

The Thomas Stanley Bed and a Related *Corpus* of Furniture from Tudor Lancashire

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Precious few examples of domestic furniture made in medieval England survive today. Whilst pieces can be seen in manuscript illuminations from this time, such as the table depicted in the mid-fourteenth century manuscript MS Bodl. 264, discussed in the Spring 2021 issue of the *Regional Furniture Society Newsletter*, the verisimilitude of such examples cannot be assumed.¹ The interpretation of any medieval domestic furniture is complicated further by the fact that the only real body of comparators are from ecclesiastical contexts: choir-stall canopies and standards, cope chests, architectural decoration, and fretwork screens are not necessarily representative of domestic woodwork. Indeed, A. W. N. Pugin (1812–52) argued that domestic Gothic furniture created by Georgians was fundamentally flawed given that they were based upon ecclesiastical pieces rather than furniture made for homes. Pugin explained this point in his treatise, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), by proposing that

your modern man designs a sofa or occasional table from details culled out of Britton's Cathedrals, and all the ordinary articles of furniture, which require to be simple and convenient, are made not only very expensive but very uneasy. We find diminutive flying buttresses about an armchair; every thing is crocketed with angular projections, innumerable mitres, sharp ornaments, and turreted extremities. [...] There are often as many pinnacles and gablets about a pier glass frame as are to be found in an ordinary church.²

Despite the widespread loss of domestic medieval furniture, some examples have nevertheless escaped destruction, most often in fragmentary states and typically showing the hand of the Victorian antiques trade, the restorer, and/or the collector.³ One notable example illustrating the destructive effect of time is the 1539 marriage bed of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves: all that remains is the headboard (Figure 1).⁴ Contrary to this theme of loss, there is an important *corpus* of surviving tester beds dating to around the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth century. These beds are important for several reasons, not least for their continued existence: they share a common repertoire of form, ornament, and style, including architectural and floral motifs, highly unusual heraldic characteristics, and a shared appearance; they were produced for a number of Lancashire families and hence point

¹ Lindfield (2021), pp. 8–9. See also Eames (1977), pp. xxi–xxii, and Pickvance (2020), pp. 6–7.

² Pugin (1841), pp. 40–41. Examples of such 'modern Gothic' furniture include the suite of black chairs co-designed by Horace Walpole (1717–97) and Richard Bentley (1708–82) for the Parlour at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham. Walpole (1973), pp. 180–81. An example of the chair in the Victoria and Albert Museum, W.29:1 to 3-1979.

³ Westgarth (2020) and Westgarth (2009).

⁴ Glasgow, Burrell Collection, 14.236.



1 Oak ceremonial bedhead made for the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves, c. 1539. © CSG CIC, CC-BY-NC 4.0.

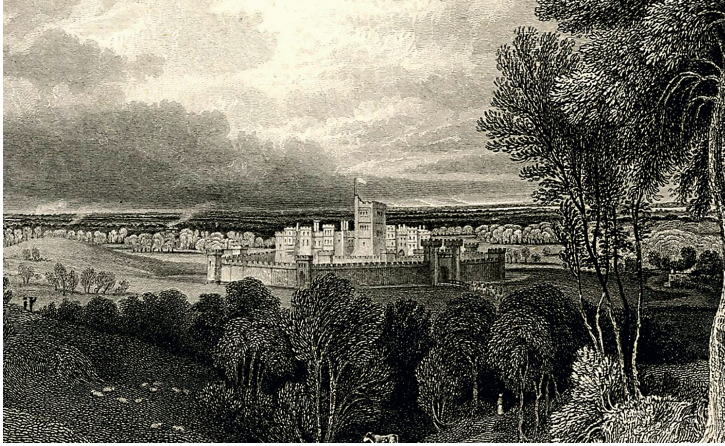
to either a regional style or perhaps even a workshop, and they informed the design of the screens, choir stalls, and pew-ends furnishing the remarkable interior of St Helen's Church in Sefton, Lancashire. Whilst there is currently insufficient documentary evidence to substantiate their production by a single 'school' or workshop — the variable quality of carving perhaps questions such an assumption — their significance cannot be underestimated given that precious few other examples of early Tudor domestic furniture — let alone beds — survive.⁵ This *corpus* consequently presents a coherent and unparalleled snapshot of late-medieval domestic furniture from Lancashire.

Some of the beds forming this *corpus* attracted the attention of nineteenth-century antiquaries and more recently Victor Chinnery and Adam Bowett have touched upon them.⁶ New information about one of the beds from this *corpus*, the example known as the 'Thomas Stanley bed', came to light only recently, a discovery mentioned briefly in the February 2022 issue of the *Furniture History Society Newsletter*.⁷ The present essay considers this discovery in detail, it dissects the bed's otherwise forgotten form as recorded in a 1913 auction catalogue photograph, and it shows how profound losses from the Thomas Stanley bed have fundamentally distorted our understanding of it, and, perhaps, its place within the *corpus*. Next, the essay turns to offer a far more detailed account of the furniture forming this *corpus*, in particular addressing what, to date, has been overlooked: an account of the furniture's ornament, and how this can be situated within the broader aesthetic and architectural climate of the time. It concludes by offering an account of the interior of St Helen's Church, Sefton, addressing how the beds' design language was applied to an ecclesiastical context, and

⁵ For problems identifying and potentially overstating a style-based *corpus* as the work of a single medieval school — what has been termed the 'Ripon school' — see Tracy (1990), pp. 16–31.

⁶ Most recently Bowett (2021), pp. 129–30.

⁷ Lindfield (2022), pp. 3, 5–7.



2 Lathom House from Peter Draper, *The House of Stanley* (Hutton, 1864). Image in the Public Domain

therefore complicating Pugin's monolithic differentiation of medieval domestic and ecclesiastical furniture.

For ease of reference, this *corpus* can be understood to consist of the following examples (although there may well be more unknown or lost examples): the 'Thomas Stanley bed', in a private collection (c. 1490–1504/1520); the 'Stanley bed' at Marhamchurch Antiques (dated by dendrochronology to c. 1493–1523); the 'Stanley posts' in the Victoria and Albert Museum (c. 1490–1520?); the 'Lovely Hall or Molyneux bed', in a private collection (c. 1490–1500?); the 'Adam Hulton bed', Chetham's Library, Manchester (c. 1490–1520); and the interior of St Helen's Church, Sefton (c. 1490–1540).

THE THOMAS STANLEY BED IN 1913: A DISCOVERY

The Thomas Stanley bed is known to have been in the collection of the significant Lancashire antiquary James Dearden (1798–1862) of Rochdale Manor, a house otherwise known as 'The Orchard'.⁸ His antiquarian friend, the Reverend Francis Raines (1805–78), vicar of Saddleworth from 1828, is recorded being shown the Thomas Stanley bed in Dearden's collection: 'the Deardens showed him a very capital collection of Antiquities and curiosities of every kind, and amongst other things, the state bed from Latham [sic] House which was there during the siege [of 1644]'.⁹ This record is found in the diary of George Shaw (1810–76) — more on him below — for 3 October 1829. 'Latham', the pile that Shaw recorded the bed having come from, is Lathom House near Ormskirk in Lancashire, the seat of the Stanleys, the earls of Derby, and it was the last Royalist stronghold in Lancashire during the English Civil War. The now destroyed medieval residence was a fortified one, as illustrated in Peter Draper's *House of Stanley* (1864), and it was a palace by any other name (Figure 2).¹⁰

⁸ Dearden's vast collection of antiquarian manuscripts can be found at Chetham's Library, Manchester: C.6.34–77.

⁹ Oldham, Oldham Local Studies and Archives, M175/1/1, 3 October 1829.

¹⁰ Goodall (2011), p. 385.

Indeed, at the death of Edward Stanley (1509–72), third Earl of Derby, it was described as ‘the Northern Court’ and no other household, save for the royal Court, could compare.¹¹ The archives for Lathom indicate the presence of numerous beds at the house in the sixteenth century before the siege, however they do not include any meaningful descriptive detail (save for valuations). The inventory of ‘Goods of Henerje late Erle of Derby at Lathome’ from 12 July 1594 records ‘In ye Chamber at ye westend of the middle warde. Item. j standing bed [£]20-00-00’.¹² This is significantly more valuable than other bedsteads in the house, of which two were valued at £13-6-8, and another at £10-0-0.¹³ None of these beds recorded at Lathom before the siege are now traced, and, perhaps, it is not too unreasonable to consider the £20 bed to be the Thomas Stanley example given its description as the house’s ‘state bed’ when Raines visited Dearden in 1829.

This Stanley bed survived at Rochdale Manor well after Dearden’s death in 1862, indeed it remained there until the end of November 1913 when it was sold by the auctioneers Messrs C. W. Provis & Sons. Recorded in the ‘Oak Bedroom’ at the manor, along with other antique and antiquarian-style furniture, the bed was clearly the most significant lot not only in the room but also in the house. The bed’s importance is conveyed through its choice description and by it being the only lot set all in capitals:

211 THE CARVED 4-POST BEDSTEAD, WITH VERY MASSIVE CANOPY TOP, ELABORATELY ENRICHED BY PIERCED AND OTHER CARVINGS IN FLORIATE AND EMBLEMATICAL DESIGN IN GOTHIC TASTE, THE FOOT RAIL BEARING CREST AND COAT-OF-ARMS WITH MOTTO.¹⁴

Notably, there is no attempt to date the bed, perhaps considering the relatively recent context of the Victorian antiques trade where dealers, restorers, and ‘fakers’ created seemingly endless examples of cut-and-shut or newly manufactured Elizabethan-style furniture, as can be seen at any number of houses in the region. Nevertheless, the photograph of the bed included in the 1913 catalogue (Figure 3) is incredibly important given that it records the state bed in a condition unlike that which we otherwise know it throughout the remainder of the twentieth century: the bed is far more elaborate compared with its two known states illustrated by Victor Chinnery in his landmark publication, *Oak Furniture: The British Tradition* (Figures 4 and 5). In spite of poor lighting and printing, this 1913 photograph gives a vast amount of detail concerning the bed as it then was. Moreover, further information can be found in a manuscript notebook that gathers together notice of the auction, details of Rochdale Manor in newspaper clippings, and other relevant antiquarian detail.¹⁵ The author of these notes was James Maxim (fl. 1900–1965), a local teacher and antiquarian scholar. The heraldic decoration strewn across the bed particularly attracted his attention, helping to flesh out details that are otherwise insufficiently clear in the photograph (Figure 6).

¹¹ Lewis (1999), p. 150.

¹² Liverpool, Knowsley Hall, Derby MSS C41, f. 39v. Cited by permission of the Derby Collection.

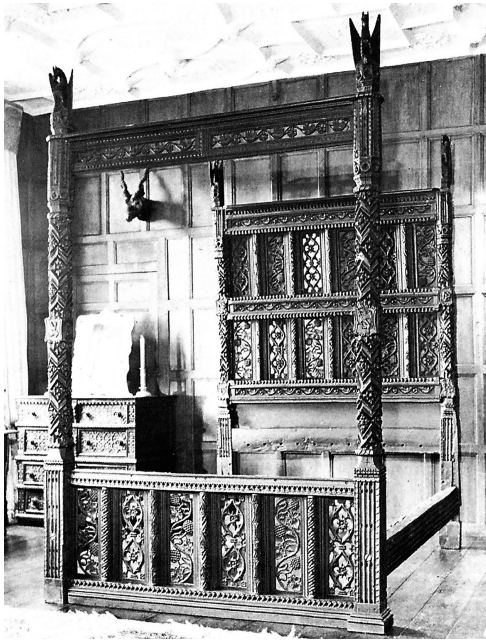
¹³ *Ibid.*, ff. 39r, 39v, 46r.

¹⁴ Provis (1913), p. 17, Touchstones, Rochdale Archives and Local Studies, M 8751.

¹⁵ Rochdale, Touchstones, Max 107, n.p.



3 The Thomas Stanley Bed as it existed in 1913, from Messrs C. W. Provis and Sons, *The Manor House, Rochdale*. Courtesy of Touchstones, Rochdale Archives and Local Studies



4 The Thomas Stanley Bed, mid-1970s: the first reconstruction. *Courtesy of Jan Chinnery*



5 The Thomas Stanley Bed, later 1970s: the second restoration. *Courtesy of Jan Chinnery*

Before considering the bed and its otherwise forgotten form and detail recorded in the 1913 photograph, it is necessary to evaluate the bed's significance as understood in the mid-to-late twentieth century (by which point it had been divested of its tester, the longitudinal pierced tester valences, some of the heraldic ornament, and the upper register of the footboard (Figure 4). Chinnery, it is clear, was fully aware of the significance of the Thomas Stanley bed as a relic from early Tudor Lancashire, and he offered a detailed if somewhat romantically framed narration of its history, beginning with speculation that the bed was

possibly made for a man who was also present at Bosworth in 1485, and in equal prominence to Sir Rhys ap Thomas. This was Sir Thomas Stanley, who personally stooped to pick up the crown that had fallen from the head of the dead Richard III, and placed it upon the head of Henry Tudor, henceforth Henry VII. Stanley, who must have been well acquainted with Sir Rhys ap Thomas, was immediately created the First Earl of Derby. The Stanley bed probably dates from *c.* 1500–21, and bears many small armorial devices with the achievements of the Stanleys and their allies. These are to be found on the faces of each of the knops which punctuate the posts, giving fourteen devices in all.¹⁶

Further, Chinnery recorded that the bed, at some point prior to him writing about it, had been purchased at auction as a 'pile of carved wood'¹⁷ – this certainly does not

¹⁶ Chinnery (1979), p. 389.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

refer to the bed's sale from Rochdale Manor in late 1913 where it was anything but a 'pile of carved wood'. Therefore, the bed had been dismantled after 1913, become a fragmentary collection of carved oak, sold at auction, and then put back together: when reassembled, parts of the bed's structure and attendant ornament, including the tester and upper footboard register, were omitted (Figure 4); perhaps they had already been separated or lost? In this reconstructed state, Chinnery wrote that the Tudor bed included 'various nineteenth century additions and repairs'; it was again restored, as seen in Figure 5, at which point the footboard was totally removed and replaced with a lateral stock rail matching those at the sides, and the implication Chinnery makes is that the nineteenth-century interventions had been removed.¹⁸ Sadly, Chinnery does not indicate the extent of the bed's nineteenth-century additions or repairs; however, his caption to what is illustrated here as Figure 4 suggests that this Victorian material could have included the eagle and child finials (Chinnery misidentified these birds as griffins). He wrote that 'some of the carving is spurious, and the arrangement of the bedstock has since been altered. It is thought that one of the griffin finials may be original'.¹⁹ His assertions are notably reserved, do not help understand the extent of any Victorian work, and perhaps suggest that he had not examined the bed as seen in Figure 4 in great detail.

Crucially, Chinnery wrote that the bed illustrated here as Figure 5 included a 'tester [that] has here been conjecturally restored as a simple cloth canopy, and no further clue may be obtained from a very similar bed [...] which was first noted by Henry Shaw in his *Specimens of Ancient Furniture* in 1836'.²⁰ This was the Lovely Hall bed, discussed below. The 1913 auction photograph, clearly unknown to Chinnery, offers a record of the bed's tester that could not be provided by any other surviving example known to have come from Tudor Lancashire, or, indeed, any other comparator from the early sixteenth century given the extreme paucity of surviving examples. One can only imagine what Chinnery would have made of the Thomas Stanley bed in the mid-twentieth century if he had known about its form in 1913. With reference to the newly discovered photograph of the Thomas Stanley bed, perhaps it is possible to arrive at a more complete understanding of this Lancashire *corpus* and the Thomas Stanley bed itself as a significant surviving example produced in the region at the time.

UNDERSTANDING THE THOMAS STANLEY BED IN 1913

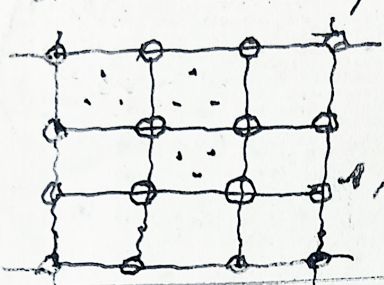
As noted, the Thomas Stanley bed as depicted in the 1913 Provis auction catalogue is dramatically unlike the bed we know today. These differences are largely confined to the tester and upper footboard register, all of which are now untraced and presumably lost after it had been dismantled and before its subsequent resale at auction. The bed's lost tester is particularly interesting: it is of a hipped form with two registers of what appear to be organic or Gothic *rinceau* patterns somewhat like those found on the bed's headboard panels, albeit rotated through 90 degrees to become horizontal, and they are not dissimilar to repeating decoration common in medieval ecclesiastical woodwork. Above this, the photograph shows the tester crested by interlaced and

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 387.

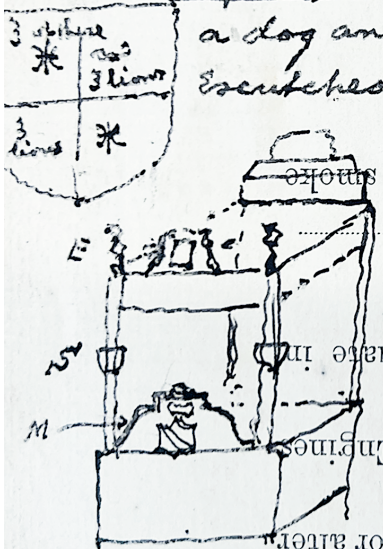
²⁰ Ibid., p. 391.

A Bedroom with panelled ceiling in squares of carved oak with bosses (⊕) and 3 brass stars in each panel.



A room about 7 yards square

A 4-post elaborately carved bed with a dog and a flying over an escutcheon above.



the said Act will be enforced. the posts at the foot of the bed as shown

Act, so as to consume or burn the

E. 2 eagles top of posts as finials

S. 2 shields with arms thus: -
 on left - a stag, a rose, a dog or a ram
 on right - griffin, an owl, a horse and

M. on the edge of the foot board was the mottoe SANS CHANGEMENT.
 = without changing.
 This is the family mottoe of the Muscovites.

3 fleurs-de-lis
 3 lions
 3 fleurs-de-lis

stead in the oak

JO & A

the said Act will be enforced. the posts at the foot of the bed as shown

Act, so as to consume or burn the

E. 2 eagles top of posts as finials

S. 2 shields with arms thus: -
 on left - a stag, a rose, a dog or a ram
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6 James Maxim, notebook, Max 107, 1913, unpaginated. Courtesy of Touchstones, Rochdale Archives and Local Studies

pierced Gothic fretwork; set between pinnacles at the corners, this fretwork adds height to the bed and gives the tester the impression of being crowned. Enhancing this ceremonial pomp is the shield set beneath a crown fixed to the front of the tester. Upon detailed inspection, the shield is charged in quarters 1 and 4 with France (modern), *three fleurs-de-lis*, and in quarters 2 and 3 England, *three lions passant guardant in pale armed and langued*; these royal quarterings are confirmed by the manuscript record of the bed (Figure 6).²¹ The arms are flanked by a dragon and a greyhound, supporters used for the majority of Henry VII's reign, and also at the start of Henry

²¹ Rochdale, Touchstones, Max 107, n.p.

VIII's reign.²² This heraldic decoration enhances the bed's importance and articulation of status, indeed, perhaps status appropriate for it to be referred to in 1829 by George Shaw as the 'state bed' that was at Lathom during the 1644 siege. These heraldic formalities, including the shape of the shield, are entirely appropriate to the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth century, the period to which the bed is thought to date.²³ Indeed, the royal heraldry, if original to the bed, would have also been a fitting expression of Stanley loyalty to the King: not only did Sir Thomas Stanley have a significant role at the Battle of Bosworth (22 August 1485), but his second wife (married 1472) was Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, which made Sir Thomas the stepfather of Henry VII.

In addition to the bed's now lost royal augmentation, this 1913 photograph demonstrates how the bed was strewn with other Stanley heraldic devices. Notably, each post is crested by an eagle and child finial: this is the Stanley family crest derived from the fourteenth-century Sir Thomas Lathom who wished for an heir but only had a daughter, discovered a male child in an eagle's nest and subsequently brought it up as his own.²⁴ An even more explicit connection to a specific Stanley is provided by the now lost upper footboard register: a rectangular panel containing a gartered coat of arms on a Tudor-shaped shield. This shield is charged with a *bend three bucks' heads cabossed*, which is the arms of the Stanleys, the earls of Derby, and to either side of it on a *banderole* is the motto *SANS CHANGER*, something specified in the annotated manuscript description of the bed (Figure 6). This motto, like the heraldic shields and the eagle and child finials, belongs to the earls of Derby.²⁵ Some of the bed's other carved details help clarify which Stanley this bed appears to have been made for. As Chinnery indicates, the lower shield on the bed's back left post is charged with the letter T and that on the right post the letter T, a lover's knot, and an erased letter. The bed has therefore been assumed the original property of Sir Thomas Stanley (1435–1504), first Earl of Derby, or his grandson, Thomas Stanley (c. 1485–1521), second Earl of Derby, giving a broad window of production ranging from c. 1490 to 1521. The footboard panel, if coeval with the rest of the bed and read along with the other heraldry and lettering integral to the bed's structure, offers some clarification: the first Earl of Derby was a knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, enabling his arms to be encircled by the garter, whereas the other Thomas, the second Earl, was not. The footboard's gartered shield therefore refers to the earlier Thomas, the first Earl: if original to the bed, it suggests that the bed was made before Sir Thomas's death in 1504.

Given that the hipped tester and upper footboard register are now lost, it is impossible to examine them to gauge their physical qualities, age, and, hence, originality. The photograph offers no help here. We should perhaps approach these parts of the bed with extreme caution given what we know of the antiquary and architect George Shaw who was in the circle of Dearden and who recorded Raines's

²² See, for example, the illumination added to a copy of *Le Miroir des Dames*, British Library, Royal 19 B XVI, f. 1 b.

²³ Hasler (1980), p. 10. See also an ivory panel with Henry VIII's arms, thought to be from a casket: London, British Museum, 1886,0702.5.

²⁴ Seacome (1793), pp. 51–53.

²⁵ Debrett (1816), p. lxxiii.



7 George Shaw, The Radcliffe Bed, sixteenth-century material augmented during the 1840s. Private Collection, on Loan to Ordsall Hall, Salford. *The author*

visit to Rochdale Manor where the bed was viewed by the vicar. In particular, Shaw acted as a forger of ancient family furniture, from and especially during the 1840s when he created supposedly Tudor ‘relics’ from scratch, and he also compiled fragments of ancient furniture and completed or enhanced them with modern additions, particularly heraldic, to give pieces meaning and familial association.²⁶ Such a process of ‘enhancement’ is the basis upon which the Radcliffe bed (Figure 7) was created after 1842: the footboard, the tester — including the poorly carved royal arms set within the ceiling — and parts of the headboard are Shaw’s Victorian interventions.²⁷ Indeed, almost all, if not all of the heraldic decoration found on the Radcliffe bed shows the unmistakably crude hand of Shaw and his workshop, and the ancient parts of it tally precisely with a note from 1842 where Dearden suggested Shaw visit an unidentified house near Huddersfield to view a bed. This was described on 5 October 1842 as a

fine old and much dilapidated bed, near Huddersfield and which he wishes me to get repaired for him. — I have seen it and believe it will be one of the first and first ones after its reparation, with addition of heraldic insignia &c. &c. &c.²⁸

²⁶ Bowett (2021), pp. 109–47. Bowett, ‘Antiquarianism in Early Victorian Rochdale’ (2020).

²⁷ Bowett, ‘New Light on the Ordsall Hall Bed’ (2020). Lindfield (2022).

²⁸ Manchester, Chetham’s Library, Raines/2/2/178, no number (5 October 1842).

Given Shaw's prolific endeavours as a forger of Tudor furniture detailed recently by Bowett,²⁹ particularly creating entirely modern tester beds that he claimed to be ancient, should we assume that the Thomas Stanley bed's lost tester and footboard were Shaw's handiwork or that of another antiquary-cum-forger? This cannot be ruled out, and, indeed, as pointed out recently, there is a distinct lack of English medieval beds with footboards necessary to establish the Stanley bed seen in 1913 as a genuine piece of Tudor furniture.³⁰ The problem, of course, is that perishingly few beds from the start of the Tudor period (and before) survive at all, which means that we do not have a sizable *corpus* necessary to judge this bed against; inventories often do not offer extensive descriptions necessary to understand the nuanced facets of medieval beds, and judging the Stanley bed against those depicted in manuscript illustrations is also fraught with difficulty given the questionable veracity of such images. We do, however, have mention of a clearly distinctive decorative programme on the head, sides, and foot of a bed in the 1542 Whitehall inventory (number 455), repeated again in the 1547 post-mortem inventory of Henry VIII (13,149), as: 'oone bedstede gilt and painted with iiij of the planettes in the hed / and sondry other stories in the sides and fete being in length ij yerdes quarter and in bredith oone yerde iij quarters di / having Ceeler Tester'.³¹ At this time, stories did not refer to what we may perhaps assume — narratives — but, instead, registers or levels.³² Whilst the entry does not use the phrase footboard — much like it does not use the term headboard — it nevertheless indicates that there was a bed in the royal collection with sufficiently noticeable carving to foot and to the sides (perhaps pillowboards),³³ and that the carving may well have extended beyond the rails to include some form of footboard. The Stanley bed therefore cannot be dismissed without due consideration as an exceptionally rare survival from the Tudor period; equally, it may well document the hand of romantic Victorian interference.

The Stanley bed as seen in 1913 has, however, been written off as a part-product by Shaw. The British and Irish Furniture Makers Online entry for Shaw refers to it as 'a tester bed, which had probably been purchased, c.1842, from a house near Huddersfield and to which Shaw added a footboard and royal arms. It remained at Dearden's house until auctioned in December 1913'.³⁴ Whilst plausible, this attribution fails to accommodate the bed's history: the Stanley bed was in Dearden's collection by 1829 when it was described as 'the state bed from Latham [sic] House which was there during the siege [of 1644]'.³⁵ The Stanley bed therefore cannot have been purchased by Shaw c.1842 near Huddersfield, and whilst we cannot prove that the footboard and tester were (or were not) part of the bed when produced at the end of the fifteenth-century, these elements are certainly not incompatible with its status described in 1829. Moreover, Dearden was a friend of Shaw's and not a gullible

²⁹ Bowett, "George Shaw," pp. 109–47.

³⁰ Bowett (2022), p. 30.

³¹ Hayward (2004), p. 69. Ward (1998), p. 317.

³² 'storey | story, n', in OED Online. March 2022. Oxford University Press, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/190982> (accessed May 30, 2022).

³³ For pillowboards see Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau's 1565–70 design for a tester bed, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018.839.58.7.

³⁴ <https://bifmo.history.ac.uk/entry/shaw-george-1810-1876>.

³⁵ Oldham, Oldham Local Studies and Archives, M175/1/1, 3 October 1829.



8 Crackenthorpe Hall Bed,
Westmorland. *c.* 1520–40? V&A.W.12-
1943. © Victoria and Albert Museum

collector: he clearly prized the bed as an historic relic that had survived the Civil War and we have to question if he would have asked Shaw to enhance it significantly in the 1840s.

Ultimately, it is impossible to offer a confirmed date for the tester and the footboard's upper register without being able to examine them first-hand; deeming them categorically Tudor or Victorian is therefore troublesome. To modern eyes, these parts of the bed nevertheless seem foreign and, perhaps, even whimsical Victorian aberrations and additions, particularly within the context of the Lancashire *corpus* discussed and illustrated below. The irregularity of these parts of the bed must surely make them Victorian additions, particularly the footboard and, as noted elsewhere, the *banderole*?³⁶ The problem, as already noted, is that few equivalent beds from the early sixteenth century survive (be they of regional or metropolitan production), let alone those made for families with similar status or connection to the monarch as the Earls of Derby. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the *banderole* appears unfamiliar yet, as the vehicle for the motto, it is entirely consistent with heraldic decoration from the late-fifteenth century, as illustrated, for example, under the arms of Henry VII in BL Royal 19 B XVI.³⁷ The few surviving beds from the Tudor period that we have to compare the Stanley bed with include the *c.* 1530–40 'Crackenthorpe Hall bed' (Figure 8), thought to have come from Crackenthorpe Hall in Westmorland. It shares

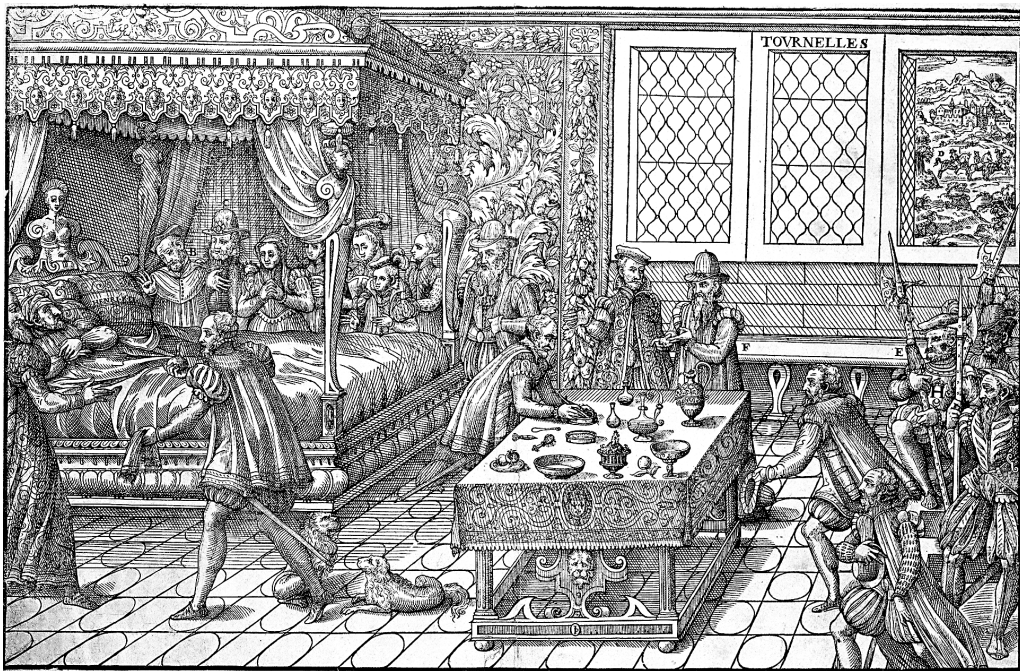
³⁶ Bowett (2022), p. 32.

³⁷ London, The British Library, Royal 19 B XVI, f. 1v. Cf. Bowett (2022), pp. 31–2.



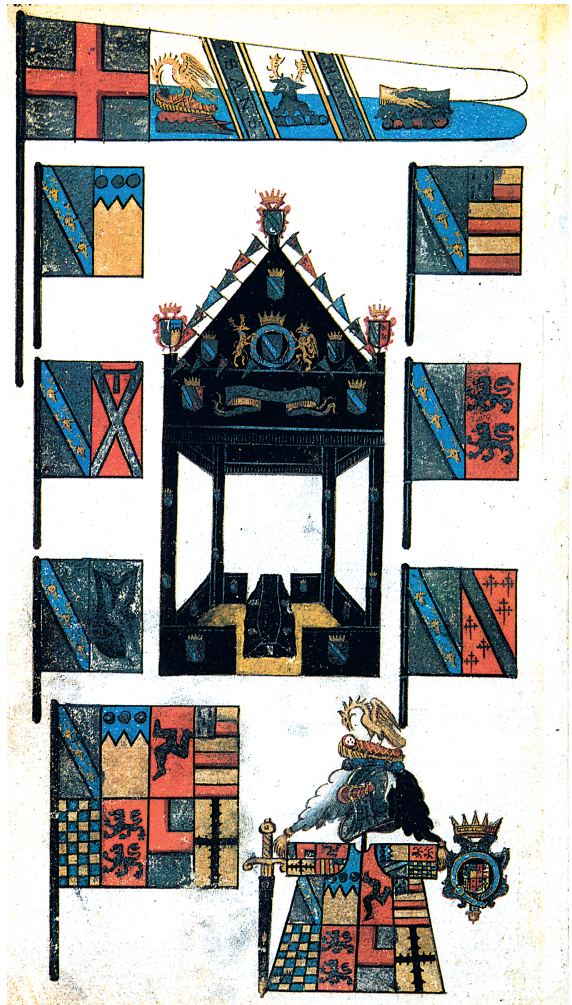
9 (left) Scheurl bed, 1601, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Image in the public domain.

10 (below) Jean Perrissin, *The Death of Henri II of France*, c. 1570. Wellcome Collection. CC BY 4.0.



numerous similarities with the Stanley bed (diaper on the columns, shields at the mid-point of the front posts' diaper sections, and the appearance of a panelled headboard), but the workmanship is noticeably crude and the decoration is *bas-relief* rather than pierced fretwork.³⁸ This bed is altogether a cheaper affair and thus not a suitable comparator to the Thomas Stanley bed. Other comparators, admittedly significantly later, are the Scheurl bed, 1601 (Figure 9), with its ogival tester and ornate footboard, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, and that depicted in *The Death of Henri II*, c. 1570 (Figure 10), where the King is shown lying on a bed with a hipped

³⁸ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, W.12-1943.



11 Catafalque of Edward Stanley, Third Earl of Derby, from Vincent's *Precedents*, Vincent 151, p. 366. Courtesy of the College of Arms, London

tester supported by a term at each corner.³⁹ Whilst not dating to the early sixteenth century, these beds indicate that hipped testers were not unknown and, therefore, the canopy over the Thomas Stanley bed seen in 1913 may not be as irregular as we perhaps assume.

Catafalques add further colour to the nature of sixteenth-century English canopies. Whilst not a bed, the *catafalque* is a similar structure, often a platform, used to display or even convey coffins during funerals, and, much like a state bed, they are covered with a tester or *baldacchino* as a marker of honour. A visual record of the *catafalque* used for the funeral of Sir Edward Stanley (1509–72), third Earl of Derby, also a Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, exists in ‘Vincent’s Precedents’, a manuscript held in the collection of the College of Arms in London (Figure 11).⁴⁰ The third Earl

³⁹ London, British Museum, 1855,0414.182.

⁴⁰ London, College of Arms, Ms Vincent 151, p. 366.

of Derby's *catafalque* tester, set on four posts, has a pitched roof with the central arms on the gable being the gartered Stanley shield with the family motto on a *banderole* below. Each post is crested by a shield bearing arms appropriate to the deceased Earl and another is found at the apex of the canopy; whilst this *catafalque* postdates the Stanley bed, there are, nevertheless, significant structural and heraldic similarities. When read alongside the 1913 photograph of the Stanley bed, the Scheurl bed, and that in *The Death of Henri II*, we can see how the hipped tester may not have been an isolated aberration within the visual and architectural language of Tudor pageantry and Derby visual identity. If these parts of the Thomas Stanley bed were by Shaw or another forger, they illustrate a distinctly nuanced and informed approach to recreating the visual language of Tudor pageantry.

DEFINING DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS AND CONTEXT OF THE THOMAS STANLEY BED

The Thomas Stanley bed is notable for its close relationship with the design language of Tudor material culture and court fashion; this is not unreasonable given the family's status and connection to the court and monarch. Principally, the octagonal posts are covered with half-offset registers of diamond-shaped lozenges; each of these lozenges is filled with a quatrefoil leaf, and they are separated from one another by a concave moulding profile. This pattern, known as diapering, had currency at the end of the fifteenth century and at the start of the sixteenth century, and it can be found enriching the surface patterns of many posts. For example, this can be seen on either side of the royal coat of arms belonging to Henry VII on Christ Church Gate leading to Canterbury Cathedral, Kent, and on either side of the throne depicted on the gold sovereign produced in Henry VII's reign between 1504 and 1507.⁴¹ These diaper patterns were also inscribed into the c. 1520 choir-stall canopy posts installed in the Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey, and the metal grille (c. 1505–12) set around the tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in the same Lady Chapel.⁴² A far more local example of this diaper-work and other related patterns can be found on the 1520s *pulpitum* (which also acted as a rood screen) in Manchester Collegiate Church (now Cathedral), framing the tracery windows (Figure 12).⁴³ Diaper-work also covers the engaged posts between each pierced panel of the bed's headboard and footboard, therefore tying in all of these vertical parts to a standard form of geometric patterning in circulation at the time. Another device employed to enrich the bed's surfaces is linenfold decoration – this is applied as an intricate series of micro-linenfolds to the lower portions of all four posts, and in a derivative form at the top of the posts. This matches contemporary fashions around 1500 for covering flat fields with ornament. The linenfold pattern towards the bottom of the posts is also notable for the inclusion of 'cut-outs' that create a series of horizontal registers that match the bed's elaborate carved ornament.⁴⁴

⁴¹ London, British Museum, GHB.374.

⁴² Roberts (2003), p. 106. Tracy (1990), pp. 52–58. Lindley (2003), p. 271.

⁴³ Gregory (2021), p. 332.

⁴⁴ Such as London, Victoria and Albert Museum, W.28-1930.



12 Detail of the Diaper-Work on the pulpitum, Manchester Cathedral, 1520s.
The author



13 Detail of the mantled-hour-glass shield from the Sir Thomas Stanley Bed, charged with the Stanley family crest, c. 1490–1504.
Courtesy of Jan Chinnery

Equally typical of court fashion are the continuous galleries of engrailing finished with leaf finials, known as brattishing. This can be found, for example, decorating Gothic choir-stalls including those at Manchester Cathedral, and, in a domestic context, on the courtyard elevations of Little Moreton Hall, Cheshire, from 1560–62. Other elements of the bed derived from the visual language of the Tudor Court are the heraldic shields incorporated throughout the structure: these are found at the mid-point of the front posts' diaper sections and in line with the headboard's lower and middle rails on the back posts. In particular, the shields are of an hour-glass shape — a shape introduced in the Tudor period — and their upper and lower faces are fringed with a very distinctive type of leaf ornament that appears to wrap around from the back (Figure 13): this specific treatment of the hour-glass shield appears to have been an aesthetic tradition in circulation at Court around the turn of the sixteenth century and ultimately an imaginative repurposing of traditional heraldic mantling.⁴⁵ Comparative examples include a series of painted glass armorials now at the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, which employ this type of mantled hour-glass escutcheon.⁴⁶ Thought to date to around 1510,⁴⁷ these shields include the Royal arms of England

⁴⁵ Lindfield (2021), p. 9–11.

⁴⁶ Glasgow, Burrell Collection, 45.249 (Richard Knightley); 25.307 (royal arms of England); 45.308 (Catherine of Aragon); 45.317 (Skinnerton).

⁴⁷ They are also thought to date to 1537–42. Marks, Williamson and Townsend (2003), pp. 288–89.



14 (left) The Royal Arms of England from Fawsley Hall, Northamptonshire. *c.* 1510. Glasgow Life, Burrell Collection, 25.307. CC BY-NC.



15 (right) Choir stall standard, Manchester Cathedral, *c.* 1510. *The author*

(Figure 14), and they came from Fawsley Hall in Northamptonshire. Another example is the gartered escutcheon at the centre of a Flemish tapestry commissioned by Lord Dynham, Henry VII's Lord Treasurer, now at the Metropolitan Museum, New York.⁴⁸ A local example of this mantled hour-glass escutcheon can be seen in the choir-stall standards of Manchester Cathedral *c.* 1510 (Figure 15). These standards are part of a broader tradition linked stylistically to the Ripon 'school'.⁴⁹ Among the many works produced, or directly influenced, by the Ripon 'school' that include the mantled hour-glass escutcheons are the choir-stall standards and carved decorations at Ripon Cathedral and Holy Trinity Church, Wensley, North Yorkshire.⁵⁰ Finally, the Thomas Stanley bed's headboard and footboard panels include a pierced *rinceau* pattern alternating with stacked reticulations typical of English Decorated tracery. Almost every part of the bed is covered with Gothic architectural, organic, and heraldic decoration fashionable and in circulation at the start of the Tudor period. The bed is therefore connected closely to court fashion; if it had been produced later in the Tudor period this bed could well have included Renaissance forms, unless it was self-consciously backward looking.

⁴⁸ Metropolitan Museum, 60.127.1.

⁴⁹ Gregory (2021), pp. 425–26. See also Tracy (1990), pp. 15–31.

⁵⁰ Purvis (1929), pp. 157–200.



16 The Marhamchurch Bed, c. 1493–1523.
Courtesy of Paul Fitzsimmons

17 Pair of fragmentary posts with shields
charged with T and S, c. 1500–20.
V&A.W.33-1929. Victoria and Albert
Museum

A CORPUS OF BEDS FROM TUDOR LANCASHIRE

As noted earlier, the Thomas Stanley bed is one of several very similar tester beds produced for Lancashire families in Tudor England. When assessed in its present restored state it appears entirely coherent with other members of this *corpus*; however, in its 1913 state it was a significantly more elaborate outlier, and, we can surmise, fit for the first Earl of Derby. Perhaps the next most important member of this *corpus*, despite its numerous reconfigurations, is the bed now in the collection of Paul Fitzsimmons of Marhamchurch Antiques (Figure 16), given that it has been dated successfully using dendrochronological analysis, with a felling date of between 1493 and 1523.⁵¹ Whilst narrower than the Thomas Stanley bed at four feet wide, both are clearly related in ornamental terms: it has a similar set of diaper-carved posts, floral *rinceau* patterns on the rails, and mantled hour-glass escutcheons on the posts. The headboard decoration is, however, slightly different: the floral *rinceau* pattern is retained but the architectural panels seen on the Thomas Stanley bed are replaced by another floral pattern incorporating long trailing leaves. A fragmentary pair of cut-down posts in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London also exhibit a close relationship with these beds. With a diaper pattern on the posts precisely matching that on the Thomas Stanley and Marhamchurch beds, the posts appear to be another example from Tudor Lancashire and, presumably, originally from a bed or similar piece of architectural furniture (Figure 17).⁵² Notably, the mantled-hour-

⁵¹ Moir (2012), p. 8.

⁵² London, Victoria and Albert Museum, W.33-1929.



18 The Molyneux ‘Lovely Hall’ Bed. c. 1490–1500?
Image in the Public Domain



19 The Adam Hulton Bed. c. 1490–1520? *Courtesy of Chetham’s Library, Manchester*

glass escutcheons from these cut-down posts feature the letters T and S — perhaps, as assumed elsewhere, for Thomas Stanley — and they may well date to around the same time as the Stanley and Marhamchurch beds, c.1490–1520.⁵³

A further two beds form a distinct subset of the Lancashire *corpus*: what are known as the ‘Lovely Hall bed’ (Figure 18), now in a private collection in the USA, and the ‘Adam Hulton bed’ (Figure 19), now reconfigured as a bookcase-cum-buffet and in

⁵³ These posts are currently inaccessible so they are unavailable for tree-ring analysis or other scientific dating protocols.

Chetham's Library, Manchester (c. 1490–1520?). Both examples employ a largely similar repertoire of ornament matching that seen on the Thomas Stanley bed, including the *rinceau* frieze on the rails bordered by brattishing, mantled-hour-glass-escutcheons on the posts, and headboards fitted with two registers of vertical panelling. They are, nevertheless, subtly different in terms of specific ornamental detail, including the design of the fretwork panelling incorporated within the headboards and the diaper pattern covering the posts. Unlike the other beds and fragments comprising this *corpus*, the Lovely Hall and Hulton beds' posts are decorated with rings of vertically stretched hexagons abutted to form 'rings' encircling the posts. At the centre of each hexagon is a flowerhead, quite unlike the diaper pattern already discussed. However, the negative space between each register of diaper repeats the diamond-shaped leaf-work seen on the Thomas Stanley and Marhamchurch posts. This design creates a significantly more complex and fussier appearance; we can, however, trace this diaper back to the Thomas Stanley bed as this and a range of other diapers, including hexagonally castellated and barley-twist patterns, are applied to mullions separating the headboard's and footboard's fretwork panels. The other diaper patterns found on the Thomas Stanley bed are also carried over to the inter-panel mullions on the Lovely Hall and Hulton beds, suggesting that a conscious decision was taken to deviate from the Stanley 'model' (assuming, of course, that the Thomas Stanley bed was the model upon which the remainder of the *corpus* was derived). The Hulton bed also deviated from the Thomas Stanley bed by including the long-leaf fretwork pattern in the headboard, as seen on the Marhamchurch bed, albeit executed in a cruder fashion consistent with the Hulton bed generally. The Lovely Hall bed also includes this long-leaf fretwork panelling, and it also revisits the Gothic architectural panels incorporated into the Thomas Stanley bed but reformats the curvilinear tracery into a rectilinear form. So whilst the Lovely Hall and Hulton beds appear to form a distinct sub-section of this *corpus*, the majority of the decoration can be traced back to the Thomas Stanley bed.

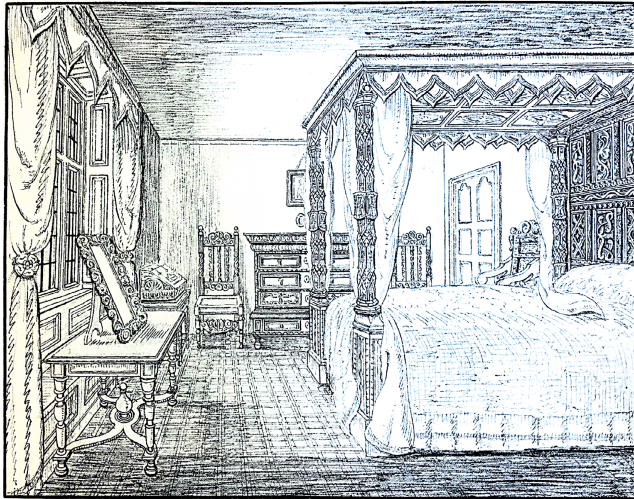
Turning to explore the families associated with these two latter beds, the Lovely Hall bed was made for the Molyneux of Sefton in Lancashire: the shields on the bed's posts are charged with the family's canted arms, a *cross moline*. This does not, however, help identify which Molyneux had the bed made; we can only presume it was roughly coeval with the rest of this *corpus*, so around 1490–1520. The bed left the Molyneux family, just as the Stanley bed left the possession of the earls of Derby, and was illustrated in the important volume of historic furniture by Henry Shaw and Samuel Rush Meyrick, *Specimens of Ancient Furniture Drawn from Existing Authorities* (1836), as plate XXXVI (Figure 20). By that time it had entered 'the possession of the Rev^d W^m Allen Lovely Hall near Blackburn', and was described as an

interesting example, which unfortunately has lost its true cornice, no doubt highly enriched, ... observed by Mr. Allen in the course of his professional duties, in administering to a dying parishioner the last consolations of religion, and purchased by him after the decease of the sick person from his heir.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Shaw and Meyrick (1836), p. 39.



20 The Molyneux ‘Lovely Hall’ Bed from Henry Shaw and Samuel Rush Meyrick, *Specimens of Ancient Furniture Drawn from Existing Authorities* (1836), pl. XXXVI. Image in the Public Domain



21 The Bed Room, Lovely Hall. M175/2/5, f. 11. Courtesy of Oldham Local Studies and Archives

As suggested in *Specimens*, knowledge of the tester’s true form had been lost by the early nineteenth century; it could, therefore, have related in some way to that seen on the Stanley bed. Reverend Allen was another of George Shaw’s contacts, and we find a depiction of the bed surrounded by other antiquarian furniture in a bedroom at Lovely Hall in one of his scrapbooks (Figure 21).⁵⁵ Shaw was certainly interested in

⁵⁵ Oldham, Oldham Local Studies and Archives, M175/2/5, f. 11.

old beds like this, not least given that he was faking them in the 1840s, but his interest in such furniture predated his premeditated forgeries. In Shaw's diary for 31 January 1832, he recalled a visit that day to Chetham's Library in Manchester:

Went to Manchester this morning [...] I went to the College to see W Cropley the governor. W Aston of Castletown Hall told me to give his complements to W Cropley and he would show me a fine old bed he had got.—[...] The dining room is that used by the Wardens &c on College occasions.—It is a fine wainscotted room, with deep oriel windows, and entirely furnished with ancient oak furniture, upon one piece of which was an inscription, to the effect that Humphrey Chetham the founder of the College had also presented that with other articles of furniture.—Over the fireplace is a portrait of him [...] After viewing these two rooms, W.C. took me to look at the old bed, which for want of room lies at present in a kind of Storeroom, and a small magnificent one it was is;—and is thorough good repair.—The back very much resembles the old back of the Barroshaw bed, supported by 4 figures, two females, and two males.—The stoops are of amazingly thickness and covered with carving, and support a tester also very much carved—and in fact the bed is one huge piece of carving not having a plain spot upon it.—He also possesses another bed, equally as fine which he uses, and had no objections to sell this one. The price he asks is forty guineas.⁵⁶

Along with the oak beds at the library, Shaw recorded seeing the 'Hulton bookcase'.⁵⁷ At the time he did not appear to register its connection with the bed in Dearden's collection, or, indeed, that it was originally a bed. Today, as when Shaw saw it at Chetham's, the bookcase is crested with a rail that, on the front, bears the inscription: 'THE GIFT OF HVMPHREY CHETHAM • ESQVIRE • 1655'. The side of the bookcase however gives the correct provenance, having been 'Presented to Chetham's hospital by M^m Hulton Esq^r one of the Feoffers. April 16th 1827'. With escutcheons charged with A and H, the bed could well have been produced for any number of Hultons in and around Manchester, however A H may relate to Adam Hulton whose marriage to his cousin, Alice Hulton, was arranged in 1485 and the papal dispensation for which was received in 1489. Like the rest of the beds forming this *corpus*, the Adam Hulton bed has certainly witnessed numerous modifications.

A LANCASHIRE OUTLIER: THE FURNISHING OF ST HELEN'S CHURCH, SEFTON

The beds examined in this essay are undeniably related to one another with individual differences almost entirely found in some form on the Thomas Stanley example.⁵⁸ In addition to these domestic examples, the interior of St Helen's Church in Sefton, Lancashire, is an important part of this *corpus* (Figure 22). These interior fittings, which deserve further extensive study, date in part to the early sixteenth century and are connected directly to the Molyneux (or Lovely Hall) bed discussed above.⁵⁹ The initials IM are found on the church's chancel screen (Figures 23 and 24), which, as other commentators including Pevsner have speculated, must refer to James Molyneux, rector between 1489 and 1509. Anthony Molyneux, on the other hand, rector between

⁵⁶ Oldham, Oldham Local Studies and Archives, M175/1/3, ff. 16–19.

⁵⁷ Bowett (2019), pp. 16–18.

⁵⁸ Chinnery (1979), p. 391.

⁵⁹ Discussed in Tracy (1990), pp. 59–61, there is more to be said about this interior.



22 Interior of St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire, looking from the nave to the choir. *The author*



23 The choir screen, St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire, looking towards the choir. *c. 1509/1536? The author*



24 Detail of the Renaissance-style ornament on the choir screen, St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire. c. 1509/1536? *The author*

1535 and 1557, is recorded as having built the chancel, his will of 1553 stating that 'as concninge dylapidacons ffor Sefton consideringe y^t I have made so greatt coste of y^e chauncell and revestre and at y^e psonage and at all barnes stables and other there I thinke my successors cannot in consyence requyer any dylapidacons ffor Sefton'.⁶⁰ Thus despite the repeated display of the initials IM, the screen was probably constructed after 1535.⁶¹ Irrespective of the exact date of production, we can be certain that the screens, choirstalls, and most of the chancel pews date to the early sixteenth century and were part of at least one of three successive building campaigns by the Molyneux family of Sefton Hall, with work begun by James in 1489.⁶²

At some point in the late fifteenth century and in the early sixteenth century, the church's spectacular woodwork interior was fashioned in the manner of the Lovely Hall bed. The Choir's screen includes some Renaissance motifs, including *putti* and cornucopias (Figure 24); however, as Charles Tracy has written, most of the woodwork at Sefton is in the Gothic mode, exactly like the beds in this *corpus*.⁶³ The isolated classical motifs almost certainly do not predate the tenure of Anthony Molyneux, the introduction of Renaissance vocabulary to England commencing with the work of Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528) for Henry VIII between 1510 and 1517, followed by the appearance of French workmen at Winchester after 1513.⁶⁴ The Gothic work at Sefton, however, may well have commenced under James Molyneux prior to 1509. What we see today, like the beds discussed above, has undergone revision and

⁶⁰ Piccope (1860), p. 263.

⁶¹ Pollard, Pevsner and Sharples (2006), pp. 59–60. Tracy (1990), pp. 59–60.

⁶² Pollard, Pevsner and Sharples (2006), pp. 580–81.

⁶³ Tracy (1990), pp. 59–61.

⁶⁴ Riall (2008), pp. 258–307.



25 Details of the choir stalls, St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire. c. 1509?
The author

restoration: in particular, William Carøe (1857–1938) worked on the church from 1907, reversing earlier alterations:

We must allow that whitewash is an eyesore, as are the galleries, and we cannot object to their removal per se. The present state of the roofs is objectionable decidedly; so is the paint on some of the screens. The whole condition of the central screen is miserable compared with what it was before its restorers took it to hand.⁶⁵

Despite these interventions, the significance of the church's woodwork did not escape Carøe, or, indeed, earlier commentators: Richard Bridgens (1785–1846), in his survey of the church, documented its various aspects in prose and in engraving. He wrote of it that

there is a repetition of the initials I.M which must allude to some other member of the family; the chancel is divided by a screen from the body of the Church, and contains stalls arranged alphabetically ... the style of the letters is unique being in unison with the general character of the ornaments, and is perhaps the most complete specimen of the kind extant.⁶⁶

St Helen's in Sefton has thus been of repeated interested and its furnishing the source of repeated confusion.

The connections between the bed and the church's interior woodwork are manifold even though Tracy did not make the link: indeed, every aspect of the Lovely Hall bed's design can be seen articulated throughout the church's woodwork, including on the screens, pews, and choir-stalls standards. It is a remarkable reimagining of the bed's decoration and the application of this design language to an ecclesiastical context. Most noticeably, the mantled-hour-glass escutcheons found on the bed are incorporated throughout the church's screens, choir-stalls (Figure 25), reading-desk

⁶⁵ Horley, Carøe and Gordon (1893), p. xv. See also Freeman (1990), pp. 124–28.

⁶⁶ Bridgens (1835), n.p. (yet here referencing plate 24).

26 Details of the choir stalls, St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire. *c. 1509? The author*



27 Parclose screen, St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire. *c. 1509? The author*



standards, and co-eval pew ends. Underlining their relationship, these shields are frequently charged with the Molyneux's *cross moline*. The brattishing found on the bed is also liberally incorporated within the choir stalls (Figure 26) and employed similarly as boundaries to the horizontal friezes; this decoration can also be found in the choir screen repurposed to form ornate tops to the cornucopia (Figure 24). A parclose screen is, however, the most direct articulation of the church's relationship to the bed and its ornament (Figure 27). The engaged posts replicate the variety of diaper-work patterning found on Lovely Hall bed, it displays the same mantled hour-

glass escutcheons, and a connected screen incorporates not only the long-leaf frieze pattern seen on the bed's headboard (Figure 28), but also the ornate linenfold separated into registers (Figure 29). The interior of St Helen's Church consequently demonstrates the repeated, even imaginative application of a design language shared with domestic Tudor furniture. The result is a dramatic reimagination of the beds from the Tudor Lancashire *corpus*.



28 Detail of an adjacent parclose screen, St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire. *c.* 1509? *The author*



29 Detail of an adjacent parclose screen, St Helen's Church, Sefton, Lancashire. *c.* 1509? *The author*

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These Tudor beds have all suffered losses, and we may never recover the footboard and tester from the Thomas Stanley bed to assess these elements' age and originality; however, the 1913 photograph cannot be ignored: it offers us at least the opportunity to assess how architecturally and heraldically complex Tudor beds could be. This *corpus* is also linked to another piece of furniture known as the Henry VII and Elizabeth of York bed; despite the oak being undatable using dendrochronological analysis – there are no matches in databases for its sequence of over 250 rings – the bed has microscopic traces of a medieval paint scheme,⁶⁷ and it is thought to have been produced for the January 1486 marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. Contrary to this physical evidence, some have concluded the bed to be a fake by George Shaw from the 1840s and that it is another of his 'Paradise Beds' made for a currently unidentified English aristocrat.⁶⁸ Irrespective of its age, we can see that Shaw's creation of paradise beds, harnessing ornament exhibited by this *corpus*, gave this snapshot of Tudor Gothic furniture longevity and relevance to Victorian collectors of 'antique' furniture. Elements exhibited by these beds were also championed by the great Gothic Revival architect and designer A. W. N. Pugin in his fifteenth-century style furniture: this also gave the *corpus*' design language currency in the national nineteenth-century context.⁶⁹ Whilst regional, these beds and the interior of St Helen's consequently gained renewed significance 300–350 years after they were made.

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⁶⁷ Hughes (2013), pp. 4–71.

⁶⁸ Bowett (2021), pp. 128, 146 (n. 42).

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