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# CASSANDRA WILLOUGHBY'S VISITS TO COUNTRY HOUSES

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In 1695, Cassandra Willoughby, a young woman of 25, began a series of journeys with her younger brother Thomas. She recorded the details of her travels in a small notebook and continued to do so until 1718, although after her marriage in 1713 her diary entries were largely restricted to a record of moves between her husband's estate in Edgware and their home in London.<sup>1</sup>

The keeping of diaries and travel journals was becoming fashionable at the time, and it was common for anyone travelling to record their impressions, even if they did so only for their own future recollection. Books of instruction to travellers emphasised the importance of keeping records. The traveller 'must always have a Diary about him,' wrote James Howell, 'when he is in motion of Journeys . . . For the Penne maketh the deepest furrowes, and doth fertilize, and enrich the memory more than anything else.'<sup>2</sup> Cassandra's father, the famous naturalist Francis Willoughby, had travelled extensively both in England and on the Continent. It is likely that Cassandra Willoughby read accounts of her father's travels as she grew up, and there may have been other travel books in the substantial family library at Wollaton Hall in Nottinghamshire.<sup>3</sup>

But Cassandra was a woman. It is impossible to know just how unusual it was for a woman to be travelling. Little travel writing by Englishwomen of the late seventeenth century has survived other than Celia Fiennes's journals. Thus in the present state of knowledge Cassandra Willoughby's notebook is an extremely rare document. Its rarity may be due to her unusual independence, created by a particular set of circumstances – birth, education, the early loss of her

father and her late marriage, enabling her to travel more widely than the majority of her contemporaries.

## EARLY LIFE AND FAMILY

Cassandra Willoughby was born at Middleton, Warwickshire on 23 April 1670, the second child and only daughter of Francis Willoughby, by his wife, formerly Emma Barnard. Her elder brother, Francis, had been born in 1668; her younger brother, Thomas, was born in 1672.<sup>4</sup> Middleton is near Tamworth, and the manor of Middleton had been in the family since 1435. Middleton Hall, 'a delicate and a delightful house', according to Dugdale,<sup>5</sup> is a medieval house, thinly classicised, and was the Willoughbys' principal seat, although considerably less imposing than their secondary seat at Wollaton.<sup>6</sup>

Her father died in 1672 when Cassandra was only two years old and the naturalist John Ray was made responsible by Francis Willoughby's will for carrying out his educational plans for the children. From an early age Cassandra and her brothers were taught Latin and given lists of Latin names for flowers, birds and fish to learn.<sup>7</sup> Ray continued to teach the children until 1676 when Emma Willoughby married her second husband, Sir Josiah Child, Governor of the East India Company.

Soon after the marriage, the family moved to Child's house in Wanstead, Essex.<sup>8</sup> Sir Josiah took over the Willoughby possessions and took £60,000 out of the estate. He is reported as having been 'mean', and as having rewarded himself 'handsomely'<sup>9</sup> for looking after the inheritance as well as charging board

and lodging for the Willoughby children. Cassandra's elder brother, Francis, was created a baronet in 1677, at the age of 5, in recognition of his father's scientific work.<sup>10</sup> He was deeply resentful of Sir Josiah Child, believing Child to be robbing him of his rightful estate. In 1681, aged 13, Sir Francis left Wanstead and went to live with his aunt, Lettice Wendy, at Haslingfield in Cambridgeshire, subsequently arranging for his brother Thomas to join him. He continued to be unhappy with his stepfather's handling of his financial matters and in 1685 he commenced legal proceedings against Child.

#### WOLLATON HALL

In 1687, at the age of nineteen, Sir Francis decided to settle at Wollaton, and asked Cassandra, then seventeen years of age, to join him, and to help manage his household affairs. 'This proposall I was much delighted with,' she wrote, 'thinking it would be no small pleasure for me to be Mrs of Wollaton, and to doe whatever I had a mind to, believing that such a government must make me perfectly happy.'<sup>11</sup> Wollaton was in disrepair, having been empty since 1643, apart from a short time during the Civil War when a small garrison had been billeted there. Damage from a fire in 1642 was still evident and there was little furniture. The gardens were overgrown and uncared for. Barred by Sir Josiah from removing anything from Middleton, the two young people started from scratch to repair Wollaton. But Sir Francis died in September 1688 at the age of twenty. Thomas, aged sixteen, inherited the baronetcy by special remainder. He was then at Cambridge, but left to take his brother's place at Wollaton, bringing with him his tutor, Dr. Man. Again Cassandra was asked to help; again she consented with enthusiasm.

The rebuilding now began in earnest. The damage caused by the fire of 1642 turned out to be relatively superficial. The structure of the building remained intact, although most of the rooms on the

east and south sides had been affected, including the Long Gallery, the Dining Parlour and the Painted Chambers.<sup>12</sup> Cassandra writes of the 'heaps of rubbish . . . occasioned by [the] fire'<sup>13</sup> and of the crumbled chimneypieces and burnt wainscotting that she and her brothers had found.<sup>14</sup>

Cassandra's *Account* contains a detailed description of the daily routine followed at Wollaton. Each morning Cassandra, Sir Thomas, and Dr. Man would rise at 5 a.m. Sir Thomas would then spend three hours with his tutor in the library. Between 8 and 9 a.m. prayers were held for the whole household. 'Such of the servants as were not at prayers and could not give a just reason for their absence were to fast till dinner',<sup>15</sup> wrote Cassandra. After breakfast Cassandra, Sir Thomas and Dr. Man went out to oversee the workmen who were repairing the building and restoring the gardens. With the help of Mr. Prat[t], formerly of the Chelsea Physick Garden, Sir Thomas redesigned the gardens – previously 'but a little piece of ground, in which was the plan of the house planted with box trees'<sup>16</sup> – in accordance with current fashion. Paintings of Wollaton in the late seventeenth century show formal parterres, a sizeable greenhouse, a 'wilderness', a ha-ha and a bowling green.<sup>17</sup> Sir Thomas also oversaw the planting of a physic garden which provided medicinal plants for use both in the family and in the surrounding neighbourhood. Following the visits to the workmen, Cassandra records that she would work 'upon such furniture as needed to be altered and mended' while Sir Thomas read aloud to her.<sup>18</sup> Evenings were spent in visiting neighbours, receiving guests, walking, bowling, fishing or riding.

As mistress of Wollaton Hall, yet unmarried, Cassandra had a freedom unusual for women of her day. Perhaps just as importantly, she was able to develop intellectually. Her father had left a library of approximately 1,400 volumes.<sup>19</sup> He had also left his collections, as Cassandra explained:

There were also a fine collection of valuable meddalls, and other rarities which my father had collected

together of dried birds, fish, insects, shells, seeds, minerals and plants and other rarities which had lain neglected at Middleton from the time that my mother had married Sir J.C. and left the house. All these we removed, and when we had them at Wollaton it was a vast business for us to clean, label, and put them in order, which we were fain to doe our selves, fearing the servants might make mistakes, and pull such tender curiosities to pieces.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from Sir Thomas's lessons with his tutor, Cassandra was involved in virtually all of the activities and decision-making at Wollaton, and was able to participate in a world of books and ideas which was generally closed to young women. Had she remained at home with her mother her activities would have been far more circumscribed; had she married earlier, she would have had to give her attention to her husband's and children's interests rather than her own. As Alice Friedman suggested,

Cassandra's peculiar status as the young mistress of her brother's household at Wollaton gave her the opportunity to furnish and decorate a major country house at a very young age and left her time not only for needlework and ordinary household duties but also to read, to write letters, to catalogue her father's collection, to entertain friends, and to visit other country houses throughout England.<sup>21</sup>

On 9 April 1691, her brother married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Rothwell of Ewerby and Stapleford, whose estate adjoined the Willoughbys' manor of Muskham. Notes which Cassandra made in one of her note books indicate that she moved around quite a bit during the next few years.<sup>22</sup> In one year, undated but possibly 1691, she wrote that she had been with Sir Thomas to see Richmond, Windsor and Hampton Court; then back to Wollaton and from there on horseback to visit her aunt Wendy at Haslingfield; then to visit her mother at Wanstead where she stayed the winter. She spent most of the winter of 1692-3 in London, and in 1694 she stayed with Sir Josiah Child's family in Streatham. 1695 found her at Thorganby Hall in Lincolnshire, where she stayed for six months.

## TRAVEL

In March 1695 Cassandra and her brother began the series of journeys recorded in her *Account of the journeys I have taken & where I have been since March 1695*. Over the next 15 years Cassandra travelled extensively through England. Her trips took her through most of the south-east and central counties of England and as far north as Yorkshire. She never went to Scotland and only ventured into Wales as far as Monmouth. Although Sir Thomas was her most frequent travelling companion, she also mentions journeys taken with her mother, a cousin and various of her step-brothers. Some of the travelling was for business purposes. In June 1697, for example, Cassandra records visits to tenants in Muskham and Gainsborough. Visits to spas were made for medicinal reasons. The majority of the trips, however, seem to have been taken purely for pleasure.

Tourism in Britain was still relatively new. From the sixteenth century foreign tourists had begun to come to Britain. These were predominantly the sons of European noblemen, who followed a set pattern of visits to royal palaces and historic institutions – the Tower of London, Westminster Abbey, Hampton Court, Greenwich, Whitehall, Windsor, Oxford and Cambridge. An embryonic tourist industry grew up. In the royal palaces, men were employed who acted not only as attendants in the traditional sense but as guides and security men. Diaries of sixteenth century foreign tourists talk of being shown round rooms at Hampton Court, Whitehall, and Windsor, and of particular items being brought out for them to see.<sup>23</sup> Tourist phrasebooks were published as early as the 1580s and a guide-book to the inscriptions at Westminster Abbey, written by William Camden, was available from 1600. It is clear from the diaries that the practice of paying for admission and information, even if on a fairly informal basis, was common at this time.

At the same time British topographers were engaged in systematic exploration of the history and geography of Britain. The writings of men like John

Leland and William Camden and the work of early cartographers such as Christopher Saxton, John Norden and Philip Symonson had not only encouraged the idea of the value of the remains of the past, but also helped to inspire later generations to explore Britain for themselves.<sup>24</sup> In 1675, John Ogilby published his *Britannia or an Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales. By a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads Thereof* consisting of 100 folio plates showing the principal roads of England and Wales. Each road had been individually mapped and measured, and the maps indicated hills, turnings, cross-roads and items of interest ('a smith's shop' or, when there was a choice of roads, 'the worst way. . .'). *Britannia* went through successive editions and it is possible that the Willoughbys owned a copy.<sup>25</sup>

It was at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth that the British upper classes began to tour Britain. Better roads and the availability of maps made travel easier and safer, but the main impetus seems to have been pride in the greatness of Tudor England and a curiosity about both the old and the new. These tourists showed an indiscriminating and all-embracing enthusiasm which ranged from prehistoric ruins to the most recent industrial developments. Treatises were written on Stonehenge;<sup>26</sup> Charles Cotton published his *Wonders of the Peak*; John Adams' *Index Villaris* provided a list of noteworthy country houses. Equally they would go to watch a river being cleared or a fen being drained.<sup>27</sup> As Adrian Tinniswood has written,

The fact is that the tourist's response was not primarily aesthetic: he was not really interested in the architecture of a great house; nor was he all that bothered about the internal qualities of a picture. His appetite for sightseeing was voracious, but indiscriminating; he wanted to see all that was rare and costly, and during the first part of the century at least, there was no sense of his responding differently to a painting, a tapestry, a piece of clockwork or a

curiosity of nature. He was ready to be impressed and amazed by anything which was outside his normal sphere of experience.<sup>28</sup>

Cassandra's diary reflects this, with observations and comments on spa waters, industry, human curiosities and natural history collections alongside her discussions of garden design, churches and architecture.

#### CASSANDRA'S INTERESTS

It has been suggested that the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century could have been responsible for the growing interest in churches and church architecture.<sup>29</sup> Certainly Cassandra made a point of inspecting the church in most of the places she visited. She was quick to judge, describing those she approved of as 'neat' (her favourite word of praise), 'handsome', 'fine' and 'noble'; while those she disliked were 'shabby', 'mean' and 'no fine building'. She frequently made comparisons: Beverley had '2 better Churches then any Town in England',<sup>30</sup> York Minster 'pleased me more then Lincoln did'<sup>31</sup> and Gloucester Cathedral was 'better then Hereford or Monmouth'.<sup>32</sup> She commended churches with ancient monuments, singling out Worcester and Winchester for particular mention, and frequently commented on roofs: 'the roof [of Lincoln Minster] is Stone whereas that at York is but wood',<sup>33</sup> at Gloucester 'the roof is Stone and very neatly Carved'<sup>34</sup> while at Winchester 'the body of the Church is roofed with Stone, but the Quire has a neat Timber Roof'.<sup>35</sup> In Salisbury and Winchester she was able to give statistical information about the cathedrals, indicating that a guide-book or guided tour may have been available.

Equally characteristic of the outlook of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century was Cassandra's interest in industry and manufacture. Sir William Brereton made a special visit to Newcastle to see the salt-works;<sup>36</sup> Celia Fiennes visited over twenty different sites of manufacture from ship-building to cloth-making;<sup>37</sup> Defoe wrote extensively

of trade and industry.<sup>38</sup> Cassandra Willoughby showed the same fascination for technical matters. She recorded the details of the 'Engine' in Derby which supplied the town with water (presumably George Sorocold's<sup>39</sup>), the making of starch at Gainsborough and the minting of coins. A plasterer in Derby was of special interest:

I went to See the plasterer work his plaister which he makes to Counterfit Marble, he passes his word it shall be as durable, he had then some by him which was very hard and rec'd a good polish and looked very well. He said he could make any Colour except a good Green. I would feign have Stole some of his Art but he made a great mystery of it.<sup>40</sup>

It is a pity that she does not identify him, but the leading plasterer in Derby at the time of her visit was Samuel Mansfield, who died shortly afterwards.<sup>41</sup> Mansfield's masterpiece is the plasterwork at Sudbury Hall, which he executed in 1672–75,<sup>42</sup> but he also worked at Chatsworth in 1694.<sup>43</sup> If it is he whom Cassandra describes, it is interesting to read of what he was also capable, and it is now to be hoped that some of his *faux* marble can be identified.

A maker of stained glass in York also drew her approbation.

We went . . . to see a man that Stains Glass, he first draws his design upon the Glass and after that Burns in the Collours, he does it very well, his Collours are as good as any I have seen of old glass, the darke Blue and Red he does very well which shews that art is not lost.<sup>44</sup>

It is unfortunate that Cassandra did not name him either, but it is likely that she was referring to the glass painter Henry Gyles (1645–1709), as he was at that time the only glass painter in York, and he is now almost the only contemporary glass painter in the country known to us.<sup>45</sup> As mistress of Wollaton, responsible for the interior design and furnishings of the house, Cassandra had particular reasons to investigate the manufacture of items which she might wish to add to her own schemes.

## PRIVATE HOUSES

A considerable proportion of her travel writings are concerned with visits to houses and gardens. By the time of her journeys it was already accepted practice to view any interesting houses passed and to have a guided tour of the house if at all possible. The relationship between host and visitor is worth examining. Although the number of tourists was increasing (and Cassandra's brief references to 'a place we had heard much commended'<sup>46</sup> and 'a seat talked on all over Yorkshire'<sup>47</sup> indicates the growing interest within her social circle), it seems that, as Adrian Timmiswood writes,

numbers had not grown sufficiently to undermine the long-standing conventions regulating the conduct of owner and visitor, a relationship which was still essentially one of host and guest. Informal codes and social structures were developing to accommodate the occasions where a total stranger arrived on the doorstep and asked to wander round your house . . . but they grew out of the existing conventions: senior members of the domestic staff, whose job it had been to vet and grade visitors asking for hospitality, came to do the same with tourists, and often showed them over the house, expecting a financial reward in return.<sup>48</sup>

On a number of occasions Cassandra recounted information gained from servants: at Longleat, for instance, the servants were able to tell her how much money had been expended in the remodelling of the gardens.<sup>49</sup> By the end of the eighteenth century, attitudes had changed and it was by then common for many houses to be open only one or two days a week and at set hours.<sup>50</sup>

The combination of the two roles, guest and tourist, was sometimes supplemented by a third, that of the critic engaged in building and eager to gain new ideas. Even as early as the sixteenth century the patron of a major building project would often not only send his mason or surveyor to see other new or partially completed houses, but would go himself or herself, like Bess of Hardwick, 'who in the late summer of 1592, when her new residence at Hardwick was in the early stages of construction,

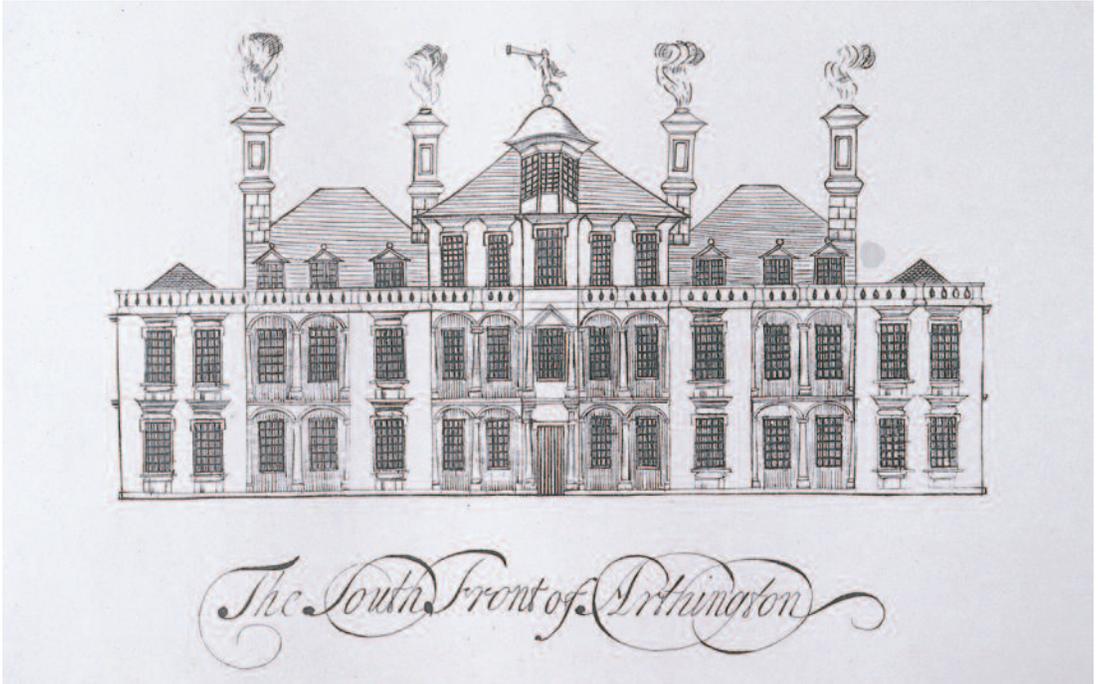


Fig. 1. Arthington Hall, south front, from John Jones, *History of Harewood*, 1859. Richard Hewlings.



Fig. 2. Arthington Hall, north front, from John Jones, *History of Harewood*, 1859. Richard Hewlings.

visited both Holdenby and Wollaton'.<sup>51</sup> Cassandra was actively involved with her brother's restoration of Wollaton and its grounds and as she viewed other people's property, not always agreeing with contemporary opinion, she presumably stored away ideas for her own use.

Like that of her contemporaries, however, her taste was generally for the new and the inventive, although comfort and 'convenience' also played a part in her judgements. In 1697 she visited 'Mr. Arthington's House'.

July the 11th we went from Harrowgate to Leeds, and in our way thither Saw Mr Arthingtons House, which when finished will be a very pretty Seat, one front is Built after a manner new to me, which looks pretty and must be very convenient, there is as I remember 10 windows, 4 of which jet out about 2 or 3 yards, and between each of those windows, before the other 2 windows which lye behind, is a Stone Pillar which supports a building like Balconies, into which open Sash doors from the Sides of the 4 windows which jet out, and when all those doors are open, those little closets or dressing rooms, with the Balconies make a very pleasant Gallery, besides it is a very convenient passage from one room to another without making any of the Bed Chambers a thorough fair.<sup>52</sup>

'Mr. Arthington' was presumably Cyrill Arthington, who built the remarkable Arthington Hall in Wharfedale, not far upstream of Harewood.<sup>53</sup> Its date of construction has never been known hitherto, but when Cassandra visited it in July 1697 she noted that it was unfinished. No illustration of Arthington Hall has been published since 1859, and even that publication was very limited. Cassandra's description is the first that has ever been found. It is gratifying to see that her account of the balconies linking windows which 'jet out', otherwise seemingly incredible, confirms a view of the south front which might also seem incredible without her confirmation (Fig. 1).

Later the same year she visited Troy House, near Monmouth.

Troy is a very pretty place, the Seat low but very pleasant, a river runs just by the House and it is encompassed with Woody Hills. 13 Windows makes the front of the House which is 5 Hansome rooms and 2 Closets, backward there is some good Rooms and a Hansom Starecase, before you come to the old Building, in which there is a good deal of convenient Room.<sup>54</sup>

Troy House had been built in 1681–84 by the 1st. Duke of Beaufort for his son the Marquess of Worcester. It incorporates earlier work ('the old Building' of Cassandra's description), and the 'Hansom Starecase' which she mentioned is indeed 'backward', in fact in a rear projection.<sup>55</sup>

In 1710 the Duke of Leeds's house at Kiveton, near Sheffield, also gained her qualified approval (Figs. 3 and 4).

We went to See the Duke of Leeds House in Yorkshire, which is a neat Pile of Building. In the front of the House there is only the Hall chapel and Starecase. From the Hall towards the Garden front is a Room paved with Marble which is sometimes used for an Eating Room, and from that Middle room you goe to two very hansome Appartments, more for shew then conveniency, one Lodging Room being at one end of the House and the other at the other and no Room for a Servant near them. On the next floor the Rooms are divided after the same manner towards the Garden, but towards the first front lyes the Great Appartment; from the Stares which are very hansome, you goe into a very large room which is over the Hall and from that over the Chapel to a Drawing Room, Bed Chamber and Dressing Room. To this pile of Building are two wings on each side of the Court. One is divided into Lodging Rooms and Closets which you go into from a passage the length of the Building, I think there is 6 of these Rooms on a floor; and in this Building, the Duke and all the family Lodge, the other Wing is Stables &c and Rooms over for Servants.<sup>56</sup>

Kiveton Park was built between 1698 and 1704, possibly to the design of William Talman, and it was demolished in 1811.<sup>57</sup> Cassandra's account of the room arrangement at Kiveton can be illustrated by the plans which are appended to a contract whereby the London carpenter Daniel Brand agreed to build

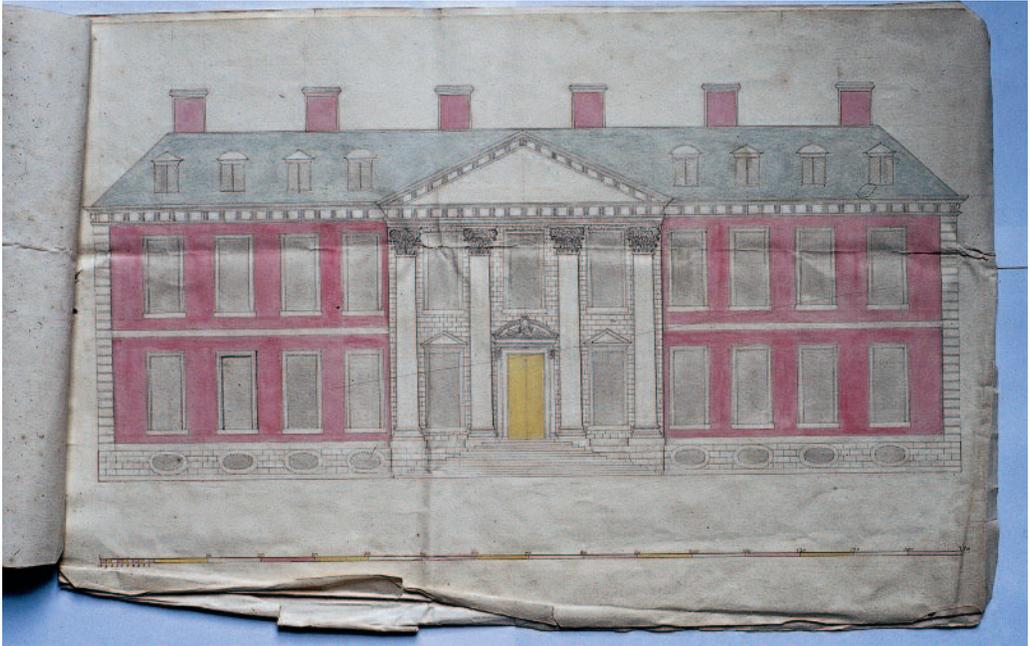


Fig. 3. Kiveton Park, west elevation, contract drawing by Daniel Brand, 1698.  
*Yorkshire Archaeological Society.*



Fig. 4. Kiveton Park, east elevation, contract drawing by Daniel Brand, 1698.  
*Yorkshire Archaeological Society.*

the house for the 1st. Duke of Leeds.<sup>58</sup> These plans (Figs. 5,6 and 7) have also never been published before. Cassandra's description helps to explain them. The four rooms at the front on the ground floor must be the hall, chapel and stair which she mentions, plus a closet which she does not. The stair was not illustrated by Brand, and its absence in a house of that standing would be surprising; the two newels at either end of the house could not have been enough. Brand clearly shows the two apartments either side of the marble paved eating room, which she describes next. Brand shows the same arrangement on the garden side of the first floor, just as she describes it, and the great apartment on the entrance side – a very large room, followed by drawing room, bed chamber and dressing room, all over the chapel, thereby helping to locate the latter. Cassandra did not describe the basement; but she revealed that the Duke and his family lodged in one of the flanking wings.

She could be scathing in her judgements as well, and was not swayed by general opinion. After having visited Newby Hall, near Ripon, built between 1685 and 1693 by Sir Edward Blackett, 2nd. Bart.,<sup>59</sup> she wrote:

About 4 miles from St Mungers Well is Sir Edward Blackets House, a Seat talked on all over Yorkshire as one of the finest Houses in England. Indeed it is a neat Pile of Brick Building, not very large, but looks pretty well on the outside, but within it, all I found wonderful, was that any man should have laid out so much money upon a House, and not make one good Apartment in it, nay not one very handsome entertaining Room.<sup>60</sup>

and Ribston Hall, slightly further south, similarly disappointed her.

July the 7th [1697] we went from York to Harrowgate, where in our way we saw Sir Henry Goodricks House, a place we had heard much Commended, great part of it is new built but I can't commend the contrivance of it.<sup>61</sup>

It is a pity that she did not say why she disliked this extraordinarily interesting house, built by Sir Henry Goodricke in 1674 and enlarged by him in 1692.<sup>62</sup>

The situation of a house also came in for comment.

The 27th [August 1697] we went to See Longleat, a House of my Lord Waymouths, which is about 17 miles from the Bath. It stands very low and ill, most of the Ground about the House is a mear boggy. The House is old but indeed a very noble Pile of building, the inside not very well contrived. There is 2 or 3 very Handsome appartments, but the rest of the rooms (of which there are a great many) lye but ill.<sup>63</sup>

She saw Longleat not long after it had been altered by William Taylor for the 1st. Viscount Thynne in 1682–83.<sup>64</sup> She had the same complaint about most of Wilton:

The house is built round a Court. It is a very large handsome old Building, but the rooms lye very ill excepting one appartment, which is I think the finest I ever Saw; there is something of nobleness in those rooms which I think exceeds those at Burley or Chatsworth – but there wants a Handsome coming to that fine Appartment.<sup>65</sup>

The apartment which she admired was presumably the Cube Rooms on the south front. The insufficiently handsome 'coming' to it must refer to the so-called geometrical or hanging stair which was removed by James Wyatt in 1801.<sup>66</sup>

In 1710 Worksop Manor received mixed reviews:

We went to see Worsop Manour a House of the Duke of Norfolk, which is a very handsome old Building and lately new Modalled by the Duke, who has sashed the Windows and altered the Rooms, some of which are very fine and many very convenient to Lodg a family. but the Hall, Parlour &c, are but indifferent. The uppermost floor of this House is but one very large room which the Duke was going to furnish for a Gallery.<sup>67</sup>

This conforms to Vertue's description of the gallery at Worksop as 'one entire large room the whole cover and extent of the house', but it also reveals that the 8th. Duke, who had enlarged Worksop between 1701 and 1704, had clearly not finished furnishing it in 1710.<sup>68</sup>

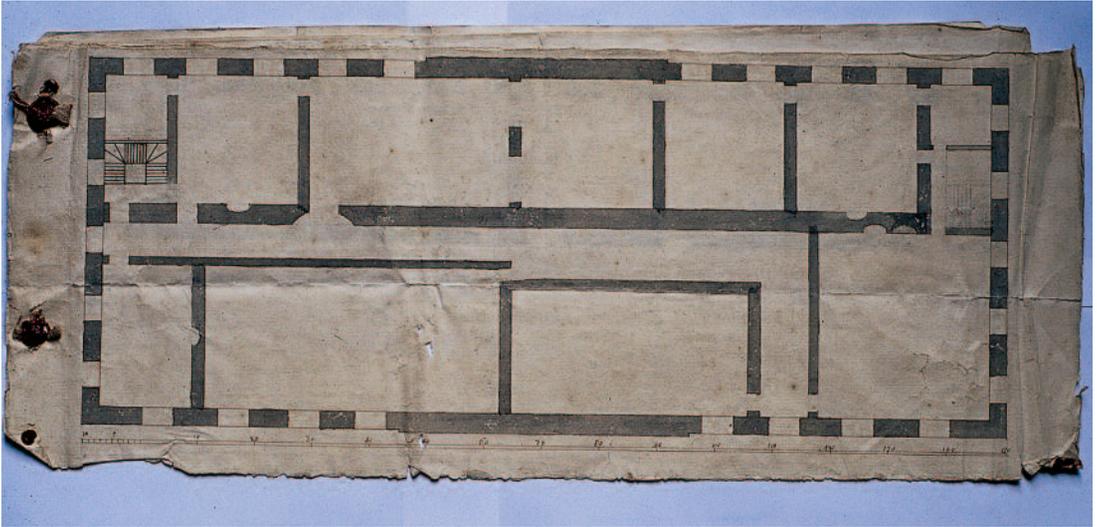


Fig. 5. Kiveton Park, basement plan, contract drawing by Daniel Brand, 1698.

The defects inherent in Lady Harper's house, presumably Calke Abbey, were blamed on the Harpers' failure to tear the original house down and start again:

June the 5th [1710] we went to dine with Lady Harper, whose House I had heard very much condemned, and therefore found better then I expected. It stands ill but to excuse that there was the old House which was not pulled down. Tho the outside is all new, the body of the House is only altered, which has made many faults, which in a new House might have been mended, and they tell you that has cost as much as an intire new building would have done. S<sup>r</sup> John Harper is going to make a Garden but the Situation will not allow of its being very fine.<sup>69</sup>

The recasting of Calke Abbey by Sir John Harper in 1702–04 is well documented,<sup>70</sup> but nothing is known of the garden which she reveals that he was projecting in 1710.

Blyth Abbey she called 'a pretty, neat place',<sup>71</sup> but it is tantalising that she did not write more about this interesting, but demolished, house at the

northern extremity of Nottinghamshire. It has been attributed to Talman,<sup>72</sup> but, as Hawksmoor began his career as clerk to the father of its builder, Edward Mellish,<sup>73</sup> it is also possible that he might have been consulted. Her description of Sir John Packington's seat near Worcester, presumably Westwood Park,<sup>74</sup> was equally brief, 'a large but no very fine House', although she admitted that she was 'not nearer than to see it plain by the help of a Glass'.<sup>75</sup>

Even more than with the buildings, however, Cassandra was concerned with the gardens that surrounded them. She visited Badminton in 1697 and was particularly pleased with the extent and flatness of its grounds.

Badmanton is indeed a very noble flat Seat, tho the Ground is flat yet it lyes very high in the Country. The Park is 26 miles round. . . . From the top of the House the Ground appears so far as you can see all Smooth like a Bowling-Green, there is not a hill nor any thing to bound your Sight, 'tis indeed the noblest flat I ever saw.

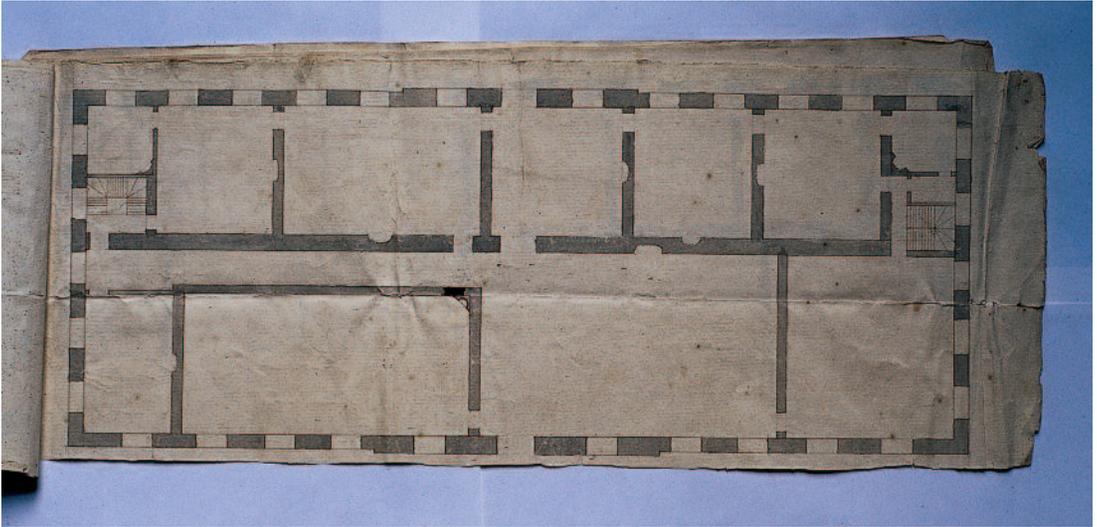


Fig. 6. Kiveton Park, ground floor plan, contract drawing by Daniel Brand, 1698.

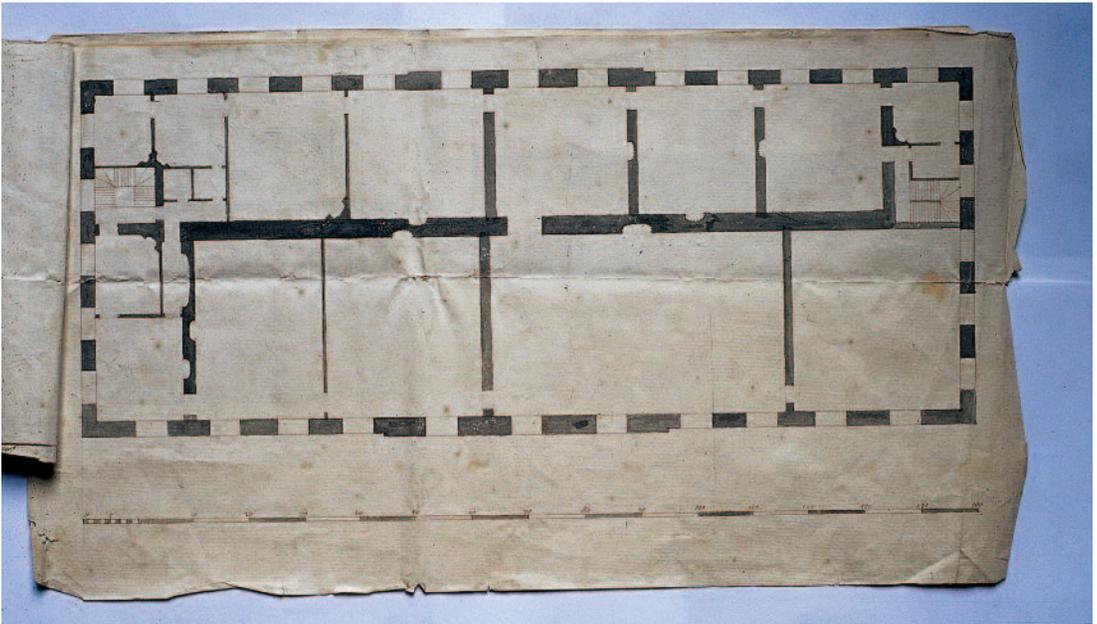


Fig. 7. Kiveton Park, first floor plan, contract drawing by Daniel Brand, 1698.

Near the House the Park appears very fine, there being severall fish Ponds and a great many walks of Trees which center there, but the rest of the Park wants wood, and looks very naked. . . . The House with Stables &c they told us stood upon ten Acres of Ground. All the Gardens &c they reckon to be 50 Acres, I mean the courts and all the nurseries for plants &c which with the Green Houses are very neat and very fine.

There is an Arbour like walk from one of the Green houses to the Wilderness which is a very long one and so close shaded on the top that it kept us free from a very fearse shower of rain. The Wilderness is very fine, the Trees so large as to make it very Shady, they are all of Elm, except shrubs to thicken in. In the bottom, the earth is covered with variety of plants as primroses, Periwinkle, &c. I observed there that Barberries grew as well under the droppings of the trees as any shrub. The trees are very high, thick and very neatly kept, and the Walkes so contrived to Center one in another and fountains appearing every way, render it one of the most Surprisingly pleasant places I have seen. It contains about 14 Acres as the Servants told us.

In it and the Gardens are 22 fountains, which are in my opinion all too small. There is not one larg jet of Water in the whole Garden. A River or Greater Command of Water would add much to the Beauty of the Place.<sup>76</sup>

Badminton was (and remains) famous for its extent and flatness; some of the 22 fountains which Cassandra describes can be seen in Kip's engraving of c.1709.<sup>77</sup>

Water-power was being harnessed for use both inside and outside the country house and it is not surprising that it forms the subject of much of Willoughby's comment. At Wilton she remarked favourably on the way in which the river had been led into the grounds and canalised.

There is a fine River that runs by the road to the House, and through the Gardens makes a fine Cannall.<sup>78</sup>

The incorporation of the River Wylye into the garden at Wilton was indeed noticeable. The lines of the paths and parterres were projected onto the far bank and the garden was continued there, giving the false

impression that a maeandering river had been let through a previously existing and regular garden.<sup>79</sup>

The elaborate water-works at Boughton also elicited her approval.

May the 19th [1710] I went with my Brother and Lady Child to see Boughton, a Seat of the Duke of Montiegues. The Water works there are extremely fine. The Cascaid is made by turning a Mill dam to play into the Great Bason where there are 5 very large Fountains besides severall Heads, that pour out very great quantities of water, besides that there are a great many fountains in the Wilderness and Gardens.<sup>80</sup>

Cassandra visited this enormous garden not long after the death of its creator, the 1st. Duke of Montagu. In 1694 the water at Boughton was said to have failed, but it was evidently working by the time of her visit. The relatively flat terrain inhibited a gravity feed, but Cassandra's account of a previously unknown mill dam reveals how the problem was overcome. It is interesting to know that there were five large fountains as well as heads in the Bason; none of the known views of the garden illustrate them.<sup>81</sup>

It is also interesting to learn that at Bretby, the more famous gardens of the 2nd. Earl of Chesterfield near Burton on Trent, the water works, though fine, suffered by comparison with those at Boughton.

June the 2d [1710] we went to see my Lord Chesterfields Gardens. The Water works there I should have thought mighty fine, had I not before seen the Duke of Montiegues which are much larger. From the Great Fountain at Lord Chesterfields to a Summer House floored and sided with Marble is a Walk set on each side with Orange Trees and between every Tree a Bason which throws up an Arch of water, which you walk dry under to another Fountain at the foot of the Summer House, on each side of which you ascend under a Bower of Water which play'd from the side of the fountain and the green bank on the other side of the walk you goe up. All that water is encompass with a fine Wood which affords a very pleasant Shade. . . . About a Mile from the House my Lord has built a little House of 4 little rooms of a floor from whence you have a very fine Prospect.<sup>82</sup>

Celia Fiennes described Brethby in much greater detail than Cassandra, including, for instance the water organ and the water clock which played *Lillibulero*<sup>83</sup>, but she did not mention the arcade of water, which makes Brethby sound like the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. Nor did she mention the little house about a mile distant, which may well have been Brizlincote Hall, the Earl's *maison de plaisance*, not described by any one else. But Brizlincote was not built until 1707, so it was almost new when Cassandra visited.<sup>84</sup>

From Brethby Cassandra went on to the neighbouring Melbourne Hall, whose gardens had also been recently laid out by its owner Thomas Coke, with advice from the royal gardener Henry Wise

We went to Mr Coke's House at Melbourn which stands but ill in a poor Town. The Gardens are very handsome. On one Side of the Par Terre Garden is a close walk which leads to the Wilderness. This walk they told us had been made but 5 years and was then a perfect shade. The most extraordinary thing I observed in that Garden was an Arbour or Summer-house made of very neat Iron work, which needs being covered with Wood to be shady. A Cascaid and many additions were designed to this Garden.<sup>85</sup>

Cassandra's account, which includes Robert Bakewell's famous iron arbour, made in 1706–08, describes the garden of Melbourne Hall much as it remains to this day.<sup>86</sup> But it is interesting that she describes a proposed cascade, which was apparently not built; since a recently discovered plan of 1704 illustrates a proposal for forming a cascade in a former quarry.<sup>87</sup> Cassandra was evidently told about it, or even shown the plan.

The gardens at Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, also pleased her.

June the 22nd [1710] we went to see Rest, a House of the Duke of Kent's. The Situation is very bad. From the Park Gate you goe into a fine Walk of Trees but that walk does not Lead to the House, which stands low in the Park but from the House you goe into a very Noble Garden. The Par-Tarre is very large and ends with High Trees which meet at Top and are Cut so as to

make so many Arches and to run up the bodys of the Trees are planted Honyuckles and Sweet brire. From the Middle walk of the Par-Tarre you look upon a very fine Canall at the end of which is the foundation laying of a very fine Summer-house from which on each side of the Canall you goe into a Wilderness. From one side of the Wilderness you go into a Green walk which brings you back to the Terras walk before the House. About the Middle of that Walk you go into a piece of ground prettyly divided with Water, for Wild Fowle, and at the end of the walk from the Terras is a Flower Garden divided by a Pallasaid from Courts to feed tame Fowle & Pheasants in. This Terras before the House is very Long & handsome, one end of it through Iron you look upon [blank space left by Willoughby] and at the other end upon a very pretty Hill in the Park so exactly round as if made by art at the Top of which is a very neat Building for a Summer-house and little Closets at every corner which makes the building look very pretty.<sup>88</sup>

The immense garden made by the 12th. Earl of Kent (created Duke of Kent in 1710) between 1706 and 1740 had evidently acquired its basic (and still surviving) form at the time of Cassandra's visit. Her description of the high trees cut into arches and planted with honeysuckle and sweet briar is an interesting revelation, but she also provides useful information about the chronology of the principal garden buildings. The pavilion, designed by Thomas Archer, is usually said to have been built between 1709 and 1711, but Cassandra saw its foundation being laid only in June 1710.<sup>89</sup> The neat building with little closets at the corners, which she saw complete, conforms to the known appearance of Hill House, or Cain Hill House, which has previously been dated to c.1712–15, but it evidently preceded the pavilion.<sup>90</sup>

Although Cassandra had been critical of the house at Longleat, she praised the gardens.

The Gardens my Lord has lately made, and as the Servants told us at above £30,000 expence, which if true a great part of the money must I believe have been laid out in draining the Ground. There is next the House 4 Handsome Plots with borders and walks round, and a very noble Cannall Cross the middle of it, in the middle of which is a fountain. On the right hand

of the Garden is a fine Bowling Green, at the end of which is a very pretty Wilderness, made with hedges of Horn-beam. On the other side of the Garden is the Green House &c, and a Nursery for Flowers, between which and the Wilderness is a very handsome walk from the Great Garden shaded with a Horn-beam hedge which leads to a Hill taken out of the Park, on which are a great many Trees which make a fine shade and is a very pleasant place. On the top of the hill is a Summer house, from whence you have a good prospect of the Gardens, but none of the Country.<sup>91</sup>

She visited Longleat on 27 August 1697, when the gardens laid out by George London between 1683 and 1710 were largely formed. She would not have seen Tijou's screen, made in 1704, but she noted the fountain carved by John Harvey of Bath in 1691, discharging water from a pump made by Sir Samuel Morland.<sup>92</sup>

Rarely does Cassandra mention the natural landscape. Just as contemporary tastes in garden design favoured contrivance and careful composition, so the tourist favoured the man-made landscape. In 1697, Celia Fiennes, travelling through Derbyshire, had complained,

All Derbyshire is full of steep hills, and nothing but the peakes of hills as thick one by another is seen in most of the County which are very steepe which makes travelling tedious, and the miles long.<sup>93</sup>

Thomas Hobbes and Charles Cotton had both published books on the 'wonders' of the Peak District late in the seventeenth century, but their list of seven 'wonders' included the Duke of Devonshire's seat at Chatsworth, and the natural 'wonders', also referred to as 'shames and Ills', were wonders in the sense that they provoked not admiration but astonishment and disgust.<sup>94</sup> Cassandra recorded only two visits to 'natural' sights: a cave and a petrifying spring ('the Dropping Well') near Knaresborough<sup>95</sup> and the site of the digging of 'the Bristol Stones', St. Vincent's Rock.<sup>96</sup> Although both locations had notable 'Prospects', she was otherwise unenthusiastic. Occasionally too she was diverted by attractive scenery along the roadside, but her comments were

always brief: a road might be 'pleasant', 'well wooded', 'planted with Apples' or have 'Hills and Rivers [which] make . . . diverting prospects' but she never went into detail. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the practice of scenic tourism became prevalent.

#### MARRIAGE AND LATER LIFE

In August 1713, aged 43, Cassandra married James Brydges, her cousin, son and heir of the 8th Lord Chandos.<sup>97</sup> The cousins had known each other since childhood and there was evident affection between them. Brydges had lost his first wife the previous year, and Cassandra became stepmother to his two sons, John, aged ten, and Henry, aged five. He had been Paymaster General of Land Forces since 1705, and had amassed a fortune during the War of the Spanish Succession. In the Coronation Honours of George I (October 1714) he became Earl of Carnarvon, and in April 1719 he was created Duke of Chandos.<sup>98</sup>

In the year of their marriage he acquired Canons, an Elizabethan house in Edgware, Middlesex, and it was there that the couple lived after their marriage. He had a second house in Albemarle Street, London, and his social position and political activities necessitated frequent stays there, but Canons was their main home. They began at once to enlarge and remodel it.<sup>99</sup> Cassandra's personal experience of building at Wollaton and the knowledge of country houses which she had acquired by travelling must surely have informed her husband's decisions about Canons. In view of her early and unusual independence it is also unlikely that she was content for the Duke to take decisions without the benefit of her opinion. For instance, it may not be a co-incidence that Isaac Mansfield, the principal plasterer at Canons, was the son of Samuel Mansfield, whose work had so impressed her when she visited Derby in 1697.<sup>100</sup> Her part in the development of this famous house must therefore be acknowledged.

The changes in Cassandra's life at this time are reflected in the *Account of the Journeys*. For the most part, she used the diary after 1713 to record moves between Canons and Albemarle Street, together with occasional mentions of visitors, social engagements and the comings and goings of various relatives, many of whom stayed with the couple for lengthy periods. Descriptions of buildings, industry and natural curiosities no longer featured.<sup>101</sup>

From an early age, Cassandra had suffered from headaches and fits of faintness and nausea. In later years, her health worsened and from about 1726 she

was an invalid. She died in July 1735 at the age of sixty-five after a very short illness (probably apoplexy) and was buried in St. Lawrence's Church, Whitchurch, near Canons.

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I am grateful to Richard Hewlings, who wrote the passages about houses, gardens, George Sorocold, Henry Gyles, and the two Mansfields. I am grateful also to Maxwell Craven and Philip Heath for information on Samuel Mansfield and on Melbourne Hall.

#### NOTES

- 1 Joan Johnson, *Excellent Cassandra*, Gloucester, 1981, is an account of her life.
- 2 James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, London, 1642, 20.
- 3 A copy of Noni Baptista's *Histoire de . . . Venise* (1682), signed 'Cassandra Willoughby' on the flyleaf, has recently been sold at auction, together with a copy of Charles Leigh's *The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire and the Peak* (1700). We are unfortunately unable to fully reconstruct the Wollaton library catalogue and it is at present not known whether any British travel writings were available to Cassandra before she began her own travels, other than those of her father and John Ray [Wintertons Fine Arts, Lichfield, *Catalogue, 1996 September Antiques Sale*].
- 4 Johnson, *op. cit.*
- 5 Sir William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 1656, quoted in Johnson, *op. cit.*, 13.
- 6 Geoffrey Tyack, *Warwickshire Country Houses*, Chichester, 1994, 134–37; Mark Girouard, *Robert*

*Smythson & the Elizabethan Country House*, New Haven and London, 1983, 81–108.

- 7 Recording her travels was not Cassandra's only engagement with writing. She taught herself to read medieval and Tudor script and, working with the original documents which she found in the family archives, wrote a detailed and carefully constructed history of the family entitled *The Account of the Willughby's of Wollaton taken out of the Pedigree, old Letters, and old Books of Accounts in my Brother Sir Thomas Willoughby's.. study, Dec. A.D. 1702* [Nottingham, University of Nottingham, Hallward Library, Department of Manuscripts and Special Collections, Middleton MSS]. Most of our knowledge of Cassandra Willoughby's life and family comes from this Account. The first volume was published (with some significant omissions) by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton Presently at Wollaton Hall*, London, 1911. The second volume was published by A.C. Wood (ed.), as *The*

- Continuation of the History of the Willoughby Family* By Cassandra Duchess of Chandos, Eton, 1958. The variant spellings of the name in Cassandra Willoughby's title were used by her to distinguish between the two branches of the family, and the date of December 1702 is generally taken to be the date she began to write the history. Quotations in this article are from Wood, *op. cit.*, cited as *Account of the Willoughby's*.
- 8 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, 118, note 1. Child purchased Wanstead, Essex, in 1673. John Evelyn wrote in his Diary, 16 March 1683, that Sir Josiah had acquired Wanstead 'at prodigious cost'.
  - 9 Johnson, *op. cit.*, 24.
  - 10 GEC[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, VIII, London, 1932, 698.
  - 11 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, 125.
  - 12 Pamela Marshall, *Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family*, Nottingham, 1999, 105.
  - 13 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, 66.
  - 14 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, 68.
  - 15 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, 134.
  - 16 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, 134.
  - 17 Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England*, Chicago, 1989, 212.
  - 18 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, 135.
  - 19 We are not able completely to reconstruct the library catalogue. A shelf-list exists from 1691 [Middleton MSS., *cit.*], but it is damaged and in some sections records only authors' names. A Christies' sale catalogue from 1925 (when the library was sold) lists 756 books, many of them with Thomas Willoughby's autograph. We do know, however, that the collection included books on mathematics, geography, natural science, mechanics, law, classics, philosophy, poetry, medicine, art, architecture, religion (including Bibles) and dictionaries and that, unlike many other private libraries of the time, the majority of the books were in English.
  - 20 Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, 137.
  - 21 Friedman, *op. cit.*, 163.
  - 22 A.C. Wood, Introduction to Willoughby, *Account of the Willoughby's*, *cit.*, xiii.
  - 23 See, for example, Clare Williams (tr. and ed.), *Thomas Platter's Travels in England 1599*, London, 1937.
  - 24 John Leland, *Itineraries*, 9 vols., London, 1710–12; William Camden, *Britain, Or A Choro-Graphical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands Adjoyning, out of the Depth of Antiquitie*, London, 1610. Leland's *Itineraries* were written in the sixteenth century but remained in manuscript form until their publication in 1710–12. Copies of the manuscripts were, however, widely circulated.
  - 25 The twenty-second edition was published in 1785.
  - 26 Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, Cambridge, 1990, 92–96.
  - 27 Christopher Morris, Introduction to Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, London, 1982, 17.
  - 28 Adrian Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting*, Oxford, 1989, 53.
  - 29 Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540 to 1840*, London, 1964, 27–31.
  - 30 Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust, Stoneleigh MSS, Cassandra Willoughby, *An Account of the Journeys I have taken & where I have been since March 1695* (manuscript journal, hereafter cited as Willoughby, *Journeys*), fol. 5r.
  - 31 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 7r.
  - 32 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 13r.
  - 33 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 7r.
  - 34 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 13r.
  - 35 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 19r.
  - 36 Moir, *op. cit.*, 32.
  - 37 Morris, *op. cit.*
  - 38 Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales*, 2 vols., London, 1928.
  - 39 F. Williamson, 'George Sorocold of Derby', *Journal of Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, LVII, 1936, 59–64; James Touzeau, *The Rise and Progress of Liverpool*, Liverpool, 1910, I, 379; Anthony Calladine, 'Lombe's Mill', *Industrial Archaeology Review*, XVI, Autumn 1993, 94. Sorocold engineered country house hydraulics as well as docks, water supplies and mills; his work has recently been identified at Calke Abbey, Derbyshire, and at Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland.
  - 40 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 3r.
  - 41 Geoffrey Beard, *Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain*, London, 1975, 228, gives his date of death as 8 October 1697. Mr. Maxwell Craven, however, tells me that he was buried on 24 April 1698. Either way he would have been alive when Cassandra was in Derby on 1 June 1697 [Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 3r].
  - 42 Beard, *loc. cit.*
  - 43 I am indebted to Mr. Maxwell Craven for imparting this previously unpublished information.

- 44 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 8r.
- 45 J.T.Brighton, 'Henry Gyles: Virtuoso and Glasspainter of York, 1645-1709', *York Historian*, IV, 1984, 1-2, 6-7, 13.
- 46 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 8r.
- 47 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 9r.
- 48 Tinniswood, *op. cit.*, 65.
- 49 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 16r.
- 50 Moir, *op. cit.*, 58.
- 51 Tinniswood, *op. cit.*, 25.
- 52 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 10r-11r.
- 53 John Jones, *History and Antiquities of Harewood*, London, 1859, 231.
- 54 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 12r.
- 55 John Newman, *Gwent/Monmouthshire*, Harmondsworth, 2000, 391-92; John Harris, *The Artist and the Country Seat*, London, 1979, 123.
- 56 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 30r.
- 57 Geoffrey Beard, *Georgian Craftsmen and their work*, London, 1966, 184-85.
- 58 Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, DD 5/46.
- 59 Illustrated in *Country Life*, CLXV, June 7, 1979, 1802.
- 60 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 9r-10r
- 61 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 8r.
- 62 Gervase Jackson-Stops, 'Ribston Hall, Yorkshire - I', *Country Life*, CLIV, October 11, 1973, 1050-53.
- 63 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 15r-16r.
- 64 Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 969.
- 65 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 17r-18r.
- 66 John Bold, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, London, 1988, 50-1, 58.
- 67 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 30r.
- 68 Marcus Binney, 'Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire - II', *Country Life*, CLIII, March 15, 1973, 679, 680.
- 69 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 29r-30r.
- 70 Howard Colvin, *Calke Abbey Derbyshire*, London, 1985, 99-104.
- 71 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 11r.
- 72 John Harris, *William Talman*, London, 1982, plate 12.
- 73 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 473.
- 74 *Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, III, London, 1913, 155, 234-37; *Country Life*, LXIV, July 14<sup>th</sup>. and 21<sup>st</sup>., 1928; E.A.B.Barnard, 'The Packingtons of Westwood', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, N.S., XIII, 1936, 28-49; Andor Gomme, 'Redating Westwood', *Architectural History*, XLIV, 2001, 310-21 (forthcoming).
- 75 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 11r-12r.
- 76 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 13r-14r.
- 77 Nicholas Kingsley, *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire*, II, Chichester, 1992, 59.
- 78 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 17r.
- 79 Bold, *op. cit.*, 43.
- 80 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 28r.
- 81 John Cornforth, 'The making of the Boughton landscape', *Country Life*, CXLIX, March 11, 1971, 536-39.
- 82 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 28r-29r.
- 83 Morris, *op. cit.*, 153-54. Later accounts of this important garden, apparently laid out in two stages, 1670 and 1683-94, to the design of an unidentified Monsieur Grillet, can be found in S.Glover, *History and Gazeteer of the County of Derby*, II, part 1, 1833, 182-83; K.H.Mantell, 'Brethry Hall', *Derbyshire Life and Countryside*, XVIII, July 1950, 56-7; H.J.Wain, *A brief history of Brethry*, Burton on Trent, 1964; Edward Saunders, 'Brethry Hall', *Derbyshire Life and Countryside*, XL, August 1975, 22-4; Maxwell Craven, *The Derbyshire Country House*, Derby, 1991, 43-4. I am indebted to Mr. Philip Heath for directing me towards the sources for Brethry.
- 84 Craven, *op. cit.*, 45-7.
- 85 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 29r
- 86 Philip Heath, 'Melbourne Hall re-considered', *The Georgian Group Report and Journal*, 1988, 54.
- 87 I am indebted to Mr. Philip Heath for this information; the plan is the property of the Most Hon. The Marquess of Lothian and is in the archives at Melbourne Hall.
- 88 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fols. 31r-32r.
- 89 Nicola Smith, *Wrest Park, Bedfordshire*, London, 1995, 22-3.
- 90 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary, cit.*, 77; it is illustrated in Smith, *op. cit.*, 28-9.
- 91 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 16r.
- 92 John Harris, 'From another point of view', *Country Life*, CLXXXV, November 14, 1991, 84.
- 93 Morris, *op. cit.*, 104.
- 94 Charles Cotton, *The Wonders of the Peake*, London, 1681; Thomas Hobbes, *De Mirabilibus Pecci: Being the Wonders of the Peak in Darby-shire, Commonly Called The Devil's Arse of Peak*, London, 1678.
- 95 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 9r.

- 96 Willoughby, *Journeys*, fol. 15r.
- 97 Their mothers, born Elizabeth and Emma Barnard, were sisters.
- 98 G.E.C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, III, London, 1913, 129–30.
- 99 C.H. and M.I.Collins Baker, *James Brydges, First Duke of Chandos*, Oxford, 1949, *passim*.
- 100 Beard, *op. cit.*, 227–28.
- 101 This does not necessarily represent a more restricted life after marriage. She did, in fact, continue to travel with her husband, particularly to spa towns such as Bath and Tunbridge Wells, and to visit friends and relations. Joan Johnson has suggested that, once married, ‘Cassandra was committed to such a vast amount of correspondence, both on her own account and her husband’s, that her ‘Journal’ received but slight attention and so yields much less of interest than her letters’ [Johnson, *op. cit.*, 70].