

# The Architectural Patronage of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676)

by

LUCY WORSLEY

*William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle (1593-1676), was the patron of some of the seventeenth century's most extraordinary houses. This article examines a group of houses commissioned by a single family over several decades in order to find out what they can tell us about provincial architecture, its classicism and its chivalry, during the period dominated by Inigo Jones.*

The continent, court and city are usually seen as the sources of innovation in seventeenth-century styles. There is, however, an alternative to hunting far and wide for models and precedents, and that is to turn inward to probe the experiences of the patron and his household. Rather than being the inspiration of a single well-informed designer, the Cavendish houses were the combined efforts of William and his household of about forty-five people.

From the outside, a seventeenth-century household appears to be a single social unit with the goal of supporting and aggrandising its master. As Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to its head a household was 'Theater of his Hospitality, the Seate of Selfe-fruition, the Comfortablest part of his owne Life, the Noblest of his Sonnes Inheritance, a kinde of priuate Princedome [...] an Epitomie of the whole World'. Yet, like the world itself, the Cavendish household contained conflict, gossip and negotiations for power, and these affected the building process and therefore style. As the control of the seventeenth-century design and building process lay within the household, it is worth exploring the remarkable sources surviving for the Cavendish family that allow us to penetrate more deeply into it.

While only Bolsover Castle survives in anything like its original form, the other Cavendish houses shared Bolsover's bizarre creativity and eccentric use of medieval structure and classical ornament. The first section reviews the houses in question and the second examines them as artefacts of both international and local styles. The third explores the building process while the final section lists the key sources for each building.

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## 1 SURVEY

William Cavendish was born into a family of great architectural patrons. His grandmother was Elizabeth ('Bess') of Hardwick (c.1527-1608), Countess of Shrewsbury by her fourth marriage, and builder of the great Derbyshire houses of Chatsworth, Hardwick and Oldcotes. His uncle was another William Cavendish (1551-1626), Earl of Devonshire, who inherited Chatsworth and whose descendants became the Dukes of Devonshire. His father, Charles Cavendish (1553-1617), was a key supporter of Gilbert Talbot (1552-1616), seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, Charles' step-brother from his mother's fourth marriage. It was from this Shrewsbury connection that Charles acquired Welbeck Abbey (Fig. 1) and Bolsover Castle (Fig. 2), both medieval structures that he began to rebuild into new houses. At Welbeck, Charles embarked upon a great remodelling of which only the state

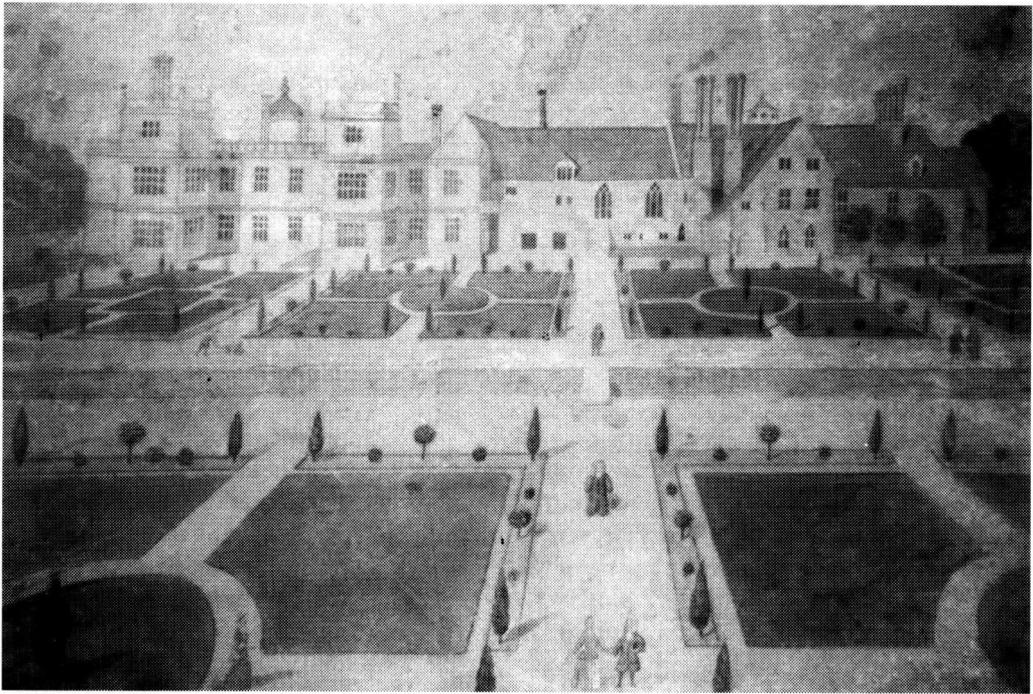


Fig. 1

The south front of Welbeck Abbey in the 1660s/70s

*Private Collection*

suite in the south-west wing was carried out; the date for this work was possibly c.1600. By the time of his death in 1616, Charles had also built the Little Castle on the site of the medieval keep at Bolsover, a small mock-medieval house in the tradition of a lodge, to be used as a place for retirement and for entertaining guests. William completed and decorated his father's Little Castle in the late 1610s. After building a riding house and stable at Welbeck in the 1620s, he added the grand Terrace and Riding House Ranges

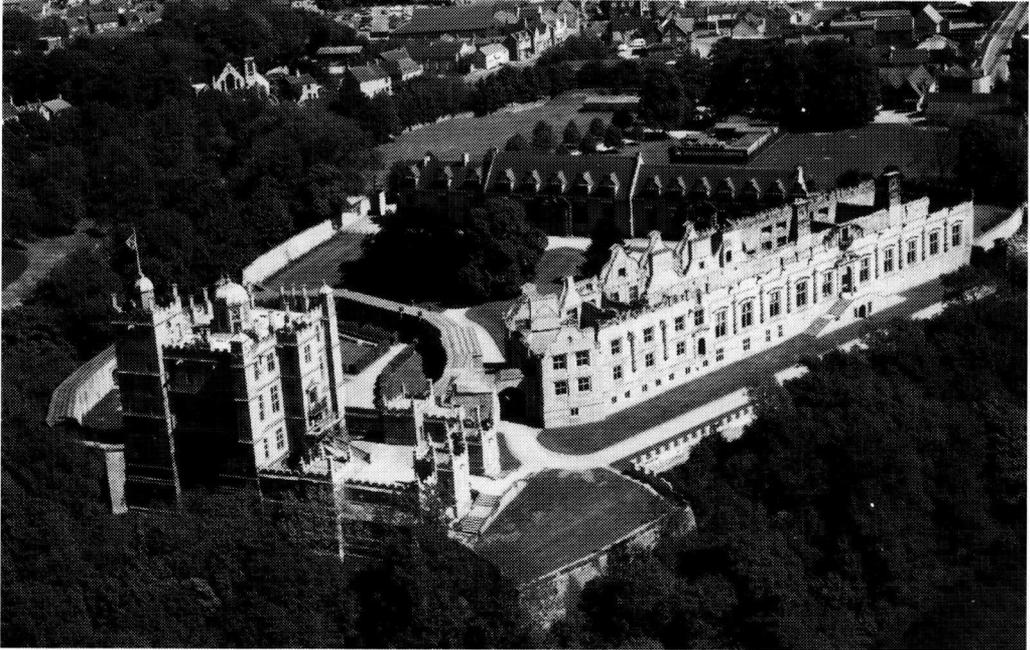


Fig. 2 (*above*)

Bolsover Castle, general view from the air

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Fig. 3 (*left*)

The Terrace Range at Bolsover Castle

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Fig. 4

The Terrace Range, Bolsover Castle, Engraving by Thod. van Kesel after Abraham van Diepenbeke, Plate 35, following p.182, in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8

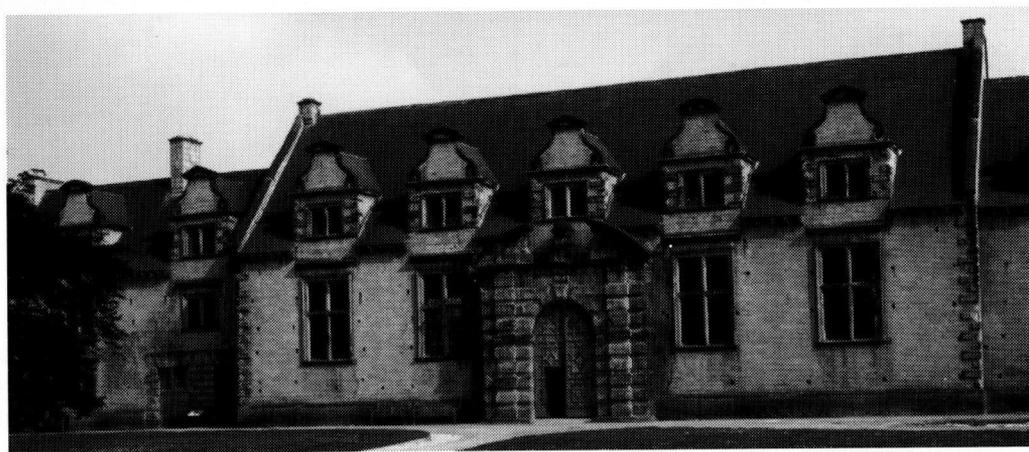


Fig. 5

The Riding House Range at Bolsover Castle  
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(Figs. 3, 4 and 5) to Bolsover Castle, providing luxurious accommodation for a larger household and for his great horses of manège respectively.

During this period William was anxious to make progress as a courtier, and entertained the king at Welbeck in 1619, 1633, 1634 and 1636. He built a reputation at court through his horsemanship or manège, an art in which he possessed great skill; he later taught the young prince (the future Charles II) to ride as part of a long-coveted job as the prince's tutor. William acquired a converted former nunnery as his London residence, probably planning further alterations such as an outdoor manège or riding yard (Fig. 6). Meanwhile William's bachelor brother, a second Charles Cavendish, was rebuilding Slingsby Castle (Fig. 7) in Yorkshire. He created another innovative house in the Cavendish mock-castle style, where he planned to pursue his scientific and philosophical interests. According to a plate in his published manual of horsemanship, William also hoped to rebuild Ogle Castle (Fig. 8) in Northumberland, an ancient fortified house that he had inherited from his mother. Nearby Bothal Castle (Fig. 9), with its surviving medieval gatehouse, was an occasional residence.



Fig. 6

Newcastle House from the 'Crole Pennant,' the collector's edition of Thomas Pennant's *Some Account of London, Westminster and Southwark*, London, 1790, with inserted plates, Vol.7, Plate 291

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During the Civil War, William acted as Charles I's general in the north, but he went into exile after his spectacular defeat in the battle of Marston Moor in 1644. He eventually settled in Antwerp, where he rented the former home of Peter Paul Rubens, the Rubenshuis, which had been made by the painter into a Mannerist architectural extravaganza (Fig. 10). The balance of evidence suggests that William used Rubens' former painting studio as a makeshift riding house. After the Restoration in 1660, a home-sick William returned to England and retired to a quiet life in the Midlands.

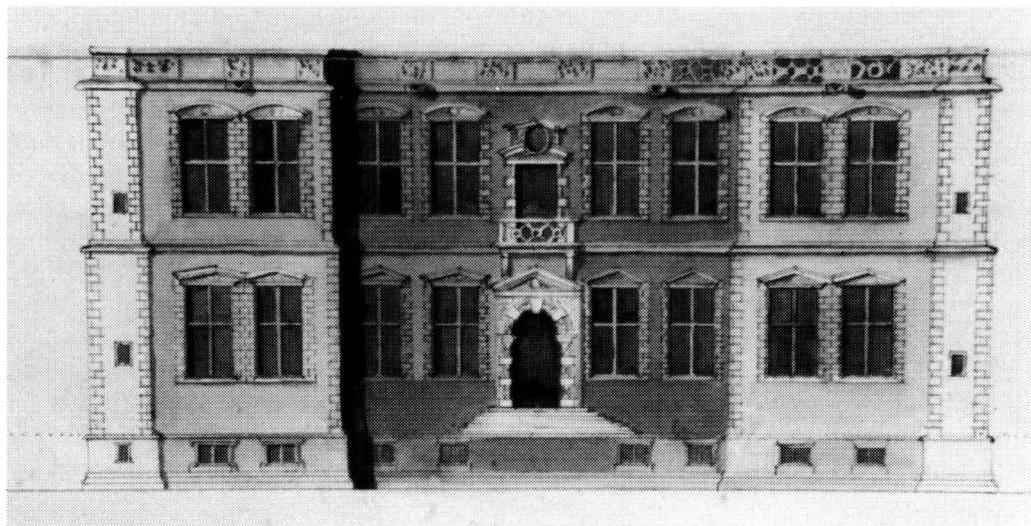


Fig. 7 (above)  
Slingsby Castle  
*Courtesy of William Worsley*

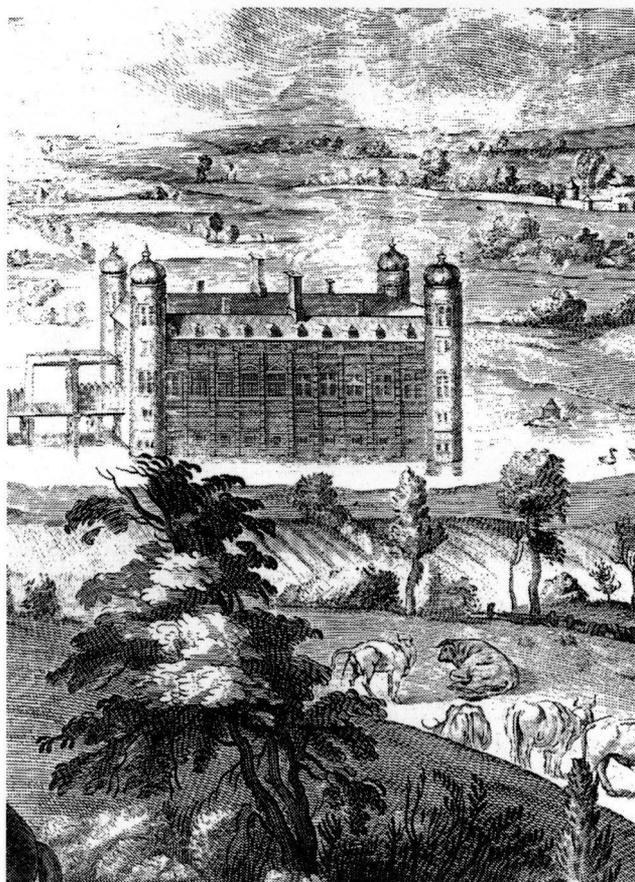


Fig. 8 (left)  
Projected view of Ogle Castle,  
engraving by Lucas Vostermans  
after Abraham van Diepenbeke,  
Plate 40, following p.262, in William  
Cavendish, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention  
Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*,  
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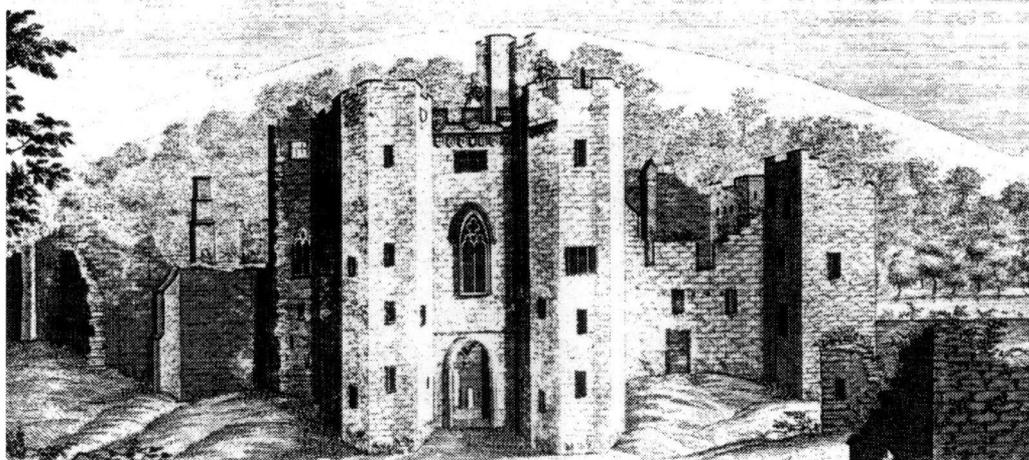


Fig. 9

'The North View of Bothal Castle in Northumberland,' 1728, Samuel and Nathaniel Buck



Fig. 10  
The Rubenshuis,  
Antwerp

However, he did not lose his passion for building. He now repaired the wartime damage to Welbeck and Bolsover, and remodelled the state apartments of Bolsover's Terrace Range. At the very end of his life, he began once more to rebuild at another medieval site, Nottingham Castle (Fig. 11). The project was not far advanced by the time of his death, but William's will commanded its completion 'according to the forme and modell thereof by [him] layd and designed'.

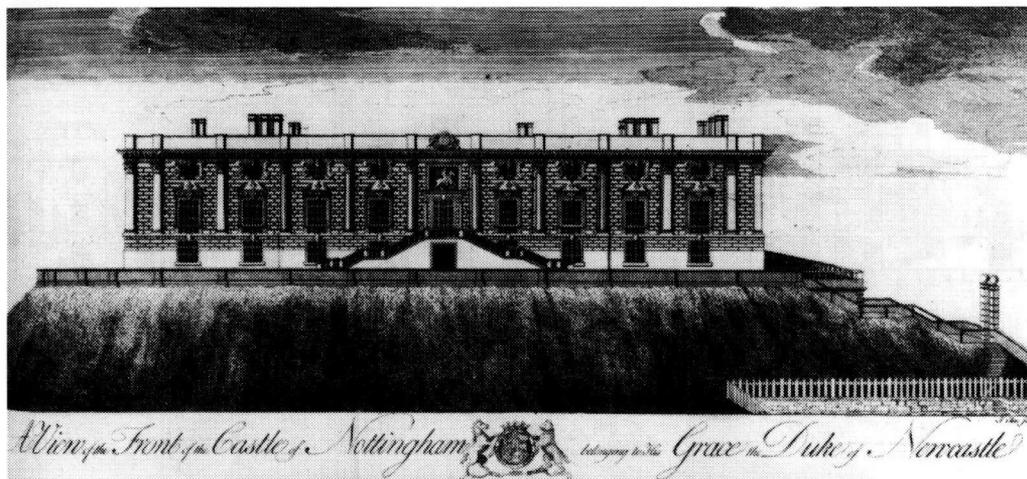


Fig. 11

East elevation of Nottingham Castle, by John Clee, published in Deering, *Nottinghamia vetus et nova, or an Historical Account of the Ancient and Present State of the town of Nottingham*, Nottingham, 1751, facing p.170  
 By permission of The British Library, 455.d.1

This group of projects, located from London to Northumberland but chiefly in the Midlands, shares a bizarre, wildly inventive architecture that is usually described as 'Artisan Mannerist' style. This architectural style used to be interpreted as the work of provincial craftsmen or artisans, copying the new classical ideas from London or even from the continent, but without the level of understanding needed to execute them correctly. The drawings of the Smythson family of designers, frequently commissioned by the Cavendishes, are held at the RIBA. In 1908 they were written off as 'ignorant drawing and designing, and nothing else'. John Summerson invented the term 'Artisan Mannerism' for provincial architecture of the Cavendish period in 1953. It is 'broad and coarse', he wrote, lacking 'fine taste and exquisite balance of Jones'. Thirty years later, John Harris wrote about Inigo Jones' 'subordinates who did not understand what [he] was about', with the result that many patrons in the provinces ended up with substandard, 'subordinate' Jonesian architecture. Yet this view that the style was a product of misunderstanding and ignorance has now been largely superseded by the realisation that 'Artisan Mannerism' could also convey positive, local meanings.

The old distinction between Jones and his subordinates mirrors the split between the 'court' and 'country' that also existed in political history. The so-called 'court' and 'country' parties were thought to co-exist within the aristocracy, one supporting the king and the other opposing the centralist tendencies of the government. Extrapolating from this, historians used to suggest that the Stuarts' courtly buildings with their cold, formal, foreign classical styles – epitomised by the Banqueting House in Whitehall or by the Queen's House at Greenwich – were offensive to the country party, and somehow contributed to the divisions that crystallised in the Civil War. It was no accident, they argued, that Charles would be executed against the backdrop of his father's new

Banqueting House in Whitehall. This, of course, was an oversimplification. The supposed court/country division was not mirrored in architecture, as it took place within, not between individuals. Indeed, there were Parliamentarians who patronised Inigo Jones, such as the Earl of Pembroke. The Cavendish style is therefore far more complex than Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw's conclusion that it was the 'diametrically opposite stylistic direction to the Palladianism [...] of the monarchy'.

The Cavendish style certainly has elements of courtliness, such as the classical motifs applied onto the medieval-inspired exterior of the Little Castle at Bolsover. At the same time, though, references to William's 'family' (a word that signified the entire household), locality and region also pervade the design. Buildings were not yet designed by an individual called an architect, but by a team of craftsmen with the surveyor as a co-ordinator. As William, or even his surveyor, lacked the control over the finished appearance of the buildings that is necessary for the formal classicism of Palladianism, it can be expected that the ideas of other members of household involved in the building process would also emerge in the finished design. It was not the physical distance between London and Derbyshire or 'misunderstanding' that was responsible for the Cavendish style, it was a matter of a different mental geography.

## 2 CLASSICISM AND CHIVALRY

Classicism in architecture involves imposing hierarchy and order, following ancient precedent, making drawings of each part of the building in advance, and the submission of the parts to the whole. A rash of rather strange classical details appear in William Cavendish's architecture.

Many Cavendish houses incorporate what is potentially a very classical idea: the palazzo fronted by a row of columns. A frontage of stumpy engaged columns or pilasters became something of a Cavendish trademark, from Bolsover to Ogle to Nottingham Castles. At Newcastle House different engravings of the house show different orders, but on balance the evidence suggests that they were Ionic. The roof was given a parapet in order to make the west range of this former nunnery look like a boxy palazzo (Fig. 6). At first sight, this provides a marked contrast to the features decorating the Terrace Range at Bolsover (Fig. 3). Here, a row of cylindrical devices have been known since the eighteenth century as 'cannon' and have been thought to make reference to the Castle's history as a defensive site. The features are still pointed out as reminders of medieval sieges.

But these strange 'cannon' can also be seen as engaged columns intended to make the Terrace Range into an Italianate palazzo. Their curly tops can also be read as an eccentric variety of Ionic capital, perhaps the result of masons looking at engravings and re-interpreting them in three dimensions (Fig. 3). Laurus's *Antiquae Urbis Splendour*, for example, later found in the library at Welbeck, contains plates from which one can imagine the Ionic capital being interpreted as spiralling out into space, as at Bolsover. The squatness or stubbiness of the columns was not unusual in English classicism. Sir Henry Wotton, William's architectural mentor, wrote that 'Pylasters must not bee too tall and slender [...] Smoothnesse doth not so naturally become them [...] they ayme more at State & Strength then Elegancie'. The Bolsover columns certainly convey state and strength rather than elegance.

The suspicion that the ‘cannon’ are classical features is reinforced on examining the seventeenth-century views of the west front of Bolsover Castle, in which they have been elongated to appear much more like conventional columns (Fig. 4). Similar columns/cannon also appear in an engraving of the stables at Welbeck, and in a design for Ogle Castle in Northumberland, and articulating a façade in this manner became a Cavendish predilection. This, then, shows how a classical feature was ‘fed into’ the design process but modulated into something so different that it is almost unrecognisable to us. Those involved have incorporated a reference to the chivalric past – through the columns’ similarity to medieval cannon – thereby creating a unique blend of old and new. One of William’s client poets described Welbeck Abbey as ‘Your best of ancient, and of modern mixed, as in ancient times, Before modern buildings were our crimes’.

It is easy to examine the use of specific classical ideas in William’s architectural patronage at Bolsover Castle, the most complete survivor of his projects. William’s father Charles Cavendish died in 1616 and William inherited the half-completed Little Castle; he married in October 1618. His plans for the following spring included the note that ‘Bolsover furneshinge payntinge & carving will be better though off att London then heer’.



Fig. 12

Pillar Parlour, Bolsover Castle

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William’s designer John Smithson (son of the more famous Robert Smythson) was sent ahead to make drawings. On his way, Smithson visited Theobalds, one of Elizabethan England’s most fabulous buildings, and by 1618 a royal palace, and sketched panelling there. The design was used for the new panelling in the Pillar Parlour in the Little Castle (its original painted scheme was restored by English Heritage in 2000). Yet this courtly design has been placed within a vaulted chamber in a reconstructed Norman castle, harking back to the twelfth-century keep of the Peverel family that stood on the same site (Fig. 12). The Pillar Parlour’s fireplace, combining both Serlian and gothic forms in its design, also contains local marbles and black Derbyshire touchstone, while the paint on the panelling was made with local crushed coal. Local ideas and local materials were important, positive aspects of the design, and compliment courtly visitors by highlighting the characteristics of the place they are visiting. The same device was used in literature, and Cedric Brown argues that ‘courtesies of place’

are conveyed in Ben Jonson's text for the masque 'Love's Welcome', which was staged by the Cavendishes for the court at Bolsover Castle in 1634. In this masque, the court is welcomed to Derbyshire, 'the region of ale', and a troope of dancing builders indicates that their host's household was particularly dedicated to architecture.

What was the relationship between William and John Smithson that produced these hybrid designs? It was not a clear-cut case of patron and architect. William's father, for example (who also employed Smithson) described a house he had designed himself, but his plan needed correcting as something had been 'mistaken by the drawer in [his] absence'. This implies that an aristocratic amateur architect would use a professional draughtsman. In later life, William wrote that he and his son were not such a good 'arketectors' as his father, but his will nevertheless commanded that Nottingham Castle be completed according to a model he himself had made. The design process was a team effort in which individual contributions can never fully be untangled.

On reaching London in 1619, John Smithson drew various architectural features that were reproduced at Bolsover: the curved gables at Bath House were copied in the Riding House at Bolsover, while the new Dutch gables at Lady Cooke's house in Holborn were replicated in Bolsover's Terrace Range. Spotting these architectural connections between London and Derbyshire is easy and fruitful. But it as much explains architectural development, as Eric Mercer says, as 'pinning a burglary on Bill Sykes explains crime' and the subtle difference between source and copy is more illuminating.

John Smithson took the idea for a doorcase at Bolsover (opening onto a balcony from the Marble Closet) from Arundel House in the Strand, residence of William's relation-by-marriage Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1586-1646). Here, in the garden, John Smithson drew a gateway recently designed by Inigo Jones. Jones' drawing for the gateway survives, as does Smithson's survey of the completed structure, dated 1618. But although in this case Smithson's drawing is clearly labelled, it is salutary to note another possible source of the motif: a pattern book by Wendel Dietterlin. This, in turn, had provided Inigo Jones with his idea, and had also been used for a gateway at Wentworth Woodhouse in Yorkshire, home of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (1593-1641) (Fig. 13).

Yorkshire, as well as London, could therefore be a source of continental ideas, and the similarities between Bolsover and Wentworth Woodhouse are striking enough for the bear-pit at the latter to have been described as representing 'the influence, if not the actual hand, of John or Huntingdon Smythson'. Books or travellers could leapfrog ideas from the continent to Derbyshire without passing through London.

In fact, Smithson's drawing has more of the intense character of Dietterlin than the measured classicism of Jones. Smithson subverts Jones's idea by sketching the literal components of the design without the scaling, whereas Jones was subtly combining the demands of classical precept 'with the visual requirement that parts of the building [...] should appear correctly proportioned to the eye'. At Bolsover, the design of Jones' gateway (taken out of context by its use on a balcony) is employed in the 'heraldic' sense discussed by Vaughan Hart. Wotton described the 'ranke or degree' of the Doric Order as 'a peece rather of good Heraldry, than of Architecture: For He is best knowne by his place, when he is in company'. The motif was perhaps as a badge or symbol displaying

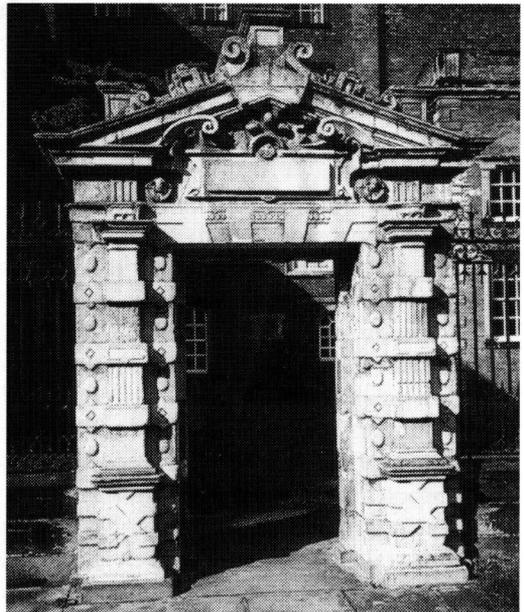
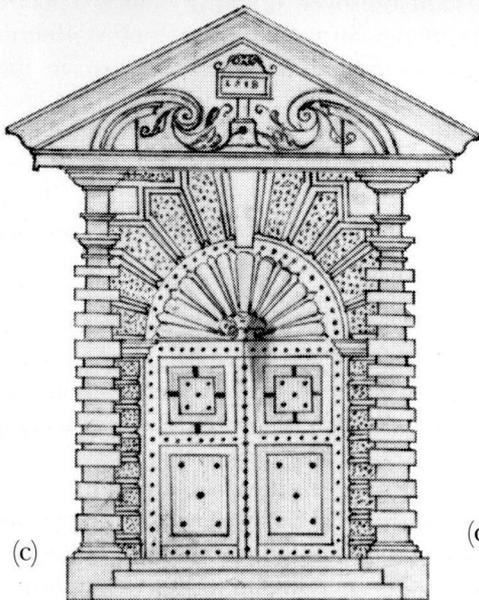
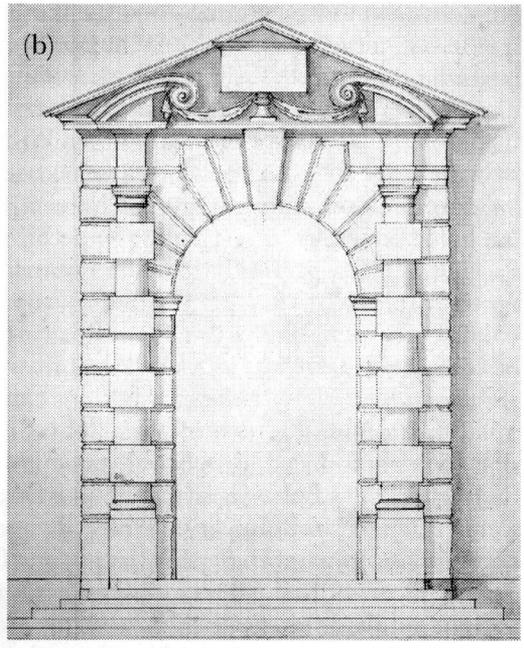
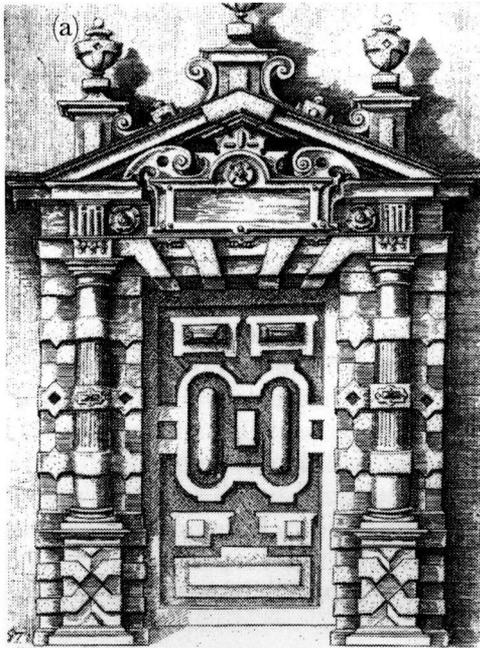


Fig. 13

(a) Wendel Dietterlin, *Architectura*, Nuremberg, 1598, Plate 67; (b) Design by Inigo Jones for a gateway at Arundel House, *RIBA Library Drawings Collection*; (c) Drawing of Jones' gateway at Arundel House by John Smithson, *RIBA Library Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/13*; (d) A gateway at Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, by courtesy of Anthony Wells-Cole



Fig. 14  
The Little Castle, showing Smithson's doorcase and the statue of Hercules. This modern statue was informed by an anonymous seventeenth-century drawing (at Renishaw Hall) showing the Little Castle, and by fragments of the original statue in the care of English Heritage

Smithson's patron's admiration for, and indebtedness to, his friends. Fixed to the front of an essentially-medieval building, as the Little Castle is in spirit, it is like a coat of arms. But does it signify the patronage of Strafford in Yorkshire or Arundel in London? Given that William had argued with Arundel, yet had a particularly close relationship with Strafford, his chief political patron in the 1630s, the latter is certainly possible.

What else is there about Bolsover Castle that cannot be explained by London connections? The Northumbrian barony of Ogle was the only one of William's many titles that was inherited. References to his maternal ancestors or to the chivalric past in the north were bound to be an important part of William's architectural patronage. This, as much as the fashionable neo-gothic of Prince Henry's court, can explain Bolsover's nostalgic style. These northern influences included the Cavendish family's Northumbrian castles, or more locally, Elizabethan castellated local houses like Thorpe Salvin Castle where William's son lived during the Interregnum.

At Bolsover the figure of Hercules appears in several guises, and it is possible to make a chivalric, as well as a classical, reading of the hero. The original source of the design for the statue of Hercules holding up the balcony over the entrance to the Little Castle was Italian: a ceiling in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, brought to England by the means of a drawing. However, it is clear that at Bolsover the sense of movement captured by the Italian source has been ironed out (Fig. 14). The Hercules at the Little Castle is tense, almost as if ready to drop the balcony he supports down onto an intruder. He has this in common with the medieval stone figures on the parapet of the gatehouse at Bothal Castle, poised to throw missiles down onto attackers (Fig. 9). Another classical motif, then, contains a subtle reference to the family's medieval history.

The style of William's houses combines two strands that are traditionally seen as opposites: the medieval and chivalric, versus the foreign and classical. Yet, in the debate about Inigo Jones, John Peacock argues that classical and neo-gothic influences in Jones's stage architecture likewise form a coherent and 'legible architectural statement'. This view was updated by Christy Anderson's reading of Jones' stylistic sources, interpreting nostalgia as a tendency that he simply repressed in order to differentiate himself from his rivals. The fusion of styles, the new paradigm seen in William's houses, may represent the conclusion of a struggle within the design process between international and local, between patron and household, or even between court and country.

### 3 BUILDING AND POLITICS

Despite his eagerness for a court career, William also shared the provincial aristocrat's conventional fear and mistrust of city life. He had 'sweet dreames of the Countreye' from his new house in Clerkenwell in 1630. He certainly understood the risks involved in the enormous personal expenditure necessary for court success, and set them out in a poem written to his wife from court:

A country lord shoulde throw away his rente,  
 And all his land, in full career to spend,  
 Bearing his motto thus This was my ende,  
 To waste it all in prancing,  
 In tilte-yard, or at masques, in Christmas dancing

Yet William was probably forced to spend more time in the provinces than he desired. Lucy Hutchinson, a local Puritan and not a natural ally of William's, nevertheless gave him a good press for his hospitality and constant residence in the country, until he went to London to 'purchase the scornes of the king and queen and the proud courtiers'. William's court career had a tinge of failure, despite his ascent up the peerage, and an alternative, disrespectful narrative of his life survives alongside the adulatory biography written by his wife. There are hints from the 1620s and 1630s that William was not entirely welcome at court, when he failed to win the office of Master of the Horse, but from 1641 the criticism became public and widespread. In particular, the sources agree that he was a brave and inspirational leader in battle, but that he failed to grasp the tedious business of running an army during the Civil War. Administration was neglected while William retired to 'his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent,

and to his ease', or to 'witty society (to be modest in the expression of it)'.

Perhaps William's progress at court was hindered by his failure to invest time and effort there, as his obligations in local government, household management and building projects were heavy and, for him, unavoidable. His building projects formed a vital part of the local economy. Rather than calling in London craftsmen, William relied on local design talent and workers from his own estates. An analysis of the construction workers on William's Midland projects suggests that a close-knit local community was involved throughout. Names from local families recur over the course of nearly a century of building accounts. It is tempting to think, for example, that the fireplaces at Bolsover were carved by the mason called Hall who was employed during the building of the shell of the Little Castle between 1613 and 1614 (for which accounts survive). Another carver called Mr Hall was working at Welbeck in the 1660s and also made the marble fireplaces at Nottingham Castle in the 1670s. The Halls seem to have become the Cavendishes' carvers for generations.

The people administering William's projects were not specialist professionals, they were household officers. The household was an amorphous entity containing about forty-five people, and it was sometimes swelled by men from William's Northumberland estates, for example, who came down to provide extra manpower, and stayed in the local inn. The household also absorbed local architects like Samuel Marsh, who had designed Belvoir Castle for the Duke of Rutland, had worked at Chatsworth for the Devonshires, and who oversaw the construction of the Terrace Range at Bolsover. By the 1670s he was on the Cavendish household payroll for designing and supervising Nottingham Castle. The finished building was a team effort, and despite the best efforts of the patron to have his own ideas put into practice, it can be expected to reflect the household's organisational politics. During the course of the seventeenth century, some families moved up the social scale from labourer to household officer: for example, the Kitchens were labourers on the construction of the Little Castle in 1613, but had married into the gentry and become household officers and major building contractors by the 1660s. This was despite William's son's view that Mr Kitchen had been 'as greate a roge to mee as any'. The social progression of the Kitchens and others was dependent upon the household's continuing to build. The momentum that developed behind this process provides an alternative explanation of the Cavendish building mania that has little to do with the aspiration to impress or to win power at court.

These servants, in whose hands the building process largely lay, were not always amenable or dependable. William, travelling from one to another of his houses, sometimes had to order work by letter, and even the supervisors would only visit the building site once or twice a week. In the 1660s, William ordered the creation of a new stair and window in his Riding House at Welbeck via a letter to his steward, Andrew Clayton. Clayton was to order the designer Samuel Marsh to 'make a draughte' or plan for the work, and then to instruct a craftsman called Richard Martin to build it. Clayton reported back to William by letter when the work was completed. William himself, therefore, can have had very little control over the appearance of the finished result determined by Clayton, Marsh and Martin. Mr Benoit, tutor to William's sons, performed a similar role as an intermediary for alterations at Newcastle House in London. There were

elaborate frauds among the servants, such as shipping Cavendish lead to London on their own account. Samuel Marsh, overseeing construction at Bolsover, considered that the building contractor Jackson 'would gether a hansom estate' at his employer's expense. As William's wife admitted, he 'naturally loves not business' and his tenants complained about their inability to gain access to him for decisions. The household particularly disliked William's clever second wife's interference in their fraudulent business affairs. She did 'so narrowly of late inspect his Grace's affairs', complained Andrew Clayton, 'that he could make no alteration of [... a certain] rental without being discovered'.

William's houses, therefore, should be seen not as straightforward statements of ambition or as symbols of power, but of power struggles. It is conventional to suggest that architecture and politics are linked, and reasonable to assume that these buildings were intended to impress other courtiers. But William's projects did not have the effects that historians might conventionally expect, and William spent the latter part of his life disappointed by and estranged from the court. The Cavendish style, then, nods at the continental innovations beginning to appear in court architecture, but is firmly rooted in the past. Any imperfections in the Cavendish version of classicism are not merely mistakes, but are the result of a positive wish to stick with local tradition. This explanation may well have a wider application to seventeenth-century architectural patronage, but William Cavendish's patronage is particularly striking for the richness and complexity of its style, and for the equally rich evidence of a household's workings.

#### 4 GAZETTEER

##### GENERAL PUBLICATIONS

Girouard, Mark, 'The Smythson Collection of the RIBA', *Architectural History*, 5 (1962).

*Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era*, London (1966).

*Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House*, New Haven and London (1983), 234-302.

Worsley, Giles, *The British Stable* (2005).

Worsley, Lucy, and Addyman, Tom, 'Riding Houses and Horses: William Cavendish's Architectural Patronage for the Art of Horsemanship', *Architectural History*, 45 (2002), 149-229.

##### 4.1 WELBECK ABBEY, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

William's father acquired this former abbey, and embarked upon a grand but incomplete scheme to remodel the house. William added Welbeck's famous riding house and stables. He also began, but never completed, a second remodelling. This house was therefore a strange agglomeration of old and new but was nevertheless valued by the family for its antiquity. Seventeenth-century work survives in the old north wing and the Riding House retains its original roof.

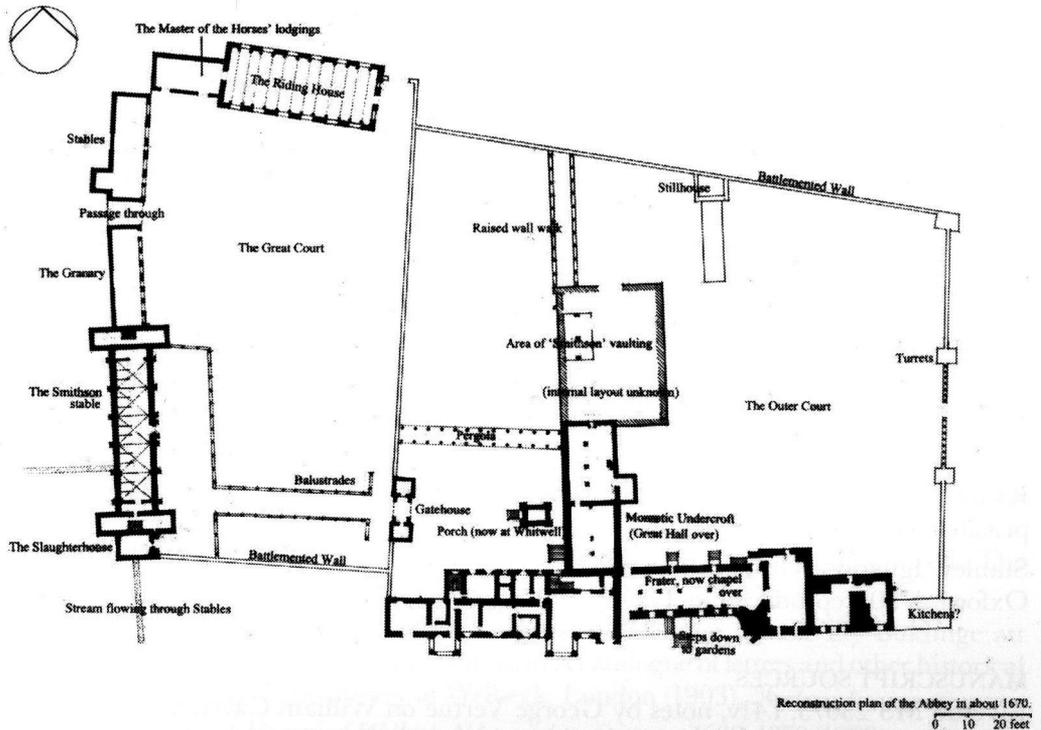


Fig.15

Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire. Plan based on RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection I/23; III/15 (3-4); III/15 (5-7); III/15 (8); William Senior's survey of Welbeck, 1629; Francis Richardson's survey of Welbeck, 1748, and Ignatius Stanley's survey of Welbeck 1750.

Other details determined by the historic views

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#### VISUAL SOURCES

RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, I/23, plan for remodelling of Welbeck Abbey; III/15 (1-2) design for the hall porch; III/15 (3-4), designs for the Riding House, dated 1622; III/15 (5-7), undated plan and elevation of the stables and designs for training equipment; III/15 (8-9), designs for the doorway of the Riding House; III/24, undated design for the water pavilion, by John Smythson.

Senior, William, survey of Welbeck, 1629, in a private collection.

Formerly attributed to Diepenbeke, Abraham, paintings of William Cavendish's horses, with the east and the west fronts of the Abbey in the background. See also Goulding (1936), 114-7.

After Diepenbeke, Abraham, views of Welbeck in William Cavendish, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, the west front, Plate 6, engraved by Petr. van Lisebetten; the south-west wing, Plate 7, engraved by C. van Caukercken; the Riding House, Plate 8, engraved by Lucas Vorstermans; the stables,

Plate 9, engraved by Corn. van Caukercken, all following p.18.

BL Add MS 15545, f.66, drawing by Grimm, Samuel Hieronymous, of the south front, 'After an old drawing of Wellbeck Notts'. (The 'old drawing' survives in a private collection; it was exhibited in the 'Treasures of Welbeck' exhibition, at the Harley Gallery, 1998.) BL Add MS 15545, f.67, another copy of a seventeenth-century drawing shows the west front of Welbeck; f.68, drawing by Samuel Grimm, 'inside view of the Riding house at Wellbeck Nott.'; f.69, drawing by Samuel Grimm, 'Riding house at Wellbeck Notts,' shows a flat-on elevation of one of the end trusses, the opposite end to that shown in f.68, a small pedimented doorway bears the date 1623.

An anonymous early eighteenth-century survey of Welbeck, British Library, illustrated in Smith, (2000), 149.

Buck, Samuel, 'The West View of Welbeck Abbey, near Mansfield, in the County of Nottingham,' Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 26, f.19v. It actually shows the south front, 1726.

Richardson, Francis, survey of the park at Welbeck, including the Abbey, 1748, in a private collection.

Stanley, Ignatius, 'Ground Plan of Welbeck Abbey,' made for Henrietta, Countess of Oxford, 1750, reproduced in Thompson, (1938).

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BL Harleian, 911, 'R. Symonds. Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army, Apr-Aug. 1645', f.153v.

BL Harleian MS 4955, f.67v, 'Hardwick, Worksop, Welbeck, Bolsover and Rufford,' by Dr Andrewes; f.82v, 'Welbeck bid Welcome to thy Noble Lorde,' by Dr Andrewes; ff.194-f.198v, 'The kings Entertainment, at Welbeck, 1633,' by Ben Jonson.

Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D.49, f.1, 'The Jesse of the progresse to Scotland with other observations in the journey,' describing the royal visit to Welbeck, 1633.

NA DD3P.14.19, letter about building work at Welbeck, 1601

NA DD.6P.1.18.22, bargain and sale of Welbeck estate, 25th October, 1652.

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UN Pw 1/595, 'The perticuler of what Bedding is Within Welbeck Taken May the 12th 1662'.

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UN Pw F/10053, list of rooms to accompany a plan, eighteenth-century.

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ACCESS

Grid reference: SK 563 743

The abbey is owned privately and is not accessible.

4.2 BOLSOVER CASTLE, DERBYSHIRE

The Little Castle at Bolsover was begun by William's father and completed and decorated by William himself. He went on to add the length Terrace Range and Riding House range before the Civil War, repairing the castle and remodelling the Terrace Range after his return from exile.

VISUAL SOURCES

Smythson, Robert, and Smithson, John, RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, III/1 (1), basement plan; III/1 (2), design for marble room; III/1 (3), design for Hall fireplace; III/1 (4), plan for the Terrace Range; III/1 (5), design for the gallery

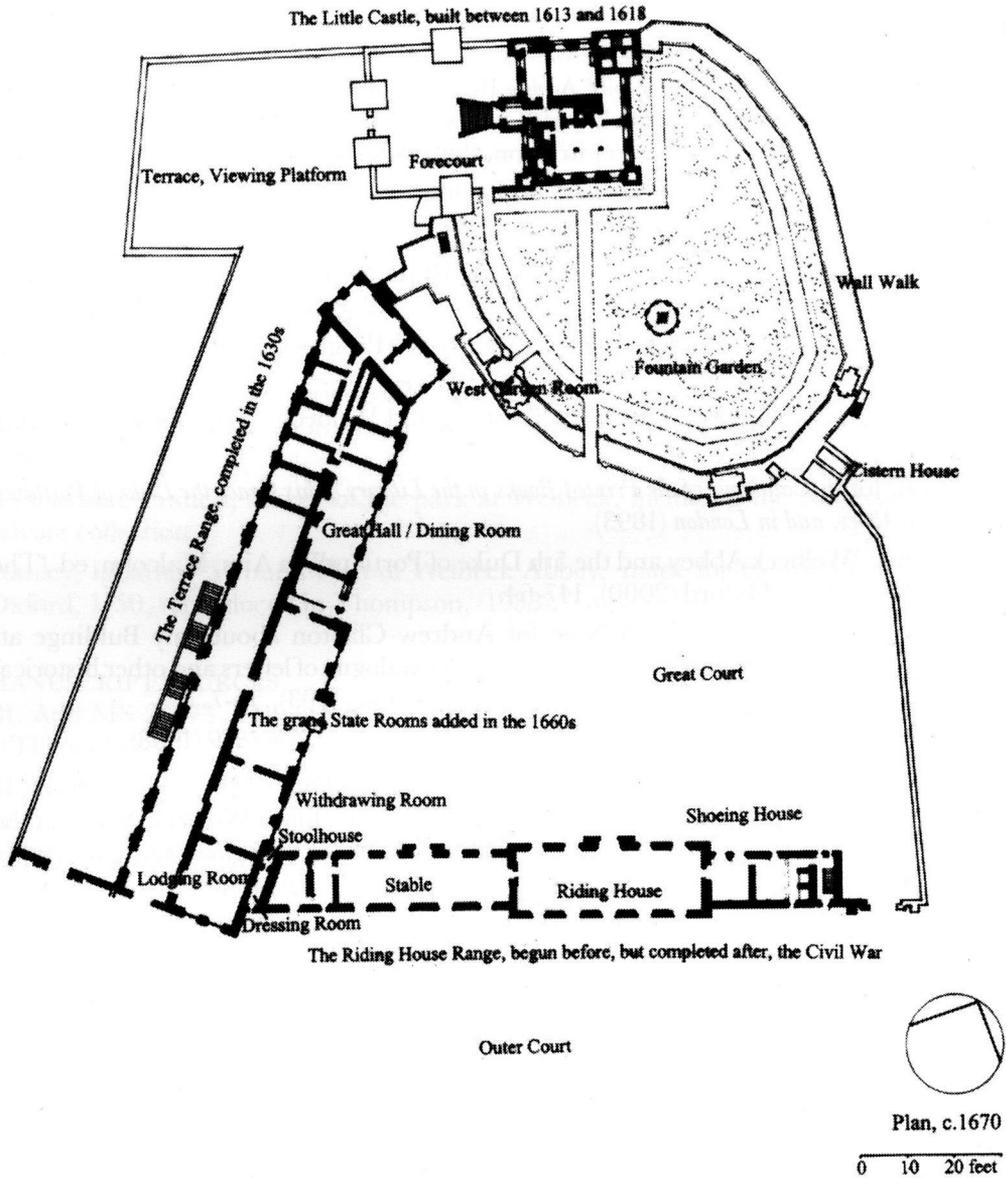


Fig. 16  
 Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire. Plan based on a survey by English Heritage  
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doorway; III/1 (6), design for small doorway; III/I (7), design for balcony window in the Terrace Range; III/1 (8), design for doorway leading into the wall walk; III/I (9), design for the fountain; III/1 (11-14), various designs; III/7 (1), drawings of Arundel House, London; III/13, drawing of panelling at Theobalds House, 1618.

The 'Renishaw Drawings,' in the collection of Sir Reresby Sitwell at Renishaw Hall.

Senior, William, survey of Bolsover, 1630, 1636 and 1637, original in a private collection.

After Diepenbeke, Abraham, plates in Cavendish, William, *Méthode Nouvelle et Invention Extraordinaire de dresser les Chevaux*, Antwerp, 1657-8, the north front, Plate 29, engraved by Petr. van Lisebetten; the south front of the Little Castle, Plate 30, engraved by Petr. van Lisebetten; the south front of the Little Castle from within the garden, Plate 31, engraved by Petr. van Lisebetten; the entrance of the Little Castle, Plate 32, engraved by Petr. Clouwet; the east front, Plate 33, engraved by Petr. Clouwet; the east front of the Little Castle from within the garden, Plate 34, engraved by Lucas Vosterma junior; the Terrace Range front, Plate 35, engraved by Thod. van Kesel, all following p.182.

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Kip, Jan, and Knyff, Leonard, view of Bolsover Castle, commissioned in January 1697/8, and published in *Britannia Illustrata*, London, 1707.

Buck, Nathaniel, and Samuel, 'North East Prospect' of Bolsover Castle, engraved by Nathaniel Buck after a drawing by Samuel Buck, 1727, dedicated to the Earl of Oxford.

Holbeck, J., 'Survey of Oxcroft', 1739, UN.

James, John, survey of the Pillar Parlour fireplace, on loan to the RIBA Drawings Collection, N35.9, 1-5.

Gough, Roger, 'hasty sketch of a room in Bolsover' the Pillar Parlour, September, 1779, Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 4, f.72v, (50b), pic.D.

Rooke, Hayman, plates in Pegge, Samuel, *Sketch of the History of Bolsover and Peak Castles*, Vol.32 of *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, London, 1785, including the fountain, Plate V, facing p.23.

'West View' of Bolsover Castle, *Universal Magazine*, September 1786.

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BL Add MS 70499, ff.351-6, letters from William to Henry Cavendish writing as 'Robert Deane', concerning furnishings at Bolsover Castle, 1650s.

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NA DD6P.1.25.3, 'A Booke of the Buyldinge Charges At Boulsover the yeare of oure Lorde God : 1613 : Begininge the : 2 : of November : 1612 :' the Little Castle building accounts, 1612-14.

NA DD4P.70.1, statement of timber and tiles carried from Welbeck to Bolsover 'to build the Riding Howse', c.1660.

NA DD.5P.1.1; DD4P.70.2-16; DD4P.70.17; DD4P.70.18-25; 'Bundle 18'; accounts for repairs at Bolsover in the eighteenth century.

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UN Pw 1/280, inscriptions for the pictures at Bolsover in the handwriting of Thomas Farr, for Henry Cavendish, 1680s.

UN Pw 1/624.a-c, accounts and notes by Samuel Marsh of Joseph Jackson's work at Bolsover Castle, 1660s.

UN Pw 1/669, draft letter from Andrew Clayton to William about building work at Welbeck and Bolsover, c.1665.

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ACCESS

Grid reference: SK 471 707

The castle is opened to visitors by English Heritage.

4.3 NEWCASTLE HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, MIDDLESEX

William had acquired the former nunnery of St Mary's as his London house by 1632. He carried out minor works such as the building of gallery, accessible from the house, in the neighbouring church, and he probably planned a manège yard and college for training young gentlemen. The early seventeenth century façade of the house is possibly, but not definitely, a Cavendish commission.

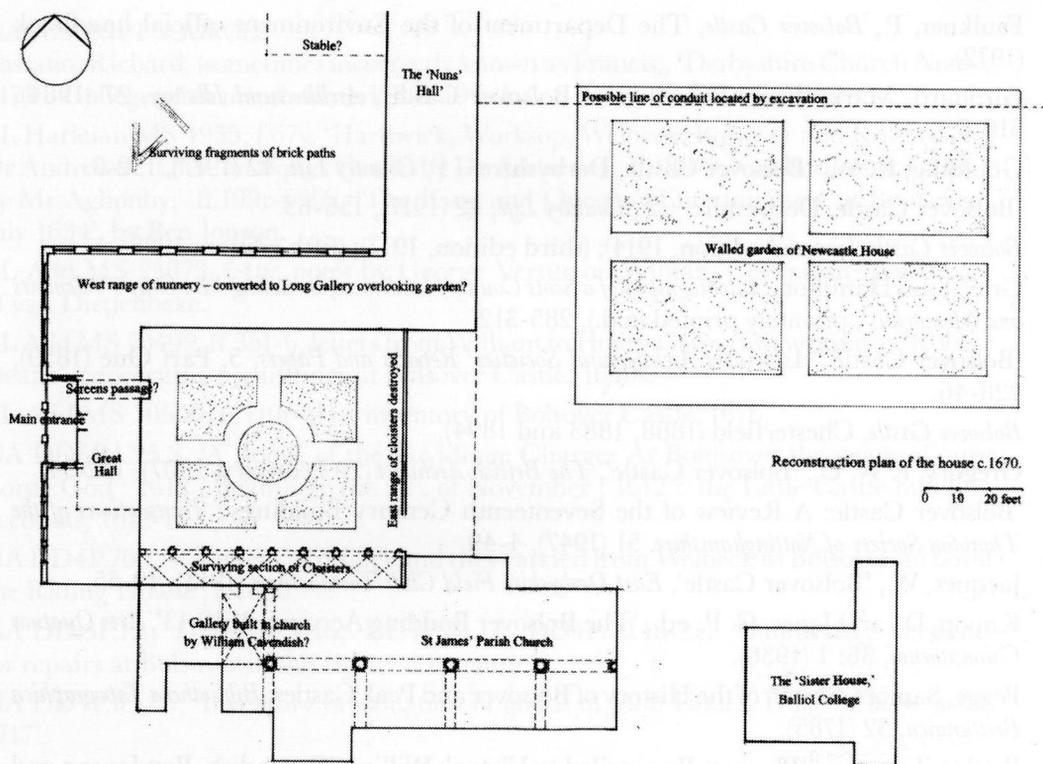


Fig. 17

Newcastle House, Clerkenwell, Middlesex. Plan based on Ogilby and Morgan's view of London, 1677; a map of 'Charterhouse Liberty and Clerkenwell Parish', 1725-50, Finsbury Library Local Studies Collection L.I.54, and the Museum of London Archaeology Service's archaeological survey of the site of Newcastle House. Other details determined by historic views

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The 'Agas' map of London, 1562, detail of St Mary's Nunnery, illustrated in Hassall (1940), 282.

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Engraving of the entrance elevation from the *European Magazine*, Finsbury Library Local Studies Collection. The engraving is wrongly dated as 1 December, 1791.

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An engraving 'drawn by the late James Carr', purchaser and demolisher of Newcastle House, Finsbury Local Studies Library.

John Ogilby's map of London, Ogilby and Morgan, 1677, showing Clerkenwell with the property of the 'Duke of Newcastle' marked.

Richardson, C. J., watercolour of the 'north-east view of the Priory Church, Clerkenwell', with the wall of the garden of Newcastle House in the foreground, illustrated in Hassall (1940), 269.

#### MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

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BL Add MS 37998, f.241, undated, instructions for the dressing of Newcastle House for William's funeral.

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NA DD.4P.39.55, pp.76-77, 'Inventory of valuation of goods of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 1717', including Clerkenwell.

UN Pw 1/16, f.2, letter from John Benoist to William, explaining recent history of Clerkenwell House, 1672.

UN Pw 1/600, f.2, referring to the Cavendishes' re-purchase of the London house, 1667.

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A history of Newcastle House will appear in the *Survey of London's* forthcoming volume on Clerkenwell.

#### ACCESS

Grid reference: TQ 316 823

The fragmentary remains of the cloister are still visible in a public garden off Clerkenwell Close, just north of St James' church, Clerkenwell. Nearby Newcastle Row reflects the name of the former house.

#### 4.4 SLINGSBY CASTLE, YORKSHIRE

William's brother, the mathematician Sir Charles Cavendish, was left money in his mother's will 'to buy or build him a house' and he chose the medieval castle of Slingsby in Nottinghamshire. The design, by John Smithson, was completed by the time of the Civil War.

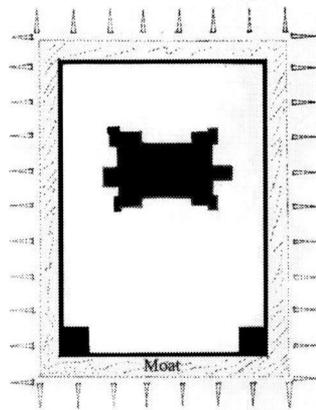
#### VISUAL SOURCES

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Brooke (1904), contains a plan of the ruins of Slingsby Castle by Mr Reavel, late clerk of the Castle Howard Estate.

Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire. The Worsley archives contain a plan of the basement of about 1700, as built, with minor variations on John Smithson's design, published in Girouard (1982), 259. There is also an unpublished eighteenth-century drawing of the entrance elevation. A watercolour by Cotman in the Worsley collection shows the vaults of the room below the entrance hall which have now collapsed.

RIBA Drawings Collection, The Smythson Collection, I/19 (1), I/19 (2), II/2 (2) and II/2 (3), designs by Robert Smythson based around a courtyard; III/12 (1), III/12 (3), III/12 (4), designs by John Smithson.



Reconstruction plan of the basement of Slingsby Castle in about 1640.

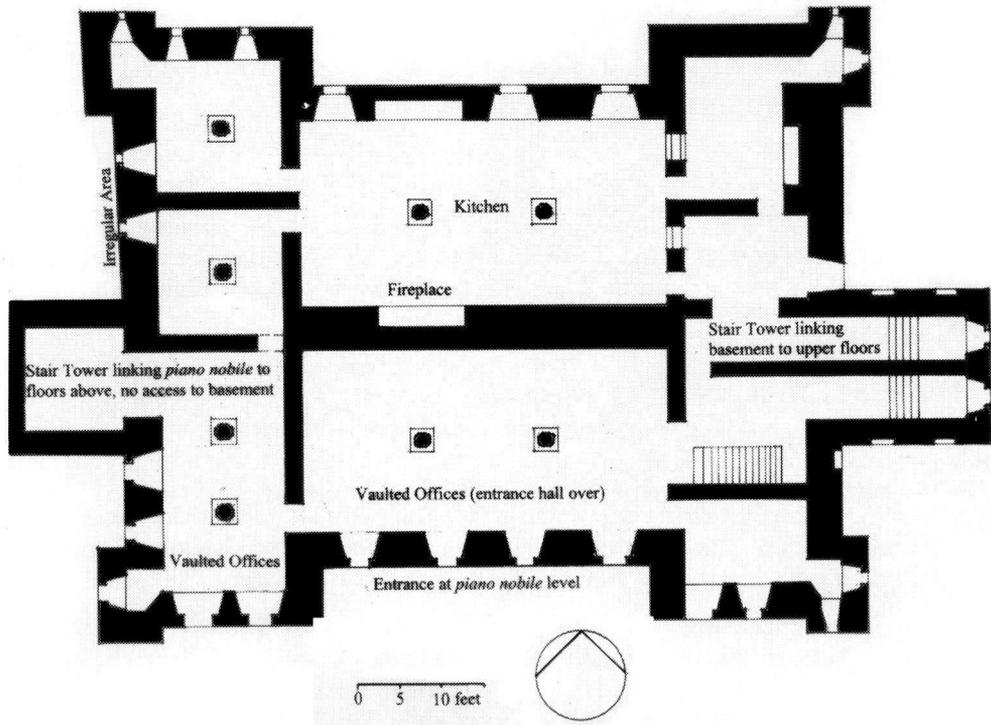


Fig. 18

Slingsby Castle, Yorkshire. Top plan based on BL Harleian MS 7180, Art. 2. Lower plan based on the anonymous survey in the Worsley collection at Hovingham Hall, the plan produced by Mr Reavel, clerk of the Castle Howard estates, published in Brooke (1904), and on observation of the surviving remains

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Wormald, Patrick, former postmaster of Slingsby, has a notable collection of historic and modern photographs.

#### OTHER SOURCES

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Walker, William, *Some Account of the Parish and Village of Slingsby*, York (1845).

Wheater, W., *Some Historic Mansions of Yorkshire*, 2, Leeds (1889), 197.

#### ACCESS

Grid reference: SE 696 749

Slingsby Castle is now part of the Castle Howard Estate. The ruins are currently in an overgrown and dangerous condition, but substantial areas of the vaulted cellar offices survive.

#### 4.5 THE RUBENSHUIS, ANTWERP, BELGIUM

William and his second wife Margaret rented the house from Rubens' widow and lived in it between 1648 and 1660. As providing an architectural education in its own right, the house contained a former painting studio that could well have been used as a riding house.

#### VISUAL SOURCES

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ACCESS:

Address: Wapper 9, Antwerpen.

The restored house is a museum run by the Stad Antwerpen.

#### 4.6 NOTTINGHAM CASTLE, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

This was another medieval castle, which William began to rebuild in his extreme old age. Work was completed by his son. Its basic form looks forward to mainstream Palladian architecture, but also backwards to ideas explored by William and his designers in the Terrace Range of the 1630s.

#### VISUAL SOURCES

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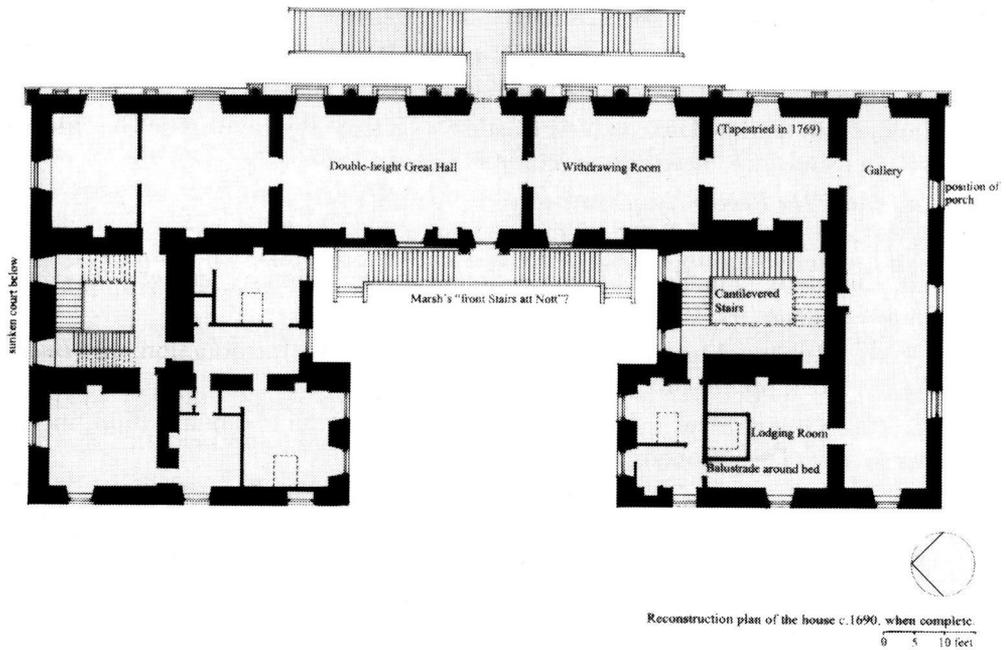


Fig. 19

Nottingham Castle, Nottinghamshire. Plan based on the 1769 ground plan, NU NPE P4.5.2

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The Castle is now a museum run by the City Museums and Art Galleries for Nottingham City Council and is readily accessible.

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