Chapter 22

THE FUNERAL MONUMENTS OF THE CAVENDISH FAMILY

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IN *THE LIFE of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe* (1667), Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle reflects on the losses incurred by her husband during the Civil War through the ruinous material landscape of the Cavendish dynasty:

> Nor is it possible for him to repair all the ruines of the Estate that is left him, in so short a time, they being so great, and his losses so considerable, that I cannot without grief and trouble remember them; for before the Wars my Lord had as great an Estate as any subject in the Kingdom, descended upon him most by Women, *viz.* by his Grandmother of his Father's side, his own Mother, and his first Wife.[1]

Margaret formulates the "grief" and "trouble" created by war through place, and she tabulates loss through a dilapidated built environment: the "ruines of the Estate." The role of landholdings and the buildings that inhabit them is crucial in fashioning Cavendish family identity. Simultaneously, she understands the consolidation of family power through place to be facilitated by women. Through William's "Grandmother" Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick), "his own Mother" Katherine, Baroness Ogle, and his "first Wife" Elizabeth Basset Howard the family attained their status in the landscapes of Derbyshire. Taking the lead from Margaret's statements about the role of place and gender in her characterization of the Cavendish line, what follows will explore how women's construction of mortuary space contributed to narratives of Cavendish influence. By looking beyond the monument's usefulness in asserting male "Lineage, achievements and moral virtues," we will encounter some well-known tombs alongside those that have hitherto been less well studied.[2] The following will place commemorative architecture in the context of renewed recent interest in the role of cultural and religious space by such scholars as Alexandra Walsham, Will Coster, and Andrew Spicer.[3] In doing so, it will assess how tombs may have been employed in the construction of wider collective "imagined communities" of seventeenth-century

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1 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High and Puissant Prince William Cavendishe, Duke, Marquess and Earl of Newcastle* (London, 1667), 93.

2 Graham Parry, "Cavendish Memorials," *The Seventeenth Century* 9 (1994): 275–87 at 275.

3 Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, ed., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

England.[4] Drawing on the elegies and epitaphs that accompanied the building of a selection of Cavendish monuments, the tomb's perceived emphasis on male legacy-building will be further destabilized. By exploring how writers such as Ben Jonson and William Sampson use the tomb within textual forms of remembrance, this chapter investigates the symbolic value of tombs as objects that avowed female participation in the building of the Cavendish dynasty. Thus it also draws on findings by Paul Stock and Patricia Phillippy that stress the interrelationships between object and text: "how spaces are built using physical materials, as well as in rhetorical and cultural terms."[5] Doing so allows us to view tombs as interventions into a shared religious, social, and political topography that expressed women's function as authors and architects of domestic and national concord.

Peter Sherlock writes that the early modern tomb created "family fictions" that "naturalised and legitimised the exercise of power by a male patriarch over his household and manor."[6] However, as objects placed in public and semipublic spaces, monuments were instrumental in shaping fictions of wider communal unity in the landscapes where they were situated. Much like the castles, country houses, and estates built by the Cavendishes, their tombs repurposed locations of public significance into markers of their power in a wider shared environment. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the tomb of Bess of Hardwick, the family's founding matriarch (Figure 22.1). Designed by Robert Smythson between 1601 and 1603, her wall monument occupies the south aisle of the Church of All Saints in Derby. The central focus of the tomb is the alabaster effigy of Bess, framed on either side by black columns and surmounted by a shallow coffered arch.[7] The two columns support an entablature on which the visual language of heraldry stands above all else to proclaim the deceased's place in a shared family identity. The complex central escutcheon brings together the arms of Bess with the marshalled arms of the Talbot family. Thus her tomb appears to associate Bess primarily with her last marriage to George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury. Yet, towering over this central achievement and acting as supporters to the escutcheon are two Cavendish stags.[8] Visually, the tomb spins a narrative of consolidation, but one

4 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006; first published by Verso 1983), 6.

5 Paul Stock, "History and the Uses of Space," in *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History*, ed. Paul Stock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1–18, 2; Patricia Phillippy, " 'Monumental Circles' and Material Culture in Early Modern England," *Early Modern Women* 4 (2009): 139–47 at 141.

6 Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 19.

7 Nikolaus Pevsner, *Derbyshire*, rev. Elizabeth Williamson (London: Penguin, 2000; first published by Penguin, 1953), 170. The inscription was only added sixty-nine years after the completion of the monument. Susan E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485–1603: Women as Consumers, Patrons and Painters* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 14.

8 This was Bess's chosen form of heraldry as Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury and can also be found at Hardwick Hall. See Santina M. Levey, *Embroideries at Hardwick Hall: A Catalogue* (London: National Trust, 2007), 32.

Figure 22.1. Robert Smythson. Tomb of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick). Ca. 1601, alabaster. Church of All Saints (Derby Cathedral), Derby. Eva Lauenstein.

which discloses the favour Bess bestowed on her Cavendish offspring. The funeral monument reformulates the nuanced web of family ties, the checks and balances of power created by Bess between Hardwick, Barley (Barlow), Cavendish, St. Loe, and Talbot through marriage as a fashioned account of the triumph of Cavendish family authority.

While Bess's tomb displays a stylized image of family unity that declares the favour she conferred on her Cavendish sons, it was also an intervention into the public space of "the greatest" of "fiue Churches in the Towne" of Derby.[9] As stressed by Nigel Llewellyn, funerary monuments, by their very nature, "were embedded in a rich visual culture within buildings which were the focus of social life."[10] It is therefore unsurprising that Bess's will discloses that her tomb sits at the apex of a complex intervention into the civic and devotional fabric of Derby:

> my Bodie I commit … to be buryed in All Hallowes churche at Derbye in the place of the same churche where with is appoynted and Determyned that my Tombe and monument shalbe errected and builte … her sonne Willm Lord Cavendishe to bestowe one hundred poundes or some thinge that the profit therof might be bestowed as occasion should require for repayring her Almeshouse at Derbye for euer.[11]

Bess's will shows that the creation of her "family fiction" was intimately linked to the production of public services and space; her monument was part of a commemorative landscape that included the maintenance of Derby's alms house "for euer." The alms house was part of the architectural network of the parish church. It was located on a portion of land "buttinge uppon the river of Darwente towardes the east" and incorporated "toft, steads, & garden plotts," as well as a portion of what is now the churchyard of All Saints, effectively encasing the church within its landholdings.[12] This proximity was important because the eight poor men and four poor women of the institution were to "performe theire praiers & other duties" in the "south queere or chancell" where "her La^{p}" is to "erecte and place her said Toumbe."[13] Repairing to the site of Bess's interment "at or near six o'clock, both in the forenoon and afternoon," the poor would, "with open and audible voice," recite their prayers overseen by the imposing monument.[14] Furthermore, the

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9 William Camden, *The Abridgment of Camden's Britañia With the Maps of the Seuerall Shires of England and Wales* (London, 1626), sig. H1v.

10 Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6.

11 The Will of Bess of Hardwick, PROB 11/11, Public Record Office, The National Archives, Kew, fols. 188r, 192v.

12 H. E. Currey, "Supplemental Notes on the Almshouse of Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury," *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 16 (1894): 1–13 at 5–6. The proximity of the almshouse and the church is illustrated in a map of the town of Derby in John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1614 [i.e., 1616], n.p. [titled "Derbieshire described, 1610"]).

13 Currey, "Supplemental Notes," 5.

14 "The Orders and Statutes made and appointed by the Right Honourable Elizabeth Countess of Shrewsbury, the 5th day of October, in the 41st year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth,"

warden of the alms house retained the key to the entrance of this portion of the church so that the poor could regularly "cleanse, dust, and sweep over the said Monument, and the place about it."[15] Thus the tomb functioned akin to other objects of church furnishing that, as stressed by Jennifer Maria DeSilva, mediated "between the building and the people who visited sacred space" and functioned as "markers for pious behavior."[16] The tomb of Bess of Hardwick was a tool in the construction of local devotional practice. As the poor men and women maintained the fabric of tomb, choir, and chancel and shaped the communal devotional calendar of the church through their regular prayer and participation in services, Cavendish family intervention in Derby created, and sought to maintain, a harmonious shared devotional identity through its display of family cohesion.

Like the tomb of Bess of Hardwick, the monument commemorating her son Sir Charles Cavendish and his wife Katherine, Baroness Ogle narrates collective harmony by staging familial unity (Figure 22.2). Katherine employed the family architect John Smythson and the poet Ben Jonson for the construction of Sir Charles's tomb, which inaugurated the Cavendish chapel at St. Mary and St. Laurence Church in Bolsover. The tomb creates a visual hierarchy that places Sir Charles, the family patriarch, at the top of the composition. The deep coffered arch, contained on either side by clusters of pillars, frames the alabaster effigy of the deceased. In a devoted position of wifely subservience, Katherine occupies his side at a slightly lower position. Their children, represented as small kneeling relief figures on the tomb chest, sit in reverence at the foot of their father's and mother's remains. This visual display of the harmonious patriarchal household is further strengthened through Jonson's epitaph on the entablature above the arch. Taking the form of the paternal voice of Sir Charles, it proclaims:

> Sonnes, seeke not me among these polish'd stones:
> these only hide part of my flesh and bones:
> …
> I made my lyfe my monument, & yours:
> to w^{ch} there's no materiall y^{t} endures;
> nor yet inscription like it write but that;
> And reach your nephwes it to æmulate:
> it will be matter lowd inoughe to tell
> not when I die'd but how I livd farewell.[17]

Addressing his "Sonnes" and their "nephwes," Sir Charles's voice emphasizes how the family order narrated by the tomb creates a continuous thread between past and future generations. Yet the monument's inward-looking dynamic draws attention to the dynasty's conspicuous stability, and thus outwardly and "loudly testifies to the family's

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in *A Collection of Fragments Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Derby*, ed. Robert Simpson, 2 vols. (Derby: G. Wilkins and Sons, 1826), 1:489–503, 496.

15 "Orders and Statutes," 496.

16 Jennifer Maria DeSilva, "Introduction: 'Piously Made': Sacred Space and the Transformation of Behavior," in *The Sacralization of Space and Behavior in the Early Modern World: Studies and Sources*, ed. Jennifer Maria DeSilva (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 1–32, 3.

17 Reproduced in London, British Library, MS Harley 4955, The Newcastle Manuscript, fol. 54v.

Figure 22.2. John Smythson. Tomb of Sir Charles Cavendish and Katherine, Baroness Ogle. Ca. 1618, alabaster. Church of St. Mary and St. Laurence, Bolsover. Eva Lauenstein.

(recently acquired) prominence" in the landscapes of Derbyshire.[18] Indeed, as posited by Sara L. French, the architecture of elite domestic space regularly extended its reach into more widely accessible public and semipublic environments in an effort to state the "patron's courtly and social ambitions."[19] The "family fiction" created through Charles's monument and the chapel participated in the creation of a narrative of Cavendish influence through the manipulation of a shared topography.

The management of collectively experienced space sought to narrate Cavendish power as an element in the creation of harmonious English landscapes. This is revealed by the account of the travel companion of Ben Jonson on his foot voyage to Scotland (1618). Contemporaneous with the tomb's construction, the account illustrates its function in shaping Cavendish identity through the monument's intervention into a natural and shared environment. During their stay at the Cavendish estate at Welbeck:

> Sir William Candish carried my gossip [Ben Jonson] to see Bolsover … to meet one Smithson, an excellent architect, who was to consult with Mr Jonson about the erection of a tomb for Sir William's father, for which my gossip was to make an epitaph.[20]

These provisions for a new Cavendish burial place and tomb were timely, since the recent death of Sir Charles precipitated his son William Cavendish's need to affirm his place as the rightful successor to his father's newfound status. Newcastle consciously did so by fashioning his father into a representation of Cavendish valour, intellect, and authority. As the company was entertained at Welbeck, Newcastle related tales of the late family patriarch as the company made use of the estate's "pleasures and commodities."[21] In the course of his narrating the bloody encounter of Charles and a group of armed men on June 18, 1599, for example, the company were shown "the spoils Sir Charles had brought away from Sir John Stanhope."[22] This story refers to a final Cavendish victory in a long-running feud with the Stanhopes.[23] Place and the creation of a "family fiction" attest to the victory of the Cavendishes in a dispute over their inheritance, lands, and titles through the appropriation of material spoils and their display at the heart of William Cavendish's network of estates. This declaration of power by Newcastle through object and place was extended into the environments beyond the walls of the private residences. As the company embarked on excursions into the landholdings surrounding Bolsover and

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18 Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 27.

19 Sara L. French, "Re-Placing Gender in Elizabethan Gardens," in *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*, ed. Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (London: Routledge, 2016), 157–76, 157.

20 James Loxley, Anna Groundwater, and Julie Sanders, ed., *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland: An Annotated Edition of the "Foot Voyage,"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 57.

21 Loxley, Groundwater, and Sanders, *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland*, 51.

22 Loxley, Groundwater, and Sanders, *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland*, 51.

23 W. T. MacCaffrey, "Talbot and Stanhope: An Episode in Elizabethan Politics," *Historical Research* 33 (1960): 73–85 at 74.

Welbeck, dominion was narrated through the landscape's surrender to Sir Charles's heir. Thus the "huge grown stags" of Welbeck estate did not fly from the approaching company but "made towards us as if to entertain us."[24] Likewise, the horses of Newcastle's stable showed such "readiness and steadiness" that it appeared that rider and beast "were both one piece."[25] The tomb formed an extension of this seemingly innate and natural rulership. Like the gardener who cultivates and controls flora through horticulture, the builder of the monument alters and conditions the natural spaces of the estates.

The construction of a narrative of family cohesion through the Cavendish chapel and the tomb of Sir Charles was part of a critical moment of transition in family structure. As the chapel expressed the harmonious and seemingly inviolable hierarchy of the dynasty through its patriarch, it participated in a wider articulation of the family's legitimacy through their successful intervention into a shared environment. As with the scenery of Bolsover and Welbeck ostensibly bending to the will of the new head of the family, the construction of the Cavendish chapel physically marks this triumph over a conquered topography.

While the tomb of Sir Charles participated in carving out new territories of Cavendish influence through a show of familial harmony, the monument of William Cavendish, 2nd Earl of Devonshire and his wife Christian Bruce Cavendish reasserted the family's ties to the civic landscape of Derby (Figure 22.3). Furthermore, as an ancestral tomb that marked the place of the remains of their son, the Royalist army officer Charles Cavendish, the monument's expression of a stable family line participates in contemporary narratives about national cohesion in the aftermath of civil war. The freestanding monument was approximately twelve feet high and took the form of a temple, supported by four pilasters forming angled corners.[26] Under the domed roof, full-length marble figures of William and Christian stood upright in anticipation of the Last Judgement. The corners of the monument were ornamented with busts of their four children: William, 3rd Earl of Devonshire; Charles, lieutenant general in the Civil War; Henry, who died in infancy; and Anne, wife of Robert Rich, 3rd Earl of Warwick.[27] Through the figures of William and Christian, shrouded and emerging from the grave on the day of their resurrection, the tomb was an expression of Christian hope in salvation. The tomb extended this hope to the coming generation through their participation in the scene's periphery. Emphasizing reconciliation in another life, the monument demonstrates the enduring ties that link family members both living and dead.

Christian's will proclaims the function of the tomb as a place of familial reunion through her wishes concerning her own, and her son Charles's, burial:

> My Bodie I commite to the Earth as aforesaid, Willing and desiring that the same together with that of my deare Sonne Charles Cavendish … (which at present is deposited in the

24 Loxley, Groundwater, and Sanders, *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland*, 55.

25 Loxley, Groundwater, and Sanders, *Ben Jonson's Walk to Scotland*, 57.

26 Pevsner, *Derbyshire*, 170. The monument is no longer extant.

27 "Churches and Chapels," in *The History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby*, ed. Thomas Noble, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Derby: Mozley, 1833), 462–504, 465.

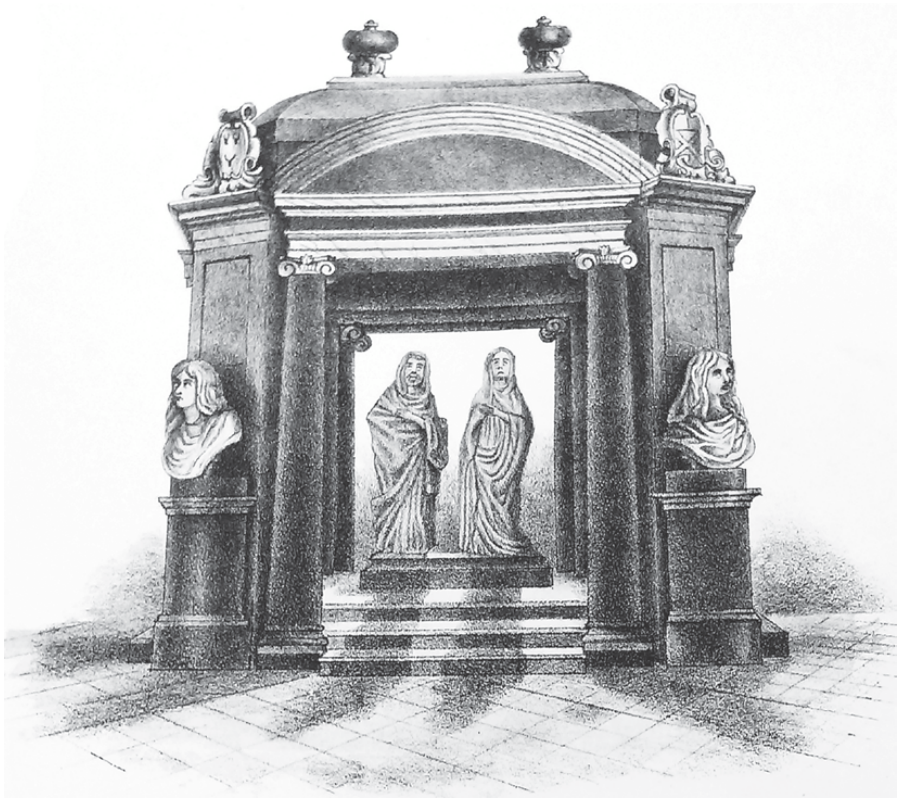

Figure 22.3. Engraving of the tomb of William Cavendish, 2nd Earl of Devonshire and his wife Christian Bruce Cavendish after George Bailey (monument no longer extant). George Bailey, *Monument to William Second Earl of Devonshire & Christian his wife*. From John Charles Cox, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church or Free Chapel of All Saints, Derby … Illustrated by George Bailey*. Derby: Bemrose & Sons, 1881. Plate VIII. © British Library. Photograph: Eva Lauenstein.

> Church of Newarke, hee being slayne not farer from that place in his Majesties Service) may … be carryed by the way of Newarke aforesaid be thence removed, and both together interred at the same tyme in the Vault of St Alhallowes Chancell in the Towne of Derby next to the Corps of my deare Lord and husband the late Earle of Devonshire.[28]

Arranging for Charles's exhumation from Newark, where he fell in battle in "his Majesties Service," Christian employs the reconciliation of the material bodies of the family within All Saints to express the enduring power of the family in the landscape of Derbyshire.

28 The Will of Christian Countess of Devonshire, Dowager, PROB 11/348/99, Public Record Office, The National Archives, Kew, fols. 73v–74r.

At the same time, the relocation of Charles's body to his ancestral burial place functioned as a powerful public ritual that employed familial reunion as a signifier for the mending of national ruptures created through the Civil War. This is expressed in the funeral sermon by William Nailour, read at Charles's reburial:

> In this Church brave *Cavendish* fell, and what is more then that, in this Churches quarrel. *Abner* troubled *Israel*, though he fell in it; for he made an head, and drew his Sword against a King of Gods choosing: but *Cavendish* sided with such a King, and fought in defence of him and the Church against a generation of men, who cursed all them bitterly that came not in to the help of the Lord against the Mighty, this was the language of their *Demagogues*, thus it pleased them to Christian Rebellion.[29]

Employing biblical allegory, Nailour juxtaposes the military lieutenant general Charles with Abner, the Old Testament commander. Unlike Abner, who "troubled Israel" through his support of the wrongful ruler Ish-bosheth, Charles sided with rightful rule, Charles II. Charles's position in the Civil War places him in a teleological battle in which he defends "the Church against a generation of men," "Demagogues," that stir not only political but "Christian Rebellion" against a "King of Gods choosing." Simultaneously, Nailour affirms the role of place through his allegory, implicating Derby in the narrative of the Kingdom's return to national unity under one godly appointed ruler. As Charles is contrasted with Abner and the heir to the English throne likened to David, the place of the Lieutenant General's interment becomes Hebron, the city in which kingship of all Israel was eventually conferred on David. Nailour fashions the tomb's display of Cavendish family integrity into an account of the reunion of a fractured British Kingdom. Furthermore, he employs Charles's burial to intimate the dynasty's participation in the negotiation of eventual peace and unity in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. As Derby becomes the place where the new David unifies the new Israel and Judah, Charles becomes a public symbol of a fashioned, national, and linear cosmology that saw factionalism turned into union.

The monument created by Margaret Cavendish in her play *Bell in Campo*, probably composed during her exile at the Rubenshuis in Antwerp, similarly negotiates civil war discord by employing the tomb's value as a place of familial harmony. The mausoleum complex built by the war widow Madam Jantil discloses the significance of the monument in declaring social status and belonging during a time when Margaret was unable to shape the landscapes she called home. Margaret employs the written word in lieu of physical building materials to convey dominion and ownership through the tomb.

Like the reburial of lieutenant general Charles in his father's monument, Jantil's act of building discloses the value of family unity in devising narratives of national cohesion. After her husband's death in battle, Jantil hires "the best and curioust Carvers or Cutters of Stones" to build a freestanding monument occupying the landscapes of her

29 William Nailour, *A Commemoration Sermon Preached at Darby, Feb. 18, 1674, for the Honourable Colonel Charles Cavendish, Slain in the Service of King Charles the First, before Gainsborough in the Year 1643* (London, 1675), 22.

and her husband's estates.[30] Enclosed by a "Wall of Brick of a reasonable height" and a "grove of Trees," the tomb of Seigneur Valeroso is the central feature of the construction, supported by "four Marble Pillars" and surmounted by "an Arched Marble Cover."[31] Two "Statues, one for *Mercury*, and another for *Pallas*" couch the head of the effigy, and the figures of Mars and Hymen clasp Valeroso's hands.[32] Jantil orchestrates the figurative grief and mourning of the classical figures, as she chooses to enclose herself in her husband's monument. Like the tomb of Sir Charles, Jantil's monument expresses family coherence through the power of the head of the household. As Jantil takes her place at the foot of the monument in prayer, the classical gods, like the children of the early modern family tomb, communicate the deceased's status through their subservient positions at the hands of the male patriarch. Additionally, Jantil's enclosure removes her from a marriage economy affected by the destabilizing effects of civil strife. When a parade of young gallants hope to marry into wealth and status, Jantil's seclusion becomes representative of the endurance of her family's established and ancient status. The young courter Compagnion comments on this when he uneasily reflects on Jantil's inaccessibility. The "noblest, youngest, richest, and fairest Widow is gone," not because she is "promised or married," but because she is "incloistered, and that is worse than marriage."[33] The mausoleum allows Jantil to fashion herself into a highly visible symbol of the continuing power of a pre-war order.

While Margaret employs the tomb fictionally as an antidote to the threat that civil war explicitly poses to the integrity of the wealthy landed gentry, she likewise seeks to show how the monument could impose wider social coherence. Thus, like Bess's tomb in Derby, Jantil's mausoleum was not only a place for exhibiting lineage but an instrument in shaping collective environments. Jantil's will transforms the private and inward-looking burial space of a harmonious patriarchal family into an outward-facing and public place of ascetic contemplation intended to heal the divides of a war-torn society:

> *Item, I give a thousand pounds a year to maintain ten religious persons to live in this place or House by this Tomb.*
> *Item, I give three thousand pounds to enlarge the House, and three thousand pounds more to build a Chapell by my Husbands Tomb.*
> *Item, Two hundred pounds a year I give for the use and repair of the House and Chapell.*[34]

Beyond ensuring the maintenance of her husband's tomb, Jantil's will focuses on the future potential of the funeral complex as a "*Chapell*" and, through the extension of the living quarters, as the perpetual home of "*ten religious persons*." The mausoleum is transformed into a religious house that intrudes into the civic landscape of the fictional

30 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, "Bell in Campo," in *Playes Written by the Thrice Noble, Illustrious and Excellent Princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London, 1662), 579–633, pt. 1, 4.21, 599.

31 Cavendish, "Bell in Campo", pt. 1, 4.21, 600.

32 Cavendish, "Bell in Campo", pt. 1, 4.21, 599.

33 Cavendish, "Bell in Campo", pt. 2, 3.9, 618.

34 Cavendish, "Bell in Campo", pt. 2, 4.19, 628.

kingdom, enacting order and harmony into a fractured society. That Margaret understood the ascetic community of *Bell in Campo* to function in such a way is elucidated by a tract entitled "A Monastical Life" in her miscellany, *The Worlds Olio* (1655). Here, she outlines the public benefits of religious communal living. Above all, it is "Good example" that the religious community provides. Asceticism promotes a "habit of sobriety" that facilitates political order as the "Church busies the people, and keeps their mindes in peace, so that these monastical men, which are the Church, is the nurse to quiet the people."[35] To Cavendish, such religious order facilitates political control. Coenobitic living "is beneficial to the State, for it Amuses the Common people and busies their mindes, … to keep out murmur and discontent, which is got by idlenesse, which is the cause of rebellion."[36] As the "religious persons" of Jantil's monument enact a devotional calendar, they actively provide "recreation" and "pastime" that draw the community together and away from political revolt.

As has been shown, the Cavendish family employed the funeral monument to impose collective harmony in the landscapes of their urban and rural seats of power. They engaged the patriarchal family structure as a representation of orderly society. From Sir Charles's tomb that proclaimed Cavendish dominion over a shared natural landscape to lieutenant general Charles's interment that was meant to be viewed as an illustration of the resolution of civil war, the tombs of Cavendish men expressed a societal ideal of order through patrilineality. Yet, as the monument of Bess intimates, the Cavendish ascent to power was facilitated by women. Furthermore, as alluded to by Margaret in *The Life*, it was the advantageous marriages to female heirs that provided the financial and social means to build on the foundations laid by Bess. Thus, while the tombs provide imagery of a robust patriarchal family structure, a knowing audience was aware of the significant part the Cavendish women played in the continued success of the family line. Despite its focus on male lineage, the tomb was a vehicle for the expression of such female participation. This reading of the Cavendish monuments, however, is anchored in a language of commemoration provided through textual forms of remembrance. The elegies written in dedication of Bess, Katherine, Christian, and Margaret relate how their tombs acted as sites for the expression of the female role in the perpetuation of family coherence and stability. In the commemorative verse compiled for all four women, writers used the phoenix and her nest to intimate the significant role of women in the fashioning of Cavendish family identity.

Thomas Dekker's collection of prayers entitled *Foure Birds of Noahs Arke* (1609) recounts how the phoenix and her nest were intimately bound into an *ars moriendi* culture of the early seventeenth century. It also reveals the significance of gender in the construction of space in which the drama of death and rebirth was enacted. To Dekker, the phoenix is "a figure of Christ" and thus representative of the blessings conferred through

35 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *The Worlds Olio Written by the Right Honorable, the Lady Margaret Newcastle* (London, 1655), 29–30.

36 Cavendish, *Worlds Olio*, 30.

the Passion and Resurrection. The phoenix's sacrifice and rebirth are enabled through the act of constructing a nest:

> *When the* Phoenix *knoweth shee must die, shee buildeth a nest of al the sweetest spices, and there looking stedfastly on the Sunne: shee beateth her wings in his hottest beames, and betweene thē kindleth a fire amongst those sweet spices, & so burneth her selfe to death. … Out of those dead ashes of the Phoenix, doeth a new Phoenix arise.*[37]

Building a "*nest of al the sweetest spices*," the phoenix facilitates her sacrifice and her eventual return in the form of her offspring. Thus, despite the phoenix's association with Jesus, her nest, a "place in which a person … lives or finds rest," relies on a gendered language of motherly nurture.[38] Not only is Dekker's phoenix female, but the abode she builds represents the believer's travel from life to afterlife as a return to the body of the mother: from the "wombes of our mothers" to the "womb of the earth."[39] While the phoenix was an image of Christ, her creation of the place of rebirth was an act of female and maternal care.

Like the nest, the tomb was a place in which birth, death, and eventual resurrection converged. Several writers exploited this relationship to stress the critical role of women in the creation of family lineage. William Sampson describes Bess's tomb as the central "spycie nest" of the phoenix that gave rise to the Cavendish dynasty.[40] Ben Jonson's epitaph dedicated to Katherine Ogle frames her tomb as the nest of the phoenix, the place where the "warme … spice" of Katherine's "good name" is collected for the benefit of her "Children, and Grand=children."[41] Christian's elegy dismisses the "Vulgar Spice and Gums" of the ink of commendatory verse to emphasize the tomb as the true location of her fragrant virtue.[42] Clergyman Clement Ellis formulates Margaret's literary corpus as the nest of the phoenix that "can never dye."[43] Characterized as the nurturing phoenix that sacrifices her life for the next generation, Cavendish women were portrayed as instrumental in the creation and perpetuation of family lineage through their monuments. As the primary actors behind the erection of all the aforementioned tombs, the textual monuments of Bess, Katherine, Christian, and Margaret served to cue a contemporary audience to their significant roles as the builders and maintainers of their family.

All texts use female sacrifice as a leading sign for the family's lasting integrity. Thus Bess's display of her power and influence through the monument is redefined

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37 Thomas Dekker, *Foure Birds of Noahs Arke* (London, 1609), sigs. I5v–I6r.

38 "nest, n.," *OED Online*.

39 Dekker, *Foure Birds*, 11.

40 William Sampson, *Virtus post funera viuit or, Honour Tryumphing Over Death. Being True Epitomes of Honourable, Noble, Learned, and Hospitable Personages* (London, 1636), 5.

41 MS Harley 4955, fol. 55r.

42 *An Elegy on the Truly Honourable, and Most Virtuous, Charitable, and Pious Lady, Countesse of Devonshire, who Lately Departed this Life, Being a Hundred and Odd Years of Age, whose Corps Now Lies in Deserved State in Holbourn* (London, 1675), n.p.

43 *A Collection of Letters and Poems: Written by Several persons of Honour and Learning, Upon Divers Important Subjects, to the Late Duke and Dutchess of Newcastle* (London, 1678), 175.

by Sampson as the act of a caring matriarch who ensures the afterlife of her sons and daughters by building a "nest."[44] While the gathering of the rarest spices communicates the amalgamation of power by the Cavendishes, Bess, as the phoenix, becomes the figure who brings the family together in life through birth and in death through interment. Sampson's portrayal of Bess serves to remind the reader of her function as the founder of a powerful (male) line and de-emphasizes her other motives for her shrewd management of her finances, estates, and marriage alliances. His verse draws attention to how Bess's monument marked the successful acquisition of the south aisle of All Saints from the Corporation of Derby and the foundation of the family's future private crypt.[45] Her tomb becomes the nest that illustrates the birth of a dynasty, the return of its members in death to be laid to rest, and the continual rebirth of the line through its constituent members. Employing the phoenix and her nest, Sampson recasts Bess's consolidation of power, wealth, and status as an act of matriarchal nurture.

Jonson's elegy acknowledges that the intended audience of commemorative text and tomb understood that Katherine Ogle played a significant role in legacy-building despite her effigy's ostensibly subservient position on the monument in Bolsover. Casting Katherine's tomb as the place from where her virtue emanates like the fragrance of the phoenix's nest, the place of her husband's interment is, for a moment, transformed into the space that allows future generations to draw on his wife for a worthy image for imitation. Additionally, casting Katherine as the phoenix and her tomb as her nest serves to underscore Ogle's vital role in the construction of Cavendish authority. Katherine was instrumental in buttressing family wealth and status by acquiring the title Baroness Ogle in her own right after the death of her father Cuthbert without male issue. Thanks to her doing so, her subsequent male descendants would carry one of the most established and ancient titles of the English ruling class. Eternalizing publicly the transmission of an old title, Katherine's place of burial served lastingly to illustrate the fusion of an emerging Cavendish dynasty with England's established landed gentry. Such an act of conciliation by a woman was ideally expressed through the gendered language of the phoenix. Jonson's verse allows the reader to view the fiercely patrilineal imagery of Sir Charles's tomb as an illustration of idealized female and maternal sacrifice. By framing Ogle's legacy-building through the tomb as the phoenix's nest-building, Jonson rearticulates Katherine's management of the family's image as a natural act of wifely duty and motherly care. That Ogle participated in such a reading of her part in the family's self-fashioning is readily expressed by an additional epitaph on the Bolsover monument, probably penned by Katherine. Collecting the titles and corporeal bodies of her family, Ogle declares that the tomb she commissioned would serve to "gather," "in their time," all the members of her family in one place, in the collective hope of "the happy hower of resvrrection."

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44 Sampson, *Virtus post funera viuit*, 5.

45 Lawrence Butler and Richard Morris, "Derby Cathedral: The Cavendish Vault," *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 114 (1994): 14–28 at 14.

Christian's elegy relies on this established language for speaking about female participation in family identity-building. Furthermore, the use of a language associated with the phoenix illustrates her role as a representation of national reconciliation alongside her son, Charles. As the anonymous author of *An Elegy on the … Countesse of Devonshire* (1675) describes Christian as a "fair Temple, and her heart a shrine," he seeks to dismiss written words of praise in favour of her remains and their place of burial, the true location of the "Spice" of the deceased's virtue. He encourages the reader to prioritize good deeds over praise and facts over fiction; the materiality of body and tomb becomes representative of the author's wish to present the tangible evidence of Christian's qualities. Drawing on a language of idealized womanly nurture by evoking the "Spice" of the phoenix's nest, he reminds his reader of Christian's responsibility in overseeing the wealth and status of her "Relations Dear."[46] Christian became the "*de facto* head of her family" through her husband's premature death.[47] Known for her astute handling of her finances, she brought stability and order to the estate of the future 3rd Earl of Devonshire. The author makes clear, however, that her "Marble Tomb" also conveys her dedication to church and country as her virtues intimate her "Strictly Religious" nature and her "firm loyalty."[48] These lines appear to relate Christian's efforts for the Royalist cause during the Civil War and Interregnum. Her residence at Roehampton, for example, became a centre for a Royalist political conspiracy that sought to return the exiled Charles II from abroad.[49] The description of her place of burial evoked the nest of the phoenix and serves to highlight her role in the maintenance of Cavendish family status during a time of crisis. Simultaneously, such language supports that employed by Nailour, who fashioned her, her husband's, and her son's place of interment into a representation of Royalist efforts in bringing about national conciliation under Charles II.

Margaret, unlike her predecessors, felt that her capacity as a female custodian and creator of places was compromised. The defining role that exile played in her writing makes this evident. But, as it did for Bess, Katherine, and Christian, place became the vehicle through which Margaret created "family fictions." Instead of doing so using the physical monument, she chose to do so with her writing. Nowhere is this more strikingly illustrated than in *The Life*, where the process of charting the destruction of Cavendish estates indirectly serves to confirm the family's continuing influence through landscape:

1. *Clipston*-Park and Woods cut down to the value of 20000 l.
2. *Kirkby*-Woods, for which my Lord was formerly proferr'd 10000 l.

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46 *An Elegy*, n.p.

47 Victor Stater, "Cavendish, Christian, Countess of Devonshire (1595–1675)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

48 *An Elegy*, n.p.

49 Roy Hattersley, *The Devonshires: The Story of a Family and Nation* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2013), 132, 146; Thomas Pomfret, *The Life of the Right Honourable and Religious Lady Christian Late Countess Dowager of Devonshire* (London, 1685), 59.

3. Woods cut down in *Derbyshire* 8000 l.
4. *Red-logd-Wood*, *Rome*-wood and others near *Welbeck* 4000 l.
5. Woods cut down in *Stafford*-shire 1000 l.
6. Woods cut down in *York*-shire 1000 l.
7. Woods cut down in *Northumberland* 1500 l.

The *Total* 45000 l.[50]

Margaret recounts in several lists the extent of destruction to the Cavendish landholdings, ensuring that their rightful ownership is remembered for posterity. By doing this she places the act of writing alongside her husband's active participation in the Civil War. While Newcastle supported the cause of his sovereign through "War and Fighting," Margaret instead participated through "Contemplating and Writing."[51]

Despite choosing writing over monumental commemoration, Margaret believed tombs and texts to have an important and mutually supportive relationship. On the one hand, she argues in *The Worlds Olio* that "stately Monuments" construct the public image and fame of "Learned Authors."[52] On the other, she uses funerary art to describe literary works she believed to be better able to fulfill the former's promise of weathering "Time, Accidents, and the Rage of Wars" in the *Sociable Letters* (1664).[53] However, both worked in tandem to create the public image of "a Kingdome in a Flourishing Condition." Monuments and books, Margaret writes, are therefore important tools for those with social and political power. The "Royal Ruler" should invest in the production of both because, alongside "Crowns, Scepters, and Thrones," they are objects that forcefully demonstrate his ability to "hold Power, and keep up Authority, making Obedience, Fear, and Subjection."[54] That Margaret believed that literature and mortuary culture also ensured the status of a country's elite is demonstrated by her and her husband's funeral monument in Westminster Abbey. The marble tomb is located in the north transept and consists of a large tomb chest surmounted by the recumbent effigies of William, wearing the Order of the Garter, and Margaret, holding an open book and ink horn. Seven clasped volumes decorate the base of the tomb's south end. Tucked into a shelf and neatly tied with ribbon, the monumental volumes are visually reminiscent of the large folio presentation volumes of Margaret's works she distributed to university libraries, from Leyden to Cambridge.[55] By taking up space on tombs and in libraries, Margaret's books become physical objects that stake out the authority of her family, not unlike the tombs of her

50 Cavendish, *Life*, 102.

51 Cavendish, *Life*, sig. B1r.

52 Cavendish, *Worlds Olio*, 207.

53 Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *CCXI Sociable Letters* (London, 1664), 227.

54 Cavendish, *Worlds Olio*, 207.

55 On Cavendish's presentation copies, see Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, *Forms of Engagement: Women, Poetry and Culture 1640–1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 76–77, and James Fitzmaurice, "Margaret Cavendish on Her Own Writing: Evidence from Revision and Handmade Correction," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 85 (1991): 297–307.

Figure 22.4. Grinling Gibbons. Tomb of William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle and Margaret Lucas Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (detail). Before 1676, marble. Westminster Abbey, London. © Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

female kin. In life, Margaret used text in lieu of the "stately Monument" to support her family's claims to land, status, and power. In death, funerary architecture works to physically insert her writing into the symbolic heart of social and political power (Figure 22.4).

Ellis's commendatory verse echoes the iconography of her monument. In it, her literature becomes the monument that ensures the survival of the Cavendishes in the memory of future generations. Instead of the physical tomb, her literary canon becomes the phoenix's nest where her fame and her family's past are continually reborn. To Ellis, her "Tombe, where she doth lie" is also her writing "Closet" and, by extension, "our great Library."[56] As the monument is recast as the collection of her works,

56 *A Collection of Letters and Poems*, 175.

Margaret's "big words" become the "silent Ashes" that "restore / Us such a *Phoenix*" who will perpetually find "new Forme" in the generations of readers to come.[57] In this way, the Cavendish family claim to lands, recounted in *The Life*, outlives Margaret and Newcastle, ensuring stability and continuity like the monuments of their predecessors. Employing the language associated with the phoenix's nest, the place of internment allows Ellis to communicate how Margaret's literary corpus functioned as a concrete and lasting sign of her family's status, not unlike the monuments commissioned by Bess, Katherine, and Christian.

In the preface to *Virtus post funera viuit* (1636), William Sampson characterizes Newcastle and his ancestors as "*the* Sanctuary *to whose high* Altar *of goodnes, I alwaies flie too for redresse in all extreames*."[58] As has been shown through several tombs of eminent members of the family, the commemorative space was indeed such a place of "Sanctuary," where family narratives were transformed into wider collective fictions of shared harmony and order. From the significance of Bess's monument that formed the foundation of a charitable web of institutions, to the fictional Madam Jantil and her act of building to counteract civil war disorder, the tomb was a tool for inscribing landholdings with narratives of peace, order, and prosperity through the presentation of strong, enduring, and inviolable patrilineality. Yet, as seen in the commemorative texts that accompanied the building and writing of monuments, contemporary writers sought ways to express the critical function played by women in fashioning such patriarchal narratives of familial and national harmony. As writers such as Ben Jonson, William Sampson, and Clement Ellis used the phoenix's nest to frame the place of burial of Cavendish women, they sought to disclose their critical function in the foundation, maintenance, and future of the dynasty.

The interaction of text and place, and the female and the male, defines the framework of Sampson's text. The title of his book of commemorative verse honouring the Cavendish family is also the motto of the civic heraldry of Nottingham. Like Bess's tomb, it displays the reciprocal relationship between individual commemoration and collective identity as the memory of the Cavendish line becomes intertwined with local identity markers. At the same time, *virtus post funera vivit* (virtue outlives death) was the motto appended to the phoenix in at least one popular early modern emblem book.[59] A contemporary audience was probably much more readily aware of the significant function of the maternal act of conciliation (expressed through the phoenix) in the ascent of the Cavendish family to power. As collective and domestic identities merge through the material tomb, textual commemoration highlighted female participation in narratives of family unity, and thereby proclaimed women's roles in the construction of fictions of public, societal unity.

57 *A Collection of Letters and Poems*, 176.

58 Sampson, *Virtus post funera viuit*, sig. A2v.

59 Jean Jacques Boissard, *Emlematum liber. Emblemes latins* (Metz, 1588), 47.

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