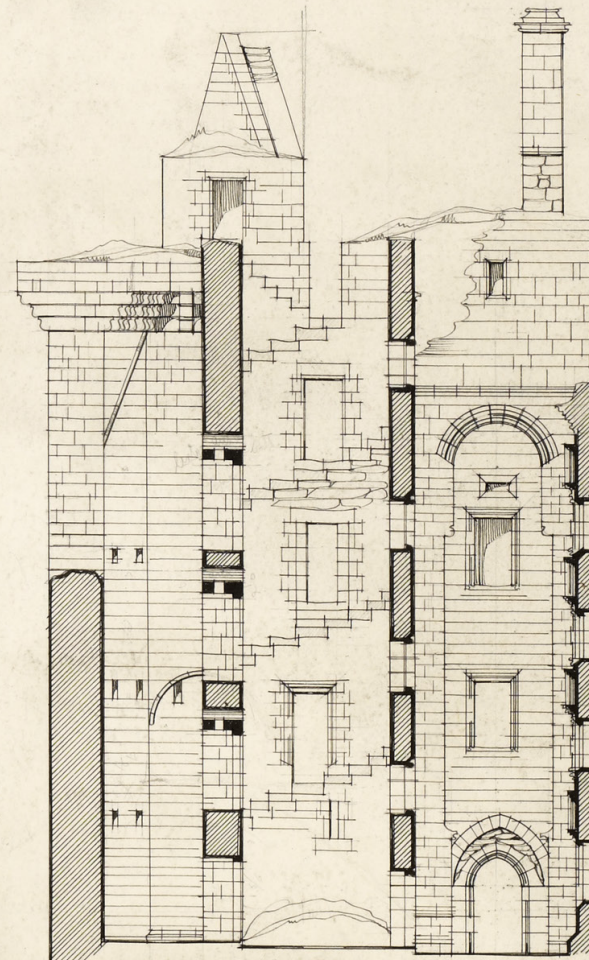


The 1640 Inventory of Caerlaverock Castle



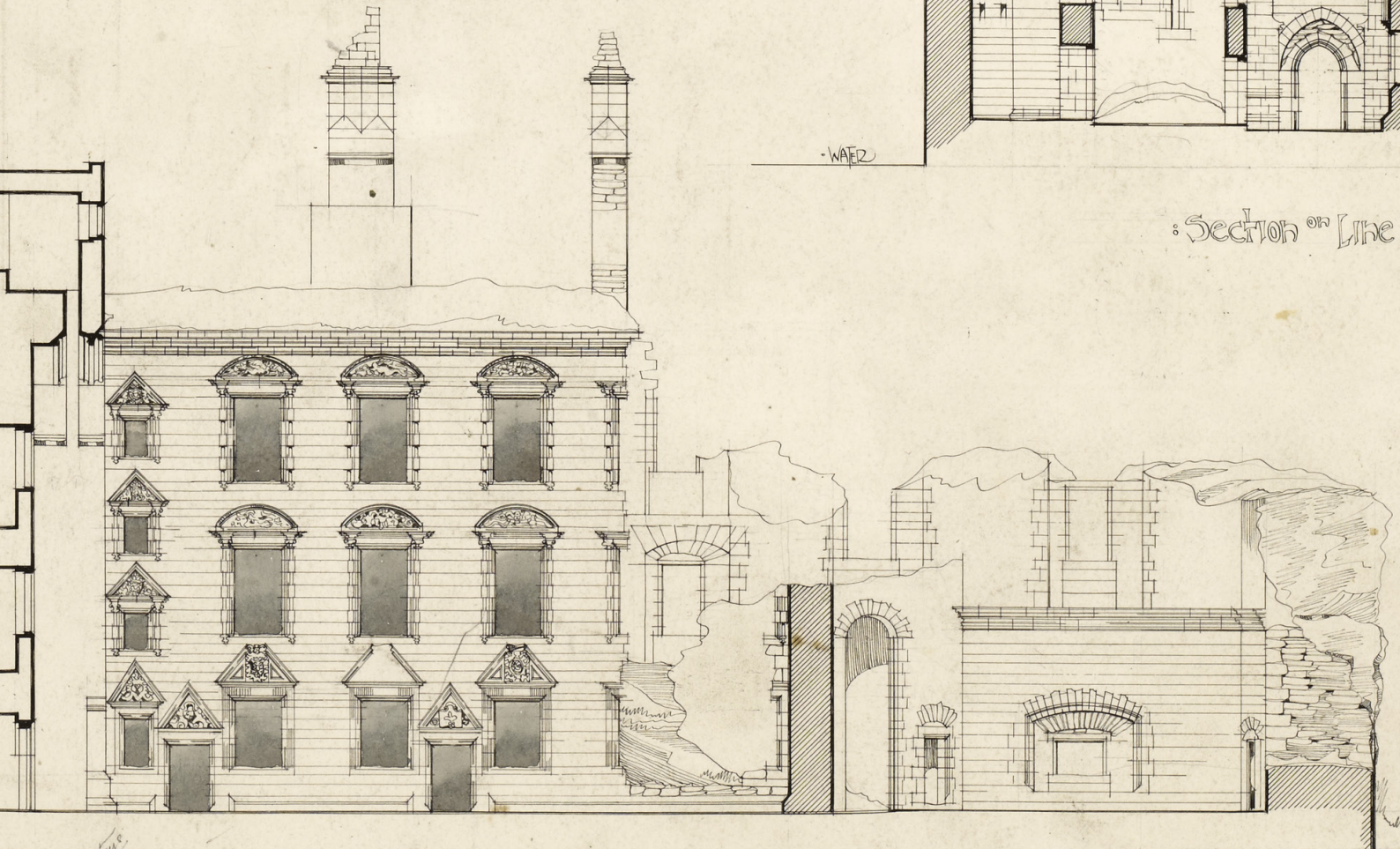
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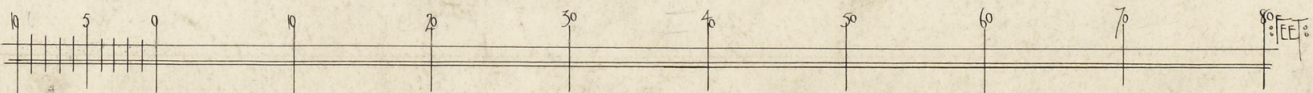


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The 1640 Inventory of Caerlaverock Castle

Michael Pearce

On 29 June 1640 Lieutenant Colonel John Home led a covenanter army against Caerlaverock Castle. It was held by Robert Maxwell, 1st earl of Nithsdale, a supporter of the crown. Nithsdale surrendered the castle to the besiegers on 26 September. Two inventories were taken of its contents after Nithsdale's forced departure.

The inventory text

The two inventories of goods at, and taken from, Caerlaverock Castle in 1640 have been printed at least three times. The originals survive at Hull University Archives in the papers of the Constable Maxwell Family of Everingham, Caerlaverock and Terregles.¹

In the 1790s the inventories, or more likely copies or recent transcripts, belonging to the antiquary Captain Robert Riddell of Glen Riddell and Friar's Carse (1755-1794), a patron of Robert Burns, were printed by Francis Grose without much comment.² Riddell wrote a description of Caerlaverock in 1787.³ The same inventory texts were printed by Nicholas Harris Nicolas in 1828, again without commentary.⁴ At this time, Captain Riddell's manuscript of Maxwell history belonged to the antiquary John Bowyer Nichols FSA (1745-1826), who was also Nicolas's publisher.⁵

Grose's transcription of the inventories was extensively quoted by nineteenth-century historians including William McDowall.⁶ McDowall highlighted the library of books belonging to the 'Philosopher Earl' (the nickname of the first earl's son!), and the apparent luxury of the upholstered furnishing. The Royal Commission's *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Dumfries* also rehearsed the 1640 inventory, correcting some spellings, pointing out that the furnishings seemed of recent origin, and venturing that the textiles included imported silks and velvets.⁷ However, no attempt was made to tie in any feature in the description of the castle with the room names given in inventory. This may have been a methodological decision, and the room names in the inventory are not easy to locate in the surviving ruins.

William Fraser saw the original inventories among the charters of Lord Herries at Terregles, now at Hull University. Fraser printed the text, presumably to be preferred to the version by Francis Grose, and summarised it in his narrative, also highlighting the books.⁸ Fraser also had access at Terregles to manuscript notes on the history of the first earl of Nithsdale, perhaps by George Chalmers (1742-1825) or Captain Riddell, an original 'Statement of the Earl's losses sustained at Caerlaverock etc' and 'Information anent the siege', which he seems not to have printed in 1873.

Fraser, however, stated that the 'Information' reveals that the earl and countess of Nithsdale were present at Caerlaverock during part of the siege, and this item is probably the well-known anonymous letter that he printed which mentions the

¹ Hull University Archives, Hull History Centre, GB 50 U DDEV/1, /2.

² Grose 1797, 164-7, nos 16-17.

³ National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS.23662.

⁴ Nicolas 1828, xxix-xxxii.

⁵ The Nichols Archive Project, University of Leicester, may have located the Riddell manuscript.

⁶ McDowall, 1867, 405.

⁷ Maxwell 1920, lxx-lxxvi.

⁸ Fraser 1873, vol. 2, 502-4.

'dainty fabric of the lodging'.⁹ These documents are almost certainly now at Hull University, and the online information locates the items calendared and printed by Fraser in an album. The album may contain items not printed by Fraser. There are also a variety of other items at Hull, mostly referring to the earl of Nithsdale's debts.¹⁰

The spelling of both lists of goods is eccentric, and it is clear from both printed texts that the originals are difficult to read. Some few words in Fraser's version are cited by the *Dictionary of the Scots Language* as obscurities, though they are most likely impenetrable versions of common terms.¹¹ Most of the other words are terms found in in many other contemporary Scottish inventories, albeit in slight disguise.

The contents of the two inventories were organised on different lines, the first being a sort of room survey, and the second a list by category, and the items listed are not easily cross-referenced. Probably they represent two recollections of what was at Caerlaverock in 1640 and what was taken. Both forms of inventory were adopted by owners and housekeepers of the period to track their possessions.

The first inventory mentions rooms in the southern hall block which were destroyed or damaged by the bombardment from the woods to the south, which revealed or threaten to reveal the 'dainty fabric' of the Nithsdale Lodging façade still surviving today. Although the first inventory appears to have been a written after or during a walk round, it was more likely composed from memory. The second inventory, despite its impressive costings in pounds sterling and Scots, is also likely to be a rough estimate. However, many of the items mentioned tally up nicely.

Neither Grose nor Fraser were able to provide any more context for the inventories, but it seems that they were made after the siege so that the earl of Nithsdale could potentially make a claim for redress.

The inventories show a house furnished with fashionable suites of furniture of the 1630s as well as evidence of preparations for the siege, with armour and weapons in various rooms and apparently a makeshift smithy in the southern range.

The parish of Caerlaverock

Other documents may survive from the period in the collection at Hull, such as accounts and estate vouchers, not noted by William Fraser, which would give ideas and pictures of social history and economy of life at Caerlaverock.

For instance, some information about the Caerlaverock estate is available in registered wills, indicating there were farms in the seventeenth century near the castle on the 'Mains of Caerlaverock' including Netherfield, High Mains and Greenhead. Greenhead is still the name of the land and the row of cottages at the castle gate. In 1659 Greenhead had a dairy with six cows with three calves, beef (six young stotts and greys), a nag, a mare and a foal, 20 ewes and lambs, and sown oats and corn. The farmer William MacWilliam's household goods were valued at 40 merks. He had a servant called Margaret Morton. He owed rent to Elizabeth Beaumont, countess of Nithsdale, totalling £40. He left his clothes to his brother Robert McWilliam in nearby Bowhouse and offered his widow a place to stay in nearby Shearington. At Greenhead there was a kail yard, 'knotts for setting of kail' and an apple orchard.¹² Presumably the Mains of Greenhead had been farmed like

⁹ Fraser 1873, vol. 1, 353-4, 356, 358-9; vol. 2, 134-7.

¹⁰ <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/ad8bd3e7-acbd-3e83b202-d5da0ba6bc4b>.

¹¹ *Dictionary of the Scots Language*.

¹² National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, CC5/6/3, 646-9, William MckWilliam, 1659.

this before the siege, by MacWilliam's predecessors, supplying the castle with milk, cereal, meat and wool.

In 1638 Sir John Maxwell of Conheath, who had a bedchamber in the castle, witnessed the will of a farmer, John Maben, who had sheep and cattle at Conheath, and who left a 'meat armory' (a kitchen cupboard) and a stand bed to his son. The laird of Conheath had a troubled relationship with the earl of Nithsdale. The testaments were noted down by Mr William MacJor, minister, 'apud Carlaverock' (at Caerlaverock), meaning the parish church two miles to the north, near the site of Ille or Isle tower.¹³

In 1630 Edward Maxwell of Isle Tower rented from the earl of Nithsdale the lands of Kirkblane, Bankend and Wardlaw. Edward's funeral expenses were 100 merks.¹⁴ This may be an indication that the much of the earl's lands were rented to lesser Maxwell gentry. Isle was sometimes called 'Isle of Carlaverock'. The 2nd earl of Nithsdale stayed there in 1660.¹⁵ Nithsdale exchanged the rent money owed to him by John Maxwell of Pollock for wine bought in Glasgow and supplied to the castle.¹⁶

Robert Maxwell and Elizabeth Beaumont, earl and countess of Nithsdale, at court in England and their furniture

Robert Maxwell, 1st earl of Nithsdale (c.1586 – May 1646), was lord Maxwell from 1613, succeeding his executed older brother, and became earl of Nithsdale in 1620.

On 28 October 1619 he married Elizabeth Beaumont, cousin of the duke of Buckingham. They had three children: Robert (1620-1667), Jean (d. 1649), and Elizabeth. Elizabeth is said to have died of the plague that came to Dumfries in 1623.¹⁷ Marrying into a rich and influential English family was a recognised strategy for the Scottish aristocracy. The son of the earl of Morton married another relation of Buckingham, and a family letter mentioned seeking 'the stranger bedfellow': a partner sought at court in England for advantage of money or favour rather than a bride from the traditional Scottish aristocracy.¹⁸

We know something of the earl of Nithsdale's life at court in England because of the actions of his kinsman, Charles Maxwell, who fought a duel with Sir Robert Kerr when the court was at Newmarket in January 1620.

There must be some doubt about the identity of Charles Maxwell. The nineteenth century historian David Laing identified him as a son of Sir John Maxwell of Conheath, who had a lodging at Caerlaverock Castle, and asserted that John's other son James was an usher or gentleman of the king's bedchamber. However, James Maxwell of the bedchamber, later lord Dirleton, also had a younger brother called Charles, and another brother, Robert, who was a sergeant of arms. Robert held the advowsons of three churches in Kent, and was presumably not a Catholic, as many of the Maxwell family were.¹⁹

¹³ National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, CC5/6/2, John Maben in Conheath.

¹⁴ National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, CC6/6/2, 24-5, Edward Maxwell of Ille, registered 1638.

¹⁵ Fraser 1873, vol. 2, 145.

¹⁶ Fraser 1873, vol. 2, 107-8, no. 104.

¹⁷ Nicolas 1828, xxv.

¹⁸ National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, GD150/3437/12, the 'stranger bedfellow letter'.

¹⁹ Paul 1904-14, vol. 3, 102; The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/175/74.

There were no more than half a dozen Maxwells regularly attending the court but tracking them is surprisingly difficult. Letters refer to only to 'Maxwell'.²⁰ James Maxwell, later lord Dirleton, was sent with presents to Elizabeth, electress Palatine, at Heidelberg in 1614, and in the several letters mentioning this he was described only as Mr Maxwell or the 'Scottish gentleman'.²¹ He was an influential man: in 1638 his eldest daughter Elizabeth Maxwell, aged 18, married Lord William Hamilton, and in 1639 his daughter Diana Maxwell, aged 16, married Charles Cecil, viscount Cranbourne, son of the earl of Salisbury.

Charles Maxwell, 'brother of Maxwell of the bedchamber', planned to better himself by gaining the favour of the duke of Buckingham by telling tales about things Sir Robert Kerr had said against the duke at dinner, making a comparison about the French king's favourite. The dinner was held by Thomas Murray, secretary to Prince Charles. This plan was a complete failure and Charles Maxwell, who had survived two previous duels, was killed by Sir Robert Kerr in a duel at the end of January 1620.²²

Detail of these events comes from a letter written by Sir John Stewart of Traquair, a cousin of the earl of Nithsdale, to Sir Robert Kerr's cousin Andrew Kerr, lord Jedburgh, relating what Nithsdale had told him about the events. The letter particularly outlines how intimate Nithsdale and his wife were with the duke of Buckingham. Nithsdale mentioned riding with Charles Maxwell, in 1620, to a house ten miles from Newmarket at Abington Hall: a house belonging to Elizabeth Spencer, lady Compton and countess of Northampton, whose taste for expensive furnishings is well known (see below).²³ At Abington, the countess of Nithsdale was staying with Frances Coke, viscountess Purbeck, the wife of Buckingham's brother John Villiers.

Nithsdale had wanted to settle a disagreement between Buckingham and Sir Robert Kerr and was horrified to hear of Charles Maxwell's plan to stir things up. Charles's plan to drop Kerr in it was the opposite of Nithsdale's. Some days later, the duke of Buckingham travelled in a coach to the house at Abingdon with viscount Purbeck and Nithsdale, and they fell to discussing the controversy with Sir Robert Kerr, whose cause Nithsdale advocated. Later that day, the duke rode to Newmarket with Charles Maxwell, who took the opportunity to cast Kerr in a bad light for his speech months before at Thomas Murray's dinner. A few days later, at Newmarket, the earl was unable to convince Charles Maxwell that his course of action was

²⁰ James Maxwell, usher of the bedchamber, with reversion of the office of Black Rod: Rymer 1727, 14. James Maxwell of Innerwick, later earl of Dirleton, was a gentleman of the bedchamber, an usher, as was his brother, William Maxwell of Kirkhouse. They were made joint ushers to Prince Charles in 1625. Another James Maxwell, son of the grandson of the laird of Kirkconnell, and nephew or cousin of the first earl of Nithsdale, was the author of *Carolanna* (1619) and was imprisoned in the Tower of London for writing against the king of Bohemia. A Maxwell who was an usher or sewer, and illiterate, fought with one Hawley of the Temple in 1612. Thomson 1965, vol. 1, 348; vol. 2, 288, 293, suggests 'James Maxwell' was the combatant in 1612, and the Black Rod, and his brother Charles was the victim in 1620. The duellist Charles and the usher James Maxwell were brothers, sons of Sir John Maxwell of Conheath: Fraser 1873, vol. 2, 124. At this time, Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnell was squire of the king's body. Sir Robert Maxwell, son of lord Herries, also at court and a suitor for the stewardship of Orkney, and a Catholic (Paton 1930, 114), was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber in 1611: National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, GD63/84. Patrick Maxwell was a groom of the king's bedchamber to James and Charles I.

²¹ Shaw and Owen 1962, 210; Hinds 1940, 272, 392, 406, 413.

²² Charles Maxwell's will was registered in Edinburgh, as Charles Maxuell, 13 November 1623: National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, CC8/8/52, 190-1. The will says he died in Edinburgh, however.

²³ Brewer 1839, vol. 2, 127-32.

misguided, and the earl spoke with Kerr about his speech, which Kerr denied intended offence to the duke, but had come to harm the earl, who had represented himself as Kerr's friend. The situation then escalated to the duel. On the morning of the duel, Nithsdale refused to intervene, thinking he would be found complicit.²⁴ He, at least, after the fact did not seek revenge on behalf of the Maxwell name. Although he said Prince Charles thanked him for his actions, the affair probably dimmed his reputation.

This story shows the intimacy the earl and countess enjoyed with the duke of Buckingham in 1619 and 1620. Access to the duke was even enjoyed by Charles Maxwell, who was eager to scheme his own way into fortune. Nithsdale was mediating with Buckingham on behalf of another Scot, Sir Robert Kerr, kinsman of the disgraced earl of Somerset. His lack of success in managing the situation shows the finesse of bedchamber politics was beyond him, and although the Maxwells called him 'Chief', they were not always intimidated or enthralled by him, especially those who already held office at court.

While this intrigue was bubbling away, the newly married lady Nithsdale and the viscountess Purbeck were living together in the country house at Abingdon near Cambridge, no doubt entertaining in high fashion and splendour. The owner, Elizabeth Compton, was the mother-in-law of the countess of Nithsdale's cousin Mary Beaumont, later countess of Northampton. The Comptons' main house was the palatial Castle Ashby House, improved in 1635 with a screen of rooms across the courtyard in classical style. William Compton employed Inigo Jones to design tournament pageants for him, though the wing at Castle Ashby is not attributed to Jones.

Unfortunately, the Purbeck marriage, which had started in controversy, also ended badly soon afterwards. Nithsdale could also have been an intriguer: in 1622 it was reported that he spoke against the earl of Mar, saying that he frustrated the king and Buckingham's plans wherever they might be to Nithsdale's advantage.²⁵ The failure of the Purbeck marriage and Mar's enmity probably did Nithsdale no good at all.

Meanwhile, the king's usher, James Maxwell, was an ally of Mar and the earl of Kellie. In 1631, James Maxwell, the future earl of Dirleton, wrote on behalf of James Maxwell of Conheath, hoping Nithsdale would overlook his son's involvement in the 'accident' of the duel ten years before.²⁶ So, the impact of the duel on Nithsdale's relations with Maxwells in the bedchamber, and perhaps with his allies among the Scottish aristocracy, had not healed in a decade. However, in 1640 there was a 'Conheath's chamber' at Caelaverock, perhaps evidence that after twenty years this rift had healed.

1623: Waste and the 'smart of wasturrie'

Maxwell was not particularly successful in his search for favour, and he found money hard to obtain. Worse, the Scottish aristocracy questioned his new title of earl of Nithsdale, putting him to heavy legal expenses. A couple of his letters to the Scottish Mr Fix-It at court, John Murray of the bedchamber (viscount Annand), survive in the National Library.

²⁴ Laing 1875, vol. 1, 10-15.

²⁵ Paton 1930, 119-20.

²⁶ Fraser 1873, vol. 2, 124.

One letter describes his money worries in 1623, the year of Prince Charles's potential Spanish match, and four years after his own marriage to Elizabeth Beaumont. Astonishingly, Nithsdale boasted how he would keep his wife at home, away from court, to save expense, to save him from the 'smart of wasturrie', even though her connection to court favour via Buckingham was his apparent meal ticket.²⁷ Nithsdale countered a rumour that he and his wife were going to London, saying she would not go unless the duke of Buckingham requested it, and he was 'assured to better for the voyage'. This outlook, and the general air of penury of the two letters, is at odds with the later luxury of the building at Caerlaverock and its furnishings. The implication is that Nithsdale would not have his wife shopping in London. This may well relate to the sceptical attitude to 'stranger bedfellow' wives found in a letter in the Morton papers:

I think [it] strange that Sir George Elphinstone [of Blythswood] should have made any motion of my upcoming, much more of my wife's. I have found the smart of 'wasturrie' in that part sufficiently already; neither do I ever intend my wife shall come there, unless be the direction of my lord Duke of Buckingham, I may be assured to be bettered be the voyage. For my own upcoming, if your lordship shall think it fit, after you have spoken [with] my Lord Buckingham, short advertisement shall serve.

I am sorry that George Heriot is put in such fear and distaste with me, as I hear by Sir George he is, for his security may be good enough, if he would be pleased to furnish some money. I protest before God there shall be no means to hold of discredit, that I see, since no money may be had from thence, the misery of this land is such. God send the prince and my lord duke well home.²⁸

New furniture at Caerlaverock

The supply of money evidently improved. The famous lodging at Caerlaverock was completed in or around 1634, according to a date stone. It might be possible to think of this as a family building, occupied by Robert junior, his tutor, his mother and his younger sister, while the earl was mostly away on business in Dumfries and further afield in London, or connected with soldiering. There was a library of books, perhaps those suitable for the young man. The library may have been in the west wing, on the first floor, giving a good view of the emblematic window carvings.²⁹ To a certain extent the lodging may have been a vehicle for its elaborate façade, perhaps to the detriment of its internal arrangements.

The inventory of 1640 lists items taken away to sell, perhaps in Dumfries, or to ship from Ayr. Soft furnishings were surprisingly high in looters' priorities, and an inventory of Donibristle House made in 1651 mentions chair backs looted by a party of English soldiers from the Battle of Inverkeithing.³⁰

²⁷ National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv.MS.33.1.1, vol. 10 (cxi).

²⁸ National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv.MS.33.1.1, vol. 10 (cxi); Maidment 1837, vol. 2, 544.

²⁹ MacGibbon and Ross 1887-92, vol. 1, 131.

³⁰ National Register of Archives for Scotland, Edinburgh, NRAS217, box 5, no. 1202, September 1651.

Couches

What was taken from Caerlaverock certainly accords with other inventories of the period from 1630 to 1650, even though the descriptions are quite terse. The furnishings included smart modern items, especially a drawing room suite with a couch, doubtless for Countess Elizabeth Beaumont. These couches and resting chairs had particularly feminine connotations and had been associated with Anna of Denmark in her last years of illness, from 1614 to 1619, and her Scottish carer Jean Drummond, countess of Roxburghe. Roxburghe wrote a letter describing how the physician Theodore de Mayerne had instructed the queen to keep her feet up.³¹

Anne Livingston, countess of Eglinton, a former lady-in-waiting who had been brought up at court with Princess Elizabeth, electress Palatine, ordered a copy of lady Roxburghe's chair for her Scottish houses, and was offered a version with a beech wood frame like the famous surviving Knole sofa.³²

The couch was not only used by invalids but was documented as an aspirational piece of high-status furniture for women in letters and plays of the period. In plays the couch is very much associated with feminine aristocratic status and even the female body.³³ A couch at Hardwick Hall had a fabric canopy of state,³⁴ and it is likely that the new 'grey canopy' in the Caerlaverock inventory was for the silver couch.

In 1610 an English heiress demanded from her husband a drawing room suite with a couch for all of her houses:

Also I will have all my houses furnished, and all my lodging chambers to be suited with all such furniture as is fit; as beds, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, carpets, silver warming pans, cupboards of plate, fair hangings, and such like. So for my drawing chamber in all houses, I will have them delicately furnished, both with hangings, couch, canopy, glass, carpet, chair, cushions, and all things thereunto belonging.³⁵

This was Elizabeth, lady Compton, the owner of Abington House to the east of Cambridge. This was where Elizabeth Beaumont, the newlywed lady Maxwell, stayed with Frances Coke, the reluctant wife of John Villiers, viscount Purbeck, the brother of the duke of Buckingham, in 1620. Presumably these women shared their taste in drawing room furniture.³⁶

The Nithsdales' drawing room suite was almost certainly bought in London, like those made for the countess of Home, who had no less than seventeen couches in various reception rooms and drawing rooms. The countess of Eglinton also sought

³¹ National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Adv.MS.33.1.1, vol. 10 (cxix).

³² National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, GD3/5/56; National Trust, NT 129442.

<https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/129442>: 'The couch is part of a larger set of matching crimson velvet seat furniture, now in the so-called Leicester Gallery at Knole. It comprises two further couches (NT 129438.1-129438.2), six chairs (NT 129439.1-129439.6), and eight stools – four high (NT 129441.1-129441.4) and four low (NT 129440.1-129440.4). It is thought that this set would have been arranged symmetrically, probably under a state canopy or canopies.'

³³ Pearce 2016, 215-17. In Richard Brome's *The Court Beggar*, three London wits are invited by a chambermaid to await the widow lady Strangelove in her gallery. They notice the couch and the maid Philomel asks them not to damage it, 'wrong not my Ladies Couch with your Spurres I pray'. Brome 1653, Sig. o4-r: *Court Beggar*, Act II Scene I.

³⁴ Jervis 1989, 294.

³⁵ Brewer 1839, vol. 2, 131.

³⁶ Laing 1875, vol. 1, 6-12.

to buy a couch in London in 1614. This furniture was made in a French style for court life following French manners. In the 1640s John Clerk of Penicuik started commissioning French luxury furniture for his clients,³⁷ and other Scottish merchants may have already been importing French furniture. Evidence for this commerce in earlier years is slight. It seems that Scottish aristocrats in the 1630s mostly bought their furniture in London, even though the style and the furnishing concepts were French.

The couch at Hardwick has the arms of the earl and countess of Devonshire, and was made for Christian Bruce, countess of Devonshire, who was Scottish.³⁸ Amongst the visitors to Chatsworth who would have seen Christian on this couch was Sir Robert Kerr, the friend of the earl of Nithsdale.

Ralph Grinder, 'upholder' by appointment

The most prominent and well-known supplier of upholstered furniture in London was Ralph Grynder or Grinder. Many of his bills for Queens Anna of Denmark and Henrietta Maria survive.³⁹ Grinder may have supplied the surviving 1630s furniture at Knole, and he worked for private clients like Katherine Manners, duchess of Buckingham and her second husband, the earl of Antrim.⁴⁰ The suite of furniture at Caerlaverock may well have been supplied by Ralph Grinder or his associates. He trained apprentices. His business was applying rich fabrics and trims to frames made by joiners then marketing the product. Grinder was an entrepreneur and in 1649 formed a syndicate with other wealthy London merchants to buy and sell paintings from the sale of King Charles I's collection. Among the painters and gilders who worked for the court and who decorated furniture, one gilder was called Steven Pilcherd.

Italian style

Buckingham's own furnishings were a vehicle for displaying his collection of Italian paintings, and he owned Italian-style chairs, marble-topped tables, and Italian chests known as *cassoni*: the kind of accessories still furnishing art galleries.⁴¹

³⁷ Pearce 2016, ch. 2:4.

³⁸ National Trust, NT 1127775, now without its canopy or upholstery on the ends. See <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1127775>: 'This couch was more than just a piece of seat furniture, but served a ritual purpose. Listed in the Long Gallery in the inventory of 1764, it was shown in the Long Gallery in a 1775 drawing of Samuel Hieronymus Grimm as beneath a canopy with flanking stools, suggesting that it was used as a throne.'

³⁹ Westman 2019, 20, 29, 35, 37.

⁴⁰ Hill 1873, 475.

For one of the other couches at Knole, with side screens, see National Trust, NT 129438.1, The exposed woodwork of these couches was carefully decorated with painted arabesques and trailing decoration. <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/129438.1>: 'The wooden frameworks are glazed in tomato red to leave a design of gilt arabesques, while the inside of the frames and stretchers are painted to simulate marble (the painted decoration was restored in 1969 by the Rural Industries Bureau). The two couches form part of a larger suite, which comprise yet another couch – the famous 'Knole Sofa' – six chairs, and eight stools, four high and four low. All three Knole couch chairs were at the cutting edge of furniture and design at the time.'

National Trust, NT 129609, chair with painted decoration suitable for a bed suite, Knole. This chair has simple turned classical columns for front legs, enhanced with painting and gilding. See <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/129609>.

National Trust, NT 129547.1, stool suitable for a bed suite, Knole. See <https://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/129547.1>.

⁴¹ Jervis 1997.

Although pieces in Italianate style seem not to be noted in the Caerlaverock inventory, its rich furnishings can be related to the contemporary patronage of artisans by women in the circle of lady Nithsdale, including Katherine Villiers, duchess of Buckingham.⁴² The same theme can be found in rooms furnished for Henrietta Maria. There is no trace of this to be seen in the 1640 inventories of Caerlaverock, although paintings, marble tables and Italian-style chairs feature in the inventories of the countess of Home and Aberdour Castle. Possibly the 'long hall' in the south range was intended to be furnished as a gallery in the Italian style.

Mirrors

Lady Compton mentioned glasses or mirrors as an essential luxury for drawing chambers or bedchambers. No mirrors were noted at Caerlaverock in 1640. At Eglinton in the 1630s at least one mirror was housed in an elaborate silk-curtained canopy: 'And a looking glass gilded with gold with a canopy and curtains of taffeta damask above the foresaid glass'.⁴³ These arrangements are also found in English inventories.

Music: the virginals

In 1640 the virginals, a keyboard instrument, were packed up in the round chamber in the tower. The instrument was almost always called a pair of virginals, though the phrase was probably redundant of meaning. Inventories, accounts and correspondence often associate the instrument with the education of girls, so we often find letters about the purchase of virginals for daughters. The countess of Nithsdale had two daughters, Jean and Elizabeth. Elizabeth may have died as an infant, so the instrument may have been placed near Jean's bedchambers. At Moray House in the Canongate in 1631, the virginals were near the daughter's bedchamber in a passageway.⁴⁴ A pair of virginals at the National Museum of Scotland has long been associated with Marie Stewart, countess of Mar (died 1644).⁴⁵

Oak joinery v. upholstery

Furniture makers in Scotland, identified in burgh records or wills or by examination of surviving artefacts, particularly chairs, do not seem to have made the upholstered items seen in aristocratic inventories; however, they continued to make joined and carved furniture, and the leather backed chairs which remained popular throughout the seventeenth century. In Edinburgh, from the 1550s every master wright or carpenter made a prentice piece or assay of furniture, like an extending table or dresser cupboard.⁴⁶

New London-made and French-style upholstered furniture was deployed, if not juxtaposed, with the sturdier carved oak pieces made in Scotland, especially older items carrying heraldry and ciphers and dates of ancestors. This taste for ancestral items led to the preservation of older pieces and the continuation of older styles, and

⁴² Shaw 2022.

⁴³ National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, GD3/6/36/8, Inventory of Eglinton Castle in 1630. See Marsden 2000, 27, 30, 39, 'one fair looking glass with a canopy'.

⁴⁴ National Register of Archives for Scotland, Edinburgh, NRAS217, box 5, f. 16v.

⁴⁵ National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, H.LT 122: <https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections/collection-search-results?entry=32291>. These virginals are contained in a rectangular case of oak. The painted decorations on the case include a classical scene of unicorn, lion, elephant and peacock listening to the playing of Orpheus.

⁴⁶ Pearce 2016, 32.

the robust oak pieces survive much better than the upholstered items. It is not always clear in the inventory if chairs and stools were plain joined pieces or upholstered. The cupboards mentioned were also joined pieces of furniture, some for serving food in dining rooms.

French beds

There are no surviving 1630s upholstered beds, which appear in so many inventories. The usual box-like upholstered type were known as 'French beds'. Many beds and French bedchambers of this period were depicted by the engraver Abraham Bosse.



Abraham Bosse, *Visit to the New Mother*, 1633, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26.49.42, public domain:

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/358771>.

Beds and bed suites of matching chairs, stools and couches, as found at Caerlaverock, were mostly supplied by London 'upholders', and possibly directly from France. John Clerk of Penicuik commissioned a bed with a walnut frame in Paris in 1649 to retail in Edinburgh.⁴⁷ The countess of Home bought some bed curtains in London that were not fully made up but supplied with separate lining fabrics to be made up by her servants.⁴⁸ Additionally, a letter from lady Innes

⁴⁷ National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, GD18/2506, papers of John Clerk of Penicuik.

⁴⁸ National Register of Archives for Scotland, NRAS217, box 5, no. 6, inventory of Donibristle House.

describes the process of putting a bed together with some woollen fabric from her own sheep and trimmings sourced from distant towns.⁴⁹ At Caerlaverock the silver furniture and a grey silk canopy were new, needing to be made up.

The curtain lining fabrics mentioned in inventories faced the occupant of the bed; they were not the hidden interlining material used for warmth. There were summer and winter beds: the summer beds of silk, the winter beds of woollen cloth. The 'cloth beds' used in winter were not invariably lesser or cheaper beds; both types were decorated with elaborate applied fringes and passementerie which were the major contributor to cost.

Beds at Caerlaverock

The first inventory mentions beds, timber beds, a damask bed and a green canopy bed. The second inventory lists and prices categories of beds, not highlighting the damask or canopy bed.

Best beds

The five best beds had a cloth tester and five curtains, probably an opening pair in each long side. The more curtains, the more fringes, passementerie, expense and perceived luxury.

The first inventory mentions a damask bed, in the damask chamber, a 'green canopy' bed and a further canopy bed in the earl's drawing room, which might be extra to the beds totalled in the second inventory. Clearly, the canopy bed was distinguished by its canopy or roof. Some Scottish beds had a canopy and no posts, and were often called 'chapel beds' (although some chapel beds had posts), and these 'chapel beds' appear in other contemporary inventories, like that of Eglinton Castle, where in 1630 there was 'a chapel bed of red flowered satin with six pieces of red taffeta curtains with orange and green silk fringes.'⁵⁰ At the marquess of Huntly's residence Bog of Gight, there were chapel beds for the marquess and his heir, lord Gordon, similarly described to the bed at Eglinton, but each with six knops with feathers at the corners and apices of the canopy.⁵¹

Anna of Denmark was given a chapel bed in 1600, and it was constructed at Dunfermline, apparently as a gift at the time of the birth of Prince Charles.⁵² Her Scottish lady-in-waiting, Jean Stewart, lady Bargany, in 1605, had beds with canopies and 'pinnacles' (probably a misspelling of 'pendicle', a word used for valences). Elizabeth Stewart, lady Johnstone, had two chapel beds at Newbie, Dumfriesshire, in 1605.⁵³

Heritage bed? The green canopy bed

However, the canopy beds at Caerlaverock may well have been old, and heirlooms. Annabell Murray, countess of Mar, (died 1603), particularly mentioned six beds in her will with some items of jewellery that ought to be considered part of the honour and heritage of the Erskine family,⁵⁴ and there are many more English

⁴⁹ Fraser 1859, vol. 2, 257-8.

⁵⁰ National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, GD3/6/36/8. The bed was in the high inner chamber.

⁵¹ National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, GD44/49/13/1/1, Inventory of Bog of Gight in 1648.

⁵² National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, E21/74, Royal Treasurer's Accounts, f. 85r; Pearce 2013, 88-90.

⁵³ Fraser 1897, 41.

⁵⁴ National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, MS. ch. 4031, will of the countess of Mar, 16 November 1602.

examples of this kind of bequest. As these beds were clearly in a different style from the five best beds, they may have been antiques, regarded as an honour to the family. Bed canopies and chapel beds appear in inventories throughout the sixteenth century. Lady Fleming owned a purple canopy in 1573,⁵⁵ and Mary Queen of Scots removed a number of canopy and chapel beds from Huntly Castle and had them altered, apparently adding posts and possibly simplifying the form.⁵⁶

The green bed at Caerlaverock was in the round chamber in the tower adjacent to the lord's bedchamber, which seems to have been used as a store or a sort of wardrobe in 1640; this may indicate that it was an heirloom that didn't quite fit with the new furnishings. The round chamber also contained items like the silver drawing room furniture, a grey canopy which may have been intended for the silver suite, and pieces in Maxwell black and white which sound quite new and were not yet 'made up'. The impression is either that the castle furnishing scheme was by no means complete, or, perhaps less likely, some things had been moved into this room during preparations for the siege.

Lesser beds

The 10 lesser 'cloth' or serge beds clearly lacked lace and fringes and were much cheaper. These beds were probably for lesser gentlemen and women of the family, as well as the chief servants, like the butler who was in charge of the kitchen and purchasing food, the schoolmaster, and possibly a female housekeeper. Such servants appear in contemporary records and accounts of other households, especially those of the countess of Home, with reasonable salaries and their own rooms and beds.

The earl's letters and the Caerlaverock inventory mention 'Conheath', who had a bed and a room in the castle. This was John Maxwell of Conheath, the earl's uncle or, possibly, his cousin. Conheath is not far north of Caerlaverock, along the Nith. It is not clear if 'Crekyl' was a servant or the designation of another Maxwell laird.

Where there were two beds in a chamber, the second bed was probably a lesser bed.

Servants' beds: Sanders' room

Servants' beds were probably the 'timber beds', or box beds. Only the value of bedding was specified, and presumably only the bedding was carried off. It seems unlikely that the 20 beds could be identified in the discursive first inventory; however, there were four beds in 'Sanders' chamber' and Sanders – Alexander – may have been a servant, perhaps the porter, coachman or butler: the three male roles that most often get a mention in this period. This would have been a male dormitory, possibly in the attic where the attic space was not a smart gallery used by the family. The porter, as well as being the man to open the door, was also in charge of lighting, especially on the stairs. Servants are very inconspicuous in surviving records, and so it is hard to be accurate on other role names for the mostly male servants or personal attendants who carried messages or brought in and emptied close stools.

Rooms at Caerlaverock mentioned in the inventory

The inventory refers to the earl of Nithsdale as 'my lord' and the countess, Elizabeth Beaumont, as 'my lady'. The heir, Robert, is 'lord Maxwell'. 'Conheath' was

⁵⁵ Hunter 1862, 332.

⁵⁶ Robertson 1863, 49-50, nos 2, 8-9.

the earl's uncle or cousin, John Maxwell. 'Sanders' and 'Creky' may have been servants.

The bedchamber suites in the 1634 lodging

Some of these rooms would have been on the first and second floors of the new building. An aristocrat's bedchamber in the past often had an outer hall, not unlike the audience chambers of monarchs. In the 1630s these outer halls were often repurposed as drawing chambers. At Caerlaverock the picture is mixed, with rooms called halls or outer halls, drawing rooms and apparently dining chambers. The earl had a hall and drawing room, and the round room in one of the towers was potentially a further room in his suite. The countess and their son lord Maxwell seem to have fewer rooms in their lodgings.

It also became common to have a room next to a hall, or partitioned from a hall, that served as a dining chamber. A reception room beyond this might be a drawing chamber: a withdrawing chamber not directly connected to a bedchamber suite. Examples of these can be found in a small number of other Scottish inventories of houses built by accretion and conversion of older castles. In England, the dining room and withdrawing chamber at Bolsover Castle have this character.

Compact though they are, at Caerlaverock daily life involved using the turnpike stairs to descend and cross the courtyard between separate clusters of rooms. The grand stair at the east of the hall leads to the second floor of the hall block, and a turnpike stair on the landing gives access to the eastern lodging. This seems awkward and was probably never ideal. The stairwell was lit by external and internal windows matching those of the eastern lodging. However, apart from the turnpike stair, a service route under the stair to the kitchen and well, and a door at attic level, there was no communication through the southern wall of the lodging. Perhaps the stair continued in this space to the third floor of the hall block. If the bed suites or clusters had further spaces, as seems likely, they would have been in the gatehouse tower.

If the turnpike stair off the landing of the hall stair was the main entrance to the bedchamber suites in the Nithsdale Lodging, then the first room encountered would be the drawing chamber or private dining room, and the second, towards the north and the gatehouse, the bedchamber proper.

Drawing chambers and bed suites

The first rooms called drawing chambers were often placed between bedchambers and more public spaces or communicating areas including galleries and corridors. So, a drawing room was almost always next to bedchamber in the 1630s, with few exceptions. Exceptions might be a drawing chamber as withdrawing chamber from a dining room, not leading directly to a bedchamber suite. Reception rooms proliferated in the 1630s and so more rooms like drawing chambers and small dining rooms, banqueting rooms and other spaces are found.

A 'drawing room', which seems to have been the earl's drawing chamber, had a miscellany of furnishings: 'brace of iron' (a fireplace fitting), a canopy bed, three locked trunks, a Turkey stool,⁵⁷ a rich work stool with embroidery and passementerie, an old chair with a cushion nailed on, and a frame of a chair.

⁵⁷ Turkey work is a kind of embroidery producing floral patterns not unlike tapestry borders and has little or nothing to do with Turkey.

It has been suggested that this drawing chamber was associated with the hall or 'new hall' in the south range.⁵⁸ This may be analogous to the 'private rooms' identified by David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, which are found next to halls and may be identified with 'chambers of dais'.⁵⁹

The other rooms of the earl's suite or lodging were the 'lord's hall', 'bedchamber', and the adjacent 'round chamber' in the gatehouse tower which was a wardrobe. The lord's hall was perhaps often used as a waiting room or outer reception room, and the drawing room was beyond this, reserved for guests of higher status. High status guests were also received in the bedchamber.

The countess of Nithsdale's suite

Caerlaverock had a suite of silver fabric furniture for a 'drawing room', and this did not include a bed, but featured a couch, which, as mentioned above, was likely for the countess of Nithsdale. However, at the time of the siege this furniture was stored in the 'round chamber' in one of the towers. The inventory does not list a drawing chamber room for the countess, but she would have had one, or perhaps only the dining room mentioned in 1640. Possibly it was intended to refurnish the dining room as a drawing chamber with the new furniture.

The inventory mentions 'the dining room before my lady's chamber'.⁶⁰ The room contained a 'board' (a dining table), a 'falling bed' (a folding bed, which in this case may have been a day bed), two Turkey stools, a blue chair and a clock case. In this room Elizabeth Beaumont took her meals, probably with her daughter Jean and other companions. She may have eaten here apart from the rest of the family in the dining room by the hall habitually for years, or this arrangement might have been adopted during the siege.

Within the Nithsdale Lodging, the sides of the fireplace of the first floor (south) room have fluted consoles decorated with fleurs de lys. A fireplace in the room above, though much more worn, appears to be of similar design. It has been suggested that the fleur de lys particularly refers to the Beaumont heraldry, and the surviving decoration may indicate that the countess's lodgings included the chamber on the first floor.⁶¹

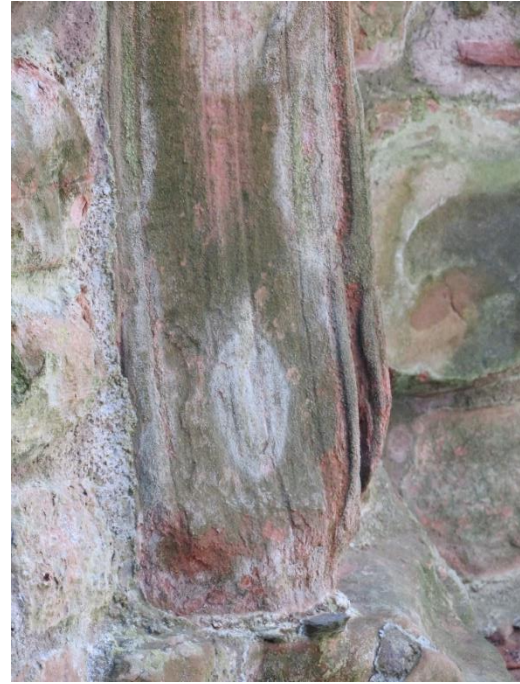
There was a bedchamber for the heir, lord Maxwell, and an outer room. There is no direct mention of Jean Maxwell. She may have slept and dined with her mother.

⁵⁸ Watson 1923, 38.

⁵⁹ MacGibbon and Ross 1887-92, passim; Dunbar 1999, 116.

⁶⁰ Nothing was specified as taken from countess's bedchamber in 1640.

⁶¹ Watson 1923, 40; Maxwell 1920, 18, 22.



The fireplace of the first floor (south) room of the Nithsdale Lodging and, potentially, the remains of a similar design on the second floor. Photos: Morvern French.

Wardrobe: high wardrobe, new wardrobe: fire house and round chamber

The high wardrobe contained three timber beds, a trunk of fine clothes and some heavy tools including a mell (a sledgehammer). There was a crucifix, perhaps intended for a chapel.

The new wardrobe contained three beds. These were probably the three winter woollen cloth best beds, dismantled in the summer.

In most contemporary inventories the wardrobe was a store where clothes and upholstered furniture were kept. The close stools and chamber pots were also kept in the wardrobe, possibly in a different room to the clothes and furniture. This reflects the traditional divisions and departments in the medieval household, and the confusion we may have over the French term 'garde-robe', now meaning lavatory, and often used by archaeologists for the chutes of toilets in castle walls.⁶² At Caerlaverock, the wardrobe room for chamber pots and probably for close stools was called the 'fire house', and this seems to have been near the earl and countess's bedchambers.

Close stools may have been used in the Nithsdale Lodging at Caerlaverock rather than existing garderobe chutes in older parts of the building. They may have been used behind screens, or more likely in small rooms or alcoves fashioned in the wall, often found in Scottish buildings. In the Nithsdale Lodging there are small closets beside the central chimneys. These alcoves were sometimes called 'easements' in Scottish building contracts, as appears in the 1626 contract for Nuthill House for viscount Stormont at Falkland.⁶³ In French the place for the stool could be *le lieu d'aisance*, or *le lieu*, apparently the origin of the modern word 'loo'.⁶⁴

⁶² Thornton 1978, 299-300.

⁶³ National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, Register of Deeds RD1, 406, 24 March 1628; National Records Scotland, Edinburgh, GD1902/2/113.

⁶⁴ Thornton 1978, 326.

The close stools at Caerlaverock are listed as five 'pots for easement', with 15 chamber pots. This pattern is seen in many inventories, with the number of stools for easement equivalent to the number of best bedchambers. Other inventories, like that of Brechin Castle, list a number of close stools that served the best lodgings or bedchambers,⁶⁵ and a larger number of chamber pots, showing that those of lesser status were not to use the stools, which were emptied by servant labour, but must instead use a communal garderobe with a chute and cess pit. It is possible that stools were brought from a store in the wardrobe where chamber pots were kept, when needed, but much evidence points to permanent locations in lodgings, and the sixteenth-century Scottish monarchs had fabric canopies for their stools, presumably erected in the semi-public bedchambers.⁶⁶ It is unclear if seventeenth-century screens mentioned ubiquitously in inventories were used for hiding the stool and user from company in bedchamber and drawing room, and this possibility was not explored by Peter Thornton, who preferred that screens were mostly fire screens or for excluding draughts.⁶⁷

At Caerlaverock, as well as a room called a wardrobe, fulfilling the expected role, there was a room in one of the older towers adjacent to the earl's lodging, filled with furniture, perhaps newly acquired items. A lot of wardrobe space was required because winter and summer beds were dismantled in season, cleaned and stored,⁶⁸ and the Caerlaverock inventory does include summer silk and winter woollen cloth beds.

⁶⁵ National Library of Scotland, MS 5114, inventory of Brechin Castle.

⁶⁶ Pearce 2016, 168-9.

⁶⁷ Thornton 1978, 255.

⁶⁸ Thornton 1978, 299-300.

The inventory

There are two versions of the inventory: the note of things left behind, and the list of things intromitted with by Lieutenant Colonel Home. The text of the two inventories is presented below, in modern spelling as far as possible.

*Inventory of the Household Furniture left in the Castle of Carlaverock when it was surrendered in September 1640.*⁶⁹

A note of such things as was left in the house of Caerlaverock at my lord's departure in the year of God 1640.

Imprimis, in the wine cellar, 4 barrels of sack.⁷⁰

Item, in the other cellar, 3 hogsheads of French wine, and an iron crate.

Item, more 30 bowls of meal. Item, at the end of kitchen, 2 barrels of herring.

Item, in the high wardrobe, 1 locked trunk⁷¹ and 3 timber beds, and 1 iron window. More, 1 'iteller',⁷² 1 old cauldron and 1 pick and a mell.

Item, up high, 4 cupboards, and a crucifix.⁷³ More in the weigh house,⁷⁴ a hagbut and a crok-pin.⁷⁵

Item, in Creky's⁷⁶ chamber, a cupboard. More, in my lord Maxwell's chamber,⁷⁷ 2 beds and a cupboard, and a locked chest, and 1 other chest in the outer room, 2 trunks and a bed and a great rope. More, in the musket chamber,⁷⁸ a bed and a trunk, and below in the turnpike, a cupboard.⁷⁹ More, in the new wardrobe, three beds.

⁶⁹ Fraser 1873, vol. 2, 502-3, no. 123.

⁷⁰ White wine imported from Spain. Although the French word 'sec' means dry, sack was a sweet wine: *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁷¹ A trunk with men's clothes, described below.

⁷² 'iteller' is cited in *Dictionary of the Scots Language* but its meaning is unknown.

⁷³ The Maxwells were Catholics and would have had a chapel in the castle. It has been said that the chapel was in the south range – probably because of the east-west orientation required: MacGibbon and Ross 1887-92, vol. 1, 135. Some of the window pediments of the Nithsdale Lodging allude to the revival of the Catholic faith: Bath 2019.

⁷⁴ Weighing equipment, weights and weigh-brods, for measuring meal, are not uncommon in Scottish inventories.

⁷⁵ Older types of guns.

⁷⁶ 'Creky' – apparently the name of a servant.

⁷⁷ The heir's bedchamber.

⁷⁸ Apparently 'musket' meant the firearm. However, some patterned taffeta was known as 'muschet' in Scotland, and possibly this silk furnishing fabric had been used here, like the 'damask' that gave its name to another room. See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, 'Muschet *adj.*, *n.*'

⁷⁹ The cupboard in the adjacent stair belongs to this bedchamber.

Item, in the master's chamber,⁸⁰ a bed and a cupboard. More, in the damask bedchamber,⁸¹ a bed and a cupboard, and a targe of proof⁸² and a fire shovel. Item, in the kitchen, a chimney, a grate, and a pair of long raxes.⁸³ In the new hall, a lid and a mashing vat,⁸⁴ and an anvil, and a pair of bellows.⁸⁵

Item, in the long hall,⁸⁶ 6 cases of windows with 22 pikes, 13 lances, and 2 sacks of wheat.

Item, more in Sanders' chamber, 4 beds.⁸⁷ More, in my lord's hall,⁸⁸ 2 boards and 6 turkey stools.

Item, more in the round chamber, without my lord's chamber,⁸⁹ 5 feather beds, 7 bolsters, 4 cushions, 5 pair of blankets, and 4 rugs, 6 pieces of buckram, with my lord's arms, and 2 panes, one of black velvet, and another red, with black fringe, and a painted broad,⁹⁰ a cupboard, 9 stools covered with cloth of silver, and 2 great chairs of silver cloth.⁹¹ More, a green canopy bed. More, a sumpter cloth. More, 3 great and a little crib and 4 stools, and a long cushion, all of black and white stuff.⁹² More, 4 stools and 2 chairs covered with brown cloth passmented yellow. More, a great lock and a skylark net.⁹³ More, there is 1 great chair, 4 stools covered red with black passement. More, 22 curtain rods, a trunk locked full, and a 2 of virginals. More, in the drawing room, a brace of iron and a canopy bed, with a feather bed and a bolster, and 3 trunks locked, a Turkey stool and a rich work stool⁹⁴ and one old chair with a cushion nailed on. More, a frame of a chair. Item, in fire house, is 7 covers of Turkey work for stools and a coffer 2 chests, 15 chamber pots, 5 pots for easement, a mortar and a pestle, a brass pot, a brass ladle, a bed pan, 4 wine cellars, a little copper pot, and my lord and my lady's pictures. More, a chest with some glasses, and 5 feather beds, 5 bolsters, 3 carpets, 2 red window curtains. More, there is in the dining room before my lady's chamber, a board and a falling bed,⁹⁵ 2 Turkey stools, a blue chair, and the case of the clock. More, in my lord's chamber, there is a bed furnished of damask,⁹⁶ and a cupboard laid over with gold

⁸⁰ The master of Maxwell, the earl's brother.

⁸¹ The damask bedchamber, intended for a damask bed suite.

⁸² A shield with tried power of resistance, the ability to withstand assault. See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, 'Pruf n.'.

⁸³ A set of bars or a framework used to support a spit or other cooking utensil: *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, 'Rak n.2'.

⁸⁴ For brewing.

⁸⁵ The new hall was now a workshop, for brewing, blacksmithing and armoury. Probably it had been a dining room.

⁸⁶ The large great hall in the south wing, possibly the upper floor.

⁸⁷ This room with four beds seems like a servant's garret in the attic.

⁸⁸ The lord's hall may be the outer chamber of the earl's bed suite.

⁸⁹ A chamber in the gatehouse tower, which was part of the earl's bedroom suite but serving as a wardrobe.

⁹⁰ A painting.

⁹¹ The silver drawing room suite.

⁹² Black and white stuff, perhaps reflecting the Maxwell arms.

⁹³ Apparently, a net for larks, called 'laverocks': *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, 'Laverock n., v.'.

⁹⁴ 'a in rise worke stules' may, alternatively, indicate russel fabric. See *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, 'Rissillis n. attrib.'.

⁹⁵ A folding bed.

⁹⁶ The damask bed suite, which might also have been used in the damask chamber.

lace. More, there is 2 chairs and 3 stools of damask, and a cupboard, and a carpet, and a chair covered with brown cloth, and a chamber all hanged,⁹⁷ a water pot, tongs and bellows, a clock, 28 muskets, 28 bandoliers, and two 2-handled swords, and 9 collars for dogs. More, in Conheath's chamber,⁹⁸ a bed and cupboard, and some armour.⁹⁹ More, in the coal house, 38 barrels of iron.

This is the true inventory of the goods left in Caerlaverock, taken there by Arthur Makmachan and William Sleatt. There was one locked trunk in the high wardrobe, which was full of men's clothes, and in that great trunk mentioned to be in the round chamber there was a great wrought bed, a suite of cloth of silver chairs, and stools to be made up, and an embroidered canopy of grey satin to be made up too.¹⁰⁰ As for the other trunks which were left in the open rooms, it cannot be remembered in particular what was left in them, and that this is all true we underwritten can witness.

William Wood, witness.

William Maxwell, witness.

Thomas Maxwell, witness.

Dorso – Inventar of the furnisheing left in the hous of Carlaverok, when it was rendered vp anno 1640.

⁹⁷ This 'chamber' means a suite of tapestries or fabric hangings.

⁹⁸ John Maxwell of Conheath.

⁹⁹ For 'some armour', Grose wrote 'sundries'.

¹⁰⁰ The grey and silver drawing room suite.

*Inventory of the Household Effects in the Castle of Carlaverock, intromitted with by Lieutenant-Colonel Home. [1640]*¹⁰¹

A note of the household stuff intromitted with by Lieutenant Colonel Home at Caerlaverock:

A note of the household stuff at Caerlaverock intromitted with by Lieutenant Colonel Home. Imprimis: he has intromitted with five suites of hangings, there being eight pieces in every suite.¹⁰² The price of every suite, overall, estimated three score pounds sterling. Inde £3,600 Scots.

Item, has intromitted with five beds, two of silk, and three of cloth, every bed consisting [of] five curtains, three outer valances, and one long inner valance, with massy silk fringes of half quarter deep, and one counterpoint tester of the same stuff, all laid with broad silk lace, and a small fringe about, with chairs and stools answerable, laid with lace and fringe, with feather bed and bolster, blankets and rug, pillows, and bedstead of timber answerable. Every bed estimated, with the furniture, to one hundred and ten pounds sterling. Inde £6,600 Scots.

Item, he has intromitted with ten lesser beds, whereof four had cloth curtains, and six with stuff or serge, every bed furnished with curtains, valence, and tester, feather bed, bolster, rug, blankets and pillows, and bedstead of timber answerable. Every bed estimated to fifteen pounds sterling overall. Inde £600 Scots.

Item, he has intromitted with twenty other beds for servants, consisting of feather bed, bolster, rug, blankets, and estimated to seven pounds sterling apiece. Inde £1,680 Scots.

Item, he has intromitted with forty carpets, greater and lesser, estimated overall to forty shillings sterling apiece. Inde £960 Scots.

Item, he has intromitted with the furniture of a drawing room¹⁰³ of cloth of silver, consisting of a couch bed a great chair, with footstool and cushion, with six other backed chairs, and six stools, all garnished with silk and silver fringe, estimated to a hundred pounds sterling. Inde £1,200 Scots.

Item, he has intromitted with two dozen of chairs and stools, covered with red velvet, and garnished with fringes of crimson silk and gilt nails, estimated to three score pounds sterling. Inde £720.

Item, he has intromitted with five dozen of Turkey work¹⁰⁴ chairs and stools, every chair estimated to fifteen [shillings] sterling, and, every stool to nine shillings sterling. Inde, thirty six pounds sterling. Inde £450.

¹⁰¹ Fraser 1873, vol. 2, 503-4, no. 124.

¹⁰² The five suites of hangings may be intended for five best bedchambers and other rooms.

¹⁰³ Found in a trunk in the 'round chamber' and not yet made up.

¹⁰⁴ Turkey work – embroidery in wool, not usually from Turkey but made in Scotland or England.

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