. White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540–1541* (Dublin, 1943).
- ⁶⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 190–1.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., xvi, 13; *State Papers*, iii, 235–40.
- ⁶⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 85–6, 166, 128–38 (cf. *Proc. and Ord. P.C.*, vii, 91–3), 49, 224–5, 235, 342, 372–80; *State Papers*, iii, 263–4, 277–8, 279–80, 285–90, 292–300.
- ⁶⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 261–2.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., xvi, 315–16; DC, AS/1117.
- ⁷¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 379–80; *Cal. S.P. Ireland 1509–73*, 57–8; DC, Hardwick MS. 13.
- ⁷² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 388; *State Papers*, iii, 302–3.
- ⁷³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 442; *Proc. and Ord. P.C.* 1540–2, 201–2.
- ⁷⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 451–2; *State Papers*, iii, 306–10.
- ⁷⁵ *State Papers*, iii, 318–21.
- ⁷⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 182; *State Papers*, iii, 401–3.
- ⁷⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 182; *State Papers*, iii, 372–4.
- ⁷⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 604.
- ⁷⁹ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11; *VCH Cambs.*, vi, 62, 85. J.W. Clay (ed.), *The Visitation of Cambridgeshire made in A^o [1575]* (Harl. Soc., xli, 1897), 37 makes Elizabeth the daughter of William Conningsly or Conningsby, apparently in error.
- ⁸⁰ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11, from Cavendish's lost pocket book.
- ⁸¹ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11.
- ⁸² A conclusion accepted by all writers on the family, apparently because nothing is heard of either girl after her birth.
- ⁸³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), 152.
- ⁸⁴ DC, Bess and Earls' Misc., inventory of Northaw, which also refers to goods at Hildersham; *VCH Cambs.*, vi, 62.
- ⁸⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 29; xvii, 90; xviii (1), 262–3; xix (2), 71; xx (2), 565.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., xix (1), 650.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., xx (2), 230.
- ⁸⁸ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11. The death of Elizabeth and her third child is the only such event for which Cavendish failed to provide a date in his lost pocket book. It would have been possible for the deaths to have occurred late in 1545 or at any time in 1547 before his third marriage on 20 Aug., but assuming the pregnancy was at or close to full term a date in 1546 seems most likely.
- ⁸⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (1), 45, 80, 86; *Acts P.C.* 1542–7, 319, 330, 333.
- ⁹⁰ *Acts P.C.* 1542–7, 423.
- ⁹¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (1), 143, 147.
- ⁹² Ibid., xxi (1), 136–7.
- ⁹³ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 10 cites BL, MS. Cott. Claud. c. 3, p. 49 as authority for the statement that Cavendish was knighted on 'Easter Day 37 Hen. VIII'. There is in fact no such festival: Easter fell on 5 April in 1545 (before the end of 36 Hen. VIII) and on 25 April

- in 1546 (after the start of 38 Hen. VIII). Although W.A. Shaw, *The Knights of England* (1906), ii. 57 plumped for 5 April 1545, the later date is probably intended, since Cavendish is first described as Sir William by the Privy Council on 9 May, whereas he was not on 13 and 18 April (*Acts P.C.* 1542–7, 412, 382, 391), and it seems more likely that the knighthood would follow his appointment as treasurer than the other way round.
- ⁹⁴ J.P. Collier (ed.), *Trevelyan Papers prior to A.D. 1558* (Camden Soc., lxvii, 1857), 195.
- ⁹⁵ J.P. Collier (ed.), *Trevelyan Papers. Part II* (Camden Soc., lxxxiv, 1863), 18, 25–6.
- ⁹⁶ *Acts P.C.* 1542–7, 356; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (1), 206.
- ⁹⁷ *Acts P.C.* 1542–54, passim.
- ⁹⁸ e.g. *Acts P.C.* 1550–2, 324; *ibid.* 1554–6, 329.
- ⁹⁹ W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (1676), ii. 420; Collins, *Historical Collections*, 10, both citing Ralph Brooke, *Catalogue of Nobility*, tit. Devonshire; Collins also cites Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, Appendix, p. 89.
- ¹⁰⁰ D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1976), 269–70 and ch. 2 passim. Cavendish never appears in attendance lists in *Acts P.C.* during either of the other reigns in which he was treasurer.
- ¹⁰¹ *History of Parliament. Commons 1509–58*, i. 597–9.
- ¹⁰² *Trevelyan Papers. Part II*, 1–9; TNA, E 101/424/9.
- ¹⁰³ *Trevelyan Papers. Part II*, 11–12; TNA, E 101/424/9.
- ¹⁰⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (1), 695.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 84.
- ¹⁰⁶ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11, citing the lost pocket book.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees, 1569 and 1611* (1895), 142, 230. One of the daughters was dead by 1569 but all five were still alive in the mid 1540s: TNA, C 1/1102/37. The visitation pedigree makes Elizabeth the third (out of four) daughters; she is listed second (out of five) in the Chancery bill. John also had a son and heir by Elizabeth, James Hardwick, who was aged three at his father's death (TNA, E 150/743/8, which is easier to read than C 142/47/25).
- ¹⁰⁸ MI, All Saints', Derby (*Complete Peerage*, xi. 714); *HMC Salisbury*, xvi. 360. Her modern biographers have tied themselves in ridiculous knots trying give Bess a date of birth in 1527 but the best contemporary evidence is clear and consistent.
- ¹⁰⁹ Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, 8.
- ¹¹⁰ *Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees*, 5; M. Barlow, *Barlow Family Records* (1932), ped. 5.
- ¹¹¹ DC, Bess and earls' misc., box 2.
- ¹¹² TNA, C 1/1101/17; the bill can be dated to 1544–51 from the name of the Chancellor, but must pre-date Elizabeth's second marriage to Sir William Cavendish in Aug. 1547 and presumably also the successful outcome of the common-law action in 1546.
- ¹¹³ TNA, C 1/1101/17; DC, Bess and earls' misc., box 2, exemplification of Common Pleas proceedings.
- ¹¹⁴ TNA, C 1/1291/17, dated from the name of the Chancellor to 1551–3 but probably belonging to 1553, since it refers to the successful conclusion of Elizabeth's action for dower seven years earlier. Similarly, this Chancery suit was probably the reason why the Cavendishes obtained an exemplification in 1553 of the common-law proceedings of 1545–6 (DC, Bess and earls' misc., box 2).
- ¹¹⁵ Bickley, *Cavendish Family*, 16, and Williams, *Bess of Hardwick*, 11, make no attempt to do so; both follow Collins, *Historical Collections*, 10, in confusing Elizabeth's first husband with his grandfather and namesake, who died in 1533 (TNA, C 142/55/69), thus making her a widow for 14 years, instead of three.
- ¹¹⁶ DC, N. Johnston, 'History of the Earls of Shrewsbury', v. 259–61. Johnston offers no help in identifying 'Lady Zouch'. She was possibly Margaret the widow of Sir John Zouche of

- Codnor (d. c. 1529; D.G. Edwards (ed.), *Derbyshire Wills 1393–1574* (Derb. Rec. Soc. xxvi, 1998), no. 34), since their son George (who would have been head of the family at the time in question) was not a knight (*Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees*, 179–80). Less probably the reference could be to Susan, the second wife of John, Lord Zouche of Harringworth (Northants.) (*Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 948), but the senior branch of the family had no close connection with Derbyshire.
- ¹¹⁷ W. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England* (1676), ii. 420, followed by Johnston, ‘Earls of Shrewsbury’, v. 259–61. Dugdale does not, however, mention the tradition of the courtship in London.
- ¹¹⁸ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11, citing the lost pocket book.
- ¹¹⁹ *Complete Peerage*, iv. 420–1; Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, 12 appears to be the first of her biographers to suggest this.
- ¹²⁰ R. Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (1677), 29 (recte 25), 84.
- ¹²¹ *Complete Peerage*, iv, folding ped. betw. pp. 132–3; vi. 152, 135, 155–8; v. 358–9, 361–2; vi. 419–21.
- ¹²² In 1569 James Hardwick traced his descent from William Hardwick, who married an unnamed daughter of the Goushill family, lords of Barlborough (*Derbyshire Visitation Pedigrees*, 141), and was head of the family in the early 15th century (H.J.H. Garrett (ed.), *Derbyshire Feet of Fines 1323–1546* (Derb. Rec. Soc., xi, 1985), no. 1054). Nineteenth-century antiquaries turned this wife into Elizabeth, the daughter and coheir of Sir Robert Goushill, and made William the second husband of a woman who also married Sir Robert Wingfield of Letheringham (Suffolk) (‘Some memorandums concerning the family of Hardwick, of Hardwick, co. Derby’, *Reliquary*, xxii (1881–2), 241–3; Williams, *Bess of Hardwick*, 269; Lovell, *Bess of Hardwick*, 496). Wingfield’s wife was indeed the daughter and coheir of Robert Goushill, who died in 1403 when Elizabeth was a year old (*Cal. Inq. p.m.*, xviii. 311–15; W. Rye (ed.), *The Visitation of Norfolk, made and taken by William Harvey, Clarendieux King of Arms, anno 1563* (Harl. Soc., xxxiii, 1891), 313–14), but Wingfield lived until 1454 (J. Blatchly, ‘The lost and mutilated memorials of the Bovile and Wingfield families at Letheringham’, *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, xxxiii (1973–6), 183), too late for his widow to have married William Hardwick and borne him children. Wingfield’s daughter Elizabeth married Sir William Brandon, ancestor of Frances, wife of Henry Grey, marquess of Dorset (*Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 454, 461–2). Robert Goushill, an esquire to Thomas Mowbray duke of Norfolk (d. 1399; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, xviii. 78) who later married the duke’s widow (*Cal. Close* 1399–1402, 30, 381–3; *Cal. Pat.* 1399–1401, 170, 207, 280, 544, 545; *Cal. Fine R.* 1399–1405, 130–1, 134), appears to have been kin of the lords of Barlborough, since he and the duchess (d. 1425; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, xxii. 365) are said to have been buried at Hoveringham (Notts.), the home manor of the family to which William Hardwick’s wife belonged (Thoroton, *Notts.*, 306–7).
- ¹²³ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 11–12, citing the lost pocket book for details of the children’s birth; he cites no authority for the death in infancy of the second and fifth daughters, and appears to be relying on the fact that nothing is heard of them after their birth. Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 420–1 (followed by Johnston, ‘Earls of Shrewsbury’, v. 261), mentions only the six children who survived.
- ¹²⁴ Collins, *Historical Collections*, 10; it does not appear in Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 420–1 or Johnston’s *History of the Earls of Shrewsbury*.
- ¹²⁵ D. and S. Lysons, *Derbyshire* (1817), 147.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 252.
- ¹²⁷ DC, AS/1.
- ¹²⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 387.
- ¹²⁹ DC, Hardwick MS. 87, ff. 313v.–14, 296–7.

- 130 *Cal. Pat.* 1549–51, 174–5; *VCH Herts.*, ii. 398; iii. 482.
- 131 *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 288–93. The return of Birchall to the Crown as part of this exchange was missed by *VCH Herts.*, iii. 466.
- 132 D.V. Fowkes and G.R. Potter, *William Senior's Survey of the Estates of the First and Second Earls of Devonshire c.1600–28* (Derb. Rec. Soc., xiii, 1988).
- 133 None can be identified in *William Senior's Survey*.
- 134 *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 413.
- 135 *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 288–93 for this and the following paragraphs.
- 136 *Staunton* appears to be a lost place name in or near Blackwell, rather than Stanton in Peak which is nearly ten miles away; I have not identified *Shepcote Place*, nor *Dowsedale*, unless it is Deep Dale in either Chelmorton or Taddington (cf. *P.N. Derb.*, 75, 170)
- 137 This name occurs in Castleton, Chapel en le Frith and Green Fairfield (*P.N. Derb.*, 57, 64, 97), of which the latter seems the most likely (but by no means certain) identification, given the family's later holdings in this area.
- 138 *Complete Peerage*, vii. 15–17.
- 139 TNA, C 142/111/22.
- 140 DC, AS/1605; I indebted to Stuart Band for identifying 'Goldcliffe' in this deed as the modern Goatscliff in Stoke.
- 141 *Cal. Pat.* 1553–4, 441.
- 142 *Ibid.*, 18, 20.
- 143 *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1553–8, 82.
- 144 *Cal. Pat.* 1547–53, 386.
- 145 DC, AS/86.
- 146 *Trevelyan Papers. Part II*, 35; D. Loades, *Intrigue and Treason: the Tudor court 1547–1558* (2004), 132.
- 147 *Acts P.C.* 1554–6 contains only two such references, and the volume for 1556–8 only one, compared with about 50 in each of the two volumes up to 1554.
- 148 *Cal. Pat.* 1555–7, 315.
- 149 *Acts P.C.* 1556–8, 182.
- 150 TNA, E 101/424/10.
- 151 *Ibid.*
- 152 *Ibid.*
- 153 *Acts P.C.* 1556–8, 182 (the meeting of 9 Oct.), is the last occasion before his death on which Cavendish's affairs came before the Council.
- 154 Collins, *Historical Collections*, 12; Brodhurst, 'Sir William Cavendish', 98–100.
- 155 J.G. Nichols (ed.), *The Diary of Henry Machyn* (Camden Soc., xlii, 1848), 156.
- 156 Loades, *Intrigue and Treason*, 226–7.
- 157 Indexes to the PCC, Lichfield and London registries have been checked with no result.
- 158 Collins, *Historical Collections*, 12.
- 159 Above, pp. 240–244 for Cavendish's children from his three marriages. It is impossible to be certain exactly how many of his children were then alive, but the number was at least eight, including six by his third wife.
- 160 TNA, C 142/111/22; DC, AS/854. In her account of Cavendish (*Oxford DNB*) Mrs Jack refers to Sir William also conveying land to the use of his third son Charles, but there is nothing to this effect in his IPM and I have not found any such settlement elsewhere.
- 161 *Oxford DNB*.
- 162 *Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 179.
- 163 Longleat House, TH/VOL/III, f. 29.
- 164 For a full account of Sir William St Loe and his origins see Riden, 'Bess of Hardwick and the St Loe inheritance'.

- ¹⁶⁵ *JHL*, i. 518, 519, 520, 521.
- ¹⁶⁶ *JHC*, i. 48, 50.
- ¹⁶⁷ Longleat House, TH/VOL/III, f. 9.
- ¹⁶⁸ *JHL*, i. 560, 561; *JHC*, i. 57, 59.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 495–6; DC, AS/893.
- ¹⁷⁰ Riden, ‘Bess of Hardwick and the St Loe inheritance’, 101.
- ¹⁷¹ Longleat House, TH/VOL/III, f. 170.
- ¹⁷² *Complete Peerage*, xi. 712–13.
- ¹⁷³ Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 420.
- ¹⁷⁴ Riden, ‘Bess of Hardwick and the St Loe inheritance’, 104–5.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Complete Peerage*, xi. 714–16; G.R. Batho, ‘Gilbert Talbot, seventh earl of Shrewsbury (1553–1616): the “Great and Glorious Earl”?’’, *DAJ*, xciii (1973), 23–32.
- ¹⁷⁶ Lysons, *Derbyshire*, 51.
- ¹⁷⁷ Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, 228–9.
- ¹⁷⁸ The later chapters of Durant, *Bess of Hardwick*, provide an outline of this sequence of events; see also *Complete Peerage*, iv. 339–40.
- ¹⁷⁹ M. Newcastle, *The Life of William Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, to which is added a true relation of my birth, breeding and life* (ed. C.H. Firth) (2nd edn, n.d.), 75–7 lists the estates held by Newcastle in 1641, including the Western Lands inherited by Bess from St Loe and several of the manors etc. bought by William and Charles Cavendish between 1572 and 1584 (as listed in BL, Lansd. MS 40, ff. 88–93, 114–118). The source of most of the other lands listed in 1641 can be identified from material in Notts. Archives, 157 DD/P.