Maurice Bailey's work and are a welcomed addition to understanding how one family's domestic and social life changed over generations. It is through Coleman's work that one can peek into the life of the Tollemaches and appreciate their tastes and interests, and ultimately discern their thoughts and concerns.

Peter Edwards. *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England: William Cavendish First Earl of Devonshire (1551–1626), and His Horses.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018. xv + 256 pp + 6 illus. + 21 graphs. $130.00. Review by Ellen J. Jenkins, Arkansas Tech University.

William Cavendish (1551–1626) was a Derbyshire landowner who became the first Earl of Devonshire in 1618. He was also a son of Bess of Hardwick (1527–1608), the four-times-married and extremely wealthy Countess of Shrewsbury, who was erstwhile needlework companion to her fourth husband's prisoner, Mary, Queen of Scots, who built Hardwick Hall, and who was an astute businesswoman in her own right. Through his mother's marriages into the St. Loe and Talbot families and the marital unions of his siblings and himself, Cavendish was related to some of the most prominent landed and aristocratic families of the realm. In the course of his lifetime, Cavendish served as a magistrate, bailiff of Tutbury Castle, High Sheriff and then Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire, and Member of Parliament for Liverpool and Newport, Cornwall. He became Baron Cavendish of Hardwick in 1605 and Earl of Devonshire in 1618. By the time he died at 74, Cavendish owned over 100,000 acres in thirteen counties, including London property and the Chatsworth estate.

Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle in Early Modern England comprises two books in one—nearly seventy percent of the volume is about Cavendish's holdings and methods of estate management, while only three of the ten chapters in the book, plus the conclusion, actually focus upon breeding, buying, or caring for horses. In the preface to this book, Peter Edwards explains his use of the odd-fitting title by explaining that horses were central to nearly all activities of aristocrats like William Cavendish and his contemporaries. Still, Edwards's argu-

ment settles unconvincingly, and the reader may find the juxtaposition of subjects awkward. Edwards, a Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Roehampton, has written two other books about the role of horses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: *The Horse Trade of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 2004) and *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2007), but those books appear to feature horses throughout. His other publications address seventeenth-century rural life, farming, and the English Civil Wars. Despite the odd title, however, *Horses and the Aristocratic Lifestyle*, based upon dispersal account books, maps, and other archives held at Chatsworth House, is a work of impressive expertise and a detailed examination of the activities of William Cavendish and his relations and neighbors, though the chapters that address horses are by far the most fascinating.

While his land generated most of his income in rents, tithes, livestock—including sheep and cattle—and agriculture, Cavendish also owned lead mines, smelting works, and mills, and he invested in the East India, Virginia, Muscovy, and Somers Isle (Bermuda) companies, collecting dividends in imported pepper and tobacco. On his extensive and ever-growing catalog of properties, land improvement was a major and ongoing enterprise. This was particularly the case as enclosure, the new and highly-controversial method of combining common areas or small fields, required that acreage be cleared of trees, shrubs, and stumps, while the resulting holes had to be filled, drainage ditches dug, and hedges, palings, or stone walls established. In the spring of 1612, for instance, it took six of Cavendish's men "several weeks" to clear just over 85 acres at his Owlcotes property. Much of the enclosed land was then used for pastures or for growing the oats and hay fed to his livestock.

With such far-flung holdings, Cavendish's management, administrative, and oversight responsibilities were vast, requiring that he or his representatives or officials travel throughout England. He also had business interests and, as a courtier of some prominence, responsibilities in London. His horses and stables were certainly of primary importance to the running of his estates, as well as to the maintenance of his social standing, though the records supplied are almost eclipsed by Edwards's reports of the prices paid for accommodation, food,

recreation, servants, and other living and operational expenses.

Fine horses were symbols of status and power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Cavendish bred them in his extensive stud, keeping some, giving others as gifts, and culling those beyond his needs by selling them. Over the years, essential and ongoing processes for the management of his stud operations were extensive, not only because of the widespread geography of Cavendish's properties, but also because of the realization that horses, unlike sheep and cattle, must be carefully reared, moved seasonally to the most advantageous pastures or paddocks, and separated by age or cohort for their safety. The Cavendish stud kept meticulous records of breeding, shoeing, injuries, and illness, as well as the expenses incurred for each horse. Identified in the chronicles by color and acquisition source, the horses were listed in shoeing records from 1605 under such names as "Bay Dutch," "Black Evans," "Grey Hinshaw," and "Sorrel Wortley," which names (the reader will hope) must surely have been augmented by informal and affectionate ones provided by their caregivers and riders. That Cavendish and his employees valued their horses is clear.

While a man of Cavendish's wealth and position certainly owned coaches, splendid coach horses were easily acquired at fairs, such as that in Melton Mowbray, or from reputable London dealers. Cavendish's stud bred fine saddle horses, with breeding stock that focused upon Spanish Ginetes (jennets), excellent all-around mounts, and sometimes Irish Hobbies, small but agile horses prized for their "ambling" gait. The foals produced on his estates, however, were often crossbred. According to the theories of the day, a foal inherited the sire's traits to a greater extent than the dam's, so the brood mare's primary contribution to the breeding process was her status as a vessel. The traits of the sire were of more importance.

Friends and neighbors often loaned their stoned horses to each other for breeding purposes. According to the 1597 edition of Thomas Blundeville's work, *The Foure Chiefest Offices Belonging to Horsemanship,* which was one of the primary contemporary guidebooks on equine husbandry, young horses should not cover mares until they reached five years of age and were best "retired" at fourteen. The English did not always heed such expert advice however: while Gervase Markham's 1607 manual, *Cauelarice* advised that mares be bred no

more often than every two years, Cavendish, like many of his peers, bred his annually, and between 1597 and 1623, his estate increased its number of foals born each year from two to fourteen. As his receipt books have been lost, Edwards points out, it is impossible to determine whether Cavendish made any profit on his horses.

Such a sizable enterprise as his required the work of many hands, and Cavendish employed a stable-master, as well as laborers, stable-lads, grooms, stablers, smiths, and farriers. Not only did these estate workers care for the horses, but they were also responsible for moving their charges between properties and between Cavendish's country and London homes. Records of Cavendish's travels are fascinating. Not only did he travel with a retinue of retainers as well as the wagons which transported the vast amount of baggage that went along with, say, an extended stay in London, but accommodations for his employees and stabling and fodder for his horses were expensive and sometimes difficult to find. Much of the time, it was less cumbersome and more cost-effective to have the horses driven back home or sent to one of his closer properties, with the entire entourage repeating the trip when it was time for Cavendish to leave for home.

There is no denying that Edwards's book makes two valuable contributions to the history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The administration of a great estate is revealed to have been a vast and unending enterprise, with countless responsibilities to be balanced and recorded. In addition, Edwards illuminates the period from a fresh and fascinating angle through the detailed record of equine husbandry at Cavendish's stud, opening an entirely new perspective upon the role of the horse in history.

Theresa Varney Kennedy. *Women's Deliberation: The Heroine in Early Modern French Women's Theater (1650-1750)*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018. xii + 202 pp. $109.95. Review by Mary Mcalpin, University Of Tennessee.

The "deliberation" of Theresa Varney Kennedy's title is to be understood in a quite specific sense, linked to a play on words with "women's liberation." Kennedy's argument is that by producing hero-