A ROYAL BED AT CHATSWORTH

THE PUZZLE OF THE FOURTH DUKE’S PERQUISITE

Annabel Westman unravels the mystery behind the newly-conserved state bed on display in the State Bedchamber at Chatsworth. It seems likely that it was made in 1723 for George II and was acquired by the 4th Duke of Devonshire as a perquisite in 1761.

On 25 October 1760, George II died suddenly of a heart attack at Kensington Palace. He had risen early from his bed and was found on the floor of his closet.1 Several months later, the following items were sent to Devonshire House, the London home of William Cavendish, 4th Duke of Devonshire (1720-64). As Lord Chamberlain, a post he held between 1757 and 1762, he was entitled to take, as a perquisite for his personal use, furniture from the royal palaces regarded as worn out or out-dated.2

To be sent to Devonshire House the Evening 5 June 1761 – 1. His late Majesty’s Crimson Damask Standing Bed etc. from above Stairs Hangings of the room & window Curtains of Crimson Damask 2. One Easy, one Elbow Chair & six Square Stools covered with crimson silk Damask 3. Four Mahogany Elbow Chairs covered with Crimson Silk Damask 4. A Mahogany card Table lined with with [sic] green Velvet & Gold Lace 5. A Walnut‘Tree Night table lined Do.6. Two walnut Tree Night Tables3

No mention is made of where these items came from, but visitors to Chatsworth in Derbyshire, the duke’s country seat, soon began to make an important connection between the two events. In 1789, James Pilkington briefly noted that in the Mary Queen of Scots apartment there was ‘the bed, which was presented to the duke on the same occasion with the coronation chairs’, a comment repeated and expanded upon in 1793, when the same bed was described as ‘the four post bedstead with Crimson Damask furniture’.4 This visitor also observed a state bed hung with crimson velvet in the ‘adjoining room’ of the Scots apartment, and a crimson damask bed ‘trimmed with Gold lace’ in the State Bedchamber of the state apartment created by the 1st Duke (1640-1707). Three years later, Lady Sykes made a further royal link, ‘Here is also the Bed George the 2nd died in, which came down with the Royal Chairs’. This information was repeated in 1802 by the Revd Richard Warner, who also saw the bed – ‘another perquisite of the office of the late Duke’ – in the ‘Scarlet-Room’ next to the Scots apartment.5 The Revd D.P. Davies gave similar details in 1811 but called the same room the ‘Crimson Bed chamber’.6

However, subsequent visitors, including Stephen Glover in 1829 and George Hall 10 years later, recorded the bed in the ‘State Bed’ or ‘Scarlet-room’ of the first Duke’s state apartment, where previously the crimson damask bed (trimmed with gold) had been recorded.7 No mention is made of the Scots apartments. Had the 4th Duke’s perquisite been moved around or was the information being applied to the wrong bed?

This puzzle is made more complex by the sheer number of beds recorded at Chatsworth. It led one anonymous writer to despair in 1906, ‘The question of the bed in which George II died is involved in much obscurity…There is evidently a great confusion in connection with this “relic” which, though not of the greatest importance, would be interesting to unravel in view of recovering the appearance of the rooms at the end of the eighteenth century.’8 This article attempts to ‘unravel’ the mystery and prove that the bed that forms the focal point of the newly-restored state apartment (Fig. 1) is not only the 4th Duke’s perquisite but may originally have been a royal bed ‘of the greatest importance’.

The photographs illustrating this article are by June Buck, unless stated otherwise.

1 The State Bedchamber at Chatsworth, with the newly restored state bed

I am indebted to the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire for allowing me access to the bed and the archives, the Dowager Duchess for her personal recollections, and Hannah Obee, Curator of Decorative Art, Devonshire Collection, for her invaluable assistance and infectious enthusiasm. I would also like to thank Sir Hugh Roberts, Dr Adam Bowett and Lucy Wood for their very helpful comments.

The photographs illustrating this article are by June Buck, unless stated otherwise.

3 Devonoshire sis., Chatsworth, 247.7. A letter to the Duke of 30 July 1761, signed by Robert Wilmot, indicates that the bed may have been delivered the following month (290.121).
5 This bed, sometimes called ‘Queen Mary’s bed’, was probably made for the 1st Duke’s apartments c. 1700. Moved to Hardwick by the 6th Duke; it was destroyed c. 1858-59. Textile fragments and three walnut bed feet survive.
6 Lady Sykes, Remarks Journal of a Tour in 1790, ms, 2 vols., Sledmere House, Yorkshire. Extract from a typescript copy in the Chatsworth Archives, reproduced by kind permission of Sir Tatton Sykes.
7 D.P. Davies, A New Historical and Descriptive View of Derbyshire, Belper, 1811, p. 643.
This bed’s association with the 4th Duke rests solely on family legend and the comments of those late-18th- and early-19th-century visitors. However, these sources are strong, and the link they make with the 1760 coronation chairs, which are still at Chatsworth and have been confirmed as one of the 4th Duke’s perquisites, makes them plausible. Moreover, careful reading of the accounts reveals that while confusion might exist today, there did not appear to be any at the time. Between 1789 – the first known documented sighting of the bed ‘in which George i i i died’ – and 1811, the bed was recorded in the Scots apartment or the room adjoining (‘Room adjoining’, was the actual name given to the room in the 1792 and 1811 household inventories). The 1811 inventory lists:

- A large size 4 post Oak Bedstead with a Solid Oakbottom and Crimson silk damask furniture lin’d with Silk, a large cove Scrole cornice and Headboard cover’d with the same as the Bedfurniture, moulded bases etc. a thick leather curl’d Hair Mattress 2 Plain flock Mattresses in White cotton cases 1 pair Upper and a single under Blankets A Marseilles quilt 2 crimson lutestring festoon Window Curtains lin’d with tammy…1 large and 1 small Mahogany carved Back stool Elbow chairs stuff’d in Crimson Silk damask 6 unarm’d chairs to correspond in Crimson Silk damask

As the visitors indicate, there were two crimson damask beds at Chatsworth at this time, and it is widely agreed that the above description more closely resembles the bed now in the state bedchamber, than the one distinguished as ‘trimm’d with Gold lace’. The latter is the original bed made for the 1st Duke’s State Bedroom by Francis Lapiere in 1697, and it is clear from the 1764, 1792 and 1811 inventories of the house that it remained in the room until the 6th Duke (1790-1858) relegated it to Hardwick Hall, another of his properties in the country. The Lapiere bed was illustrated in a 1828 watercolour by W.H. Hunt in the Long Gallery at Hardwick (Fig. 2), where it was displayed as a canopy made up of the bed tester, headcloth, headboard, base valance and curtains, the first known image of this extraordinary piece of baroque upholstery. The painting’s date helps to explain why the visitors suddenly began to refer to the Duke’s perquisite (the other crimson damask bed) as being in the State Bedchamber. It must have been moved there when the Scots rooms were being renovated between 1827 and 1833 and when the Lapiere bed had gone. It did not remain in the State Bedchamber for long, however, as it too was relegated to Hardwick in the early 1840s and exchanged with an embroidered canopy made for Christian Bruce, wife of the second Earl (c. 1590-1628), which was originally at Hardwick. The 6th Duke had had it

2 The Long Gallery at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, by W.H. Hunt (1790-1864), 1828. Watercolour, 28.6 x 42.9 cm. The canopy is formed from the original bed from Chatsworth’s State Bedchamber. © Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth Settlement Trustees

9 Devonshire mss., Chatsworth, ‘Notes on Beds’, September 1906 and October 1907 (possibly by the Librarian, Mrs Eugenie Strong).
11 Devonshire mss., Chatsworth, ‘Inventory of Household Furniture etc. at Chatsworth and Hardwick’, 1792; ‘Inventory of Sundry Household fixtures and furniture etc’, 1811.
13 The bed is also illustrated in a watercolour of the Long Gallery by David Cox, c. 1840, Devonshire
3 A detail of the silk from the bed now in the State Bedchamber at Chatsworth. Light damage has exposed the underlying yellow weft, creating a bold colour contrast that was not intended. Photo: the author

4 A detail of the inner valance, showing the silk's original crimson colour where the braid has been removed. Photo: the author

5 The only survivor of the four original vase finials that once capped the cornice. It had been remounted on the headboard by the 19th century restored, but, as recorded in his Handbook of 1844, it ‘appeared too gorgeous for its old place’. It was still in the state bedroom at Chatsworth in 1905 (see pp. 60–67).

There is one major flaw in the argument — the colour of the fabric. The bed in the State Bedchamber now has crimson and yellow hangings, not simply crimson as stated in all the descriptions.

This has created considerable confusion in recent years. However, close examination of the 18th-century damask undertaken during the recent restoration of the bed reveals that the bold colour contrast now visible was not the intended original effect. Not surprisingly, given its usage, the fabric — a five-end satin damask — has suffered severe light degradation over the years, causing the crimson warp to disintegrate and expose the underlying yellow weft (Figs 3 and 4). The warp was unusually heavy, allowing the weft to appear only as a subtle undertone, which had the effect of enhancing the overall dominant crimson hue.

This delicate toning can still be seen in parts of the tester (Fig. 11). Percy Macquoid was still describing the bed as with ‘rose-coloured damask’ hangings, trimmed with a ‘broad rose galon’ in 1905, as was H. Avray Tipping in 1918. The bed came back to Chatsworth in the early 1900s and was probably put in the Red Bedroom West, before being moved into the State Bedchamber for the visits of George V and Queen Mary in 1913 and 1933. In 1950, the bed was finally recorded with the colours we see today — a ‘Canopied Bed Red and Gold silk damask. The top of the canopy corbelled and moulded, Escroll at the front corners the head of the bed scrolled with vase, decorated in the centre. English 1720.’

The question remains when and for whom the bed was commissioned and whether there is any further information connecting it to the 4th Duke. There has long been a debate over its date, which has been variously placed between 1690 and 1740 — a wide span, roughly confirmed by recent analysis of the fabric pattern, which, although dating from the first decade of the 18th century, may still have been in use in 1740. However, various factors, including the bed’s general design and the treatment of the trimmings, in particular the lack of fringe, indicate a date around 1710–25. It seems likely that the bed was made either at the end of Queen Anne’s reign (1702-1714) or during George I’s (1714-27).

Research amongst the Lord Chamberlain’s records over this period has uncovered evidence that, although circumstantial, has raised some exciting possibilities. There is no record of any bed matching that at Chatsworth having been supplied for Queen Anne, but at least three beds of crimson damask — the most popular colour for such grand use — were made for George I: two for Kensington Palace and one for St James’s Palace. All three were made by the royal upholsterer, Thomas Phill, working with the joiner Richard Roberts and

Collection, Chatsworth.
15 Devonsire ms, Chatsworth, Inventory catalogue, 1905. The embroidered canopy is now in the High Great Chamber at Haddon Hall.
16 A red and yellow mixed damask bed was recorded in the Chapel Bed Chamber in the 1764 inventory but it disappeared from the accounts when the chapel was altered in the mid 1770s.
17 I am grateful to Richard Humphries for his help in analysing the fabric construction and also Milton Sunday and Melinda Watt for their help with identification.
19 Devonsire ms, Chatsworth, 1905, p. 128 lists a mahogany bed with carved scrolls and moldings with crimson silk damask hangings.
20 The Duchess of Devonshire, op. cit., p. 89.
21 Devonsire ms, Chatsworth, ‘Chatsworth — 1933, Complete Inventory of Furniture & Household Effects as at Nov 1930’ (Unpublished).
22 I am grateful to Clare Browne and Anna Jolly for this information.
23 National Archives (m/s), Kew.
24 A Crimson damask bed was also

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The foot post in place, slotted into the base moulding, to which the surviving tall, fluted feet.

The crimson damask bed made for the King's private apartment at St James's Palace in 1725 is a possible contender for the Duke's perquisite. It had 'lace richly Embroider'd upon the Valls & Bases wth Shell & Corner pieces all richly carved covered & laced', but this description is not particularly distinctive. One of the two beds made for Kensington Palace is a more likely possibility, not least because the King died there. However, furniture has a tendency to move around the royal residences and, although there is only evidence of smaller items being moved at Kensington before George I's death, it cannot be assumed that these beds remained in situ for some 35-40 years.

The first of the two crimson damask beds was made for the King's new private apartments on the lower floor at Kensington Palace in 1719, part of a rebuilding and furnishing scheme that he had initiated the previous year. A full account of the furnishing of the bedchamber was given in the Lord Chamberlain's records – Richard Roberts charged for making 'a large 4 post Wainscott Bedstead with Moulding teaster, Cornishes, Carved head Board and Base Mouldings', and Thomas Phill invoiced 'for covering and lacing the workwood of the Bed and making up all compleat laced with Silk lace and the vall lined with Taffeta'. In addition, wall hangings, window curtains, 'one Walnuttree elbow Chair...one easy Chair...[and] 10 square stools' upholstered to match the bed were provided. A similar group (but only 6 stools) is noted in the list of perquisites, although they do not appear in the 1792 or 1811 Chatsworth inventories with the bed. While the seat furniture provides an interesting lead, the Chatsworth bed can more plausibly be connected with one supplied in 1723 for the 'new apartments' on the first floor at Kensington Palace, created during the second phase of redecoration by William Kent between 1722 and 1727. The bedchamber was also supplied with crimson damask hangings and window curtains, but only this bed could be described as the one 'from above Stairs' – as noted in item 1 of the Duke's perquisites. In addition, there are a number of similarities between the tradesmen's accounts, the 1811 inventory and items surviving on the bed itself.

Both documentary descriptions indicate that the bed was made of oak and had a solid base and, apart from the finials, the bed still has 'a handsome Molding Teaster Cornishes & Base moldings wth a rich carved head board...4 carved Bed's feet...a Sett of Vauzes richly carved...', which were upholstered by Thomas Phill with crimson damask, 'the Lace richly Embroidered upon the Vallans' and with 'Vauzes Shell & Corner pieces all richly carved & Laced'. The mention of 'Vauzes' and 'Bed's feet', in particular, set this bed apart from the others mentioned – it is in all aspects the more expensive bed. Although these items are not listed in the Chatsworth descriptions, Macquoid commented in 1905 that 'the vase finials have been removed', and Avray Tipping in 1918 added that a specimen had been retained 'as the central ornament of the head of the bed'. It is still there today (Fig. 5). Of special interest are the two (of four) bed feet (Figs 6, 7) that survive. These could be considered an unexpected and rather outmoded feature for a bed of this date until examination of their style. Earlier examples are short and made to disguise the base of the post, whereas these are taller, their fluted shape is more architectural in form and they slot into the base mouldings (Fig. 7). They form an integral bed foot and cover for the bed bolts – possibly a forerunner of the simple wooden L-shaped casings found on some later beds to cover the bolts. Overall, the bed's general appearance could suggest an earlier date: it is not dissimilar to the bed at Dyrcham Park of c. 1705, with its broken 'handsome Molding' cornice and scallop-shaped valances. However, this retardataire quality might have been deliberate. Adam Bowett has pointed to the late-baroque appearance of some of the furniture supplied for the King's apartment by John Gumley and James Moore in 1724.
The story now moves back to Chatsworth to find the missing link – the transfer of ‘His late Majesty’s Crimson Damask Standing Bed’ from Devonshire House. The Duchess of Northumberland made no reference to the bed when she toured Chatsworth in 1766, although she did mention the coronation chairs. However, she probably did not visit the Wardrobe – a rich repository, almost a dumping ground, for many fine pickings, according to the 1764 inventory. Among the oddments were listed, ‘a Crimson Damask Bed Compleat Lin’d wth Crimson Lutstring, & a White silk Quilt’ and, in one of the baskets, ‘A Bedstead belonging to ye Crimson damask Bed Curtains … one fustian & one White Satten Mattress Belonging to the Crimson Damask Bed … Three Base Vallens belongs to ye State Bed’. Whether or not this is the perquisite bed, it would appear that the 4th Duke might have acquired more than the items on the 1761 list, as also recorded in the Wardrobe were ‘Six yards & a half of India Satten wth India figures on it’ – an exotic and highly unusual find – with the same quantity of ‘green Lutestring’. Could this green satin have been part of a set of embroidered hangings with ‘8 large Indian figures wth gold & silver at £2 13s each’ worked by Thomas Hawgood for the Great Closet at Kensington, ‘payned, Lined Interlined & trim’d with gold Arras Lace’ by Thomas Phill and provided with green taffeta covers in 1723.

The Chatsworth bed has obviously been altered over time, which makes it more difficult to identify. The corbelled platforms of the cornice must have been made to take a set of finials, with perhaps a ‘Shell’ ornament in the centre – a feature exhibited in different forms on both the 1715 Hampton Court bed and the Houghton embroidered bed mentioned above. Any evidence of the finials was probably removed when the bed posts were reduced in height (and the foot posts discarded for mahogany ones). The replacement base rails now support a Staples ‘Wire mattress and bedstead’, possibly from the early 1900s (a wedged piece of paper in the back of a
The conserved bed, set against a 17th-century Brussels tapestries that are probably original to this room. On the dressing table is the silver service made by Pierre Provost around 1670.

For the Bedchamber a New Bed compleat of rich Crimson Damask trim’d with Silk Ortie Lace, three pair of Window Curtains Valance and Cornishes of the Same Damask with Silk lines and Tassels, One Arm’d Chair and twelve Stools covered with the same Damask with Crimson Silk Taffeta Cases and a Case Curtain of Crimson silk taffeta, Two looking glasses, two Tables, four Stands gilt and a fire screen... All richly carved and Laced  £46.0.0 – For sewing Silk & Glew & all other materials Used abt the Same Bed £3.10.0 – For Nails & putting up the Crimson Damask bed £1.10.0 – For very large polished brass rings & tape for ye Crimson Taffeta Case Curtains £1.8.0 – For Sewing Silk Making & putting up 4 large Curtains of Crimson Taffeta gathered ‘d with a head £3.6.0 – For 3 bright polishing pully Rods & hooks £1.16.0 – For large polished brass Rings & ferrit for 3 pr of Window Curtains, Buckram to Line the Curtains £1.9.0 – For making up 3 pr of Crimson Damask Winds Curtains the Lace nimbly Embroider’d upon the Valls with large Carved Cornishes, Vauzes & Corners covered and Laced £7.10.0 – For Sewing Silk & glew used £1.16.0 – For Nails & putting up the 3 pr of Curtains Vauxs & Cornishes £0.7.6 – For a large Down Bed & Bolster in Dimity Curtains £19.10.0 – For very large and thick Fustian Mattresses £9.0.0 – For a thick Mattress cover’d with White Satin £5.5.0 – For a thin one Cover’d Do £5.0.0 – For quilting & Making a Pr of large White Sarcenet Blankets £7.10.0 – For a Pr of very large fine flannel Blankets bound with Ribbon £5.2.6 – For a Sett of White pillows cover’d with White Satin & a Bolster covered with the Same £2.12.0 – For fine Dyed Linen to Line the Crimson Damask Hangings £7.10.0 – For Making the...
Crimson Damask hangings for the Bedchamber lined & laced £6.0.0 – For Sewing Silk & thread used £0.17.6 – For Nails & putting up the Crimson Damask hangings £0.8.0 – For Girtwebb, bottoming, Rolling, curled hair, Linnen & Stuffing up 12 Square Stools £5.4.0 – For Stuffing an Easy Elbow chair £2.18.0 – For Making Damask covers for the 12 Square Stools Nails & fixing them on at 9s p Stool £0.18.0 – For Making false Cases of Crimson Taffata for the 12 Square Stools £4.16.0 – For Making a Case to the Elbow Chair £0.12.0 – For Sewing Silk used about the sd Chair & Stools £1.8.0

For his Maty’s new Appartment at Kensington
For a large Oak Bedstead the Bottom to hang low wth Iron Work & a handsome Molding Teaster Cornishes & Base moldings wth a rich carved head board £40.0.0 – For 4 carved Bed’s feet £2.10.0 – For a Sert of large Curtain rods & platoons to the Bed £2.10.0 – For 2 long poles to draw the Curtains £1.10.0 – For a Sert of Vauses finely richly carved £5.10.0 – For 3 large Windo Cornishes finely carved & carved Vauses fix’d on them £15.0.0 – For 12 large Wallnuttree Square Stool frames finely carved & polish’d £27.0.0 – For a large Wallnuttree Arm’d Chair suitable £2.15.0 – For fixing up the Beds & Windo Curtains wth Iron Work £3.10.0

For Furniture for a Bedd Windo Curtains hangings Chairs etc for his Maty’s New Apparnts at Kensington
For 31 yds of very broad crim in grain Silk Lace at 4s 6d £6.19.6 – For 222 ydds 1/2 of Do Narrower at 3s 3d £30.3.1 1/2 – For 1229 yds 1/2 of Do Binding at 2s 6d £153.13.9 – For 184 yds 1/2 of Do Nailing at 1s8d £11.10.7 1/2 – For 216 yds of Do broad Breed at 6d £5.8.0 – For 293 yds of Do narrow at 4d £4.17.8 – For 70 yards of Do Silk Line wth 33 Ounc ½ at 2s 6d £4.3.9 – For 6 large knotted Tassels wth pear Moulds at 10s £3.0.0 – For 291 Ounces of crimson gr Silk Lyor for 4 Chandeliers at 3s p ounce £43.13.0 – For 4 large knotted Tassels suitable £4.0.0

For his Mat’s new Appartment at Kensington
For 426 yds of Crimson Italian Taffeta for two Case curtains & false Cases for Chairs and Stools at 10s p yd £213.0.0 – For 72 yds of white Florence Sattin to cover 2 Mattresses a Bolster and a Sert of pillows at 14s £30.8.0 – For 104 yards of White Sarcenet for a Pr. of Blankets at 5s 6d £28.12.0

For his Mat’s new Appartment at Kensington
For 426 yds of Crimson Italian Taffeta for two Case curtains & false Cases for Chairs and Stools at 10s p yd £213.0.0 – For 72 yds of white Florence Sattin to cover 2 Mattresses a Bolster and a Sert of pillows at 14s £30.8.0 – For 104 yards of White Sarcenet for a Pr. of Blankets at 5s 6d £28.12.0

For his Mat’s Service at Kensington
For Altering a piece of Crim Damask hangings in the Great Bedchamb. and Adding 2 Breadths to the Case Curtains of the Bedd £0.15.0 – For Making a Crim Taffata Case to a Fire Screen £0.8.0

For the Crimson Damask Bed ion this Maties New Appartmt at Kensington
(Omitted in last year’s acco.) For a very large Strong Compass Red double gilt wth Gold & Standards to it £20.0.0

For the Crimson Damask Bed ion this Maties New Appartmt at Kensington
(Omitted in last year’s acco.) For a very large Strong Compass Red double gilt wth Gold & Standards to it £20.0.0

For his Maty’s new Appartment at Kensington
For 12 yds of Crim Taffata to Add to a Case Curtain at 10s £6.0.0 – For 6 yds of Do for a Case for a Fire Screen at 10s £3.0.0

For his Maty’s Service at Kensington
For Altering a piece of Crim Damask hangings in the Great Bedchamb. and Adding 2 Breadths to the Case Curtains of the Bedd £0.15.0 – For Making a Crim Taffata Case to a Fire Screen £0.8.0

To Add to the Hangings in his Maty’s New Appartment at Kensington
For 3 yds of rich Crim Genoa Damask at 23s p yd £3.15.0