
Grimsthorpe Castle at the Photographic Survey Archive

Three battle pictures at Grimsthorpe Castle

Three pictures stand out in the Courtauld Institute's Photographic Survey archive of the collection at Grimsthorpe Castle.ⁱ They reproduce a series of three paintings with a common format and composition depicting scenes of battle.ⁱⁱ

Grimsthorpe Castle

Attr. Louis Laguerre



Battle of Blenheim 1704, Morning west staircase



Battle of Ramillies 1706 west staircase
surrender of Marshall Tallard

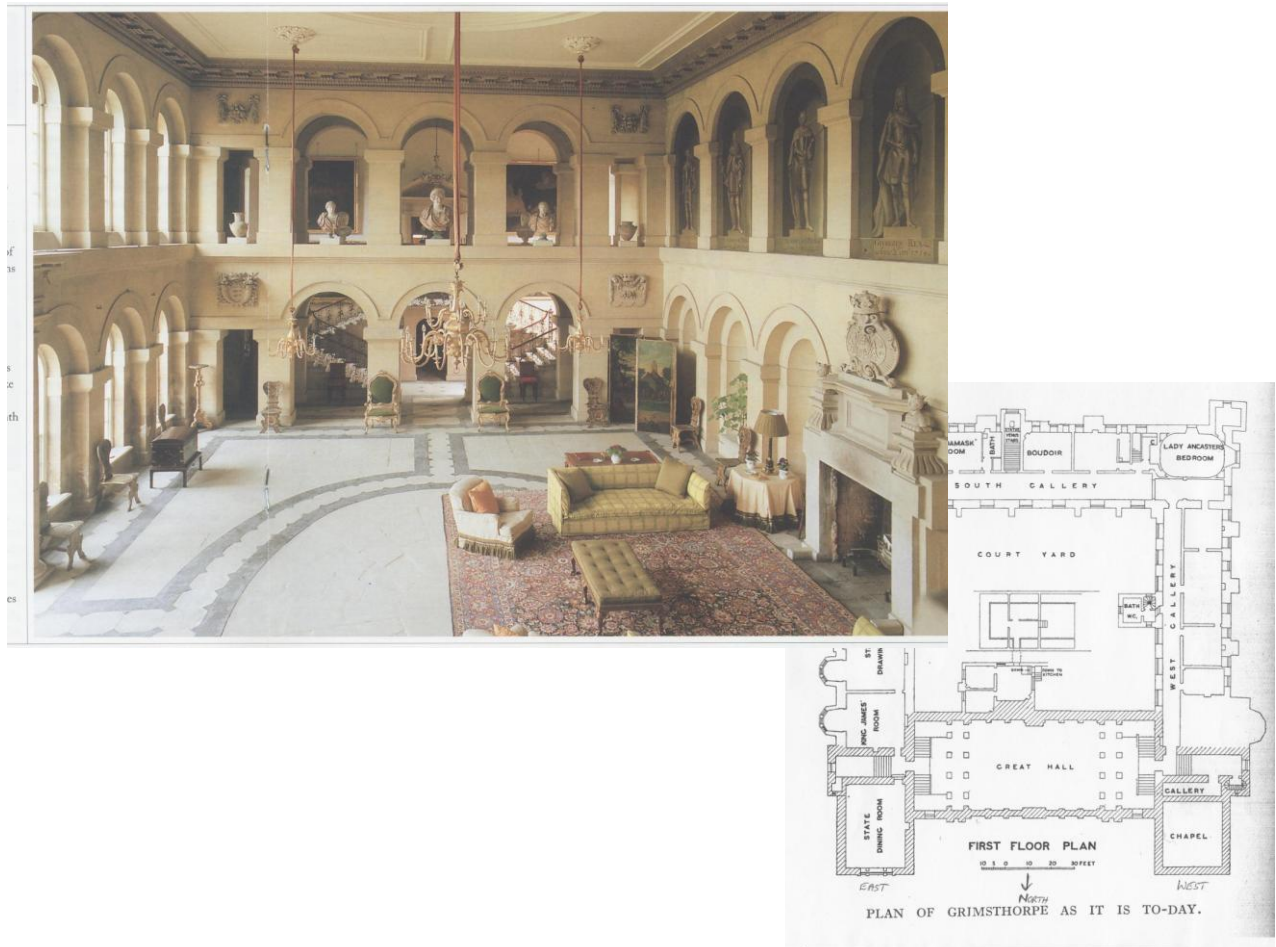


Battle of Blenheim 1704, Evening east staircase

The common subject is the series of victorious battles in the Duke of Marlborough's campaign 1704-1709 during the War of Spanish Succession. Two represent scenes of the Battle of Blenheim in 1704 showing the Duke of Marlborough with his commanders, one representing the *Morning* with figures on fresh horses anticipating battle and the other *Evening* showing the surrender of Maréchal Tallard. The third represents the later Battle of

Ramillies in 1706, and the death of Colonel Bingfield. The paintings hang in the stairwells at each end of the great Hall at Grimsthorpe Castle, which was designed by John Vanbrugh by 1723.

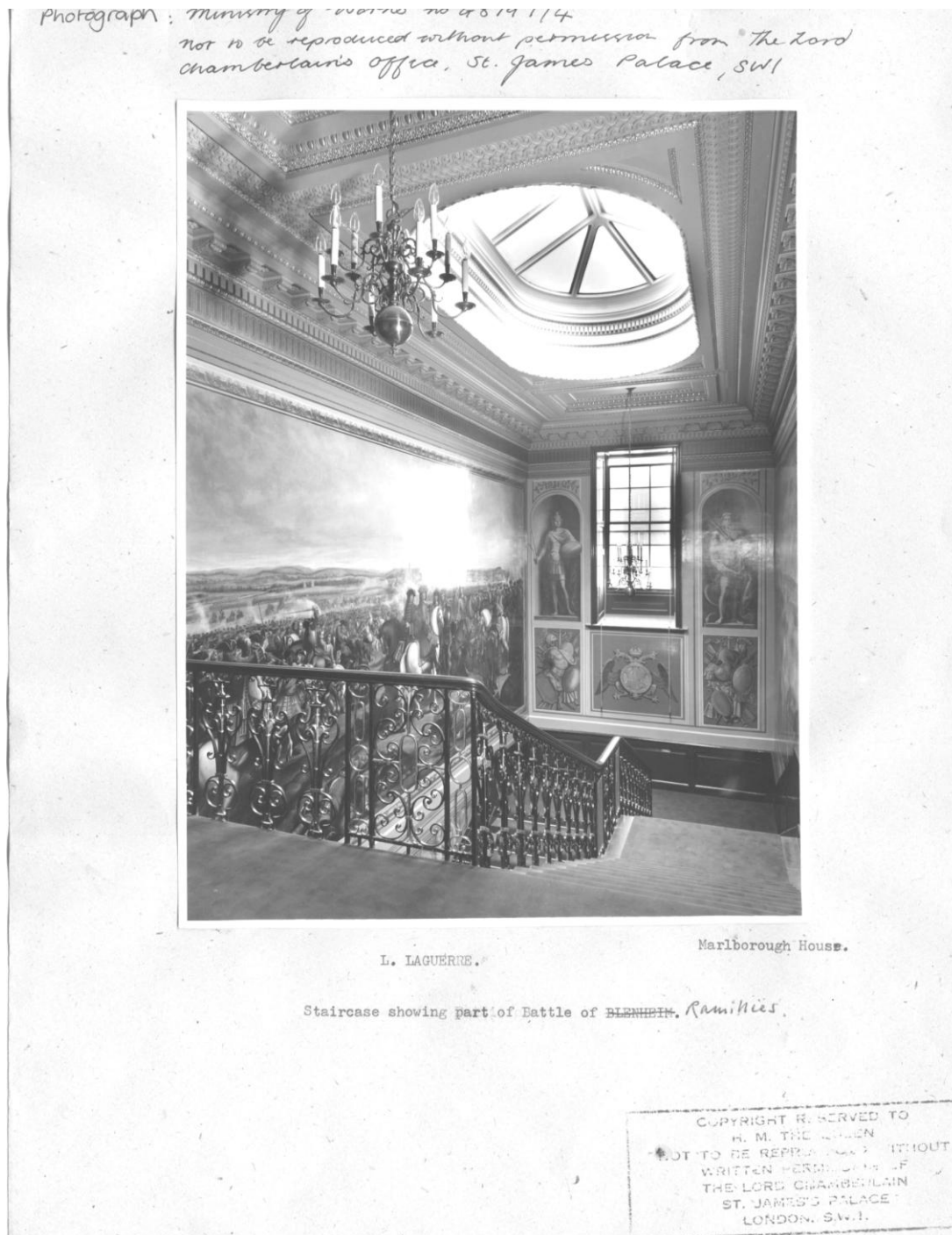
Grimsthorpe Castle Great Hall



The paintings are attributed to Louis Laguerre (1663-1721) and the set of battle pictures is distinctive in the work of the decorative painter principally known for allegorical schemes of mural decoration. An assessment of the significance of these paintings at Grimsthorpe brings into focus this French painter's role in the development imagery celebrating the Duke of Marlborough's victorious achievements.

The photographic surveys of the paintings at Grimsthorpe were made by the Photographic Survey department of the Courtauld Institute in 1980 and in 2000. The appraisal of the paintings presented in this paper is made from research in the photographic records of this department and of the Witt Library. The records are invariably in the form of black and white photographs dating over a broad span of years. The earliest photographs used in this research are of the interior stairwells of Marlborough House before the restoration of the mural paintings in 1959-1961 and a later set records the paintings on site after restoration.

These photographs of the interiors of Marlborough House are mounted individually on the Witt Library cards annotated and stamped with the Lord Chamberlain's Office copyright.



Other photographs used in this study are the result of intensive survey work in the decade of the 1980s, to which the first of the Grimsthorpe surveys belongs.ⁱⁱⁱ The overall consistency of the black and white images selected for this research demonstrates the value of these photographic archives for study and the findings acknowledge the complimentary structures of the libraries facilitating cross-reference. However, study with these resources highlights the problems of work based on photographic documentation. The quality of the photographs

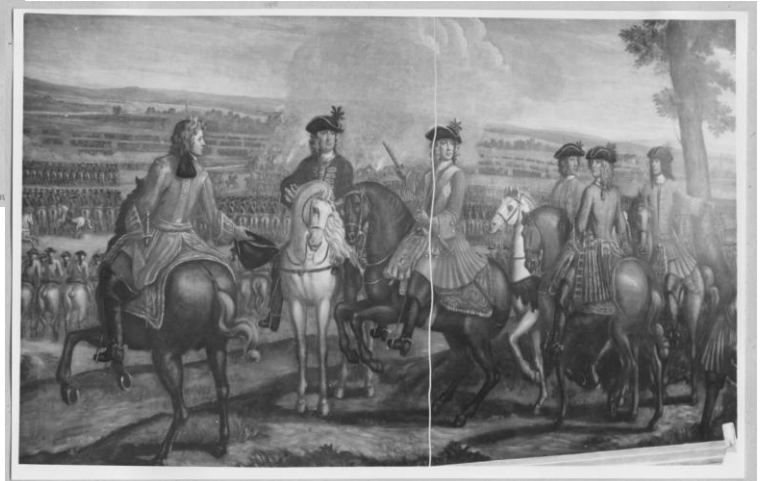
of the paintings in question is jeopardised by the constraints of the site on photography and the lack of colour images handicaps recognising the identity of the figures definitively.

The attribution of the three paintings at Grimsthorpe to Laguerre rests on their resemblance to the pictures of Marlborough's victories in the Saloon and in the two stairwells at Marlborough House in London, attributed to Laguerre variously from 1710 to 1713.^{iv}



Marlborough House

Battle of Blenheim, Morning - detail



Laguerre's scheme at Marlborough House is built on representing each of the four decisive battles of the campaign, each depicted in two separate compositions showing different aspects of the event. The chronological sequence of battles begins with the victory at Blenheim (Hockstett) in 1704, followed by the success at Ramillies in 1706 and the battle of Oudernarde in 1708 and ends with the battle of Malplaquet (Tenier) in 1709 [BROM 4689]. These mural compositions of contemporary events are the earliest examples of modern history painting by Laguerre and further enquiry reveals him as an influential contributor to the genre. Laguerre's representation of the Duchess of Somerset triumphant at the head of her family on the staircase walls of Petworth House after 1714 shows this painter tackling subjects of recent history at the time.^v The ceiling painting in the Saloon at Blenheim

representing the apotheosis of the Duke of Marlborough in 1720 attests to the demand for this painter's treatment of recent history. This aspect of Laguerre's work developed during the second decade of the 18th century is prefigured in his design for a tapestry panel for the House of Lords in 1706 commemorating the union of Scotland with England, depicting Queen Anne receiving the Act of Union.^{vi} His renown as a versatile interpreter of national history is gleaned from George Vertue's reference to another tapestry design incorporating Queen Anne and the Duke of Marlborough and again in another design for enamel on copper showing the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene presented to Queen Anne by the allegorical figure of Victory.

The battle paintings at Marlborough House on the subject of Marlborough's victories exemplify a model which was repeatedly reproduced. The Witt Library's archive on Louis Laguerre contains photographs of the series of eight paintings reproducing scenes of the campaign at Plas Newydd in Anglesey, where they are hung in the Staircase Hall furnished in 1798.^{vii}



Plas Newydd

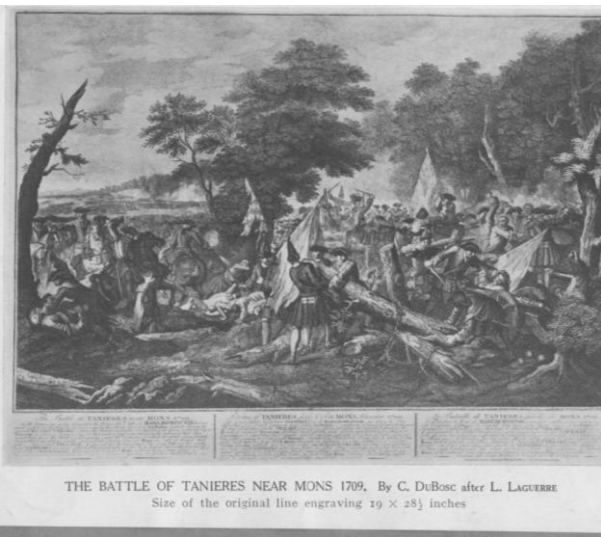
- Blenheim, Morning
- Blenheim, Evening
- Battle of Ramillies



The Witt library holding also contains photographs of a series of four paintings in the collection of the Earl of Dunraven at Adare, again after the model of the Marlborough House series.^{viii} Another photograph records a canvas of the *Battle of Malplaquet* after Laguerre's series, preserved at the National Army Museum (Hospital Road) London. In addition to paintings, the Laguerre green box contains a photograph of an engraving by *C du Bosc* of one of the compositions of the series, the *Battle of Malplaquet, 1709*.^{ix}



Adare
Battle of
Ramillies



Print
Battle of Tanieres/Malplaquet 1709
C duBosc, after Laguerre

These sets of paintings derived from the mural paintings at Marlborough House reflect the demand in England for imagery commemorating the role of the Duke of Marlborough commanding the English army in an alliance successfully checking the European ambitions of the French king Louis XIV. The promotion of the Duke of Marlborough as a national hero in popular acclaim is traced further in the picture described as a *large Triumph of the Duke of Marlborough* by the Venetian painter Santo Piatti listed as Lot 31 in the Earl of Cadogan's

sale, 21 February 1726.^x The first Earl of Cadogan, William (1663-1721), was Marlborough's chief staff officer in all the campaigns and he sat for Laguerre c. 1716.^{xi} The payment given to Francesco Sleter in 1740 for a large picture measuring 8 x 12 feet representing the *Triumph of the Duke of Marlborough* after the Battle of Blenheim attests to the enduring demand for these images.^{xii}

Laguerre's work at Marlborough House is at the forefront of the formative period of this imagery of Marlborough triumphant, following swiftly on the campaign itself. The pictures at Marlborough House dated between 1710 and 1713 were painted in the aftermath of the battle of Malplaquet in 1709 concluding the sequence of definitive battles after which negotiations for the treaties of Utrecht lasted until 1715. The ceiling apotheosis of Marlborough at Blenheim in 1720 is therefore a climactic point in the celebration of national military and diplomatic endeavour.

In the wake of the campaign, the set of paintings at Grimsthorpe demonstrate a specific approach to representing scenes of combat. They are distinct from the dramatic animation and brutal realism of battle pictures epitomised in the two paintings entitled *Cavalry Skirmish* attributed to Jean Courtois at Grimsthorpe.^{xiii}



J. Courtois *Cavalry Skirmish* Grimsthorpe Castle

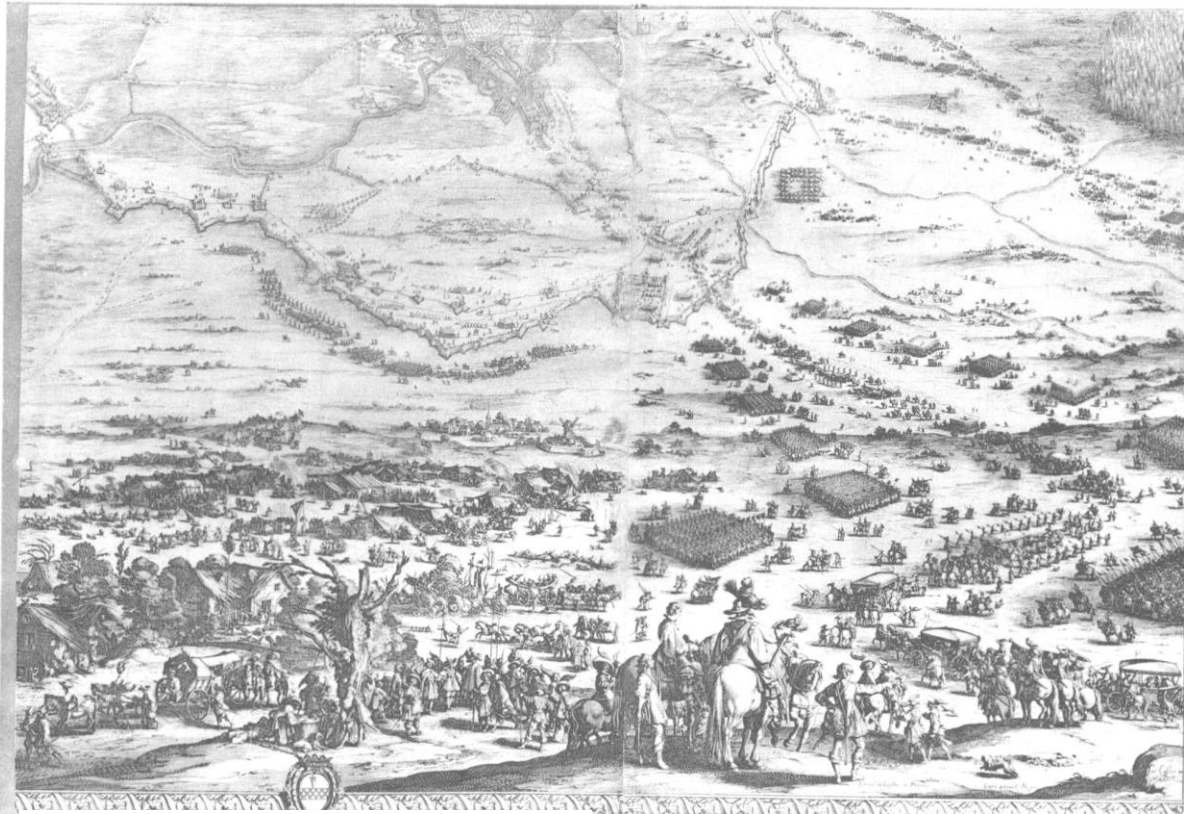
Jean Pierre Courtois (active 1620-25) was the elder of a family of painters from the Franche-Comté with successful careers in Italy where they were known as Cortese. The elder son Giacomo/Iacopo-Jacques Courtois (b. 1621, Franche-Comté – d. 1675, Rome) enjoyed considerable renown for popularising decorative battle scenes, some of real incidents. On the strength of this, I venture to suggest that the two paintings at Grimsthorpe should be re-attributed to the younger painter, whose shared initials may be the source of confusion with the elder painter, his father.

In contrast to Courtois' abstract treatment of combat, Laguerre's scenes of battle are each identified with precision, the pair representing the Battle of Blenheim demonstrating a concern for actuality in treating the conditions of the morning and of the evening. The concern for actuality is enhanced by the panoramic format of the compositions offering the scope to combine several aspects of each episode simultaneously. In the *Battle of Blenheim Morning*, the victorious repulse of 4,000 enemy troops into the Danube is depicted in the left of the landscape behind the foreground scene showing the surrender of Maréchal Tallard. The treatment of the landscape itself aspires to topographical exactitude, showing the village of Blenheim at the centre of the conflict. The focus on the military leaders portrayed formally in the foreground of the composition situated on an elevated site overlooking the battle shifts the viewpoint from the centre of conflict to an Olympian elevation offering an objective perspective on the campaign as a whole.

This distinctive approach to representing battle belongs to a tradition developing during the preceding hundred years. It characterises the treatment of military success in the campaign of the earlier French king Louis XIII against Huguenot resistance commissioned from Jacques Callot (1592-1635).¹ The images of Callot's two large engravings commemorating the successful sieges of the Huguenot stronghold in the port of La Rochelle (1627-1628) and of the island of St. Martin de Ré in the Witt library's archive on Callot consist of a virtuoso composition integrating cartography and scenography and portraying mounted military leaders on a commanding high point above the scene of battle represented as a map.^{xiv} The French king's patronage of Callot acknowledged Callot's concern for documentary exactitude characterising his monumental engraving of the Siege of Breda, recording in six plates the

¹ For drawing to my attention Callot's treatment of composition as a relevant model, I respond to remarks prompted by the presentation of initial research at a workshop forum and thank Dr. Anthea Brook for her comments.

Spanish army's victory over the Dutch in the Netherlands. Callot's awareness of the circumstances was derived from the published account of an eyewitness, the Marqués de Spinola's field chaplain.



Jacques Callot *Siege of Breda*, print 1626

The treatment of warfare seen in the series of compositions attributed to Laguerre similarly reflects a debt to the numerous accounts of Marlborough's campaign in the same war-torn part of Europe that widely circulated in printed form, reinforcing the extent the victorious campaign featured in the public imagination. The scale of reporting on the campaign was unprecedented, set by the example of Marlborough himself who prodigiously wrote comprehensive official reports at the end of a long day in the saddle, as well as writing to his wife.^{xv} Most of the accounts of the campaign exist in the many biographies of the Duke of Marlborough, invariably claiming authenticity in sources and impartiality in interpretation. The earliest of these was published anonymously as early as 1711, in the interval between the military campaign and the peace settlement, and is entitled *A short Narrative of the Life of his Grace, John, Duke of Marlborough..... with some remarks on his conduct by an old officer of the army*. Thomas Lediard's *The Life and Times of John Duke of Marlborough with original letters and papers* published in three volumes in 1736 is a foremost exemplar of the

biographical interest in Marlborough's career and the second edition in 1743 attests to the continuing popular demand for such material.

Laguerre's treatment of the subject of this campaign assimilates detail recognised in these published accounts. Marlborough is associated with a red coat displaying the Order of the Garter and Maréchal Tallard by the Order of the Saint Esprit he wore, by which he was recognised when Marlborough's troops charged Tallard's lines.^{xvi} The coach in which the Duke of Marlborough travelled from the battleground with the captive Marshall and two other generals visible behind the central figures alludes to the proverbial courtesy associated with the episode of Tallard's surrender, no doubt arising from the laconic statement 'Monsieur Tallard and two other generals are in my coach' Marlborough charged his wife in a letter to report the triumphant event to Queen Anne.^{xvii} One of the military commanders featuring amongst Marlborough's staff in the series of paintings is to be identified as the Prince Eugene of Savoy. As commander of the Holy Roman Emperor's troops, his military assessment and strategy were important factors in Marlborough's successful campaign. Being fifteen years younger than his senior general, Prince Eugene is likely to be the slight figure dashingly doffing his hat on a prancing horse in deference to his senior general.

As exemplars of an innovative type of battle picture concerned with historical veracity, Laguerre's paintings of Marlborough's campaigns are visual counterparts to the narrative hagiography of the Duke acclaimed a national hero. This correlation between text and painting at the beginning of the eighteenth century anticipates the complimentary roles of text and printing characterising later war journalism as exemplified in the coverage of the London Illustrated News. The Duke of Marlborough's concern for the interiors of Marlborough House should be acknowledged as a significant indicator of his role in the development of modern history painting, and of eighteenth century personal 'spin'. There is evidence of an exceptional intervention on his part in his wife Sarah's patronage of architects and decorators, to which in general he indulgently deferred. In a letter addressed to his wife, he requests measurements of the walls at Marlborough House, which are assumed to be for a series of tapestries.^{xviii} In the light of the Duke's concern for the internal decoration of Marlborough House, the patronage of the Duke himself can be assessed as an influential factor in the disposition of Laguerre's pictures of contemporary history in the staircase hall at Marlborough House, investing them with the status of allegorical history painting normally allocated to stairwells and traditionally of classical and mythological subjects.

In contrast to Laguerre's mural decoration at Marlborough House executed in oil on plaster, the paintings at Grimsthorpe are executed in oil on canvas set into wooden frames with common dimensions of 3.00 x 1.80m (118" x 70"). Replicating the pattern of of Plas Newydd and particularly of the two stairwells at Marlborough House, they decorate the double flight staircases at each end of the Great Hall at Grimsthorpe Castle. Two are hung on the west wall of the stairs at the west end of the hall: *Battle of Blenheim Morning* and *Battle of Ramillies*. The third, *Battle of Blenheim Evening* hangs on the east wall of the staircase at the east end of the hall. The disposition of the paintings at Grimsthorpe inadvertently mirrors the distribution of the scenes at Marlborough House, where the battle of Ramillies is located on a different stairwell to the battle of Blenheim *Morning*. The *Morning* scene at Blenheim is visible in the Witt Library photograph of one of the two staircases at Marlborough House and the composition of the *Battle of Ramillies* showing the death of Colonel Bingfield is visible in another photograph on the left of the upper flight of the top-lit stairwell, viewed from above. The location of the paintings on the staircases at Grimsthorpe raises the question of their original location and of their role in Vanbrugh's design. The monumental canvases on the stairs are not displayed to their best advantage, being too large to be viewed satisfactorily inside the stairwell and blocked by the arcade screen when viewed from the hall itself. The compromised display of the pictures is at variance with the theatrical integration at Grimsthorpe of Thornhill's series of *grisaille* paintings, heraldic relief sculpture and hall chairs decorated with heraldic motifs typical of Vanbrugh's designs.

The notion that the paintings were commissioned for Vanbrugh's stairwells at Grimsthorpe is further undermined by the elusive record of their history at Grimsthorpe. There is no known record of them in the eighteenth century, and the earliest reference to associate them with is the series of three consecutive entries for Battle pictures in the 'Lobby leading to the Amber Room' in an inventory of household furniture at Grimsthorpe Castle made in 1812.^{xix} The three battle pictures are part of a collection of 18 paintings listed in the lobby, consisting of a miscellaneous group of family portraits, religious subjects and genre scenes. There is a problem in locating the lobby in question, as there is not a room named Amber Room in living memory. I identify it with the narrow double storey height hall situated at the head of the double stairs from the west end of Vanbrugh's hall, between the State Dining Room and the eastern suite of State Rooms,. This lobby functions as a stairwell, accommodating a

single flight of stone steps to the upper floor adored with a wrought iron balustrade similar to those on the two double staircases at each end of the Hall attributed to Thomas Warren.^{xx}

The three Marlborough campaign battle pictures are not listed in the more comprehensive catalogue of 1910.^{xxi} This inventory was compiled by Gilbert Henry, 25th Baron Willoughby de Eresby, who died in 1910. At this time, the set of Laguerre paintings were in the Heathcote London town house the 25th Baron occupied in Belgrave Square as the son of Sir Gilbert John Heathcote of Normanton.^{xxii} The paintings returned to Grimsthorpe by 1924, when they were the subject of remark by Christopher Hussey in his survey of Grimsthorpe in April of that year.^{xxiii} Comment on the mythological ceiling painting in the stairwells extends to the remark: ‘and Laguerre’s battles of the Duke of Marlborough adorn the walls.’ This rectifies the omission of any reference to the paintings in earlier appraisal of the contents of Grimsthorpe Castle by Arthur Young in his *Six Months Tour of the North of England* prior to 1770, which also neglects Thornhill’s *grisaille* paintings of worthy English kings.

The paintings receive deserved recognition, finally, in the amendments currently updating the 1910 catalogue:^{xxiv}

- 692 Battle of Blenheim, Morning Louis Laguerre
‘a sketch for the decoration of the Hall and Main staircase of Marlborough House’ see E. Croft Murray, pp 252-3.
- 693 Battle of Blenheim, The taking of Marshall Tallard (Evening)
Typed extract from earlier unidentified entry: set of 3 paintings in oil on canvas.
Scenes from the wars of Louis XIV, French School, style of Adam F. van der Meulen.
- 694 Battle of Ramillies, death of Col. Bingfield 1706.

The assessments acknowledge the attribution of the paintings to Laguerre in Edward Croft Murray’s comprehensive study of decorative painting in England, where they are included in the catalogue entry for this painter in the first volume, published in 1962.^{xxv} The assessments also situate the paintings in the context of the French School, by reference to Adam van der Meulen.

On the basis of the available documentation and of the paintings themselves, I propose to reconstruct the following story to account for the set of Marlborough battle pictures at Grimsthorpe. The elusive record of the paintings in the Grimsthorpe catalogues of furnishings may reflect the enigmatic status of the pictures, ambiguously defying

classification as architectural features and household furnishings. In addition, unsettled circumstances at Grimsthorpe during the nineteenth century may account for inconsistent record keeping. The 1812 inventory containing their potential record was made when Priscilla, 21 Baroness Willoughby managed Grimsthorpe in straitened circumstances and prior to the sale of the contents for the benefit of her heirs pursuant to her will, auctioned over two days by Christies' in 1828. The neglect of Grimsthorpe Castle in the later part of the nineteenth century from 1865 and 1910 in preference for Normanton, now in Rutland explains the enigma surrounding the paintings until they are referred to in the *Country Life* survey of April 1924.^{xxvi} Their presence in London in 1910, however, indicates they were recognised at the time of the early years of the twentieth century.^{xxvii}

Of all the sets of Marlborough campaign canvases, the case for the attribution of the three paintings at Grimsthorpe to Laguerre is the most substantive. They are closest in scale to the mural painting at Marlborough House, comparatively larger than the series at Plas Newydd (no dimensions given) and evidently larger than the four at Adare, measuring on average 0.75 x 1.40 m (29" x 56"). The Grimsthorpe series were therefore arguably intended for an architectural location, most likely a stairwell on the model of Marlborough House and adopted at Plas Newydd. The fact that Laguerre died in 1721 and that work on Vanbrugh's plan at Grimsthorpe only started in 1723 should not militate against the attribution of the three paintings to Laguerre. For the reason of the compromised display already discussed, it is unlikely they were an integral part of Vanbrugh's design - a conclusion reinforced by the fact that the irregular number of three paintings at Grimsthorpe, oddly out of keeping with the symmetry of Vanbrugh's plan.

The common professional sphere which architect and painter inhabited may account for the context to attribute their acquisition for Grimsthorpe and their problematic display. Even if the three paintings were not part of Vanbrugh's scheme for Grimsthorpe, Vanbrugh's awareness of Laguerre's work from their respective contributions to the Duchess of Marlborough's schemes at Blenheim identifies him as a potential advisor for the furnishings at Grimsthorpe, and possible agent in their acquisition from the painter's effects after his death. The overmantle of the fireplace in Vanbrugh's Hall at Grimsthorpe, which has been assessed as an enlarged version of the chimneypiece in the Duchess of Marlborough's bedchamber at Blenheim attests to the overt regard for Blenheim as a model for Grimsthorpe.^{xxviii}

Given the role of Laguerre's murals at Marlborough House as prototypes and of their prestigious renown, the three paintings at Grimsthorpe were evidently desirable acquisitions for Peregrine, the 18th Baron Willoughby de Eresby. The subjects of the paintings at Grimsthorpe are the better known scenes of the series of Marlborough campaign battle pictures. They are an integral part of the series of eight compositions at Plas Newydd and of the four at Adare, three reproduce the same compositions. At the death of the 17th Baron in 1723, Peregrine succeeded to the Dukedom of Ancaster and Kesteven conferred on his father Robert by King George I in 1715. The initiative to commission the distinguished architect John Vanbrugh and distant family member is attributed by consensus to the first Duke's intention to remodel the historic castle as a suitable seat to mark his gradual elevation in the peerage, having earlier been ennobled from Earl to Marquess of Lindsey in 1706.^{xxix} Peregrine inherited the project and fulfilled an executive role in consolidating family prominence, rebuilt in a series of profitable marriages during the Restoration period after the 14th Baron Willoughby de Eresby, and created Earl of Lindsey by Charles I, died in the Civil War, at the Battle of Edgehill in 1642. Peregrine implemented Vanbrugh's scheme with work starting the year of his father's death in 1723 and he commissioned the eminent sculptors John Cheere for a dynamic funerary monument in the parish church at Edenham for his own burial in 1742.



Monument to Peregrine
18th Baron Willoughby de Eresby, 2nd Duke of Ancaster,
Sculpt. John Cheere
St. Michael's church, Edenham



Portrait of Peregrine
13 Baron Willoughby de Eresby, 1st Lord of Lindsey
anon.
Grimsthorpe Castle

As an active patron of the arts, the acquisition of Laguerre's three paintings can be ascribed to Peregrine's furnishing for Vanbrugh's new interiors, where the scale and proportions of the set are fortuitously suited to Vanbrugh stairwells.

Given the status of Laguerre's prototype series at Marlborough House, the series of battle pictures at Grimsthorpe served a role beyond mere furnishings. They claimed a parallel in form and content with the precedent of the Marlborough series and by extension, they expressed through the imagery of victorious military campaign and national conquest, the first and second Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven's political allegiance to the nation and personal loyalty to the monarch as keepers of the inherited office of Lord Great Chamberlain.^{xxx} The sets at Plas Newydd in Wales and at Adare in Ireland also point to their role in embodying national identity. The importance of expressing such statements can readily be understood in the context of the climate of unstable public life in England following the Civil War, when the Commonwealth was followed by the restoration of the monarchy with successive dynastic changes leading finally to the accession of the Hanoverians with George I in 1714. The appropriation of the Marlborough model at Grimsthorpe was also an effective method of drawing a parallel with the military achievements of the Willoughby family and the Duke of Marlborough, recalling the distinguished careers of Peregrine, the 13th Baron (1555-1601) appointed Captain General of English forces in the Netherlands in 1587, and of Robert, 14th Baron and Earl of Lindsey, renowned for his leadership commanding the English fleet in unhappily fruitless efforts to raise the siege of La Rochelle in 1628 recorded in a virtuoso print, as discussed earlier, by Callot.^{xxxi}

A concluding remark to this discourse on the significance of Laguerre's battle pictures at Grimsthorpe dwells on the irony of the role of a Frenchman - and godson to Louis XIV - in formulating an iconography of national triumph in England assimilated for personal consumption at Grimsthorpe.

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Endnotes

ⁱ This article arises from research on the Courtauld Institute Research Forum Project, 2008 *Collecting and the Courtauld Collections: Grimsthorpe Castle at the Photographic Survey Archive* and is published with the approval of Lady Willoughby de Eresby.

ⁱⁱ Courtauld Institute Photographic Survey, Grimsthorpe Castle Provisional List 2000 Nos. 204-206.

ⁱⁱⁱ Pevsner, *London* (1957/ 78) 513.

- ^{iv} For the earlier date, see Pevsner *London* (1957/78) noting 'wall painting on stairs' attributed to Louis Laguerre c. 1710 ex. *Journal RIBA*, March 1927; for later date derived from the record of a cost of £500, see Croft-Murray 1(1962) 252.
- ^v Croft Murray (1962) 253.
- ^{vi} Croft-Murray (1962) 250.
- ^{vii} *Plas Newydd*, National Trust (1992), Jonathan Marsden; earlier edition (1976) by Gervase Jackson Stops.
- ^{viii} Courtauld Institute, Witt Library, Laguerre, photo. Nos B70/108-111, from Photographic Survey, private collection N. 74 (c. 1970, pre 1988) nos 78-81.
- ^{ix} Croft Murray (1962) 253: engraved by Louis du Guernier and Claude Dubosc. *Macky*, I, p. 181. *R.C.H.M., London, West*, p. 134, Pls, 211-24. *Wren Soc.*, VII, pp. 228-9. *Green*, p. 242.
- ^x Croft-Murray (1970) 277.
- ^{xi} Churchill I (1933) 17, National Portrait Gallery.
- ^{xii} Croft Murray 2 (1970) 277.
- ^{xiii} Courtauld Institute Photographic Survey, Grimsthorpe Castle Provisional List 2000, Nos 201, 202 (illust.).
- ^{xiv} Courtauld Institute, Witt Library, Callot, L655, 660-61; L654, 656-9.
- ^{xv} Churchill (1933) vol II.
- ^{xvi} Churchill (1933) vol II, 356-377, Lediard (1736/1743) vol i, 429.
- ^{xvii} Churchill (1933) vol. 1, 287-300.
- ^{xviii} Hibbert (2001) 167
- ^{xix} 'An inventory of the Household Furniture at Grimsthorpe Castle.....property of the Right Honourable Lord Gwydir corrected to 1 January 1812,' entry Lobby leading to the Amber Room, nos. 11,12,13. Reference acquired from typed extract at Grimsthorpe Castle dated 8 November 1940 of paintings from the inventory marked BRA 305 lent by the British Records Association to the National Gallery 1940. Courtesy Lady Willoughby.
- ^{xx} *Grimsthorpe Castle*, 2nd edition 2003.
- ^{xxi} 'A catalogue of the Paintings etc, Decorative Furniture, Works of Art and Porcelain at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire – Property of the Earl of Ancaster, compiled 1901-1903. Elsewhere catalogue compiled 1901-1902 under the direction of Lady Ancaster Published Geo.R & HW Harding, St. James' Square. Courtesy Lady Willoughby.
- ^{xxii} Confirmed, courtesy Lady Willoughby.
- ^{xxiii} Hussey 1 (1924) 616.
- ^{xxiv} Grimsthorpe Castle, catalogue contained in ring binders updating 1910 catalogue.
- ^{xxv} Croft-Murray 1(1962) 250-254.
- ^{xxvi} Jackson-Stops, II (1987) 144.
- ^{xxvii} The presence of the set of Laguerre paintings in a Heathcote town house raises the question of their provenance from Grimsthorpe. Sir Gilbert Heathcote as Lord Mayor of London in 1711 could have acquired them for Normanton and the reference to the paintings in the *Country Life* survey in 1924 coincides with the distribution of the contents of Normanton in the form of pictures, furniture and funerary monuments after Rutland was flooded in 1924.^{xxvii} Further consideration of these factors concerned with the provenance of the set of Laguerre paintings leads to enquiry beyond the scope of this paper focussing on the paintings as they are now recorded in the Picture Survey archive of the Courtauld Institute
- ^{xxviii} Pevsner (1957/78) 349; Jackson-Stops 1(1987) 75.
- ^{xxix} Jackson-Stops 1 (1987) 73, Knox & Williams (2003).
- ^{xxx} Office of Lord Great Chamberlain inherited 1625 by Robert, 14th Baron from his cousin, Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford.
- ^{xxxi} Peregrine, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby. Born Duchy of Cleves, Captain General of English forces in Netherlands 1587, Governor of Berwick on Tweed 1597, died Berwick 1601, buried at Spilsby; allegorical portrait at Grimsthorpe (King James' Room), Courtauld Photographic Survey N. 16, neg. No B80/717.

Sources:

'An inventory of the Household Furniture at Grimsthorpe Castle.....
property of the Right Honourable Lord Gwydir corrected to 1 January 1812'
typed extract 8 November 1940 at Grimsthorpe Castle of paintings from the inventory
marked BRA 305 lent by the British Records Association to the National Gallery 1940.

Red leather bound volume, stamped Estate Office: printed frontispiece:

'A catalogue of the Paintings etc, Decorative Furniture, Works of Art and Porcelain at Grimsthorpe Castle, Lincolnshire – Property of the Earl of Ancaster, compiled 1901-1903. Published Geo.R & HW Harding, St. James' Square

Green cloth bound volume at Castle missing frontispiece,

on title page or in introduction: *catalogue compiled 1901-1902 under the direction of Lady Ancaster*

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Sally Williams) Trust (2003).
- Jeremy Musson 'Grimsthorpe Castle', *Country Life* CCII, 16 (17 April 2008)
94-98.

Additional

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Select bibliography on the Duke of Marlborough and his military victories

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