

GRINLING
GIBBONS

AND THE
WOODWORK
OF HIS AGE

H. AVRAY TIPPING

MCMXIV

MARTIN W. MOFFETT
BOOKSELLER
528 WEST 142ND ST.
NEW YORK

French & Co # 498

INIGO
JONES



COVNTRY LIFE
LIBRARY
J
ARCHITECTVRAL
MONOGRAPHS

JAMES
CIBBS

ROBERT
ADAM

JEAN
TIJOV

MARTIN W. MOFFITT
BOOKSELLER
228 WEST 142ND ST.
NEW YORK

CHRISTOPHER
WREN



COVNTRY LIFE
LIBRARY
f
ARCHITECTVRAL
MONOGRAPHS

CHARLES
BARRY

NORMAN
SHAW

GRINLING
GIBBONS

後一

"Country Life" Library of Architectural Monographs.
General Editor: Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., Hon. A.R.I.B.A.

GRINLING GIBBONS AND THE
WOODWORK OF HIS AGE
(1648-1720)

HUDSON & KEARNS
LIMITED. PRINTERS
LONDON, S.E.





W. Crintin Gibson's

J. Smith sculp.

GRINLING GIBBONS AND THE WOOD- WORK OF HIS AGE

(1648-1720)

H. AVRAY TIPPING,
M.A., F.S.A.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF HODGKINS & CO., 25, ABINGDON STREET,
COVENT GARDEN, W.C., AND 27, NASSAU ST., N.Y. CITY.
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.



Portrait of a man

GRINLING GIBBONS
AND THE WOOD-
WORK OF HIS AGE
(1648-1720)

H. AVRAY TIPPING,
M.A., F.S.A.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICES OF "COUNTRY LIFE," 20, TAVISTOCK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN, W.C., AND BY GEORGE NEWNES, LTD., 8-11, SOUTHAMPTON
STREET, STRAND, W.C. NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

MCMXIV.

Printed in Great Britain.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CHAPTER I.	
THE RISE OF THE JOINER	1
CHAPTER II.	
THE INFLUENCE OF INIGO JONES ON WOODWORK	6
CHAPTER III.	
ENGLAND'S DEBT TO THE CONTINENT	17
CHAPTER IV.	
THE FIRST YEARS OF THE RESTORATION (1660—1670)	23
CHAPTER V.	
GRINLING GIBBONS' EARLY YEARS.. .. .	45
CHAPTER VI.	
GRINLING GIBBONS DISCOVERED BY EVELYN	50
CHAPTER VII.	
HUGH MAY AND GRINLING GIBBONS AT WINDSOR	57
CHAPTER VIII.	
HUGH MAY AND GRINLING GIBBONS AT CASSIOBURY	68
CHAPTER IX.	
GRINLING GIBBONS, SCULPTOR, DRAUGHTSMAN AND DESIGNER	80
CHAPTER X.	
WREN AND GIBBONS AT ST. PAUL'S	97
CHAPTER XI.	
WREN AND GIBBONS AT THE ROYAL PALACES	124
CHAPTER XII.	
WREN AND GIBBONS: AT THE UNIVERSITIES	139
CHAPTER XIII.	
CONTEMPORARY WOODWORK IN LONDON	153
CHAPTER XIV.	
GIBBONS IN COUNTRY HOUSES: PETWORTH AND BELTON	185
CHAPTER XV.	
GRINLING GIBBONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRY HOUSES.. .. .	202
CHAPTER XVI.	
CONTEMPORARY WOODWORK IN COUNTRY HOUSES	223
CHAPTER XVII.	
THE CLOSE OF THE GRINLING GIBBONS PERIOD	241
INDEX	247

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

FIG.		PAGE	FIG.		PAGE
	Frontispiece: Portrait of Grinling Gibbons	iv.	50.	South and East Sides of Pedestal of Charles II's Statue at Windsor	54
1.	Screen in Middle Temple Hall	3	51.	Overmantel in the King's Ante-room, Windsor, 1677-8	58
2.	The White Parlour, Holland House, <i>circa</i> 1625 ..	7	52.	Detail of Carving in the Western Recess of the King's Ante-room, Windsor	59
3.	English Panelling, <i>circa</i> 1630	8	53.	In the Audience Chamber, Windsor	60
4.	At St. John's College, Oxford	8	54.	In the Audience Chamber, Windsor, 1677-8 ..	61
5.	Archbishop Laud's Cabinet, <i>circa</i> 1630	9	55.	Over the Fireplace in the Presence Chamber, Windsor	62
6.	The Double Cube Room, Wilton, <i>circa</i> 1650 ..	10	56.	Windsor: Over the East Door of the Presence Chamber	63
7.	The Dining-room, Forde Abbey, <i>circa</i> 1652 ..	11	57.	" Carving now over the East Door of the Throne Room	64
8.	The Chapel Screen, Forde Abbey, <i>circa</i> 1652 ..	12	58.	" Carving now in the Waterloo Chamber, formerly in the King's Chapel ..	65
9.	In the Oak Room, Thorpe Hall, <i>circa</i> 1655 ..	13	59.	" Carving now in the Throne Room ..	66
10.	In the Library, Thorpe Hall, <i>circa</i> 1655 ..	14	60.	Cassiobury: The Staircase	69
11.	The Staircase, Thorpe Hall, <i>circa</i> 1655 ..	15	61.	" The East Side of the Great Dining- room	71
12.	Medallion Head of Inigo Jones	16	62.	" The Screen in the Great Dining- room	72
13.	Italian Frame, <i>circa</i> 1550	17	63.	" Over-door in the Green Drawing- room	73
14.	The Pulpit, All Hallows Barking	18	64.	" East Side of Inner Library	73
15.	Dutch Pierced Panelwork, <i>circa</i> 1670	19	65.	" North Side of Inner Library	74
16.	Swags from the Stadthuys (now the Palace), Amsterdam	20	66.	" Overmantel in the Great Library	75
17.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	20	67.	" The "Loyal Frame"	76
18.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	20	68.	" Frames in the Inner Library	77
19.	Drops from the Stadthuys (now the Palace), Amsterdam	21	69.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	77
20.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	21	70.	" In the Little Dining-room	78
21.	Woodwork in the Chapel, Farnham Castle, <i>circa</i> 1665	23	71.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	78
22.	Chapel Woodwork, Arbury Hall	24	72.	" Sunk Panel in the Little Dining- room	79
23.	Chapel Door, Arbury Hall	24	73.	Carving Formerly Belonging to Horace Walpole ..	81
24.	Chapel Door, Farnham Castle	25	74.	Frame Formerly Belonging to Horace Walpole ..	82
25.	Hall Mantel-piece, Farnham Castle	26	75.	A Panel at Cullen	83
26.	Staircase, Durham Castle, <i>circa</i> 1662	27	76.	Panel at Hackwood	83
27.	Staircase, Durham Castle	28	77.	Grinling Gibbons' Designs for Charles I Mausoleum Statue	84
28.	Screen in a Gallery, Durham Castle	28	78.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	84
29.	Font Cover, Durham Cathedral	29	79.	Designs for Overmantels by Grinling Gibbons ..	85
30.	On the Staircase, Tredegar Park, <i>circa</i> 1665 ..	30	80.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	85
31.	The Brown Room, Tredegar Park	31	81.	Designs for Mantel-pieces Intended for Hampton Court	86
32.	North Doorway of the Brown Room, Tredegar Park	32	82.	" " " " " " " " " " " " " "	86
33.	South Doorway of the Brown Room, Tredegar Park	33	83.	Frieze in the King's Bedchamber at Hampton Court	87
34.	The Gilt Room, Tredegar Park	34	84.	Design on a Frieze by Grinling Gibbons	87
35.	Gilt Room Mantel-piece, Tredegar Park	35	85.	Carving formerly at Holme Lacy	88
36.	Sir John Shaw's Staircase, Eltham, <i>circa</i> 1664 ..	36	86.	Carving formerly at Holme Lacy	89
37.	Staircase at Tyttenhanger	37	87.	Grinling Gibbons' Statue of Charles II	91
38.	Great Door to Canterbury Close, 1660-3	38	88.	Grinling Gibbons' Statue of James II	93
39.	Small Door to Canterbury Close, 1660-3	39	89.	Newdegate Agreement	95
40.	Pembroke College Chapel, 1663-6	39	90.	The Organ-case, St. Paul's	99
41.	Measured Drawing of the East End of Brewers' Hall	40	91.	Section through Stalls and Gallery, St. Paul's ..	101
42.	Measured Drawing of the West End of Brewers' Hall	41	92.	Derelict portions of Stalls, St. Paul's	101
43.	Screen in Brewers' Hall, 1673	42	93.	Derelict Capital from Screen, St. Paul's	103
44.	Brewers' Hall: The Parlour, 1670	43			
45.	Gibbons' "Nativity"	43			
46.	Gibbons' Letter to Ashmole	47			
47.	Carving by Grinling Gibbons in the King's Private Dressing-room at Hampton Court Palace	49			
48.	Carving of the Stoning of St. Stephen	52			
49.	Sundial on the North Terrace, Windsor	53			

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

ix.

FIG.		PAGE	FIG.		PAGE
94.	Derelict Balusters from Gallery, St. Paul's	103	149.	Swag on Right Side of Altar, St. James', Piccadilly	159
95.	Details of Choir Gallery, St. Paul's	103	150.	Pulpit, St. Stephen Walbrook	160
96.	North Side of Choir and Lord Mayor's Seat, St. Paul's	104	151.	Font and Cover, St. Stephen Walbrook	161
97.	Part of South Side of Choir, Showing Throne, Stalls and Bishop's Seat	105	152.	Font Cover in Beverley Minster	162
98.	Detail of Bishop's Seat, St. Paul's	106	153.	Font Formerly in Ely Cathedral	162
99.	"	107	154.	Organ Loft, St. Mary-at-Hill	163
100.	The Bishop's Throne, St. Paul's	109	155.	Screen now in St. Margaret Lothbury	163
101.	Detail of Throne, St. Paul's	110	156.	In the Vestry, St. Lawrence Jewry	164
102.	"	111	157.	Panels Formerly in St. Sepulchre's Church, Holborn	164
103.	Detail of Division between Choir Stalls, St. Paul's	112	158.	Font Cover in All Hallows Barking	165
104.	The Choir Stalls, St. Paul's	113	159.	Skinner's Hall: In the Cedar Room	166
105.	Detail of Stall Front, St. Paul's	114	160.	" In the Court Room	167
106.	A Gallery Screen in the South Aisle, St. Paul's	115	161.	Vintners' Hall: A Panel in the Great Hall	168
107.	One of the Aisle Screens between the Piers, St. Paul's	116	162.	" Detail of Wainscoting in the Oak Room	168
108.	Detail of Aisle Screens, St. Paul's	117	163.	New River Company: The Oak Room	169
109.	"	119	164.	" In the Oak Room	170
110.	Screen to Morning Chapel, St. Paul's	120	165.	Mantel-piece in Benchers' Reading Room, Inner Temple	171
111.	In the Library, St. Paul's	122	166.	Room from Clifford's Inn	172
112.	Gibbons' Boy with Censer	126	167.	Doorway or Room from Clifford's Inn	173
113.	Gibbons' Boy with Patten	126	168.	Mantel-piece now in the Bristol Library	174
114.	Gibbons' Ten Cherubim	127	169.	Detail of Mantel-piece in Bristol Library	175
115.	One of Quellin's Kneeling Angels	127	170.	Chelsea Hospital Chapel	176
116.	Overmantel in Queen Mary's Gallery, Kensington Palace	128	171.	The Altar Gates, Chelsea Hospital Chapel	177
117.	Overmantel in the Presence Chamber, Kensington Palace	129	172.	A Cubicle, Chelsea Hospital	178
118.	In the Orangery, Kensington Palace	130	173.	Mantel-piece in the Governor's Drawing-room, Chelsea Hospital	179
119.	In the Second Presence Chamber, Hampton Court	131	174.	Doorway from 18, Carey Street, circa 1700	180
120.	In the Audience Chamber, Hampton Court	132	175.	Doorhead, Grosvenor Road	181
121.	In the Drawing-room, Hampton Court	133	176.	Measured Drawing of Doorway in Mark Lane	183
122.	In the King's Gallery, Hampton Court	134	177.	Head of Doorway in Mark Lane	184
123.	In the King's Dining-room, Hampton Court	135	178.	Petworth: North Side of Great Chamber	185
124.	Mantel-piece in a Private Apartment, Hampton Court	136	179.	" Holbein's Portrait of Henry VIII, Centre of East Wall of Great Chamber	187
125.	"	136	180.	" Portraits of Duke and Duchess of Somerset	188
126.	"	137	181.	" Portraits of Lord and Lady Seymour of Trowbridge	189
127.	In the Chapel, Hampton Court	137	182.	" Carving Between the Portraits of the Duke and Duchess	190
128.	Arms of Dr. Barrow, Trinity College, Cambridge	139	183.	"	191
129.	Arms of Duke of Somerset, Trinity College, Cambridge	140	184.	" Carving above the Portraits of Lord and Lady Seymour	192
130.	Cypher of Duke of Somerset, Trinity College, Cambridge	140	185.	" Carving Between the Portraits of Lord and Lady Seymour	193
131.	Heraldic Device, Trinity College, Cambridge	140	186.	" Carving of the Picture Frames	193
132.	The Library, Trinity College, Cambridge	141	187.	Belton: Chimney-piece on Left of the Hall	194
133.	Cypher of Sir Henry Puckering, Trinity College, Cambridge	142	188.	" Chimney-piece on Left of the Hall	195
134.	Carving on Panel near Doorway in Library, Trinity College, Cambridge	142	189.	" East End of the Saloon	196
135.	Library Doorway, Trinity College, Cambridge	143	190.	" West Chimney-piece of the Saloon	197
136.	Measured Drawing of East End of Chapel, Trinity College, Oxford	144	191.	" Masterpieces of Grinling Gibbons in the Chapel Gallery	199
137.	Altar-piece, Trinity College, Oxford	145	192.	" Over the chimney-piece in the Chapel Gallery	200
138.	Pierced Panel in the Screen, Trinity College, Oxford	146	193.	Hackwood: Chimney-piece in the Saloon	203
139.	West End of Chapel, Trinity College, Oxford	147	194.	" Chimney-piece in the Library	204
140.	The Library, Queen's College, Oxford	149	195.	" Panel from above, enlarged	204
141.	A Bookcase End, Queen's College, Oxford	150	196.	" Drop in the Hall	205
142.	Doors to Capboard in Library of Queen's College, Oxford	151	197.	Badminton: In the Dining-room	206
143.	Altar-piece, St. Mary Abchurch	154	198.	" Drop between the Dining-room windows	207
144.	Altar-piece, St. Margaret Pattens	155	199.	Carving formerly in the Dining-room at Holme Lacy	208
145.	Western Screen and Pews, St. Margaret Pattens	155	200.	"	209
146.	The Altar-piece, St. James', Piccadilly	156	201.	Carving formerly at the West end of the Drawing-room at Holme Lacy	210
147.	The Pelican and the Whorled Scroll, St. James', Piccadilly	157	202.	Carving formerly at the East end of the Drawing-room at Holme Lacy	211
148.	Swag on Left Side of Altar, St. James', Piccadilly	158			

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

FIG.		PAGE	FIG.		PAGE
203.	Swag formerly in the South Pediment, Holme Lacy	212	217.	Chatsworth: The State Bedroom..	227
204.	Ramsbury Manor: In the Saloon	212	218.	" One of the Chapel Gallery Doorways	229
205.	Sudbury Hall: The Saloon	213	219.	Hursley: Carved Wainscoting in the Hall ..	230
206.	" The Staircase	214	220.	" Screen to Hall	231
207.	Sudbury Hall: Carving over one of the Drawing-room Fireplaces	215	221.	" Panel of the Screen	232
208.	" Carved Frame in the Drawing-room	216	222.	" Doorway and Panelling in Hall ..	233
209.	Melbury Hall: In the Dining-room	217	223.	Compton Park: Dining-room Mantel	234
210.	Dalkeith: Chimney-piece in Lodge Low ..	218	224.	" North Doorway of the Dining-room ..	236
211.	Kirtlington: Mantel-piece with Panel by Grinling Gibbons	219	225.	" South Doorway of the Dining-room ..	237
212.	Dalkeith: The Duchess' Sitting-room	220	226.	Ribston Hall: A Carved Panel	239
213.	Kirtlington: A Set of Carved Drops	221	227.	Lyme Hall: Saloon Chimney-piece	241
214.	Chatsworth: The Great Chamber or State Dining-room	224	228.	" Panels in Saloon, 1726	242
215.	" Doorway from Great Chamber to Drawing-room	225	229.	Mantel-piece: Admiralty	242
216.	" The State Drawing-room	226	230.	Mantel, Large Drawing-room at Mawley Hall ..	243
			231.	Redland Chapel: South Side of Apse, <i>circa</i> 1740	245
			232.	Details of Carving, Redland Chapel, Bristol, 1740	245
			233.	Grinling Gibbons and his Wife	246

PREFACE.

GRINLING GIBBONS needs no preface. His name is a household word, being perhaps more generally known than any other in the sphere of the Decorative Arts in England. It has been, and still is, applied not only to his own authentic work, but to much else which only distantly resembles it.

I have made an attempt to differentiate the former from the latter, and also to give a critical estimate of the position of Grinling Gibbons both as a designer and a sculptor. I have also considered the sources of his own inspiration and the extent of his influence over his contemporaries, while the very little that can be discovered of the personal history of himself and of his collaborators in the craft has been brought together with an effort—not wholly unsuccessful. I trust—to separate fact from fiction.

All matters discussed in the text are made rapidly comprehensible by abundant and pertinent illustrations from photographs and measured drawings, in the hope that the volume may prove an intelligent and satisfying book of reference on the subject with which it deals.

In getting together the materials much willing and generous help has been given to me, and for this I offer my grateful thanks. The names of some of those who have thus aided me with private information appear in the text. But among others to whom I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness are: Sir W. H. St. John Hope, who lent me his transcripts from the royal accounts quoted in Chapter VII before they were made public in his recent work on Windsor Castle; Mr. H. L. Philips, for extracts from the unpublished records of the Joiners' Company; Sir Herbert Jekyll and Colonel H. H. Mulliner, for allowing me to reproduce photographs in their possession; Dr. Blakiston and Dr. Magrath, for information respecting the Chapel of Trinity College and the Library of Queen's College, Oxford; and Mr. Clifford Smith, who, besides other assistance, had taken a special photograph—reproduced as Figure 48—of the "Stoning of St. Stephen," which is in his department at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

H. AVRAY TIPPING.



CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF THE JOINER.

DURING the best periods of our architecture English craftsmen were great workers in wood, and much of their most individual and native work has been carried out in this material. In Saxon times it is the carpenter who takes the leading and almost comprehensive part in both building and furnishing, for he appears in Ælfric's *Colloquium* in the double rôle of "maker of houses and howls." Throughout the Middle Ages he maintained a very dominant position. Timber-framed houses were general in all parts of the country, except where easily worked stone was plentiful. The roofs, both of churches and of halls, became a principal outlet for ingenuity of construction and for charm of decoration. Stalls and screens, henges and tabling gradually developed both in quantity and quality. The "Mystery of Carpentering" thus became too involved to be mastered by every member of a guild, and different sections of the work had to be specialised. Early in the fifteenth century carvers and joiners begin to be mentioned, and a 1428 will leaves six shillings and eightpence to "John Hewet joyneur."¹ A broad distinction arose between those who used wood simply and constructively and those who used it for elaborate details and small articles. The London carpenters, who, no doubt, were organised as a guild from very early times, received a Royal Charter of Incorporation in 1477.² But a hundred years later the natural process of evolution caused Elizabeth to give the same privileges and position to joiners and ceilers. Their charter calls them the mystery or faculty *Junctorum et Celutorum*. The junctor was he who elaborately joined pieces of wood with glue or nails and by means of grooves, dovetails and framing. He therefore was the maker of the many forms of furniture—the dresser, the court cupboard, the light chair, the joined table—which multiplied under Elizabeth. The framed wainscoting, which now replaced the plain boarded walls of mediæval times, and was introduced into the smallest of manor houses, was also part of his craft, together with its growingly important incidents of mantel-pieces and door-cases. But if his products were to be enriched with much ornamentation the joiner called in an adept in the other branch of his craft. The "ceiler" was then not a plasterer but a woodworker.

Leland speaks of "Fine greyned Okes, apte to Sele Howses."³ In this sense to ceil was to cover bare walls and ceiling rafters with ornamental woodwork, and must be derived from the Latin verb, *celare*, to hide or cover up. But the ceiler had other functions and another derivation for his name. The charter of incorporation means him to be the Elizabethan representative of the *celator*, or carver in bas-relief, of Classic Rome. It was very seldom, however, that he approached anything like classical ideals under the Virgin Queen or under her Scotch successor. The wood-carving of that day is racy, brisk and amusing, but very seldom educated in design or refined in execution. It was often a mere clumsy adaptation of the already clumsy interpretation of Renaissance ideals to be found in Flemish design books. Much of it is merely set out with a compass, and no doubt the joiner and the carver were then habitually one and the same person. Even the more ambitious examples of the day, such as the screen in the Middle Temple Hall (Fig. 1), dating from Elizabeth's time, or that at Hatfield belonging to the reign of her successor, seek to produce their effect through mere crowding of ornament rather than by a delicate perception of balance in design and the due relation of plain and decorated surfaces. There is little knowledge of anatomy in the figure sculpture, and a total ignorance of classic rule in the designing. The result is extremely rich and enjoyable, and though the general conception comes

from foreign sources the native craftsmen have translated it into terms of their own country and of their own nature.

But while Hatfield was building for James I's Prime Minister, James I's son was employing, as surveyor of his works, the man who was preparing to create the English later Renaissance style. Inigo Jones' influence not only chastened our architecture but laid the foundations of the splendid joinery that distinguished the reigns of the later Stuarts. That is essentially the age of the joiner rather than of the carpenter. Timber-framed houses were going out of fashion long before the Great Fire made them, so far as London was concerned, illegal. Open roofs of ornamented woodwork had given way to plaster ceilings. Houses, indeed, had to be roofed, windows framed and floors laid, but there was a tendency to lessen and to simplify the work of the carpenter. This would, of course, lead to friction between the two crafts, especially in London, where the trades were of such importance that apprentices flocked from all parts of the country. Here the two Livery Companies were often at loggerheads. In 1632 the Carpenters' Company imprisoned certain joiners for interference in carpenters' work. The imprisoned joiners proceeded against the Company in the King's Bench, and the whole matter was referred to a committee of the Court of Aldermen. They attempted to define the sphere of each craft, but they did not succeed in drawing up any very clear rules, and they left the carpenters wholly unsatisfied. But the document is interesting as showing us what were the various departments of woodwork in the seventeenth century.

Such constructive portions of houses as were of timber-work were so clearly belonging to carpenters that they are not mentioned. Difficulty came with the laying of floors. Elm and oak were the common woods used for this purpose, and carpenters were to lay these unless they were grooved. But if deal was to be employed the matter became very complex and definition hard. Deal was still considered a rather exotic and precious wood, and therefore should belong to the joiners. But floors laid in normal and ungrooved fashion belonged to carpenters. The problem was beyond the capacity of the committee to solve, and they left the matter for the decision of the employer. "If the floore bee of Deale wec conceive fitt that the workmaster he left at Liberty to make choyce whether he will have a Carpenter or Joyner to lay the same."⁴ Common fixed furniture, such as tabling for shops and warehouses, might be made by carpenters, but if they were glued or framed with "mortesses or tennants," and if they were of "Wainscoate Wallnut" they were reserved for the joiners, in whose sphere all good furniture is included, the cabinet-maker not yet having arisen.

Galleries for churches and screens for halls were another difficulty. They were essentially fixed and constructional, and therefore carpenters should have the exclusive right of their manufacture. But then they might be delicately wrought out of choice wood, and this was clearly in the joiner's domain. On that account all such as were made of wainscot, glued, carved and panelled were allotted to him. From all forms of carving the carpenter was naturally debarred, so that among the jobs that still properly belong to the joiners we find "all carved workes either raised or cutt through or sunck in with the grounde taken out being wrought and cutt with carving Toolles without the vse of Plaines." Against the decision of the committee the carpenters appealed, declaring that it had been by the procurement and endeavour of the Company of Joiners. No determination was come to, each craft continued to encroach, and the matter again came to a head in 1672, when the Company of Joiners and Ceilers petitioned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to try and enforce the rules laid down in 1632, which were being daily broken by the carpenters, "whereby your pet^{rs} are greatly damnified & abused which if not speedily rectified the Joyners trade will bee involved into the Carpenters and soe your pet^{rs} inevitably ruined."⁵ The carpenters reply that, after all, they are the ancient craft that originally dealt with every kind of woodwork whatsoever, and "that aswell the Joyners as Carvers, Wheelers, Cartwrights, box makers, Inst^{um}^t makers &c, were formerly but limbes members & a part of the Carpentry & Branches taken from them."⁶ The carpenters, they urged, had never lost their rights, whereas the joiners were debarred from carpentering, since in Elizabeth's time they had made a voluntary separation by being incorporated, and thus "made their eleccion to Joynerie and by their owne act restrained themselves to that occupacon & so

lost their privilege wholly as to carpentry; yett by that their Act the Carpenters are not nor cannot in reason be barred from their inherent right & privilege of vsing both occupacons.”

The Court of Aldermen, however, decided that their former order should continue a by-law between the two companies, and when we come to analyse the accounts of the building of St. Paul's we shall find that, broadly speaking, the work between the two sets of craftsmen was decided in this manner.

Limited as the carpenters now were to plain constructional work, they play but a small part in the woodworking of the period now under review. That period is remarkable for the abundance and the excellence of its joiners' work. Even before it begins, the joiners' craft was assuming larger and more sumptuous proportions. The forms of furniture went on multiplying and being elaborated, and the quantity of the output rapidly increased. Wainscoting held its own as a very general system of wall-lining, and was fashionable in halls and in churches as well as in ordinary rooms. But in its design and treatment we find a complete revolution between the time when the first Stuart reached London from Scotland and the moment when his grandson was acclaimed home from exile.

When the seventeenth century opened wainscoting followed natural rules, and was of the kind which the material used dictated. Oak boards of such width as could easily be got out of an ordinary sized oak tree were set into grooved stiles, of just sufficient thickness and width to give solidity and to prevent warping of both frame and panel. Simple mouldings, wrought



FIG. 1.—SCREEN IN THE MIDDLE TEMPLE HALL.

out of the solid, and occasionally some low relief carving, formed the decoration of this wall-lining. But long before the century saw its close we find panels of enormous size, and such as would be more naturally produced in stone, marble or plaster. There is no doubt that any of these last-mentioned materials were preferred by Inigo Jones as more in accord with the spirit of the decorative schemes emanating from his close and successful study of classic models and of the interpretation of them by the Renaissance Italians. But as wood remained a sympathetic and easily obtainable wall-lining in England it had to lend itself more and more artificially to the new fashions, and joiners had to learn how to prepare and deal with it in such manner. The type of wainscoting which prevailed during the ascendancy of Grinling Gibbons consisted of great plain panels, three to five feet wide and eight to twelve feet high. It was impossible to procure single boards of this width, and if it had been possible they would have buckled, especially as oak was still the wood most commonly employed. Two or more boards, therefore, had to be carefully glued together, and skilful joiners would select for their composite panels boards of similar grain and figure so that there should be no marked distinction at the point of junction. Anyone who knows Hampton Court, Kensington Palace or the numerous country houses dating from this period knows that, even now, this work is generally in perfect condition. In few cases only have the panels started, and it generally needs close inspection to see the line of the join.

The whole ethics of the art of the time may be learned from these panels. Honesty in art was at a discount. What was really admirable was to make a thing appear to be what it was not, and to treat materials not so much according to their own nature, but as if they were something else. As classic ideals of purity in design and finish of execution arose at the same time it is evident that the somewhat homely methods of the old school of craftsmen would not do at all. A race of artificers, whose business it was to perfect their technique, but subject their thoughts and invention to the strict rule and guidance of the professional designer, was called for by these conditions, and was not called for in vain. The new system of wainscoting was of elaborate construction. Its panels were no longer single pieces of board let into stiles, but large expanses of wood projecting considerably from their framing, and connected thereto by a massive bolection moulding. It needed skilful manipulation and cunning contrivance to gain in a material used thinly such as wood, the effect produced naturally by a material used solidly, such as stone. The panels with their mouldings had to be built up of many bits cleverly pieced and glued, and reinforced in order that they might become a stiff substantial whole capable of sustaining their own weight as they stood out from their framing, which was given the appearance of a solid wall. The joiners of the period proved fully equal to their task, but they readily accepted the best wood obtainable for their purpose. No doubt the ordinary country gentleman, employing local men, put up with native oak. But the principal London joiners went further afield for their material. We have seen that under Charles I deal and walnut were choice woods denied to carpenters. Joiners made full use of their monopoly of them. Walnut, however, became the wood for furniture rather than for wainscoting, although it was also used for this purpose, as by Admiral Russell at Chippenham in Cambridgeshire,⁸ and by Edmund Lambert at Boyton in Wiltshire. In the little drawing-room at Boyton Manor it may still be seen, though somewhat disfigured by modern additions.

Although there was under Charles II a certain amount of revulsion from Inigo Jones' preference for painted wood, much of the wainscoting of the time was so treated, and an increasing amount of this was made of deal as being lighter, easier to work and less apt to warp than oak. But oak remained, even for London work, the staple wood for the joiner, and was used in churches, palaces and the public buildings, as well as in private houses. The usual phrase of the joiner for his material was "right wainscot." This implies due seasoning and selection, but is non-committal as to the place of origin. Every now and then, however, the description is more explicit, and the words "Dantzic," "Norway" or "Dutch" show that the straight and unknotty timber that grew in North Germany was employed.

It was after the joiner had prepared and partly set up his wainscoting and other woodwork that the carver was called in, and the immense finish that was now demanded in the matter of

technique more and more separated the two branches of this single craft. Some of the wood-carvers of our late Renaissance period, whose names are known, were members of the Joiners' Company, but they are always distinguished by their specialised name, no longer, however, ceilers but carvers, and they must have been a large and important body, for much was demanded of them both in quantity and in quality. If ornament was now placed with more learnedness and reserve than of yore it was not used any the less. In all important designs of the period the eye rests with pleasure on large, plain surfaces, but it rests there only after having feasted on the exceeding richness of the rightly ordered and balanced decorated portions.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER I.

- ¹ *Murray's Dictionary*, under "Joiner."
² Jupp, *Historical Account of the Carpenters' Company*, p. 4.
³ Leland, *Itinerary*, VII, 87.
⁴ Jupp, *Historical Account of the Carpenters' Company*, p. 297.
⁵ " " " " 303.
⁶ " " " " 304.
⁷ " " " " 305.
⁸ *Celia Fiennes' Diary*, p. 127.

CHAPTER II.

THE INFLUENCE OF INIGO JONES ON WOODWORK.

THERE is no doubt that as the reign of James I progressed there was a revolt against the unintelligent and coarse carving which had long prevailed. A desire for better design and more skilful execution arose, and where the very few capable carvers could not be employed or afforded it came to be thought that well designed but undecorated wainscoting, mantel-pieces and furniture were to be preferred to the somewhat primitive treatment that had been in vogue. The White Parlour at Holland House (Fig. 2) is a good example of this. What decoration there is is still of the Flemish school. There is flat, unmodelled strapwork in pilasters and frieze, but there is much reserve in the ornamentation, and the most salient decorative points are a few rich and pedimented panels resembling the fronts of the Italian cabinets of the day founded on the form of a classic temple. An admirable example of this kind of panelling in the Victoria and Albert Museum is here illustrated (Fig. 3). It is of the same period as the Holland House room, where the letter "H," which appears in the centre of the panels, dates them from after the conferring of the Earldom of Holland upon Henry Rich in 1624. At that time Inigo Jones had been to Italy for the second time, was Surveyor of Works and had built the Whitehall Banqueting House. It is natural, therefore, that we should begin to find a much more classic spirit ruling in the woodwork of rooms.

The impending change may well be seen in that portion of St. John's College, Oxford, which was begun by Archbishop Laud when he was Bishop of London, but not completed until after his translation to the primacy in 1633. Thus it is the arms of Canterbury that impale his own in the most classical and ambitious example of the College woodwork (Fig. 4). It is the mantel-piece in the president's drawing-room, and though we still find eccentrically formed pilasters of the Flemish type, cartouches of strapwork and Jacobean split balusters as applied ornaments, yet a new restraint and purer form are noticeable. A pedimented panel occupies the centre. Below the pediment appears a winged cherub's head, while in its break is the plinth of the cartouche containing the arms. Similar in conception and detail is a cabinet, now at Arbury Park (Fig. 5), and this similarity is not surprising, for the origin is the same. The arms in the cartouches are those of London impaling Laud, and Laud impaling London respectively. It was therefore made while Laud held that See, between 1628 and 1633, and is, if not the very earliest English-made cabinet, at least the first to which we can assign a precise date. It is made of cedar, or some wood of very similar grainless texture, but less red in colour, and the carving of the boys' heads and of other details is delicate for the date, while the design is thoughtful and reserved. The front opens as double doors to give access to forty-seven drawers, suggesting its use as a receptacle for medals, intaglios or jewels. The stand, of course, belongs to the following century. In all this the influence of Inigo Jones is apparent, and in the frieze of the entablature of the mantel-piece are well-sculptured masks flanked by gracefully festooned drapery, resembling those which Inigo Jones had used in the elevation of the Whitehall Banqueting House, and which re-appear constantly in his work. Laud and Inigo Jones must have come together a great deal, for, as Bishop of London, Laud set on foot the great scheme of renovating St. Paul's, and Inigo Jones started the work of classicalising the Gothic fabric by setting on its west front a portico of full Roman type. There is, therefore, much circumstantial evidence to support the tradition that Inigo Jones was concerned in the new buildings at St. John's College, and in that case may we not also attribute to him the design for Laud's cabinet? A few years later he was at work at Wilton, and at



FIG. 2.—THE WHITE PARLOUR, HOLLAND HOUSE. CIRCA 1625.

Wilton we find the manner of decoration which was to prevail for the best part of a century. There was, indeed, as one generation followed the other, much change of detail and variety in form, resulting from the individuality and invention of designers, the seeking after new fashions and the alterations and improvements in the technique of craftsmen. But there is very little difference of decorative principle or even of decorative motif noticeable in the double cube room at Wilton (Fig. 6), dating from the middle of the seventeenth century, and in the saloon at Holkham, which was not completed till a hundred years later.

The fourth Earl of Pembroke, having come over to the Parliamentary side, was one of the few great landowners who were in a financial position to build sumptuously during the Commonwealth. The south elevation of Wilton having been burnt down in 1647 he commissioned Inigo Jones to rebuild it. As he entertained Cromwell at Ramsbury, his other Wiltshire seat, in 1649 we may presume the works at Wilton were then in progress, and they were probably completed when Inigo Jones died in 1652. Although, therefore, the work may have been locally superintended by John Webb, his assistant and kinsman, the Wilton decorations may be taken



FIG. 3.—ENGLISH PANELLING. CIRCA 1630.



FIG. 4.—AT ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

to represent Inigo Jones' mature style. What we chiefly notice in such rooms as the Double and Single Cubes is that each one is a decorative entity. Various craftsmen in different branches of the decorative arts have not been let loose to do what they liked independently of a controlling mind. The whole thing has been thought out and drawn in detail by the architect, and though the workman has put in something of himself in carrying out the design this has been done with strict subservience, not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the scheme. Decoration there is in abundance, but it is all perfectly apt in place and in quantity, and there is a coherent idea in the choice, grouping and repetition of the decorative motifs. These are of almost pure classic type. The human figure is used on the mantel-piece and door pediment of the Double Cube, and the figures are clearly the work of an artist who has studied anatomy and has imbibed the classic spirit. Human masks surrounded by drapery appear plentifully, and are associated with wreaths, pendants and swags of fruit, flower and foliage, connected and varied with knotted ribbons. In one or other room the palm branch, the bay leaf, the isolated drapery swag, the frieze of Italian scrollwork—all the paraphernalia afterwards used by Grinling Gibbons—appear

in Inigo Jones' Wilton work. Yet there is a very noteworthy difference between the decorations at Wilton and those at Belton or Petworth. Jones drew the material of his ornamentation from the same source as Gibbons, but he was the great architect to whom decoration was subservient to general form, and who took care to keep the natural forms within the rules of convention. We do not, therefore, get apples and pears, roses and tulips, birds and beasts, reproduced as if they were living things suddenly petrified, but we get them so arranged and executed that we know that they are merely representations of those things formed out of material of which the solid substance and natural characteristics are in some measure retained.

There is, indeed, a little clumsiness about the work, and we may well suppose that Inigo Jones would have liked rather greater finish and delicacy of treatment than he was able to obtain from the craftsmen of his time. There were few of these who reached any excellence in art, and those who have left a name wrought in stone or metal rather than in wood. It was Huhert le Sœur, a Frenchman, who produced the statues of James I and Charles I that Inigo Jones placed in the niches of the chancel screen in Winchester Cathedral, which the Gothic revival of the nineteenth century swept away.

Nicholas Stone was an Englishman, hut had learnt his art abroad. He was Inigo Jones' master mason at Whitehall, and is best known for the great sepulchral monuments which he designed and sculptured for the leading men of his time. The name of one craftsman in wood, however, was found by George Vertue amid the Royal Accounts. In 1637 Zachary Taylor charges two shillings and two-pence per foot for carving the picture frames in the Cross Gallery at Somerset House. Two years earlier he had carved the fret ceiling woodwork in the Queen's closet at the same palace, which Inigo Jones was building for Henrietta Maria. Taylor was a man of some importance, and had his picture painted by Fuller with a compass and a square in his hands; but as no work of his is known to survive we cannot say what degree of excellence he reached in his art. Since his picture frames were painted and gilt by Edward Pierce he evidently did not consider, as Grinling Gibbons did afterwards, that any covering or other treatment of the wood would detract from the perfection which his chisel had given it.

While Inigo Jones was at work at Wilton, Grinling Gibbons was born at Rotterdam. Thus the lives of the founder of our later Renaissance architecture, and of the sculptor-designer who was to bring its decorated features to their highest pitch of perfection, met for a short space, although the two men belong to different generations. We reach at this point the moment when architecture and the decorative arts in England first became personal. Up to now certain styles had supervened by what seemed a general influence, and the men who materialised them in their work stood much on the same plane as regards reputation. As a rule, even their name is lost, and where it survives we are apt to take no particular interest in it since it does not speak to us of a man who strongly impressed his individual genius upon his



FIG. 5.—ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S CABINET. CIRCA 1630.



FIG. 6.—THE DOUBLE CUBE ROOM, WILTON. CIRCA 1650.

age as an originator of what was especially new, or the producer of what was remarkably distinct and super-excellent. We speak of the Elizabethan and Jacobean styles as generalities, and do not associate them with any one individual or small group of men. But as soon as we enter the later Renaissance epoch we talk of men rather than of styles, and we somewhat loosely attribute to two or three names the whole output of a host of clever men. Inigo Jones, who lived to see so few of his plans and inventions realised, is made responsible for a mass of houses situate in almost every county, and separated in date by an entire century. Almost any piece of wood carving of the time of Charles II or William III which represents with more or less ability the natural objects then fashionable with decorators, is labelled "by Grinling Gibbons." Even fine plaster-work ceilings of the period are set down to the same

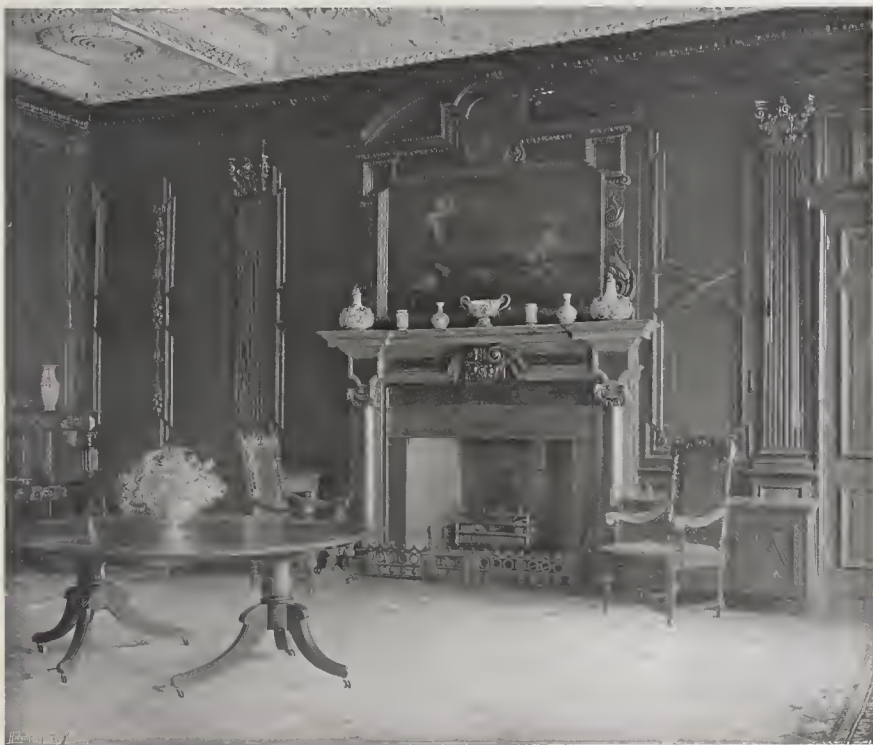


FIG. 7.—THE DINING-ROOM, FORDE ABBEY. CIRCA 1652.

hand. All this is most uninformed and incorrect, but it contains the elements of truth. Both these men were remarkable originators. They were not merely the first of an almost equal band of men, they were leaders in the higher sense that, but for them, their generations would not have produced what they did. Even Wren, the most salient name in the whole of our architectural history, owed much to Inigo Jones, and it is a matter of legitimate speculation whether the younger man's achievement would have been as great as it was if the elder one had not paved the way. His influence in the decorative sphere was also strong upon Grinling Gibbons, although Gibbons developed a good deal of change in principle as well as in detail. Inigo Jones originated a style, Gibbons a new manner of treating it. At the same time, in speaking of wood-work we must not dwell too much on Inigo Jones. If, as Wren asserted, he was apprenticed to a joiner in St. Paul's Churchyard, he proved a traitor to his craft. He was the enemy of wood,



FIG. 8.—THE CHAPEL SCREEN, FORDE ABBEY. CIRCA 1652.

and though it was his influence which led to its most ambitious and finished manifestations in England this was not at all his intention. It was not the outcome of his views, and when his views fully prevailed, more than half a century after his death, in the days of Lord Burlington and his group of architects, the star of English joinery began to pale. But the genius of Inigo Jones dominated all design for a century. He re-shaped the mode of architectural expression and altered the ethics of building and decorating. He, therefore, is the father of our later Renaissance woodwork as much as he is the father of our later Renaissance stone and plasterwork. Inspired by ancient Rome and Renaissance Italy, he had a strong preference for the latter materials, and did not use wood more than was necessary, and when he did use it he seldom allowed it to retain its own colour and texture. The great rooms at Wilton are all painted and gilt, and much of the ornament is not carried out in wood but in composition. His influence was not, indeed, strong enough in his own lifetime, or in the period that immediately followed his death, to change the native habit and instinct in favour of wood. The carpenters and joiners still formed the strongest and most capable bodies among our craftsmen, and the material in which they worked was that which was most readily at hand. Although, therefore, in such houses as Rainham, Coleshill and Wilton, where the direct superintendence of Inigo Jones made his ideas all-powerful, wood takes a subsidiary place, yet it re-asserts itself even under the guidance of Inigo Jones' most faithful follower, John Webb.

The decidedly limited influence of Inigo Jones during his lifetime, and the small number of buildings he actually built compared with the greatness of his reputation and the vast number of houses erected in his style in the early eighteenth century, were, no doubt, largely due to political circumstances, as well as in some degree to the fact that he was a man before his time. The Civil War stopped much building, and the views of the men in power under the Commonwealth were wholly adverse to what was great and sumptuous in art and architecture. Scarcely any public buildings, civil or religious, date from 1640-60, but it would be in such buildings and under the auspices of the Crown, the State or the municipalities that the somewhat exotic and progressive, as well as large and ambitious, schemes of Inigo Jones would have found a proper field. On the other hand, the quite modest country building that went on would naturally be not only simple but conservative in its mode, and thus we occasionally find that country houses which at first sight we are inclined to assign to the reign of James I, in reality date from Cromwellian days. There were, however, a few men of wide sympathy and great intelligence

who came to the front under the Commonwealth, and wished to house themselves well and amply. Mr. Attorney-General Prideaux and Chief Justice St. John were among this number. The former remodelled and redecorated the late Gothic building at Forde Abbey, and the latter new-built Thorpe Hall.

Neither Forde nor Thorpe show work of so advanced a character as that which had previously been done at Rainham, Coleshill and Wilton. They exhibit Webb emancipated from the immediate guidance of his master, Inigo Jones. Although the latter was too great an artist to ignore tradition and environment, yet he was in his mental attitude independent of them. His outlook was cosmopolitan. Rome, ancient and of the day, was the very focus of the arts to the educated men of his generation, and he had thoroughly impregnated himself with her spirit. But very few other Englishmen had reached that point, and even if there had been no breach between Charles and his Parliament it is doubtful whether the great architect would have found many clients willing to give him a free hand. It is probable that Webb, who had never been to Italy or educated up to his master's attitude, more nearly reflected the taste of the day. With him there is a slight compromise in the matter of old and new forms and materials, and oak, often unpainted, retains its hold for interior fittings. The treatment of the wainscoting of some of the rooms at Forde (Fig. 7) is not without a reminder of the President's drawing-room at St. John's College, Oxford, although the strapwork has gone and the pilasters conform to classic rules. On the other hand, the chapel screen (Fig. 8) may well have been carried out from a design by Inigo Jones himself. It is modest in size and adornment, but very pure and masterly in its proportions and form. Four pilasters of the Ionic order, with swags added to their capitals, and ribboned bunches of fruit decorating their panelled fronts, divide the composition into three parts. The centre (of which the entablature slightly projects and carries a broken pediment) is occupied by double doors, above which is a long panel of that pierced and modelled scrollwork which was now coming into fashion. On either side of the doorway long, low panels, already aiming at the size which was to be characteristic of the next generation, form a base to double-arched openings. The whole of this screen, of which the carving is fairly well, but not finely, done, is in deal, and was intended to be painted. Its merit lies in the architect's



FIG. 9.—IN THE OAK ROOM, THORPE HALL. CIRCA 1655



FIG. 10.—IN THE LIBRARY, THORPE HALL. CIRCA 1655.



FIG. 11.—THE STAIRCASE, THORPE HALL. CIRCA 1655.

designing more than in the craftsman's execution. The latter was to enormously improve as the years went on; the former, in this as in other instances directly attributable to Inigo Jones, had already reached top level.

Forde was in progress when Inigo Jones died, so that part of the designing may well have been his. But Thorpe is a little later, and we may set it down to Webb, aided, indeed, by the education he received and the drawings and designing he inherited from his master, but not guided by his living brain. It is a full Palladian house with hipped roof resting on a great modillioned cornice, and with windows having no structural mullions. The interior gives fine examples of the best treatment of woodwork of the day, but some of the forms are a little clumsy and eccentric, and this is where the individuality of Webb appears. The exaggerated break of the architrave of the Oak Room doorway (Fig. 9), demanding flanking pilasters for it to rest upon, is amusing rather than excellent. Nor can the upper part of the library doorway (Fig. 10) be passed uncriticised by the purist. The library, however, taking it altogether, is one of the most successful, as well as one of the most ambitious, rooms fitted up under the Commonwealth. The carving is a little more freely undercut, and there is a better modelling of palm branches and fruits, of acanthus-leaved capitals and foliated scrolls, than England had been, up to this time, accustomed to. The staircase (Fig. 11), too, offers an improved example, as regards execution, of the new system of pierced panelling. That at Forde is fully equal, if not superior, in design, but it is rather more coarsely handled. We shall find examples of still greater excellence dating from after the Restoration, but that at Thorpe is of first importance, as marking a departure, not only of style, but of craftsmanship.



FIG. 12.—MEDALLION HEAD OF
INIGO JONES.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND'S DEBT TO THE CONTINENT.

IT is set down against us, with a good deal of truth, that we are not a nation of artists, that our art has come to us from the Continent and that when, for any reason, we have been somewhat cut off from Continental influence we relapse into æsthetic barbarism. This view must be accepted with a good deal of reservation, for England has had its distinct styles and its original artists. Moreover, although we may often find Continental influence, we seldom find mere copying, for the habits and idiosyncrasy of the race have always given a strong native flavour to the work of its designers and of its craftsmen. What is certainly true is that the Latin races, headed by the Italians and the French, have at times been possessed of a far more audacious artistic originality, and that the spirit of magnificence of scale and exquisite-ness of manner have only been strong with us in proportion as we have drawn our inspiration from them.

Yet it must be remembered that England produced large work of fine kind during the last century of the prevalence of the Gothic spirit, and that this work was essentially native and original, owing only a little to the Latin influence percolating to us through Burgundian and Flemish sources. So it was that when the Italian Renaissance caught a strong hold on our leading men in Henry VIII's time the craftsmen, headed by the master-masons and master carpenters, were at once so capable and conservative that the native Gothic forms continued to rule in the sixteenth century, modified in some degree only by somewhat clumsy and half understood adaptations of the classic orders, and decorated with ornament introduced from Renaissance Italy, sometimes directly, more often (especially during the second half of the century) from German and Low Country design books. But under Elizabeth and James I it became more and more a habit of the heirs to great English fortunes to travel abroad. Italy was the chief magnet that attracted them, and though the Government looked with some anxiety to the religious influence of Papal Rome it habitually gave licence for visits to the Eternal City. If the young men often came home with some sympathy towards the Roman religion, they also came home imbued with a good deal of admiration for Roman art. Nor was it only rich men who took this journey. Englishmen with artistic instincts were prepared to make any sacrifice to reach Italy. Foremost among these was



FIG. 13.—ITALIAN FRAME. CIRCA 1550.

Inigo Jones, who went there first while Elizabeth yet reigned, and a second time after the death of Prince Henry in 1612. He returned to take up the duties of Surveyor of the Royal Works to King James, and he soon showed that he had perfectly seized the spirit and mastered the art of the great Renaissance architects of Italy by his designs for a new Whitehall, of which the Banqueting House was the only portion that he was given the opportunity of carrying out. If we analyse the components of his decorative schemes as shown in the Wilton rooms we shall at once notice the results of his perfect knowledge both of what Italy had done in the past and of what she was doing in his own time. He was certainly much influenced by the fashions of the day. His scrollwork in friezes, on pilasters and in panels is not so much that of the early Renaissance masters, such as Fra Giovanni of Verona, as of the later designers, who were beginning to develop the baroco style when he was in Italy the second



FIG. 14.—PULPIT, ALL HALLOWS BARKING.

time. Still, even before the fifteenth century closed, decorations consisting of swags and drops of fruit and flower held up by amorini, such as were so much in fashion in seventeenth century England, are already to be found in Italy. A chimney-piece ascribed to Desiderio da Settignano, a Florentine who died in 1464, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Its jambs are composed of bunches of fruit, flower and oak leaves, connected, like Inigo Jones' or Gibbons' drops, by stems twined round. Instead of being drops, however, they are uprights springing from a vase. In the same museum we find a great doorway from the Duke of Urbino's palace at Gubbio, that has much ornament of fruit swags and of scrolls in its frieze and pilasters, not unlike those at Wilton, but in much lower relief. But leaving the fifteenth century and coming on to the sixteenth we shall find a closer resemblance. An Italian frame of carved wood (Fig. 13), now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and dating from about 1550, displays, on a smaller scale, almost the same treatment of scrolled cartouches, festoons, masks and drapery work that we find at Wilton. These examples have been selected as being in England and at hand for comparison, but in Italy itself there yet remains much of the work which specially influenced Inigo Jones as being recent or even still in progress at the time of his visits. We can find ceilings at Florence and at Venice that certainly must have been the origin of his own, such as we know them at Rainham and Coleshill. It is curious that in England, where wood had been so dominant a material, plaster was used for the great and highly decorated ribs of Inigo Jones' ceilings, whereas in Italy, a land of stone and stucco, some of the finest examples were wrought in wood, as in the ducal palace at Venice. Here, too, may be seen a doorway with strapwork cartouches and swags of flowers much in the manner that we find in England as early as the date of the Laudian woodwork at St. John's College, Oxford (Fig. 4), and as late as Archbishop Juxon's doors at Canterbury (Figs. 38 and 39). Again in Venice, in the choir of San Giorgio Maggiore, we find on the top of the entablature of the stalls wooden urns, such as became prevalent in Wren's time, but decorated with the mask flanked by drapery, to which Inigo Jones was so partial. Between each vase is placed a pediment-shaped ornament, a compound

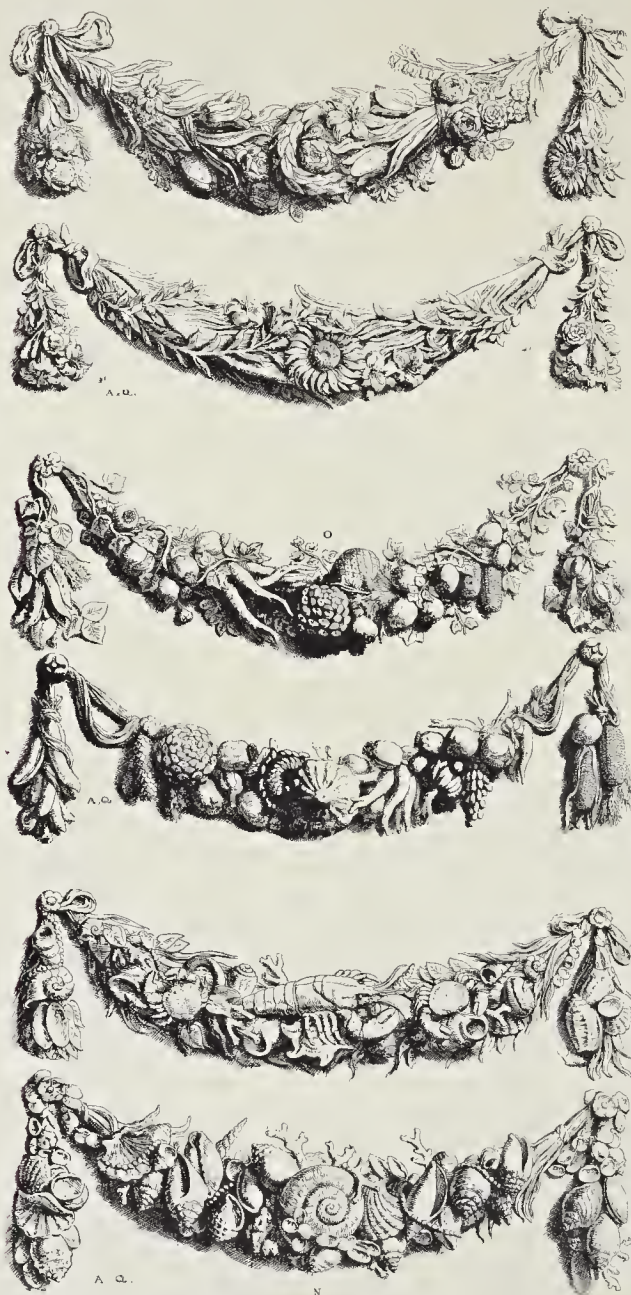
of strapwork, flower swags and winged amorini heads, exceedingly like English work of the second half of the seventeenth century. Such work in Italy was transitional between the purer style of the Renaissance that closed with the sixteenth century and the more florid and exaggerated baroco manner of the seventeenth century. The Italian pulpits of those days have much the same form, both for the pulpit itself and for the great sounding board above, that we find in England, beginning with the All-Hallows Barking (Fig. 14) example, dating from Charles I's time, and resembling the Laudian work of St. John's College, Oxford, and continuing on in Wren's churches, such as St. Stephen Walbrook (Fig. 150). But even that in the Ara Cœli Church in Rome, which dates from the early stages of the baroco period, has a certain exaggeration in the lines and sculpture of its sounding board which makes it compare very unfavourably even with the richest English examples, such as those already mentioned or those in St. Margaret Lothbury and St. Mary Abchurch.

The same remark applies to organs. Italian seventeenth century examples are very similar in general design and arrangement to those we find in the Wren churches. Some that date from the beginning of the century, such as that in the church of the Madonna del Ruscello at Vallerano, show the same refinement of form and of sculpture, combined with still greater richness and magnificence, than that in St. Paul's Cathedral (Fig. 90) or in St. Stephen Walbrook. But when the baroco influence fully triumphed, as in St. Antonio at Piacenza, we shall scarcely be accused of native prejudice when we express a strong preference for the beauty and reserve of the English designer's work, although we will readily admit that it falls far short of the Italian audacity of grouping and of treatment. Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren may have owed much to Italy, but the style which they developed, while it assimilated itself to contemporary Italian work in the matter of form, retained the purer spirit and more delicate taste that had prevailed in the Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

There is one form of decorated woodwork which reached such high development in seventeenth century England, while it is only slightly represented on the Continent, that we may almost call it an original production of this country. The staircases at Forde and Thorpe (Fig. 11) have been mentioned in Chapter II. They are early examples of a manner which afterwards prevailed, and reached an extraordinary pitch of excellence during the years that Gibbons controlled English decorative work. Such panels of pierced and modelled scrollwork were used for many other purposes besides replacing balusters under hand-rails for stairs. We shall find them in church screens, high pews, altar-rails, hall gates and library cupboard doors. Although something of the kind appears on the Continent, it nowhere took anything like the same hold as in England. The division between the choir stalls in the church of San Anastasia at Verona gives an Italian example of the Renaissance time, while an altar balustrade in the Gesu and Maria church at Rome belongs to the baroco period. Such specimens are few, and in no way equal the work of the Cassiobury staircase or the Trinity Chapel screen at Oxford. In France, where it is used, it is also of a modest type, less highly modelled and more reticent in design; while the Dutch example (Fig. 15) is little better than Bishop Cosin's Durham



FIG. 15.—DUTCH PIERCED PANEL WORK. CIRCA 1670.



FIGS. 16, 17 AND 18.—SWAGS FROM THE STADTHUYS (NOW THE PALACE) AMSTERDAM.

Castle staircase (Fig. 26), which will be alluded to in Chapter IV as showing an exceptional lack of quality. For this form of woodwork then, England must be given the palm both for originality and workmanship.

We have considered in the previous chapter the reasons which prevented the wide adoption of Inigo Jones' style during his lifetime. His death took place in the middle of the Commonwealth period, and architecture and the arts then found barren ground in England. With the Restoration in 1660 came renewed fertility, resulting in rich and vigorous growth, but the seed that was then sown had been largely harvested abroad. For a dozen years a great number, if not, indeed, an absolute majority, of those Englishmen who possessed broad intellectual and artistic sympathies had been doomed to an enforced residence beyond the seas, while others who had not come under the Parliamentary proscription spent much time on the Continent, where they found society more to their taste than in Cromwellian England. Thus John Evelyn was mainly abroad from 1643 to 1652. He had full leisure and opportunity for studying architecture and the arts in Italy and France, and he found at Rome Englishmen who hoped to derive professional advantage

from their sojourn there, such as Pratt, the architect who afterwards built Lord Chancellor Clarendon's London house. But the strongest foreign influence, as far certainly as concerns woodwork and the decorative arts, to be noticed in Charles II's time was not directly that of Italy or of France. Soon after Evelyn came home in 1552 Cromwell entered into friendly relations with France, but was at enmity with the Dutch. The result was that the exiled Stuarts and their following transferred themselves to Holland, and it was the new Dutch fashions of decoration and furniture that they brought home with them in 1660.

While England had been in a state of political turmoil and uncertainty, or was governed by men who looked askance at art, the Dutch Republic had moved rapidly to wealth and prosperity and was ambitious of æsthetic achievement. The demand for fine work not only developed the potential capacities of its own craftsmen, but attracted many from other countries. Some of the best who had worked under Inigo Jones may well have migrated there when work became



FIGS. 19 AND 20.—DROPS FROM THE STADTHUYS (NOW THE PALACE) AMSTERDAM.

slack in England. So, after all, there is nothing unreasonable in the theory that Grinling Gibbons' father was Simon Gibbons, whose name is associated, as a master carpenter, with Inigo Jones. The building that was the chief care of the Dutch merchant princes, on which they lavished their wealth and employed the best artists of their time, was the new Town Hall at Amsterdam, now known as the Royal Palace.

The peace of Westphalia was the acknowledgment in International law of the independence and sovereign greatness attained by the Low Country merchant princes. The new Stadthuys was to be a material monument of this achievement. The peace was signed and the Town Hall was begun in the same year—1648. A native architect, Van Kampen, was chosen to design it, and so it has in its general lines many of the characteristics of Dutch building. But all that is salient about it in the way of both material and workmanship is of foreign origin. The Southern Netherlands, that had remained faithful to Spain and to Catholicism, were still the

centre of Flemish art, and both the stone of which the Town Hall was built and the artist-craftsmen who wrought it came from the south side of the Scheldt.

Erasmus Quellin, sculptor, of Antwerp, was the first of a race of artists that continued for four generations. His eldest son, Erasmus II, was a painter. Hubert, a younger son, was an engraver, and his son after him was a painter. Another son of whom nothing is known, was father and grandfather to sculptors, while Artus Quellin, the second son of the elder Erasmus, was called to Amsterdam to fill in Van Kampen's skeleton and clothe it, within and without, with sculptured work of the utmost richness. He had studied at Rome, and had therefore a thorough knowledge of the plastic arts of both ancient and modern Italy. He returned to Antwerp in 1640, and worked in his native city until the Amsterdam burgomasters entrusted their ambitious building to him. The great mass of the sculptured work which ornaments both the exterior and interior of the Town Hall consists of representations of the human form. Large groups fill pediments and other spaces. Single figures occupy niches, fill spandrels, recline on arches, support consoles or form caryatides. But there is also a very great deal of purely decorative work using natural objects in its composition. Swags, drops and panels of this character abound. Although they are wrought in stone and marble they are of great importance in estimating the sources of the English woodwork that was to follow, for they are the link between the decorative manner of Inigo Jones and that of Grinling Gibbons. Despite his Roman studies Quellin very much modified the severe grouping, the solid treatment, the reserved choice, the formal shape given by the Renaissance Italians to swags and festoons and to the fruit and flowers that composed them. All this Inigo Jones, with his strict decorative views, had observed and almost intensified, but Quellin paid some attention to the exact mode of growth and of poise of the flowers that he used. Roses and lilies, sunflowers and tulips are all treated with much realism, and sometimes, as in the case of the hyacinth in Fig. 16, are allowed to break the outline of a swag as if the flower itself had fallen outward. Not only is there a more realistic rendering of natural objects, but a far greater variety of them is used. The vegetable garden is put under contribution for material. Beans and carrots, artichokes and pumpkins are thrown together with a mixture of poppy heads, and connected together in festoons with twined ivy sprays as often as with a drapery rope (Fig. 17). The sea is also made to yield up its treasures, and swags are formed of shells and coral, crabs and lobsters, wound round with strings of pearls (Fig. 18).

Evidently Quellin was less under the influence of classic precedent and Italian idealism than of the realistic views of art entertained by the Dutch painters of his day. He, therefore, drew upon the same materials and introduced the treatment that afterwards distinguished the work of Grinling Gibbons, who was born at Rotterdam in the same year that saw the foundation stone of the Stadthuys laid in Amsterdam. The drops shown on Fig. 19 are evidence that the leaf of oak and of bay, the fruiting branch of vine and hop, the pod of peas and the ear of wheat, are among the many products of the vegetable world common to both designers. Live birds and dead game, groups of implements and trophies of arms (Fig. 20), also find a place in the well-stocked store-house whence these two artists selected the substance of their decorative compositions, copying them with zealous faithfulness, the one in stone and the other in wood. The younger man certainly went much further towards an exact representation of Nature than the elder one, but it was Quellin who led the way to this development. His brother, Hubert, came to Amsterdam and produced a set of engravings of the whole of his sculptured work at the Town Hall. These plates were published in two parts, of which the first dates from 1655, the year of the completion of the Town Hall, and it is from them that the accompanying examples of Quellin's decorative work are taken. Artus Quellin's long residence and high position in Amsterdam account for his being described on the title-page of his brother's book as "Sculptor of the said City." Thither he had called his sculptor nephew, who was also named Artus or Arnould. This younger man, when the Amsterdam work was done, went to Rome, and became a distinguished statuary like his uncle. His association with Grinling Gibbons in the production of the Whitehall Chapel altar will be referred to in Chapter XI as another link in the chain which connects English decorative art with the Low Countries.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE RESTORATION (1660-70).

WITH the Restoration came a strong revival of the arts. The King and his great men returned home with a knowledge of what had been taking place on the Continent, and a determination to repair the havoc of the preceding twenty years in the best and most sumptuous manner then known to the Europe of the day. For a considerable while, no doubt, their power was by no means equal to their will, and it took some time for the exiles to settle down on their estates and to gather together the large sums necessary for the purpose. Moreover, the men to do the work had to be found and fitted for their tasks. The result was that a good deal of the work done at first was rather coarse. The reinstated bishops found both their cathedrals and their palaces in a sorry state, and often showed more haste than discretion in their renovations. They felt that though the means at hand were small something must be done at once. Bishop Morley, translated to Winchester in 1662, found his chief residence in ruinous condition. He instituted great works of reparation, for Anthony Wood tells us: "He spent £8,000 in repairing the Castle at Farnham before the year 1672."¹ The date is important, as Morley's woodwork has sometimes been wrongly attributed to Grinling Gibbons, although his delicate touch is entirely lacking. In 1672 Gibbons had only recently been discovered by John Evelyn, and thus we get chronological evidence that he had no part in the Farnham Castle renovations.



FIG. 21.—WOODWORK IN THE CHAPEL, FARNHAM CASTLE. CIRCA 1665.

Sir John Denham, who had fought for the King during the Civil War, was rewarded at the Restoration by receiving the appointment of Surveyor of the Royal Works. The post had been vacant since Inigo Jones' death, and was expected by his kinsman, John Webb. But the professional architect had to give way to the poet warrior and act as his assistant. Now, Denham was related to Bishop Morley, and it is probable that he was called in, but that Webb was responsible for some of the designing. In any case, the great chimney-piece in the hall and the whole of the chapel fittings are very similar to what he had introduced at Wilton, Forde and Thorpe under the guidance of Inigo Jones. It is also interesting to note that all of the "drops" and other ornamental work in the chapel are not in wood, part of them being, as Sir Henry Tanner tells us, "executed in a species of 'compo'



FIG. 23.—CHAPEL DOOR, ARBURY HALL.



FIG. 22.—CHAPEL WOODWORK, ARBURY HALL.

like some of Jones's work at Wilton."² This only applies to the work at the east end. The rest of the "drops," cherubim and palm branches are carved in pine wood (Fig. 21), and set upon the oak wainscoting in the manner that then became usual and was adopted by Gibbons himself, who, however, wrought his elaborate work in lime wood rather than in pine.

Closely resembling Morley's work, although a few years later in date, are the Arbury Chapel fittings, where quite similar drops occupy the space between the raised panels (Figs. 22 and 23). The bill, still preserved at Arbury, shows that only ten shillings each was charged for these "strings of fruits with Cherubim heads."

The Farnham chapel's most interesting feature is, perhaps, the carving of the double doors through the screen (Fig. 24). Each of the panels represents a winged cherub's head or a sun's face in a laurel wreath, the work being perforated, as in the case of the then fashionable panels for altar rails and staircase balustrades. Such, however, were not introduced at Farnham, where Morley's fine staircase has turned halusters of great substance, and no carving appears except for the vases with fruit that form the

terminals of the newel posts. The staircase itself, and also the great pedimented doorways that are on it, are again quite like Webb's work—good in design, racy in execution, but coarse and heavy compared to the similar work that shortly followed, and was executed either by Grinling Gibbons and his pupils or by independent carvers under his influence. This is especially true of the great mantel-piece in the hall (Fig. 25), which is a most curious example of Palladian ornament executed in the Gothic spirit. The mantel-piece is sixteen feet across, and the whole of the frieze and cornice is hewn, moulded and carved out of one great solid baulk of oak of the size and character of the beam of a mediæval fire-arch. Nor was any attempt made to cut a smooth background to the carving of the swags, for its texture shows it to have been merely roughly chipped away with adze or with hammer and chisel. The result may not be very refined, but is very sympathetic and homely and it gives the idea that the bishop had the designs sent down to him, but gave them to be executed by his own carpenters out of oak trees felled in his own woods. The motto he set upon his hall mantel-piece was typical of the man. In full measure he gave his "faith to his God, his heart to his friends."

Though the work at Farnham is praiseworthy it gives the impression that a great deal was expected for the time and money allowed. Still more is that the case with Bishop Cosin's work at Durham Castle. His great stair (Figs. 26 and 27), though conceived on a large scale and in the same manner as those at Forde and Thorpe, is almost scenic in execution. On the one side the pierced panels under the hand-rail are mere sketches, with no attempt at modelling, and on the other side the modelling is devoid of quality. A screen (Fig. 28) at one end of a gallery must be by the same hand as the staircase—a bold, telling bit of work, decoratively furnishing when it was painted and gilt by Cosin's "limner," Van Eersell. The date will be about 1662, as before the month of February in that year the carpenter had made an estimate for the staircase, which he "Sett at so highe a rate" as to cause Cosin, who expected to get full money's worth, some uneasiness. But if the good Bishop was not over particular as to the carving in his domicile



FIG. 24.—CHAPEL DOOR, FARNHAM CASTLE.

he showed much greater niceness where his cathedral was concerned, for the lofty font cover or tabernacle (Fig. 29) is of considerable excellence. It also points to the fact that the men who had been brought up under Laud shared his leaning towards mediævalism both in the matter of church ceremonial and church fabrics. The Durham font cover starts with Corinthian columns, supporting an entablature ornamented with cartouches and consoles in seventeenth century manner. But, as it rears aloft, it takes a Gothic form—so far as this was understood by Cosin's designer—and displays traceried ogival openings and crocketed finials. It is, therefore, an eccentric rather than a typical product of its time, yet it must certainly find a place in the somewhat short list of really fine examples of woodwork that can with certainty be set down as belonging to the years 1660-70. The original output was not great, and much of it has been swept away. Such, unfortunately, is the case with the old buildings of the Carpenters' Company. They escaped the fire, and were enlarged and repaired in 1664. Three freemen



FIG. 25.—HALL MANTEL-PIECE, FARNHAM CASTLE.

of the Company prepared "draughts" for the new building in the garden, and that of Mr. Wildegos, who had been Master four years earlier, was approved.² It contained a "great roome," which must have offered an excellent and interesting example of post-Restoration but pre-Gibbons woodwork. It was swept away with all the rest of the buildings in 1876 to make room for new premises, and we have little more than the original bills to give us a hint of what it was like. Two joiners were employed, and so we find the item: "Paid to Herbert Higgins Joyner for wainscotteing the halfe of the great roome & for the Chimney peece & halfe the Cornishes there & for making of wainscott doores & other ioyners worke...XX^h."³ It will be noticed that though individual carpenters may at this time, as the rival craft complained, have been "daily exercising themselves" in such work as properly belonged to joiners, yet the Company played fair, and, as their doors were "of wainscott," did not set one of themselves to make them. The carving likewise was entrusted to two men, but the share of Thomas Thornton, Master of the Joiners' Company in 1690, was small, as he received only eight pounds,



FIG. 26.---STAIRCASE, DURHAM CASTLE. CIRCA 1662.



FIG. 27.—STAIRCASE, DURHAM CASTLE.



FIG. 28.—SCREEN IN A GALLERY, DURHAM CASTLE.

whereas we read in the accounts: "Item p^d to Ambrose Andrewes Carver for carveing worke about the new great roome in the Garden, . . . XXVth V^s." ⁴ He must have remembered Inigo Jones, and perhaps worked under him, for he had become a liveryman of the Joiners' Company in the year of the great architect's death. But no other work of his is recorded except that at the Carpenters' great room, and that, alas! is no more. This is the more to be regretted, because documentary or other evidence enabling us to date particular examples of the woodwork

of this decade is very rare. Generally speaking, it may be laid down that it shows no advance upon what had been done by Inigo Jones in Charles I's time, but rather the contrary. There was, indeed, a far more general feeling in favour of really classic treatment than had obtained in England half a century before. The long residence abroad of so many Englishmen would fully account for this. Wealthy amateurs like John Evelyn had surveyed all that was fine in the arts in Italy and France, and architects like Pratt had visited Rome. But there was no architect capable of translating this feeling into creations of the finest type, and there were no craftsmen to equal in delicacy of treatment the best of France, Holland and other Continental nations. We find, therefore, both design and execution much as Inigo Jones left them before his death in 1652. Any change there may have been was by way of a backsliding, for Jones had left no successor with anything like his natural and acquired mastery over form and proportion. Ashburnham House in Little Dean's Yard is a good example of this pause in architectural evolution. Those who have studied it best can only tell us that it was either built by Inigo Jones before 1640 or by Webb after 1660,



FIG. 29.—FONT COVER, DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

and the strongest argument in favour of the earlier date is its excellence. Without any great elaboration, there is a perfection about the designing of its woodwork and other internal fittings which tells of Inigo Jones and Inigo Jones alone, for there is no such certain touch to be found in what are known to be Webb's unaided efforts. The staircase, though on a smaller scale, is extremely like that at Coleshill, which is accepted as one of Inigo Jones' later works. Large square-panelled newel posts, ending with flat, much-overhanging cornices, broad, flat handrails, supported, not by perforated panels, but by decorated balusters of very classic proportions—such are the characteristics of both staircases. Both have enriched members to their mouldings, but Coleshill has far more swag decoration on its newel posts and string. Although not present on its staircase, Ashburnham House has an example of pierced panelwork in the fanlight over the anteroom door. As usual with Inigo Jones, the whole of the woodwork is, and was intended to be, painted, and the carved work is not so fine as to make this regrettable. Perhaps the most delicately manipulated example to be



FIG. 30.—ON THE STAIRCASE, TREDEGAR PARK. CIRCA 1665.

found in the house is a little ribboned bay leaf wreath that enriches the architraves of the doors in the great drawing-room.

Between this modest but refined London house and the sumptuous mansion that the Morgans erected in Monmouthshire soon after the Restoration there is very great contrast. Everything at Tredegar House is on a big and noble scale. The rooms are large, and one after another—bedrooms and sitting-rooms alike—they are magnificently fitted with heavily enriched oak left its natural colour. But there is just a little lack of refinement in the manner both of setting out and of handling. There is something of the native and unlearned profusion and of the rather clumsy workmanship which had prevailed in Jacobean times, although here it is translated into late Renaissance terms. The great staircase has posts and hand-rail of precisely the same character as those at Coleshill and Ashburnham House, but the space between the string and the hand-rail is filled with perforated panels. The scale is great and the design ambitious; eagles and amorini lie entwined amid the huge scrollwork of acanthus foliage (Fig. 30). The handling is sure and vigorous, but it has an impressionist



FIG. 31.—THE BROWN ROOM, TREDEGAR PARK.



FIG. 32.—NORTH DOORWAY OF THE BROWN ROOM, TREDEGAR PARK.



FIG. 33.—SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE BROWN ROOM, TREDEGAR PARK.



FIG. 34.—THE GILT ROOM, TREDEGAR PARK.

touch. There is the same difference between it and later examples, such as those at Cassiobury and Tythrop, as there is between a clever scene painter's brushing and a picture by a Terborgh or a Metsu. Yet it is a fine thing, and shows none of the sheer clumsy scamping of the Durham staircase. The most considerable achievement at Tredegar is the Brown Room (Fig. 31). It is forty-two feet long and twenty-seven feet wide. The walls are lined from floor to ceiling with oak massively used.

The immense size and projection of such features as the doorway pediments can only be fully appreciated by close examination from the steps of a ladder. Every part of these

doorcases is enriched, the plain panelling of the doors themselves being a wise relief. The bust of a Cæsar, with military weapons and accoutrements round the base, fills the space of the broken pediment at the north end (Fig. 32), while over the south door (Fig. 33) musical implements are a fitting setting for the fair goddess that rises above them. The walls are divided up into great panels, each one surmounted by a broken pediment and a bust. The mantel-piece is flanked by pilasters profusely ornamented with scrollwork of amorini and

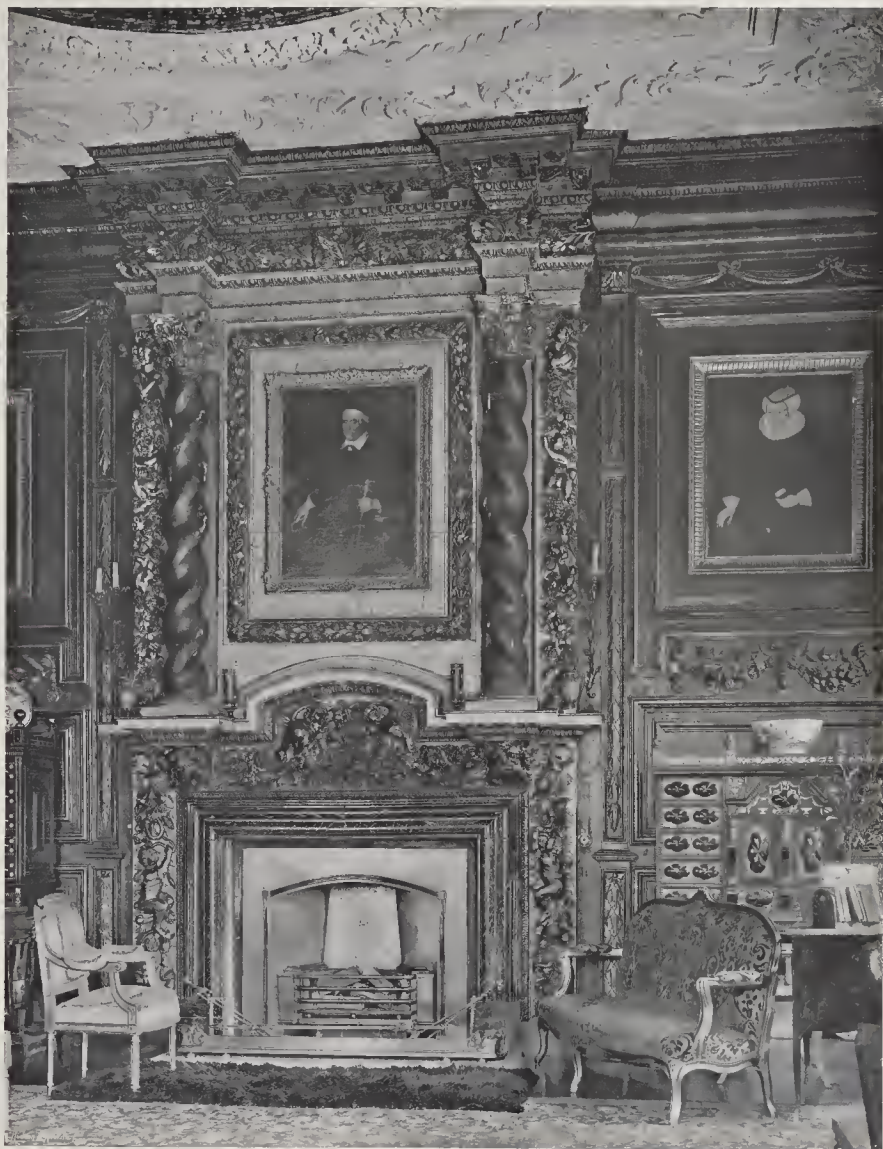


FIG. 35.—GILT ROOM MANTELPIECE, TREDEGAR PARK.



FIG. 36.—SIR JOHN SHAW'S STAIRCASE, ELTHAM. CIRCA 1664.



FIG. 37.—STAIRCASE AT TYTENHANGER.

acanthus. A huge cartouche framing a shield occupies the central position at the top of the overmantel, while swags and garlands representing most varied forms of vegetation completely fill the space between it and the enriched frame of the great panel.

Although by no means reaching the highest point either in design or in execution, the whole room forms a very noble decorative scheme, quite splendidly carried out, and it is better than the even more ambitious Gilt Room (Figs. 34 and 35) beyond it. The exact date cannot be determined, but the house was probably finished a very considerable time before an inventory of all its contents was taken in 1674. The woodwork of Tredegar may, therefore, be set down by its immense quantity and its audacious richness as the biggest, if not the most refined, surviving effort of the decade before the appearance of Grinling Gibbons. It will have been in progress at the same time that Sir John Shaw, whose banking business at Antwerp, as well as at London, proved helpful to Charles II in exile, was building for himself a home near the ruins of Eltham Palace, of which the restored King granted to him a long lease as a reward.

The staircase (Fig. 36) is similar in scheme to that at Tredegar, but if rather more finished in workmanship, is far less massively made and boldly chiselled than the Monmouthshire example. In that respect it much resembles that at Tyttenhanger (Fig. 37), which may date a year or two before the Restoration, or be like that at Eltham, a product of the years that followed that event, for 1664, the same date as the "greate roome" of the Carpenters', is the year when Evelyn went "to see S^r John Shaw's new home now building."⁵

A slightly earlier date may be assigned to the great doors of the south gateway of the Close at Canterbury. The gateway itself is a fine example of late Gothic work.

The original gates will have been destroyed or much injured during the Commonwealth times, and in need of renewal when the church came back to its own in 1660. The Treasurer's accounts give no information as to their construction, but Archbishop Juxon's arms appear upon them. He was translated from the See of London to that of Canterbury at the end of 1660, and died in June, 1663. The doorways are therefore quite certainly an example of woodwork as it was conceived and executed on the return of Stuarts. The pair closing the greater arch (Fig. 38) are about nine feet wide and fifteen feet high, and they are quite six inches thick, including the added mouldings. The oak leaf and acorn which, with the Royalists, so largely replaced Inigo Jones' favourite bay leaf from the time of Boscobel until James II



FIG. 38.—GREAT DOOR TO CANTERBURY CLOSE, 1660-3.

cooled their loyalty, is to be seen all round the framing. Amorini holding torches and laurel crowns occupy the arched panels at the top. Below them the ribboned swags of flowers are exactly in the manner of Inigo Jones. They reappear in the great cartouches that hold the arms, while the lion masks in the lower panels are surrounded by a device which still reminds us of the strapwork of old.

Such scrolled ornamentation, however, was common in Italy throughout the baroco period. It was used by Inigo Jones, and continued in vogue, assuming more complex and involved shapes as the rococo style developed in France and came to England. But its appearance of being made out of a material that could easily be cut, bent and rolled made it retain even in Grinling Gibbons' time, the name of "leather work." To the left of the great doorway is the lesser entrance for pedestrians (Fig. 39), and as here the woodwork of the door is on a smaller scale, and may be more intimately seen, it is more elaborate. The whole of the door is about four feet six inches wide and eight feet high, but the central part opens separately, as a sort of postern.

The top of the door has a fine cartouche with boldly treated leaf scrolls springing from its sides. Below this is a mask swathed in drapery, and with drapery swags extending from it, such as we have recognised as Inigo Jones' most favourite motif. Cheruhs' heads and ribboned "drops" of fruit are the chief feature of the ornamentation of the lower part of the door. As these doors were to be exposed to the weather, and were to have a certain defensive character, very delicate work would have been quite out of place. The solid and conventional treatment adopted by Inigo Jones is here fully in character. They also associate agreeably with the much-worn Gothic stonework which surrounds them. They are therefore a first-rate example of appropriateness both in conception and execution. They would have perhaps been more learnedly designed and more delicately wrought had they come a score of years later, and had they been



FIG. 39.—SMALL DOOR TO CANTERBURY CLOSE, 1660-3.



FIG. 40.—PEMBROKE COLLEGE CHAPEL, 1663-6.

entrusted to Gibbons' oversight, yet it is doubtful whether they would have been more perfectly apt and satisfying. But they show that English woodwork was still waiting for that forward movement towards perfection which was pending and that men's minds and men's hands were still tied by the tradition of the past generation.

The same remark applies to the woodwork of Wren's earliest

The Brewers Hall
East end of Hall

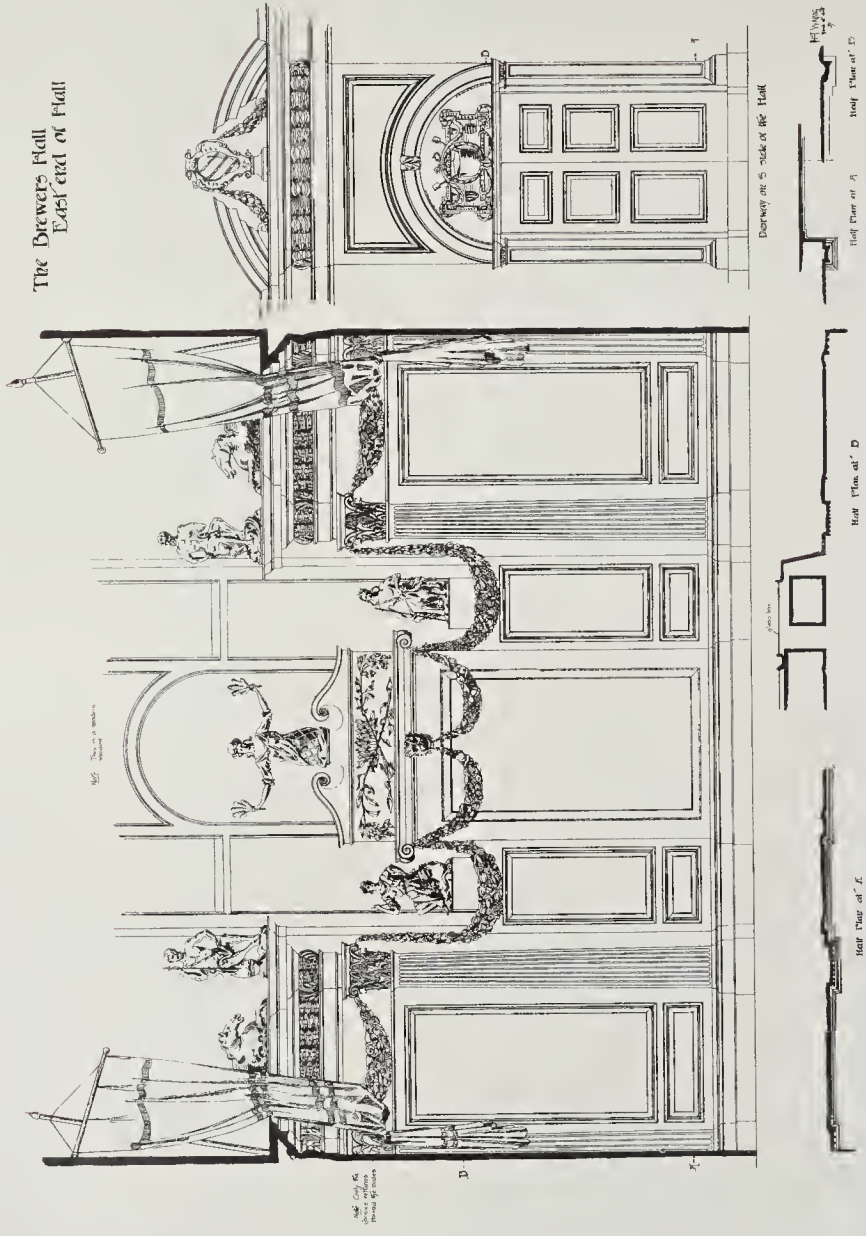


FIG. 41.—MEASURED DRAWING OF THE EAST END OF BREWERS' HALL.

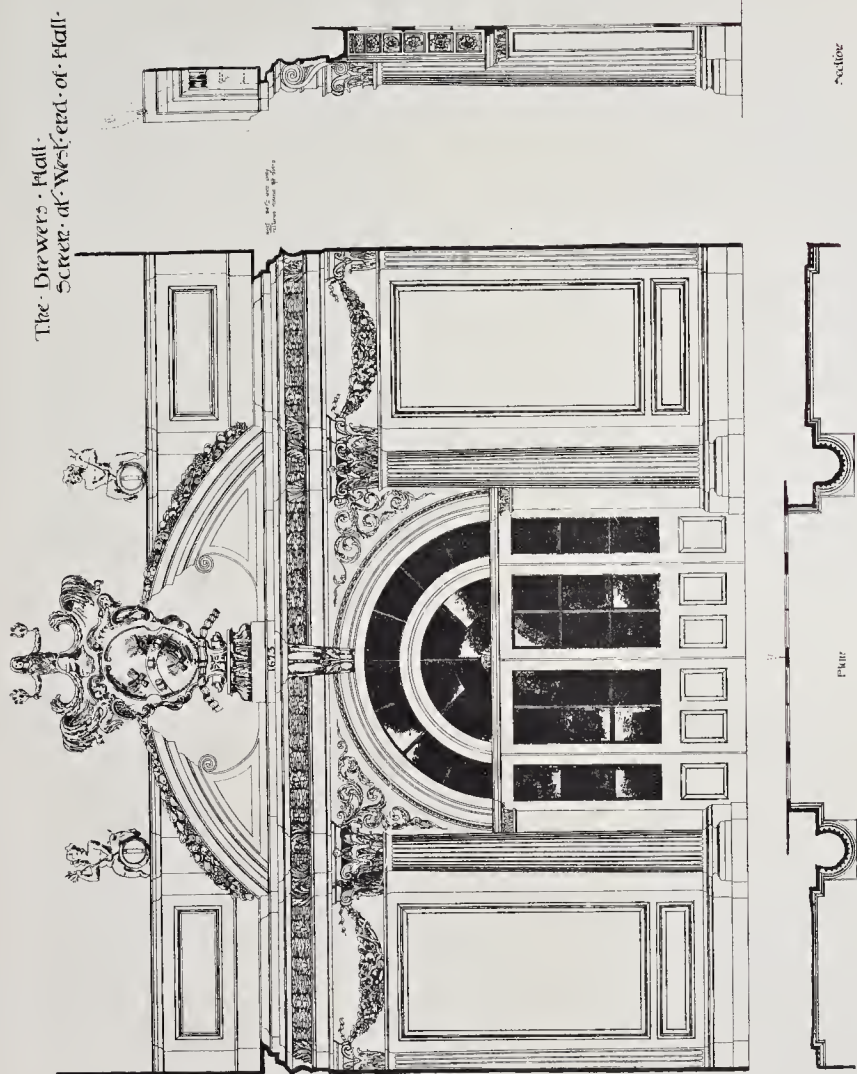


FIG. 42. — MEASURED DRAWING OF THE WEST END OF BREWERS' HALL.

buildings. His uncle, the Bishop of Ely, had been a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and after the Restoration he determined to make a present of a chapel to his old College. For a design he went to his nephew, who, although he already held a post in the Board of Works, was then better known as the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. It was begun in 1663, and completed in 1666, and the latter is probably the year when its enriched wainscoting was put up. Unfortunately, the chapel has been sadly ill-used, and the enlargement and restoration of forty years ago have greatly destroyed the character and the work of the days of Wren. Despite alteration and renewal, however, the old arrangement and some of the old material of the wainscoting of the body of the chapel remain. The panels are arranged as a round arched arcading (Fig. 40). Above this is a somewhat simple entablature, the frieze being left plain, and the chief enrichment being the modillions of the cornice. The salient ornamentation is placed in the space between the arching of the panels and the first mouldings of the entablature.

Large cartouches, having winged amorini heads backed by a shell as their central feature, break the line of the arches, and drop down on to the intervening stile in the form of a mask, from which hangs a little ribboned drop. To a ring set on each side of the cartouche is tied a ribbon, from which hangs a solid and close-clustered swag of fruit and flowers, and this is continued down the next stile in the form of a drop. The amorini heads have much expression, some are open-mouthed, as if singing, and there is a good deal of variety both in them and in the grotesque masks below them. The carver was clearly a man who thought about and loved his art, but he kept well within the decorative rules laid down by Inigo Jones, and was of only moderate attainment in the way of technique. It may be noticed that he did not choose materials that lent themselves to the most delicate finish. Grinling Gibbons and his followers, for all those portions of their decorative schemes that were to represent natural objects in life-like manner, preferred lime wood. But at Pembroke College the swags are of oak, while



FIG. 43.—SCREEN IN BREWERS' HALL, 1673.



FIG. 44.—BREWERS' HALL: THE PARLOUR, 1670.

the cartouches themselves appear to be of elm, which has a tough and woolly fibre rendering a perfectly crisp treatment well-nigh impossible. The important point in this early example of Wren's woodwork is its strong similarity in design and in treatment to what Inigo Jones and his craftsmen had done a quarter of a century earlier, and its contrast to that which we find in Wren's later buildings after he had come across Grinling Gibbons. Some of this difference is, of course, to be attributed to evolutionary action in Wren's own brain, but there is every reason to believe that the strongest factor in the change was the genius and personality of Grinling Gibbons himself, who, in a most remarkable and unusual manner, combined a genius for design with an entirely original and dextrous mode of treatment.

Of the same character as the work of Juxon's doors and the Pembroke College panelling are the fittings of the City churches and halls dating from the years that immediately followed the Great Fire. Brewers' Hall was much less tampered with in the nineteenth century than most of the buildings belonging to the City companies, and the two rooms of which illustrations are now given are perfectly typical of English woodwork just before Grinling Gibbons came into vogue. The building was designed by William Whiting, surveyor of the Brewers' Company, Captain Cain being the builder. The whole cost was something under six thousand pounds, and most of the work was done in the year 1670. A fine gateway, all of wood, decorated with arms and swags of flower and fruit, gives into a court, whence an outside staircase led to the hall entrance. The hall no longer has its original ceiling, but is otherwise complete. Measured drawings of both the ends are given (Figs. 41 and 42). The wainscoting on each side is divided into six sections, surmounted by broken pediments, in each of which is placed a garlanded cartouche, containing the arms of one of the principal benefactors. The screen (Fig. 43)

is rather more elaborate, and was the finishing touch, having been executed by William Woodroffe in 1673. Here the pediment is supported by fluted Corinthian columns, and the arms it contains are those of the Company, surmounted by their crest. From the cartouche that holds them spring fruit garlands that rest along the top of the pediment. These and the swags below are close-pressed and lumpy, like those at Pembroke College Chapel, but there is perhaps a little more looseness in those that decorate the mantel-piece and doorway of the parlour (Fig. 44).

This work seems to have been completed before the hall screen, for the inscription over the fireplace tells us that it was done at the expense of Sir Samuel Starling when he was Lord Mayor in 1670. It was between the date when this parlour was wainscoted and the hall screen executed that John Evelyn found Grinling Gibbons working in a tumble-down cottage near Deptford, and was so struck with his work that he at once took him to see the King, and thus brought him into prominence. It is time, therefore, that he made his appearance on the stage upon which he is to play the leading part.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER IV.

- ¹ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, IV, p. 153.
² Jupp, *Historical Account of the Carpenters' Company*, p. 229.
³ " " " " " 230.
⁴ " " " " " 230.
⁵ *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II " 166

CHAPTER V.

GRINLING GIBBONS' EARLY YEARS.

DURING a life which somewhat exceeded the allotted span of three score years and ten, Grinling Gibbons established a great reputation, obtained a recognised position and acquired a considerable fortune. But neither he or any of his contemporaries kept any records of his acts and deeds, nor collected any material which would serve to show subsequent generations what manner of man he was, how he organised his work and business and what part he took in the artistic and social life of his time. As he was concerned in the decoration of the principal palaces and private houses which were erected or altered during his life, and as he must have come across most of the noted men—artists and architects, statesmen and churchmen, landowners and *literati*—who flourished from the time of Charles II to that of George I, this lack of record is regrettable. A few entries in Evelyn's Diary concerning him, two or three letters and agreements written and signed by him, bills sent in by, and payments made to, him for work done at the royal palaces and at St. Paul's Cathedral—such is nearly all the written matter, dating from his time, which has come down to us. Add to this his surviving work in wood, marble and stone, and we get the sum total of the absolutely reliable data on which to form an account of his life and an estimate of his art. Other information we have, but it was collected after his death, is often contradictory and never authoritative. Such as it is, it is nearly all to be found in George Vertue's notebooks.

Vertue was born when Gibbons was at the height of his fame, and he began to make collections for writing a history of painters and sculptors shortly before Gibbons died. He is, of course, best known as an engraver, having been employed by Sir Godfrey Kneller in Queen Anne's reign to engrave his portraits, and he was soon taking a leading place in this branch of art. The second Earl of Oxford, known to us as the collector of the Harleian Manuscripts, was his great patron and friend. He often mentions being at Wimpole, Lord Oxford's Cambridge seat, but never alludes to the Grinling Gibbons carvings which tradition has placed there, although nothing of the kind now adorns its rooms. Still, Vertue must have known Gibbons or heard much about him, and it is, therefore, disappointing to find that any information concerning him included in his note-books takes the form of short accounts given by other people.

Thus in the note-book of 1721, written within a few months of Gibbons' death, it is the account given of him by Thomas Murray, the portrait painter, that we find copied out. It runs as follows :

Mr. Grinlin Gibbons Carver, born in Holland of English Parents, came into England about 15 years of age—went into Yorkshire where he was first employed, & afterwards came to London & settled with his Family at Detford & followed ship carving. about that time the play house in Dorset garden call'd the Dukes house being abounding Mr. Betterton finding him an ingenious man employ'd him to Carve for him the Ornaments & decorations of that house particularly the Capitals, cornishes & Eagles, with which Sr Peter Lilly was well pleased & inquiring after the artist that perform'd them, Mr. Gibbons by his means was recommended to King Charles 2nd who then had ordered the beautifying the Palace of Windsor in which work he was employ'd & first did one great chimneypiece of carving in wood which is remaining there representing a festoon of many fishes shells & other ornaments with which the King being well satisfied appointed him to be his Master Carver. besides this he did all the fine Carvings in the Chappel & hall, & without, in the great square, he made the equestrian Statue of the King on Horse back in brass with the pedestal of Marble. many other Statues & works in many places are done by him. his vast reputation in his time procur'd him a good Fortune & a fine collection of pictures medals & other curiosities.

MR. MURRAY.

As Murray was a contemporary and a neighbour—he, like Gibbons, was buried at St. Paul's, Covent Garden—he probably frequented Gibbons' house in Bow Street, and knew more about him than the writer of a note included in Vertue's 1731 book, whose name was Stoakes, and whom

Walpole sets down as a "relation of the Stones"—that family of sculptors and artists of whom Nicholas Stone was the first. The note is thus worded:

Grinlin Gibbons carver (his father a Dutchman) he was born in Spur ally in the Strand he afterwards liv^d in Bel Savage on Ludgate Hill & there he carv^d a flower pot the flowers of light wood so thin & fine that the coaches passing by made them shake surprisingly.

His May Controller of the Works was much his Friend & promoted him. Born 1646.

STOAKES.

Lastly, Luttrell, the lawyer who turned mezzotinter, is made responsible for the third account:

Mr. J. Evelyn took into favour Mr. Grinblin Gibbons & a musitian whom he found had taken a little hut near his house, where they designed to retire to improve themselves in their arts or proficience. From thence Mr. Gibbons took his Rise. Mr. Evelyn show^d K. Charles 2nd a point Cravet carv^d by Gibbons which was curiously carv^d.

The first two of these three entries in the note-books were the main source of Horace Walpole's information when he wrote his short life of Grinling Gibbons in *Anecdotes of Painting*, a work he compiled from the note-books which he had purchased from George Vertue's widow. He chooses portions of one or other version impartially as he thinks will make up the most picturesque account. But puzzled as to the place of birth, he airily declared his subject "an original genius, a citizen of nature, consequently it is indifferent where she produced him."

It will be noticed that according to Murray, Gibbons is an Englishman born in Holland, but according to Stoakes he is a Dutchman born in England. On this point the contradiction has been cleared up anyhow as to the place of his birth. The soil of Holland certainly has the honour of having first received him. In the Ashmolean Manuscripts, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, is the letter written by Gibbons to Elias Ashmole in 1682. Ashmole, described as a "Virtuoso and Curioso," was a keen acquirer of knowledge, such as it was known in his day when astrology and alchemy were important sciences. He was also an antiquarian, and

*Grinling
Mr. Gibbons the Excellent Carver,*

1. 29.
15. 30
16. 59.
Δ 70. = p.
□ 67 d. p.
12. 25
9 17
3. 09
28
4. 3

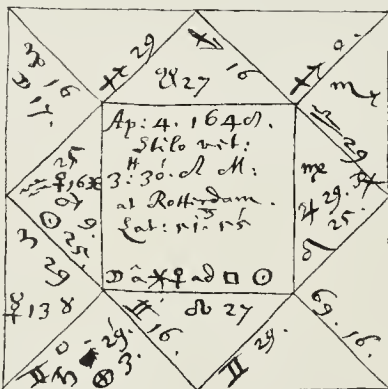


FIG. 45.—GIBBON'S "NATIVITY."

became Windsor Herald at the Restoration. Although astrology ceased after that to be one of his principal pursuits, yet he continued to take an interest in it, and was often applied to by men of importance for information as to their future good or evil fortune. There is a whole volume of astrological figures or "nativities" among his papers. That referring to Gibbons and the carver's letter asking for it are reproduced in *facsimile* (Figs. 45 and 46). There is a good deal of distinction in Gibbons' handwriting, but it is not very legible, and the spelling was eccentric even for his time. He lived when great lords and ladies still used a somewhat phonetic orthography, but several of the words, as written by Gibbons, seem to indicate that Dutch had been the language of his youth, and that a score of years spent in England had by no means freed him from early habit. Translated into the English of to-day the letter runs:

Honoured Sir,

Whereas I have undertaken a concern of great consequence and in order thereunto sent a packto^t last Monday beyond the seas, I would fain know whether I and my partners therein concerned shall have good success or no.

Pray, good Sir, pardon this in, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

GRINLING GIBBONS.

The 12th, October 1682.

The enclosure is, Sir, the acct of my birth.

Below the postscript we read, in Elias Ashmole's handwriting: "Received 12. Oct. 1682 S.P.M."³ The enclosure is a letter from his sister, written on a torn sheet of paper, very dirty on the side on which we find the address:

For Grinling Gibbons.
the Kings Carver at the
Kings Arames in bow street
In Covent Garden.

There is a triangular printed impress, two sides of which have the words "one penny," but the printing of the third side is illegible. The letter reads:

loving Brother,

I cannot tell whear my father did Rit ould Stille or nu: it is set down thus: 4th april 1648 about 3 or 4 Aclocke in the morning being tuesday. I have hard my mother say it was Ester Tuesday you ware born: so if you could Git an Almanack you mit Know by that the Still. I called where my Sister bid me but they have no thing com as yet. So prayed them to send her word. So with my love to you, I Rest Yor loving Sister
M. B.

Under this Ashmole added the words: "Born at Rotterdam. Lat 51° 55' accord^d to Eichstadius." An almanack was, no doubt, studied, and it was found that Gibbons, senior, used old style in entering the date of his son's birth. That may be gathered from Ashmole's horoscope, but what the rest of it means is left to the curious in those matters to discover. It is to be hoped that Gibbons was satisfied with it, and that it prognosticated a happy issue to his venture. What that venture was is unknown, but it gives us a hint that Gibbons occasionally indulged in more speculative modes of money-making than the production of carvings in wood. The chief interest to us in this correspondence is that it places beyond doubt the fact that he was born at Rotterdam in 1648, and therefore the date and place of birth mentioned by Stoakes must

331

Honred
Ie war as I haui onder taken A consarve off
Great consequences and in order thar onto sent
A Jacobus Lath mondij kians the Lucas
I wold fac knowen war I and my part
thar in consarve shall haen good luckes
or no pray good for pardon this
In Jⁿ Your onbell from
Grinling Gibbons
The 12 October 1682

This in kloe is of the Account of my berch

Recd: 12. Oct. 1682
S.P.M.

FIG. 46.—GIBBONS' LETTER TO ASHMOLE.

be wrong. His nationality, however, remains a matter of conjecture. Though his letter to Ashmole shows us that even when he was thirty-four he was not a master of the English tongue, and that the Dutch influence remained strong, yet this by no means proves that he was of Dutch descent. The fact shown by his sister's letter that other members of the family were living in England in 1682, and that she corresponded with him in English, makes it almost certain that he was of English origin, while Murray's assertion that, though of English parentage, he was born in Holland and remained there for the first fifteen years of his life, will account for the hold the Dutch language had upon him.

Mention has been made of a master carpenter who worked under Inigo Jones named Simon Gibbons. The name is thoroughly English, and was that of a family of English musicians who, for three generations certainly—from the time of Elizabeth to that of Charles II—inherited the

same love of music. Now, we shall find that John Evelyn states, not that Gibbons lived at Deptford with a musician, as Luttrell tells us, but that he was musical himself. Although no blood tie is known to exist between Orlando Gibbons, the composer, and Simon Gibbons, the carpenter, and although there is nothing to show that Grinling Gibbons was Simon's son, yet this point as to the remarkable continuity of the musical faculty in the Gibbons family, and also the fact that capable architectural craftsmen were little needed in England under the Commonwealth, but were in great demand in Holland at that time, are well worth noting as a help towards conjecturing the origin of the great artist-carver.

It would be satisfactory to be able to place the composer and the master carpenter in the same genealogical table, to trace the latter's passage from England to Holland and to establish him as Grinling's father. No evidence, however, of the truth of these surmises has come to light, and probably none exists, so that we must still console ourselves, as did Horace Walpole, in the thought that "as a citizen of nature, it is indifferent where she produced him." Assuming that Murray is right in telling us that he came to England at fifteen years of age, he had been seven years in this country before Evelyn first met him, and was astonished at his complete mastery of his art.

How these years were spent; in what school he formed himself and obtained his knowledge of anatomy and natural forms; whence he derived his marvellous technique, which is a distinguishing characteristic of his work, we cannot say. But Murray's remark that he started his English career in Yorkshire is borne out by Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquarian, who, while Gibbons was well known and at the zenith of his fame, claims him for the county.

Thoresby was at Windsor in May, 1695, and, together with Verrio's paintings, singles out for praise "the admirable woodwork carving of our countryman Mr. Grinling Gibbons."⁴ Seven years later he is at Leeds in company with "a parcel of artists," and among them is "Mr. Etty, the painter, with whose father Mr. Etty sen., the architect, the most celebrated Grinlin Gibbons wrought at York, but whether apprenticed with him or not I remember not well."⁵ The acknowledgment of his uncertainty as to the last detail makes it clear that Thoresby felt perfectly sure of the truth of his general statement. There is no reason for disbelieving Murray when he tells us that from York Gibbons came to London, nor is it unlikely that a clever young carver in wood of twenty-two years of age should be employed at the Dorset Playhouse and be noticed by Sir Peter Lely.

Betterton was the chief actor in Davenant's or "The Duke's" Company, which occupied a theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields till 1671, when the new house in Dorset Gardens off Fleet Street was ready for them. The first performance was on November 9th of that year, many months certainly after Gibbons had gone to Deptford. Of his residence at that place there can be no doubt whatever, for we have Evelyn's contemporary entry of the fact in his diary. Nor is it unlikely that work on the decoration of ships attracted him thither as much as a quiet time for perfecting himself in his art which Evelyn assigns as the reason. The carving and decoration of men-o'-war and Royal barges had been for a long time one of the leading modes of art expression in England. For instance, we find the following entry in Vertue's 1742 notebook: "The Carvers of the Great Ship built 1637 at Wolwich by Mr. Peter Pett were John and Mathias Christmas sons of that Excellent workman master Gerrard Christmas who died about two years before. This Gerrard was said to be the Sculptor of the Bass Relievo on Aldersgate of King James the first on horseback circ. 1618."

Deptford was not only one of the Royal dockyards, but also the place where the Board of Admiralty frequently sat. Of course, the obvious likelihood of a carver residing at Deptford being employed at the shipyard may have caused Mr. Murray to draw upon his imagination for his facts, for it will be seen shortly that Evelyn's long and contemporary entry in his Diary relative to his meeting with Gibbons at Deptford makes no mention whatever of ship's carving. The broad lines of Murray's account may be taken as correct, but not so the details, for Gibbons never did make an equestrian statue of Charles II.

The other accounts are much less reliable. He was certainly not born in Spur Alley, and his father was almost certainly not a Dutchman. Whether he ever lived in La Belle Sauvage Yard is quite uncertain, Deptford and Bow Street being his only known places of residence. But Stoakes is right in saying that Hugh May was his friend, and Luttrell correctly states that his rise to fame began with his acquaintance with Evelyn, though a point lace cravat was not the example of his workmanship which was first shown to the King. On all these matters the only reliable authority is Evelyn, and every scrap of information which he gives us must be carefully considered.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER V.

¹ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, 82.

² Pactio, from Latin *pactio*; an agreement or contract.

³ Ashmoie MSS., 243, fol. 331.

⁴ *Thoresby's Diary*, ed. Hunter, p. 302.

⁵ " " " " 306.



FIG. 47.—CARVING BY GRINLING GIBBONS IN THE KING'S PRIVATE DRESSING ROOM AT HAMPTON COURT PALACE.

CHAPTER VI.

GRINLING GIBBONS DISCOVERED BY EVELYN.

THE short and contradictory accounts of Grinling Gibbons' origin and early days to be found in the Vertue Manuscripts leave us a good deal in the dark as to his origin and upbringing, and we know nothing of his training or how he learnt his art. But in the first days of 1671 he suddenly appears before us as a full-fledged artist, unknown and unrecognised, indeed, up to that time, but soon to become the acknowledged leader of his craft and the wonder of all experts and amateurs in woodwork and sculpture.

John Evelyn was then living at Sayes Court in Deptford, a place which he held and was to inherit from his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, who had been the representative of the exiled Stuarts in Paris during the Commonwealth. It would seem that the proceedings in a tumbled-down cottage near Sayes Court were somewhat mysterious, and aroused the curiosity of Evelyn during his country rambles. He looked in at the window and saw Gibbons at work. He at once became his enthusiastic patron and admirer, and determined to bring him to the notice of the King and of the leading architects of the day. The story is best told in his own words as he wrote them in his Diary under date of January 18th, 1671:

This day I first acquainted his Maty with that incomparable young man Gibbon, whom I had lately met with in an obscure place by meere accident as I was walking neere a solitary thatched house, in a field in our parish, neere Says Court. I found him shut in: but looking in at the window I perceiv'd him carving that large cartoon or crucifix of Tintoret, a copy of which I had myselve brought from Venice, where the original painting remains. I asked if I might enter; he open'd the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for y^e curiosity of handling, drawing and studious exactnesse, I never had before seene in all my travells. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himselfe to his profession without interruption and wondred not a little how I had found him out, I asked if he was unwilling to be made knowne to some greate man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answer'd he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding the price he said £100. In good earnest the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the worke was very strong; in the piece was more than 100 of men, etc. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discrete in his discourse. There was onely an old woman in the house. So desiring leave to visite him sometimes, I went away.

Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begg'd that he would give me leave to bring him and his worke to Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Maty that he had never seene any thing approach it, and that he would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The King said he would himselfe go see him. This was the first notice his Majestie ever had of Mr. Gibbon.¹

The King, however, does not seem to have made a special pilgrimage to the "poor solitary thatched house," and so, as the mountain would not come to Mahomet, Evelyn decided that Mahomet had better go to the mountain. Thus we find the entry on March 1st:

I caused Mr. Gibbon to bring to Whitehall his excellent piece of carving, where being come I advertis'd his Majestie, who ask'd me where it was; I told him in Sr Richard Browne's (my father-in-law) chamber, and that if it pleas'd his Maty to appoint whither it should be brought, being large and tho' of wood heavy, I wou'd take care of it; "No," says the King, "shew me y^e way, I'll go to Sir Richard's chamber," which he immediately did, walking along the entries after me; as far as the ewnie, till he came up into the roome where I also lay. No sooner was he enter'd and cast his eye on the work but he was astonish'd at the curiosities of it, and having consider'd it a long time and discours'd with Mr. Gibbon, whom I brought to kisse his hand, he command'd it should be immediately carried to the Queene's side to shew her. It was carried up into her bed-chamber, where she and the King looked on and admir'd it againe; the King being call'd away left us with the Queene, believing she would have bought it, it being a crucifix; but when his Maty was gon, A French pedling woman, one Mad. de Boord, who us'd to bring peticoates and fauns and baubles out of France to the Ladys, began to find fault with severall things in the worke, which she understood no more than an asse or a monkey, so as in a kind of indignation, I caused the person who brought it to carry it back to the chamber, finding the Queene so much govern'd by an ignorant French woman, and this incomparable artist had his labour onely for his paines, which not a little displeas'd me, and he was faine to send it downe to his cottage againe; he not long after sold it for £80, tho' well worth £100, without the frame, to Sir Geo. Viner.²

Sir George Viner was the son of a rich Lord Mayor and goldsmith and first cousin to the famous Sir Robert Viner who was Charles II's leading goldsmith and financier and who, on the occasion of his Lord-Mayoral Banquet drank too much himself and made the King follow suit, as we know from Richard Steele who was an eye witness to the scene of the monarch's attempt to slip away and of his being brought back by his convivial host. Sir George died soon

after his purchase of this carving and his only son, Sir Thomas, ended the line in 1683. What happened to the carving from Tintoret's Crucifixion is not known. But it has been frequently confused with another work by Gibbons copied from a cartoon of the Stoning of St. Stephen (Fig. 48). Thus we read in Horace Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painters" where he is describing Evelyn's discovery of Gibbons and his introduction to the King; "The piece that had struck so good a judge, was a large carving in wood of St. Stephen stoned."³

It is quite clear that the carving Evelyn found Gibbons working upon was not the "Stoning" but the "Crucifixion," since he himself tells us that his reason for believing that the Queen would have bought it was "it being a crucifix." But when fifty years ago the subject of Grinling Gibbons and of his remaining work attracted attention, and various antiquaries wrote on the subject in the *Builder* and in *Notes and Queries*, Walpole's later version, rather than Evelyn's contemporary words, were taken as authoritative, and it was stated that "The Stoning of St. Stephen," which has survived, was the carving which Evelyn brought to Whitehall. Mr. Pigott, F.S.A., even went so far as to assert that Charles II had bought it,⁴ although even the imaginative Walpole never asserted this. He tells us that the "Stoning" was acquired direct from the artist by the Duke of Chandos, who was engaged in erecting at Cannons, in Queen Anne's reign, a sumptuous palace and gardens in the most approved style of his day, and where in the church or chapel close by there remains woodwork traditionally attributed to Grinling Gibbons. His successor found it beyond his means to maintain, and, failing to find a purchaser for it as it stood, sold the materials in 1747. A splendid staircase, of which the iron balustrade was, no doubt, the work of Tijou who was employed at Hampton Court and at St. Paul's concurrently with Gibbons, was purchased by the great Lord Chesterfield, and erected by him in his new house in Mayfair, where it may still be seen. As to what happened to "The Stoning of St. Stephen" at and after the sale a clear and correct account is given in a letter which appeared in the *Builder* in 1862, and is as under :

Nov. 29th, 1862.

It is quite true that the carving in wood of the "Stoning of St. Stephen" by Grinling Gibbons, is in my house at Wyvenhoe. It has long been possessed by my family (I believe about 150 years). You are probably aware of the early history of this great work. I will, therefore, content myself with stating that it was bought by Charles II of the artist, and presented by him to the Duchess of Chandos, and removed to Cannons, in Hertfordshire. On the demolition of Cannons, or early in the last century, it was bought by my maternal great-grandfather, Mr. Gore, and removed by him to his residence at Bush Hill Park, near Enfield.

It remained in possession of successive branches of the family there till the death of his grandson, Mr. William Mellish, late M.P. for Middlesex (my maternal uncle), and from him descended to me; and I removed it in 1839 to my present residence at Wyvenhoe Park. I will add nothing on its great merits as a work of art; that would be superfluous. The public may at all times see it on visiting the house, and applying to the housekeeper to show it to them.

J. GERDON REBOW.⁵

Mr. Rehow gives no authority for his assertion that the wood carving was bought by Charles II and presented by him to the Duchess of Chandos, and, though it is repeated and amplified in the life of Grinling Gibbons in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, it rests on no known record. It is, indeed, a myth arising, probably, from a misreading of the account in the *Environs of London*,⁶ where Lysons notes this carving as being at Bush Hill, and relates its history, as given in *Anecdotes of Painting*, in such a manner as to lead a casual reader to suppose that it may have passed from the possession of Charles II into that of the Duke of Chandos. But Walpole does not go so far as to say that Charles ever saw, let alone possessed, the "Stoning." He had before him Vertue's note on the subject, which he rightly interprets when he tells us that this carving was "long preserved in the Sculptor's own house and afterwards purchased and placed by the Duke of Chandos at Cannons."⁷ There is no reason to doubt the perfect correctness of this account. On this point, then, Mr. Rehow was wrong, but his information is quite reliable from the moment it left Cannons and went to Bush Hill, where it was seen in 1794 by Lysons, who thus came to mention it in his *Environs of London*. After Mr. Rehow's death it was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum at the cost of three hundred pounds, and has now been well placed in one of the new galleries, in which position it was specially photographed for reproduction in this volume. Thus every step in its history is authenticated in a sufficiently convincing manner. It is carved out of pieces of limewood and lancewood glued together to make a block four feet four and a half inches wide and six feet and half an inch high and at least one foot deep. The foreground is occupied by a large group of figures, that are either actors in the drama that is going on or merely onlookers. On the left



FIG. 48.—CARVING OF THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN.

the plants and trees, though cleverly carved, do not show the wonderful delicacy of Gibbons' later representations of foliage and flowers. In the background rises a group of classic buildings with people standing about on the steps and loggias. The entablatures with scrolled friezes are in character with Gibbons' later work, while the sculpturing of classic figure subjects on the parapets may be compared with that on the Petworth vase (Fig. 183), which vastly exceeds it in finish. No doubt it was one of the objects which adorned the Bow Street house from the time when he removed into it in 1678, and where in August, 1679, Evelyn took Lord and Lady Arlington and their daughter, the Duchess of Grafton, to see Gibbons, and found it "Furnish^d like a cabinet, not only with his own work, but divers excellent paintings of y^e best hands."⁸

Although Evelyn felt disappointed at the King's failure to buy the carving of the Crucifixion in 1671 he did not relax his efforts on behalf of his *protégé*. Ten days before the carving was taken to Whitehall he had asked Christopher Wren and Samuel Pepys to dine with him at Sayes Court, and had taken them to see Gibbons at work at the lonely house. It is regrettable that Pepys' Diary does not carry us down to this date, as we should have liked to have heard his opinion of his friend Evelyn's newly discovered genius, and to have learnt whether there was any truth in Murray's assertion that Gibbons had gone to Deptford to work as ship's carver. As Secretary to the Admiralty this would have been the point of most interest to Pepys in reference to Gibbons, and would have been commented upon.

Wren had recently been appointed Surveyor of His Majesty's Works, and was already engaged on the plans of a new St. Paul's. He promised Evelyn to employ Gibbons, and we shall find them working together at St. Paul's and elsewhere. Wren, however, was not at this time the only architect favoured at Court. It is curious how little we know of Hugh May. He is ignored by *The Dictionary of National Biography*, and is unnoticed in Mr. Blomfield's book on English Renaissance Architecture. The fact is that Walpole mistook him for quite a different man, and his personality has never since been quite disentangled. Except in the note already quoted on page 46, Hugh May is mentioned by Vertue in his notebooks without any Christian name, but we find written in the margin—by Walpole probably—the letters "Bap." Baptist May was an entirely different man. He was Keeper of the Privy Purse to Charles II and his companion at the evening revels in the Royal mistresses' apartments. Following Walpole, *The Dictionary of National Biography* tells us that "he was made Clerk of the Works under Sir Christopher Wren at Windsor Castle and undertook extensive alterations and repairs there in 1671." Now, Sir Christopher Wren had no official position at Windsor Castle nor any hand in the work there before 1684, and it was not till then—a time when nothing of importance beyond ordinary upkeep was going on—that Baptist May was his Clerk of the Works. On the other hand, Hugh May was appointed Paymaster to the King's Works in 1660, and later on was Controller of the Works at Windsor. It was at his death only that Wren succeeded to this post, although he had followed Sir John Denham as Surveyor-General in 1669. We learn from Pepys that Hugh May was disappointed—as was also John Webb—at not himself getting this more important appointment. It would seem, however, that the post that Talman afterwards held, when he interfered so much with Wren at Hampton Court while Gibbons was carving there, was given to Hugh May, for the brass that commemorates him in Mid-Lavant Church styles him "Comptroller of the Works to



FIG. 49.—SUNDIAL ON THE NORTH TERRACE, WINDSOR.

King Charles the Second; Comptroller of the Castle of Windsor and, by his May¹⁶ appointed to be sole Architect in Contriving and governing the works in the great alterations made by his May¹⁶ in that Castle." When, therefore, Evelyn tells us that he had, on Gibbons' behalf, "bespoke his Ma¹⁶ for his worke at Windsor, which my friend Mr. May the architect there was going to alter and repair universally"⁹ it is to Hugh and not to Baptist May that he refers. As early as 1664 Evelyn had gone to Cornbury with Hugh May, who was altering and enlarging it for Lord Chancellor Clarendon. Evelyn then assisted the architect in designing "an handsome chapell that was yet wanting."¹⁰ The chapel remains untouched, and is the best surviving example of woodwork designed by Hugh May before he met Gibbons. It is therefore of great value and deserving of study. Unfortunately, the present owner will not permit it to be photographed, and therefore no illustration of it can be given. It must have been completed before Lord Clarendon's fall in 1667, and is a very delightful example of what is generally included in the phrase "Wren's style," although it was designed at a time when Wren was known as a Professor of Astronomy, and when the chapel at Pembroke

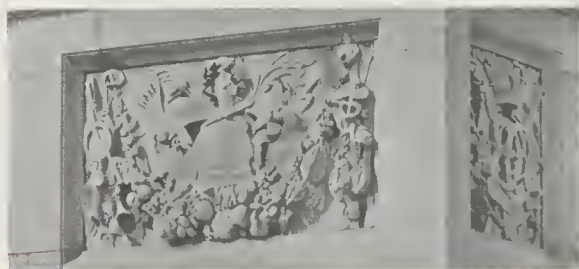


FIG. 50.—SOUTH AND EAST SIDES OF PEDESTAL OF CHARLES II'S STATUE AT WINDSOR.

College, Cambridge, and the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford were his only performances in the architectural domain. It was under Hugh May that Gibbons produced the first fine examples of his work, just as his best later creations are to be found in buildings for which Wren was responsible. To both of these architects he was introduced by Evelyn, who also recommended him to his friends and neighbours. An Oxford graduate had been his son's tutor,

and the tutor's relation was a rich merchant, whose country place was not far from Sayes Court, for that now populous district was then a favourite rural resort of both statesmen and merchants.

Christopher Bohun—or Boone, as the name came to be spelt—was of a Devonshire family, and was born at Taunton. He was on the council of the East India Company in and after 1660, but that cannot have been the only field for his commerical undertakings, since Evelyn describes him a fortnight after his visit to Gibbons in Bow Street as "a rich Spanish living in a neate place which he had adorned with many curiosities. Especially severall carvings of Mr. Gibbons."¹¹ Lee Place existed until 1825, so that an old inhabitant of the village was able to describe it for the new edition of *Hasted's Kent*, of which a single and only volume appeared in 1886. We read therein that "The principal rooms of the Lee mansion were wainscot in oak and Spanish chestnut carved and polished. The hall was decorated with emblems of the chase and agriculture carved by Grinling Gibbons in festoons, which remained till the house was pulled down."¹² Evelyn had found the hall fitted with lacquer panels, or, as he describes them, "contrivances of Japan skreens instead of wainscot. . . . The landskips of the skreens represent the manner of living and the country of the Chinese."¹³ This is an early example of the large use of lacquer, of which the East India Company were importers. On page 131 will be found mentioned a room of the same kind was fitted up in the Water Gallery of Hampton Court when Queen Mary, pending the completion of the new State Apartments, took up her quarters there in 1690. It is not probable that the "Japan skreens" were combined with carvings by Gibbons in the same room at Lee Place. Evelyn does not mention the latter as present in the hall in Christopher Boone's time, but tells us that "his lady's cabinet is adorn'd on the fret, ceiling and chimney-piece, with Mr. Gibbon's best carving." He also mentions that "there is an excellent pendule clock inclos'd in the curious flowerwork of Mr. Gibbons in the middle of the vestibule."¹⁴ A clock face thus surrounded and let into the wainscot may still be seen in the little library at Cassiobury (Page 77).

As, on the occasion of Evelyn's first visit to Lee Place in 1679, he does not mention the carvings as a new introduction, we must suppose that Christopher Boone was one of Gibbons' early patrons, the relationship having, perhaps, begun at the time when the "lonely house" at Deptford was the artist's abode. But Evelyn continued to recommend Gibbons even when the latter was famous, his recommendation in the case of Lord Kildare's house being asked for in the following letter dated London, March 23rd, 1683 :

Honred Sr I wold beg the faver wen you see Sr Joseff Williams again you wold be pleas'd to speack to him that hee wold get me to Carve his Ladis sons hous my Lord Kildare for I onderstand it will verry considerabell an If you have Acquantaas wich my Lord to speack to him his sealf and I shall Ev're be oblig'd to You I wold speack to Sr Josef my sealf but I knoww it wold do better from you.

Sr youre Most umbell

Sarvant

G. GIBBON.¹⁵

By "Sr Joseff Williams" Gibbons, no doubt intends to name a very influential man. Joseph Williamson was one of Lord Arlington's underlings when he was Secretary of State, and as he had really done the greater and more important part of the work he succeeded his chief in that office in 1674. Soon after that he became second President of the Royal Society, and that position would bring Evelyn into frequent intercourse with him. Williamson had married a Stuart—a daughter of George, Lord d'Aubigny and a cousin of the King—whose first husband was Lord O'Brian. It was her daughter by this Irish peer that the young Earl of Kildare married. She, however, did not long survive the wedding, but died in the very year that Gibbons wrote to Evelyn to obtain for him the work of carving the newly married folk's home. It will be noticed that much the same orthographical peculiarities appear in this letter as in that to Ashmole, written six months before. It will also be noticed that the signature appears without the terminal "s," and Evelyn also at first thus spells the name. Yet some years before the date of this letter, for instance, in the entry recording the visit to Lee Place in 1679, Evelyn writes him "Gibbons," and that is the spelling adopted by the artist in signing his letter to Ashmole, his receipts in the St. Paul's acquittance books, his agreement with Sir R. Newdegate and, indeed, every other surviving document to which he appended his name. With regard to the above letter to Evelyn it is quoted exactly as given in the published editions of the Diary. The original has not been seen since Bray transcribed it early in the nineteenth century, and it is possible that he mistranscribed the signature. If not, it stands alone as an example of Gibbons' spelling his name in this manner, and should not have been used by certain recent writers as grounds for an attempt to alter the generally adopted and perfectly correct form of the name.

Evelyn's zeal for his young friend did not stop at recommendation to architects and private people. Although he had failed to induce Charles to buy an example of Gibbons' accomplished work he was determined that the King (whose ear he possessed on matters of art and literature) should be his future employer. It was the very day after the scene with the Queen and the "French woman" that he "bespoke" His Majesty on the subject of Gibbons working under May at Windsor. That the conversation resulted as Evelyn wished we know from entries in the Diary, of which the first, under date of July 24th, 1680, runs as follows :

Went with my Wife and Daughter to Windsor, to see that stately court, now neere finish'd. There was erected in the court the King on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the worke of Mr Gibbons, at the expence of Toby Rustate, a page of the back staires, who by his wonderful frugality had arriv'd to a greate estate in mony, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his master, w^{ch} cost him £1000. He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature.¹⁶

Rustat's character, indeed, was one that contrasted strangely with Charles II's selfishly grasping and keenly self-seeking *entourage*. A parson's son, he had followed his Sovereign into exile and served as Yeoman of the Robes. He had special quarters at Windsor got ready for him in the first section of Hugh May's construction, and he certainly deserved well of his King. His reverence and admiration for the Stuart princes was so great that he spent much of his moderate means in setting up statues of them. The "King on horseback" at Windsor is only one of a set given by him, with which Gibbons was connected, and which will receive further mention (Page 94). In other cases Gibbons was responsible for the statue itself, and the one at Windsor has been attributed to him by careless writers following the "Murray" note in the Vertue MSS. On the hoof of the horse, however, are the words, "Josias Ibach Stadti Blarensis 1679 fudit."

Ibach was paid £1,300 for his work, as we know from a list of Rustat's benefactions that is among the Lansdowne MSS., where it is described as :

A free gift for y^e making and setting up of y^e statue of His Majestie King Charles y^e second in Brass in Windsor Castle. 100li. 00. 00.
More for changing y^e same brass figure of his Majestie 300li. 00. 00.¹⁷

Rustat did not give the pedestal as well, for we find in Grinling Gibbons' bill sent into the Board of Works for work done at Windsor in 1679-80 an item for "Carveing and Cutting y^e iiiii^r white Marble pannells of the Pedistall of his Ma^{ty} Statue on horseback."¹⁸ The Carvings are very much worn, so the sharpness and some of the form and detail are obliterated. The general character of the work is, however, still quite discernible. The panel on the side facing north is a nautical trophy with a wreath of crabs, lobsters and other marine fauna. The south panel has military emblems encircled by fruits (Fig. 50). The two end panels are much smaller and simpler. The one has crossed swords and the King's cypher, while the other bears an inscription that states that Tobias Rustat humbly gave the statue "to his most clement Lord and best of Kings," Charles II in 1680. In that year Evelyn saw it standing in the centre of the court; but it was moved by Wyatville in 1827 to the west side backing against the moat of the tower. The "Pedestall of the large Dyall in the North Terrace" (Fig. 49) included in Gibbons' same account, remains *in situ*, and is the second and last example of Gibbons' work in marble at Windsor. His contributions in wood were on a far larger and more splendid scale, and will be considered in the next chapter.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER VI.

- ¹ *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 254.
² " " " " 257.
³ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, 83.
⁴ *Notes and Queries*, S. IV, Vol. III, p. 594.
⁵ *The Builder*, 1862 Vol., p. 861.
⁶ Lysons, *Environ of London*, II, p. 169.
⁷ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, 83.
⁸ *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 395.
⁹ " " " " 275.
¹⁰ " " " " 286.
¹¹ " " " " 169.
¹² " " " " 355.
¹³ Drake's *Hasted's Kent*, p. 222.
¹⁴ *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 390.
¹⁵ " " " " 397.
¹⁶ " " " " 255.
¹⁷ " " " " 294-5.
¹⁸ Tyghe and Davus, *Annals of Windsor*, p. 207.
¹⁹ St. John Hope's *Windsor Castle*, I, 320.

CHAPTER VII.

HUGH MAY AND GRINLING GIBBONS AT WINDSOR.

AFTER Charles II came into his own in 1660 he determined to transform the decaying Gothic castle at Windsor into a sumptuous palace in the manner of those he had seen arising while an exile in France and the Low Countries. This proved to be one of the few schemes that the easy-going and extravagant King succeeded in fully accomplishing; and had the work then done remained untouched we should have had as complete an example of the best that could be accomplished under him as Hampton Court affords of the maturer work of many of the same artists and craftsmen in the reign of William and Mary.

Despite Wyattville's "restoration" in the "Gothic taste" under George IV enough, fortunately, remains to show us how Hugh May designed, Grinling Gibbons carved and Verrio painted. Nor do we depend merely upon casual entries in Evelyn's Diary for our knowledge of what Hugh May and those under him did at the Royal Castle by Thames side. The story may be fully pieced together from the accounts preserved in the Record Office. Repairs were going on as early as 1670, but these merely touched the fringe of the operations which May was then projecting, and it is not until 1675 that William Roberts, the receiver, presents his first accounts for "Sundry Emptions and Chardges about Rebuilding y^e King, Queene and Duke of Yorke Lodgings."¹

While retaining much of the substance, May entirely transformed the appearance of the "Third King's House"—as the quadrangular palace built by William of Wykeham for Edward III is called—and gave to the exterior the rather plain and reserved classic look shown in various drawings and prints dating from the eighteenth century. Although stone was used and large payments were made to the master mason, yet brick was also a leading material in the construction, and it is Morris Emmett, the master bricklayer afterwards employed by Wren at Hampton Court and Chelsea Hospital, who takes the first place in the early days of the work. But during the year that ends September, 1677, the joiners have been busy setting up wainscots and making doors and chimney-pieces "adorned with Cornish, Architrave, and Mouldings." When these are advanced Gibbons comes upon the scene to complete their decoration. Thus Samuel Wyatt, Alexander Forth and John Turner are engaged as joiners on the same rooms as those enumerated in the following bill, which forms part of this year's accounts:

Grinling Gibbons and Henry Phillips Carvers for severall sorts of Carved Workes by them performed upon the Chimney-peeces, Pedestalls, and picture frames of the Kings Greate and Little Bed Chambers and Presence, his Mat^{ties} Closett, Musicke Roome, Eatinge Room, withdrawing Roome and Backstaires, the Queenes withdrawing Roome, Bed Chamber and Gallery, and in iiith rooms at the Dutchesse of Portsmouths Lodgings—As by Two bills 625^{li} 14^s 00^d.

The French mistress evidently had to be accommodated before the heir-presumptive, for it is only in the next year's accounts that the two carvers make a charge for work done in the Duke and Duchess of York's rooms. The King and Queen's apartments are being continued, and the full sum charged is again over six hundred pounds. But this section of the Castle was then nearly complete, and only the Queen's privy chamber and the King's drawing-room are included in the small sum of £63 5s. charged in 1679. In that and all subsequent bills dealing with the carving at the Castle the name of Grinling Gibbons appears alone. Henry Phillips was probably dead. He had long held the post of Master Carver to the King, and appears as a liveryman of the Joiners' Company as early as 1650. He had, therefore, been a master craftsman for over a quarter of a century before he was associated with Gibbons at Windsor. If, then, as we might hastily surmise from that association, he and Gibbons were

equally concerned with the carvings of 1677-78 why do we not find work of equal elegance and delicacy before this date? Why is it always—as, for instance, at Farnham Castle and at Pembroke College Chapel, Cambridge—still as lumpy in execution as in the days of Charles I? Must we not conclude that, though Phillips, as Master Carver, was associated with Gibbons, his work at Windsor was quite subsidiary, and much like that of Robert Streeter, the King's Sergeant Painter, who sends in bills merely for varnishing wainscot and other such straightforward work, while "Seignior Verrio" was painting the ceilings and "Mounseer Coussin" was gilding. We must remember, too, that at this



FIG. 51.—OVER-MANTELS IN THE KING'S ANTE-ROOM. 1677-8.

carvings have been stained and varnished; at Windsor they are painted over. It has the appearance of being a single, very thin coat, but it is just enough to spoil the nervous delicacy of Gibbons' touch. It will be noticed that in the first bill presented by Gibbons and Phillips the "Kings Eating Room," now known as the "Ante Room," is among the apartments mentioned. Here we still find the fittings much as Grinling Gibbons adorned them, only the south or windowed side having been altered by Wyatville or Salvin, who deemed it proper to take out the sashes and set in imitation mediæval tracery. Moreover, Salvin destroyed May's grand staircase, and accommodated a new one of Gothic type in the court into which the "Eating Room" looked. The roofing of this court has

time Phillips' nephew, William Emmett, was already a liveryman of the Joiners' Company. Of him we find it recorded in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painters* that he was "Sculptor to the Crown before Gibbons and had succeeded his uncle one Philips."² But he was never associated with Gibbons, nor does his name appear in the Windsor accounts, except for the small item of £6 11s. 6d. for carving done in the Queen's closet, and that after May's death and under the surveyorship of Wren, who, as we shall see, soon afterwards employed him on a more liberal scale at Chelsea Hospital and Hampton Court.

Several of the rooms on which Gibbons and Phillips were engaged in 1677-78 have been very little altered, and it is therefore possible to give illustrations of the earliest work of Grinling Gibbons of which the date is positively fixed by documentary record. That at Cassiobury is almost certainly earlier, but the evidence on which this conclusion rests is conjectural. At both places the after-treatment of the carving makes it somewhat difficult to compare the technique with later examples in better condition. At Cassiobury the



FIG. 52.—DETAIL OF CARVING IN THE WESTERN RECESS OF THE KING'S ANTE-ROOM.



FIG. 53.—IN THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER.

artist held. He was at work on the eating-room and the other apartments of the King and Queen's suite at the same time that Gibbons and Phillips were carving, and his bill in the 1678 accounts amounts to £2430. The subject of the painting was apposite to the use intended for the room, and the

made the room dark, and caused much difficulty in obtaining successful photographs. The form the room takes is a square with a large recess at either end for convenience of service, or, as it would seem originally, for musicians. These are top-lighted, and so the detail of the carving in one of them is admirably rendered (Fig. 52). The room itself has a coved ceiling painted by Verrio. It represents a banquet of the gods, and is not only one of the best preserved works of this artist, but also one of his finest productions. Although the manner and spirit of these great paintings of the age of Louis XIV may not appeal to us as they did to art-lovers in Verrio's own day, yet the excellence of design, of colour and of touch in the ceiling of the eating-room does enable us to understand the excessive praise of Evelyn and the position which this

carvings partake of the same character. They form a rich decorative composition, the wall panels being surrounded with swags, festoons and drops, wherein appear all sorts of game, both feathered and furred, fishes and crustacea, fruit and other forms of food. These are grouped together and connected by ribbons and foliage wreaths in the masterly manner for which we must give Gibbons the credit of being the greatest exponent, and there is no doubt that if the paint were removed it would be found that the technique was as perfect here as in St. Paul's and Hampton Court, Petworth and Belton, which form the most triumphant productions of his mature years. We know so little of him and of what he accomplished before his association with Hugh May that, like Minerva, he seems to appear on the scene fully equipped.

The design of the overmantel (Fig. 51), where the carving surrounds Dominichino's St. Agnes, does not so fully insist upon the purpose of the room as the wall decorations. Fish and game are absent, and bunches of fruit are alternated by bouquets of flowers. The projection of some of these is fully one foot, so that the blocks out of which they are produced will consist of about half-a-dozen layers of limewood glued together, since the thickness of two inches was as much as it was considered wise to use for the planks prepared for this purpose. Careful examination reveals in a few cases the points of junction, despite the coating of paint, but without its removal it is difficult to ascertain definitely the number of the layers.

Leaving the former eating-room by what originally was an upper window, and crossing the now roofed court at first-floor level, we enter the southern suite



FIG. 54.—IN THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER. 1677-8.



FIG. 55.—OVER THE FIREPLACE IN THE PRESENCE CHAMBER. 1677-8.

of State Apartments, of which the two at the west end are those termed, in the 1678 bill, the "Queen's Presence and Privy Chambers." Like the King's eating-room, they have remained much as Hugh May contrived them and as they appear in Pyne's *Royal Residences*, published just before the Wyatville alterations were begun. Pyne, however, leaves out much of the carvings. He shows it only about the mantel-pieces, although he tells us of "many carvings, serving as 'bordures' to the pictures," such as we still find. The room at the south-west corner of the building is now called the Audience Chamber, and here the carvings that surround the pictures over the doorways are the chief points displaying Grinling Gibbons' work. The portrait of Mary Queen of Scots holding a crucifix over a representation of her own execution at Fotheringhay called for a special environment, and her initials lie on outstretched wings and crossed trumpets of Fame surmounted by a Royal crown (Fig. 53). An oak leaf swag starts the profuse floral decoration that sweeps down each side of the portrait,



FIG. 56.—OVER THE EAST DOOR OF THE PRESENCE CHAMBER.

and is similar in character to the schemes that enshrine Honthorst's portraits of two Princes



FIG. 57.—CARVING NOW OVER THE EAST DOOR OF THE THRONE ROOM.

of the House of Orange, one of which is illustrated (Fig. 54), and represents William II (afterwards the husband of Charles I's daughter and father of William III) as a boy "in a Spanish costume of violet-coloured satin, with collar and cuffs of rich lace; he wears a hat with feathers of pink and white, and buskins of buff leather lined with red." Although only fifteen when he married, the portrait will have been painted rather earlier.

In the Presence Chamber, which opens eastward out of the Audience Chamber, Mignard's portrait of Charlotte Duchess of Orleans and her children is richly surrounded with a festooning of fruit and flowers, held together by a bay-leaf rope, which an eagle with outstretched wings, grasps in its beak (Fig. 55). An eagle thus devised was much liked by Gibbons as the centre of his chimney-piece compositions, but more especially in his early days, so that it occurs with frequency at Cassiobury. Surrounded by his carving over the west door is Lely's portrait of Frances Duchess of Richmond, perhaps the most beloved of all Charles II's ladies. There was a moment when it was thought she might become his queen, and when he heard of her private marriage with the Duke of Richmond he was "beside himself with rage." Still more distinctive of Gibbons' style is the central feature of the composition over the east doorway framing a portrait of the Duke of Gloucester (Fig. 56). It is a very large and elaborate example of those whorled scrolls which were the singular and unrivalled invention of the great master carver. Through this eastern doorway lay the Queen's Guardroom, and beyond that, completing the south side, were the House Chapel and St. George's Hall. All this range of buildings are now deplorable examples of George IV Gothic, and no other room need be mentioned, in considering the association of Hugh May and Gibbons at Windsor, except the apartment on the north side which was the King's Presence Chamber, and is now called the Throne Room. The chimney-piece shows Gibbons' manner of introducing folded and fringed draperies amid his flowers and other natural objects. To this he grew more and more partial, and it is very noticeable at Hampton Court. The carved panels used as over-doors are interesting. Here we again find the whorl device (Fig. 59), while a rare and charming example of Gibbons' treatment of the human figure is over the east door, and represents St. George and the Dragon, with an oak leaf device to the right and one of bay leaves to the left (Fig. 57).

It would have been more appropriate in St. George's Hall, and, no doubt, was moved from there, a remark which also applies to the chimney-piece, of which the central device is the Garter badge below the Royal crown. Much that Wyattville tore out of the chapel has found its way into the Waterloo Chamber. Around the doorways (Fig. 58) are some of the

"Laurel and Palmes" alluded to in the chapel account, and seen in Pyne's view. There are also many exquisitely carved compositions for panels, but these are now set on a disagreeable and unsympathetic cross-hatched gilt ground. They have lost their original disposition and arrangement, and are covered with brown and shiny matter. They can give no possible pleasure to any human being, and it is painful to think of the depravity of taste which has brought them down to their present condition. All round this vast room we find the wreckage of some of Grinling Gibbons' best work, and another of his splendid whorled scrolls may be noticed over Lawrence's portrait of Lord Liverpool.

What we have lost may be gathered both from Gibbons' bill and from contemporary descriptions. To the King's Chapel Gibbons passed on after he had finished the Royal suite, and his bill for the work appears in the accounts of 1680-82. The seats were, as usual, of oak, with enriched mouldings and other carvings, while the large plain surfaces were ornamented with applied limewood carvings. That is clear from the wording of the bill, which speaks of "carving work done and laid upon twenty-eight seats and stalls." Fruit, flowers, palms, laurels, pelicans and pigeons were selected as the most appropriate emblems and subjects. The King's seat was naturally treated with great magnificence. We hear of six vases with "Thistles, Roses and two Boyes," besides laurels and palms, drapery and fruit, flowers and stars. The altar was also richly treated, and the total charge approaches five hundred pounds. It was the portion of Gibbons' work at Windsor which attracted most attention, and is universally mentioned by visitors. Evelyn saw it in March, 1683. The Verrio paintings of the Resurrection, the Ascension and the Last Supper come in for the first burst of admiration, but equal praise is given to "the stupendous and beyond all description the incomparable carving of our Gibbons, who is, without controversie, the greatest master both for invention and rarenesse of worke, that the world ever had in any age."³

In William III's time Celia Fiennes made her first inspection of the interior of Windsor. She, like Evelyn, begins in praise of Verrio, but refers to the King's Chapel as having "the most Exactest workmanship in ye wood Carving, which is the pattern and masterpiece of all such work, both in ffigures, fruitages, beasts, birds, fflowers, all sorts soe thin ye wood, and all white natural wood without varnish."⁴ This reference to the condition in



FIG. 58.—CARVING NOW IN THE WATERLOO CHAMBER; FORMERLY IN THE KING'S CHAPEL. 1680-2.

which the carvings were left should be noticed. She also tells us that "all the roomes in all ye house is plaine unvarnished oake Wainscoate which Lookes very neate."⁵ In many other places where she sees Gibbons' carvings she specially repeats the same words. It is clear, therefore, that Gibbons was totally opposed to stain, paint, varnish or any other colouring or covering to the virgin wood as his chisel left it. Only in its natural state did he consider it as rightly representing his conception of design and his manner of handling. Only those examples therefore, that have either never been tampered with, as, for instance, the carvings at St. Paul's and at Hampton Court, or that have been carefully, judiciously and lovingly brought back to their original state, like those at Belton and Petworth, can be held to exhibit the work of the master as he intended us to see it. All the rest—namely, all that we find remaining at Windsor and in numerous other places—have lost their true value as works of art, for they have lost the tone, the aspect and the delicacy which the artist gave them and expected that they should continue to possess. But the evil done can be repaired, as the late Mr. Rogers (Page 196-7) proved by his successful treatment of the Belton carvings, and it is a reproach to us as a wealthy and intelligent nation that we allow our Government to leave the examples which are under their care in the degraded condition that we find at Windsor.

Among the 1682 Windsor accounts is an interesting item of £150 due to Grinling Gibbons for an "Extraordinary fine peece of Carved work" ordered by Charles II as a present to the "Duke of Florence." This was included in the excerpts from the Audit Office declared



FIG. 59.—CARVING NOW IN THE THRONE ROOM.

accounts published by Mr. Peter Cunningham in the *Builder* of November 8th, 1862,⁶ and the issue of a fortnight later contained the following letter :

I think the following note may answer an enquiry that I observe in your pages respecting the present whereabouts of a certain work of Grinling Gibbons. I extract it, just as I find it in my note-book, under the date Modena, September, 1860 :

In a room at the Ducal Palace here, containing bronzes, small ornamental objects, curiosities, and so forth, I found on a wall between the windows, and therefore in the dark, an elaborate work of Grinling Gibbons, a large composition of various objects in carved wood, in his usual style of freedom and excellence,—fruit, corn, flowers, shells, in great variety, combined and festooned among mere ornamental foliage. The centre is formed by a skull executed with the greatest detail, a music-book open, with music and words (which I vainly tried to read), and musical instruments, flageolets, &c., a pen and (I think) a dagger. From a round-linked chain which passed round the skull hangs a medallion with a three-quarter face of the artist, and inscribed,—"Gibbons Inventor Sculpsit Londra." The Italian form of the last word shows that he executed the work for Italians; was it a complimentary present from James of England to the relatives of his wife, Mary of Modena? James's own portrait, with coaly complexion and much royal accoutrement of robe and cushion about him, is in the gallery.

Murray does not mention the work. Gibbons, at any rate, set his name upon it, that English visitors at Modena might recognise the artful hand of a countryman; and to-day we may count one fulfilment of a desire conceived some 200 years ago.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.⁷

Without doubt Mr. Lloyd is right in supposing that the carving which he saw in the Palace at Modena and which, since that palace was turned into a military school, has been removed to the museum, was given by James II to his father-in-law. But he is wrong in connecting it with the piece carved by Grinling Gibbons in 1682 for Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany. That carving may still be seen in the Bargello at Florence, and is very similar to the one at Modena. Cosimo sent a set of marble columns as a present to Charles for the palace he began building at Winchester, and it was probably considered that the compliment could best be returned through

the chisel of the great English wood-carver. The neighbouring Duke may have expressed a desire for a similar gift, and James II will have been glad to gratify him since he was fond of employing Grinling Gibbons. We find in the Windsor accounts of his short reign various items for carving done, among them one for foliage panels for the Confession Chair in the King's Chapel carved by Gibbons, who at the same moment was, as we shall see (Page 124), busy with alterations at Whitehall for the Roman Catholic King.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER VII.

- ¹ St. John Hope's *Windsor Castle*, I. p. 312.
² Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, p. 80.
³ Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 406.
⁴ *Celia Fiennes' Diary*, p. 238.
⁵ " " " 306-7.
⁶ *The Builder*, 1862 Vol., pp. 797-8.
⁷ " " " 846.

CHAPTER VIII.

HUGH MAY AND GRINLING GIBBONS AT CASSIOBURY.

WE have seen in the previous chapter that the first account sent in by Grinling Gibbons for work done at Windsor under the auspices of Hugh May is dated 1677. At that date, or a little earlier, he will already have produced one of the finest and most complete series of his decorations in limewood at a house that had been erected by the same architect, and had probably been completed some years before April 18th, 1680, when Evelyn wrote in his Diary: "On the earnest invitation of the Earle of Essex I went with him to his house at Cashioherie in Hartford-shire. It was on Sunday, but going early from his house in the square of St. James, we arriv'd by ten o'clock; this he thought too late to go to church, and we had prayers in his Chapell. The house is new, a plaine fabric, built by my friend Mr. Hugh May. There are divers faire and good roomes, and excellent carving by Gibbons, especially the chimney-piece of y^e library."¹ The Earl of Essex was the son of the unfortunate Arthur Lord Capel, who had been executed in the Tower for complicity in the Loyalist rising of 1648. Lord Capel had inherited the Hertfordshire estate of Cassiobury from the Morrisons, whose heiress he had married. To what extent his son, after the Restoration, destroyed the whole house and rebuilt from Hugh May's plans is rather uncertain. As Evelyn speaks of an unfurnished hall and of a wing not yet built it is clear that part of May's plan was still on paper in 1680, and probably it so remained, for the Earl of Essex had before this departed from his father's loyalty to the Stewarts and was so ardent a Whig that he became involved in the Rye House plot, and died in the Tower in 1683. Perhaps the plate in Kip's *Theatre de la grande Bretagne* represents the complete plan rather than what Kip actually saw, but we can no longer tell this because the house was refaced, altered and added to by one of the Wyatts in 1800. Very fortunately, beyond introducing a certain amount of Strawberry Hill Gothic window tracery and other such subsidiary features, he did not seriously tamper with the great suite of reception-rooms or with the extremely fine staircase.

Examples of perforated panels of scrollwork carved and modelled in wood, and used under the handrail of stairs in place of balusters, have been referred to already, and, among others, those at Thorpe, Tredegar and Tyttenhanger are illustrated (Figs. 11, 30, 37). They, however, were pre-Gibbons in the manner of their execution. A comparison of such panels with those at Cassiobury will at once reveal the great strides in the way of technique which resulted from Evelyn's discovery of Gibbons.

The Cassiobury staircase (Fig. 60) is carried out in a soft wood. It seems to be pine, but that is not clearly visible, as it is now stained a dark colour and heavily varnished, as is all Gibbons' work in this house. The perforated panels are made out of slabs, which could certainly not have been less than five inches thick, so that the acanthus foliage is most natural in the expanse and freedom of its curves and turns. There is every probability that these panels are Gibbons' own handiwork. They are entirely masterly in treatment, and it is doubtful whether, at this early date in his career, Gibbons had pupils or assistants whose technique was anything like as good as his own even when working under his eye. On the staircase strings we find the utmost prominence given to the favourite badge of the Royalists after the Restoration. They substituted oak leaves and acorns for the bay leaf and berries which had been used freely as a decorative motif by Inigo Jones. It was even intended, in commemoration of the Boscobel incident, to have founded an Order of Knights of the Royal Oak. Only after the list of chosen recipients of this honour had been made out and all preliminaries arranged was it found that there



FIG. 60. —THE STAIRCASE.

would be so much friction and ill-feeling on the subject that the project was abandoned. The decorative use of the oak leaf, however, remained, and the son of the man who was held to have been murdered for his loyalty would naturally adopt it largely in the early days of Charles II's reign before Whigism took him into the opposite camp. We can trace it in more than one of Gibbons' compositions in this house, but it is most conspicuous on the staircase strings. They are boldly treated and of great depth, the oak leaf wreath being nine inches wide on the rising string and twelve inches on that of the landing. The staircase, together with a series of halls all of Wyatt Gothic, lies behind the suite of rooms designed by May. That comprises ten in all, ranging from vast apartments like the great dining-room down to the little "Dramatic room" off the large library, which is barely ten feet square. In nine of these we can trace the influence of Grinling Gibbons, and in six of them the whole of the ornamental features are his work.

The north-west corner of the house is occupied by the great dining-room, which, from the complete character of the decorative scheme of carved borders and frames to great panels holding pictures, should be compared with the famous Petworth example shortly to be described. The east side of the room (Fig. 61) has a fireplace in the centre. The original mantel-pieces, described by Evelyn as "not much inferior to Italian," and as made of marble from Ireland, where Lord Essex had been Viceroys, have disappeared. The existing ones are mostly of English-Empire style, and must have been substituted for the originals at the period of the Wyatt alterations. With this exception the scheme of the dining-room remains untouched. Over the mantel-piece is the picture of the widowed Lady Capel and her children entirely surrounded by elaborate carvings, starting with an eagle with outstretched wings holding a bay leaf sprig or olive branch in its beak. Perhaps before Gibbons reached this part of the work the Earl had taken a political distaste to the oak, of which an acorned sprig is in the mouth of a quite similar bird at Petworth (Fig. 179), and another was at Holme Lacy (Fig. 199) until the sale in 1909 (Page 207). Wreaths of fruit and flower start on each side of the Cassiobury bird, and continue till they meet below the picture. On each side of this central feature are panels of great size, but in their case, as also in that of the south wall panels, the carving only occupies the top and two-thirds of the sides. Their scheme starts at the top with a shield placed in an elaborate scrolled cartouche, and it continues in wreathed flowers and fruit of a kind similar to the fuller design of the fireplace. The windows are to the west, and between them are narrow panels filled with a "drop," that is a rich mass of fruits and flowers strung together and held up by a ribbon. A similar device occurs between the windows of the Badmington dining-room (Fig. 198) but there dead birds are added to the flowers. The north end of the room (Fig. 62) is screened off by fluted Ionic columns, and the spaces between the half columns against the walls and the detached columns that flank the centre opening are filled to dado height with perforated panels, such as we have just seen on the staircase, and such as were often used at this date for altar-rails, as at Chelsea Hospital (Fig. 171) and Trinity College, Oxford (Page 146). In the central division of the south side of the dining-room the carved swags do not descend as far as they do in the case of the side panels. They are stopped by the great doorway which goes into the Oval Room, so called from the shape of its painted ceiling.

Evelyn refers to a painting by Verrio in "the porch or entrance," which may be this room. The word "oval" only applies to the centre part of the ceiling. This is lifted from the marginal portion, which forms little more than spandrels, and the vertical sides of the lifted portion are occupied by a deep moulding elaborately carved, the chief member of it being treated with an acanthus leaf pattern in Gibbons' usual cornice manner. A doorway in the opposite wall corresponding to that from the dining-room, leads into the Green Drawing-room. Here all the carved woodwork is gilt. The arrangement of the mantel-piece is very similar to that in the great dining-room. An eagle again occupies the central position at the top of the design. But the distinctive point in this room is the treatment of the over-doors (Fig. 63), where the framing of fruit and flowers surrounds charming grisaille pictures of hoys. The double doors are in the centre of the north and south ends, and that to the south opens into the great library. It corresponds, at the one end of this front, to the dining-room at the other end, but it is lit from the south as its western wall is merely a partition between it and an excrescence containing the inner library and the "Dramatic" Room. The inner library must



FIG. 61.—THE EAST SIDE OF THE GREAT DINING ROOM.



FIG. 62.—THE SCREEN IN THE GREAT DINING-ROOM.

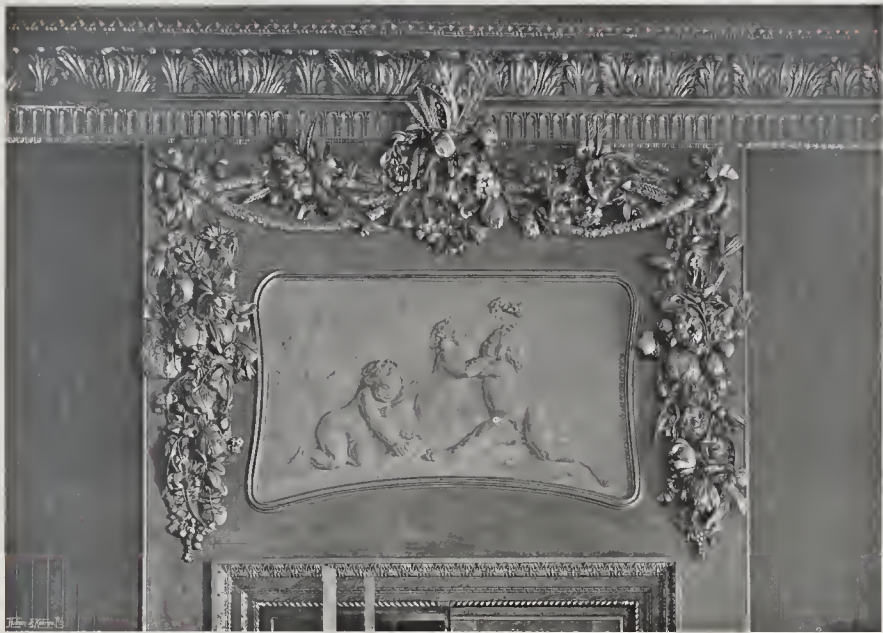


FIG. 63. —OVER DOOR IN THE GREEN DRAWING ROOM.

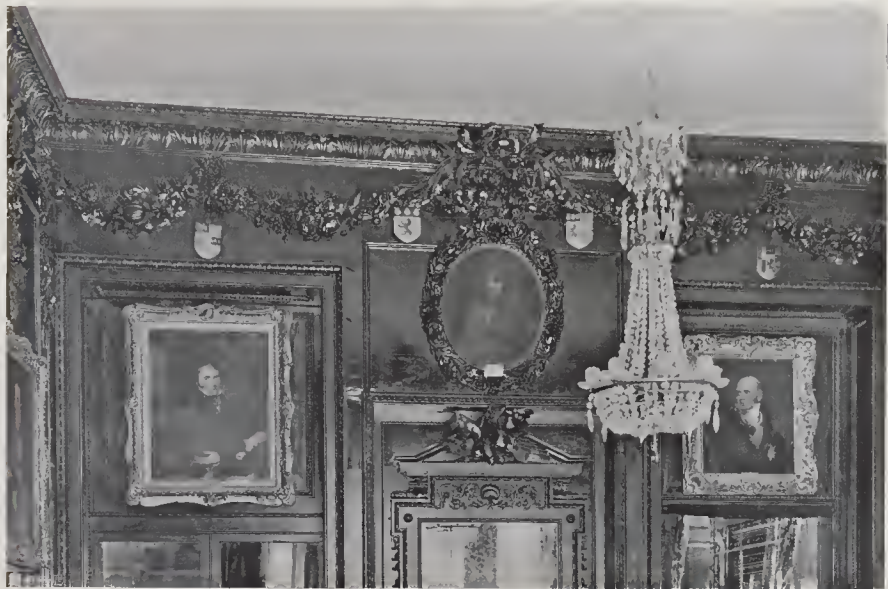


FIG. 64.—EAST SIDE OF INNER LIBRARY.



FIG. 65.—NORTH SIDE OF INNER LIBRARY.

have been considerably altered in 1800, but is still rich in the work of Gibbons. The east side has a deep frieze of fruit and flower swags running across it (Fig. 64), and beneath the central festoon there is a carved frame enclosing a portrait of William Lord Russell, who was implicated with Lord Essex in the Rye House business, and was executed for treason a week after Lord Essex had been found dead in the Tower. The composition is completed by a group of dead birds, that depends from the bottom of the frame. The north side of the room (Fig. 65) is treated in a manner which leads to the conclusion that the fireplace, now in the south wall, originally stood here. The usual arrangement of scrolls and festoons starts from a central basket filled with flowers, which should be compared with the one on the east wall of the Petworth room (Fig. 182). These baskets are, of course, part of the carving in limewood, but between the windows in the large library, and rather high up, are panels set with other baskets full of fruit and flowers two feet across, and fully one foot in projection, where the basket-work is made of osiers stained and varnished to resemble the rest of the work. This assuredly must have been an easy mode of effecting repairs when the carvings suffered from coarse treatment after Mr. Rogers' first visit in 1835. The chimney-piece



66.—OVERMANTEL IN THE GREAT LIBRARY.

in the great library (Fig. 66) deserves the praise given it by Evelyn, for the rope-like oak leaf swags give form to the whole composition, and prevent the bold, natural treatment of the fruit and flowers from offending the canons of decorative proportions.

In the little ten-foot square room we find Gibbons again well represented. "Drops" occupy narrow spaces, and swags give finish to the doorway, while a large portrait of Lady Carnarvon is richly surrounded. But the most remarkable example of the wood sculptor's



FIG. 67.—THE "LOYAL" FRAME.

strong point: "Whom God appoints a Scepter here to Sway Murther no more but Sacred And Obey." On each side of the top central scroll are amorini holding open books, and books, as well as ribbons, appear amid the palm leaf scrolls of the frame, each bearing an inscription. "Fear God honour the King," "In Perils among False Brethern," "Neither be Partakers of other Men's Sins," "I counsel thee to keep the King's Commandments" are among the pronouncements which either refer to the unstinted devotion and treacherous treatment of Lord Capel, or breathe the spirit of unswerving loyalty to the King for whose sake he gave his life. For a portrait of one or another of these ill-fated men this frame must surely have been intended, and as the ardent character of its professions certainly does not represent the opinions of Lord Essex during the last few years of his life, it was in all likelihood one of the first objects which he commissioned Gibbons to make, and perhaps exhibits the very earliest surviving example of the artist's intricate scrollwork, earlier, therefore, than that in the Presence Chamber at Windsor (Fig. 56), and much earlier than those on the Trinity College altar-piece (Fig. 137).

The Cassiobury frame is now filled with red velvet, on which hang miniatures of Charles and Henrietta Maria, copied by Sarah Countess of Essex from the originals by Petitot. Together with these miniatures we find a piece of the Ribbon of the Garter

art in this room is a small detached frame one foot nine inches wide by two feet nine inches high (Fig. 67). At the top is a marvellously executed example of the formal scrollwork brought over the top of other carving, which Mr. Rogers, already (Page 66) alluded to as the nineteenth century copyist of Gibbons and the restorer of much of his work, declared to be the most characteristic mode in which Gibbons expressed his art, since it never occurs either before his time or after him, and is probably all his own handiwork.² Below this whorled scroll is a winged cherub's head, on each side of which, of little more than miniature size, are carved profile heads of Charles I and Henrietta Maria in medallions. A ribbon running beneath them has an inscription somewhat lightly and roughly incised, so that the staining and varnishing from which the frame suffers makes it a little difficult to decipher. But there can be little doubt that the following is a correct transcript, and it reminds us (as we have seen by his letter quoted in Chapter V) that spelling and grammar were not Gibbons'

worn by the King when he was beheaded, and a piece of velvet taken from the pall found covering his coffin when it was opened at Windsor in 1813. A tiny locket containing hair completes this little collection of mementoes of the fallen monarch. Three other frames, which must also be the work of Grinling Gibbons, now hang in the inner library. The one is a small oval twelve inches by fourteen inches, and the Turk's cap lilies are wonderfully executed. This, however, is not merely a frame, but also an example of bas-relief carving in boxwood, the centre exhibiting the head of a man with a flowing Louis XIV wig, and represented, not as usual, in profile, but full-face. The other frames (Figs. 68 and 69) are larger, two feet six inches by three feet six inches, and contain portraits in oils. The frames are a pair, with variations, and the part most worth noticing is the medallion at the top, representing Cupid leaning on a death's head in the one and holding a bow and an hour-glass in the other. There is no doubt that Gibbons was very fond of sculpturing amorini and profile portraits in low relief; but although we shall find a few elsewhere yet so many have disappeared that the little Cassiobury frames have an added value. The likeness of these frames to one carved by his assistant Laurent, after the latter's departure from England, may arise from their having emanated from Gibbons' workshop while Laurent was there, or from their having only reached Cassiobury early in the last century, when some such frames—the product of Laurent's chisel—reached England (Page 96).

The framing of a fixed clock in the little library reminds us of that described by Evelyn as occupying a central position in Mr. Boone's hall (Page 54). In Lady Essex' sitting-room there are a good doorway and an untouched ceiling of very fine contemporary work, especially the heraldic cartouches combined with oak leaf wreaths in the cornice, but there is nothing in this apartment of Grinling Gibbons' own handiwork. The last room where we find him well represented is the little dining-room. The compositions over the mantel-piece (Fig. 70) and at the back of the recess (Fig. 71) are fine and distinctive, but the room as a whole is not at all in its original condition. Only in the recess do we see what the



FIGS. 68 AND 69.—FRAMES IN THE INNER LIBRARY.

panelling and ceiling were at first like. The ceiling of the room itself is modern, and the screen of the recess must be the same, although old material may have been used. That is certainly true of the carving in the two sunk oval medallions, in each of which, amid leaves and wreaths, a fowl, hung up by the neck, is apparently struggling to be free (Fig. 72). These medallions, like the whole of the screen, are painted, and the sharpness of Gibbons' chiselling is thus obscured. But that is not the case with most of his work here.

Mr. Rogers tells us that when he first visited Cassiobury about 1835 he found everything as the carver left it, but that when he went again in 1865 "all this charming work had been covered over and loaded with a thick brown paint and heavy varnish. All the feathering of the birds and veining of the leafage were effaced, smothered up and had vanished; and what repairs had been made were wrought in plaster or a composition."³

How he came to speak of this universality of paint it is difficult to understand, for,



FIGS. 70 AND 71.—IN THE LITTLE DINING-ROOM.

except in the case of the fighting cocks and a few other subsidiary pieces, the carvings show the grain of the wood through the thick stain, and still thicker varnish, which, although they do not "smother" the carving, yet certainly rob it of its delicacy and detract from its tone and texture. The painting at Windsor and the varnishing at Cassiobury make these early examples of Grinling Gibbons look coarser than the later ones at Petworth, Belton and Hampton Court. But if they were in the same condition it is doubtful whether we should detect the difference. There are no known documents surviving at Cassiobury relative to the building and decoration of the house, and therefore the exact date of the carvings cannot be stated. It has been already mentioned that some of the marble "chimney mantels" are said by Evelyn to have been "brought by my Lord from Ireland when he was Lord Lieutenant." As he gave up that office in 1676, and the "mantles" would not be required before the work was well advanced, if not nearly completed, Gibbons is likely by that year to have finished the whole series of his carvings

which must have been in hand for several years before. The little "loyal" frame may have been a preliminary order before the architect was ready for the carver to begin fitted work, and the staircase with its oak leaf wreaths would follow. Here, then, we have with the cartoon of the "Stoning," examples of Gibbons' art that date from somewhere about the time of his "discovery" at Deptford, while the Windsor carvings are—among surviving examples—the next series to which a date can safely be assigned. No doubt he had had many patrons in the meantime besides Mr. Boone, but much has perished or been lost, like the "Crucifixion" and the Lea Place examples.



FIG. 72.—SUNK PANEL IN THE LITTLE DINING-ROOM.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER VIII.

- ¹ *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 362.
² R.I.B.A. Proceedings, 1867, p. 179.
³ " " " 181.

CHAPTER IX.

GRINLING GIBBONS, SCULPTOR, DRAUGHTSMAN AND DESIGNER.

A COMPARISON of the decorative treatment of the woodwork dating from the early years of the Restoration, and illustrated in Chapter IV, with that which has been under review at Windsor and at Cassiobury shows that a change, almost amounting to a departure, took place in the years immediately following 1670. If the Tintoret Crucifixion had survived no further evidence probably would be needed to prove that that change was both sudden and personal. However, the loss of this piece of carving, though regrettable, is not fatal to the proving of this point. Evelyn's description of it, including the frame, so exactly tallies with the work in the Windsor "Eating-Room"—the first surviving example of Gibbons' work of which the date is documentary—that we can safely conclude that his style was already formed in 1671, while the experienced critic's declaration that the flowers and festoons in the early piece not merely rivalled but excelled Nature, makes it quite clear that perfection of technique had already been attained by the carver, although he then described himself as "yet a beginner." We can, therefore, with the Cassiobury and Windsor sets of carvings before us, test the truth of the proposition laid down already that Inigo invented a style, Grinling Gibbons a manner of treating it (Page 11). We have seen that Inigo Jones' special task was to put order into chaos. The latter word is hardly an exaggeration for much of the thronged assemblage of tortured classic forms, fanciful Flemish motifs and unanatomical human shapes which the average Elizabethan and Jacobean craftsman relished and produced. Even at his best he was apt to seek his effect through uncontrolled richness and a profusion of detail which monopolises the attention. With him ornament is not the polished jewel which exquisite and educated taste has thoughtfully placed at the point of chief importance in a plain but shapely field. Rather is it a mass of precious stones in the rough so scattered over the whole area as to obscure its purpose and break its leading lines. Orderliness and discipline are not the foundation of the composition, but are merely introduced by a repetition of parts, such as sets of pilasters and cartouches. In a coarse example of the type even this may be wanting, while a fine one is apt to give the idea that it is not the conception of a trained architect who has set the sculptor to work at a special and chosen spot, but of clever carvers with limited training who have employed a draughtsman to set out for them a framework calculated to hold as much as possible of their output.

The rightly balanced and well shaped plain joinery that begins to appear during the second score of years of the seventeenth century was a reaction against this. But the tendency to leave the sculptor out altogether was aiming at too low a flight, and by no means suited the ambitious and capable architect who sought to produce—in his manner and in England—buildings worthy of comparison with those of the great Renaissance masters of Italy. Better than any Englishman before him, and equally with any after him, Inigo Jones appreciated architectural values. So that he was not only a past-master of line, proportion and balance in the main mass of his structures, but he had a perfect sense of the due relation of plain and decorated surfaces and of right quality in ornament. Thus we found (Page 8) that the Wilton rooms are rich in sculptured ornament, but the sculpture has been given its place and its limits, and it is never allowed to trespass beyond them. We see at once that it has never been a mere matter of how much ornament could be accommodated in such and such expanses of wall and ceiling,

but, given a room of a certain size to be devoted to a certain purpose and having such and such doors, windows and fireplace as its salient points, the question has been what general scheme for its fitment should be adopted, and, when this has been settled in outline and structure, on what particular points should the eye be attracted by rightly ordered and skilfully executed ornament. In such matters Inigo Jones seemed incapable of going wrong. His mind's eye saw the parts of a composition fall into place—the parts right in themselves yet perfectly disciplined as fractions of a correlated whole. He held that as the composition should be masterly in design so should each portion of it be exquisite in execution. Let joiners and carvers be of the best, but rigorously kept to their allotted sphere. As to what this sphere was he likewise had perfectly clear-cut views. It was a sphere that was not merely to be limited in space but in character also. When, as in the niches of the Winchester screen (Page 9), the salient objects were to be not merely decorative but pictorial the sculptor could have a free hand as to method, and should treat the human figure with realism. But where the ornament was to be a merely decorative treatment of wreaths, swags and scrolls the treatment should be conventional alike in its general form and in the particular handling of each detail. We may recognise that a mask is a human head, but it must have something of the impassive lines of the sphinx. We may notice that certain definite and nameable flowers form a wreath, that special and recognisable fruits are clustered in a swag, but they must not pretend to be the flowers or the fruits themselves; they must, in a measure, be subject to the nature of the material in which they are carved and to their subsidiary character as part of a scheme. Although, therefore, Inigo Jones imbibed the Italian love of stone and plaster for structural interior treatment, and rather disguised wood when he used it, yet he had on the whole, a strong sense of truth in art, and of giving the right conventional touch to the natural objects introduced into decorative schemes. It does not follow that he would not have liked more crispness of touch, delicacy of form, and depth of undercutting than his craftsmen gave him. There can be no doubt that he strove to find or



FIG. 73.—CARVING FORMERLY BELONGING TO HORACE WALPOLE.



FIG. 74.—FRAME FORMERLY BELONGING TO HORACE WALPOLE.

educate better ones, and that if civil troubles had not supervened the work of the last ten years of his life would have been not only more abundant, but more perfectly wrought. Yet all his surviving drawings, as well as the spirit of his executed work, show that he would have set some limit to mere pride of technique and to forcing from certain materials effects antagonistic to their nature. That is where Grinling Gibbons totally differed from him. First and foremost, Gibbons was a craftsman, and to excel in craftsmanship was with him so dominant an object that it tended to overcome the strong natural sense of decorative proportion which undoubtedly was his. The result was that though he was able thoroughly to appreciate and follow Inigo Jones' rules of placing, spacing and arranging ornament, he was blind to a correct view of the subjectivity to decorative generalisation of the natural objects taken as the components of his schemes. Thus the whole of his marvellous skill of hand and eye was given over to exact imitations of natural forms, and the more the material in which he wrought lost its own character and took over that of the object it simulated, the greater the artistic triumph. This was by no means Gibbons' individual fallacy. It came of the air he breathed and of the spirit of his environment. It is not really for his high attainment as a designer, and for his true taste in arrangement, that his contemporaries praised him, but for his skill in making things appear what they were not. The carved flowers over his door in La Belle Sauvage Yard did not attract attention because they were an apt and proper portion of his doorway taken as an architectural entity, but because they looked so fragile, so like a bunch of the real thing picked out of the garden bed, that people were convinced that they shook when the coaches rolled by (Page 46). As a matter of fact, this is a libel, because what is remarkable in the work of Gibbons is its real rigidity compared with its apparent flimsiness. But that only proves all the more that it offends against the real canons of art, and is cleverly deceptive rather than honestly convincing. Yet both Evelyn in his own time and Walpole in the next generation held this to be the most praiseworthy feature of Gibbons as an artist. It is his "studious exactness"¹ that wins Evelyn's admiration. It is because he exceeded all others in "giving to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers"² that Walpole gives him such exceptional praise. This same spirit accounts for the artist's love of imitating in wood a lace cravat, and for the deep impression that this successful simulation made

upon his own and the following generation. Luttrell has already been quoted (Page 46) as declaring that it was a point lace carving that Evelyn showed to Charles II. Against this note in Vertue's manuscript Horace Walpole set the words, "now in Mr. Walpole's collection," although he knew that it was a cartoon, and not a cravat, that had been carried to the King. All he meant was that, of the several representations of this object which the carver had wrought, he had possessed himself of one. After the Strawberry Hill sale it was acquired by the late Baroness Burdett-Coutts, and is now at No. 1, Stratton Street. The illustration (Fig. 73) shows it to be in fine condition and unpainted, so that the extreme dexterity of handling is revealed, and it is difficult to believe that we are looking at limewood and not at linen threads. "The art arrives even to deception,"³ as Horace Walpole says of it.

Another carving by Grinling Gibbons that belonged to the same collector is a frame containing a picture of the Walpole family and now at Lansdowne House (Fig. 74). The kind of lace represented in the cravat piece is known as



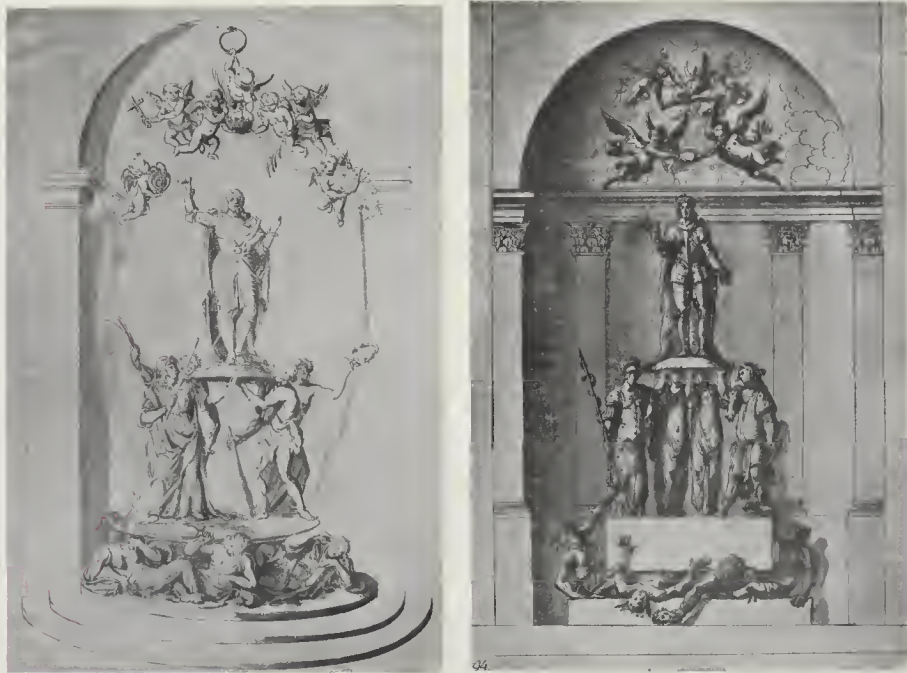
FIG. 75.—PANEL AT CULLEN.



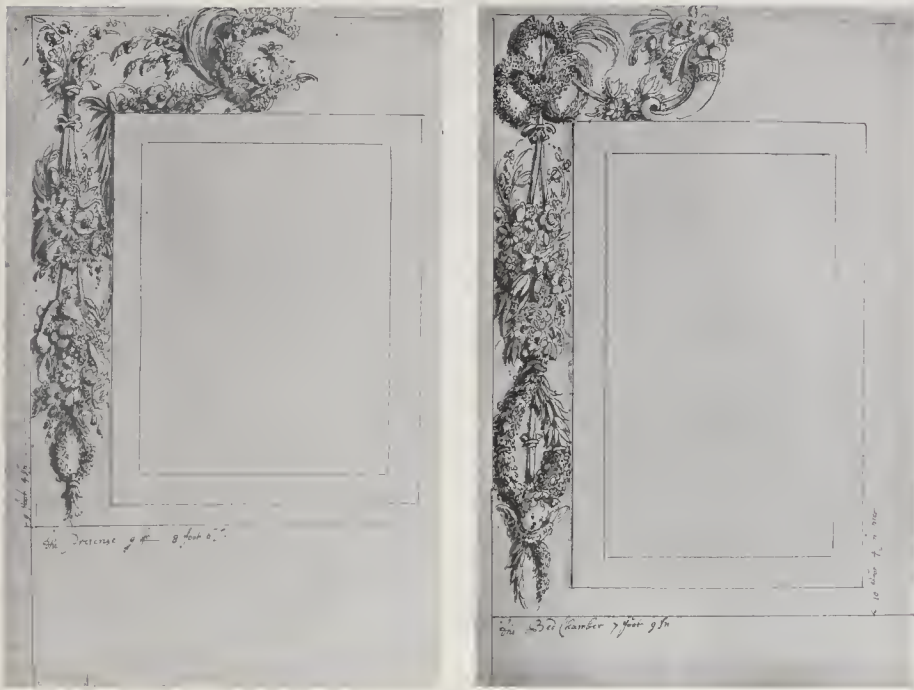
FIG. 76.—PANEL AT HACKWOOD.

Punto tagliato a fogliami, or Venetian point. It was fashionable for cravats with those who could afford it in Grinling Gibbons' time. Charles II paid one hundred and ninety-four pounds for three cravats "de poynt de Venez," but William III got six for one hundred and fifty-eight pounds. Both monarchs are wearing such in their Abbey effigies.⁴ The highly raised portions (over strands of cotton) and the large and diversified patterns appealed to Grinling Gibbons as capable of effective rendering in his favourite medium. He frequently chose this same type of cravat as an incident in one of his compositions. Thus in another of Vertue's note-books we hear of a "curious piece of carving in wood by G. Gibbons, being a point Cravat in the middle, several musical instruments fruit flowers a medal hanging to a chain," while under the heading of Sir Robert Goyer's sale of pictures we read: "Here was also sold a piece of carving in wood *baso relievo* by Mr. Gibbons, being of ornaments, fruits, flowers, martial instruments, in the middle a point Cravat most curiously wrought, said to be the piece that recommended him to K. Charles."

Similar to either of these, except that birds, fishes and shells are more prominent than fruit and flowers, is the medley (Fig. 75) now at Cullen in Banffshire. The martial instruments and a medal are grouped with the cravat to form a centre. At Hackwood (Pages 202-5) it forms part of a very richly wrought panel (Fig. 76). Foliated scrolls spring from the knot and end in the whorled *motif* that called for so much delicate under-cutting. At each end stand well sculptured boys, holding wreaths of a little open, four-petalled flower, which continue as swags right across the composition, the remaining intervals being filled with shells and pearl necklaces. Unfortunately, the whole of this fine work is smothered under numerous coats of paint, so that all the verve and delicacy that give unique distinction to the work of the great master-carver are wholly lost. As occasional chipping of the later coating of grained oak shows the earlier white paint, the impression given is that the whole work is a coarse plaster cast. But for this the carved cravat would be as easily mistakable for the real article as that which belonged to Horace Walpole, and which so fully conforms to the standard of its age that it may be taken as



FIGS. 77 AND 78.—GRINLING GIBBONS' DESIGNS FOR THE CHARLES I MAUSOLEUM STATUE.



FIGS. 79 AND 80.—DESIGNS FOR OVER-MANTELS BY GRINLING GIBBONS.

typifying the curious anomaly, that at the moment when the classic spirit triumphed in our architecture, when the immutable and all-including rules of Vitruvius, as amplified and co-ordinated by Palladio, were accepted as their creed by English designers, the treatment of the components of decoration disobeyed authority and strove to be not an adaptation from Nature, but Nature its very self.

This defect must be admitted as present in the woodwork of Grinling Gibbons and his school, and yet even purists and devotees of honesty cannot fail to admire what Grinling Gibbons did, and admire it not merely for its technique, but for its art. Had Gibbons been merely a clever sculptor in wood no doubt blame would have out-balanced praise. When a belated nineteenth century follower of his manner produced mammoth sideboards as triumphant examples of what England could do in the Victorian epoch the result was deplorable. But it has been already remarked that to skill of hand Gibbons joined a natural aptitude and an educated taste for design, and, though he may have given to woodwork a more exact resemblance to individual fruits, flowers, birds and beasts than we can approve, yet he composed them into groups and threw the groups into place with the same sure eye as Jones or Wren or any other recognised master of classic architecture. Although we find him working under architects—under May at Windsor and at Cassiobury, under Wren at St. Paul's and Hampton Court—it is very evident that he did not work as a mere craftsman, carrying out carefully drawn designs prepared for him. Had that been the case, although the technique of his work might have been the same everywhere, it would have differed in composition according to the taste of different architects. That we do not find. If we are shown a detached picture of a chimney-piece or a doorway carved in his manner we are not able to judge from any characteristic of design or composition whether it comes from Windsor or from Hampton Court, from Cassiobury or from Petworth. In all that is classed as Grinling Gibbons' work there is individuality.

There are ever present characteristics that make it recognisable even when we know it to be a product of his direction and influence merely and not of his hand. It is no mere conjecture or reasonable inference derived from his surviving carvings that Gibbons was a draughtsman as well as a sculptor. It rests on published documentary evidence.

After the Restoration of Charles II it was felt that there should be some national memorial to the Royal martyr. It was eighteen years, however, before this intention took the form of a command to the leading architect to prepare designs for a mausoleum to the late King. These designs are among the Wren drawings preserved in the library of All Souls' College, Oxford. They represent a round-domed building not entirely unlike Gibbs' Radcliffe Library, which stands a few yards from All Souls'. No doubt Wren, in this case as usual, made sketches to which he added notes and measurements as to sizes, proportions, etc., and then his pupil,

Hawksmore, into whose possession all these drawings appear to have come and who gave them to All Souls', made the finished drawings. But among the set for the mausoleum are two representing semi-circular recesses, such as are customary for the apses and side chapels of Late Renaissance churches, in which stand elaborate groups of statuary. These statuary groups were drawn by Grinling Gibbons.

It is a point that writers on the subject of this mausoleum, such as John Elmes and Cosmo Monkhouse, have never noticed, although proof of the fact is not far to seek. The earliest published



FIGS. 81 AND 82.—DESIGNS FOR MANTEL-PIECES INTENDED FOR HAMPTON COURT.

account of Wren's life and work is the *Parentalia*, compiled by his son from his own notes and documents soon after his death, although it was not published till 1750.

The circumstances connected with the inception and later abandonment of the mausoleum scheme are here related.⁵ The plan and section preserved at All Souls' show that there were to be recesses, such as those in which the statuary designs are placed, occupying the centres of three sides of the building, the fourth side having the entrance door. These the *Parentalia* terms "three grand Niches," and we are told that for one of them was designed the King's monument, with statues of "heroick Virtues" standing, and pressing underneath them portrait figures of Rebellion, Heresy, etc. Above this composition was to be a statue of Charles I, and over his head "a Group of Cherubims bearing a Crown, Branches of Palm and other Devices." After this description there follow the words: "There are two Draughts of this Statuary Design, one adapted for Brass work, the other for Marble, as should have been most approved." In the margin, lineable with this description, and specially referring by means of a star to the



FIG. 83.—FRIEZE IN THE KING'S BEDCHAMBER AT HAMPTON COURT.

word "Design," is inserted the note: "By the eminent Artificer Mr. Gibbons." The design which more exactly fits the description is the one intended to be carried out in marble (Fig. 77). The King stands on a convex disc, no doubt representing a shield, and the cherubim above him hold a crown, palm branches and other devices such as a cross, the arms of Great Britain and the royal cypher as mentioned in the *Parentalia*. The shield is supported by four figures, and they stand on a round platform, under which crouch three other figures. This design is very lightly put in, and not nearly so highly finished either in its statuary or architectural details as the one designed for brass (Fig. 78).

Here Corinthian pilasters support an entablature, the background is darkened and the figures are washed in yellow. The King wears his crown, and the cherubim are flying down to place a laurel wreath thereon. He stands on a shield as in the other design, but the "Heroick Virtues" are differently drawn and grouped, and they stand on a huge square block, left white to represent marble, which crushes down the four Evils beneath it. They are, indeed, between an upper and a lower millstone, for they lie on another wider hlock of marble, which combines to make this lower part of the composition into a duly proportioned plinth. By the kind permission of Mr. Oman, the librarian, and his Library Committee, both these designs from the All Souls' collection are reproduced. They establish the fact, in connection with the positive assertion in the *Parentalia*, that Gibbons was a draughtsman as well as a sculptor. We shall find further evidence of this when

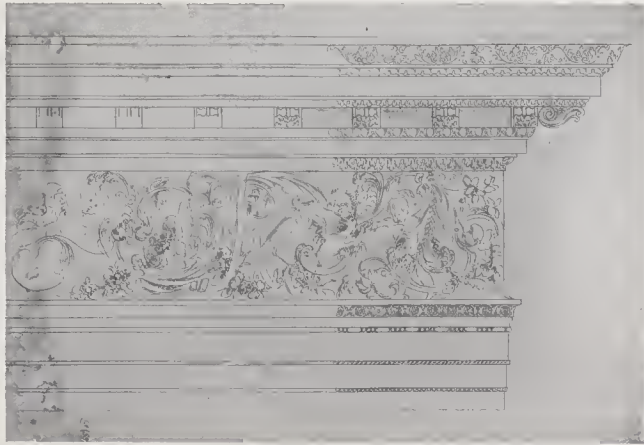


FIG. 84.—DESIGN FOR A FRIEZE BY GRINLING GIBBONS.

we reach the building accounts of St. Paul's Cathedral, where we hear of boards being glued together for him to draw upon (Page 102).

The increasing expenses of Charles II's rather elaborate domestic establishment prevented money being found for the erection of the mausoleum, and it was thought to be a sufficient memorial to the martyred King to erect an equestrian statue of him at Charing Cross. This could be done inexpensively, as the statue already existed, and could be procured on easy terms. Like the statues of James I and Charles I now standing at the west end of Winchester Cathedral but originally intended for and placed in the niches of Inigo Jones' screen which was removed by the Gothic revivalists, the Charing Cross statue is a work of Hubert le Sœur. It was made by order of one of the Howard family, was cast in 1633, but was not erected before the commencement of the Civil War. When that broke out Parliament sold it to John Rivett, brasier, with strict injunctions to break it up. He, however, buried it, and thus it escaped in the same manner as the Winchester Cathedral statues. After the Restoration Rivett's possession of it became known, and it was determined to give it a public place of honour. But whether he was paid for it or, as Strype says, "presented it" is not certain. What is clear is that in 1678, the year of the mausoleum scheme, it was set up at Charing Cross, where it now stands on a pedestal designed by Wren.

The great carved panels at each end are rather in the manner of those of the Windsor pedestal, and that was quite enough evidence for Horace Walpole to found his assertion that "the pedestal was made by Mr. Grinling Gibbons."⁶ There seems no doubt whatever that this is a mistake, for, although Robert Elmes⁷ and other writers repeat it, there is



FIG. 85.—CARVING FORMERLY AT HOLME LACY.

strong evidence to show that these carvings were executed by Joshua Marshall, Master Mason to the Crown, and to him they are assigned by the writer of the article on Gibbons in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But it is, of course, possible that Gibbons made "Draughts" for them. The chronological connection between the mausoleum design and the Charing Cross statue probably led to the error which we find in Wheatley and Cunningham's *London Past and Present*, where it is asserted that two designs for the Charing Cross pedestal were made by Wren, and are "now among his papers at Oxford."⁸ No such designs are to be found, and it is clear from the context that the allusion is to the statuary groups for the mausoleum. These are not the only examples of Gibbons' draughtsmanship in the Wren collection at All Souls' College.

The mausoleum drawings are on sheets 94 and 95 of the second volume. But on sheet 91 of the first volume we again meet with Gibbons, and this time as the designer of wood carvings (Figs. 79 and 80). It must be confessed that this view is not borne out by the catalogue of the collection which Robert Elmes drew up. According to him Sheet 91 represents ceilings by Wren. Why he should have held that drawings which exactly represent the mode in which Gibbons decorated wood over doors and mantels were ceiling designs it is impossible to guess. How a three-sided composition was to be fitted into a ceiling, and why an arrangement so utterly different to any ceiling of the time should have been contrived, are questions not worth considering, for it is evident that Elmes cannot have really observed the two drawings on this sheet, and that he jumped to an obviously wrong conclusion. It is equally erroneous to attribute the drawings to Wren. His known sketches lead one to suppose that his draughtsmanship was

not his strong point, and that his assistant, Hawksmore, was responsible for his finished architectural drawings. But on Sheet 91 there is no architecture. Within a few lines marking an inner and an outer framing are freehand sketches, part pen and ink and part wash, representing in rapid but masterly manner all Gibbons' usual materials—fruit and flowers palm branches and ribbons, amorini and birds. They so exactly suggest on paper his mode, not merely of arrangement, but of carving, that it would be excusable to attribute them to him even if further evidence was not forthcoming. That is supplied by the writing at the foot of each design, which tells us that one is for "the Presence Chamber," and is to be nine feet six inches high and eight feet six inches wide, while the other is for "the Bedchamber," and gives ten feet four inches by seven feet nine inches as the size.

This information is in Gibbons' handwriting. A comparison with the Ashmole letter puts this beyond doubt. There is naturally less flourish in the marginal notes, but the formation of the letters is exactly the same. The word "the" shows perfect similarity in both cases. So does the running together or the separation of certain letters, while "hiet" for "height" is on orthographic par with "waer" for "where." That these are designs composed and drawn by Gibbons himself for overmantels at a Royal palace of which Wren was architect there can be no doubt whatever. To decide which of them is difficult. We find Evelyn in 1686 admiring the mantel-piece by Gibbons in the Queen's bedchamber at Whitehall. These designs may have been for this palace, which was burnt down in 1698. But it is more likely that they were for Hampton Court, where the overmantels in the Drawing-room and Audience Chamber show a general resemblance to the drawings.

That there is a good deal of divergence in detail may be accounted for in two ways. In the first place it is very likely that when Gibbons worked out his own designs and did not leave them to his assistants he modified them as he went on. In the second place, it must be remembered that only a portion of the full plans for Hampton Court were carried out, and that drawings were made for rooms that were never built or, at least, never fully decorated. This will certainly account for our not finding at Hampton Court a single mantel-piece corresponding with any of the large set of designs in the Soane Collection. To what extent we find Gibbons' own hand in these it is difficult to determine. Many of the mantel-piece designs are quite unlike his style.

The figures seated on pediments, the great vases, the tabernacles, the trophies and the scrolls there represented agree much more with the work of William III's favourite Huguenot architect-designer, Daniel Marot, whom he employed in England as well as in Holland. But occasionally (Figs. 81 and 82), even where the general scheme reminds one of Marot, there are the flower swags and groups, the kissing cherubim and the involved whorls, that are Gibbons' own, drawn in by apparently the same hand that is responsible for Sheet 91 of the All Souls' Collection. To Gibbons, again, it seems quite safe to attribute the design (Fig. 84) for an entablature where the frieze resembles, although it is still more elaborate, that in the King's bedchamber (Fig. 83), and all the other enriched members are exactly such as he used.



FIG. 86.—CARVING
FORMERLY AT HOLME
LACY.

We may therefore lay down the broad rule that, with regard to the decoration of rooms, the architect supplied the framework only—the main structural lines, that is, of the composition—and that Gibbons designed the rest. We must not, then, allow our wonder at his marvellous technique to warp our estimate of him as first and foremost a great designer possessed of enough originality to create a decorative mode stamped with his name and beginning and ending with him.

The forms and principles which he found prevailing were those that had been introduced by Inigo Jones, and these he took as a basis for his own manner. But his individuality and his early environment produced enough variation to make his work a new thing. If anything he was less under the influence of the founder of English Late Renaissance architecture at the outset of his career than in his later years. Cassiobury departs from Wilton rather more than do Hampton Court and St. Paul's, yet if we take the decorative schemes at Wilton and at Cassiobury and analyse their components we shall be as much struck by the similarity as by the divergence. The swag and the drop made up of fruit and flowers take the first place in both cases. With Inigo Jones they were close-packed and solid-looking, and they were invariably accompanied by ribbon, if not by drapery. With Gibbons swags and drops habitually composed his overmantels, and at Cassiobury swags form a kind of frieze running across the east end of the inner library (Fig. 64). But they are put together in quite a different manner. Each component part retains something of its freedom and individuality. Fruit and flowers are loose and outstanding, and are used in greater variety and in greater quantity. A careful examination will show a tying together of stalks, but there is often no ribbon or even string showing. When it does it is treated very realistically. The drops of the great dining-room mantel-piece (Fig. 61) hang from a bow of ribbon tied round a perfectly imitated nail. Drapery is absent at Cassiobury, whereas at Wilton it is freely used, not merely in conjunction with swags and masks, but also as a separate *motif*.

Later on Gibbons developed a liking for it, and we find much of it at St. Paul's, Petworth, Hampton Court and elsewhere. With or without its attendant drapery, Inigo Jones constantly introduced the human mask. Gibbons was always chary of its use. It is entirely lacking in the Cassiobury decorations, but later on it appears plentifully in cherubim form. The female head is most rare. Crossed palm branches play a great part in the Wilton Single Cube Room, and the long, narrow panels over some of the portraits in the Double Cube are likewise filled with it. Once only at Cassiobury does it appear in the same form, and then a light string of foliage is wound about it. It is placed under the portrait which occupies the centre of the great library overmantel. This, again, is a motif that Gibbons afterwards took to much more freely, but he more usually used it as an element in mixed compositions than as the sole feature of a panel. The above are the least architectural and most naturalistic elements of Inigo Jones' decorative designs, and as an architect he did not give them an overwhelming place in his compositions.

Gibbons, however, as first and foremost a student of natural forms, makes them do nearly the whole of his work. The pilaster and the pediment play a great part in the Wilton rooms. At Cassiobury they are absent. Drops and swags alone are relied on to give decided lines, whether vertical or horizontal, while the bust or cartouche which usually occupies the tympanum of a broken pediment are replaced in the great majority of Grinling Gibbons' mantel-piece and picture frame devices by a big bunch of fruit, a bird with outstretched wings or a basket of flowers. Where at Cassiobury such a position is occupied by a cartouche—as over the portrait of Lord Ranelagh at the sideboard end of the Little Dining-room—it is largely composed of the twisted scrolls common alike to the Italians and to their copyists in other nations, but it is treated with the same lightness and detachment of parts that characterise Gibbons' festoons, and it has not the dignity and rigidity of those at Wilton. Gibbons never got to relish the pediment, and when we find it in combination with his carvings as we do at the two ends of the library at Trinity College, Cambridge (Fig. 135), it will have been the architect who designed it and had it carried out by the joiners, Gibbons merely coming in afterwards and wreathing it with his flower-work. Running scrolls in the Italian Renaissance manner were much used by Inigo Jones for friezes and narrow upright panels. Gibbons did not like them.

He was not wishful to discipline his vegetation into such conventional forms, and it was probably Wren himself who insisted on such treatment above the organ at St. Paul's and on the sides of the uprights in the choir that divide the stalls and the aperture of the gallery behind the stalls (Fig. 104).

The King's bedchamber at Hampton Court is one of the few rooms decorated by Gibbons that uses Italian scrollwork in the frieze (Fig. 83). The beautiful curves of the conventional foliage interspersed with birds and bunches of fruit that we find in it make us regret that he did not more frequently adopt this fashion. Although he neglected it, no one was more alive to the fact that the extremely realistic character of his principal carvings needed a very conventional and restrained treatment of the enriched members of cornices, architraves and framings. For these he used all the simpler classic *motifs* with perfect taste and reserve, but with great and original variety. As he so often dispenses with the frieze entirely or leaves it plain he relies upon the great cavetto of his cornices as a chief decorative field. The acanthus leaf is invariably the principal component of this decoration, but it is used with much diversity, and with a vast number of little floral devices combined with it in perfectly sympathetic and unexaggerated manner. A collection of Gibbons' cavettos, gathered from all the buildings, domestic and ecclesiastical, where the woodwork was designed by him, would reveal a surprising number of such combinations, and convince everyone of his high position as a creative artist working within his chosen sphere. A glance at this feature as it repeatedly reappears throughout this volume will bring this home to the reader, while the repetition of the self same design throughout the suite of state apartments at Chatsworth (Pages 223-9) proves his great superiority to Watson and his other contemporaries.

It is rather remarkable that although Evelyn first found Grinling Gibbons at work on the human figure, and although he gave such promise as a statuary artist that Evelyn considered that he would take a high place in this branch of art, yet, for decorative purposes, no ambitious and successful designer ever used it less. Indeed, Gibbons as an artist almost appears to us under two personalities—the one studying Italian art, and deriving thence a real power of reproducing the human figure dressed in classic garb; the other as a dweller among the realistic flower painters of Holland learning to produce in carved wood what they depicted with the brush.

With Gibbons these two personalities never merged. He carved cartoons, he produced statues of Charles and James, he sculptured the classic vases that form part of his compositions at Petworth and elsewhere, but whereas the human figure, idealised and conventionalised, reappears in every shape and form throughout Italian decorations, Gibbons can never bring himself to do more than scatter winged cherubim about his church work, and occasionally introduce it in his room decorations, as at Petworth (Fig. 184). Even this is a development absent at Cassiobury, where his whole decorative idea, apart from occasional enriched mouldings, is to make his walls appear as if he had gone out into the garden and field, gathered what he had



FIG. 87.—GRINLING GIBBONS' STATUE OF CHARLES II.

found there of leaf, flower and fruit, strung and wreathed them together with infinite skill and grace and hung them up on nails as a kind of superbly artistic Christmas decoration. But as these would not last, instead of hanging up the thing itself he forced wood to exactly simulate the arrangement which he had previously caused the real objects to assume in his mind's eye, if not in reality. He possessed a marvellous decorative sense, and gives the impression that without error or effort he could always fill a desired space in an absolutely satisfying manner. With all the freedom and individuality which he allowed each item of his grouping to assume, with all his bold projection and deep under-cutting he completely maintained the spirit of balance and discipline. He was a benevolent martinet, who resolutely drilled the regiments under his charge, who would correct the slightest carelessness in dress or awkwardness in deportment among his recruits, and yet knew the personal character of each one and gave him scope.

As he went on he largely increased his recruiting area. At Cassiobury fruit and flowers almost monopolise the designs. Occasionally an eagle forms the centre of a composition, and dead birds find a place in the little dining-room, yet at this period the garden and the hedgerow are his principal places of study. But by the time Windsor is in hand the game larder and the fishmonger's shop have received due attention. Soon the sea yields up its wealth of shells, and before long he covers the entire ground of the Dutch school of still-life painters. To the sphere of a Huysum and of a Jan van Os he adds the sphere of a Weenix and of a Steenwyck. Even at Cassiobury, in the drawing-room, a flute and a piece of music appear coyly amid a wealth of fruit and flower. But at Petworth, and again in the privy suite at Hampton Court, we find whole clusters of implements of music, of painting and of the chase. Such material, however, was much more used by others than by Gibbons and especially by plasterers after his time. Of all decorative artists he evidently had the greatest knowledge of plant life. Though we know of him only as a town-dweller he must have been born a lover of the garden and the field. As a boy in Holland he will have watched not merely how artists painted flowers, but how the flowers themselves grew on the plant, how each stem and tendril curved, each leaf developed, each petal expanded. It is this, more than any other quality, which gives to Grinling Gibbons' work its individuality. He did not methodically copy natural forms. He knew by combined intuition and study the anatomy, the poise, the movement of plant life, and was thus able with a quick and sure touch to reproduce it in all its tender complexity and crisp delicacy. But he belonged wholly to the Dutch school. He had none of the inventive ideality which gave the Italian decorative artist such a power of producing endless conventionalised combinations of animal and vegetable forms. He took them as they were. No one could excel him in their arrangement, but he would not or could not modify them individually. A tulip is a tulip and a pea-pod a pea-pod. The lobsters and shells (Fig. 86) that were at Holme Lacy are the real thing laid about and transformed into wood by the touch of a fairy wand.

If he introduces the human form—beyond his one frequent cherub type—it is not woven in as part of a decorative scheme of his own, but merely as portion of some copied inorganic object—a profile medallion hanging from a ribbon or a vase decorated in bas-relief with groups of figures. Where conventional treatment is resorted to it is limited to a chosen number of well established classic motifs, such as the guilloche, the egg and tongue or, as usual in the "cavettos," to a resourceful variation of acanthus leaf combinations. The acanthus leaf again is at the bottom of the oft repeated device of a semi-formal kind, which we find included in his realistic compositions, and which represents a much-involved and almost spherical whorl of stem and leafage. If, as has been argued from its inscriptions, the little "Joyal" frame at Cassiobury is a very early work of Gibbons, it shows that he hit upon this device at the beginning of his career. His delight at such a skilful manipulation of his material seems at first to have slightly obscured his fine sense of proportion, for both in the Cassiobury frame and in the east over-door of the Windsor Presence Chamber the whorl is somewhat too obtrusive, and although infinitely delicate in detail is, as part of the composition, a little out of scale and clumsy in outline. That he afterwards corrected. He uses the device in the chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, in masterly manner. It runs along the top of the altar-piece

(Fig. 137), and in four places rolls itself up into a hollow ball of surprising lightness and fragility in perfect harmony with its associated swags and bunches of fruit and flower. At Petworth it is treated in a rather more open manner (Fig. 181). Also in the carvings that, until 1910, were at Holme Lacy, and the detailed illustration of one of these (Fig. 85) clearly show the involution and the projection of the device.

From the craftsman's point of view it is the last word of dexterity, but it is in flagrant defiance of the maxim that the treatment of a material should consort with its nature.

It gives the impression of being formed of a plastic substance that can be readily wound and modelled by the fingers, and not out of a cubical block of hard matter, of which every scrap, except the very little needed to represent the whorl, has to be chiselled away. It is, indeed, a question whether Gibbons with all his marvellous dexterity, could have worked it out of a single block. It must be remembered that his limewood was built up of layers, generally about two inches thick, glued together. This was, no doubt, to prevent danger of warping and cracking, but it would, of course, also allow of more facile manipulation if the layers were merely fitted with pegs while under the sculptor's hand, and only glued together at the final stage.

The building up is always so cleverly arranged as to be wholly unsuspected by the casual observer. It needs close inspection from the side to see the join and to appreciate the judgment with which the various layers have been superimposed with a view of obliterating all traces of the process.

Where the material has been so exquisitely handled, where the fragility of Nature—her every curl and bend, her veining and patterning—has been faithfully reproduced by the chisel, any added matter, any after-treatment, is a work, not merely of supererogation, but of derogation. To stain, varnish or paint such surfaces is about as sensible as to whitewash the works of Phideas.

Purely decorative work, such as had been produced up to 1670, might well be painted and gilt. Such treatment was in accordance with the general effect which Inigo Jones had aimed at, and he knew that his carvers' work was not so delicately wrought as to suffer in the process. But technique such as Gibbons introduced merited more respect, and there was no question in his time of any deterioration of the masterly finish by coating it with any substance. Whenever Celia Fiennes comes across such work in her travels through England she notices that it is "all in white wood wth out paint or varnish."⁹ There was, indeed, quite a reaction under Charles II against the painting of interior woodwork. Not only the carver's work, but that of the joiner is most frequently left to show the colour and the texture of the "right wainscot" of which it is composed. St. Paul's and City churches, colleges and hospitals, royal palaces and great country mansions had unpainted oak for their most sumptuous fittings. It is grievous that in most cases the spirit of let well alone has not prevailed, and Cassiobury and Windsor are only two of the many cases where Gibbons' nervous and almost microscopic finish is hidden under a deleterious covering. It needs to be seen, like the Holme Lacy examples just alluded to, brought back to the condition in which Gibbons left it and Celia Fiennes found it to fully appreciate its extraordinary merit.



FIG. 88.—GRINLING GIBBONS' STATUE OF JAMES II.

Although wood was the medium which Gibbons preferred, which enabled his genius to express itself most freely and which thus established him in the temple of Fame, yet it was by no means the only one in which he wrought or gained reputation. His panels for the base of the Windsor Statue (Fig. 50) are praised by Horace Walpole, who held that: "The fruit, fish, implements of shipping are all exquisite." The sundial is the other item in white marble that he executed for Windsor while Hugh May directed the works there. A few years later Wren entrusted to him a much more important object in the same material (Page 125), and employed him to carve in stone as well as in wood at St. Paul's and Hampton Court. The carving in the tympanum of the north pediment of the Cathedral is certainly by him (Page 120), and payments made to him for carving in stone occur in the acquittance books, where they are entered separately from his work in wood. At Hampton Court, although most of the exterior carving was done by William Emmett and Caius Cibber, yet Gibbons' manner clearly appears in the frieze in the centre of the east elevation (Page 132).

Private people also sought his output in the harder substances, and at Dalkeith (Page 221) are still preserved his receipted bills for marble mantel-pieces supplied to the "Dutches of Bucklew." It was also fashionable to employ him for sepulchral monuments, and Horace Walpole tells us on the authority of the Vertue MSS. that he charged a thousand pounds for the tomb of Baptist Noel, Viscount Camden, at Exton in Rutland.¹⁰ This is a very different sum from the modest ten pounds for which he agreed to commemorate members of the Newdegate family in marble and "allyblaster." Yet there can be no doubt about the correctness of the amount, since the agreements between him and Sir Richard Newdegate are among the Arbury muniments and one of them is reproduced in facsimile (Fig. 89). Between these two sums come the payment of three hundred pounds for the monument in memory of Dorothy Lady Clarke—relict of one of Charles II's War Secretaries—erected after her death in 1695 in Fulham Church. "Restorations" have led to its removal to the space under the tower, where it exists in a mangled state. But we know its original appearance from Bowack, who published his unfinished *Antiquities of Middlesex* in 1706-7, and describes it as "a most stately Monument of black and white Marble secur'd with Iron rails in all about 14 Foot from the Ground, done after the Modern Manner with several very Elegant Profusions in Carving, has a neat Drapery, a large Vase at the Top from whence hang Festoons &c., and the arms supported by Two wing'd Genii, the whole being an excellent piece of Workmanship perform'd by that great Master Mr. Grinling Gibbons."

All these works in stone and marble show the same restrained use of the human figure that he displayed in wood, except in his early and infrequent reproductions of Tintoret's cartoons. Yet, while praising him as the premier wood carver in the world, Evelyn declares: "Nor doubt I at all that he will prove as greate a master in the statuary art."¹¹ As such he must have appeared to our friend Toby Rustat (Page 55), for the Statues of the Stewart Kings which he paid for subsequent to that at Windsor are by Gibbons and are all that we have to judge him by. Two are of Charles II—one, in marble, for the Royal Exchange and the other, in bronze, for Chelsea Hospital (Fig. 87). Horace Walpole is not enthusiastic about them, and doubts if they are by the same hand as the really delightful bronze statue of James II originally in the Whitehall Privy Garden but now outside the Admiralty (Fig. 88). Many will endorse this criticism; yet there seems no doubt that all came from Gibbons' *atelier*, and Vertue quotes the agreement "made Signed & Sealed for a Statue of King James the Second to be made by Mr. Grinling Gibbons for the sum of three hundred pounds one half of the money to be paid down at the agreement and 50 pounds more at the end of three months and the other hundred pounds to be paid when the statue shall be completely finished and set up." Below this Gibbons signs for one hundred and fifty pounds duly received, and below again, on August 11th, 1687, he signs for a further fifty pounds, "paid to him by Tobias Rustat Esq^{re}." But though Gibbons received payment and was responsible for the statue, it does not follow that he executed it. As to that, a little bit of gossip recorded by Vertue is worth noting:

Upon a certain time King Charles 2^d came to See the Statue of Marble that was done of himself which Gibbons had got done. When the King was present, Gibbons to show him his skill found some small fault that wanted to be toucht, and to amuse the King took up a hammer and Chisell and striking somewhat too hard, broke a piece that shoud not have been, at which the King laught at his pride & impudent vanity & S^d could he not leave it when it was well—this was told by—Nolder a workman of his that was by and employed as a Carver in his undertakings as he had many workmen.

Here it is set down that the statue—presumably that at the Exchange—was “got done” by Gibbons, and that he had numerous assistants. For wood carving he no doubt trained or found capable assistants, although his connection with the only two mentioned by Walpole—viz., Watson (Pages 225-9) and Seldon (Pages 185-91)—is problematical. Native statuaries, however, were decidedly wanting in both quantity and quality. Cibber was a Dane. Artus Quellin, who probably executed the Exchange Statue, and certainly did the figures for the Whitehall altar-piece (Page 125), was of Antwerp and mostly worked there. Two other Flemish artists are mentioned among Gibbons’ assistants by Walpole in these words: “Dievot of Brussels and Laurens of Mechlin were principal journey men. Vertue says they modelled and cast the statue I have mentioned in the Privy Garden. If either of them modelled it, and not Gibbons himself, the true artist deserves to be known. They both retired to their own country on the Revolution. Laurens performed much both in statuary and in wood and grew rich. Dievot lived till 1715 and died in Mechlin.”¹² The part that either of them took in producing the statues remains obscure and the “true artist” unknown, but it is interesting to note that the only carved work in Belgium that resembles that of Gibbons is by Laurent. In his time Flemish churches were being embellished with exceedingly rich carvings in marble and wood. They are quite as ambitious and quite as extravagant as the Italian of the baroco and rococo schools. Certainly not upon them did Gibbons found his style nor from them draw his inspiration. His general style is English, his peculiar characteristics are individual. His debt to the Continent is not large. Every now and then in Belgium—as in the pulpit of St. Nicholas at Ghent, or the altar rails and panels between the confessionals at St. Peter and St. Paul at Mechlin—we find comparative restraint and can see some likeness to English work. But the similarity is not greater than we should expect in the schools of two neighbouring countries at the same date. Neither emanates from the other.

The libraries at the University of Louvain and at Trinity College, Cambridge (Fig. 141), are contemporary. Both follow the same general plan and principle. Yet they are totally different in feeling and in detail, and there is nothing in the former that in the smallest degree calls Grinling Gibbons to mind. But in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs at Brussels there is a wood carving which we should be fully prepared to attribute to the English master but for the ticket which tells us that it is by “Laurent Vandermeulen de Malines”; and we see at once that while in England he had lost the manner of his native country and fully caught that of the Gibbons workshop. We find the whorled scroll, the bunches of grapes and other fruit, the hops and the cornucopiæ grouped in the manner and produced in the lime-wood which we know so well at Hampton Court and Kensington Palace, at Petworth and Belton. There is little to be said of him. He was born at Mechlin in 1645, and was therefore three years senior to Gibbons. When he came to England is unknown, but Walpole’s assertion that, as a Catholic, he returned to Flanders on the fall of James II is borne out by his marriage taking place at Mechlin in 1691. He lived on

Mem: It is agreed between Robert Edm. Esq. and Henry Newdegate Esq. of the County of Warwick that Mr. Grinling Gibbons of Whitehall Church Lane London, shall be the Sculptor to set up a Monument for Henry Newdegate Esq. deceased in the Church of St. Mary's Church of St. Andrew in the Parish of St. Andrew's Church of St. Andrew in the County of Warwick for the sum of Ten pounds. Five pounds to be paid to Mr. Gibbons by Henry Newdegate Esq. the last child, Remainder of the sum five pounds to be paid from the Monument to be set up, which is agreed to be done & set up within the space of the month next coming. The Monument to be of the same figure as is already drawn in the Parish of St. Andrew's Church in the County of Warwick it to be five foot in height three feet in breadth of Mr. Gibbons's design & execution, the stone to be of White Marble or Black Marble, & all the rest to be of the best English Stone: and the said Mr. Gibbons to be the Charge except Carriage. For Witness whereof the Parties have hereunto set their hands & seals the 22 day of July in the 5th year of their said Majesty's Majesty's 1693.

Robert Edm. Esq.
Henry Newdegate Esq.

Grinling Gibbons
Henry Newdegate

FIG. 89.—NEWDEGATE AGREEMENT.

until within a year of Gibbons' death in 1720. His countrymen seem to have nearly forgotten him till ten pieces of his work came into the market early in the nineteenth century and formed the subject of a paper in the 1836 volume of the *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts de la Belgique*, by A. van Lokeren. They consisted of frames, carvings of the four seasons, and ornaments for a chimney-piece—exactly what we should expect from a pupil of Gibbons. They could be traced back to the possession of a Pensionary of the Mechlin Province who died in 1774. They were then acquired by the Abbey of Grammont, and were hidden away when the French Revolutionary armies overthrew that foundation in 1794. Some years after they reappeared and were offered for sale. We read that they came to England, but that only four, and those the least important, found purchasers, the others returning to Belgium. Van Lokeren illustrates one of the latter—a frame that is sufficiently like the pair in the inner library at Cassiobury (Figs. 68 and 69) to raise the question whether they are not two of the four pieces by Laurent that remained in this country.

Precisely the same birds in the same attitude sit on either top corner upon floral scrolls that develop below into bunches of grapes and pea-pods on one side and of tulips and ranunculuses on the other. As at Cassiobury the top achievement consists of a round medallion, which, in the Laurent frame, bears a profile portrait of Philip, Duke of Anjou, for whom his grandfather, Louis XIV, accepted the Throne of Spain in 1701, and thus brought on the war of which Marlborough's Flemish campaigns were the most salient features. They account for the frames never having been delivered, and that this was so, and that they were made for Philip V of Spain, whose arms occupy at the base of the frame the same position as his portrait does at the top, is vouched for by the Grammont Abbey archives.

Van Lokeren mentions that many other works by Laurent were then to be found at Mechlin, among them a frame which he also illustrated. It still more closely resembles Gibbons' manner than that intended for Philip V. At the top is a whorled scroll and an eagle with outstretched wings. On each side are broad bunched drops of leaves and flowers, while the base decoration principally consists of lobsters and shells; the whole so fragile and airy that Van Lokeren—who seems quite ignorant that Laurent was ever in England or had any connection with Gibbons—makes much the same remark about the frame as did "Stoakes" about the pot of flowers over Gibbons' doorway: "On dirait que les feuilles se balancent sur leur tiges flexibles." No words could more forcibly convey the likeness between the work of master and assistant or the power possessed by Gibbons of imposing his manner upon those who were associated with him.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER IX.

- ¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, 254.
- ² Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, 82.
- ³ Do. do. do. do. 85.
- ⁴ Mrs. Bury Palisser, *History of Lace*, p. 322.
- ⁵ Wren, *Parentalia*, ed. 1750, pp. 331-2.
- ⁶ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, III, p. 84.
- ⁷ Elmes, *Life of Wren*, p. 284.
- ⁸ Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, I, p. 355.
- ⁹ Celia Fiennes' *Diary*, pp. 127 and 129.
- ¹⁰ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, p. 85.
- ¹¹ Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, 406.
- ¹² Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, p. 87.

CHAPTER X.

WREN AND GIBBONS AT ST. PAUL'S.

NO doubt it was from the first the intention of Wren that Gibbons should take a share in his architectural *magnum opus*—the rebuilding of the metropolitan Cathedral Church. It had occupied his attention even before he became Surveyor of the Royal Works in 1669. In that year he sent in a report on the state of the old cathedral, a small portion of which he had made fit for divine service immediately after the fire in 1666. It was not, however, till 1675 that work on the new fabric could be begun. He had, as we know, to convince the authorities that no part of the ancient structure could be retained and to make several designs for a new one before he produced one acceptable to the King, the Duke of York and the body of Commissioners appointed to direct and supervise the building operations. There was also the question of the ways and means, and the heavy work of pulling down the ruins and removing the material. But on June 21st, 1675, all was ready to make a start, and Wren saw the first stone laid by Thomas Strong, his master mason, and the second by John Longland, his master carpenter.¹

There is no more perfect set of accounts existing than those relating to the rebuilding of St. Paul's. The accounts, indeed, commence long before this, and there are several volumes relating to the repairs and alterations carried out by Inigo Jones under Charles I. But from 1675 onward for forty years there is an annual volume setting out all payments of every kind, and at some time or other (probably at the date of the conclusion of the work) a complete replica of the whole set of volumes was clearly and neatly written out on vellum. Besides this there are several volumes of acquittances wherein we shall constantly find Gibbons appending his signature to receipts of money paid to him on account or in full discharge of the various portions of the work, in stone as well as in wood, for which he was responsible. These shelves full of figures, at first sight so dull and uninspiring, are really a very interesting study, for they not only reveal the name and position of every one of the leading craftsmen employed in various branches of the building and decorative trades, not only tell us what part of the work was theirs, when they did it and what they were paid, but they also shed much light on the way in which labour was organised and edifices erected at that time. It is not to single operatives so much as to heads of business concerns that payments are made, yet there is no firm of builders as we recognise that term to-day. All the crafts are separate, and in all the important crafts several distinct working employers were engaged. No doubt these businesses were comparatively small affairs, composed of a master craftsman, his sons, his apprentices, and some free workmen added in large or small numbers according to the extent of the work which had been undertaken. Payments are frequently made for day work or for piecework, but often some particular part of the work was estimated for at an inclusive sum, and therefore approached our contract system. Materials were occasionally supplied by the firm of craftsmen, but more often were obtained direct from the merchants or manufacturers. Longland and Strong, in their respective walks, were the most important men employed in the rebuilding of St. Paul's. But St. Paul's was only one, though, of course, the most considerable, of the undertakings on which they were then engaged.

Wren himself gave them much other work, and at the time of the laying of the first stone of the Cathedral they were the principal carpenter and mason at St. Stephen Walbrook, which was begun in 1672 and completed in 1681. John Longland's name is never absent from any year of the St. Paul's accounts up to 1706, when Richard Jennings, who had long acted as

his understudy, takes the first place until the end. Longland received the personal wage of three shillings a day when at work there. He had many carpenters under him at two shillings and sixpence a day, and was paid large sums for material supplied on or for work done on estimate. Although he must, during his long career, have been a leader among London's Master Carpenters he took no part in the government of their Company, and therefore does not appear in the lists of Masters or Wardens.

The Strongs were a family of Cotswold masons, and Timothy Strong was building and working quarries there in Charles I's time. His son, Valentine, bred up all his six boys as masons, and Thomas, the eldest, soon after the Restoration, was employed under May at Cornbury, and under Wren at Trinity College, Oxford. After the Fire of London we find him sending up much stone from his Cotswold quarries, and then personally removing there. He died a bachelor in 1681, and his brother, Edward, succeeded him in his business. He continued the work at St. Paul's, signing his first acquittance in October, 1683, and he saw it completed, as he lived till 1715. He was then engaged upon Blenheim, which was finished by his son, the second Edward Strong. Wealth came to them, and they were seated at the Hertfordshire manor of Hide, which eventually passed to the younger Edward's son-in-law, Sir John Strange, Master of the Rolls.

Very much of the decorative stonework and of the elaborate carvings, both inside and outside the Cathedral, were done by Edward Strong, senior, or by sculptors whom he employed. But he was only *primus inter pares*, for a good many other master-masons appear in the accounts, receiving great sums for quite similar work. Such were Nathaniel Rawlins, Thomas Wise, Thomas Hill, Ephraim Beauchamp, Fulkes, Thompson and Kempster. A few sculptured features, however, were not done by the master-masons. Grinling Gibbons as we shall see, also took his turn in stone, and Caius Cibber (who sculptured the Bedlam figures, and whom we shall come across at Chatsworth and at Hampton Court) was paid, among other things, for the "Carving of Four Incense Potts upon the peers of the South Asscent at 30^{li} a piece," while Francis Bird appears in the accounts of 1713 as having sculptured the bas-relief panels of the History of St. Paul on each side of the west portico. The years when the heaviest accounts for decorative work are found are those from 1694 to 1698. The master-masons were busy carving all through that time, and in September, 1694, a sum of about eight thousand pounds is booked for work of the kind done during a half year. This was the moment also when the joiners were busy fitting the choir and when Gibbons was sculpturing in wood and Tijou modelling in iron.

Until then the woodwork of the Cathedral had been plain and structural, and, therefore, mostly in John Longland's hands. He and his carpenters had been actively engaged upon the great scaffoldings necessary for the work of the masons. Then, when the walls were up, the construction of the roof became their chief undertaking. In those days there was little for the joiners to do. Two of them, however, do appear in the accounts of 1679, and their names are interesting; they are Richard Joyner and Roger Bridgewater, the former, no doubt, surnamed from his craft and the latter from his native place. Their employment is purely ancillary to the masons, and consists in "making and mending Levells, Rules & Squares for the Masons," and also in making moulds for them. These moulds show that detail work in stone was beginning, as the moulds must have been the patterns for the cornices, architraves and other such wrought portions of the fabric. This is an item which appears monthly for many years, although the mending of the old moulds soon became as important as the making of the new ones. Before the joiners begin to loom as large in the accounts as the masons and carpenters, the seventies and eighties are gone and the nineties have arrived. One of their early tasks is the making, from the architect's drawings, of the models which are to form a guide for the carrying out of the work. Thus, in 1691, Charles Hopson, besides making and mending the moulds for the masons, charges three pounds for "making the Modell of the Roofe for the middle Isle of the Choire & for a Box to put it in." He was evidently held to be the most eminent of his craft, for he was knighted by Queen Anne. He had taken the livery of the Joiners' Company in 1685, but must have shirked giving his time to their affairs, since he was fined for all offices in 1690 and 1701. However, when as sheriff, the Livery specially requested him to take the

mastership in 1708, he consented. His son followed in his footsteps and took livery in 1725. Three years after Hopson made his model the choir was roofed and ready to be fitted. This, as we know, was done in sumptuous style, and still exhibits some of the finest work of the best joiners, carvers, smiths and plasterers of the time. Before the woodwork can be begun models have to be made. Charles Hopson is again employed for this purpose, and he sends in an account "ffor time spent and Stuffe used in making a Modell for y^e Seats in y^e Choirc," and also for models for the altar, organ case, organ bellows, Dean's seat and choir organ case. But he is only to have a share in this great work, which is distributed between three firms of master-joiners. They are Charles Hopson himself, John Smallwell and Roger Davis working in partnership with Hugh Webb. Smallwell is paid eighteen pounds eleven shillings and ninepence and Davis thirty pounds twelve shillings "ffor making Modells and Patterns for severall partes of the Joyners work in the Choirc." These items appear in the account book for 1696, but the models must have been made before Lady Day, 1695, as that is set down as the date when the fitting of the choir began.

John Smallwell took livery in the same year as Hopson and was master before him. His son was of the same craft and was master in 1731, having four years earlier been appointed master-joiner to the King. Roger Davis' name does not appear in the records of the Joiners' Company, but he was a very important man in his craft. With Smallwell he had been employed at Whitehall (Page 124), and the very fine choir stalls in Canterbury Cathedral were due to him, anyhow as far as their joinery



FIG. 90.—THE ORGAN CASE.

was concerned. Of course, the joiners had to be some way forward with the work of constructing and erecting the woodwork of the St. Paul's choir before the carving of it could be begun. It was not, therefore, on the choir that Gibbons was first employed, for his earliest appearance in the acquittance book is in the year 1694, when we find the following entry: "Oct 24, 1694. R^d then y^e Sume of forty Pounds in part payment for Carvers work done at S^t Pauls Church. I say rec^d 40li, Grinling Gibbons." It is quite clear that this is the first payment he received, as all the other entries—and there are between twenty and thirty of them signed by him—are worded not "in part" but "in further part" payment for work done. In the first three of these entries the portion of the Cathedral on which he was working is not specified, but on August 1st, 1695, he acknowledges the receipt of ninety pounds for "work done for the Choire at St Pauls Church," and the same description is given in many of the following entries. It will have been, then, in the early summer of 1695 that he began what may be described as his finest surviving work. Unfortunately, it is no longer as he left it, for the general design and composition of this joint creation of Wren, his master-joiners and his famous carver have been grievously marred by a re-arrangement of the whole disposition of the choir fittings in the nineteenth century, when restoration was in the air, and meant doing something totally out of keeping with what was originally intended. Wren's arrangement is described by Strype, who first published his edition of Stow's *Survey of London* in 1720. He tells us that "The Organ Gallery (with 4 stalls 2 N^d and 2 S^d therefrom) compose the W. end. The Organ-Case is magnificent and very ornamental, enrich'd with the carved Figures of *Cupids* (under mantling) *Terms* and 8 *Fames* standing at the Top of this Case, 4 E^d and as many W^d, each appearing near 6 Foot high. It is also enrich'd with *Cherubims*, *Fruit*, *Leaves*, &c. very lively represented by that excellent Artist Mr. *Gibon*." He likewise mentions the iron gates "under the Organ-Gallery done by that celebrated Artist in this way, Monsieur *Tijau*." An engraving in the 1754 edition shows this arrangement, which was far more impressive in character than what we find now. But the "leech for vistas" which has destroyed the mediæval arrangement of most of our Gothic cathedrals was equally disastrous to the scheme of the classic architect of St. Paul's.

The return stalls of the Dean and Sub-Dean, the screen across the choir, the marble pillars on which the great organ rested are all moved elsewhere, and the organ is fitted piecemeal on each side of the choir, pushed back between the arches, and has been made up with new imitative portions. The stalls have likewise suffered from removal and alteration. The theory was started in 1858 that Wren had not at first intended placing the organ across the entrance to the choir, and had been in this respect overruled by the clerical members of the Commission, and a drawing was "discovered" which convinced the Dean and Chapter that Wren had wished the organ to be where they proposed to re-erect it. That was under the second arch on the north side, and there it stood from 1860 to 1870, when the arrangement was found to be bad from the practical point of view, and a new "general post" of organ, stalls and dignitaries' seats took place, resulting in the present disposition. But most of the material is still there, and can be traced owing to the detailed manner in which it is described in the accounts. A few discarded items were stored away, and photographs of some of these have been taken and reproduced (Figs. 92, 93, 94) as showing the detail of the handling.

The accounts clearly point out to us the part that each man took in producing the finished result. Wren drew the designs for the whole of the choir work as far as the general proportions were concerned. But he did not delineate, although he may have roughly indicated, the carving either of the mouldings or of the more important sculptured parts. From his drawings Hopson, Davis and Smallwell made models in wood representing the finished effect of certain parts so far as the joiners' department was concerned. These models being passed by the architect, the same joiners set to work to carry out the whole scheme of the screen, organ, stalls, desks and bishop's throne. As soon as their task of setting up the structure of all these features was sufficiently advanced Grinling Gibbons, with his assistants appeared on the scene and carved the prepared surfaces which the joiners had got ready for them.

The details of what was done by each man or group of men employed in every department of construction in 1695 and 1696 is set down so fully in the account books that, as we turn over

expected to "reform this profanation among the apprentices, servants and labourers."³ The masons and the carpenters are now engaged on the nave and transepts, and also on the dome, which is still in an incipient stage. Much carving in stone is still going on, and a single feature is often entrusted in separate halves to two master-masons. For instance, at the time that Gibbons is starting his work Strong and Rawlins have each been assigned the task of carving "30½ foot of Caprole with husks and flowers in the wreath or head of the Tribune at 6 - a foot run." When they had finished this they passed on to the vaulting of the north transept, and each carved one half of a freestone wreath at its northern end. It would be interesting to know whether a careful inspection by an expert would reveal any slight difference of touch in the two halves.

Besides Gibbons and the joiners two other important master-craftsmen were also at work in the choir. The one is Henry Doogood, plasterer, who is paid six hundred and two pounds ten shillings for plastering and colouring in the choir, aisles and vestry. The character of his work may be judged by the following items :

	£	s.	d.
ffor 112 foot of moulding with 2 enrichments made by hand, girth 14in. at 2 ^d 4 ^d p foot.			
ffor a Coepartment with 2 ffeestoons and the King and Queens Cypher made by hand.	02	00	00

He seems to have almost monopolised his branch of the decorative arts in so far as Wren was responsible for London buildings. At this time there were few city churches in hand of which he did not do the plastering, although Grove is associated with him sometimes, and in rare case works alone. Yet neither Doogood nor Grove are ever mentioned by Mr. Bankart in *The Art of the Plasterer*. He assigns this work to Gibbons, telling us that he "executed much plaster work under Wren's orders," who "left the actual designing and modelling entirely to Grinling Gibbons and others whom he had under him."⁴ Mr. Bankart produces no evidence in support of this assertion. No doubt the plaster-work of this period often closely resembles in design and handling the wood-carvings of Gibbons. That will be more than a coincidence. It has been shown that Gibbons' style was largely his own, and was not an impersonal outcrop of the age. So soon as it was seen it impressed everybody—client, architect and craftsman alike—and influenced the whole range of decorative arts. But it is not quite a legitimate deduction to assert that Gibbons personally designed and carried out most of the output of his time, whatever might be the material. He must certainly have had a large workshop and many assistants. Yet even important examples of wood-carving, such as those in the Chatsworth state dining-room, were executed independently of him, and the plaster-work of Wren was no doubt designed by artists working for Doogood and Grove, although they may have caught something of the character of their devices from Gibbons. The same character appears in the ironwork of the time, but no one claims for Gibbons the credit which belongs to Jean Tijou, the other artist craftsman who took a large part in the decoration of the choir of St. Paul's. He is said to have come over to England with William and Mary in 1688, as his name occurs in the Hampton Court accounts very shortly after, and his bill for those wonderful examples of wrought ironwork which form the garden gates and screens is dated 1690. He and Gibbons, each in their sphere, started their 1695 task by designing the ornaments of wood and iron for the choir, Charles Hopson, the joiner, having glued boards together for them to draw upon. Tijou's job at that moment was "the Iron Screen under the Organ case 221 foot superficial at 40s. p foot." Like the organ itself, the screen beneath it has been moved elsewhere, and it now forms part of the gates that divide the choir from the aisles where the stalls stop.

It was not merely the boards for him to draw upon that Hopson and the other joiners had to prepare for Gibbons. In the first place, he could not commence to carve the decorative features until the general structure of the choir wood-work was well in hand. This, as we have seen already, the joiners began at Lady Day, 1695, each one being concerned with that portion for which he had made the model. Hopson's share costs one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight pounds fourteen shillings and elevenpence. Besides the fronts of the seats for the Dean and residentiaries he is responsible for the whole of the organ gallery and case, one of the items being: "ffor 268 yards of right wainscot in y^e great Organ-case made very strong and wrought faire on both sides by agreement 150^{li} 00^s 00^d." What was "right" wainscot? Duly selected and scasoned English oak let us hope. But it has already been mentioned (Page 4) that, even

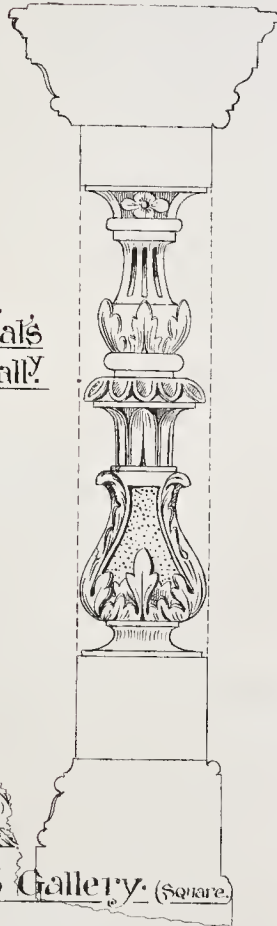


FIG. 93.—DERELICT CAPITAL FROM SCREEN.



FIG. 94.—DERELICT BALUSTERS FROM GALLERY.

Capping &
Panelling
Gallery.



Back of
Seals
Gall?



Baluster to Gallery. (Square.)

FIG. 95.—DETAILS OF CHOIR GALLERY.
One quarter full size. See Fig. 107 for complete screen.



FIG. 96.—NORTH SIDE OF CHOIR AND LORD MAYOR'S SEAT.

in those days, there was a feeling in favour of the straight grain and less knotty wood from North Germany, and one of Hopson's charges is forty pounds for "Dantzick Wainscot." On the other hand, oak trees are being brought from many parts of England by land and water carriage, one considerable lot coming from Welbeck, a gift from the Duke of Newcastle. Meanwhile Roger Davis and his partner, Hugh Webb, are running up even a bigger bill than Hopson. One thousand eight hundred and seventy-six pounds four shillings and sixpence halfpenny is down to their account "for joyners work done in y^e choir." John Smallwell is erecting the woodwork in front of the prebends' and singing men's seats, and the biggest item of his bill of five hundred and twenty-seven pounds eleven shillings and fivepence is one hundred and sixty-six pounds nineteen shillings and ninepence "for 2226½ feet of Desk boards, Cubbords, Benching and formes and Brackets." But it was not merely the setting up of the undecorated portions of the woodwork that was the joiners' task. They had also to bring the decorated parts up to the point of being ready for the carver's chisel. Thus Davis and Webb enter the item: "for 2154 foot of right wainscot for the Carver being all reduced to 2 inches thick at 22 pence p. foot with glewing, filling and pinning—197¹/₂ 09¹/₂ 00^d." Very often Gibbons provided and prepared for himself the limewood, which was his chosen medium. This probably means that he worked upon it in his own house or workshop, and that it was fixed up afterwards as the last stage in the production of the decorative scheme. Yet both Webb and Davis and also Hopson are paid small amounts under the heading of "work of a Joyner in prepareing y^e Lime-tree for Mr. Gibbons to carve for y^e Choire at 3s. a day." It is, therefore, clear that the usual practice was that all the materials should not only be found but also prepared ready for him to work upon. He had nothing to do either with the general design of the woodwork of the choir or with its manufacture and its setting up. The outlines of the decorative scheme did not, in this case certainly, originate with Gibbons, but were given to him by Wren. The number and character of the carved members of the cornices, architraves and panel mouldings, the general form and grouping of the sculptured motifs which were to embellish particular points and features must have been settled for him. But he will undoubtedly have been

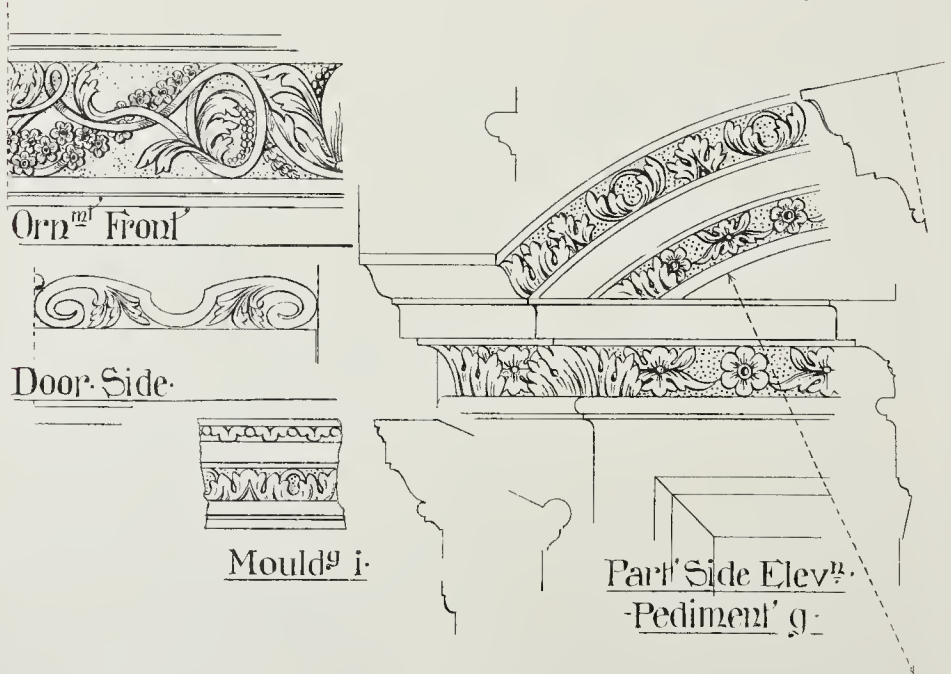


FIG. 98.—DETAILS OF BISHOP'S SEAT.

One quarter full size

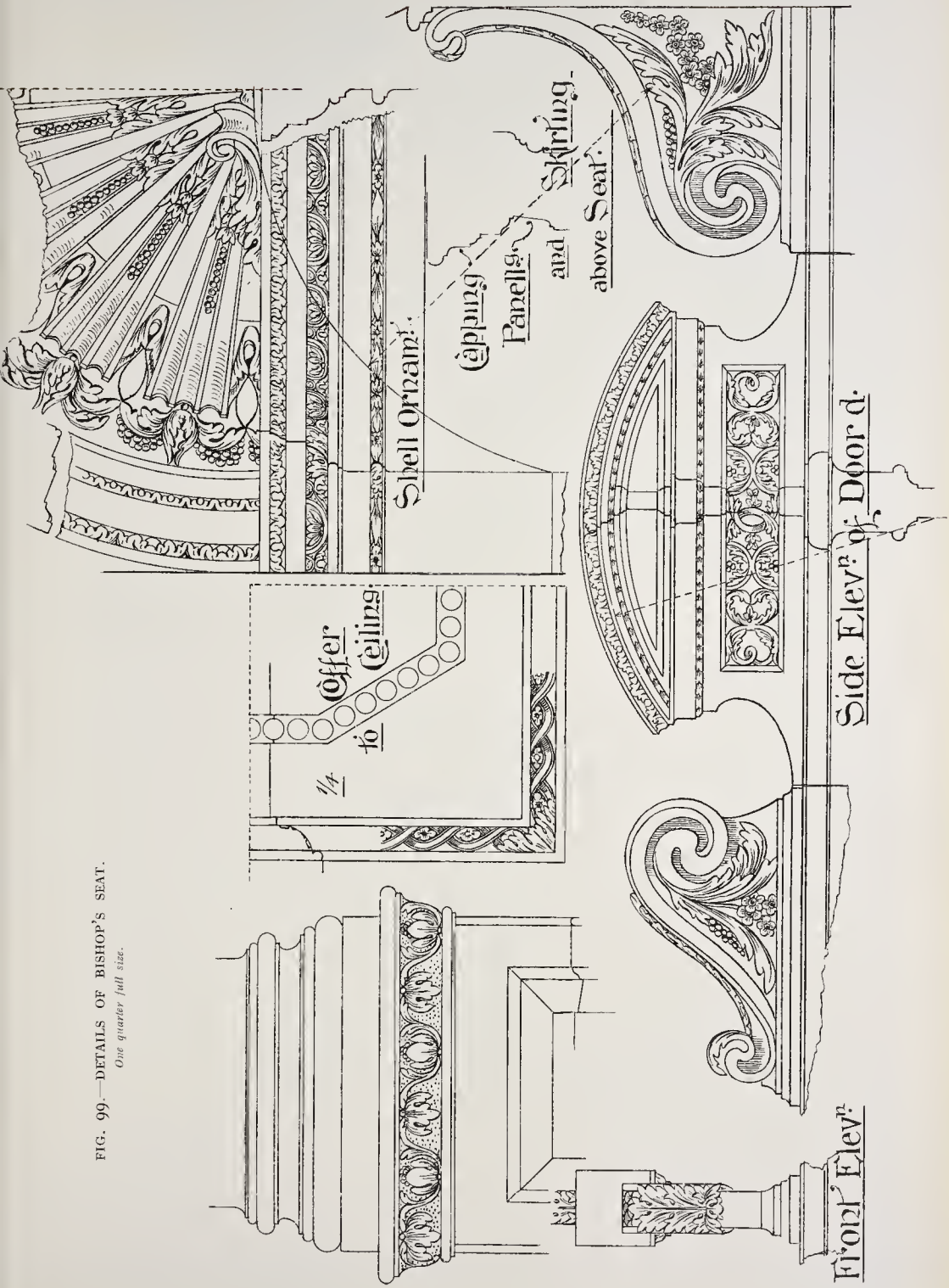


FIG. 99.—DETAILS OF BISHOP'S SEAT.
One quarter full size.

allowed a free hand in the design special to each carved part. If his cornices and architraves, at St. Paul's and elsewhere, are merely glanced at an impression of sameness and repetition will be given. But if they are examined closely, if those at St. Paul's and at Windsor, at Cassiobury and at Belton are carefully compared, the richness of invention displayed in the manipulation of a limited number of recognised classic details will, as was stated on page 91, at once be apparent. It is true that we see the acanthus leaf everywhere. But it appears in a thousand slightly differentiated shapes, and is also most variously intermingled with other decorative motifs. He was an artist and not a manufacturer, and though Wren, having in his mind the general effect of the whole composition of which he was the author, might dictate the number of cornice members to be enriched, the size and position of figures, garlands and festoons to be introduced, the balance and relation of carved and plain surfaces to be maintained, yet he could leave to the artist the invention as well as the execution, of all the sculptured parts as long as these did not trespass beyond the prescribed limits.

Gibbons and the other master craftsmen engaged at St. Paul's were never in a hurry to send in their bills. They frequently drew money "in part payment," and in this manner Gibbons received nine hundred pounds during the year 1695 for work done in the choir. But it is not until September, 1696, that the result of his labours in the previous year is set down in all its details in the accounts. It consists of carving that was probably mostly done *in situ* and in oak and it comprehends the decorated portions of the cornices and other structural parts that were treated with classic reserve, and not the more naturally sculptured flowers and cherubim that could be fixed up afterwards on the plain surfaces that had been left for them.

These appear in the 1697 volume of accounts, although the acquittances make it evident that they were in progress and being paid for in the previous year. There is, therefore, a great difference between the character of the items included in 1696 and those in the 1697 accounts. The former is divided into three sections, which amount in the aggregate to one thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds seven shillings and fivepence. The first section is "for work done in Choire viz—in the inside of the Choire." The bill is a very long one, and the following items are selected from it as being representative of the earlier stages of the production of this great decorative scheme in wood and of the scale of charges:

	l.	s.	d.
for 2 upper Cimas of the great Cornice over y ^e Prebend's Stalls, girth 4 inches, carved with leaves containing 186 foot run at 2s. 6d. p. foot	23	05	00
for the small O.G. on y ^e Corona of the Bp and Lord May ^r 's Throne, girth 1. inch, containing 34 foot 4 inches at 4 ^d p. foot	00	11	05
for the Ballexion molding round the Panills on the Prebends Benches, girth 3 inches, 2 members enrich cont 610 foot 8 inches at 2s. 6d. p. foot	76	06	08
for the Grotesk enrichment round the Windows or Openings in the Womens Gallery, girth 4 inches, containing 931½ foot at 4s. 3d. p. foot	197	18	10½
for 66 leaning Scrowles or Elbows between each Prebend at 1 ¹ 5 ¹ each being 4 foot long	82	10	00
for the great Modillion Cornice having 6 members enrich, girth 13 ins and containing 165 foot run at 10 ^s p. f.	82	10	00

The second section of the account deals with the "ffronts of the Side Isles & West ffront," that is with those portions of the choir work which abutted on to the aisles and the nave. The removal of the screen and other alterations make the west front portion of the work difficult to recognise to-day, but that towards the aisles remains *in situ*, and a part of it is illustrated (Fig. 106) and measured drawings given (Figs. 107-8-9). It has the same sort of enriched mouldings to the parapet and modillion cornice as within the choir. There are also the doorways, of which the ornamentation is thus described in the account:

for 79 foot of Large ffreeze in y ^e dore ffronts at 5 ^s p. f.	19	15	00
for 32 scrowles in y ^e ffronts of the same dore about 2 foot long.	32	00	00

The principal item, however, is for carving the capitals of columns and pilasters. The columns and pilasters themselves had been wrought by the joiners, each firm doing a part. Davis and Webb made ten, Hopson eight and Smallwell six of the three-quarter columns fourteen inches in diameter, which are thus recorded in Gibbons' account:

for 24 ¾ round Capitalls after the Corinthian Ord ^r for a 1¼ inch colume at 5 ¹ 16 ^s each.	139	04	00
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----	----	----

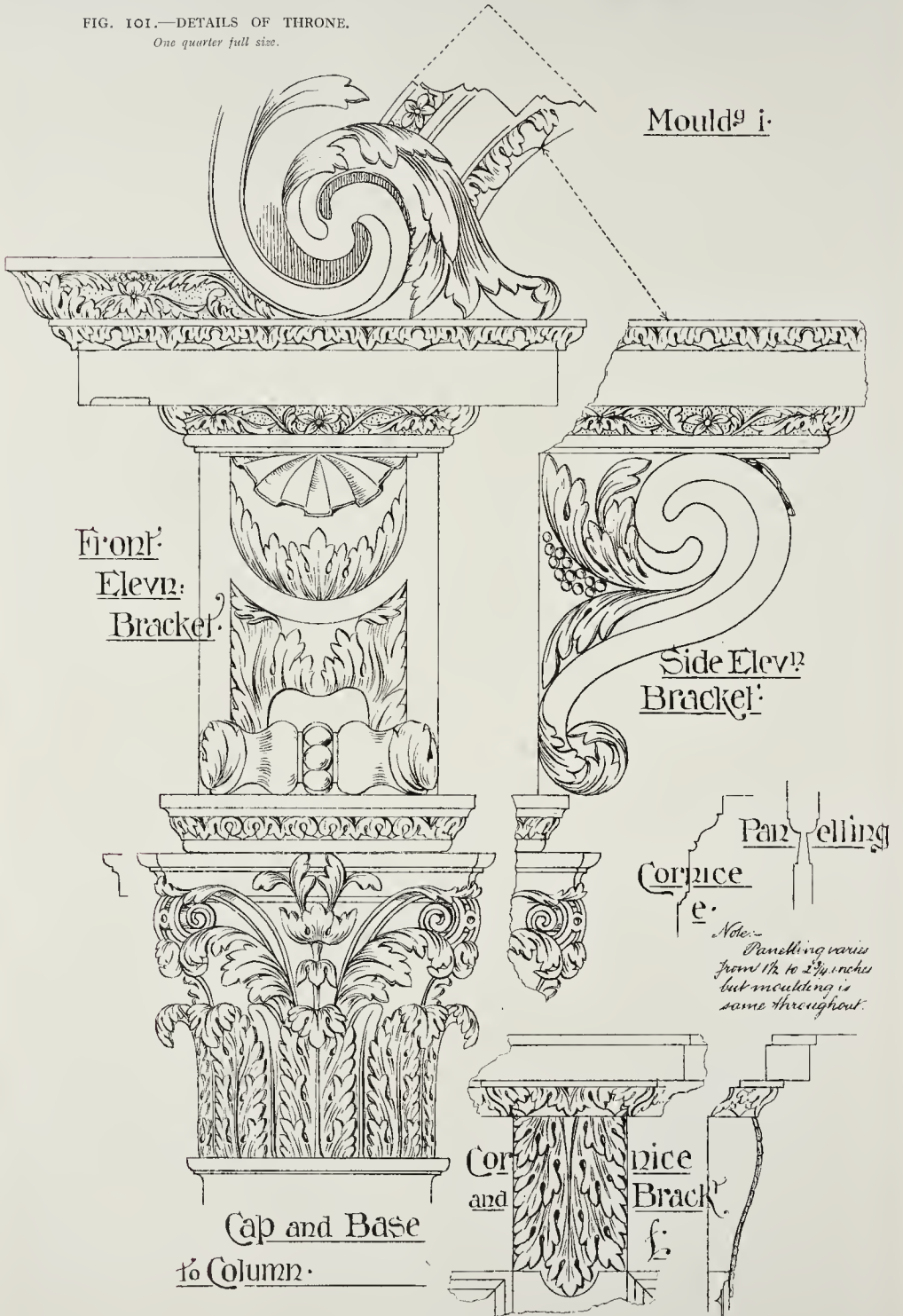
Seven pounds each was the price charged for carving the capitals of the whole columns made by Hopson at ten pounds apiece, while the pilasters, which he also had made, were completed with carved capitals at four pounds each. The great variety exhibited in the mouldings

enriched under Gibbons' superintendence points to his having drawn them all. But it is doubtful whether, except in the early days of his career, his own chisel ever touched them. For such comparatively straightforward and repetitive work there were, by this time, abundant skilled hands, as the amount of the good work still distributed about England proves. From the first Gibbons' genius had lain in the masterly reproduction of animal and vegetable forms in all their natural delicacy and elaborateness. If in this department of the sculptor's art he was still and ever remained supreme, yet he had clever scholars and imitators who ran him close. We may, therefore, conclude that while, perhaps, very little of the oak carving in St. Paul's is



FIG. 100.—THE BISHOP'S THRONE.

FIG. 101.—DETAILS OF THRONE.
One quarter full size.



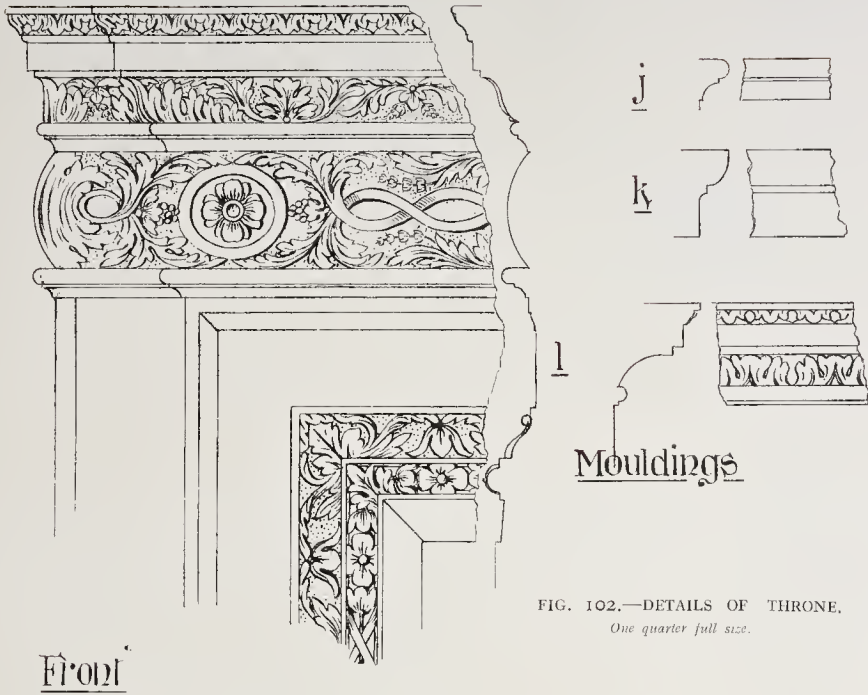


FIG. 102.—DETAILS OF THRONE.
One quarter full size.

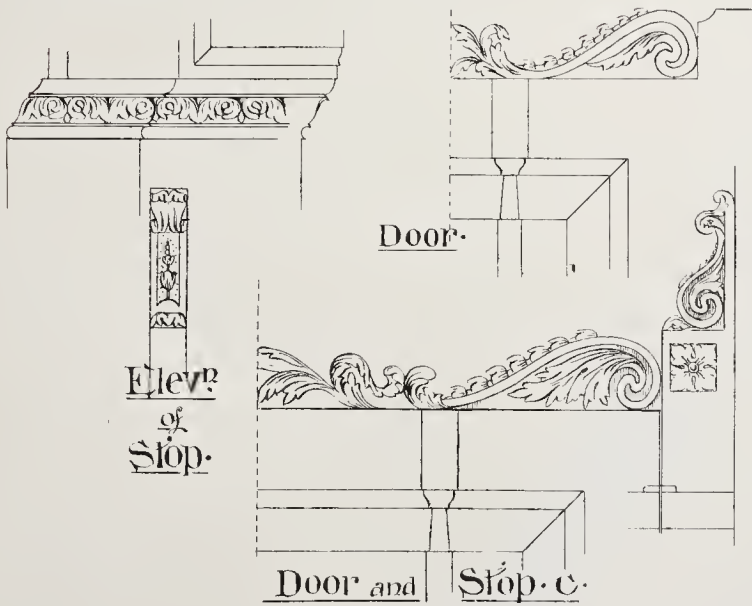




FIG. 103.—DETAIL OF DIVISIONS BETWEEN CHOIR STALLS.
One quarter size

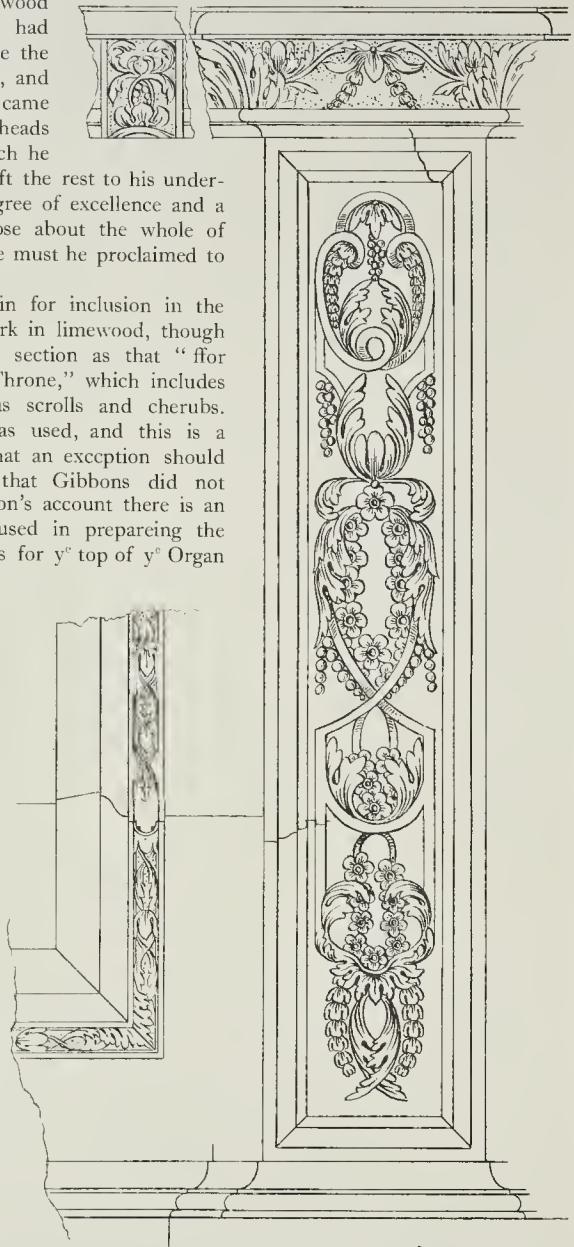


FIG. 104.—THE CHOIR STALLS.

by his hand, even some in limewood was left to his assistants. He had numberless clients to satisfy while the St. Paul's choir was being fitted, and we can well believe that when it came to turning out sixty-six cherubs' heads for the parapet at one pound each he produced a few as models and left the rest to his underlings. Yet there is the same degree of excellence and a wide range of expression and pose about the whole of this series of heads, and every one must be proclaimed to be the work of an artist.

The accounts which he sent in for inclusion in the 1697 volume deal largely with work in limewood, though oak is also represented in such a section as that "for Carving done about y^e Bishop's Throne," which includes mouldings and capitals as well as scrolls and cherubs. For another purpose also oak was used, and this is a case where it may be thought that an exception should be made to the suggested rule that Gibbons did not carve in oak. In Charles Hopson's account there is an item "for time spent and stufte used in preparing the Wainscot for y^e eight great Figures for y^e top of y^e Organ Case." And when we turn to Gibbons' long list of charges we find twenty-five entries made under the heading "About ye great Organ Case," and among them "8 Statue Angells at 20^l each." It may be that the master himself was immediately concerned in the production of these fine examples of the statuary's art, but it must be remembered that he had expert statuaries among his assistants, especially those who had come to him from Flanders (Page 95).

The larger part of the carving described in the 1697 account, however, is not in oak but in limewood. We read of the "Line tree freeze under the chaire Organ." The chair organ was that projecting portion behind which the organist sat, and it faced eastward. When the organ was moved from its original position and divided a second chair-organ had to be made for the sake of symmetry. The genuine one is on the north side of the



Panel front of Choir.

FIG. 105.—DETAIL OF STALL FRONT.
One quarter size.

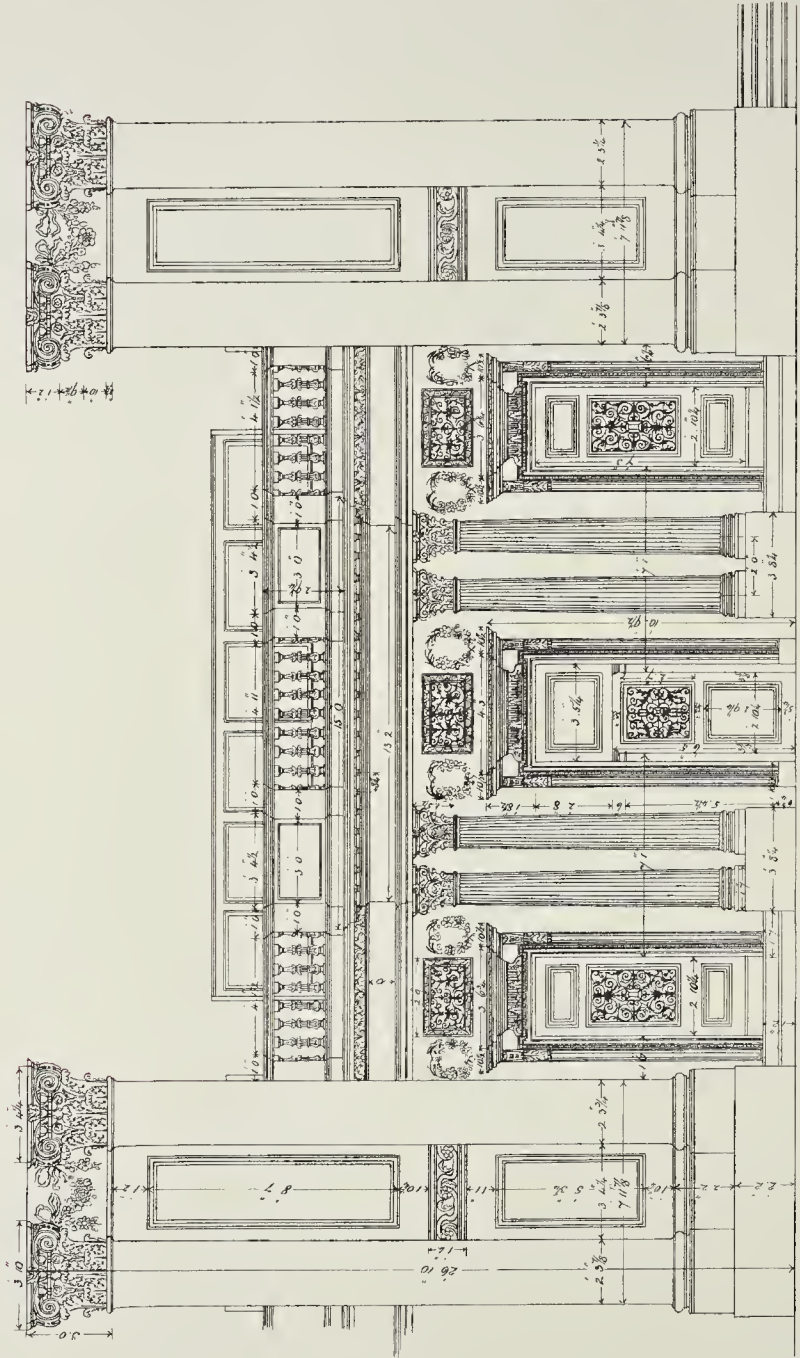
choir, and is illustrated (Fig. 90). Here we see the "Cupids under mantling" noticed by Stow, and described by Gibbons as "Drapery and whole Boys and 2 halfe Boys." The latter are folding the drapery behind the heads of the "two large Terms 5 foot high," which cost fifteen pounds each. All this clearly appears, but the "two Candle-sticks at each end of the chaire Organ with festoons and Drapery at 7^{li} each" and made of limewood are not there now. The limewood was no longer being supplied by the joiners, but is frequently referred to as "found" by the carver. For instance, the cost of the wood is specially included in the sum of two hundred and eighty-nine pounds one shilling and threepence charged for the sixty-six cherubs' heads and the sixty-two and a half festoons which decorate the parapet of the stalls. The whole cost connected with the carving of the great organ amounts to four hundred and ninety-four pounds fourteen shillings and tenpence, while the complete account reaches the sum of one thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds four shillings and sixpence, of which the largest single item is "for 42 Cherubims Terms inside the choir; 210^{li} 00^s 00^d."

These (Fig. 92) form one half of the consoles which support the parapet and spring from the massive but highly enriched uprights placed between each pair of seats. The delicacy of the modelling of these cherubim and the exquisite expression of the faces incline one to attribute them to Gibbons' own hand, although the material is oak. The spaces between them are filled with festoons of fruit and flower in limewood. These cost thirty shillings each, but the



FIG. 106.—A GALLERY SCREEN IN THE SOUTH AISLE.

rather smaller ones on the parapet are booked at twenty-two shillings. That is likewise the price of the rather curiously carved compositions, somewhat in the Italian baroco style, which are above them, between the cherubim's heads, and are described by Gibbons as "Scowles of Lether work" (Fig. 96). The largest examples of Gibbons' typical flower and foliage carving are to be found in those spaces behind the stalls, which are not open to form what the accounts call the "women's gallery." The enclosed section lies on the north side towards the west, and the flank view of it offered in one of the illustrations (Fig. 104) shows most clearly many of the items of carving and enrichment



117
 O
 FIG. 107.—ONE OF THE AISLE SCREENS BETWEEN THE PIERS.
 See Figs. 93, 94, 95 for details.

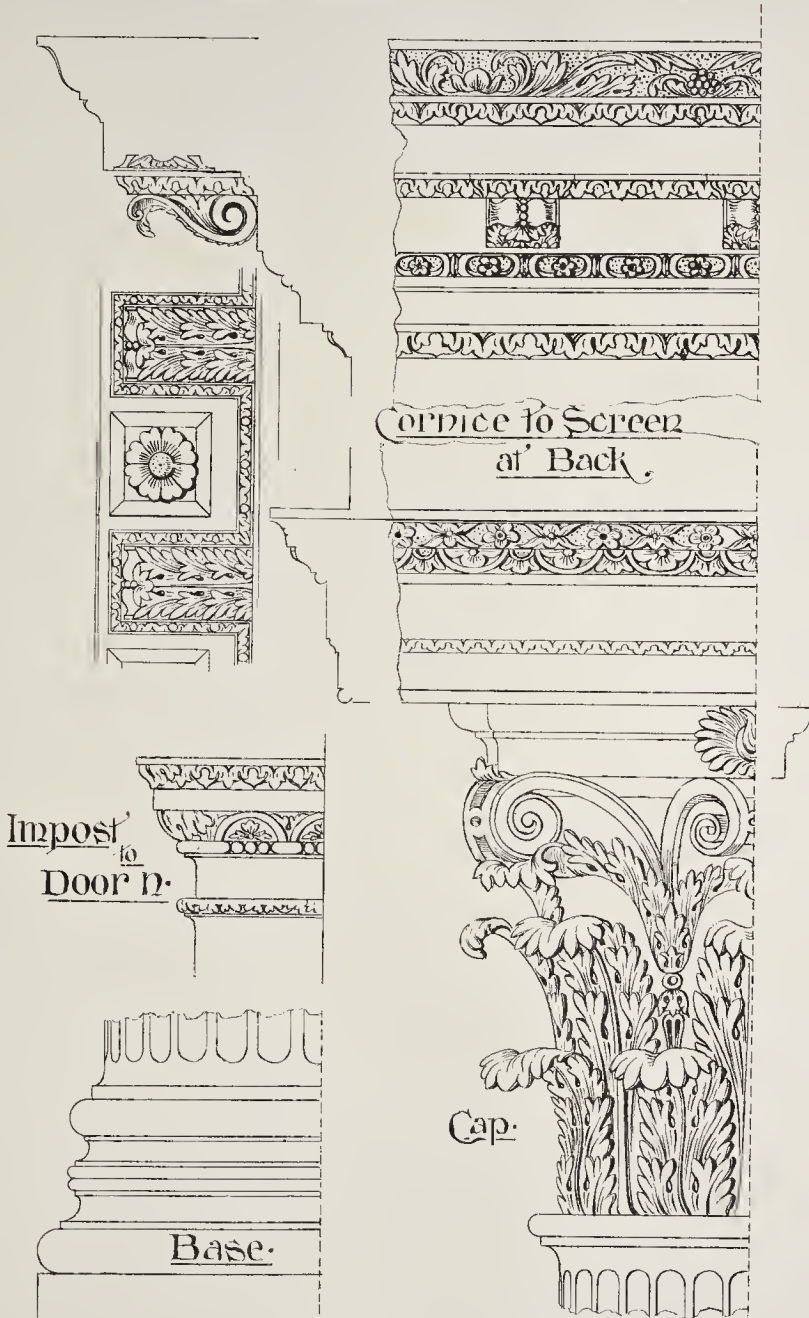


FIG. 108.—DETAIL OF AISLE SCREENS.
One quarter full size.

that have been quoted, while others appear in the measured drawings (Figs. 103 and 105). On each side the line of stalls is broken in the middle by the seats or thrones of the bishop (Fig. 97) and of the Lord Mayor with their fine canopies. That for the Mayor, on the north side (Fig. 96) has, as the chief decoration of the structure which tops the canopy, two boys holding the mace and the sword of the City. In the corresponding feature over the Bishop's seat (Fig. 97) the boys hold aloft his mitre, and one of them has a palm branch in his hand. Further palm branches appear in the space below the canopy associated with a representation of the pelican in her piety—a favourite emblem in the church work of the time. The charge of seventy-two pounds for the carving about these two beautiful and elaborate seats appears very small.

The second year of the carver's activities had been the heavier of the two, but the joiners had finished the bulk of their work long before. Davis and Smallwell do not appear in the 1697 volume. Charles Hopson completes the making of the seats for the Dean and Residentiaries, but his chief vocation is to provide Gibbons with prepared material. Out of a bill amounting in all to about four hundred pounds more than half is "for glewing and preparing 2381 foot of R' Wainscot for carving."

Gibbons' charges included in the volumes for 1696 and 1697 amount to two thousand eight hundred and ninety-four pounds eleven shillings and elevenpence. Yet during the whole of the years 1695-96 up to September, 1697, in which month the account sent in for that year appears, his acquittances show that he only received in cash the sum of one thousand six hundred and eighty-three pounds. The fact is that St. Paul's was erected largely on credit. Apart from private subscriptions, which brought in only a moderate sum, the needed funds arose from a tax raised on all coal entering the metropolis, a considerable part of which was allocated to the building of the Cathedral by Act of Parliament, a plan which, as Celia Fiennes put it, "brings all to pay for it in London."⁵ Although the annual revenue thus accruing would ultimately cover the cost it would take time, and meanwhile the workers had to be paid. The committee that had charge of the building was, therefore, empowered to borrow money at six per cent., and we find many people unconnected with the work lending sums. For example, Mrs. Mary Oxenden lent six hundred pounds in 1694, for which she received the stipulated interest until the capital sum was repaid five years later. But the leading craftsmen employed were also lenders, that is to say, only part of their account was immediately discharged, and they were set down as lenders of the residue. Thus, at the time of Mary Oxenden's loan, John Longland, the master-carpenter, is put down as lending two hundred and eighty pounds. This explains the divergence between the bills sent in by Gibbons in 1696-97 and the sums he received up to that date. If further proof is needed it may be found in the acquittances for 1698, where Gibbons on April 7th, and again on October 7th, acknowledges the receipt of forty-five pounds as half a year's interest on one thousand five hundred pounds. These payments continue till 1700, when, no doubt the coal tax receipts enabled the capital sum to be paid to him. Nearly all this was due for work completed before the end of September, 1697. After that date there was little for Gibbons to do. The moment for the ceremony of opening the choir for public worship was approaching. Its fittings were nearing completion, and its furnishing was in progress. The accounts give us a picture of the leading City mercers providing sumptuous stuffs from English and foreign looms. Over two hundred yards of crimson flowered velvet at thirty-six shillings a yard is needed. Much "Genoua Damask" is provided, and also fine linen and napkinning for the Communion table. The Bibles and Prayer Books cost sixty-three pounds eighteen shillings, the most costly example being "1 Bible Imperiall bound in 2 Vollums Gilt Edges extraordinary 07^{li} 00^s 00^d." An interesting part of the furnishing account is that referring to chairs. When we consider the considerable charge which Gibbons and other wood-carvers made for the production of their ornamented cornices and carved capitals, the price at which the high-backed and elaborately scrolled walnut chairs of the period were procurable is rather remarkable. The St. Paul's authorities only had to pay seven pounds ten shillings for a dozen "fine carved chairs." "2 great chaires, frames of Walnut-tree finely carved" cost fifty shillings the pair. This meant the completed article, for twenty-five shillings is the price of "1 great chaire suitable stuff with curled haire," while only ten shillings is charged for "a great chaire frame for y^e Bishop's Throne." After these prices it seems quite

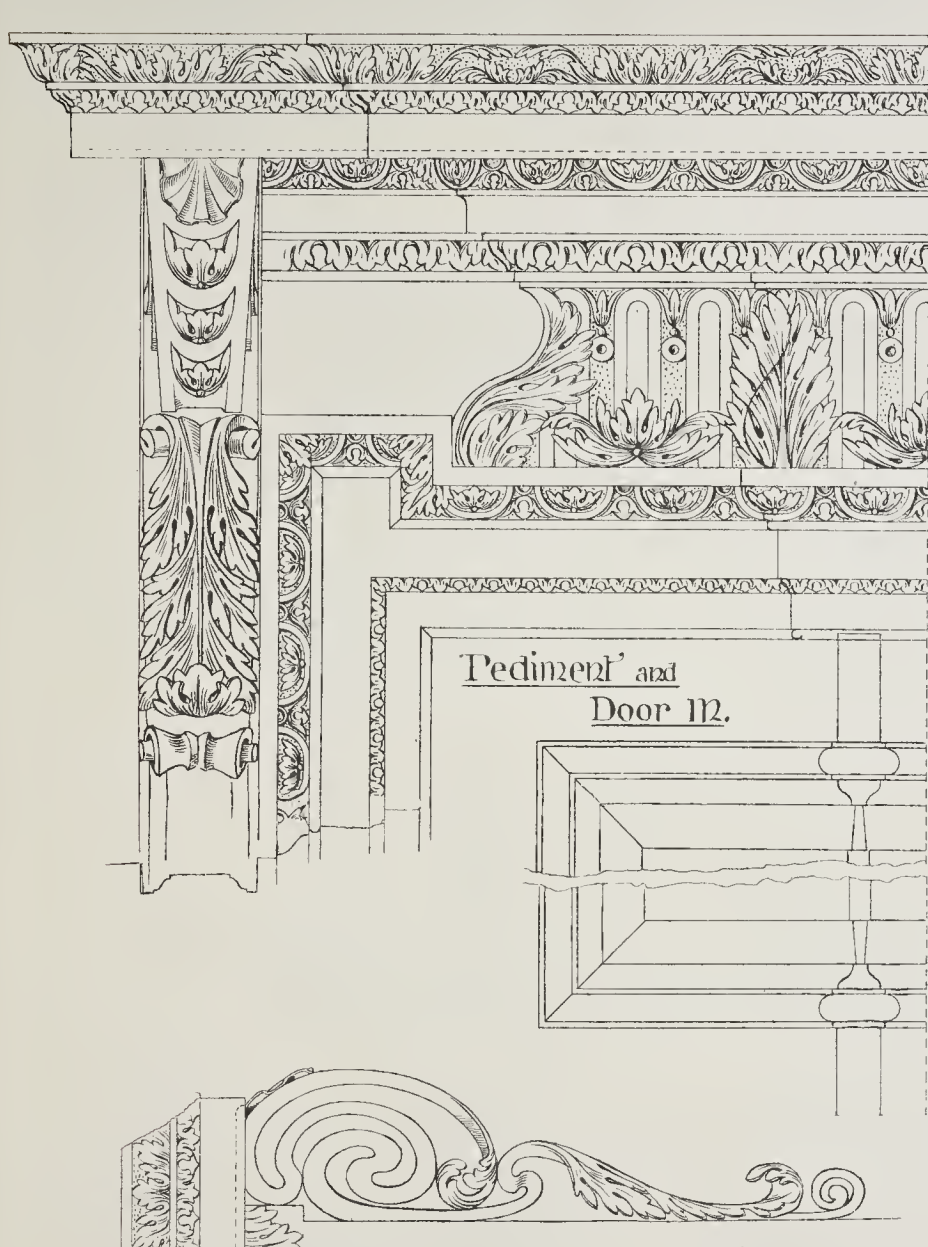


FIG. 109.—DETAIL OF AISLE SCREENS.
One quarter full size.

extravagant to have paid fourteen pounds for "a fine long persian Carpet under y^e Communion Table."

The opening of the choir for divine service was fixed for the day of the public thanksgiving for the Peacc of Ryswick. The treaty was signed in October, 1697, and the service was held on December 2nd following. A special prayer was written by Archbishop Tenison for the occasion, but the illuminations and fireworks which took place on the Thames when night fell more particularly struck Evelyn.

Nowhere outside the choir, and at no time after 1697, did Gibbons do much wood-carving in St. Paul's. His receipts before he began work in the choir in 1695 were only one hundred



FIG. 110.—SCREEN TO MORNING CHAPEL.

and thirty pounds. The sum total of his account included in the 1698 volume amounts to two hundred and eighteen pounds one shilling and twopence. Such part of it as refers to wood-carving includes the Dean's stall, work about the Communion table and rails and also the completing of the great Bishop's throne at the East end of the South line of stalls. Of this a photographic representation (Fig. 100) and measured drawings (Fig. 101-2) are given. But the larger part of this account deals with carving in stone, the principal item (for which one hundred and twenty pounds is charged) being as follows: "ffor carving a Bas relieve in y^e north Pediment being 18 foot Long and 9 foot high with two Angells being 8 foot figures and 18 inches thick with a Lyon and Unicorn and the Kings Arms and Crowne."

This description answers

perfectly for the filling of the pediment of the north transept as it may be seen to-day. The acquittance book shows us that beyond interest on his one thousand five hundred pound "loan" Gibbons only received eighty-six pounds ten shillings and twopence half-penny in 1698, and the next year's items are for very small sums, for the wood-carving then in hand was mostly entrusted to another carver.

If the materials for a life of Grinling Gibbons are slight, those that refer to other contemporary workers in the same field almost reach the vanishing point. It is, therefore, impossible to say who Jonathen Maine was or to give any details of his private life. He became a liveryman of the Joiners' Company in 1694, and he appears in the

accounts of seven of the City churches as a wood-carver. It must, however, be remembered that these accounts do not include the fitting and furnishing of these churches (Page 153), and there is an almost complete lack of documentary proof as to who is responsible for the really fine woodwork which was put into them, and which in some cases remains. The carving mentioned in the accounts which Wren kept is part of the construction, and there must have been very little of it, as the sums booked are very small. The tower of St. Dunstan's is responsible for the highest bill sent in by Maine, and that only reaches the figure of thirty-four pounds three shillings and sixpence, while the smallest was thirty shillings at St. Margaret Pattens. His earliest appearance is in connection with St. Magdalen, Old Fish Street, in 1685 and 1686, which is a dozen years before his signature in the St. Paul's acquittance book, was appended to the following form :

Ap 22. 1698 Rec^d then the summe of fifty pounds in part of payment for carving in Morning Prey^r Chappell at St. Paul's Church. I say rec^d YOX. MAINE.

His last payment on account of this work was in August, 1699, but the Morning Chapel situate at the north end of the west front, was to be balanced by a similar compartment facing it on the south side of the Cathedral. There was a considerable pause after the completion of the Morning Chapel before its fellow was fitted. It was then called the Consistory. It was, in the nineteenth century, stripped of its seats in order to be the home of the Wellington Monument, and is now newly equipped and dedicated to Saints Michael and George, and is the chapel of that Order of knighthood. The cost of its original fittings appears in the 1706 volume of accounts, Charles Hopson charging two hundred and seventy-six pounds three shillings and tenpence for the joinery. Maine's department was more especially the screen which divides it from the north aisle of the Cathedral, and remains untouched. But there was also some carving about the desks and seats, as may be seen by the details of his bill, which runs as follows :

To Jonathan Maine for Carving done in the Consistory.

	li; s; ob
For 128 foot of raking leaves & foliage and leaves on y ^e O.G. being 2 members enrich on the Chapter mold on the front of the seats at 2 ^s 4 ^d per foot	14 18 8
For 53 foot more of the same upon the Chapter mold upon y ^e Pedestals between the Columns at 3 ^s	7 10 0
For 11 foot more of the same on the Hatch doors at 2 ^s	1 2 0
For 54 ^t 8 th ring of Coloss w th a hole on y ^e Bolection mold of the hatches 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in deep at 6 ^d	1 7 4
For 15 foot of larger Coloss on y ^e Bolection under the Readers seat 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in deep at 9 ^d	0 11 3
For 5 foot of larger Scima under the Readers desk	1 0 0
For carving 4 large Elbows 2 ^t 4 ^t high & 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in deep at 20 ^s each	4 0 0
For carving 2 smaller Elbows 18 th high and 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in deep at 16 ^s each	1 12 0
For carving 6 pees of Drapery on y ^e North side of the Consistory 2 ^t 6 ^t by 2 ^t 6 ^t at 40 ^s each	12 0 0
For carving 4 Cherubius heads and foliage from y ^e in the scrole of the Hatches at 16 ^s each	3 4 0
For carving 8 round Composit Capitals at 6 th 15 ^s each	54 0 0
For carving 3 capitals $\frac{1}{2}$ for the Pillasters at 6 th 15 ^s	23 12 6
For 66 foot of Architrave having 2 mem ^{rs} enr ^{ls} at 15 ^d	4 2 6
For 66 foot of Ornament in y ^e freeze 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins deep at 5 ^s	16 10 0
For 72 foot ring of streight Modillon Cornice 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in deep at 7 ^s	25 2 0
For 16 foot of Compass nosing on y ^e Pedant at 4 ^d	0 5 4
For Carving 3 pees of ornament in the Sofita of the Pedant at 20 ^s each	3 0 0
For carving 2 large Shields w th Cherubims heads & Drapery hanging from them at 24 th each	48 0 0
For turning & carving 4 vases upon y ^e s ^d Pedant at 30 ^s each	6 0 0

All this was an exact replica of the work he had done for the Morning Chapel (Fig. 110) eight years before and as that has never been altered each item may be recognised. The only difference in the two accounts lies in the prices charged, the cost set against precisely similarly worded entries being rather higher in the case of the earlier than of the later job. Thus the shields, with their cherubim and drapery, are charged thirty pounds and twenty-four pounds each respectively in the two accounts, and the vases two pounds in place of thirty shillings. The total of the 1698 account reaches two hundred and sixty-three pounds one shilling and one penny, that of 1706 only two hundred and thirty-four pounds and threepence. Had the value of carver's work gone down in the interval or was it considered that less labour was needed for a replica?

In a third section of the Cathedral Jonathan Maine's hand may also be found. The library of Old St. Paul's was located over the east walk of the cloister. It dated from the time of Henry VI, and was spared when Protector Somerset pulled the rest of the cloister down to provide material for his new mansion in the Strand. But, either at the time of the great fire



FIG. III.—IN THE LIBRARY.

or before, it disappeared together with nearly all its contents. When Archbishop Tenison in the days when he was vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields had, under the guidance of Wren and Evelyn,⁶ established a theological library for his parish, there was already a talk of making one for the general benefit of London at the new Cathedral, and Wren so planned his west front as to accommodate it. He proposed to devote to it the space above the Morning Chapel and as well as that above the Consistory, but only the latter was fitted up for the purpose. Maine's most conspicuous share in this work was the carving of the brackets on which the gallery rests, and which are well represented in the illustration (Fig. 111). In his account he describes them as "32 Trusses or Cantalivers under the gallery, 3ft 8ins long and 3ft 8ins deep, and 7ins thick with Leather worke cut through and a Leaf in the front and a drop hanging down with fruit and flowers etc at 6^h 10^s each." The leaf and the fruits and flowers do not exhibit anything of the lightness and delicacy with which Grinling Gibbons represented these objects, but it must be remembered that the material is oak and not limewood. Taking that into consideration Maine's carvings, both here and in the chapels below, show great mastery of handling. The modelling is quite perfect, and the touch crisp and certain.

Much in Maine's style are the fragments of fine woodwork torn from Eton College Chapel at about the same time that the St. Paul's Choir suffered rearrangement (Page 100). They are now stored at the Cathedral with the derelicts (Figs. 92-3-4) from that unfortunate operation, except portions on loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum. They consist of fluted Corinthian columns and pilasters, a curved pediment, a great cartouche containing the arms of William III, an urn with flame top, richly carved trusses and other odds and ends which formed part either of an organ case or of a baldachino. Such Victorian wreckage of the admirable work of our Late Renaissance period meets the student of that style at every turn.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER X.

¹ Strype's *Stow's Survey of London*, ed. 1713, III, p. 649.

² Malcolm's "*Anecdotes of London*," I, 392. " 650.

³ Bankart, *Art of the Plasterer*, pp. 241-2.

⁴ *Celia Fiennes' Diary*, p. 248.

⁵ *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, 429.

CHAPTER XI.

WREN AND GIBBONS AT THE ROYAL PALACES.

WHEN Hugh May died in 1684 Gibbons had finished all his important work at Windsor, so that though Wren succeeded May in the Controllership of Windsor it is the one important palace of the time where they were not associated. Had the Winchester Palace ever been more than a shell, no doubt Wren would have employed Gibbons there. But the death of Charles II in 1685 put a stop to the work, and it was only at Whitehall that his brother and successor, James, carried on building operations. Whitehall was the favourite palace of the Stuarts, although it remained essentially as the Tudor Sovereigns had left it. This was from lack of funds rather than from lack of will, for we know that Inigo Jones made designs for an entirely new palace, which, had they been carried out, would have given to England the finest Palladian building in the world. But of this gigantic plan no more was erected than the Banqueting House, and when Charles II returned to the throne of his ancestors he merely effected such refitting and refurnishing as was necessary after the Commonwealth period. Nor did James plan any considerable structural alterations. We hear of a new chapel in the garden, but such additional accommodation as he required was arranged for by Wren within some of the existing buildings, especially the Privy Gallery. A new suite of rooms for the Queen and a chapel for each of the Sovereigns to hear Mass were what James II demanded on his accession. We have full details of the work done, for there is at the Record Office a volume of accounts that details month by month the expenditure incurred for the years 1685-87. Here we find the names of many of the master-craftsmen who had been engaged at Windsor were then busy at Chelsea Hospital, and were to pass on to Hampton Court and St. Paul's. Maurice Emmett is the chief bricklayer and Thomas Hill the master-mason. Where there was so little new structure their scope was limited, but the joiners—such as Roger Davis and John Smallwell, neither as yet employed on St. Paul's—had plenty of work to do. In 1686 they were fitting and wainscoting the rooms that had been contrived in the Privy Gallery in preparation for Grinling Gibbons, whose bill for three hundred and forty pounds seventeen shillings and ninepence included the chimney-pieces in the great and little bedchambers, which, as has been already hinted (Page 89), the sketches among the Wren drawings at All Souls' perhaps represent.

Besides these rooms the Queen had her own little chapel. But the work to which the Catholic King attached the greatest importance, and for which he ordered the architect to prepare the most sumptuous designs, was the great chapel where the King and Queen were to worship, no longer privately and in secret, but openly and in state before the eyes of their Protestant subjects, who, if they wished, were to be admitted to the services and be duly impressed and inclined towards conversion through the splendour of the place and beauty of the ritual.

The accommodation was to be very complete, including quarters for officiating priests in immediate proximity. Thus Roger Davis sends in a bill "for work done in y^e Priests Lodgings over y^e anti-chappl." He fits it with deal wainscoting, and as it is to take the form of a bed-sitting-room the bed is not to be apparent during the daytime. Three pounds are accordingly charged "for one press bed of wainscot 8-6 high 20in deep 3-2 wide with a Drawer and coberd to it & a bodster and Sacking with hinges to it."

The chapel itself must have been very ornate. Verrio gets one thousand two hundred pounds for painting its ceiling and walls. In the accounts sent in by Grinling Gibbons for the

carving of its woodwork mention is made of the great organ, the pulpit, the King's seat and the doors. But the "head and front of the offence," as it seemed to Protestant England, was the marble altar.

Section X of the *Parentalia* is entitled a "Catalogue & short Description of the Surveyor's Designs of Buildings in the Service of the Crown,"¹ and No. 7 of this catalogue, under date 1685, is "Design of the marble Altar-piece, with the original Ornaments and Statues erected in *King James the Second's* Chapel at *Whitehall*, which was saved from the Fire and given by Queen Anne to the collegiate church of St. Peter in Westminster." The execution of the design was entrusted to Gibbons, but though he may himself, in the earlier moments of his career, have chiselled in marble such objects as the panels of the Windsor pedestal, doubt has already (Page 94) been expressed as to his continuance of such a practice, especially as a statuary. And although Laurent of Malines and Dyvoet of Brussels were still with him when the Whitehall altar was in hand he evidently did not consider them equal to the work of producing the statues which were to ornament this very considerable structure.

Quellin, the younger, whom we have seen assisting his uncle at Amsterdam (Page 22), was now at the height of his reputation at Antwerp. He had already produced one piece of work for England in the shape of the monument in Westminster Abbey to Mr. Thynne, who was murdered in the streets of London in 1682, just after his marriage with the great Percy heiress, who afterwards became the wife of the Duke of Somerset, and thus enabled Gibbons to execute one of the finest specimens of his art at Petworth. What part of the Whitehall altar we are to assign to one or the other artist we can only guess. There were amorini in low relief, and there were garlands of flowers linking the columns. These surely were Gibbons' department, and as surely the four statues mentioned by Evelyn² were the work of Quellin, although Evelyn calls them the work of Mr. Gibbons. The accounts throw no light upon this, as one bill is sent in by the two artists, and is worded as follows: "The said Grinlin Gibbons and Arnold Quellin, for making and carving the great altarpiece of white marble, veined, wrought according to a design and contract, they finding all the materials and workmanship, with two marble columns under the throne, fluted, with capitals and bases (besides 14L. 18s. 2d. abated for a square white marble pillar delivered them),—1,875L. 1s. 8d." This was in 1686, and is all as far as Quellin was concerned; but the erection and completion of the great piece with its marble steps and pavements produced in the next year another bill from Gibbons to the amount of four hundred and fifty pounds.

Although the bill is dated 1687 the work was completed and the chapel opened during the last days of the previous year, for it is under date December 29th, 1686, that we read as follows of Evelyn's impressions: "I went to heare the musiq of the Italians in the New Chapel now first open'd publickly at Whitehall for the Popish service. Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture at the end, where are four statues, representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbons, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and greate coste. The altar-piece is the Salutation; the volto in fresca, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin according to their tradition, with our Bl. Saviour, and a world of figures painted by Verrio. The throne where the King and Queene sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar. Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with 6 or 7 Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sate in a chaire with armes pontificaly, was ador'd and cens'd by 3 Jesuits in their copes; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, then censing the images and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place; the crosier, w^{ch} was of silver, was put into his hand with a world of mysterious ceremony, the musiq playing, with singing. I could not have believ'd I should ever have seene such things in the King of England's Palace, after it had pleas'd God to enlighten this Nation; but our greate sin has, for the present, eclips'd the blessing, w^{ch} I hope He will in mercy and his good time restore to its purity."² It is to be feared that Evelyn's stern Protestantism could not hold out against his love of heautiful architecture and good singing, for in the following January he is again at the chapel to hear a famous Italian singer sent over from Rome, and the popularity of James' innovation is made clear by the two

words in the Diary, "much crowding." But the sense of the nation, as we know, was deeply aroused by the religious policy of James, of which the Whitehall chapel was a small and comparatively harmless manifestation. With the advent of William and Mary the services ceased, and the chapel seems to have been disused, as we hear that in 1690 Gibbons was paid three hundred and sixty-one pounds "for carving and sculpturing by him done in her Majesties New Chapel at Whitehall." At the same time, it was thought that the fine work done in 1686 must not be wasted, and the intention evidently was to make use of it in some way at Hampton Court, for in the 1694-96 accounts Grinling Gibbons charges one hundred and thirty pounds for "taking down the Marble Altar Piece, with the Columns, Ornam^{tes} & figures therto belonging, in the late King James the seconds Chappel at Whitehall, & loading the same into Barges, and delivering thereof at Hampton Court according to Contract." Thus it was that only this "Popish stuff" was saved from the fire which in 1696 destroyed the Palacc at Whitehall. It had, however, a chequered career. William and Mary found no place for it at Hampton Court. They may have intended it for the chapel there, but the chapel was never altered by them. It retained much of the appearance given to it by Henry VIII until Queen Anne

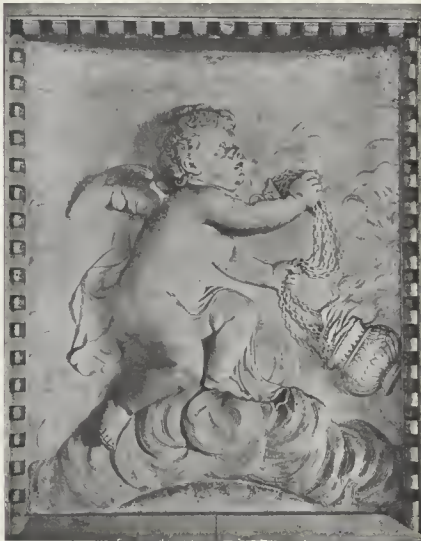


FIG. 112.—GIBBONS' BOY WITH CENSER.



FIG. 113.—GIBBONS' BOY WITH PATTEN.

ordered its redecoration in 1710. The whole work, however, including the altar-piece, was designed by Wren, and carried out by Gibbons in wood. The marble altar-piece, therefore, will have been in the way even in its place of storage, and as Wren had charge of the renovations at Westminster Abbey he thought he could make use of it. Thus with certain modifications and an inscription stating it to be Queen Anne's gift, it came to be re-erected there, and if we turn to Malcolm's *Londinium*, published in 1802, we shall find it fully described.³

The statues spoken of by Evelyn had not survived, for we hear of "empty niches." But we are told of "alto relievos of children on clouds in adoration beneath glories," of "a child with a thuribulum incensing the altar and another on one knee bearing the paten on which are two cruets." "Kneeling angels bowing to the altar" and a "bas relief of ten cherubim surrounding a gilded glory" are also mentioned. The Abbey knows it no longer, and if you ask anyone there about it they will not know that it ever existed. Its classic character stank in the nostrils of neo-Gothic revivalists, and to trace its later history we must make a pilgrimage to an obscure little country church. If we turn up the parish of Burnham in *Kelly's Directory* of Somerset we shall find the words: "The chancel contains a magnificent altar-piece the work

of Inigo Jones, removed from Westminster Abbey and presented to the parish by Doctor Walter King, a former vicar."

It has already been noticed that on Inigo Jones' shoulders the whole produce of our Late Renaissance period is apt to be ignorantly heaped. There are no grounds whatever for supposing that any refitting of the Whitehall Palace Chapel took place in his day. But when the altar-piece which Queen Anne had given to Westminster Abbey was torn down and portions went to Burnham Church, an ex-Fellow of Balliol, who was more concerned with his Latinity than with his facts, recorded the event in a well composed Latin inscription that declares that Inigo Jones designed the altar for Whitehall Chapel and "elaborated it with wondrous art." This quite unwarrantable assertion has been universally accepted ever since, although the authentic authorship, as quoted above, has long been in print. How completely Dr. King, who was a Canon of Westminster, re-erected the altar-piece in his Somerset parish church



FIG. 114.—GIBBONS' TEN CHERUBIM.



FIG. 115.—ONE OF QUELLIN'S KNEELING ANGELS.

cannot be said, for further vandalism was in store for it. The early Gothic revivalists who threw it out from Westminster Abbey early in the nineteenth century were followed, half a century later, by a still more destructive "eminent architect," who was specially employed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to "restore" the chancel of Burnham Church, and who scattered the fragments of the already truncated work of Wren and Gibbons.

Of its appearance in the Abbey we get a glimpse through the choir gates in the plate of the nave in Dart's first volume.⁴ It is also illustrated in Malcolm.⁵ Though the latter representation is rather meagre it shows the scope and character of the now destroyed structure. The composition rose in three tiers of pilastered arches and pedimented columns richly

festooned with garlands of fruit and flowers wrought in white marble. Nothing of all this is now to be found either at the east end or elsewhere in Burnham Church, but the details already quoted from Malcolm's description have in some measure survived. In a framework over the Communion table, and mixed up with modern mosaics, are placed one of the "alto relievos of Children on clouds" cut into two, and the exquisite panels—quite in Gibbons' best Cherubim manner—of the boys with censor and paten (Figs. 112 and 113). Stored away in the tower at the west end of the church will be found the "ten Cherubim surrounding a gilded glory" (Fig. 114), and also the "Kneeling Angels"—the latter very much in the Flemish manner of Quellin's time, and, no doubt, products of his chisel (Fig. 115).

Such has been the treatment meted out to this joint production of the premier architect and greatest decorative artist of our Late Renaissance period, which, besides its merit as a work of art, was, in truth, an historical monument of very considerable importance. It was a pawn in the stirring game that ended, in 1688, with the checkmate of James II and his flight oversea.

With the flight of James II the day of Whitehall's glory closed. William III disliked both its situation and the habits of life with which it had become associated. The damp of the river made him ill, and the throng of courtiers which the sociable Stuarts had encouraged was

irksome to his cold and retiring nature. He sought for a higher and more secluded situation, but at the same time desired that his residence should open directly on to the countrified Crown lands, now forming the parks, which began at the north-west side of Whitehall, and stretched out in unbroken sequence to the north-west corner of Westminster Parish that wedged itself into Kensington. Here Lord Chancellor Finch, Earl of Nottingham, had built himself a great house, which his son was prepared to part with, and in 1691 Nottingham House became Kensington Palace.

Wren was employed to build a new east front to contain state apartments, and though there was to be nothing sumptuous or grand about this Royal residence, Gibbons was employed, with due reticence, in some of the rooms and in the chapel. Thus in the set of accounts which ends in September, 1691, we find the following entry: "To Grinling Gibbons, for 1,405 feet of Ionick modillion and hollow cornish, 942 feet of picture frame over the doors and chimneys, 89 feet of astregal moulding about the glasses in the chimneys; carving the King's arms, supporters, crown and garter, the railles and ballisters in the Chapel, and several other services in and about the said buildings,—536l. 14s. 7d."

In the next set of accounts Gibbons' bill for rather more elaborate work reaches the sum of eight hundred and thirty-nine pounds and fourpence. This included the King's gallery, where the mantel-piece with the weathercock dial is to be found. There is in this room none of the naturalistic carving in limewood that is specially characteristic of



FIG. 116.—OVERMANTEL IN QUEEN MARY'S GALLERY, KENSINGTON PALACE.

Gibbons. The room is wainscoted in large panels, and has a deep cornice of oak, of which several members are enriched, most especially the great cavetto member where the usual acanthus is to be found treated in one of the hundred ways that Gibbons so freely invented. In Queen Mary's gallery the cornice is equally rich, but modillions take the place of the cavetto, as seen in the illustration of one of the two overmantels in this room, where panes of looking-glass are surrounded by drapery, out of which spring trumpets and palm leaves, while below are scrolls of "leather work," forming a sort of broken pediment garlanded with flower wreaths (Fig. 116).

More entirely in character with Gibbons' style is the mantel-picce in the Presence Chamber (Fig. 117). A portrait of General Spalken now occupies the panel, and this is surrounded with an elaborate combination of birds and cherubs, fruit and flowers, wreaths and drapery. But finer woodwork is to be found in the Orangery than in the Palace. This was a later work, dating from Queen Anne's time, and that accounts for the scrolls in somewhat rococo style which occur amid the amorini and swags of flowers in the enrichment to be found over the arches that connect the main orangery with the little rotundas at either end (Fig. 118). The whole scheme of the wainscoting, broken by Corinthian columns and supporting a bold cornice, is in the best style of the day. There can be little doubt that it was of Wren's designing, but it is uncertain whether Gibbons himself had anything to do with it.

If William and Mary were chary of expense in connection with their new London residence it was because they projected great works at the country palace which had won their affection. So soon as they had been proclaimed King and Queen in February, 1689, they went to Hampton Court to spend a few days, and Luttrell records soon after that "they take great delight in that place." It was still the palace of Henry VIII, for less here than at Whitehall had alterations been made to the structure or to the interior by the Stuarts, although Charles II had begun the extensive gardens and dug the canal that reminded William of his beloved Holland. It was now decided that not only the garden, but the palace itself should be transformed into a sort of Versailles tinged with Dutch restraint, and although Wren was to make the designs, the King and Queen were ready to modify them to suit the taste they had imbibed in the Low Countries.

Henry VIII's state apartments, forming the east and south sides of the green cloister court, were swept away. The quadrangle was re-christened the "Fountain Court," and on the garden side a new lay-out was planned to suit the style and dignity of Wren's south and east fronts. Meanwhile, though there was room left for the courtiers and household in the remaining portions of the palace, there was no suitable accommodation for the Queen, and as Mary intended to be there much, and William whenever war and diplomacy permitted, in order to superintend the works and enjoy the place, it was necessary to fit up a temporary Royal apartment.

For this purpose the Water Gallery, which stood by the riverside at some distance from the main building, was chosen. Its rooms had probably been little used since they had been



FIG. 117.—OVERMANTEL IN THE PRESENCE CHAMBER, KENSINGTON PALACE.

occupied by Queen Elizabeth as a sort of honourable prison during her sister's reign. The same form of accounts that we have for the Whitehall works during James II's time are preserved for Hampton Court for the years 1689-92. After that, unfortunately, we only have the rolls called "Declared Accounts," which are a mere abstract, and even these are lacking for the years when the state apartments were fitted at the close of William III's reign. As far as the beginning of the work was concerned, the monthly payments, which include half-a-crown to our old friend Tobias Rustat (Page 55) as under-housekeeper, give complete details of what was going on. By the autumn of 1689 the work in the Water Gallery was in full swing. Here, again, Maurice Emmett is the bricklayer and Alexander Fort, master-joiner. Spelt Forth, we have come across him at Windsor (Page 57). He did not become a liveryman of the Joiner's Company until this same year, 1689, and he never took office. Yet he must have been esteemed by them, for the following entry occurs in their records; "1 Aug 1693: Ordered that Mr. Alex Fort, a member of this Comp^y and his wife be invited to dinner on y^e Audit Day." The following spring the bricklaying account is in the name of Maurice Emmett, junior, so that we may suppose that the son had replaced the father, and that the fine brickwork of the Wren palace, as we know it to-day, is due to the younger man.



FIG. 118.—IN THE ORANGERY, KENSINGTON PALACE.

In regard to the Water Gallery, as the structural alterations were slight the bricklayer had not much to do, but we find James Grove, the carpenter, putting up an elm stair, and Alexander Fort, the joiner, charging about one thousand pounds for wainscoting. The enriched portions of this were handed over for treatment to William Emmett. At Windsor we saw (Page 58) that though he succeeded his uncle, Henry Philips, as master-joiner to the King, only a single small item is set down to him in the accounts. At Hampton Court it is otherwise, and until the time came when the state apartments were to be fitted in 1699 it is William Emmett, rather than Grinling Gibbons, who takes first place. He first appears in the accounts in February, 1690, when he charges sixty-three pounds nine shillings and twopence halfpenny for "504 foot 4 inches of Ionick cornice" and a rather longer length of hollow cornice. A far larger account of his followed, for he charged four hundred and fourteen pounds six shillings and eightpence "for carving done in the Thames Gallery and closet and making models for y^e Plombers etc." Here the Queen established herself, and not long after her death Celia Fiennes visited Hampton Court and describes this apartment. On the walls were hung what she calls "the court ladies by Nellor," meaning thereby the full-length portraits of the ladies who had attended on Queen Mary, and whom she employed Sir Godfrey Kneller to paint for her. Here, too, the Queen had placed her collection of Delph ware and Oriental china, and there was a japanned room fitted, no doubt, with lacquered panels, such as Evelyn had seen at Mr. Boone's. But there is no mention of Grinling Gibbons' carvings, although during these years she very seldom passed them unnoticed when visiting palaces like Windsor, colleges like the Trinities at both Oxford and Cambridge, or houses such as Admiral Russell's in Cambridgeshire, or Mr. Lowther's in Westmorland. This tallies with the absence of his name in the volume of detail accounts of 1689-92. The volume had long been overlooked at the Board of Works, and has only recently found its way to the Record Office. It corrects the view previously held by Mr. Law that this temporary

apartment contained "richly carved doorways and cornices, with festoons of fruit and flowers by the delicate hand of Grinling Gibbons."⁶ Had there been any they would have been removed to the new building, for when this was completed the Water Gallery was taken down in order to obtain a view of the river and complete the scheme of formal lay-out bounded by Tijou's wrought iron Clairvoyée which stands on the riverside.

It was either in 1696 or in 1697 that Celia Fiennes paid her visit, and then she found the new state rooms still

"a shell, nothing finished,"⁷ for on the death of his wife in 1694, William largely stopped operations, and so far as woodwork is concerned the period between 1690-99 is almost blank. But during that interval considerable sums appear in the Declared Accounts as being paid both to William Emmett and to Grinling Gibbons for carving work done in and about several parts of the new buildings. This, at least to a considerable extent, must have been for work in stone and not in wood, and we have, indeed, before the volume of detail accounts closes, the following entry: "William Emmett, carver, 11 round windows of Portland stone with a Compartment of Lyons' Skins and Lorrell Leaves £220. 4 Keystones



FIG. 119.—IN THE SECOND PRESENCE CHAMBER, HAMPTON COURT.

of Portland Stone in the Arches of the Portico in Fountain Court £6." The eleven round windows are also in the Fountain Court. No doubt this item referred to the set facing west, as the number of round upper windows on the north and south side of the court is in each case twelve.

We may conclude that these were sculptured by Emmett later, and will partly account for his total bill from 1691 to 1694, amounting to nine hundred and eighteen pounds three shillings

and fivepence. During the same period seven hundred and forty-four pounds sixteen shillings are paid to Grinling Gibbons. Though we have no documentary evidence of what he did, we may with confidence attribute to him the work of the carved frieze in the centre of the east front under the entablature and lineable with the capitals. The central panel has drapery, instruments and William's cipher with the crown. These are in Emmett's manner, but the



FIG. 120.—IN THE AUDIENCE CHAMBER, HAMPTON COURT.

ornamentation upon their fine oak wainscotings rising up to the ceiling, and ending with a hold cornice, of which the great cavetto member is differently designed in each room. That in the private dining-room is composed of great sweeps of acanthus leaves garlanded with primroses. The Queen's private chamber is rather like it, but without the little primrose garlands, whereas in the King's private dressing-room the cavetto (Fig. 47) not only has the

other six panels that have a vase with flowers in the middle and fruit and flower swags on each side are exactly what we should expect from Grinling Gibbons. The filling in the pediment above was entrusted to Cains Cibber, who, as already stated, did a good deal of work at Hampton Court, as he did also at St. Paul's.

In April, 1699, Wren furnished an estimate for finishing part of Hampton Court. This estimate, asked for by the King, comprised the rooms of the new south front of the palace. It speaks of rooms already finished above stairs, and as in the accounts for 1694-96, there occurs a bill from Gibbons for over five hundred pounds for such work as carving cornices, mouldings and picture frames, it is probable that the suite of private rooms at the back of the east front and looking into the Fountain Court had been fitted during those years. Except for one charming oval frame (Fig. 47), these rooms almost entirely lack carvings in limewood in Gibbons' usual naturalistic style, but depend for their



FIG. 121.—IN THE DRAWING ROOM, HAMPTON COURT.

acanthus leaf and the primrose, but also a flat shell. The wainscoting, in addition to this, has enriched mouldings above the doors, but the architraves themselves are generally plain. The front rooms on this side were intended for the Queen, and would, therefore, not be needed by William III in the days of his widowerhood. They were, therefore, never completed until Queen Anne's time. The walls are largely left plain for tapestry, but they have fine modillioned cornices and enriched doorcases in oak.

Occasionally one side of the room is wainscoted, probably because the suites of tapestry did not offer covering for it. The great drawing-room in the centre of this side has painted



FIG. 122.—IN THE KING'S GALLERY, HAMPTON COURT.

walls and ceiling, and has no woodwork. The rooms lying east of it are of a somewhat later style, and show the handiwork of William Kent. It is, therefore, only in the rooms included in Wren's 1699 estimate that we find really sumptuous woodwork allowing full scope for Gibbons' wonderful chisel.

Mounting the King's staircase, painted by Verrio, the guardroom, fitted with arms as at Windsor, is entered, and that leads into the first of the five great rooms composing the King's state suite, and all of them decorated with Gibbons' carvings. In the first Presence Chamber the fireplace faces the windows, and above the projecting mantel-piece the enriched shelf carries vases of Oriental china. The Mytens picture of the second Marquess of Hamilton is placed in the carved frame, and on either side are great drops, each composed of four bold bunches of flowers, having a projection of some nine inches, connected by a ribbon winding round the stalks, which form a connection between the bunches. The composition includes most of Gibbons' favourites—tulips and ranunculus, turncap lilies and anemones, hops and pea-pods. The last are freely arranged so as to break the line of the spaces between the bunches, thus bringing the whole composition together. The cornice and door architraves are simple, but

on each side of the pictures over the doors are narrow drops much more stiffly designed than the great ones over the fireplace. Passing eastward to the second Presence Chamber we find the same arrangement about the door and the cornice. The fireplace is on the east wall, and has no projecting mantel-piece. Above the fire opening, with its marble roll moulding, is a long, narrow panel, and above that the great one occupied by Karel van Mander's portrait of Christian IV of Denmark, patron of Inigo Jones and brother of James I's Queen. Gibbons' work surrounds it on three sides (Fig. 119). Wheat sheafs and palm boughs, with flower swags starting from the point where they intersect, and looped up with narrow ribbons, occupy the space at the top of the

picture. This composition is practically independent of the drops, although a bunch of leaves is so arranged as to leave no interval appreciable to the eye. Besides the usual flowers, the drops have a beautifully folded drapery and ropes of trefoil leaves arranged with ribbon into close-set garlands.

This practice of using ropes of leaves or of a small flower probably representing the primrose gives a somewhat more formal and decorative appearance to Gibbons' compositions than he affected in his earlier years. It was a favourite habit with him at Hampton Court, for we find it again both in the Audience Chamber and in the Drawing-room, which are the next apartments in the suite. The decoration of the mantel-pieces in these two rooms should be compared with the Gibbons' drawings at All Souls' (Figs. 79 and 80). Neither the design nor the measurements absolutely tally, but the general scheme is very much alike.

In the Audience Chamber, which has a projecting mantel-piece facing the windows, as in the first Presence Chamber, Gerard Honthorst's picture of James I's daughter, Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, has above it an achievement wherein amorini, cornucopias, trumpets, palm leaves and a hay wreath are associated with fruit and flowers (Fig. 120). In the drops the ribboned garlands form wreaths, which give the leading lines to the composition, though great bunches of flowers are intermingled. In the drawing-room, where the arrangement of the fireplace resembles that of the second Presence Chamber, and is on the side wall, the fixed frame of the panel is a plain one, and the portrait of an Archduchess of Austria is movable and in its own frame. The Gibbons' carvings here are the most delightful at Hampton Court (Fig. 121).

The scheme is not unlike that in the Audience Chamber, but there is a little more elegance and happy balance in the composition, while the birds perched on the intertwined leaf scrolls, with heads erect and singing to the winged amorini above them, are a charming touch. In these two rooms the door-frames are fitted with curved pediments, and the drops on either side of the pictures above them are fuller and richer than in the first two rooms. Otherwise there is very considerable likeness in the general scheme of all four rooms. The walls are not fully wainscoted, but left plain, either for tapestry or, as they are at present, for pictures. The cornices of oak are fairly simple, and from them start coved ceilings of plain white plaster. But in the fifth room, which was William III's state bedchamber, we find a change. There is an exceptionally fine ceiling painted by Verrio with designs emblematic of sleep. It comes down on to a modillioned cornice with richly carved members, and below that is a frieze decorated with a beautiful scroll carved in limewood, amid whose encircling leafage and bunches of flowers singing birds are freely spread. An illustration of it was given in Chapter IX (Fig. 83), which so perfectly exhibits every detail of this sumptuous decorative scheme that no further description is necessary. Gibbons so seldom



FIG. 123.—IN THE KING'S DINING-ROOM,
HAMPTON COURT.

used decorated friezes that this example is of the greatest importance as showing the exquisite way in which he could design such a feature when it was called for. A different scheme of mantel-piece is another feature of this room. Above the fire-opening is a looking-glass in three sections, each section surrounded by a frame of blue glass, and the central and widest section rising up into a semicircle of the same form as the windows introduced by Inigo Jones and much used by his successors under the name of "Venetian." Such looking-glasses for fire-places are to be found in Holland, and were favourites with Marot, who has been already mentioned (Page 89) as the probable author of most of the chimney-piece drawings intended for Hampton Court now at the Soane Museum.



FIG. 124.—MANTEL-PIECE IN A PRIVATE APARTMENT, HAMPTON COURT.



FIG. 125.—MANTEL-PIECE IN A PRIVATE APARTMENT, HAMPTON COURT.

Above the looking-glass in the King's bedroom the mantel-piece, which is a projecting one, recedes, and between where it ends and the frieze there is only a space of about five or six feet, of which the central panel is flanked by very fine but short drops, starting with involved scrolls, and being composed, as in the previous rooms, of primrose wreaths and bunches of fruit and flower. These, with the frieze, are the only lime-wood carvings in the room, for the doors have no drops above them. Behind this state suite and looking into the court runs the King's gallery. Here more restraint was observed in the carving, but the doorways are very fine examples of enriched work in oak (Fig. 122). Between the King's bedchamber and the south-east corner of the Palace are three little rooms with most noticeable woodwork from the joiner's point of view, but, again, with little carving. There is, however, on the hood of one mantel-piece, which is a corner one with receding shelves for china, a beautiful arrangement of ribboned flower festoons (Fig. 123). This is in the King's State dressing-room, beyond which is his writing closet—the closet intended for his Queen opening out from it.

Both these small rooms have richly carved oak cornices and enriched members to the frames of the panels, that hold looking-glasses or decorative pictures. From the King's writing closet there opened a staircase, now closed up, leading to corresponding rooms on the ground floor that were elaborately fitted in his time, and probably for his own use. They form the only ground-floor suite with enriched oak wainscotings. The first of these rooms occupies the south-east corner of the Palace, and is about fifteen feet by twenty feet. It has a



FIG. 126.—MANTEL-PIECE IN A PRIVATE APARTMENT, HAMPTON COURT.

we saw the joiners doing in preparation for the carvers at St. Paul's (Page 106). The next room has the same cornice, and over the doors the same enrichment to the panels. But over the fireplace a plain hollow moulding runs round the panel, which is high, but only about two feet six inches wide. This, again, is surrounded on all four sides with carvings (Fig. 125). At the top is a basket of flowers, and at the bottom crossed palm branches, and these are connected with each other and with the side drops by a continuous chain of ribbon and primrose flowers, sometimes closely wound and sometimes hanging in loops free of each other. The drops consist mainly of folded and fringed drapery, but about it run wreaths of flowers and sprigs of oak and bay leaves. Through this room is another, fifteen feet by twenty-one feet, where none of the mouldings are enriched, but the panel over the dark-coloured marble fireplace is entirely surrounded with carving rather more elaborate than in the two previous rooms (Fig. 126). In the centre of the top is a Royal crown, suggesting that this was the King's privy bedroom. Wings, trumpets and wreaths support the crown. Then light geranium leaf swags connect this composition with winged "boys" occupying the corners. Ribbons running



FIG. 127.—IN THE CHAPEL, HAMPTON COURT.

hold enriched cornice, of which the main member—not here the favourite cavetto—has the egg and tongue motif. The walls are wainscoted up to the cornice with wide, outstanding panels, having plain bolection mouldings, except in the case of the panels above the two doors and above the hearth. There the mouldings are much enriched, a little twined wreath of primrose leaves and flowers forming the main member. The chimney-breast projects, and there is the usual marble fire-arch with great roll moulding. The panel above has, outside its enriched border, a narrow run of fruit and flower wreathing on all four sides (Fig. 124).

At the top, spreading upwards over the cornice, is a slight and airy acanthus whorl, now somewhat broken. Down the side runs a ribbon ending in tassels, and knotted to it are roses and tulips, grapes and peaches, wheat-cars and pea-pods, a primrose rope hanging in graceful swags across the bottom. The whole of the carving is in oak, and the projecting portions—such as the grapes and tulips—are in two layers glued together, as

down the sides connect groups of flowers and musical implements. Below, birds perch on the twisted loops of the ribbon.

The wall panels vary in width from two feet nine inches to three feet nine inches within the bolection mouldings, which are from three and a half to four inches wide, as also are the stiles between the panels. These rooms are designed and executed with great delicacy and judgment. The carvings are full of variety and invention, delightfully put together, and not too crowded or ambitious for the small rooms they adorn. Considering that oak and not limewood is the medium, the execution is very fine. Coming down from the bigger and more sumptuous state apartments above, this privy suite, including the little stair with its elegant though simple Tijou ironwork, strikes exactly the right note, and should be noted by architectural students.

We have already seen (Page 126) that the chapel alteration at Hampton Court was not dealt with in William III's time, but was undertaken by his successor. It was entrusted to Wren in 1710, and the carvings are the latest dated work of Grinling Gibbons. Over the doorway are three amorini, the central one with a crown. Below them are fruit-filled cornucopias and palm branches, such as he had previously introduced in the frieze of the magnificent doorcases to the King's Gallery (Fig. 122), and again used, with the Royal arms and other motifs, above the Royal pew in the chapel, where this achievement is gilt, as are also the amorini which form the corbels supporting the unaltered roof of Henry VIII's time. The wall wainscotings have a bold enriched cornice, of which the main member is not a cavetto, but a convex surface carved with acanthus and palm branch scrolls. At the east end the great altar-piece takes much the same general form as that designed by Wren for Chelsea Hospital (Fig. 170). A curved pediment supported by twin columns encloses an oval panel surrounded, as in the chapel of Trinity College, Oxford (Fig. 137), by elaborate limewood carvings of flower and fruit festoons interspersed with cherubim. On either side of this main structure is a niche surrounded by a very bold limewood device of crossed oak and bay boughs, now riddled with worm-holes, as the illustration (Fig. 127) shows.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER XI.

- ¹ Wren's *Parentalia*, Ed. 1750, p. 325.
- ² Evelyn's *Diary*, Ed. Wheatley, III, p. 30.
- ³ Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, I, pp. 87 and 88.
- ⁴ Dart, *History of Westminster Abbey*, I, p. 58.
- ⁵ Malcolm *Londinium Redivivum*, V, p. 477.
- ⁶ Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*, III, p. 28.
- ⁷ Celia Fiennes, *Diary*, p. 47.
- ⁸ Law, *History of Hampton Court Palace*, III, p. 184.

CHAPTER XII.

WREN AND GIBBONS AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

WHEN the old corporate bodies forming the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge came back to their own after Commonwealth days they found much interrupted building work to go on with, and ample scope for the means at their disposal in the way of repairs and additions. There it was that Wren began his architectural career, commencing, as we already have seen (Page 42), the Pembroke Chapel in Cambridge and the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford in 1653. The object of the theatre was to transfer the somewhat riotous and buffoon-like proceedings, which formed part of the yearly commemoration, from the consecrated area of St. Mary's Church to a lay building. Cambridge naturally wished to follow suit, and this was specially pressed by Dr. Barrow, the Master of Trinity.

The Council of the Heads was cautious, and declared it could not be afforded. Barrow is said to have replied that "if they made a sorry Building, they might fail of Contributions; but if they made it very magnificent and stately, and at least exceeding that at Oxford, all Gentlemen of their Interest would generously contribute."¹ His bold ideas did not meet with approval, and so to prove that he was in the right he determined that he would erect at his own College an even finer building than he had proposed to the University, and would rely upon the generosity of Trinity men to pay for it. This, according to a contemporary annalist, was the origin of the library (Fig. 132) at Trinity College, Cambridge, and some of the most interesting carved woodwork we find there is the result of his method of proceeding, for the beautiful little detached heraldic decorations that occupy the top panels of the bookcase ends commemorate the principal contributors.

Wren was a personal friend of Barrow, and to him the Master appealed for a design, the work being commenced in 1675. It is a building to which Wren, busy man that he was in those days, gave much attention even to the small details, and in the All Souls' collection of his



FIG. 128.—ARMS OF DR. BARROW, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

drawings we may see his rough sketches of such fittings as the bookcases. His scheme for them was a classic rendering of the Gothic plan of ranging desks topped with bookcases at right angles to the wall so as to form, as we find at the Bodleian and other old libraries, what Wren himself termed "cells to study in." But as the loftiness of his room enabled him to place his window-sills high he was also able to line the walls beneath them

with additional shelving. The cells at each end were to be shut off for the storage of the more precious books and manuscripts. This likewise was Wren's plan, and he will have given the general design for the delightful gates with perforated panels which form the closing.

Local joiners and carvers were employed, and it was no doubt Cornelius Austin who carved here in oak. Of that wood the perforated panels are composed. The design consists of involved foliage scrolls only. They are treated rather flatly, and there is a little lack of brisk vitality about them. They may be said to be among the good, but not among the best of this class of work so fashionable at the time. The enrichment, carved out of the solid oak in the lower panels of the bookcase ends, will also be by Austin, and he likewise executed one out of the set of heraldic devices in limewood that hang upon the panels above—the one whose crested helm and shield each bear a griffin.

In connection with this a curious story is told in the library. A blind man had studied the work of Gibbons so exactly that he could tell it by the touch. He passed his hands over all these heraldic carvings and declared them to be undoubtedly by the master, until he came to the last one at the north-east end, which he opined from the feel to be by another man. Subsequently Mr. Willis Clark found Austin's receipt for this very object.

It is much to be wished that Gibbons' receipts might also have been found, but, curiously enough, there is no direct trace of him whatever in any of the accounts, either at Oxford or at Cambridge. His carvings in the Trinity Library may have been gifts from the chief subscribers and no entry made in the College ledgers. The chief person commemorated in the carvings, and of whom likewise a marble statue, said to be by Gibbons, may be seen here, was a man



FIG. 129.—ARMS OF DUKE OF SOMERSET.



FIG. 130.—CYPHER OF DUKE OF SOMERSET.



FIG. 131.—HERALDIC DEVICE.

very thoroughly alive to his own importance, and also a great patron of Grinling Gibbons. Of the "proud" Duke of Somerset there will be more to say in Chapter XIV. He was a Trinity man and Chancellor of the University. No doubt he did much for the new library, but some may think that it is in excess of his merits that the whole of the heraldic carvings on the west side are devoted to his glorification. To obtain a little variety Gibbons commemorated



FIG. 132.—THE LIBRARY, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

him heraldically in triple manner, repeating each device four times. First we get his coat-of-arms surrounded by the Garter, supported by his bull and unicorn and topped by his phoenix rising out of a ducal crown (Fig. 129). Next we come upon the phoenix alone; and, thirdly, we have his initials with Garter and coronet resting upon crossed palm branches (Fig. 130). On the

opposite side of the library we get much more variety, for not only every shield but every device is different. Perhaps the most ambitious represents the fleur-de-lis between crossed swords of Dr. Isaac Barrow himself (Fig. 128).

Above it the helm bears his squirrel gnawing a nut, while on either side is a composition of fruit and flowers projecting fully seven inches. Another subject, with a grasshopper crest, is very similar, and one or other evidently formed the model on which Austin based his example. In some cases we get drapery and palm branches introduced (Fig. 131), while others show that semi-conventional treatment of leafage which in its full development formed Gibbons' highly involved whorls. In a single instance, that next to the perforated panel door, there is no heraldry, but only a cypher representing the letters H.P. (Fig. 133). This was Sir Henry Puckering, whose initials were certainly not used because he had not the right to bear arms, since he was the only son of his father, Sir Adam Newton, who in the early days of the seventeenth century was tutor to Prince Henry and builder of Charlton House in Kent, and also was heir to his uncle, Sir Thomas Puckering, whose house on the edge of Warwick town he owned and inhabited, and whose name he took. But towards the end of his life, lonely through the death of his wife and his son, he retired to his old Cambridge college, and there lived among the fine collection of books he had brought with him and gave to the library, which had just been built, and where Gibbons' oak leaves and forget-me-nots aptly frame his initials. Most of these delightful little creations of the great carver, of which the average size is about twenty-one inches by fifteen inches, are in thoroughly good condition, and are still unpainted, as Celia Fiennes found them in 1697, when she praises "y^e finest Carving in wood, of flowers, birds, Leaves, figures of all sorts as I ever saw."²



FIG. 134.—CARVING ON PANEL NEAR DOORWAY.



FIG. 133.—CYPHER OF SIR HENRY PUCKERING.

The library was long in progress, and it may not have been finished many years before Celia Fiennes was there. Wren made his sketches for the woodwork in 1686, and it is said that the Gibbons' carvings were not placed there till after 1690, by which time the Duke of Somerset had become Chancellor and his new-built Petworth was getting ready for the reception of the carvings by Gibbons that still adorn its oak room. His finest work at Cambridge decorates the ends of the library, but this has suffered from the great misfortune

of having been painted over white. The filling in of the broken pediment is very interesting (Fig. 135). It has been before remarked (Page 90) that the pediment was not one of Gibbons' favourite structural forms, as it was a little too architectural to give full scope to his realistic manner. In the present case the pedimented doorway flanked by Corinthian columns was, no doubt, designed by Wren. But perhaps the unusual width of the break in it was allowed by him to suit Gibbons, whose filling in was certainly most carefully designed and measured for that purpose.

The flower scrolls that connect the outstretched wings supporting the Royal arms with the curved spring of the pediment embrace and follow the outline of the architectural form in a very perfect and delightful manner. The arms are those of William III, and prove that Gibbons' work cannot be earlier than 1689. More of his swags and festoons decorate the panels of the doorway and of the wainscoting on either side (Fig. 134). They are all on the principle of a nail driven into the oak, over which is looped ribbon that winds round and combines the floral groups—nail and ribbon both being of limewood like the rest of the composition.

Trinity is the only Cambridge College where we find work that can be confidently attributed to Gibbons, and the same may be said of Oxford, for there it is in the chapel of Trinity College alone that we certainly see Gibbons' touch and see it at its best.

Trinity, Oxford, was a foundation of Sir Thomas Pope, who made a great fortune in Henry VIII's time as a Commissioner for the dissolved monasteries. But when Dr. Bathurst, Wren's friend, became head of the College at the Restoration, he asked the Savilian Professor of Astronomy to design new buildings. This was done in 1665, and Wren's building was the first in Oxford in the Late Renaissance style. What share Wren had in designing the chapel, which was not undertaken till a quarter of a century later, does not appear. Undoubtedly that leader of classic taste and learned amateur architect, Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, took some, if not the leading, part in preparing the plans. But the woodwork is so good in design, as well as admirable in execution, that we seem to see here the controlling mind of the great architect. The chapel was begun in 1691. Dr. Bathurst himself paid for the shell, and for the fittings appealed for funds to his particular friends and to those interested in the College. Among the subscribers was John Evelyn, and the Gibbons carvings may in part have been his gift. They certainly do not appear in the College accounts, where, indeed, little is to be found in relation to the chapel, and that is not surprising, as it was not the College as a body that paid for it. Dr. Blakiston, the present Head of the College and its historian, kindly supplies the information that "the interior decorations of the Chapel seem to have been arranged by a local joiner one Arthur Frogley and probably the payments out were made through him. The only relative item seems to be the charge for bringing *sculptitia* from London." Arthur Frogley, whatever share he may have taken in the work himself, certainly engaged men that were remarkable craftsmen in wood to assist him with this sumptuous piece of work. The altar-piece and other east end fittings, the screen dividing chapel from ante-chapel, the wainscoting of the side walls and the rows of benches below it form a series of specimens sufficient in itself to convince the student that the English of this period had no superiors in the art of designing and executing



FIG. 135.—LIBRARY DOORWAY, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



FIG. 136.—MEASURED DRAWING OF EAST END OF CHAPEL, TRINITY COLLEGE, OXON.



FIG. 137.—THE ALTAR-PIECE, TRINITY COLLEGE, OXON.

decorated fittings in wood. Unfortunately, they have lost the beautiful tone and texture that they possessed when completed. In the already quoted (Page 78) paper which the late Mr. W. G. Rogers read before the Institute of British Architects in 1867 he thus describes the condition of the Trinity College woodwork: "When I was there, I complained to the verger that I could not make out the faces of the angels on the altar pediment, but when I put my hand on the open-worked panels, I found that they had been painted over with a thick oil, darkened with Vandyke brown, which is now as sticky and as moist as if it had been

done over less than a week ago. In this way have been damaged the six figures on the pediments, the open-worked panels on the screen; and, in truth, all this glorious work of Gibbons, wrought in costly, rich, sweet-scented cedar, is now covered over with a dirty undrying oil."³

What is not dark and shiny is white, for a coat of paint of that colour hides all the delicacy of touch of the magnificent lime-wood carvings about the altar, of which a measured drawing is given (Fig. 136). Several woods enter into the general composition of the chapel woodwork. The wainscoting, the cornice of which has an exceptionally finely carved cavetto moulding, is of oak, but most of the carved work that is not limewood is of cedar or of some cognate wood. Celia Fiennes, who saw it when it was clean and untouched, speaks of it as being the same as that which she had seen used for mouldings at Admiral Russell's splendid new house at Chippenham, near Newmarket. She describes it as "a sweete outlandish wood not much differing from Cedar but of a finer Graine."⁴

The pierced scrollwork panels of the altar-rails suffer on their outer side from the general dark colouring matter, but the inner side has escaped what seems to have been considered a precious embellishment to be used only where it could be seen. Here, then, we can examine the tone and texture of the wood, which has a rather more decided grain and a lighter colour than is usual with cedar. But it may well be cedar faded out by exposure.

The columns of the altar-piece are of the same wood, darkened in the manner that Rogers complained of. But the general expanse of plain surfaces, and even the unenriched mouldings, are veneered in



FIG. 138.—PIERCED PANEL IN THE SCREEN,
TRINITY COLLEGE, OXON.

walnut with a thin banding of light wood. Here again the woodwork at Chippenham Park must have presented the precise counterpart, for Celia Fiennes speaks of finding there "wall nut tree pannells and Rims round wth mulberry tree y^e is a Lemon Coullour."⁴ As she also noticed "ye finest Carv'd wood in fruitages, herbages, gunns, beasts, fowles, &c, very thinn and fine all in white wood wth out paint or varnish," we may be nearly certain that the work there was done by Grinling Gibbons, and that such general treatment and mixture of woods



FIG. 139.—WEST END OF CHAPEL, TRINITY COLLEGE, OXON.

as we still find in Trinity College Chapel was then considered the finest model for sumptuous wall linings. Chippenham Park must have been one of the best furnished and fitted homes of William III's time, but was pulled down in 1790. In Trinity College Chapel limewood is confined to a pair of devices of amorini, scrolls and garlands above the side panels of the altar and to the magnificent composition which enfolds the middle panel on the top and sides (Fig. 137).

Gibbons never did a finer thing, and we should to-day place it in the very first rank of his remaining work but for the unfortunate coating of white paint that brings it down to the level of commonplace. The vase of fruit and flowers at the top was originally fully equal to a similar (Fig. 184) device at Petworth, while the audaciously involved whorls on each side may be taken as the climax of the master-carver's technique. After a lifetime spent in following his footsteps Mr. Rogers wrote: "This peculiar description of light interlacing scrollwork originated with Gibbons, and is to be met with in most of his important works. It died out with him and no one has successfully attempted to carry it on since his time."³ Angels, modelled in a remarkably realistic and lively fashion, sit on the pediment of the altar-piece, three sculptured vases completing the composition. These vases, which we have already met with in Maine's work at St. Paul's (Fig. 110), are very freely used in the Trinity College Chapel. They form the finials of the pediments of the little excrescences projecting from the side walls near the altar, which owe their origin to a desire to leave the original tomb of the founder and yet make no break in the complete classic scheme of the decorations. Again, there are vases, flanked by amorini, in the centre of the side wainscoting, and another set on the parapet and pediment of the western screen (Fig. 139).

This screen, dividing the floor space into chapel and ante-chapel, has two faces, so that the pediment offers positions for four seated statues, and these represent the four Evangelists. The pediment is supported by columns like the altar-piece. Indeed, these features of the east and west ends are as similar and possible in design as their different purposes permit. In the screen the centre is occupied by the opening, while the sides offer, perhaps, the largest and most ambitious pierced panels that this age, that loved them so dearly, produced. On the chapel side they represent a grand design of involved leafage and scrollwork kept rather flat, but with little central bunches of hops, wheat, peaches and flowers. Evidently the chapel side was considered the less important; the worshippers turn their backs to it, and the east end is the point that should attract the eye. But the other side of these panels would be the chief thing to observe after the outer door was passed and the ante-chapel entered. The ante-chapel, which takes up about twenty feet out of the entire eighty-foot length of the chapel, is now largely blocked up by the organ, and so the screen can no longer be seen and enjoyed in the manner originally intended.

Only by one who is really examining the details is the richness of the panels on this side likely to be observed. The scrollwork is merely a background, from which amorini heads project—a pair in the centre, kissing like some at Retworth (Fig. 182), and a single one above and below (Fig. 138). As the effect might have been a little spotty if they had formed the only projections, half-a-dozen bunches of fruit and flowers, three on each side rightly placed, give perfect harmony to this masterly composition. On the chapel side the beautiful canopied seats set in the space between the opening and the panels deserve examination, and it will be seen that richness is given to the general effect of the screen by the drapery festoons springing from an open book that encompass the top and sides of the panels. There is no carving and enrichment about the seats beyond the vase finials, but their fine panelling, in character with that of the wall wainscoting, gives due dignity and finish to the whole scheme of joinery, and incline us to place Arthur Frogley high in the honourable roll of his craft, together with Hopson, Davis and Smallwell, the St. Paul's joiners.

It would be interesting to know whether Frogley was also the joiner employed at the library of Queen's College, Oxford (Fig. 140). Provost Hulton began his library at about the same time as President Bathurst did his chapel, and both were finished in 1694. In both cases Wren probably held the same position, that of general adviser, for the working architect at Queen's was the man whom we have already seen acting as his assistant and draughtsman, Nicholas Hawksmore.



FIG. 140.—THE LIBRARY, QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

As he probably drew the working designs from Wren's sketches for the Trinity, Cambridge, library he would be absolutely at home in Wren's manner of fitting such a building. The example at Queen's, Oxford, is a good deal similar, and presents much the same features. It has, however, no carvings in limewood, nor any that suggest the direct employment of Grinling Gibbons, but there are carvings in oak of his school of very high quality.

Along each side are ten tall bookcases, two of which are rather wider and more richly treated than the others (Fig. 141). In all of them the ends are divided into three superposed panels, of which the top one is filled with a wreath and ribboned swag of flowers or of drapery. The middle panel projects, and the chief member of its moulding is enriched. The panel itself is subdivided into two, of which the little upper part is carved with formal scrollwork. This completes the decoration of the smaller bookcase ends, but the larger ones have their additional width taken up by narrow panelled pilasters containing a carved drop five feet long and six inches wide, starting from an elaborately knotted ribbon, and sweeping down with pea-pods, tulips, roses, plums and currants. These four larger bookcases are surmounted by curved pediments, on the top of which a bishop's mitre is flanked by running compositions of ribbon and flowers, while a cartouche of "leather-work" mixed with flowers holds a shield of arms.

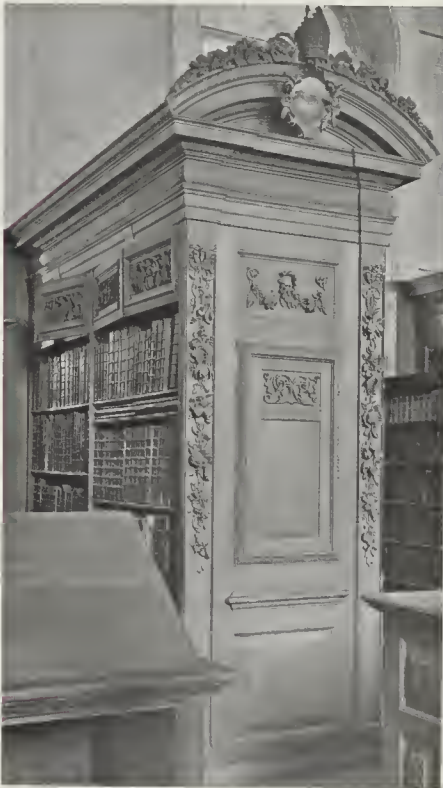


FIG. 141.—A BOOKCASE END, QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXON.

hand carved the oak so briskly. Besides the ends of the book-cases, four panels, making two pairs of doors closing the top shelf of each bookcase, are carved in pierced work. But the chief panels of this kind that we find here are in the doors of the two great manuscript cupboards fitted at the entrance end of the library (Fig. 142).

Why Mr. Rogers fell foul of them it is difficult to say, but he called them "coarse and even vulgar," whereas the detail illustrations will show them to be exceptionally crisp, nervous and skilful in the management of the chisel. The carving is in oak in two layers, the back carved with somewhat flatish acanthus scrolls, but the front layer much more prominently modelled. Instead of the round and rather sausage-like treatment of the similar scrollwork at Trinity, Cambridge, the stem part is kept narrow and is squared. From it the leafage

springs in extraordinarily delicate and highly modelled curves, sweeps and folds that put us in mind of Tijou's contemporary ironwork. Indeed, the carver almost certainly had such ironwork in his mind when he wrought these panels.

It may not be in accordance with the highest principles of art to imitate in one material the forms natural to another material wholly different in its nature and in its treatment, but we know that that was considered clever and appropriate at the time, and it is no more out of order than Gibbons' fundamental practice of exactly reproducing natural objects in wood. That is also to some extent done in the Queen's College panels. The lower ones, which cannot be so well seen, and are more liable to wear, have carvings of little projection. In the narrow central ones oak leaves and acorns are allowed to come rather further forward, while the top panels have—projecting from the general fascia of the scrollwork—little compositions of sunflowers, or some such large blooms, with freely treated and almost detached peapods and wheat ears.

One does not like to disagree with the opinion of a man like Mr. Rogers, who spent a lifetime in the study and



FIG. 142.—DOORS TO CUPBOARD LIBRARY OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXON.

practice of this one particular branch of the decorative arts, but it is very difficult, after a careful examination of these cupboard doors, not to place them in the very first rank of pierced and modelled scrollwork, and to take note of their distinct originality and differentiation, both in design and handling, from the usual type of which we have already met with such numerous examples on staircases and in screens and altar-rails. Their similarity to those formerly in Winchester College Chapel is alluded to on page 235.

To review the whole of the Late Renaissance woodwork at Oxford were to fill a volume. The magnificently conceived, but not elaborately enriched, fittings in the library of Dr. Aldrich's own college, the chapel screens at Queen's and at All Souls', are three other extraordinarily fine examples of sumptuous joinery; but the chapel at Trinity and the library of Queen's combine such joinery with fine carving, and shall, therefore, be relied on to fitly and sufficiently illustrate the best of what Oxford was producing in wood at this period.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER XII.

- ¹ Willis Clark, *Cambridge*, p. 121.
- ² *Celia Fiennes' Diary*, p. 49.
- ³ R.I.B.A. Proceedings, 1867, p. 183.
- ⁴ *Celia Fiennes' Diary*, p. 127.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTEMPORARY WOODWORK IN LONDON.

ALTHOUGH St. Paul's presents the greatest and most magnificent example of English Late Renaissance ecclesiastical woodwork that we possess, yet many of the London churches that Wren was building at the same time were fitted as splendidly and as completely, due consideration being paid to their smaller size and humbler use. Had they remained untouched to the present day they would have offered comprehensive material for an exhaustive review of what the "Worshipful Company of Joiners and Ceilers" could do at the closing period of the seventeenth century. Even now that many have been entirely swept away and that others have been sadly mauled by would-be improvers, it is a real delight to turn out of the busy modern streets and rest the mind with the contemplation of the charming old-world interiors which a few still possess entire, while in many another we find portions at least of the admirable original work. As to who wrought this vast quantity of magnificent woodwork very little is known. Wren's account books for the City churches are kept at St. Paul's with those of the Cathedral itself, but have not anything like the same completeness. In fact, they do not deal with the fitting of the churches at all, but merely with the structure, and that only in very condensed form. The tax on all coals entering the metropolis which we have seen providing a great part of the funds needed for St. Paul's (Page 118) also largely helped the City churches. Indeed, for some years three-quarters of the produce of the tax went to them and only one-quarter to the Cathedral. The object of Wren's accounts was to show how this money was spent. But the fittings were nearly all of them gifts by wealthy citizens or bodies of parishioners, and their cost finds no place in Wren's official documents. Only in the case of the first church that he rebuilt, that of Mary-le-Bow, commenced in 1671, is any really considerable sum put down to the joiners. Here William Cleere receives three hundred and thirty-four pounds eleven shillings and a penny. He was the master-joiner chiefly engaged on the City churches; but so far as the Wren accounts go, the sums paid to him were, as a rule, very small, even as little as fourteen pounds two shillings and sixpence in the case of St. Benet, Gracechurch Street. On the other hand, the sums entered as paid to masons and carpenters are large, for they were responsible for the structure, the whole of the cost of which is entered in the books. The Strongs (Page 98) and John Longland (Page 97) frequently appear together as church as well as Cathedral builders. It is Thomas Strong whose name is set down in the accounts of St. Stephen Walbrook, begun in 1672; but for several later churches, not commenced till after his death in 1681, it is Edward Strong who sends in the bill, and is, for instance, paid three thousand nine hundred and thirty-five pounds twelve shillings and ninepence for the masonry of St. Vedast Foster, John Longland being the carpenter, and charging one thousand and sixty-seven pounds fifteen shillings, while John Smallwell, the joiner whom we have met at St. Paul's, and shall meet again at Chelsea, is merely put down for thirty pounds. It is extremely likely that the joiner who was employed for such small portions of structural work as were included in the Wren accounts was also employed for the fittings that do not appear in them. In that case Smallwell will be responsible for the putting together of the excellent pulpit and very fine altar-piece that still stand in St. Vedast's. When the joiner had erected the woodwork the carver would come into play, and the St. Vedast's altar-piece is one of the examples which it has been quite usual to attribute to Grinling Gibbons, although there is no positive record of his employment in any of the City churches, and the work at St. Vedast's does not display his own particular handiwork. It is

of oak, which is the almost universal material of the carvings in all the City churches. In a very few cases, however, some limewood was used. Such there was in St. Mary, Fish Street, which was unfortunately destroyed by fire towards the end of the last century, and it certainly bore the appearance of owing its origin to Gibbons' workshop, if not to his own hand. The



FIG. 143.—ALTAR PIECE, ST. MARY ABCHURCH.

same may be said of St. Mary Abchurch, which contains its original fittings almost untouched. It has one of the most magnificent of the altar-pieces (Fig. 143), the centre part of which, above and around the Tables of the Law, is profusely decorated with limewood carvings undeniably in Grinling Gibbons' manner. At the top is a large composition of his involved scrolls, and from

it depend a succession of wreaths and drops of flowers and fruits, while a Pelican in her Piety exactly fits into the space above the double-arched frame of the Commandments. A very great sameness will be noticed in the general form of the City church altar-pieces, because it was ordained that they must exhibit the Creed, the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer. They therefore habitually took the form of a centre with a pediment supported by columns and side wings. The Commandments occupy the panels in the centre; the Lord's Prayer and the Creed that in each wing. In detail, however, they show much variation. Perhaps the most interesting of those that now remain besides what have already been mentioned are at St. Margaret Pattens (Fig. 144), St. Mildred Bread Street (a small but very untouched example of a Wren church), All Hallows, Lombard Street, St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, and St. Stephen Walbrook. None of these, however, has any limewood carvings or is attributable to Gibbons. The only London church where we are certain that he worked lies outside the City boundaries. The development, by the Earl of St. Albans, of the land lying north of St. James's Park, which was granted to him after the Restoration, and on which St. James's Square and Jernyn Street arose, led to a new church being needed in that quarter. The ground landlord thereupon engaged Wren to design one. The great architect considered St. James's Church, Piccadilly, to be one of his most successful designs, and quotes



FIG. 144.—ALTAR PIECE, ST. MARGARET PATTENS.



FIG. 145.—WESTERN SCREEN AND PEWS, ST. MARGARET PATTENS.

it as such in his paper on church planning in the *Parentalia*.¹ He held that the first principle that should govern the designing of a Protestant place of worship was that the preacher should be seen and heard perfectly well from every point, and he considered that he had nowhere fulfilled this better than in St. James's, Piccadilly. It was finished in 1683, and in December, 1684, we find the following entry in Evelyn's *Diary*: "I went to see the new church at St. James's, elegantly built; the altar was especially adorn'd, the white marble enclosure curiously and richly carved, the flowers and garlands about the walls by Mr. Gibbons in wood; a pelican with her young at her breast, just over the altar, in the carv'd compartment and border, invironing the purple velvet fring'd with I.H.S. richly embroider'd, and most noble plate, were given by S. R. Geere to the value (as was said) of £200. There was no altar anywhere in England nor has there been any abroad, more handsomely adorn'd."² Gibbons' work remains in good condition, but is sadly marred by the modern painted decorations with which it is associated. Both the general grouping (Fig. 146) and the details of portions (Figs. 147, 148 and 149) may be clearly seen in the illustrations. The "pelican with her young" occupies the centre, and above it is a very elaborate and typical example of the whorled scroll, on the extremities of which doves with olive branches are in the act of alighting. Fruit and flower



FIG. 146.—THE ALTAR PIECE, ST. JAMES'S, PICCADILLY.

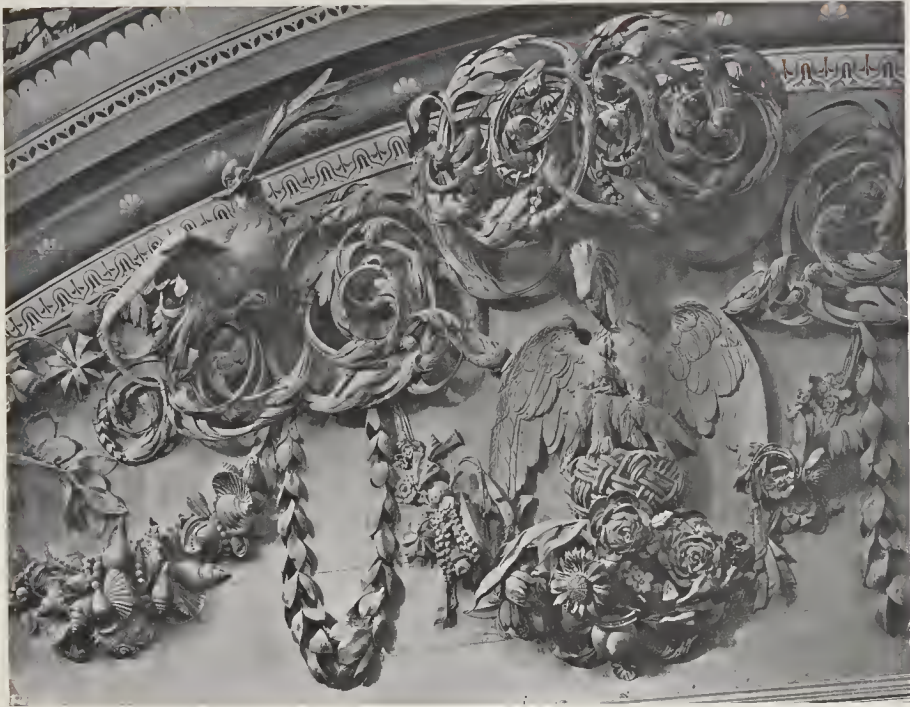


FIG. 147.—THE PELICAN AND THE WHORLED SCROLL, ST. JAMES'S, PICCADILLY.

are grouped in the usual bold outstanding manner, while clusters of shells and loops of bayleaf complete the composition. The font in the church is likewise, apparently on good authority, attributed to Gibbons,³ and is an example of his treatment of marble. Adam and Eve stand on each side of the serpent-bearing Tree of Knowledge, which forms the pedestal, and its leaves are brought up to support the bowl that has bas-reliefs of the floating ark and of the baptism in the Jordan.

The pelican in her piety appears very frequently in our Late Renaissance churches. Nearly all the altar-pieces we have mentioned have it as a central object, and St. Mary Abchurch has another over one of the two beautiful interior porches which shelter the north and south entrances. Such porches were not infrequent. There is another fine one in St. Magnus, Thames Street, no longer, however, used for its original purpose. Where the doorways are through the western screen or into the vestry there is no porch, but doorcases only, and these are often particularly fine. The most notable are perhaps in St. Lawrence Jewry, a church of very exceptional woodwork. The magnificent western doorways are flanked by Corinthian columns, supporting a highly enriched entablature and broken pediment, the break being narrow, and merely giving space for a tall figure of an angel holding a palm branch which rises through it. Between the two doorways the organ stands on a set of columns of the same design. The organ case itself is of the very finest type. Its mouldings and cornices have a multiplicity of enriched members, and the panels are occupied in some cases by floral scrolls and in others by trophies of musical instruments. Of the same character is the organ at St. Mary-at-Hill (Fig. 154). Much of the work here, however, is not of the Gibbons period, but was executed by Mr. Rogers, his nineteenth century imitator and restorer (Page 196). In only a few of Wren's churches are the organs contemporary. A singing gallery was always part of his design, but in most cases the organs were not placed in the galleries till well on in the



FIG. 148.—SWAG ON LEFT SIDE OF ALTAR, ST. JAMES'S, PICCADILLY.

most attention. The font itself was a classic *tazza* standing on a large baluster, stone or marble being the material. The carving was beautiful and sufficient, but not generally very elaborate, profusion in this matter being reserved for the cover. At St. Stephen's (Fig. 151) the design of the cover is near akin to the Italian, as was general at the time. The panels between the twisted columns have scrollwork ornament quite in the manner of Italy, and we are reminded of the same country by the set of figures above. Such were not very infrequent in English Late Renaissance font covers, but figure-work was always used with a good deal of restraint by other English designers besides Gibbons. Nearer to his method is the middle part of the St. Stephen's cover. The swags, vases of flowers and boys' heads reveal his influence though not his touch. That touch, however, is certainly present in the font-cover of All Hallows Barking (Fig. 158). The font of grey marble, plain but beautiful in line, stands within a simple balustered enclosure in the south aisle near the east end. The cover consists of a large disc, from the centre of which rises a truncated obelisk, which gives strength and consistency to the

eighteenth century, as at St. Stephen Walbrook, where the organ case, although it harmonises very fairly well with the beautiful screen and doorway below, yet shows the prevalence of the rococo style which established itself in England when the influence of Wren and Gibbons waned. St. Stephen's has suffered sadly from reseating and other modern changes; but it is not only one of Wren's architectural triumphs, but also still contains some fittings of quite remarkable merit. With St. Mary Abchurch, St. Margaret Lothbury and two or three others it is noticeable for its pulpit (Fig. 150), of which the great sounding-board was the chief and most decorated feature. It is hexagonal in shape, with a rich scheme of panelling underneath, while the sides take the form of a classic entablature very freely treated. Cherubim's heads occupy the corners, and support sections of cornice that act as pedestals for "whole boys" holding up flower garlands. At St. Mary Abchurch and All Hallows, Lombard Street, vases instead of boys stand on these corners, and the wreaths are not continuous, but are broken by the rising curve of the cornice, which forms a kind of pediment between the corners.

Next to the pulpit, the font and its cover was the piece of church furniture that received

whole structure, and it is from the obelisk that the hook, on which the cover swings, rises. But this structural portion is entirely hidden by a profusion of delicate carvings in limewood. The dove sits on the top, and from its feet sweep down great garlands, leaving space between them for the well modelled boys that group admirably together and form a perfectly designed decorative composition, although each is a living, detached statue having its own attitude and expression. Unfortunately many coats of paint obliterate the delicate touch of the master. This is a constantly recurring complaint, and, indeed, there is a strain of sorrowfulness about the study of the carvings of the Gibbons school, arising from the gross treatment meted out to his masterpieces by succeeding generations.

Let the fate of the Ely Cathedral font-cover serve as an example of this. Celia Fiennes described it in 1698 as follows: "The font is one Entire piece of White Marble stemm and foote, the Cover was Carv'd wood wth y^e image of Ch^{sta} being baptised by John and the holy Dove Descending on him, all finely Carv'd white wood wth out any paint or varnish."⁴ An engraving of font and cover was published in Bentham's *History of Ely* in 1771 (Fig. 153). The font was evidently not very unlike that at St. Stephen Walbrook, acanthus foliage and cherubim's heads appearing upon it. The cover recedes rather more rapidly, and gives room for four figures of boys. The top platform is of some size, and it is on that that the figures representing the baptism stand. In 1866 the restoring architect swept the whole thing away and replaced it with his own clumsy imitation of a Gothic font. The discarded object found a home in the parish church of Prickwillow, four miles from Ely. The cover, as was so often the case with Gibbons' limewood creations, had been much worm-eaten. No attempt was made to strengthen and repair it, although that was the very moment when Mr. Rogers was saving the work at Belton, much of which he found absolutely riddled by worms. It is not surprising, therefore, that, with the careless treatment it would receive in the village church, decay became more pronounced and breakage occurred. Then it was declared to be in such a bad state that it was impossible to repair it, and no portion of it is now discoverable. More fortunate has been a somewhat cognate example at Beverley Minster (Fig. 152), where



FIG. 149.—SWAG ON RIGHT SIDE OF ALTAR, ST. JAMES'S, PICCADILLY.

the dove stands on a structure of which "scrolls of leather work" starting from behind "boys' heads" are the chief features. In the London churches the font-covers, like the rest of the woodwork, are almost invariably of oak, the All Hallows example being an exception. The usual type resembles that at St. Stephen Walbrook and St. Mildred Bread Street.

It was no part of Wren's design to make his church chancels constructional, and it was not even his practice or the desire of the clergy to have them divided off from the naves by a lofty screen, such as had been the late Gothic and even Laudian plan.



FIG. 156.—PULPIT, ST. STEPHEN WALBROOK.

But every rule has its exceptions, and they occurred in St. Peter's, Cornhill, and All Hallows the Great. In the former church the screen is still *in situ*. When the church was reaching structural completion in 1680 the churchwardens, as may be seen in the Vestry Minutes, entered into a contract for the fittings, among which was to be a screen to divide the chancel from the body of the church. It was stipulated that "the contractors shall make and set up the King's arms above the screen, raised fair and to appear on both sides, according to the best art and skill of the trade and mystery of a carver, which shall be done according to model for £8 ; 0. 0." There, over the doorway, still stand the royal arms, while on the top of a section of entablature standing upon the Corinthian pilasters that flank the opening are set the Lion and the Unicorn. The sides of the screen are formed of panels, dado height, from which springs a very light arcading that supports a cornice. The screen at All Hallows the Great was a more elaborate affair. The church has been destroyed, but the screen

(Fig. 156) has been removed to St. Margaret Lothbury. It has three openings, each surmounted by a broken pediment to hold heraldic achievements, placed in pairs to face each way. The central opening is wide and lofty, and the Royal arms and supporters above it form a very large and elaborate composition. So lofty was this central opening that below its entablature flying eagles, holding a ribbon and fixed back to back, are inserted, looking out each way. The arcading is as light and as open as at St. Peter's, Cornhill, but the columns instead of being fluted are carved to represent a double twist, a scheme which we occasionally find in table-legs and cabinet stands of the period, and also for the balusters of the staircase at Acklam Hall in Yorkshire. The cornice sweeps up against the great central doorcase, and curls round a rosette. If we compare these screens with those Maine was employed to carve for the St. Paul's side chapels we shall certainly conclude that Wren had nothing to do with the design of the two former. As a matter of design, the central doorcase of the All Hallows example gives the idea of being top-heavy, and, indeed, proved so, for the open-work panels which form its sides were at some time found to be insufficient to support it, and curved iron supports were inserted to buttress it up. These, however, were dispensed with when it was moved to St. Margaret Lothbury.

Thither also was moved the pulpit. The sounding-board is of the finest type, having "whole boys" standing at its corners and holding wreaths, as in St. Stephen Walbrook; but because the cornice curves up in the interspaces, as in St. Mary Abchurch, the swags are double in number, and merely fill the space between the full figures and the summit of the curves, on which are placed cherubim heads, except in the front, where there is an eagle with outstretched wings. The screen was given to All Hallows the Great by James Jacobsen. His name suggests that he may have hailed from Hamburg, and is perhaps the only foundation for the tradition that the screen was made in that city and was the gift of the Hanse merchants. The screen may be of an unusual design and have certain original features, but it is most certainly of the school of Grinling Gibbons and of English workmanship. As most churches had no screens the separation between nave and chancel was merely marked by a line of high pews, of which the top panels were of open scroll-work. The same open work is generally found at the back of the churchwardens' pews at the



FIG. 151.—FONT AND COVER, ST. STEPHEN WALBROOK.

west end of the church, as at St. Lawrence Jewry and St. Margaret Pattens (Fig. 145). A line of raised box pews often ran along the side walls, backed by wainscoting, and again having a set of open work panels to their fronts. These remain in St. Mary Abchurch, as likewise does the division between nave and chancel; but the arrangement of the chancel has been altered to satisfy the modern fashion of a surpliced choir placed there instead of singers in the gallery.

This rapid sketch is merely intended to enumerate what are the leading woodwork fittings of the Wren churches, and to describe a few of the best and most representative examples. But there are many others thoroughly deserving inspection, and those interested in the period cannot do better than study the fine book on the subject of which Mr. George Birch wrote the letterpress, and then make a pilgrimage to the churches themselves, most of which will be found open between

twelve and two.

Although the space

available for the churches was often very small, Wren generally included a vestry in his plans. These are most often at the west end on one side of the entrance vestibule. They were frequently wainscoted, and finished with considerable care and ornamentation, but only at St. Lawrence Jewry do we find a positively sumptuous get-up (Fig. 156). Mention has already been made of the woodwork in the church itself—of the grand doorways, the magnificent organ case and singing gallery and the pews with perforated panels. The only bill for joinery that appears in the Wren accounts is one of William Cleere for about thirty pounds. That will have been some little structural job, the fittings having been given by wealthy parishioners. But Cleere may have been the joiner, in which case he certainly deserves to be placed in the first rank of the craft. But although the carver is still more deserving of recognition, his name cannot even be conjectured.

Excellent as the work is, both in the church and in the vestry, it certainly does not reveal the touch of Grinling Gibbons, nor even does the designing show closer relationship to his known work than does many another example for which he was certainly not responsible. Around the vestry mantelpiece and doorcase the swags and drops of fruit and flowers have not only the solidity of carving, but also the compactness of arrangement of the work of Inigo Jones which we found surviving in Wren's early



FIG. 152.—FONT COVER IN BEVERLEY MINSTER.



FIG. 153.—FONT FORMERLY IN ELY CATHEDRAL.

work at Pembroke, Cambridge, and of which there is a great deal in both City churches and City halls. There was evidently a large school of London wood-carvers at work during the period that followed the Great Fire who were as much dominated by tradition as alive to the lighter and more realistic treatment that Gibbons was introducing. The names of very few of them have survived, nor have we, as a rule, any clue that enables us to distinguish the work of



FIG. 154.—ORGAN LOFT, ST. MARY-AT-HILL.

those whose names we do know. Jonathan Maine (Page 120), of course, lives by his chapel screens at St. Paul's, and his name appears for very small sums in Wren's accounts of at least half-a-dozen City churches. But that could only have been for some insignificant structural matters. Of the same character will have been the work for which William Emmett charged six pounds at St. Martin Ludgate. In the All Hallows, Lombard Street, accounts "Miller, carver," has thirteen pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence against his name, and it was Thomas Poulteney



FIG. 155.—SCREEN NOW IN ST. MARGARET LOTHBURY.



FIG. 156.—IN THE VESTRY, ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY.

amount of the fine woodwork of the destroyed churches is to be found in the national collections. Survivals may still lie in some of the church lumber-rooms, as they do at St. Paul's, and they

and Thomas Askew who carved the arms above the screen in St. Peter's, Cornhill. The records of the Joiners' Company show that Thomas Poulteney took their livery in 1679, and Thomas Askew the year before. No Miller appears on their books until George I's reign. Such is the meagre information that can be gathered from records at present available, and whether many more will come to light is doubtful.

That on which we must congratulate ourselves, when we remember the capacity of man for destruction, is that the work is still there in such considerable quantities, though the workers may be forgotten. It is, moreover, now to be hoped that right counsels will prevail, and that there will be no further meddling, in the churches that remain, with the form and arrangement of the Wren woodwork. It is also to be hoped that the pulling down of the churches themselves has ceased. Should the business necessities of the great City absolutely require the removal of any other church, let it be taken down and re-erected elsewhere, and every atom of its fittings not merely preserved, but given their value by right arrangement. As to the past, it is particularly unfortunate that no appreciable



FIG. 157.—PANELS FORMERLY IN ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHURCH, HOLBORN.

Now at the Victoria and Albert Museum.



FIG. 158.—FONT COVER IN ALL HALLOWS BARKING.

might well be housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where at present there are very few objects which enable us to study in a good light the ecclesiastical carvings of the Wren period. Besides the fragments lent by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's there are two panels that came from St. Sepulchre, Holborn (Fig. 157). That church presents a shocking example of modern ill-treatment. The fine original organ has been pushed into a shallow recess in the north wall, with a column rising up against its centre, while its lower part is hidden behind a Victorian stone and marble screen. Much else was, no doubt, torn out besides the panels now at the Victoria and Albert Museum. They are concave, as if they had been part of the frieze of a circular or segmental feature. The material is plane tree wood. The carving is brisk and crisp, and represents one of the scrolls most usual for the open work panels of the time, although in this case they are bas-reliefs on a solid background. The City churches are so dark that it is very difficult to clearly see and appreciate the craftsmanship of the decorated parts of their wood fittings, especially under the too prevalent coating of paint or varnished stain. It is therefore most regrettable that a representative collection taken from churches that have



FIG. 159.—SKINNERS' HALL. IN THE CEDAR ROOM.

ceased to exist is not displayed in the well lit galleries of the South Kensington building.

The citizens who were so ready to give freely to their rebuilt churches were equally liberal towards the halls of their Companies. These, however, are, as a rule, now disappointing. The majority of the Livery Companies were too rich during the nineteenth century to leave well alone, and their halls have suffered from "improvement" even more than the City churches. The fate of the Carpenters' Hall has already been stated (Page 26), and may be contrasted with the better fortune meted out by the Brewers to their building (Page 43), which so very largely retains the aspect given to it in 1670 and following years.

Although there has been some remodelling of the premises and much drastic redecoration, yet

at least two of the rooms belonging to the Skinners' Company remain typical of the Charles II period. Mr. Wadmore, who wrote a short history of it, tells us that "the present building appears to have been erected as soon as the funds of the Company enabled them to rebuild after the Fire." The records tell of the sale of old lead and the removal of rubbish. Then, on

October 15th, 1668, a committee was appointed for the purpose of carrying out the rebuilding of the Hall, of which the screen was ordered in 1670, and the whole was certainly completed and in occupation in 1672. The hall, however, is no longer representative of the period under review, but is noteworthy for the series of wall paintings by Mr. Brangwyn. The rooms where the original decoration survives are known as the Court Room and the Cedar Withdrawing Room. They do not appear to have been begun until six years after the completion of the hall, for Mr. Wadmore finds that in 1678 the Court ordered a parlour to be erected, with a room over it behind the hall.

It is this upper room (Fig. 159) that was lined with cedar, and Mr. Wadmore considers it "carefully executed in the best style of Grinling Gibbons."⁶ It may be said to belong to his school certainly, but it is not very near akin to his designing and execution. Round the fire-arch the scrollwork is rather Italian in feeling. Above, the framed panel containing the arms and supporters of the Company is enclosed within another and more elaborate frame, giving space for a swag and drops of fruit and flowers that have not the light airiness of Gibbons' manner. They depend from the mouths of lions that sit rather clumsily on the broken architrave of the frame. The general effect is very rich and pleasing, but does not reach the first rank of the output



FIG. 160.—SKINNERS' HALL. IN THE COURT ROOM.

of its day. Pedimented doorways with carved friezes, carved wall panels, a massive and highly enriched cornice complete a very sumptuous scheme of wall lining. The room below (Fig. 160) is a little simpler in treatment and carried out in oak. Again, the mantel-piece is more architectural than those favoured by Gibbons. It reverts to the type originated by Inigo Jones and adopted by his later admirers. The lower portion has pilasters and entablature, the architrave gives space for a panel of drapery by breaking up into the frieze, which is adorned with cornucopiae. The upper part consists of pilasters with carved drops in their panels, supporting the rich cornice which runs round the room, and having space between them for a panel with richly carved frame. Within the panel is hung a picture of Tonbridge School. The committee-room also retains much of its original appearance, and the staircase is a dignified and well designed example in the manner of that at Ashburnham House or at Wolsley Hall in Staffordshire, the characteristic of which is not the carved and perforated panels so typical of English work at this time, but heavy turned balusters with more or less of enrichment. The latter was apt to be exaggerated, as it is at the Vintners Company, where the columnar balusters of the staircase are individual and interesting, but go near to offending classic proportion by bulging out at the centre into an immense carved boss, composed largely of



FIG. 161.—VINTNERS' HALL. A PANEL IN THE GREAT HALL.

grapes, as being emblematical of the Company. The oak-room here is very typical of the same ambitiously rich, but not delicately designed, English work which prevailed before the influence of Grinling Gibbons asserted itself, and which finds full expression at Tredegar House (Page 30). As usual with this style, the whole of the woodwork at the Vintners' is of oak. There is no lightly carved flower wreathing, but heavy cartouches and swags above windows and picture frames. The mantel-piece architraves and the panels above are richly



FIG. 162.—VINTNERS' HALL. DETAIL OF WAINSCOTING IN THE OAK ROOM.

carved, the vine and its fruit again being conspicuous, as may be seen in the illustration of a portion of this feature (Fig. 162). Called the Council Chamber, this room appears in the frontispiece of Milbourn's *History of the Vintners' Company*, where the scene of a Vintner being congratulated on becoming Sheriff is depicted. The hall of the Vintners has been sadly mauled by Barry, but the screenwork is not destroyed, while the long, carved panels in the wainscoting (Fig. 161), though now very detrimentally environed, are interesting as being still of the Inigo Jones school, with his favourite draped head in the centre and swags of ribboned grapes starting out on either side. It was a Vintner—Sir Thomas Bloodworth—who was Lord Mayor at the time of the Great Fire, and though he suffered severely by that event as a business man and property owner, we find him giving one hundred pounds towards the rebuilding of the hall, which is described in Queen Anne's time as "paved with marble and the walls richly wainscoted with right wainscot enriched with fruit, leaves, etc. finely carved, as is more especially the noble screen at the East end." 7

One of the finest rooms of late seventeenth century type yet remaining in the eastern half of London was fitted up, not for a City Company, but for an equally wealthy corporation. The

bringing of water to London in an open canal from the chalk streams and springs lying to the north was a scheme that Hugh Myddelton accomplished in the reign of James I. In 1613 it was brought to the point in Clerkenwell parish which became known as New River Head, and where offices for local administration were built. As so often happens with promoters, Hugh Myddelton was not himself a great gainer by his enterprise. But as time went on the value of the property increased enormously. It has been computed that each of the original shares cost the promoters about two hundred and fifty pounds, and when the nineteenth century closed a single whole original share was valued at one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The undertaking was then taken over by the Metropolitan Water Board. The old "Water House," as the Clerkenwell offices were called, became their property, and they paid two thousand pounds for the fittings of the Council Chamber. They date from the reign of William III, a time when prosperity had come to the company, for with the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire came an abandonment of the old local water conduits and the laying on of the New River water. The room (Fig. 163) is wainscoted in oak, with large panels and bold but unenriched bolection mouldings, the ornament being concentrated on the mantel-piece (Fig. 164). Fluted Corinthian three-quarter columns, with a section of entablature, rise from the ground to the ceiling, enclosing a space where below is a fireplace enclosed by a marble architrave with the bolection or roll moulding of the age of Wren, and above a panel of arms not unlike that in the Salters' Cedar Room. Here, however, it is the arms and supporters of William III that are represented, and the carving that surrounds the frame has the lightness and character of Grinling Gibbons' work, and may with much probability



FIG. 163.—NEW RIVER COMPANY. THE OAK ROOM.

be set down as coming directly from his workshop. "The carving in places has reference to water affairs and the angler's gentle art, since it includes creels, water-birds, all kinds of fishes, crayfish, water plants, as well as ears of corn, grasses, flowers and fruit."⁸

The ceiling carries this idea out in its fine plasterwork, for not only has it the usual fruit and flower wreath mouldings and panels of scrollwork, but "aquatic birds pecking here and there."⁸ The arms of Myddelton also occur, while the large central oval has a painting of William III. This will have been the work of H. Cooke, who after years of obscurity came forward under William III, first as the repairer of pictures in the Royal collection, and then as a historical painter. He finished Verrio's work at Chelsea Hospital (Page 178), painted

the staircase at Ranelagh House (Page 182), and, as Horace Walpole tells us, was responsible for "the ceiling of a great room at the Waterworks at Islington."⁹

The private houses in the City will have received the same attention as the churches and halls, for though wealthy citizens might be building summer residences in rural villages, as did Mr. Boone at Lea (Page 54), they still passed at least the winter months in the City. The time was coming, however, when atmospheric and other conditions set the residential tide in a westerly direction. Sir Dudley North, Levant merchant and sheriff, occupied, at the end of Charles II's reign, a great house behind the Goldsmiths' Hall. "He furnished it richly, especially one State apartment of diverse Rooms in File."¹⁰ The splendidly upholstered, carved and gilt bed and chairs, which afterwards went to Glemham in Suffolk, were part of these



FIG. 164.—NEW RIVER COMPANY. IN THE OAK ROOM.

furnishings. They did not, however, remain long in the City, where, owing to the Goldsmiths and other smoky trades, "their Smoak and Dust filled the Air and confounded all his good Furniture. He hath in Person laboured hard to Caulk up the Windows; and all Chimnies, not used, were kept close stopt. But notwithstanding all that could be done to prevent it, the Dust gathered thick upon every Thing within Doors; for which Reason the Rooms were often let stand without any Furniture at all."¹⁰ This will account for the gradual abandonment and disappearance of such fine City residences. But Lord Mayor Waldo's house remained standing in Cheapside, and from it, about the middle of the nineteenth century, was taken and removed to a country seat near Welshpool a room of rich oak wainscoting quite in the manner of those belonging to the Salters and Vintners. The prevalence of rooms of this kind and, a few years later, of even higher quality as regards design and execution, is well shown

by the example which reached the Victoria and Albert Museum a few years ago from Clifford's Inn (Fig. 166).

It is sufficiently good to assume that it may be due to the direct oversight of Wren. In its modest way, indeed, it is as right and typical as the more sumptuous woodwork of St. Paul's and Hampton Court Palace. How good in proportion, how thoughtful in line, how elegant in detail, how clean in workmanship are the chimney-piece and doorways. The former, as the pre-eminent piece, is given a side to itself facing the two windows, and receives the most elaborate treatment. At the top, starting from the owner's coat-of-arms which it mantles, is carving of the Grinling Gibbons school, its individual fruits and flowers naturally carved, yet the whole piece ordered and disciplined into a decorative composition, which richly enshrines the broad panel where the choicest picture would hang. Below the shelf the same idea of enclosing a space—this time the hearth—is carried out in severer and more conventional scrollwork, while a broad moulding of crisp and nervous acanthus pattern ends the woodwork and frames the marble. The same acanthus treatment forms the chief detail of the cornice and of the architraves of two of the doorways (Fig. 167). Of these there are four—one pair with elaborate broken pediments, winged cupids' heads and enriched mouldings; the other pair with plain curved pediments and simpler detail. The former face each other centrally, while the latter occupy the less light and important point where the two sides join the window end. Beyond these five pieces the rest is simple. The large, raised panels, excellent in grain and texture, are the appropriate and restful background to the wrought work. Ample plain surface of balanced and satisfying proportions, relieved by ornament of such fine quality, yet restrained quantity, as to delight without wearying the eye—this, surely, is the highest aim of architectural design, and it is reached in no slight degree in this room. Actuated by what motive of art or of expense, of beauty or of vanity, a particular tenant of a set of rooms in Clifford's Inn clothed his bare walls with such elaborate workmanship we know not; but the personal touch of the carved coat-of-arms has revealed to us his identity.

Far away in a remote corner of Cornwall the Fal estuary sweeps in a semicircle round the stretch of land which forms the parish of Pilleigh. Here, on a small estate, was "seated," under Edward III, a certain John Penhalow de Penhalow, and here his descendants continued to be born, married and buried for four hundred years, as tombstone and register show. The scions of the lesser county families of Cornwall were an eager and adventurous race in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as witness the prevalence of "Tre, Pol and Pen" in our naval, political and legal history during those two hundred years. And so we find, in the records of Clifford's Inn, that a John Penhalow was, on the fifth day of February in the year 1674, admitted to a set of chambers in No. 3 building in that Inn. The spirit of rebuilding was then strong in London, even in such parts as the Great Fire had spared, and Clifford's Inn was not backward in the work. Together with others of its fellows, No. 3 began to be re-edified in 1686, not, it would seem, wholly at the corporate expense, but partly also out of the privy purse of the members who tenanted the premises. Thus we read that in 1688, the new work being complete, John Penhalow was admitted to two sets of chambers in No. 3, not merely for his own life, but for two lives beyond, "in consideration of his interest in the old chamber, and of the



FIG. 165.—MANTEL-PIECE IN BENCHERS' READING ROOM, INNER TEMPLE.

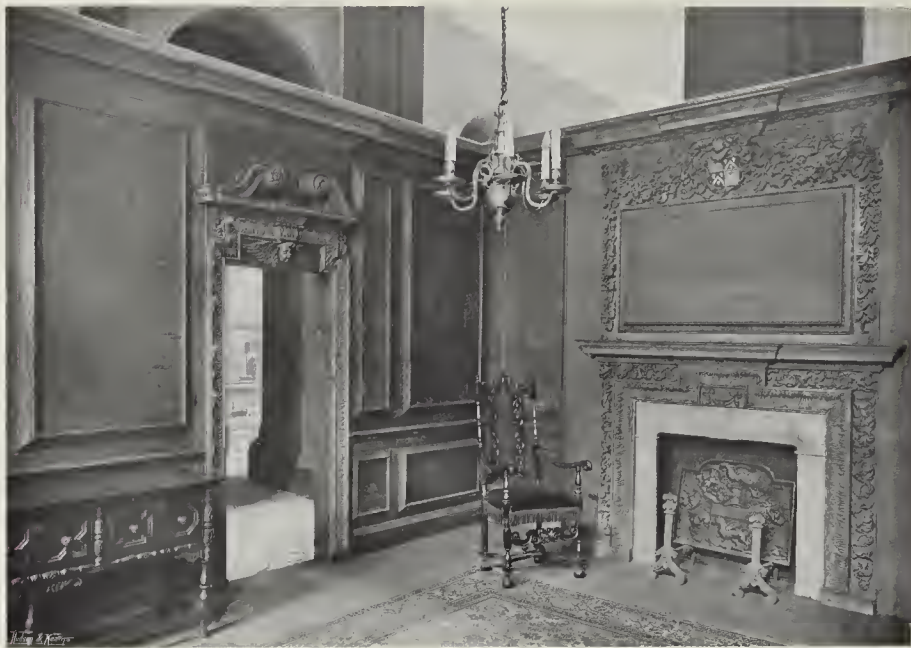


FIG. 166.—ROOM FROM CLIFFORD'S INN.

money he hath laid out in rebuilding the said chamber." For twenty-eight years John enjoyed his panels, and when he was no more his brother and executor, Benjamin, nominated himself as second life tenant, and was succeeded in 1722, for the third and last life interest, by John Rogers. As to him and any who followed as occupiers of the said chambers nothing can be said, except that they added coat upon coat of paint to the wainscoting, all of which it needed infinite pains to boil, burn and scrape off and out of the elaborate carvings when they passed into the possession of the museum. A few years ago it pleased the Benchers in their wisdom—or otherwise—to sell their freehold to some commercially minded purchasers, who held an auction of any valuable movables, among which were included these panels. This became known to the museum, who sent representatives. A penknife soon revealed that the much-bedaubed wood was of oak, with cedar wood for the added carved work, and ultimately this lot was knocked down to the museum bidder for six hundred and six pounds seven shillings and sixpence. It was then that, in the desire to discover the history of the new purchase, the coat-of-arms attracted attention, and was found to be "Penhalow quartered with Penwarne." Penhalows were sought for. Extinct in Great Britain, they were found in America as the descendants of one Samuel Penhalow, who took ship to New England in the very year (1686) when his cousin John was busy rebuilding No. 3, and it is to the research of Mr. C. J. Penhalow that we owe the information as to the "Penhalow Panels." Who ordered and paid for them is now clear enough, but the most interesting question of who designed and executed them remains unanswered. A comparison with the Governor's room at Chelsea Hospital (Fig. 173) may lead to the surmise that William Emmett was the carver.

That John Penhalow was not alone in his day in fitting the Inns of Court with fine woodwork may be gathered from the Late Renaissance gates which are fitted into the central opening of the Elizabethan screen in the hall of the Middle Temple (Fig. 1), and also from the mantel-piece (Fig. 165) in the Benchers' reading-room in the Inner Temple. The looking-glass which disfigured this mantel-piece, as it does that in the Chelsea room, has lately been

replaced by a picture on the advice of Mr. Lutyens. The carvings are fine, and may well have come from Grinling Gibbons' workshop, although the present arrangement and grouping do not look original.

Late seventeenth century West End houses have, curiously enough, suffered destruction almost as much as those in the City. Hugh May's Berkeley House, Pratt's Clarendon House, and Wynn's Buckingham House have disappeared. No doubt their woodwork was rich and excellent, and probably Grinling Gibbons was employed in them. It is, indeed, just possible



FIG. 167.—DOORWAY OF ROOM FROM CLIFFORD'S INN.



FIG. 168.—MANTEL-PIECE NOW IN THE BRISTOL LIBRARY.

1739, and has poorly carved boys' heads supporting the projecting cornice ends, and between them a rather clumsy frieze of classic figures and vine wreaths. The upper part, however, exhibits carvings of exceptional merit, as having the lightness and finish of Grinling Gibbons' work in lime-wood and yet being in oak. The size is about seven feet six inches across and nine feet high. Pilasters and a curved pediment serve as a frame for a Dutch picture, but ample room is left for the carvings. The pilaster panels are filled with four-inch wide drops of flowers—among which tulips and turn-cap lilies are prominent—depending from a ribbon knot. Above the picture, flowers and wheat-ears wreath about the coronetted cypher, and are connected by a leaf garland with large and far-projecting drops, where dead birds lie among fruit and flowers. The quality is as good as that of the similarly oak-carved overmantels in the ground floor suite at Hampton Court Palace (Pages 136-8), while the projection is greater, and this is all the more surprising since it appears to be got out of solid blocks and not of superposed layers glued together. At some time a slight coating of dark varnish stain must have been applied, but this has almost entirely perished, and the illustration (Fig. 169) of a small portion on a large scale shows the texture and figure of the wood.

In some London home—but whether Grinling Gibbons' own or in that of Lord Berkeley is quite uncertain—this fine overmantel seems to have been in Grinling Gibbons' day, and no doubt there were plenty. Though they have disappeared we occasionally get a record of them. Those at Ranelagh House will shortly (Page 182) be mentioned, while there must have been others in the great mansion that the Duke of Monmouth erected in Soho Square. The

that a mantel-piece from Berkeley House still exists, and is the one now in the Bristol Library (Fig. 168). Lord Berkeley of Stratton began building the house from Hugh May's plans in 1665. Towards the end of the century it became Devonshire House, and was burnt down in 1733. Six years later one Michael Beecher was Sheriff of Bristol, and gave to the King's Street Library, then in course of rebuilding, the mantel-piece, which recently was removed to an upper room in the new library buildings on College Green. It bears the cypher and coronet of one of the Berkeleys, but tradition states that it is one of those bought at Grinling Gibbons' sale in 1721, when Horace Walpole tells us that two were put under the hammer. Moreover, the cypher seems to be composed of the letters "B" and "D," suggesting not Berkeley, Lord Stratton, but the head of his family, who was created Earl Berkeley and Viscount Dursley in 1679. Its origin is therefore doubtful, but it is clearly a fine and original example of the Grinling Gibbons style. The lower part was probably added in

date of its completion is set down as 1681, and he was certainly in occupation at the beginning of the following year. He left it in 1683, at the time of the Rye House Plot—which also proved fatal to the Earl of Essex (Page 68)—never to return. Exile, Sedgmoor and death on Tower Hill quickly followed. After various changes of ownership and vicissitudes of fortune, the house passed from being used as auction rooms to housing the French Ambassador in 1763. That was but the song of the dying swan, for ten years later it was pulled down and the site let on building leases. During the process of demolition Nollekens, the sculptor, and his future biographer, J. A. Smith, visited the place, and though the house-breakers were at work, there was much left *in situ* for Smith to describe. Thus he tells us that “The principal room on the first floor, which had not been disturbed by the workmen, was lined with blue satin, superbly decorated with pheasants and other birds in gold. The chimney-piece was richly ornamented with fruit and foliage, similar to the carvings which surrounded the altar of St. James’s Church, Piccadilly, so beautifully executed by Grinling Gibbons.”¹¹

One building in the West of London still, fortunately, remains much as Wren designed it, and the craftsmen he favoured built and fitted it, and so at Chelsea Hospital we find examples of wood-carvings dating from the reign of James II which are of great interest, not only because of their intrinsic merit and beauty, but because they are, with those at Chatsworth (Pages 123-9), about the finest of the period that were done independently of Grinling Gibbons and by a man whose name is recorded. Too much emphasis cannot be laid on this fact, because of the habit of all authorities, from George Vertue and Horace Walpole down to those of the present day, of attributing all such work to Grinling Gibbons and ignoring the many capable wood-carvers who were his contemporaries. Even in the official *Handbook to Chelsea Hospital* we read, in reference to the chapel, that the oak carvings are by Grinling Gibbons, yet in the admirable volume of papers compiled by the Hospital authorities, and published in 1872, all the Hospital building accounts—including the items for the carvings—are given, and Gibbons’ name is entirely absent.

As early as the reign of Elizabeth the principle that the State should look after disabled soldiers was recognised, but very little was done practically in the matter until after the Restoration in 1660. The following year Sir Stephen Fox became Paymaster of the Forces, and actively urged the cause of the maimed members of the Army. It was not, however, till long after he had ceased to be Paymaster that he succeeded in getting the scheme adopted. This scheme took the form of



FIG. 169.—DETAIL OF MANTEL-PIECE NOW IN BRISTOL LIBRARY.

obtaining land and erecting buildings for the housing of Army pensioners. The first question was the site, and it was considered that Chelsea, then a country village conveniently near to London, would be in every way suitable. Charles II on regaining the throne had found an abandoned college and twenty-seven acres there in possession of the Crown, and had given them to the newly formed Royal Society, of which John Evelyn and Sir Christopher Wren were original and active members. The Society found no use for the land, and was ready to part with it at a reasonable price. We therefore read in Evelyn's *Diary*, under the year 1681, the following entry: "Sept 14th, Din'd with Sir Stephen Fox, who proposed to me y^e purchasing of Chelsey Colledge, which his Ma^y had some time since given to our Society, and would now purchase it againe to build an hospital or infirmary for soldiers there, in which he desired my assistance as one of the Council of the R. Society."¹²

The transaction took place, and additional contiguous land was soon afterwards added, mostly purchased from Lord Cheney, who was the principal Chelsea landowner, and whose name has been retained in Chelsea's topography. Two months after the meeting of Evelyn and Sir Stephen Fox, letters patent were issued under the Great Seal declaring the royal intention of creating a hospital for the relief for such land soldiers as were, or might be, lame or infirm in the service of the Crown, and for endowing it with a suitable revenue. In the following February the first stone was laid by the King. Previously to that Sir Stephen, who is described by Evelyn as having "the whole management of this," had asked the diarist "to assist him and consult with him as to what method to cast it in, as to the government." They worked together in Sir Stephen's study, drew up a scheme of the necessary officials and household, their duties and emoluments, and framed regulations for the conduct of the institution, "which was to be in every respect as strict as in any religious convent."¹³ Sir Christopher Wren had accepted the post of architect, and had produced the plans. In May he went in company with Sir Stephen and Evelyn with his "plot and designe" to Lambeth to obtain the archbishop's approbation of them.¹⁴ The description that Evelyn gives of the plan



FIG. 170.—CHELSEA HOSPITAL CHAPEL.



FIG. 171.—THE ALTAR GATES, CHELSEA HOSPITAL CHAPEL.

is that "it was a quadrangle of 200 foote square after y^e dimensions of the larger quadrangle at Christ Church, Oxford, for the accommodation of 440 persons, with governor and officers." This plan refers to the principal building occupying three sides of an open court. Subsidiary buildings of lower elevation stretch out on either side, forming two additional courts or enclosed gardens. It was hoped that large sums would be privately subscribed, but the Archbishop's appeal proved a failure, and the whole of the voluntary contributions did not amount to twenty thousand pounds. Sir Stephen was the largest subscriber with one thousand three hundred pounds.¹⁵ Next to him comes the ever recurring Mr. Tobias Rustat (Page 94), who put his name down for one thousand pounds. Moreover, he considered this as another fitting place in which to materialise his loyalty in brass. In the statue of Charles II, which stands in the middle of the central court (Fig. 87), we find the only connection of Grinling Gibbons with the Hospital, and we read in the official volume of papers that "it was the gift of Thomas Rustat for whom it was executed by Grinling Gibbons at a cost of £500."¹⁶

Until the land was needed it was let out as a farm to Thomas Frankelyn, to whom thirty pounds was paid "in full satisfaction for damage by him sustained in his crop of turnips, in that part of his ground that was laid to the hospitall in the yeares 1682 and 1683."¹⁷ Soon after the building began the Earl of Ranelagh became Paymaster, and his name is connected not only with the building and completion of the Hospital, but with the history of that part of Chelsea. He was much in favour with William III, who granted to him, in accordance with the rash and improper mode in which that Sovereign squandered the royal domains until Parliament restrained him, the whole of the eastern portion of the land that had been acquired for the Hospital.¹⁸ On this land the Earl built a residence, and it would appear that he employed on its erection and decoration some of the same craftsmen he had under him at the Hospital. We have met them before. Maurice Emmett was the chief bricklayer here, as he was at Windsor, Whitehall and Hampton Court. Thomas Wise and Thomas Hill are master-masons at Chelsea, as they are at St. Paul's Cathedral. At both these buildings we also find Charles Hopson, Roger Davis and John Smallwell as master-joiners.

The external materials of the Hospital are a purple-brown brick for the walling and a rubbed red brick for the window openings. The coigns and the pedimented centres of the chief elevations are of stone, while the thick green slates of the hipped roof rest on an ample cornice. Internally it is the fine treatment of the woodwork that arrests attention. The staircases are very

plain, but are splendid in their amplitude and the easy swing of the ascent. This is greatly to the convenience of the aged and infirm pensioners lodged in sixteen great wards or galleries, each occupying on different floors half the length of one of the sides of the building, which forms three courts. Oak is the wood universally used, and there can be no doubt that the whole of the joinery was designed by Wren himself. It is simple and reserved, and very practically adapted to serve the purpose in view. But it is all so good in line and proportion as to be most effective and satisfying in appearance. A row of windows occupies one side of these galleries, and on the opposite side, broken only by a great central fireplace, is a set of cubicles (Fig. 172). They are partitioned off in oak wrought in the large dignified panels and the rich and ample cornice mouldings of the period. Each one has, next to its little doorway, a big hinged panel, which enables the pensioner to enjoy privacy if it is closed, or to look out on the life and general activity of the ward if he opens it.



FIG. 172.—A CUBICLE, CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

two hundred and ten pounds fifteen shillings paid to the artist "on account of painting in y^e hall."²⁰ The subject is Charles II in the same classic dress that he wears in the statue outside, and behind him a presentment of the Hospital buildings. The painted area is carried on for some distance along the side walls, where it represents trophies of arms, and the whole is bordered by a representation of a carved and gilt frame. We have just seen that Verrio's work was supplemented by Cooke (Page 169). Below the painting the wainscoting has a moulding beautifully wrought with wreathed oak leaves intermixed with flowers. That is the utmost elaboration that the woodwork of the hall reaches; but in the chapel we find carving of great richness and excellence.

We have seen that the charge for the hall wainscoting was included in the account of Charles Hopson, which was for work done in 1686. But neither in the accounts of that year nor in those of 1687 does the charge of any joiner appear for wainscoting the chapel. In the latter

Here is the account of one of the joiners for his share of the work in these wards and in adjacent premises :

Charles Hopson, joyner, his taske worke wainscoting the second & third galleries in the west wing, vic xiiijth, and for pieces of wainscoting in the great staircase and kitchen pavillion, the great staircase by the pavillion next the Thames, in the west wing, and in the hall, v^o, lxijth, xijth ij^{ob}.¹⁹

Most of this, though fine, is plain joiner's work only; but more ornamental treatment begins with the hall which Hopson wainscoted. In the middle of the north elevation of the centre court, and entered under the lofty portico, lies a great square vestibule, and right and left of it open out the chapel and the hall, each of which is one hundred and eight feet long and thirty-seven feet wide. The pensioners now mess in their wards, and the hall is their play and reading-room. The decorative scheme is dignified but simple. High wainscoting of oak lines the walls. Above this, across the entrance end, runs an oak gallery supported on carved consoles and with enriched mouldings to its panels. In the centre is a carved cartouche containing the royal arms and surrounded by palm branches. The west, or high table end, is principally occupied by a great fresco painted by Verrio, which, according to the inscription upon it, was given by Lord Ranelagh, although in the Hospital accounts there appears the item



FIG. 173.—MANTEL-PIECE IN THE GOVERNOR'S DRAWING-ROOM, CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

year, however, John Smallwell, who did so much similar work in St. Paul's choir, sent in an account for over twelve hundred pounds, which seems, by comparison with the accounts of the other joiners, too large a sum for the items mentioned, and it may therefore include the chapel so far as joiner's work is concerned. But as regards those parts of the woodwork that were carved, the entries are perfectly clear, and are as follows :

W^m Emmett, carver, for carveing worke in the hall, councill chamber, in the chappell, making flower potts and other worke. cxij^l. iiij. iiij^{ob}

W^m Morgan, carver, for the like worke.

clxxv^l. iiij. vij^{ob} 21

As in the City churches, so here the carving is, with very slight exception, in oak. The east end (Fig. 170) is entirely occupied by a great altar-piece designed in Wren's best manner, and adequately carried out by the carvers. All the carved parts, such as the Corinthian capitals, the swags of fruit and drapery in the frieze, the cherubs in the pediment, the baskets and vases containing fruit and flowers placed on the top of the entablature—the "flower potts of Emmett's bill"—will bear comparison with the like objects carved in the same hard wood in Grinling Gibbons' decorative schemes in the chapels at Hampton Court and Trinity College, Oxford. The altar rails are supported, not by pierced panels, but by twisted balusters with carved members at their head and foot. The altar gates, however, are fitted with pierced panels (Fig. 171), and these are composed of limewood, and are particularly fine and successful examples of such work, and to be compared with those in the ante-chapel screen at Trinity, Oxford

(Fig. 138), or in the library cupboard doors at Queen's (Fig. 142). The wood is unpainted, but has gone a grey colour, not altogether unlike the oak, so that the difference of material is not at first glance observable. The depth of the blocks of wood out of which they were carved is about three inches and they are composed of three thin planks glued together. The usual fate of limewood has befallen them, and they are a good deal worm-eaten, but no doubt steps are now taken to prevent any recurrence of this destructive action.

The west end of the Chelsea chapel is occupied by the organ and singing gallery, of the same fine character and workmanship, if somewhat less elaborate than the examples at St. Stephen Walbrook and St. Lawrence Jewry. The sides of the chapel are wainscoted up to the window level. The great panels are divided into sections by pilasters, at the top of which cherubim's heads, with wings close clustered and erect behind them, give a note of distinction to the simple and dignified design. The wainscoting forms the back of a line of pews that runs along each side of the chapel up to where the woodwork of the east end commences.



FIG. 174.—DOORWAY FROM 18, CAREY STREET, CIRCA 1700.

As the carvings at Chelsea Hospital are the only important specimens of William Emmett's craftsmanship in wood which can now be identified they have a special interest. He appears in connection with quite small payments in the accounts of Windsor Castle and St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, and at Hampton Court his woodwork in the Water Gallery (Page 130) has disappeared, and only his sculpture in exterior stonework remains. He became a Liveryman of the Joiners' Company in 1666. So also in 1673 did William Morgan, of whom nothing is known beyond his association with Emmett at Chelsea, where, besides the chapel, they did the wood carvings in the Council Chamber after it had been fitted by the joiner who had most to do with the woodwork of the City churches, including St. Lawrence Jewry, and whose account for work done at Chelsea in 1687 is as follows :

W^m Cheere, Joyner, for sev^ll parcells of right wainscott in the councell chamber and passage by it in the south east pavilion, wth sev^{al}l other peeces of wainscott, Italian moulding, architrave, and other wainscott of deale, as by his bill appeares—ccxliiij^s 22

What was then called the "councell chamber" is now the Governor's drawing-room. It is a large and beautifully fitted apartment occupying the south-eastern corner of the centre court on the ground floor.



FIG. 175.—DOORHEAD, GROSVENOR ROAD.

There are several carved features in its wainscoting, which is arranged in two tiers, the main cornice, which is at the height of about twelve feet, being surmounted with an attic section finished off with a second cornice. There is some fine carving about the doorway, but, as was usual, the mantel-piece (Fig. 173) was made the chief decorative point. Unfortunately, the original marble moulding surrounding the chimney opening was replaced in more recent time by a mantel-piece of a different style ; but the upper part of the composition is unaltered, except that the great panel, which must either have been intended for a picture or to be left in wood, has had a large mirror inserted. As it is two or three times the size of any sheet of glass that was made at the time of the building of the Hospital, it strikes a very false note. It is immediately surrounded by a wide oak frame, which deserves particular attention. Such frames, when they were part of an elaborate composition of which festoons were the most prominent sections, generally confined the enrichment of their members to more or less reserved classic motifs, such as the acanthus leaf. But here we find the chief enriched member carved with a succession of little cornucopias, out of which come fruit and flowers. The far projecting and highly elaborate festooning, which occupies the space beyond the frame, is composed of warlike trappings gathered together by a swag of drapery passing through rings at the top corners and intermingled with oak and bay leaf wreathing. Arms, armour and musical instruments in great quantity are very cleverly grouped. The whole of this work has at some time received a thin coating of white paint in the same manner as the festoons on the altar-piece of Trinity College Chapel, Oxford (Page 146). At first sight it appears like limewood left untouched except by the bleaching action of the sun ; but where the paint has been rubbed off a wood of a yellowish tone and a distinct grain is revealed, evidently a kind of pine. The most salient portions of the carving project about six inches from their background, and the substance is composed of three layers of wood, each about two inches thick. The soldier's dress on the right-hand side is surmounted by a headpiece, which bears the initials "J.R." beneath a crown. The same memento of the short reign of the last Stewart King appears on the very fine plaster ceiling. That ceiling was designed with a plain centre, no doubt intended to be filled with an allegorical painting. This was never done, and late in the eighteenth century it was considered proper to ornament it with rather thin, flat plaster-work, among which the initials "G.R." appear. This Georgian addition, no doubt, dates from the same time as the mantel-piece

alteration; but with these exceptions the room remains as Wren designed it, as Cheere fitted it and as Emmett and Morgan carved it in the days of James II. On the walls is an interesting series of portraits of Stewart and Hanoverian sovereigns. The largest of these occupies the whole of the space between the doorways at the north end of the room. It was, no doubt, the first to be placed there, and an item in the accounts of 1699—1702 refers to it in the following words:

. . . Ireton for the picture of King Charles the 1st, and his children sett up in the Councill chamber and for a frame for the same, xlviij^l vs^s 23

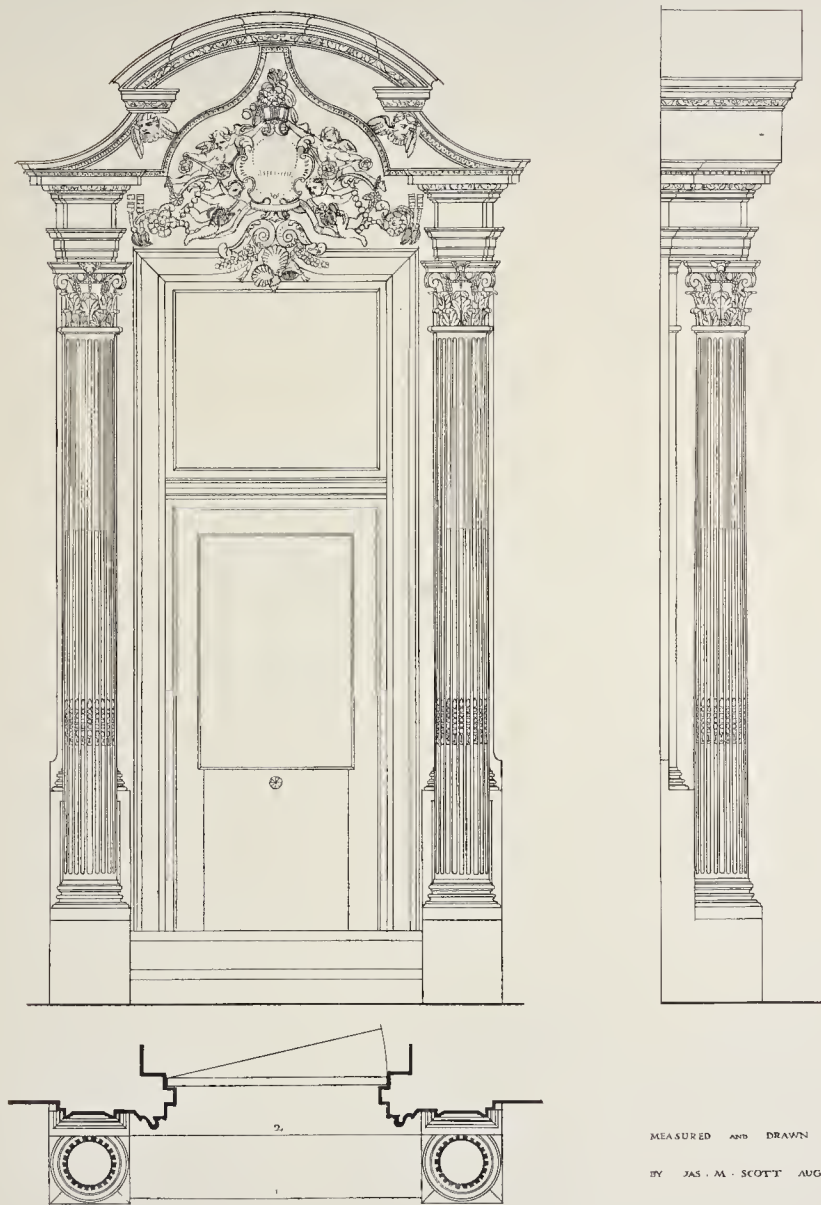
James II, during whose reign the Council Chamber as well as so many other parts of the Hospital were fitted, appears to have taken a very direct and personal interest in the work, and urged it on in order that it might be occupied by the intended pensioners. He therefore gave many verbal orders to Lord Ranelagh, who had to explain the position fully in a minute to the Lords of the Treasury when he presented his accounts in the next reign. He would not, however, find any difficulty in obtaining payment, for he was, as we have seen already, much favoured by William III. The house and gardens that he created from his own plans on the land that the King gave him were described by Gibson in 1691 in his *View of Gardens Near London*. He tells us "that all the rooms were wainscotted with Norway oak and all the chimneys adorned with carvings as in the council chamber of Chelsea College." Ranelagh's intimate connection with the building of the hospital leads us to suppose that his carvings were not merely similar to those in the council chamber, but by the same hand. When, however, eighteen years later there was a sale of the contents of the house Vertue attended and tells us that "there were several chimneys ornamented with fruit and flower festoons carved by Gibbons most curiously; the boys' heads well done."

Already the great position and fame of Gibbons, who had died ten years earlier, made his name the only one to be used in connection with the wood carvings of his age. Of course, it is possible that Lord Ranelagh did employ Gibbons and not Emmett; but that must by no means be taken for granted because of Vertue's note to that effect. In the absence of record we must not confidently set down any work of this period to Gibbons unless the work itself is of so exceptional and characteristic a kind that it could hardly have been produced by any other hand. Ranelagh House was pulled down, and the land passed into hands that laid it out for public use. They became the Ranelagh Rotunda and Gardens so famous in the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁴

So far, mention has been made of interior work only. The theme being the elaborate and decorative use of wood, this is natural enough, and, indeed, we need not now stop outside for long. The old timber-framed houses of England often had their oaken beams and barge boards extensively, if somewhat rudely, carved. But the late Renaissance disapproved of such manner of building and of decorating. Its brick or stone walls and hipped roofs left little scope for ornate woodwork, the one exterior feature so treated at this period being the entrance doorways.

Most of them date from the later period of Gibbons' career, and often reflect his influence. An example (Fig. 174) now in the Victoria and Albert Museum reminds us of the "flower pot the flowers in light wood so thin & fine that the coaches passing by made them Shake surprisingly," which, if we are to believe "Stoakes" (Page 46), Gibbons carved for his own house. There is the pot and there the flowers, all exquisitely designed and wrought, although—as being intended to withstand the weather with only the protection of a shallow pediment above them—they have not quite the projection and detachment which Gibbons gave to his chimney-piece arrangements. The carving of the Corinthian capitals, of the architrave and cornice is all masterly in conception and execution. The doorway came from Carey Street, where many fine houses were built at the time when John Penhalow was sumptuously fitting his room (Fig. 166) in Clifford's Inn, close by. The coming of the Law Courts to the Strand led to much demolition, not only to clear their own site, but for "improvements" to the north. Thus many of the older Carey Street houses were swept away, and it was fortunate that the doorway of No. 18 found its way to the National Collections.

More ambitious, if not quite so successful in line and proportion as the Carey Street example, is a doorway in Mark Lane. It belongs to what is known as the Spanish Ambassador's



MEASURED AND DRAWN

BY JAS. M. SCOTT AUG 1906

SCALE OF  FEET

FIG. 176.—MEASURED DRAWING OF DOORWAY IN MARK LANE.

House, testifying to the continued, if somewhat waning (Page 170) residential character of the City in late Stewart days. The detail drawing of the doorway (Fig. 176) shows a total height of nearly seventeen feet. There are detached fluted Corinthian columns with pilasters behind them, and so the pediment, with its inward and outward curves, forms a roof that affords some protection to the elaborate work below, as seen in the photographic representation (Fig. 177). Amorini heads support the upper section of the pediment, and whole amorini disport themselves in the ogival recess, and hold up a cartouche and a basket of flowers. The architrave sweeps up in scrolls into this compartment and thus gives space for a shell *motif*.

The feeling that some protection should be given to so much rich ornament, and even, to some extent, to the visitor on the doorstep, led to a further projection of the pediment. Yet a positive porch supported on columns was not then fashionable, and the usual treatment was to bring forward the pediment—flat or curved—as a hood supported on large and ornate consoles. When the curved form was used the space below was shaped as a hollow quarter sphere and often decorated with a shell. At No. 9, Grosvenor Road, however, in place of the shell we find (Fig. 175) swags of drapery on which lie garlanded fruits and leafage. The cornices are much enriched, and the frieze above the door opening has charming scrollwork. The constant repainting has never been accompanied by a preliminary burning off of previous coats, so that all the original fineness has gone. It is, however, a pleasure, while strolling about the old streets behind Westminster Abbey, to come across such surviving tokens of the excellent though modest domestic work of a great age in the architectural history of London.



FIG. 177.—HEAD OF DOORWAY IN MARK LANE.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER XIII.

- ¹ Wren, *Parentalia*, ed. 1750, p. 320.
² Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, 437.
³ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, III, 86.
⁴ Celia Fiennes' *Diary*, p. 129.
⁵ Wadmore, *Account of the Shinnars' Company*, p. 30.
⁶ " " " " " 31.
⁷ New View of London (1708), quoted in Herbert's *History of the Livery Companies*, Vol. II, p. 634.
⁸ Pilling, *Monograph on Chingford Reservoir*, 1913, p. 21.
⁹ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, III, p. 120.
¹⁰ R. North, *Life of Sir Dudley North*, ed. 1744, p. 163.
¹¹ Smith's *Nollekens*, ed. 1895, pp. 53—55.
¹² Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 385.
¹³ " " " " " 390.
¹⁴ " " " " " 394.
¹⁵ *Papers Illustrative of the History of Chelsea Hospital*, London, 1872, p. 14.
¹⁶ " " " " " 101.
¹⁷ " " " " " 159.
¹⁸ " " " " " 211.
¹⁹ " " " " " 166.
²⁰ " " " " " 202.
²¹ " " " " " 169—170.
²² " " " " " 169.
²³ " " " " " 42.
²⁴ " " " " " 96.

CHAPTER XIV.

GIBBONS IN COUNTRY HOUSES: PETWORTH AND BELTON.

THE Honour of Petworth passed to the great mediæval house of Percy in the twelfth century. Although that northern county whose earldom they held for eleven generations was the principal scene of their activities, yet they occasionally resided on their Sussex domain, and an estate map dating from 1610 has an excellent little drawing of a building, with a tower and façade not unlike an Oxford College, which represents the house built by the ninth Earl of Northumberland. This was much frequented by the tenth and eleventh Earls. With the latter the male line of Percy ended, and his daughter, Elizabeth, inherited six baronies and a vast territory. This caused a flutter in the matrimonial market, and though still a girl, she had been twice a widow when she took the sixth Duke of Somerset as her third husband. Though in direct descent from the Protector of Edward VI's early days, he began life as a cadet of his house. But the rapid demise of a succession of sonless Dukes brought the headship of the family in 1678 to this seventeen year old cadet, who, when four years later he married the Percy heiress, became fully conscious of his own importance, and posed for the rest of his long life as the premier subject of a whole series of sovereigns. No wonder he needed for his housing one of the classic palaces, such as his brother Dukes of Devon and



FIG. 178.—PETWORTH: NORTH SIDE OF GREAT CHAMBER.

Beaufort contemplated at Chatsworth (Page 223) and Badminton (Page 206). Not long after his marriage in 1682 he determined that, among the many habitations of his own and of his wife's inheritance, Petworth should be the chief country seat. He pulled down much of the older house of the Percys, and set in front of what remained the great building which has ever since been the principal elevation. It is three hundred and twenty-two feet in length and sixty-two feet in height. It has a row of twenty-one windows to each of its three floors, and is built of freestone, with Portland stone for the window casings and dresswork. The interior forms, on the ground floor, a series of nine apartments, all of admirable style and finish, of which the largest was, beyond all doubt, put into the hands of Grinling Gibbons for its decoration. "The house," wrote Horace Walpole to George Montagu, "is entirely new fronted in the style of the Tuileries and furnished exactly like Hampton Court. There is one room gloriously flounced all round with whole length pictures with much the finest carving of Gibbons that ever my eyes beheld. There are birds absolutely feathered; and 2 antique vases with bas-relievs, as perfect and beautiful as if they were carved by a Grecian master."¹ The room is sixty feet long, twenty-four feet wide and twenty feet high. It offers the general characteristics of Gibbons' usual scheme of decoration; walls of oak wainscot, cornices and mouldings of varied acanthus patterns, elaborate fixed picture frames treated *à jour*, determining the decorative balance of the room, and forming the centres about which are placed the garlands, groups and festoons of that original design and craftsmanship which make Grinling Gibbons stand out as England's premier wood-carver.

Few, indeed, of England's wealthy men who built country houses during the half century of Gibbons' career were satisfied unless the famous decorative sculptor was represented in at least one of their rooms. This, as stated in Chapter IX, meant large workshops and many assistants, and also many imitators more or less independent. The absence of all mention of Gibbons in the very complete building accounts of Chatsworth leads to the supposition that his inspiration covered a much larger field than was under his immediate direction. Yet, of the known productions of his own or his pupils' hands, the amount was enormous when the time needed for the creation of such delicately elaborate work is taken into consideration. In many houses it was limited to perhaps the decoration of a single chimney-piece sent down from London and applied to the panelling, or at most there were restricted examples sparsely distributed in several rooms. But there are instances where the design of the whole apartment evidently has been arranged for the adequate presentment of his more ambitious work. Such we find at Belton (Page 198), where he is richly represented in a whole series of rooms, but where the saloon and chapel, in particular, depend for their effect on his work. Yet none of his employers gave him a freer hand than did the Duke of Somerset, and nowhere did he devote more successful attention to design or more surprising skill in execution than in the wealth of carving which he concentrated upon the one great room which he decorated for him. In his *Anecdotes of Painters* Walpole considers that "the most superb monument of his skill is the large chamber at Petworth enriched from the ceiling between the pictures with festoons of flowers and dead game, etc., all in the highest perfection and preservation. Appendant to one is an antique vase with a bas-relief of the purest taste, and worthy the Greek age of cameos. Selden, one of his disciples and assistants—for what one hand could execute such plenty of laborious productions?—lost his life in saving the carving when the seat was on fire."²

This last piece of information he derives from the Vertue MSS., where we find the following note as to Petworth: "In the carv^d Room richly adorned with Sculpture of flowers festoons & fruit birds & boys &c by Gibbons & Selden who wrought these many Years, this man lost his life by saving the Carvings from being burnt when the house was on fire."

Here, it will be noticed, there is nothing about the two men being in the relation of master and assistant. This is a pure assumption on Horace Walpole's part, and appears to be as erroneous as the same assumption with regard to Watson (Page 227). Allen Cunningham, equally free from the shackles of fact, felt he must add a touch of his own to this fancy picture and wrote of Petworth: "While these embellishments were in progress the house caught fire, and Selden, a favourite disciple and assistant of Gibbons, lost his life."³ The infrequency of Grinling Gibbons' name in the accounts and documents preserved in private houses is curious. We have seen it of frequent occurrence in the accounts of the Royal Palaces and of St. Paul's,



FIG. 179.—PETWORTH: HOLBEIN'S PORTRAIT OF HENRY VIII. CENTRE OF EAST WALL OF GREAT CHAMBER.



FIG. 18c.—PETWORTH: PORTRAITS OF DUKE AND DUCHESS OF SOMERSET.
(To the left of the Holbein.)



FIG. 181.—PETWORTH : PORTRAITS OF LORD AND LADY SEYMOUR OF TROWBRIDGE.
(To the right of the Holbein.)



FIG. 182.—PETWORTH: CARVING BETWEEN THE PORTRAITS OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS.

ing of Petworth, which was unknown to the county historians and other writers on the subject. It shows that the Duke employed Gibbons to create the beautiful set of his heraldic carvings for Trinity College Library (Page 140) at very much the same date as he entrusted to him the decoration of Petworth's Great Chamber, for that name, as at Chatsworth (Page 228), seems to have been given to the biggest and most sumptuous of the suite of new reception rooms. Although Vertue alludes to it as the "Carv^d Room," it is "the large

There—as being first and foremost a craftsman in wood—it is to wood-carving that the majority of the items refer. But not one known entry in any private account is for anything of the kind, and there is no documentary proof that any wood-carving in any country house is by him. At Arbury is preserved his agreements for two marble monuments (Fig. 89), and at Dalkeith there have lately been found his receipted bills for several marble mantel-pieces (Page 221). But in houses where not only woodwork in his manner abounds, but where also contemporary estate accounts are preserved, his name never occurs. The only explanation of this unexpected *lacuna* is that such accounts were kept by the local agent or steward, who paid for work done and material supplied locally, whereas Gibbons' work would be sent ready for erection direct from his workshop, having been ordered and paid for by the owner in person and not entered in the latter's estate accounts. But if "Selden" had been Gibbons' assistant he would quite certainly have been paid by his master, and would have had no personal *locus standi* at Petworth. Yet one John Seldon does frequently figure in the estate accounts.

For the purposes of this book, Lord Leconfield very courteously gave instructions that those accounts should be examined, and the following is a quotation from his agent's report:

I have made a search among the Books and Accounts from 1682 and I find that the rebuilding extended over several years and that no very large expenditure occurred until about 1688 when in that year the sum of 1536l. was spent. But the principal part of the rebuilding seems to have been done in 1692 when I find the Hall of State was built as also the great Staircase.⁴

This is important as fixing the date of the Duke's extensive rebuild-

chamber" in Walpole's *Anecdotes*. The Hall of State will be the central room of the suite, having a door forming the state entrance in the middle of the façade, and having the great chamber opening out of it to the left. All the woodwork in the Hall of State is in pine, and all was probably intended to be painted, and painted it remains, except the two mantel-pieces from which the paint has been removed. Neither they nor any other features in the room are in Grinling Gibbons' manner. There is fine, bold enrichment, but of an architectural character, such as Inigo Jones would have designed, and such as his followers of the Burlingtonian group afterwards favoured for the great halls of country seats. The chimney-pieces are pedimented, and on the pediments lie carved representations of the Duke's supporters, each about four feet long. This, and not the carved room, seems to have been John Seldon's work, for the agent's report, already quoted, states:

I have at present been unable to find that any sum of money was paid direct to Grinling Gibbons but on April 16th 1692 there is the following entry: "Pd John Seldon for carving work done in the Hall of State 5⁰ 0^s 0^d," and again on July 23rd 1692 "Pd John Seldon in part for carving work done abt the house 20⁰ 0^s 0^d."

Further research has failed to reveal any mention of Grinling Gibbons or of the carved room, but makes it practically certain that the spheres of Grinling Gibbons and of John Seldon lay wholly apart. The latter is shown to be a craftsman long employed on the rebuilding works of the great house, and residing at, if not local to, Petworth town, where, as the church register chronicles, he died on January 12th, 1715. How he met his death and whether the seat was ever on fire are unknown, and no document in the muniment-room has been found to shed light on the subject. Besides the Hall of State the chapel was probably the scene of his labours. It lies behind the new front, and the structure belongs to the late Gothic period. It is therefore one of the parts of the old house of the Percys that the Duke of Somerset retained. But he refitted it in the manner of his day. There are the usual winged "boys," heads and vases, and, though the general design is simple and reserved, there is a certain amount of the rather lumpy carving which we have found continuing even after Gibbons' lighter and more skilful touch had made its influence felt.

That that touch is nowhere better represented than in the "superb monument of his skill," the Great Chamber at Petworth, the accompanying illustrations will prove, even to those who have not visited the room itself. Each wall has its decorative scheme. Between the four windows on the west side are elaborate carved compositions. As four of these are backed with modern yellow



FIG. 183.—PETWORTH: CARVING BETWEEN THE PORTRAITS OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS.

silk they may not be quite as arranged by Gibbons. But in the central space there is a frame carved in the same manner as those on the other walls, and above it there is an achievement of martial implements and the gartered shield of Seymour and Percy. The scheme on the other three walls is the enframing of portraits with elaborate festooning of carved limewood. On the north wall (Fig. 178) Charles I on horseback (probably not a Van Dyck original) occupies the place of honour, and opposite him, on the south wall, is his Queen by Jervas. The frames are carved, but not festooned around, the chief ornament being above them, and consisting of an immense bunch of flowers, from which depend wreaths and swags. There are doorways on each side of these great central pictures, and above them half-length portraits entirely surrounded by carved work. Rich as are these sides, they pale before the audacious wealth of carving on the long, unbroken east wall. Here there are five full-length pictures.



FIG. 184.—CARVING ABOVE THE PORTRAITS OF LORD AND LADY SEYMOUR.

The central portrait over the fireplace is that of Henry VIII (Fig. 179), and is one of a set of Holbeins, now at Petworth, which are said to have been painted for Protector Somerset. Above the frame an eagle with outspread wings is perched on the ends of bouquet-holding cornucopias, about which oak sprigs are entwined.

From the bouquets start bundles of twigs that expand at intervals into bunches of fruit, birds or crustacea. On either side of this regal piece Gibbons arranged broad, plain panels, now occupied by small pictures by Reynolds, and the same are repeated at the end of the room, the space between each pair of plain panels being occupied by twin portraits linked by a comprehensive decorative scheme, fulfilling in high degree Walpole's dictum that no one before Gibbons had "chained together the various productions of the elements with a free disorder natural to each species."⁵ Here, however, we find not only the productions of the elements, but also those of man, for the vases of which Walpole sang the praises in his letter to George Montagu are between the portraits of the Duke and Duchess (Fig. 18c). They lie to the right of the Holbein, and are by Kneller. The Duke is dressed in the robes of the Order of the Garter. The Garter is on his knee and the St. George about his neck, and both these devices are included by Gibbons in his decoration of the interspace. Between them is a carving of a

basket of flowers resting on the heads of kissing amorini (Fig. 182), while below the Garter are the vases, of which the detail illustration (Fig. 183) shows the cameo-like quality. Beyond the outside edge of the frame the bunched drops are of the same character as those on each side of the Holbein, but quite differently composed. The live birds sitting amid the flowers are as characteristic, and certainly more sympathetic than the dead ones hanging head downwards.

Above the ducal portraits we again find cornucopiæ, while the cascading palm leaves on which the coronets sit are the climax of giving to a material an aspect contrary to its nature. Though in truth perfectly rigid, they certainly give the impression that a draught would cause them to flutter. They are a triumph of technique; but the balancing carvings above the pair of portraits (Fig. 181) to the right of the Holbein are a dream of beauty. The four trumpet-blowing boys, each one in a different attitude, are delicious creations and the best examples we have of Gibbons' figure sculpture. Beyond them the whorled scrolls are as light as any by the master, and while less involved are more successful in line than his earlier ones at Windsor and Cassiobury. The basket, filled with varied flowers, amid which the crown imperial is conspicuous (Fig. 184), is a distinctly different rendering of the same idea between the ducal portraits, while below it, grouped with musical instruments, we find the artist's favourite *motif* of the point lace cravat (Fig. 185). The portraits are Jansen's canvases of the Duke's parents, Lord and Lady Seymour of Troubridge, and above her head may be seen, depending from a ribbon, a large example of a carved portrait medallion, several of which, but of

smaller size, are also scattered about the carving. Indeed, it may be said that in the Petworth Great Chamber Gibbons produced his full repertory. We find there every object, natural or artificial, that he loved to create with his chisel, including the split pea, which he used so frequently that the story arose that he meant it as a sort of signature—a very much forged one in that case, for it was equally in vogue with his contemporaries.

Amid so much that is varied, elaborate and outstanding the eye is apt to overlook the preciousness of the picture frames themselves. The chief or central member is really a cavetto carved in low



FIG. 185.—CARVING BETWEEN THE PORTRAITS OF LORD AND LADY SEYMOUR.



FIG. 186.—CARVING OF THE PICTURE FRAMES.



FIG. 187.—BELTON : CHIMNEY-PIECE ON LEFT OF THE HALL.

relief with a small floral band. But over this, as a sort of decorative grille, is placed a convex carving of whorled scrolling (Fig. 186) of most finished and delicate workmanship. Thus each detail is not merely carefully thought out and individually invented, but everywhere there is perfection of technique. Scamping and haste were not in the vocabulary. Japan under its old *régime* did not produce craftsmen who more resolutely forbade the flying hours to imperil perfection of achievement.

Although Walpole found the room "all in the highest preservation,"² it was, nevertheless, the scene of much work during the earlier half of the nineteenth century under the ownership of the third Earl of Egremont. His contemporary, Dallaway, the historian of Sussex, tells us that, "being in some parts incomplete it has been restored and repaired in a style nearly equal to the original." Jonathan Ritson was the son of a Whitehaven carpenter, and at the opening of the eighteenth century was working at Greystoke, where his skill in carving was observed by the Duke of Norfolk, who sent him to Arundel. Here he spent some years producing elaborate carvings for the library and the Baron's Hall, but soon after the Duke's death in 1815 he passed on to Petworth, and was so much thought of by Lord Egremont that he had his portrait painted by Clint as a companion to one of Gibbons, and hung them both in the room which owed its original splendour to the one and its renewed perfection to the other.

Except for his craftsmanship, however, Ritson was an unsatisfactory *protégé*, for in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which records his death in 1846, we are told that "his only pleasures were his work and his cups. . . . It was no unusual occurrence to find him for days and nights in a state of drunken insensibility, clothed in rags and associating with chimney-sweepers and tramps." How such habits left him the nervous steadiness and delicacy of touch necessary for a follower of Gibbons it is difficult to understand. The work still remaining in the ceiling coves is by him, and much more he placed on the walls (Fig. 178). "It is hardly an exaggeration



FIG. 188.—BELTON: CHIMNEY-PIECE ON RIGHT OF THE HALL.

to say that his carving covered every conceivable space in the room," wrote the late Hon. Percy Wyndham, uncle to the present owner. "Shortly after my father's death in 1869 my late brother took down all Ritson's work except what is on the ceiling, on the frames of 4 pictures (now removed to the London house), and (I think) the headings of the window curtains. He was led to do this quite as much by the fact that the quantity of Ritson's work entirely destroyed the balance and scheme of Gibbons' decoration of the room as by the fact that Ritson's work was inferior. My nephew tells me that all Ritson's carving is stored away in boxes in the carpenter's yard and that he is thinking of putting it up in his London house. I am glad to hear this, as, though inferior of course to Gibbons, Ritson was a clever workman."⁶

Gibbons, as far as the survival of his masterpieces is concerned, was unfortunate in his chosen medium, for though lime is, no doubt, excellent under the tool, it is also a favourite wood with the worm, and the worm has ever been the most dreaded enemy of his work. If the wings of the amorini in the detail illustration (Fig. 182) be examined it will be seen that they are riddled with worm holes, and their condition is by no means exceptional. How far Ritson arrested this, and how far he removed and replaced the affected portions, it would be difficult to decide without microscopic examination; but there is no doubt that he did some renewing and much cleaning, for his rival in the carver's art, W. G. Rogers, wrote, after a visit to Petworth in 1833: "The mixture of old and new, the dirty washed wood on the white walls, looks so poor and meagre I was pained at looking at it." Unless the green eye of jealousy warped the visitor's judgment, the condition is far more favourable now than then. Rogers was an undoubted authority, and a preserver rather than a renewer. Born in Dover in 1792,



FIG. 189.—BELTON: EAST END OF THE SALOON.



FIG. 190.—BELTON: WEST CHIMNEY-PIECE OF THE SALOON.

he passed early into the employ of a London firm, where he associated with an old craftsman named Birkbeck, who was, as it were, in direct touch with the Gibbons traditions, for he had been employed in 1754 in the repairing of Gibbons' work at Burleigh in company with men who had been Gibbons' assistants at St. Paul's.⁷

Through Birkbeck's influence Rogers became a devotee to Gibbons' art, and was often shocked at the condition in which he found most of the examples. The white bloom which

enveloped so many he soon recognised as betraying a shell covering a crumbling rottenness. Some of his best work was done at Belton sufficiently late in his career for him to bring photography to his aid. He photographed the whole of the Gibbons work, and then took it to pieces and saturated it with corrosive sublimate. That done, he injected vegetable gum and gelatine to fill up the holes and add strength, gave a coating of resin varnish, and exactly reconstructed the whole by means of his photographs. The Belton set are now excellent in condition and appearance, and it is a question whether those at Petworth would not have been safer in Rogers' than in Ritson's hands. However that may be, it is certain that every care and attention is now taken to preserve for future generations these priceless creations of one of England's most original artists. The cleaning and repairing work done in recent years is of the highest quality, and quite up to the standard of Belton.

Belton House is what it was and what it was meant to be. That, coupled with its intrinsic excellence, gives it its quite special distinction and value. No more admirable style of English country house exists than that which was evolved in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It was Sir Christopher Wren's most active and creative period, and though the immense extent of his ecclesiastical and civic creations gave him little time for country house building, yet his influence and even in many instances his direct intervention, are clearly evident in this direction also. The tradition that he gave the plans for such houses as Belton and Stoke Edith is, no doubt, correct in principle, and we must certainly believe that he produced the general idea even if he did not work out the particular details. In his time great men, whether they were landed proprietors, successful lawyers or merchant princes, were busily engaged with bricks and mortar. Yet we have no considerable number of their houses complete originally and retaining their character. In many cases older houses were merely added to, or re-edified on old foundations. Such are Petworth and Chatsworth. Of those that were built anew, too many, like Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, have entirely disappeared, or, like Lowther Castle, have been altered beyond recognition. But the alterations of 1777 did not alter the plan or impair the general appearance of Belton, and it therefore remains one of the best examples that we have of the manner in which a wealthy commoner of large ideas and informed taste built, decorated and furnished his country home at the time when Dutch William was stepping into the shoes of his English uncle and father-in-law.

The Belton and other Lincolnshire manors were acquired in the early part of the seventeenth century by Richard Brownlow, who, making much money in the law and living frugally, left large property. Thus it was that Sir John Brownlow and his kinswoman and wife, Alice, became possessed in 1679 of great and well ordered estates and a large sum of ready money, and it was decided that the old house at Belton should give way to one representing in size and style the last word of the day. Preparations for this began in 1684. Not only was the old manor house at Belton pulled down, but also the neighbouring one of Ringston, which had been the home of Sir John's father. Much of their material, including the stone, was employed upon the new work. But this cannot have gone far, for the whole of the outer walls of the great new house and of its court of outbuildings are of ashlar, well wrought and finely laid, as was the fashion of that day. The material had not to come from far, for the Ancaster quarries, known and used ever since the time of the Romans, lie but four miles from Belton. By March, 1685, all was ready to make a beginning, and we then find the entry in the steward's accounts: "Gave the Mason to drink at laying the first stone of the new house; 5s." These building accounts, like those at Petworth, only deal with work done on the spot, and do not include fine decorative adjuncts, such as Belton's famous wood-carvings. There can be no doubt that these are the work of Grinling Gibbons, but there is no more documentary proof that it is so than that Wren was employed as architect.

Thus at Belton there is no record whatever of the origin of the splendid carvings that appear in so many of the rooms, and were so skilfully cleaned and strengthened by Mr. Rogers half a century ago, when, as we have just seen, he found that the worm had left little solid about them beyond an outer coat of the thickness of an eggshell.

In plan Belton House remains practically as its designer drew it. It is an H-shaped house, but no longer quite in the manner that had prevailed under Elizabeth and James. Then one



FIG. 191.—BELTON: MASTERPIECES OF GRINLING GIBBONS IN THE CHAPEL GALLERY.



FIG. 192.—BELTON : OVER THE CHIMNEY-PIECE OF THE CHAPEL GALLERY.

half of the centre block had been customarily occupied by a hall windowed on both sides and entered at one end. Inigo Jones had superseded this by making the centre part two rooms thick, and placing a hall, centrally entered, in the middle of one elevation and a saloon of corresponding size on the opposite elevation. This remained for long the recognised arrangement, and we find it at Belton. It is, however, so large a house that these great apartments do not occupy the whole centre block, but have rooms on either side of them before the wings are reached. The customary arrangement of a staircase in the middle of each wing was retained, but they were merely subsidiary, a grand stairway being placed in the space directly east of the entrance hall.

The great entrance hall, which faces south, has two chimney-pieces opposite to its windows and on each side of the great door into the saloon. The one to the left (Fig. 187) has a portrait of Sir John's great-uncle, known as "old" Sir John, encircled with a Grinling Gibbons composition, where dead birds play the most prominent part, the wings in one or two cases projecting at least a foot from the wall. These birds are associated with festoons of fruit, flowers and ears of wheat. By way of distinction fishes and shells are mainly employed in the decoration that surrounds the portrait of this Sir John's wife over the other chimney-piece (Fig. 188). But with the fishes are associated fine examples of the elaborate whorl scrolls that Rogers put down as Gibbons' most singular and characteristic achievement. In the saloon the chimneys are at either end, and are ornamented in even a richer manner. That at the east end (Fig. 189), surrounding a portrait of "young" Sir John's fourth daughter, the Duchess of Ancaster, is composed of fruit and flower motifs, while at the west end dead birds are again prominent, as the illustration shows (Fig. 190). The portrait is that of his unmarried daughter, Margaret.

It is noteworthy that in Wren's day, as we know from Hampton Court and Broughton, it was quite usual to have no mantel-shelf, wainscoted panels coming right down to the great bolection moulding of marble that framed the open hearth. At Belton, however, this was surmounted by a shelf, such as the illustration shows, and in the steward's account we find the item "5 Cornishes, with freezes to Chimney pieces £30. 0. 0." It was probably above these "5 Cornishes" that "young" Sir John proposed to place the portraits of his five daughters, and, as tradition says, ordered of Grinling Gibbons five of his "frames" to surround them. It must be noted, however, that the house was completed before the youngest one was born, and that she was only six years old when her father died. He not only introduced the carving into the principal sitting-rooms, but also into the chapel. This occupies the end of the north-east wing, and has its gallery level with the ground-floor rooms, the main part of it being level with the basement. The carvings on and about the altar and on the gallery screen are mostly of deal painted, the altar-piece being of the same material, and representing white marble. Such carvings are not of the finest, and certainly not by Gibbons' own hand, but those in the gallery, occupied by the family, and still furnished with late seventeenth century chairs covered in old crimson velvet, are of the highest quality, and reveal the master's touch. Long "drops" (Fig. 191) hang down the centre of the huge panels, while over the mantel-piece is a beautiful decoration of fruit and flower garlands starting from cornucopæ and crossed palm branches (Fig. 192). Recessed in the panel a marble sculpture has recently replaced the picture which hangs there in the illustration of the drops. The sculpture is inscribed "the work of Viscount Alford, 1848." The wainscoting of the gallery is of cedar, the carvings being in Grinling Gibbons' usual medium of limewood, built up in layers about two inches and a half thick, glued together.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER XIV.

- ¹ *Walpole's Letters*. Ed. 1850, II, 179.
- ² *Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting*. Ed. 1763, III, 85-6.
- ³ Allen Cunningham, *Lives of British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, III, 14.
- ⁴ Report by Mr. Whitcomb to Lord Leconfield, September, 1910.
- ⁵ *Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting*. Ed. 1850, II, 82.
- ⁶ Letter from Hon. Percy Wyndham to author, February 22, 1907.
- ⁷ *R.I.B.A. Proceedings*, 1867, 180.

CHAPTER XV.

GRINLING GIBBONS IN VARIOUS COUNTRY HOUSES.

IN the absence of documentary proof of Grinling Gibbons' direct connection with the wood carvings in country houses, we have to rely on the character of such carvings and on well founded tradition in attributing certain examples to him. Any work which from the spirit of the design, the nature of the grouping and the quality of the execution reveals the characteristics of his mind and hand may, with strong probability, be put down as originating from his workshop. The trained eye is the best test of authenticity, and tradition is only valuable as additional and supporting evidence. Its lack of reliability is proved by the numerous cases where diverse decorative products of the period, wrought in various materials, have long been confidently attributed to him, although the design and technique proclaim that this is impossible even where there is not, as in the case of carvings at Chatsworth (Pages 223-9) evidence to prove that they are by another hand.

In this chapter some description is given of a group of country houses where carvings are, or were, to be found that are judged to possess the mark of the master as a more or less important part of their decoration. Of these, by far the richest in such work is Hackwood Park. It is a house that has been more than once altered, almost to the extent of transformation, and the Grinling Gibbons carvings, although no doubt authentic, are certainly not in every, and possibly not in any, case in their original position.

Hackwood was part of the great estate of Basing in Hampshire, which came by marriage to the Paulets in the fifteenth century. They lived at Basing House, which the first of the family to bear the title of Marquess of Winchester rebuilt in Tudor days, and made of such size, splendour and strength that it stood in the front rank of the great semi-defensive houses of its day. Its siege, capture and destruction by Cromwell in 1645 are matters of history, and only concern us here as the cause of the after-importance of Hackwood. There, if we are to believe Britton and Brayley, stood what "was originally a Lodge built in Queen Elizabeth's time and used as a place of meeting for the company assembled for the purposes of hawking, and as a Banqueting Room after the sport was over."¹ Very likely this is a more or less correct description of the building which the sixth Marquess, afterwards created Duke of Bolton, transformed into what surviving pictures show to have been, so far as the exterior was concerned, a typical house of the period when Wren and Grinling Gibbons flourished. Curiously enough, the saloon, though lined with highly enriched wainscotings in their manner, did not assume its present proportions nor contain these decorations until forty years after their death. It appears that the first Duke of Bolton was much of a builder, and distributed his creative energies over a variety of his seats, so that besides the great alterations at Hackwood he rebuilt Bolton Hall in Yorkshire, and made a second Hampshire seat—Abbotstone, near Alresford—where he largely employed Grinling Gibbons. At Hackwood there is reason to believe that he retained the interior proportions of the Elizabethan hall which went up to the roof, and that it was not divided into two floors until the time of his great-grandson, the fifth Duke of Bolton, who succeeded in 1759 and died in 1765. During those years, say Britton and Brayley, "The great Hall, which in its original state was open from the ground floor to the roof, had a new floor introduced at the height of twenty feet: the space below it was at the same period adapted to the reception of some very fine wainscot that was brought from Abbotstone near Alresford and had been enriched by a great deal of most excellent carving by Gibbons."²

The saloon thus formed out of the spoils of dismantled Abbotstone is a room forty feet long by thirty feet wide and some twenty feet in height. At each end is a fireplace, over which hang, respectively, portraits of William III and George I, richly environed by carving. The room is entered from the present hall by what will have been the front door before the main hlock of the house was made two rooms thick in the first decade of the nineteenth century from designs by Lewis Wyatt. The doorway is of exceptional size. It is six feet six inches wide and fifteen feet high.

It would seem that the corresponding aperture at Abbotstone was lower, for about five feet from the ground there is a joint in the great nine-inch-wide architrave moulding with enriched members, and the execution of the lower pieces is not quite equal to the rest, so that they were probably added when the fifth Duke refitted the room.³ Its present proportions and fittings are so much what we might expect in the "great hall" of a 1688 house that it is difficult to believe that in 1760 it was halved in height and redecorated. Moreover, a central room open from the ground floor to the roof would admit, while the house remained only one room thick, of only four chambers on the first floor and would prevent intercommunication except on the ground floor. This means that while the first Duke created an exterior in every line and detail consonant with his own age, he permitted an unmitigated mediæval arrangement to continue within. Yet there can be little doubt that this was



FIG. 193.—HACKWOOD: CHIMNEY-PIECE IN THE SALOON.

the case, for Britton's account was based on information derived from the daughter and son-in-law of the man who effected the alterations, and who, as we are clearly told, pulled down Abbotstone and transferred the wainscoting and Grinling Gibbons' carvings. How fine the latter are appears in the "frames" of the portraits of the two Kings, of which that representing William III is illustrated (Fig. 193). It may be gathered that they were designed for the dining-room at Abbotstone, as Grinling Gibbons and his followers were prone to use suggestive *motifs*. For



FIG. 194.—HACKWOOD: CHIMNEY-PIECE IN THE LIBRARY.

eating squirrels at either end. Still finer is a similar panel in the library. Here, as the detail given shows (Fig. 195), we find a triple representation of the owner's ducal coronet



FIG. 195.—HACKWOOD: PANEL FROM ABOVE ENLARGED.

instance, in the "King's Eating Room"—now the ante-room—at Windsor, we found (Page 61) that birds, fishes and fruit are almost exclusively used for the wood carvings. Watson did the same in the State dining-room at Chatsworth (Page 225). There were dead birds and fruit together with flowers in Holme Lacey (Fig. 200) dining-room, while the composition which most nearly resembles in its arrangement of game and fishes, fruit and flower the framing of the Kings at Hackwood, is an over-mantel at Sudbury (Fig. 207), evidently not in its original position and quite likely at first in an "eating room." The long, low panels below the pictures at Hackwood were such as were often used—for instance, at Ramshury Manor (Fig. 204)—where this space was not filled with looking-glass, as became fashionable under William III. The panel below that monarch's picture at Hackwood is very delightful, with its nut-

—which dates the carving as not earlier than 1689—flanked by his supporters. The “framing” above (Fig. 194) has, hanging amid its floral festoons, two of the little bas-relief medallions that Grinling Gibbons was fond of producing. The one represents William III being crowned by amorini, while in the other a winged figure holds a sword in one hand and a palm leaf in the other—evidently offering peace or war to England’s enemies.

Like the fellow panel described on page 84, the whole has been smothered under repeated coats of paint, and not only has all sharpness been lost, but the chipping of the later coating of grained oak shows the earlier white paint and gives the impression that the whole is a plaster cast. It is sad to see fine stuff so degraded. In the saloon it is better; there, a thin covering of dark brown masks, without wholly obliterating, the tool marks. It is therefore in no worse condition than the Windsor and Cassiobury carvings. But what a distance there is between all these examples and those in St. Paul’s or at Hampton Court, where Grinling Gibbons’ rule of leaving the lime wood untouched has ever been observed!

Where did all the Grinling Gibbons carvings now at Hackwood come from? There is, unfortunately, no answer to this question. Britton speaks only of those in the saloon as being brought from Abbotstone. But they occur, as we have just seen, in the library, a room dating from the first Duke’s time, so that here the carvings may be in their original position. They, however, are also to be found in various rooms of the 1800-10 additions. In the hall there is a set of drops (Fig. 196) of good workmanship, but not convincingly attributable to Gibbons. In the billiard-room we revert to the master’s touch. The “framing” much resembles that in the library, and there is a similar long panel below, which, as supplying Grinling Gibbons’ favourite *motif* of a point lace cravat as part of its decorative scheme, was illustrated in Chapter IX (Fig. 76). It is probable that that splendid and expensive man, the first Duke of Bolton, decked Hackwood as well as Abbotstone with what was the most sought-after form of wall decoration in his day, and that all but what is in the saloon belong to the house, although the drastic alterations carried out under Lewis Wyatt may, except in the library, have required a change of place.



FIG. 196.—HACKWOOD: DROP IN THE HALL.

Their Graces of Somerset and Bolton were by no means Grinling Gibbons' only ducal clients, for he again is represented in the Badminton dining-room. The general scheme of the wainscoting may not be by him. The cornice has not one of his great enriched cavettos as its



FIG. 197.—BADMINTON: IN THE DINING-ROOM.

principal feature, but has modillions, which themselves are supported by scrolled consoles rising from the frieze. The whole of the rather heavy and overpowering entablature is sustained by fluted Corinthian pilasters and columns. But the "frame" above the chimney-piece (Fig. 197) is a good example of what has just been alluded to (Page 204) as usually designed by Gibbons for an "Eating room." Crossed palm branches support the gartered and coronetted cypher of the ducal owner, and the swags and drops are mainly composed of fishes, fruits and vegetables. Dead birds are wanting here, but are conspicuous in the drops that adorn the panels between the windows (Fig. 198).

Badminton was an estate belonging to a cadet branch of the Somersets, but after the Restoration, when it had come to the senior branch, it was almost completely reconstructed in the manner of his day by the then owner, who, from being Marquess of Worcester, was raised to the Dukedom of Beaufort in 1682. For some years before that the Badminton rebuilding had been going on, for Chief Justice Hales, some time before his death in 1676, is described to us as visiting the owner "when he was in the midst of his building, and observing the many contrivances the duke had for the disposing of so great a family, he craved leave to suggest one to him which he thought would be much for his service, and it was to have but one door to his house, and the window of his study where he

sat must open upon that." Better lawyer than house planner must the great Sir Matthew have been. His idea of a self-same entrance for King and scullion, and of the noble owner acting in the joint capacity of hall-porter and detective, much tickled the fancy of one who was aspiring to ducal honours. These came to him while the house was still unfinished, for, being

much detained in London and elsewhere in the King's service, he left his wife to look after home matters at Badminton, and we find him writing to her in 1681 that he is glad she walks about among the workmen. Matters were, no doubt, well forward by then, but the ducal coronet at the top of the dining-room "frame" suggests that Gibbons did not produce the carvings for that apartment until 1682 or after. Then also, and as part of the same decorative scheme, were probably painted Lely's full-length portraits of the new Duke and Duchess, for she holds her coronet in her hand as if it were a recent and prized acquisition.

Nothing more definite as to Gibbons' connection with Badminton has transpired, and he is if anything a still more shadowy personage in the Holme Lacy annals. The third Duke of Beaufort owned Holme Lacy in right of his wife. This, however, was after Grinling Gibbons' death. At the time of his greatest vogue James, second Viscount Scudamore, was engaged in transforming his ancestral seat in the same manner as we have seen Petworth, Hackwood and Badminton being handled. Like the three Dukes, the Viscount called in the great wood-carver and employed him liberally. All that he did, however, is now gone, as it was sold separately from the house in 1909. The illustrations in this chapter represent it before removal, while the details of a swag and drop (Figs. 85 and 86)



FIG. 198.—DROP BETWEEN THE DINING-ROOM WINDOWS.

given in Chapter IX were photographed after a careful cleaning and in a strong workshop light.

James Scudamore succeeded his grandfather as Lord Scudamore and owner of Holme Lacy in 1671, and soon after married a daughter of the Earl of Exeter. In the plaster-work of the saloon ceiling just over the mantel-piece the Scudamore stirrups may be seen impaling the arms of Cecil, while below the carved eagle holding an oak twig—emblematic of Charles II's restoration—there is just such a coronetted cypher as we have seen at Petworth and Badminton. The letters "V" and "S" no doubt stand for Viscount Scudamore, while "J" and "F" are the initials of the owner and of Frances Cecil, his wife. She died in 1694, and as at some moment before that we learn from a contemporary letter that she was "the impudentest of women" and had eloped with "a Mr. Coningsby" we may surmise that the saloon carvings date from some years before her demise.

Although the eagle and the cypher are quite such as we find Gibbons frequently using, the saloon mantel-piece (Fig. 199), as a whole, differs somewhat from his usual arrangement and technique. The drops are rather thinner and more rigid and the carving less delicate than that of the very typical and admirable examples that were in the dining and drawing-rooms. The dining-room was wainscoted in oak, the panels being of unusual



FIG. 199.—CARVING FORMERLY IN THE SALOON AT HOLME LACEY.



FIG. 200.—CARVING FORMERLY IN THE DINING-ROOM, HOLME LACEY.

size—some are ten feet across—even for the Gibbons period, and above was one of his cornices with acanthus decoration in the great cavetto (Fig. 200). Fruit, dead birds and lobsters testify to the use of the room. But it will be noticed that dead birds are likewise prominent in one of the drawing-room mantel-pieces (Fig. 201). The drawing-room, however, was originally two apartments, intended for other purposes, one of them perhaps the not unusual breakfast parlour. There are live as well as dead birds, a scrolled whorl and



FIG. 201.—CARVING FORMERLY AT THE WEST END OF THE DRAWING-ROOM, HOLME LACEY.

very free and elegant festooning of fruit and flowers. The larger example, however (Fig. 202), formerly at the east end of the drawing-room, is still more worthy of study, for, as a decorative effort and a piece of pure and thoughtful design within the scope of his style, Gibbons did not do anything better than the delightful wreathing of fruit, shells and flowers held up by rings and twined with delicate stalks and leafage which surround a frame as exquisitely invented and carved as those at Petworth. Equally typical, though in simpler and



FIG. 202.—CARVING FORMERLY AT THE EAST END OF THE DRAWING-ROOM, HOLME LACEY.



FIG. 203.—SWAG FORMERLY IN THE SOUTH PEDIMENT, HOLME LACEY.



FIG. 204.—RAMSBURY MANOR: IN THE SALOON.

more massive manner—and so more apt for its position—was the wreath of swags held up by knotted drapery which once filled the pediment of the south elevation, and of which one half is illustrated (Fig. 203). It is much freer and more elegant than that which is still to be found in like position at Ramsbury Manor in Wiltshire, where a cartouche with shield of arms is the most important element. Ramsbury was built by Sir William Jones, who became Attorney-General in 1675. As there is much about the plan and exterior of the house to remind us of John Webb, Sir William had probably built on his newly acquired estate while he was still engaged in a very profitable private practice in the King's Bench. The saloon, however, will have been finished somewhat later, as the doorways and great panels with their much-enriched mouldings, the typical cornice and the carvings above the fireplace (Fig. 204), certainly bear witness to Gibbons' ascendancy, and may with confidence be ascribed to him. The mantel-piece itself and the plaster-work of the ceiling, however, date from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when a certain amount of alteration took place, but not enough to lessen the value of Ramsbury Manor as one of our best remaining examples of a country house of Charles II's time.

As far as its exterior and general fabric is concerned, Sudbury Hall in Derbyshire, with its stone-mullioned windows of Jacobean type, must date before Ramsbury. But it was probably reroofed and certainly redecorated after the Restoration. Here, again, much of the interior



FIG. 205.—SUDBURY HALL : THE SALOON.

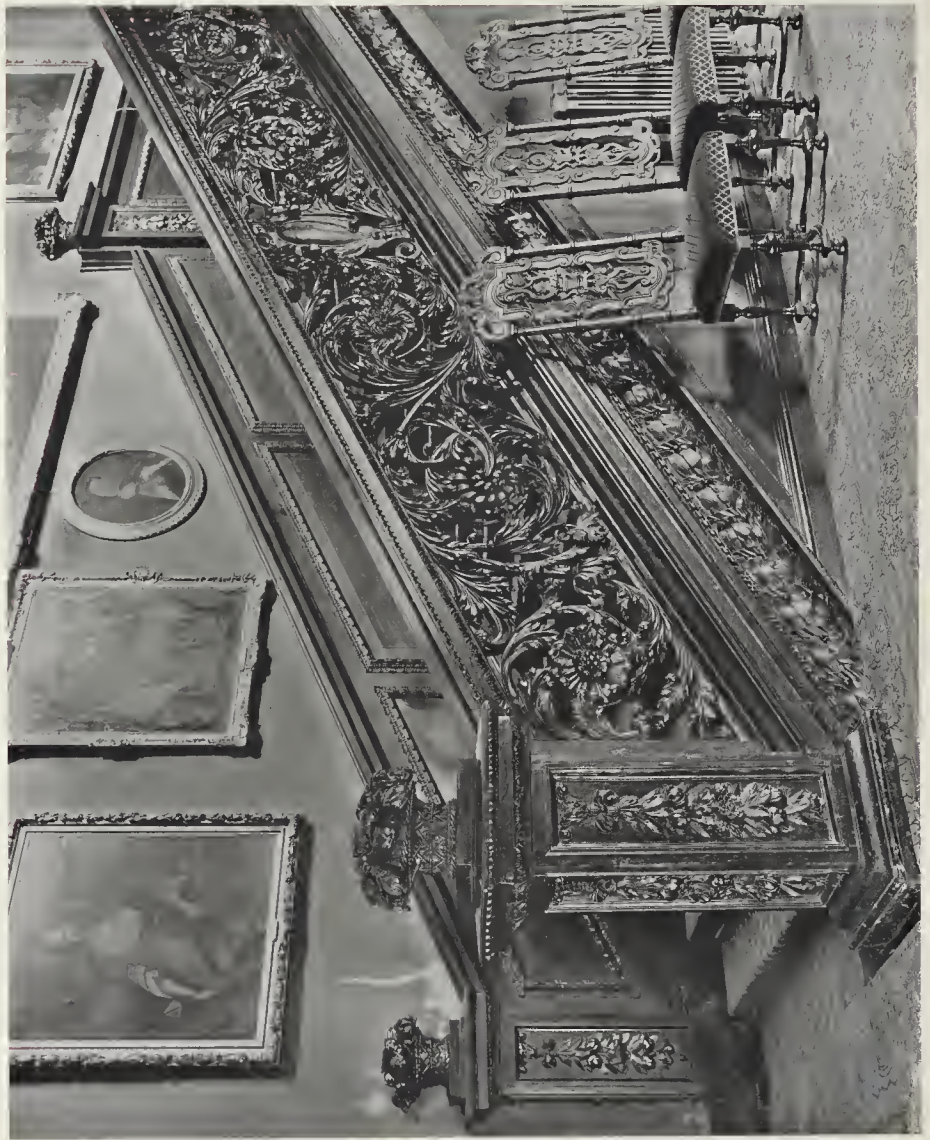


FIG. 206.—SUDBURY HALL: THE STAIRCASE.



FIG. 207.—SUDBURY HALL: CARVING OVER ONE OF THE DRAWING-ROOM FIREPLACES.

work savours of John Webb. The doorways at the top of the stairs have broken architraves supported by pilasters, as at Thorpe (Fig. 9), while that with double doors at the bottom of the stairs has a draped female mask and solid swags quite in the manner which Webb inherited from Inigo Jones. The staircase itself is such as we have seen thus used at Forde and at Thorpe, and which, after the Restoration, became the favourite type. A few—that at Cassiobury (Fig. 60) for instance—are perhaps attributable to Gibbons himself. The Sudbury staircase (Fig. 206) is finely designed and wrought, and despite coats of paint and varnish, the graceful curves and folds of the acanthus foliage proclaim masterly handling. Yet it is so immediately associated with the Webb-like doorways that it may possibly date



FIG. 208.—SUDBURY HALL: CARVED FRAME IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

and chimney-pieces. Gibbons' work therefore suffers from the lack of its right setting. The splendid "frame" over a later mantel-piece is nailed on to a background of patterned wall-paper, and a huge modern looking-glass takes the place of what must originally have been a portrait panel. Moreover, a coating of stain takes off somewhat from the crispness of the carving, but luckily there is no paint or varnish. It is a notable piece as regards size, design and execution. It was probably intended for, and very likely placed in, a dining-room with a scheme of enriched wainscoting to suit it, and there the effect must have been equal to that in one of the State apartments at Hampton Court Palace, which it resembles in scale. It is probably now set lower than it was originally, and yet it reaches up to a point quite sixteen feet from the ground and the width from out-to-out of the carving at its widest part—that is, the outstretched wings of the hanging birds—is eight feet. The projection of these side groups of birds is fully one foot, a measurement which is exceeded by the birds and great central bunch of flowers at the top. Size, however, is not obtained at the sacrifice of

before 1669, when Webb is reputed to have retired from active work and Gibbons had not appeared on the scene. The same may be said of the saloon. It is in a more architectural manner than Gibbons favoured, and the carvings have not his free arrangement and light touch. A set of pedimented panels runs round the room, with carving above and below the full-length portraits which they frame. A somewhat solid ribbon winds with spiral precision round the flower festooning of the overmantel. The ceiling is of the kind associated with the name of Sir Christopher Wren, and perhaps indicates a date rather later than the first decade of the Restoration. The saloon therefore may have been done at the time of Gibbons' ascendancy, but yet is none of his. In the drawing-room, however, we undoubtedly come across him. As at Holme Lacey, this room was once two, and, in the alterations, has lost its original wall linings

quality, for nothing can exceed the finish of the birds or the delicacy of the smaller growths, such as the blackberries on their dainty stalks. Yet the whole is firm and strong, the successive bunches of fruit, flower, birds and fishes being connected by a board, four and a-half inches wide, carved into the exact semblance of a bunch of twigs with leaves and flowers scattered about it.

In this room also hangs a small but very perfect example of one of Gibbons' movable frames, such as we found at Cassiobury (Fig. 67) and at Lansdowne House (Fig. 74). The Sudbury frame (Fig. 208) measures two feet by one foot eight inches sight and four feet by three feet out-to-out. At the top are two wingless amorini kissing. Down the sides are grouped big and wonderfully executed tulips, poppies and ranunculuses, while at the bottom lie various inanimate objects. There is a little portrait medallion, an open watch, a convex disc with beautiful low relief scrollwork, and beneath it a flute and a violin, the latter ending in a fool's head. The whole object is an embodiment of Gibbons' manner and skill.

The unfortunate divorce of Grinling Gibbons' fine carvings at Sudbury from a sympathetic setting has counterparts at Melbury at Kirtlington. In the Melbury square drawing-room the usual top garland and side drops for a chimney-piece are set on a patterned green silk, and enclose a very elaborate Chippendale Chinese looking-glass with rococo scrolls swelling out into



FIG. 209.—MELBURY HALL: IN THE DINING-ROOM.

innumerable brackets for pieces of china. In the dining-room are two more such "frames," with cream-coloured brocade as a background. The one is of the dining-room type with dead game and fish, while the other (Fig. 209) has groups of musical instruments, pairs of medallion portraits and linked amorini heads. The sixteenth century house came to Sir Stephen Fox, the



FIG. 210.—DALKEITH: CHIMNEY-PIECE IN LODGE LOW.

prime mover in the foundation of Chelsea Hospital (Page 175), who made alterations, and no doubt employed Gibbons, although much of the late Renaissance work there dates from a time when Gibbons' star had set and that of William Kent arisen. Kirtlington belongs wholly to the latter time, having been built on a new site by Sir James Dashwood, in one of whose pocket notebooks we find the entry, made on April 5th, 1742: "Began to dig foundations of new house." It was therefore in the old house, called Northbrook, of which no stone is now left standing, that the Grinling Gibbons dining-room carvings were at home, which they cannot be said to be, arranged as a panel (Fig. 211) in the hall mantel-piece of the Georgian house. But they are finely executed, and the whorled scroll, as well as the birds, fish and crustacea, has the full Gibbons savour. On the other hand, a set of detached drops (Fig. 213) preserved in the same house betrays a somewhat different arrangement and technique. They are probably a little after his time and by a less expert hand.

At Dalkeith Palace there is not much wood-carving by Grinling Gibbons, but that he supplied marble chimney-pieces we know, for his receipted bill for them has recently come to light.

In 1663, and at the age of fourteen, Anne Scott, Countess of Buccleugh in her own right, became the wife of Charles II's son by Lucy Walters, who was created Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh, and whose town house in Soho, as we have seen, contained carvings by Gibbons (Page 174). The Duke is known in history by the first title and the Duchess by the second, which she received independently of her husband, and therefore transmitted to her descendants despite Monmouth's



FIG. 211.—KIRTLINGTON: MANTELPIECE WITH PANEL BY GRINLING GIBBONS.

forfeiture and death after Sedgmoor. For thirty-eight years after her marriage she never returned to Scotland, her chief country seat being Moor Park in Hertfordshire, which the Duke acquired in 1670, and which remained to his widow until she sold it in 1720, when the house, which the Duke had built after purchasing the estate, was remodelled and redecored under the superintendence of Leoni and of Thornhill.



FIG. 212.—DALKEITH: THE DUCHESS'S SITTING-ROOM.

In 1701 the Duchess decided to return to Scotland, and to bring Dalkeith up to the architectural standard of her own day. Before starting she wrote in a letter to Lord Melville, who looked after her Scotch estates, a description of the decorations and furniture which she was sending down, and added the words: "You will think me extravagant in marble." As Gibbons' bill for marble chimney-pieces is dated this same year it was doubtless to them that she was in part alluding, though it must be confessed that they display no extravagance in the matter of cost. The following copy of the bill has been very obligingly furnished by Lord Henry Scott:



FIG. 213.—KIRTLINGTON: A SET OF CARVED DROPS.

July 1701.	Mr Gibbons His Bill, for her Grace, The Dutches of Bucklew; for Scotland.	Work.	l	s	d
	For a Doue Couler'd Marble Chimney-peice 6 foot from out to out, w th foot-pace slips & 2 window seats		12	: 00	: 0
	For a white Vain'd Marble Chimney peice 6 foot from out to out, w th foot pace slips & 2 window seats		11	: 10	: 0
	For a white Vain'd marble Chimney peice 5 foot from out to out w th foot pace & slips.		08	: 00	: 0
	For a white Vain'd marble Chimney peice 3 foot 6 th from out to out w th foot pace & slips.		06	: 00	: 0
	For a purple marble Chimney peice 5 foot from out to out w th foot pace slips & 2 window Seats		11	: 00	: 0
	For a Rance marble Chimney peice 4 foot 6 th from out to out w th foot pace slips & 1 window Seate		10	: 00	: 0
	For a Black & Gold Marble Chimney peice 5 foot from out to out w th foot pace slips & 2 window seats		11	: 00	: 0
	For a paire of Covings at y ^e house in S ^t James place		00	: 16	: 0
	For 1/2 lb of deales, nailes, Making y ^e Cases, & water carriage to y ^e Ship		04	: 00	: 0
	Sum is		74	: 06	: 0

11th Aug^t 1701.

Reced then of her Grace y^e Dutches of Buccleuch by the hands of Benj: Robinson Seventy four pounds & Six Shillings in full of this Bill (Signed) GRINLING GIBBONS. 74 : 6 : 0

Lord Henry adds that not only are these modest chimney-pieces now at Dalkeith Palace, but also a more elaborate one, which was made for Moor Park, and for which the bill runs:

June 1701.	Work done for her Grace y ^e Dutches of Buckelen at More-Parke.	l	s	d
	For a Baster-leafe in Marble being the Story of Neptune & Gallatea w th a marble base Cornish Slips a new fire-hart one paire of Covings, boxes and fixing up.	80	: 00	: 0
	18 th July 1701.			
	Reced then of her Grace y ^e Dutches of Buccleuch By the hands of Benj: Robinson Eighty Pounds in full of this Bill reced p me (Signed) GRINLING GIBBONS.	80	- 0 - 0	

The Duchess was then beginning to be less at Moor Park, and ere long deserted and then sold it. So that, although the chimney-piece is stated in the bill to have been "fixed up,"

it must afterwards have been removed by her and placed in her sitting-room at Dalkeith, where the illustration (Fig. 212) shows it with the "Neptune and Galatea" panel above the typical architrave with its big bolection moulding, and below another panel, also framed in marble, composed of glass decorated with the Duchess's cypher and coronet surrounded with palm branches. The work of reconstructing Dalkeith went on till 1709, and it may have been about the latter date that this chimney-piece came there, and also another much too elaborate to be included in Gibbons' modest bill of 1701. It is in a room constructed in one of the towers of the old house and called "Lodge Low." It is composed of marble below and wood above (Fig. 210). Much the same treatment is accorded to either material, fruit and winged boys' heads being the principal *motifs*, a ducal coronet being upheld by a pair of the heads. Such combination of marble and wood is most exceptional in a Grinling Gibbons mantel-piece, and, as the room has lost its contemporary wall and ceiling decorations, may not be the original arrangement, although all, no doubt, came from Gibbons' workshop to the house. The Duchess's sitting-room fortunately remains untouched, and the beautiful enrichment of the mouldings of door-cases, panels and cornice make it, in conjunction with the "Neptune and Galatea" chimney-piece, a complete as well as a genuine example of Gibbons' work.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER XV.

¹ Britton and Brayley, Beauties of England VI, 274.

² Do. do. do. 275.

³ This and many other details were pointed out to the author by the present tenant, Earl Curzon of Kedleston.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTEMPORARY WOODWORK IN COUNTRY HOUSES.

EXCEPT for some rather unfortunate early nineteenth century alterations and additions, Chatsworth is the creation of one man, and was built within a score of years. In this way it resembles Belton, except that the site and to a large extent the foundations of an older house were preserved. We may regret that Bess of Hardwick's great-grandson destroyed one of her creations; but at least if the fourth Earl of Devonshire replaced her Chatsworth with his own, he did so at a moment when the late Renaissance style had brilliant exponents in England. Of age when Charles II came back to his own in 1660 he, as a commoner before and a peer after his father's death in 1684, took up a strong anti-Court and anti-Romanist attitude, being forward in the movement to exclude the Duke of York from the succession. But he managed to steer a more prudent course than his friends Lords Russell and Essex, whose rash partisanship cost them their lives (Page 75). Nevertheless, when the Duke did succeed as James II, the Earl's position at Court was awkward, and it ended by his taking one of the Tory courtiers by the nose in the Presence Chamber. So good an opportunity of freeing Whitehall of an uncongenial personality was not to be lost. The judges fined him an enormous sum and committed him to the King's Bench Prison until it was paid. Thence he escaped and went down to Chatsworth, where the Sheriff would not or could not arrest him.

There he found a double outlet for his activities. He prepared the Midlands for the revolution that placed William III on the throne, and he turned his mind to architecture and the decorative arts, which had been his hobbies since his early days of foreign travel. So now he determined to rebuild a portion at least of his great ancestress' home.

Wren being fully engaged with St. Paul's, City churches and Royal palaces, William Talman was appointed architect, but Wren had some sort of advisory position, and came down to Chatsworth in 1692 to survey and report on what had been done. By that time the new south side, which Talman began in 1687, was nearing completion. At first no larger change was intended, and this may account for the rather crowded arrangement in this side of the house. The chapel occupying a large section of the first floor with its upper part, insufficient space was left there for that series of rooms which had become essential in a lordly dwelling for the "State Apartments." These had, therefore, to be placed upon the second floor, which they occupy from end to end. Although the idea of leaving three sides of the old building was abandoned and all were eventually rebuilt, yet it was in this first portion of the new building that the finest and most elaborate work remained concentrated. The owner seems to have felt that his excuse for destroying the older work was to exhibit the very finest that his own age could produce, and the rooms of this south side have always been held as a model of the style and workmanship of the close of the seventeenth century.

"All the wood-carving in England," wrote Allen Cunningham, "fades away before that of Gibbons at Chatsworth."¹ And yet the only documentary evidence that exists is against Grinling Gibbons having had anything to do with it. It is one of these delightful controversies, like the authorship of the Junius Letters, which can go on for ever, and in which all can quite honestly consider themselves right, because no authoritative document is discoverable capable of setting the dispute at rest. It is not that there is an absence of information as to the building of Chatsworth. Far from it. Such is very often the case with our fine old houses, but here is an exceptional instance of the careful preservation of elaborate specifications, designs, signed agreements and audited accounts, so that minute details of



FIG. 214.—CHATSWORTH : THE GREAT CHAMBER OR STATE DINING-ROOM.

the cost of building and of the part taken by the leading craftsmen are not wanting. We know that our friend the plumber was at his tricks even in those days, for, under this head, a "Mr. Cock of London delivered a bill for work done of nearly £1,000, from which a deduction was made of £236 for overcharge." The great expanses of wall and ceiling pictures were begun in 1689 by Ricard and Laguerre, artists much employed by or with Verrio, who himself followed the next year. His is the ceiling of the "greate Chamber," or State dining-room as it afterwards came to be called, and, after two years' work, he was paid four hundred and sixty-nine pounds. Lansroon, Highmore and Thornhill also appear in the accounts, and Caius Cibber was engaged for sculpture. He did much work inside and out, of which the best known examples are the figures of Hope and Faith on each side of the altar. Not only do we know of his employment here and of the sums he received, but there survives his manuscript memorandum of proposed charges, which he concludes by saying, "at this rate I shall endeavour to serve a nobleman in freestone." Yet of Grinling Gibbons nowhere a trace—unless, indeed, some of the cases which cost fourteen pounds thirteen shillings, and brought "carved work, statues and pictures" from London, contained detached pieces of his work which the general decorative scheme had been prepared to include. Of the wood-workers who were employed we have abundant detail, and among them was Samuel Watson. He was a Derbyshire man of the parish of Heanor. He had studied in London under a "Mr. C. Oakley," but there is not a shred of evidence to connect him then, or later, with Grinling Gibbons.

Accounts for work done by him at every part of Chatsworth, inside and out, survive. He worked there, and probably only there, almost till his death in 1715. His son did work there after him, and his grandson retained his folio book of "Designs, Agreements and Bills of Carved Work executed at Chatsworth by Samuel Watson from 1690 to 1712." Hence we know that the carving in the "greate Chamber" (Fig. 214) with its wealth of flowers, fish, dead birds and fruit in swag and drop, was done by him and two others. Never in his lifetime, or, indeed, for years after, was the name of Grinling Gibbons mentioned in connection with this work. Not by Dr. Leigh in his *Particular Description of Chatsworth*, dating from 1700, and naming Verrio; nor by Mackay, who published his *Tour Through England* in 1724. In fact, we have to await Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* to learn that "At Chatsworth are many ornaments by Gibbons, particularly in the chapel; in the great chamber are several dead fowl over the chimney, finely executed, and over a closet door a pen not distinguishable from real feather."² The authorship of the "dead fowl" we have already stated. As to the pen, Watson's pocket-book contained the design for the overdoor trophy in the State dressing-room, of



FIG. 215.—CHATSWORTH: DOORWAY FROM GREAT CHAMBER TO DRAWING-ROOM.

which this pen formed an item, being specially known in those parts as "Watson's pen." That woodwork so very similar in design and so perfect in execution should be produced except by Grinling Gibbons himself or under his eye was incredible to Walpole; therefore it could not be; therefore the work was Grinling Gibbons'; therefore he it was who "gave the Duke of Devonshire a carving of a point lace cravat and other still life after the completion of the work." For not one of these statements does Walpole appear to have had any



FIG. 216.—CHATSWORTH: THE STATE DRAWING-ROOM.



FIG. 217.—CHATSWORTH: THE STATE BEDROOM.

authority, and when the name of Watson was brought before him he scheduled him, without hesitation, among "several disciples and workmen," just as he did in the case of John Seldon (Page 186), and asserts that "Watson assisted chiefly at Chatsworth, where the boys and many of the ornaments in the chapel were executed by him."³

We first come across Watson at Chatsworth in 1691, when a paper was signed by him and one Thomas Young, saying they had agreed about payment for work done both at Chatsworth and at "Burley for my Lord of Exeter," and that this was "before Mr. Lobb

was Concerned." It is Lobb's name that comes first in the agreement for the Great Chamber carvings, which is as follows :

Sept^r the 9th 1692.

It was then Agreed between the Right Hon^{ble} the Earl of Devonshire & Joell Lobb & Will^m Davis & Sam^l Watson Carvers that for & in Consideration of one Hundred & 50 pound in hande paide and two Hundred and fifty pounds more to be devidid & paid at 3 Severall payments the said Joell Lobb & Will^m Davis & Sam^l Watson shall Carve y^e ornaments of Lime Wood worke for the greate Chamber According to the designe Approved by his Lord^{sh}, and shall finish y^e same By mid sumer next and shall performe y^e Worke in the Best manner: that it shall be as good or better than Any such Like worke is Hethertoo don and y^e worke to be Valued Afterwards, the worke is to be devidid into 3 Equall partes: and a third parte of y^e money to be paid when a third parte of y^e Worke is finisht and sett up: also it is intended y^t all the ornaments of the uper story shall be finisht by midsummer and also the Carving of y^e Cornish of the Hall as his Lord^{sh} hath directed: and all through Will^m Davis and Sam^l Watson are parties to this Agreement y^t it is intended to be upon y^e Accompt of their Masters Thomas Young and Joell Lobb.

Witness hereunto
James Whildon.

Joell Lobb
Will^m Davis
Sam^l Watson.

From the last sentence we gather that Davis was Lobb's man, and that Watson still held Young to be his master, although he took no part in this work and was probably an old man, now retired. The whole of the agreement, as it exists in the Chatsworth muniment-room, is in Watson's handwriting, including the signatures, so that it will be a copy of the original. James Whildon was the local agent or steward; but his surviving detailed accounts do not begin till 1700. At that time Watson was working in both wood and stone. In 1701 he is paid eighty-four pounds for thirteen urns on the top of the house and two pounds fifteen shillings for one on the chapel altar. In 1704 he receives fifty-five pounds for carving the west pediment. For carving woodwork on the upper storey of that same side of the house he receives sixty-seven pounds eight shillings and ninepence in the following year. His drawings are now in the Chatsworth muniment-room. They are often copies of things done by others, such as Laguerre's paintings and Cibber's statues and vases. Hence we cannot be certain that the wood-carvings depicted by his pencil were executed by him. There is a representation of the chimney-piece in the State bedroom (Fig. 217) that is very exact, except that it has doves where the winged boys' heads are. This inclines one to think that the drawing was made previous to the carving itself and was the design for it, and yet it would be a little rash and Walpolian to assert this. As we find Watson receiving payment for one of the pair of urns on the altar-piece he is certainly likely to have been concerned with other of its carved details, although the design will have been furnished by the architect and the statues sculptured by Cibber, while some wood-carver who thoroughly understood the human figure must have been responsible for the "boys" with musical instruments sitting on the pediments of the gallery doorways (Fig. 218). The composition and execution of these overdoors are sufficiently fine to make it doubtful whether any but Gibbons could design and sculpture them. It is not only possible but probable that this and some other sections of the Chatsworth carvings did come from Gibbons' workshop, but do not appear in the estate building accounts because they were paid direct by the owner as suggested also in the cases of Petworth and Belton (Page 190). Excellent in technique as are the Great Chamber carvings, they have not quite the forms and grouping of Gibbons' known designs, while the carving is a little harder in effect than his. The vista of doorways looking down the suite through the Great Chamber door (Fig. 215) shows that all these doorways belong to the same decorative scheme, and are by the same hand. But the chimney-pieces in the State drawing-room and bedroom (Figs. 216 and 217) more nearly approach Gibbons' true manner, although by no means conclusively so. The near approach may be the result of a clever carver thoroughly imbuing himself with the Gibbons spirit. The trumpeting boys on the drawing-room mantel-piece may merely be the result of a close study of those at Petworth. That the Chatsworth workers did study Gibbons appears from one of the drawings in the Watson collection at Chatsworth. It is a very careful pencil drawing of the altar-piece at St. James', Piccadilly (Fig. 146). But it seems not to be by Watson, for written below in ink is "Joseph Jaimes, Carpenter," and in the same handwriting verses, beginning :

In Each Soft Hour of Silent Night
Your image in my Dreams appears.

Love drove this seventeenth century carpenter to poetry, as it has done many an amorous swain in every age.

There are drawings, however, that are not only by Watson, but are concerned with his own carvings at Chatsworth. For instance, there is a sheet of studies of heron drawn and washed in ink, as are the Gibbons mantel-piece designs shown in Figs. 79 and 80. First Watson studied the live bird on the river bank, and then hung it up in different attitudes ready for a carved composition, such as we see on the Great Chamber chimney-piece.

Another drawing represents a long panel of C scrolls and wreaths with the Garter badge in the middle, and written under are the words: "4 panills of this same patron to be carved for the dining room above stairs in the panills w^{ch} are to be eleven inches broad and depth proporshonable: and one D' of eight inches broad: you are to leve 3 inch margent on each side from the moulding."

No doubt the Great Chamber, which is fifty feet long and thirty feet wide, was intended from the first as an eating-room for important feasts, and hence the customary fruit, fish and dead game. These panel carvings would be intended for between the windows, as at Badminton (Fig. 198). William III conferred the Garter on the Earl in 1689 and gave him a Dukedom in 1694.

Chatsworth is the most striking example of the powerful and all-pervading influence of Grinling Gibbons over the fellow craftsmen of his age. Before his advent on the scene we can find no wood-carving at all like his. After he became known many craftsmen went on for a considerable time on the old lines, City churches and halls furnishing us with numerous examples of this. But there were other and younger men who worshipped the rising star, and who, even when there seems to have been no direct association, zealously sought their inspiration from him.

Thus twenty years after Evelyn had found Gibbons in the lonely Deptford hut, Messrs. Watson, Lobb and Davies were able to produce work which was unhesitatingly set down to Gibbons by Horace Walpole, who certainly had a trained eye, and had a strong partiality for Gibbons as a decorative artist. A long and minute study of the Chatsworth carvings might produce certainty where doubt has been expressed here as to whether the undeniable, if slight, difference between the Great Chamber carvings and those of the chapel overdoors and drawing-room chimney-piece imply merely the evolution of the same hand or a different one, and that of Gibbons himself.



FIG. 218.—CHATSWORTH: ONE OF THE CHAPEL GALLERY DOORWAYS.

Certainly as to the point lace cravat there can be no doubt. Horace Walpole was right in attributing it to Gibbons, though he may only have guessed, and guessed wrongly, how it came to be at Chatsworth. As in the Cullen example (Fig. 75), the cravat is only an item of the composition, of which every part is typical of Gibbons' happy grouping and exquisite chisel. On the left side is a bird, of which the plumage has a softness and reality which separate it from the very accurate yet a little hard feathering of the great chamber dead game. Opposite the bird are flower and leaf of "airy lightness," and below there is a portrait medallion. The face is full, and its rather snub nose and heavy lips give it such resemblance to the Kneller and Closterman portraits of Gibbons as to lead to the conclusion that the artist carved his own likeness.

What has been said above as to the influence of Gibbons on his contemporaries is well shown not only at Chatsworth, but also of the carved work now at Hursley Park in Hampshire, although originally placed in the chapel of Winchester College. It is certainly not by Gibbons, for it lacks his individual touch. But it is admirable in design and technique, so that there is a great gulf placed between it and that in Farnham Castle Chapel, which is on exactly the same general scheme, but was executed, as we have seen (Page 23), before Gibbons' influence was felt.

The story of the migrations of these Winchester College carvings is as strange and pitiful as that of the Whitehall altar-piece (Page 126), but, luckily, less ruinously disastrous to the carvings themselves. The owner of Hursley in Victorian times was Sir William Heathcote, who



FIG. 219.—HURSLEY : CARVED WAINSCOTING IN THE HALL.
Formerly in Winchester College Chapel.



FIG. 220.—HURSLEY: SCREEN TO HALL.
Formerly in Winchester College Chapel.

though he became a Privy Councillor never took any leading part in public affairs. But in the High Church circles of fifty years ago he was well known as the life-long friend of John Keble, whom he presented to the Hursley living in 1836. When the poet-priest died, thirty years later, it was under Sir William's roof that the meeting took place at which it was resolved that an Oxford College should be built and endowed as the most

fitting monument to the author of the *Christian Year*. Mr. Butterfield, as a leading Gothic revivalist, was appointed architect to Keble College, and at much the same time the restoration of Winchester College Chapel was also entrusted to him. Hursley House is connected with both these examples of his architectural methods. The meeting held there was the origin of the first, and of the second the present appearance of the hall (Fig. 219) is a result. Butterfield was a man of much knowledge of, and real feeling for, his art. But his art covered a very small space bounded by the high wall of narrow

sympathies. To him architecture was the mode of building practised during a few generations in mediæval times. He seems to have been totally unable to appreciate the character or discern the merits of other styles. When, therefore, he was appointed to "restore" William of Wykeham's College Chapel at Winchester he had no doubt whatever in his own mind that any work to be found there dating later than the fifteenth century was mere rubbish, fit only to be cast out. The fact of its being a fine product of a fine style, and of its having historic interest in that particular place could not for a moment weigh in the balance. It was not Gothic. Therefore it must go.

It was a terrible thing that a man with such strangely contracted views should have been given a free hand in the Winchester Chapel, which was rich in those splendid examples of woodwork which we associate with the names of Wren and Grinling



FIG. 221.—HURSLEY: PANEL OF THE SCREEN.

Gibbons. During the last years of Charles II's reign Wren was busy at Winchester not only for the King, but for the Bishop. The scheme for a great Royal palace proved a fiasco. Only a small portion of it ever was built, and no Sovereign ever inhabited it. The same fate threatened the episcopal residence of Wolvesey, for Bishop Morley died before Wren had got far with it and his successor "never minded it." But the long eleven-windowed front that was completed is one of the most delightful of Winchester's buildings, and its chapel

screen is a well designed, though very plain, example of the day. In complete contrast with its simplicity is the rich decoration of the woodwork which was at the same period introduced into the College Chapel. The date on the rain-water head of Wren's hall at the



FIG. 222.—HURSLEY: DOORWAY AND PANELLING IN THE HALL.

College—known as “School”—is 1684, and the refitting of the chapel was, no doubt, undertaken then or rather later. Wren had a considerable number of similar undertakings on hand, of which the earliest was that at Pembroke College, Cambridge (Page 42). In the

later examples the hand of Grinling Gibbons sometimes appears in the carvings, as in the chapels of Trinity College, Oxford (Page 243), and of Hampton Court Palace (Page 238). But none of them excels in richness of carved work the former appearance of Winchester College Chapel.



FIG. 223.—COMPTON PARK: DINING-ROOM MANTEL.

Derbyshire (Fig. 206), where the string has the bay-leaf wreath ornament which was used on the entablature at Winchester College. Some fine examples of this highly modelled perforated work we have found occurring in college libraries where the doors to the compartments devoted to rare books and manuscripts are thus contrived. Attention has

At Hampton Court there is little decoration except in the friezes and bench-ends. At Chelsea Hospital (Fig. 170) there is richness about the chancel, and there are some beautifully executed perforated panels to the altar railing. The same scheme of perforation, carried to its highest pitch, appears in two large panels to the screen at Trinity College, Oxford (Fig. 138). But it was nowhere used more freely or executed more briskly than at Winchester, where the screen had six of such panels of large size and smaller ones in the double doors (Fig. 220). The altar rails were carried out in the same manner, and the great scrolls of acanthus foliage varied by flowers are practically the same design as that used on the staircase at Sudbury Hall in

already been drawn to the crisp carving and finished technique of those at Queen's College, Oxford (Fig. 142), although they are open to the adverse criticism that they were not typical of wood-carving, but give the impression that the designer had in mind the wrought-iron grilles of Tijou and his English followers. The same may be said of those of the screen originally at Winchester (Fig. 221). Now, Wren is said to have been responsible for the design of the Queen's College Library, although his assistant, Hawksmore, had so much to do with it as to be named its architect. Hawksmore, however, was everywhere Wren's understudy, at Winchester no less than at St. Paul's (Page 101), and there is nothing more likely than that the same carver was employed in Winchester Chapel as in the Oxford library. In both places there is the same perfection of technique, the same masterly handling, but a slight lack of that wonderful feeling for the exact poise, texture and even movement of Nature's growths which Gibbons possessed and was able in high degree to transmit to wood.

The sumptuousness of the Winchester woodwork was by no means limited to what were the ante-chapel screen and the altar rails. The walls of the chapel were lined, not with plain panelling, as at Hampton Court and Chelsea Hospital, but with a highly enriched wainscoting. The scheme was very much the same as at Farnham, where Bishop Morley, who started the building of the Wolvesey Palace in 1683, had made large alterations before 1672 (Page 23). The somewhat coarse handling of the wood-carvings in the Farnham Chapel is typical of the pre-Gibbons period, and is in strong contrast to that of the College Chapel. But the designs are quite similar. The large panels are bordered with carved acanthus mouldings and are surrounded, where they meet the stile, with a narrow moulding, which breaks at the top to enclose a space sufficiently large for a display of ornament, and yet leaving an interspace wide enough for an important carved *motif*, from which depends a long, narrow garland that enriches the stile. At Farnham winged cherub heads support the garlands, while crossed "palm" branches occupy the panel spaces. At Winchester College bay-leaf wreaths and swags of drapery and flowers replace the cherubs and palm, but the general disposition is the same, and the chief contrast is in the very superior technique which the Winchester work shows. The effect is admirable in the Hursley hall, but that is but mitigation of the sorrow caused by its having been torn from its original and intended site, and of the astonishment aroused by the possibility of such vandalism in a civilised society.

Facts, however, must be faced. Mr. Butterfield, one of the leading architectural authorities of his time, was convinced that meanly designed and contemptibly wrought imitations of Gothic work were infinitely to be preferred to the real and original products of the best hands and hands of one of the most living and learned periods of English architecture. He saw neither beauty, use nor value in it. The whole was carted away and a merely nominal price given. The oak needed to produce it could hardly have been purchased for the money. It passed through several hands, and was owned by Mr. George Hubbard when the work of refitting Hursley was in hand. Sir William Heathcote had outlived his friend and rector fifteen years, and the meeting at Hursley had resulted in a fully built Keble College before he died in 1881. Agricultural depression had already set in, and Hursley had to be sold by his successor in 1899. For half-a-dozen years it was in the possession of Mr. Joseph Baxendale, but a second sale transferred it to Sir George Cooper in 1905. He, before long, instituted very extensive works of enlargement and redecoration, and the proposal to purchase the discarded Chapel fittings and set them in a hall of much the same date and style appealed to him. The work was carried out most successfully. The entrance door on a lower level enabled the altar railings to be introduced on the steps and landing in front of the screen which separates the vestibule from the hall proper, where the fine doorways and the sumptuously enriched wainscoting (Fig. 222) are perfectly at home.

But between the casting out by Butterfield and the setting up again by Sir George Cooper distressful years passed over the discarded and despised carvings. In 1912 Butterfield's work in the Winchester College Chapel was in its turn being condemned, and an interest in what the Chapel had lost was revived. The *Morning Post* told the story, and mentioned that "the ancient panelling was begged by a Wykehamist for his own private chapel, but that subsequently he abandoned his project and sold the woodwork." A letter was at once



FIG. 224.—COMPTON PARK: NORTH DOORWAY OF THE DINING-ROOM.

written by Dr. Yeatman-Bigge, Bishop of Worcester, which the *Morning Post* published on January 3rd, 1912, and which ran as follows :

I am the Wykehamist in question. When I was at school I was not learned in art, but I admired the chapel woodwork, especially the screen with its fine pierced panels and the doorway surmounted by its broken pediment and the founder's head and mitre. On returning to the school I was distressed to find this valuable work partly piled in the open air, partly stored in a loft, and partly cut up as a screen for the organ bellows. I therefore asked whether I might acquire it, as my brother and I wished to fit up a disused private chapel in my home in Wiltshire. Thus I possessed it. Subsequently it was found to be too large both in quantity and design for that purpose. Presently others besides myself began to recognise that very fine work had been removed in favour of what, at all events, cannot be described as equally meritorious, and I offered the College the opportunity of having it back. This was refused. Later on I offered it to Bishop Thorold for Farnham Castle, thinking that if it could not be used in the founder's College it might be used in his residence. But Sir Arthur Blomfield would not have it. I then proposed it for St. Paul's Cathedral. Again without result. My next effort to place the woodwork worthily was to again offer it to the College in the hope that it might be used for the Quincentenary Library. Once more it was declined. After these disappointments I began to fear that it would meet with the same fate down in Wiltshire that I had saved it from in Winchester and that it would perish by neglect. So I informed the Governing Body that I saw no other course than to sell it to someone who would value it, and this proposal met with their assent. I therefore disposed of it for a moderate sum to my friend and neighbour, the late Lord Heytesbury. After this I heard no more about it till Dr. Fearon informed me that he had seen it at a dealer's—I think in Cheltenham—who had sold it for a very large sum for Hursley. My whole course from the first was to save a valuable work of art, made more valuable by its associations, and finding that I could not use it as I first intended, my principal hope was to get it back to the old school when the tide turned and its value became recognised. In this I failed, but I did not trouble the public with these details because I did not wish to bring odium on the Governing Body of the day, who had kindly met my wish to preserve the work in the early years. . . . I am comforted by the reflection that my action saved a fine piece of artistic



FIG. 225.—COMPTON PARK: SOUTH DOORWAY OF THE DINING-ROOM.

work, but I should have been happier if I had been more successful, and had lived to see it go back to the place for which it was designed.

Within a few miles of the old Wiltshire manor house, where this distinguished Wykehamist had intended to find a resting-place for the derelict fittings of his school chapel, lies Compton Park. The dining-room presents a very complete example of carved and enriched wainscoting of the period of Grinling Gibbons, but of a character that continues on the old lines without feeling his influence to at all the same extent as the Chatsworth and Winchester College woodwork. It calls to mind the Brown Room at Tredegar (Fig. 31), attributed to the early years of the Restoration, rather than the State Apartments at Hampton Court Palace or the Great Chamber at Petworth, which mark the climax of Gibbons' own work.

Compton is the old home of the Penruddocks, and from it John Penruddock set out for the abortive rising against Cromwell's government in 1655 which cost him his life.

The fine Late Renaissance decorative work that we find at Compton shows us that this tragedy did not bring ruin in its train upon the descendants of the victim of the rising of 1655. "Colonel" John Penruddock's son, Thomas, appears to have been about thirty years of age when Charles II came to his own in 1660. We find him sitting in Parliament as Member for Wilton as late as 1688; but the family pedigree, although it informs us that he died at Compton, does not give us the date of that event, and his name, strangely enough, is omitted from the marble tablet in the church which records the successive deaths of many owners of Compton and of their wives and children. But it is probable that this Thomas, and not his son of the same name, who lived on till 1741, is he who refitted much of the house.

In the library we find a plaster ceiling and a wooden mantel-piece and wainscoting of reserved ornamentation, but of excellent design, belonging to the period of William III. Of the same period, but much more elaborate, is the great dining-room. It is wainscoted in oak from floor to ceiling. The panels are of the immense size that the joiners at the time knew how to construct out of native oak, although even then they preferred that from Dantzic and Norway for the purpose. The panels that, with the fireplace (Fig. 223), occupy the long west side of the room are each four feet three inches wide, and are composed of six hoards, of which even now the joints are in many cases difficult to discern. Flanking the great doorways at each end of the room are even wider panels, for they are five feet six inches across. The doorways (Figs. 224 and 225) are the very centres of the decorative scheme. The pilasters that separate them from the side panels are enriched with drops in the same manner as the mantel-piece now in the Bristol Library (Fig. 168), but the carving of the drops is by no means as fine. In this home of Royalists we might have expected to find the much-used oak leaf as a leading *motif* in the foliage. It is, however, entirely absent, and the bay leaf is used intermingled with fruits, such as grapes and pomegranates; flowers, such as tulips and lilies; and farm produce, such as hops and wheat. These "drops," which occur also on each side of the overmantel, and the great cartouches framing shields that rise above the doorway pediments, are made of a soft wood—pine so far as one may judge beneath the coating of stain and varnish with which this fine work is most unfortunately bedaubed. Such carvings were often sculptured in London and brought down ready to set in the place prepared for them by the joiners, who erected the whole of the oakwork. The Compton dining-room is very untouched, the marble opening in the fireplace, with its great roll moulding, being much the same as we find at Hampton Court and other houses of the William III period. Yet the scrolled frieze above it, with a mask in the centre, shows, together with the plaster-work in the ceiling, some tendency towards the rococo style which came from France in Queen Anne's reign. The heraldry over the two doorways explains this leaning towards a rather later style of certain portions of the decorations. The shields show the arms of Penruddock impaling in the one case Freke and in the other case Hanham. Now, it was the elder Thomas Penruddock who married a Freke, and he it will be who is principally responsible for fitting this room. But his son, the younger Thomas, whose wife was a sister of Sir W. Hanham, probably completed the work and set up the second shield.



FIG. 226.—RIBSTON HALL: A CARVED PANEL.

At Ribston in Yorkshire there is work of the same calibre, but associated with a newer get up. The panel over the mantel-piece (Fig. 226) has the same great cartouche of arms as those at Compton. It was a decorative mode which Inigo Jones carried on from Jacobean times and which his followers retained. At Tredegar, Brewer's Hall and Farnham Chapel we have come across them in variety. To Grinling Gibbons they clearly did not appeal. We only find them in his early work, such as the Cassiobury dining-room (Fig. 61), and even there they are small and subservient to his wreaths and swags, instead of dominating them as at Ribston. There the drops are rigid and solidly carved, like work of the years immediately following 1660, but there is more freedom in the flower and dead bird swags in the panel. They were the output of a man who was aware of Gibbons' achievements in his craft, but whose mind and hand could not compete with the master.

REFERENCES IN CHAPTER XVI.

¹Allen Cunningham: *Lives of British Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, III, p. 10.

²Horace Walpole: *Anecdotes of Painting*, Ed. 1763, III, p. 85.

³Do. do. do. p. 87.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CLOSE OF THE GRINLING GIBBONS PERIOD.

OUR task is almost complete, for there is little to be said of Gibbons' declining years. Fashions change more rapidly than habits, and public favourites who have held complete sway over the first generation that knew them find themselves slighted and ignored by the generation that is young and dominant in their old age. This is no less true of architecture and the allied arts than of other outlets to human thought and fancy. When the victor of Blenheim was to have a great house built for him at a grateful country's expense Wren's plans were set aside in favour of those of Vanbrugh. A few years more and still worse befel the veteran, for at the Hanoverian succession he was displaced as Comptroller of the Works by a nonentity. Gibbons, indeed, continued as King's carver in name, but we have no recorded work of him executed under George I either for ruler or subject. The Burlingtonian school of architects, founding themselves on the style of Inigo Jones and largely using his surviving drawings, prevailed. They preferred that more conventional and architectural mode in decoration which Gibbons had discarded. Moreover they had a leaning towards stone and plaster as materials rather than wood, and were wont to paint the last named when they used it. So that, although Gibbons lived on till 1720, he belongs to the seventeenth and not to the eighteenth century. Whether he entirely rested on his laurels and lived retired amid the pictures and works of art in his Bow Street house during his last years is not known. But he is not likely to have altered his style or given a new direction to his workshops, and therefore, as we find really nothing which we can confidently attribute to him during the last decade of



FIG. 227.—SALOON CHIMNEY-PIECE, LYME.

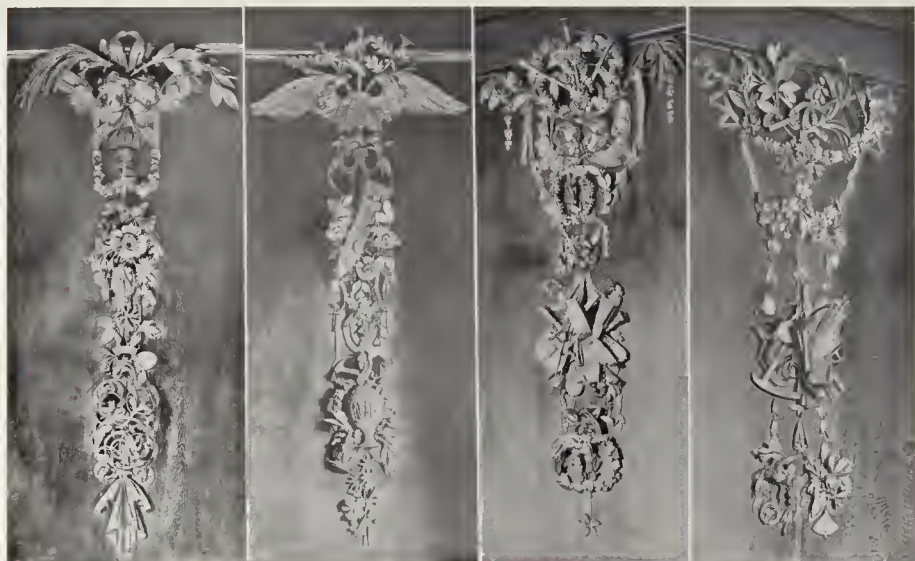


FIG. 228.—PANELS IN SALOON AT LYME HALL, CHESHIRE, 1726.

his life, we are justified in supposing that, seeing himself passed by in favour of younger men with new notions, he decided on the well earned repose which the means he had accumulated during forty years of successful labour enabled him to enjoy in ease and comfort.

The woodwork in Hampton Court Palace Chapel has already been set down as the latest production of Gibbons of which the date is positively known. It belongs to the year 1710—that is, a decade before Gibbons' death. It is just possible that he in some measure continued busy during that time, and, moreover, we occasionally come across fine examples of wood-carving, only slightly distinguishable from his, of which the date appears later than that of his death. But its halcyon days were over; its fullest and richest time being during the reign of William III, when not only did the St. Paul's Choir and the Hampton Court State apartments receive their ornamentation, but such great houses as Belton, Petworth and Chatsworth were being fitted. Under Queen Anne a somewhat more formal and decorative manner and a return to conventional scrollwork began to assert itself, and this grew stronger under George I, when plaster very frequently displaced wood as the material for ornamented wall linings. That makes survivals all the more interesting, and such, in all probability, is the saloon at Lyme Hall in Cheshire, where the carvings in six of the great wainscoted panels are traditionally set down as the work of Gibbons. But the



FIG. 229.—MANTEL-PIECE, ADMIRALTY.

great alterations which gave a Palladian character to this Elizabethan house were not carried out by Leoni until about the year 1726, a little later than the incipience of his reconstruction of Moor Park (Page 219). The general arrangement and decorative design of the saloon at Lyme must most certainly be put down to him, and as the carvings so exactly fit the panels that they are an absolutely integral part of the decorative scheme, it may be that they date from the years that immediately followed Gibbons' death. Yet we find here in the kissing amorini, the whorled scroll, the groups of musical implements, the hanging vase, the primrose wreaths, the bunches of natural flowers and fruits, including even nut-husks and split pea-pods, all the same ingredients that were most favoured by Gibbons.

On the other hand, it must be observed that the arrangement is rather more sparse and diffuse than is found in known designs by Gibbons, who, moreover, surrounded the panels with such work or set it as drops in wide stiles between them rather than placed it within panels. In fact, he never did so, except between windows, as in the dining-rooms of Cassiobury (Page 70) and Badminton (Fig. 198). But the Italian plasterers, so much employed by Gibbs, Leoni, Kent, Ripley and other early eighteenth century architects, did fill panels in this way, and used instruments and imple-



FIG. 230.—MANTEL, LARGE DRAWING-ROOM AT MAWLEY HALL.

ments combined with ribbons more commonly than fruit and flowers wreathed together and designed in a rather diffuse manner. The conclusion, therefore, is not unnatural that the saloon panels at Lyme date from Leoni's time and were carried out by a follower of Grinling Gibbons well schooled in his manner, but open to newer influences.

To this set of panels belong the wreaths and drops set on the broad stiles of the large panel over the fireplace, but not the carving within the looking-glass frame that is in the panel. The eye that has accustomed itself to catch shades of divergence in similar objects at once detects

such a *nuance* here. The frame carvings possess the exact characteristics of Gibbons; the others show a departure from them, and the departure not of an individual hand, but of an influence permeating a craft. Carvings such as are in the frame we no longer find under the early Hanoverians; we do find something similar to the others, but wrought in plaster. There is no difficulty in explaining why these slightly varying decorations are juxtaposed. Their coincidence is recent. The frame was, until lately, in the London house of the family. The actual frame is probably of the period of Leoni, who, with Kent and the other Burlingtonians, was very fond of the wave *motif* which forms its inner gilt border. It will not have been made for the Gibbons' carvings now affixed to the plain portions of its surface, which, in order to accommodate these carvings, have trespassed upon this wave ornament. Yet though not in their original place, the carvings, and some similar ones in the dining-room, may very well have been intended for Lyme. Lyme is the old home of the Leghs, a Legh of Lyme having been a friend of Richard II. The house was rebuilt under Elizabeth, and was not again much altered until Leoni's time. But Richard Legh, who was in possession in Charles II's reign, was, in a modest way, influenced by the contemporary rebuilding wave which revolutionised the great houses which have been the subject of the last three chapters. His brother-in-law, Sir John Chicheley, lived in London, and transacted matters there for him as well as kept him informed of town events and gossip. Thus, under date of November 8th, 1684, we find in a letter from Chicheley to Legh dealing with various business points the following sentence: "I shall talke Mr Gibbons concerned a peece of Carved worke." It is allowable to surmise that this transaction was carried through and resulted in the above mentioned carvings. Their presence at Lyme may have led to a wish, forty years later, to see something more of the same kind, and hence the panel decorations on the saloon walls, around its chimney-piece panel and over one of its doorways (now filled in with looking-glass), where we find light wreathing and drops about an oblong horizontal panel having the family crest in the centre, with grapes and other fruitage on one side and on the other a group of objects including watches and a medallion. All this is in the same rather thin, sparse manner as the panel decorations, and should be attributed to the post-Gibbons day of the Leoni alterations. Another of the scarce examples of such survival of the Gibbons style is at Mawley Hall in Shropshire. It was entirely new built by Sir Edward Blount a year or two later than Leoni's Lyme Hall alterations. It is a splendid bit of Early Georgian building, most sumptuously decorated, and it has only in very small matters of detail been altered since the day when Sir Edward completed it. Plaster is, as we should expect, more prominent as a decorative medium than wood, and it has been used richly and audaciously in the halls. But the two drawing-rooms are fitted with wood, the one a very elaborate and rare example of inlaying, and the other of enriched oak wainscotings, still, like the Lyme saloon, resting on the traditions of the preceding generation. We get the fluted Corinthian pilasters and columns supporting an entablature with modillioned cornice that we found in the Badminton dining-room (Fig. 197), and the family portrait above the fireplace (Fig. 230) has a "frame" founded on the Gibbons style, but departing from it in the choice and arrangement of its parts. There is little use of swags and drops of fruit and flowers naturalistically used. Rococo scrolls show themselves, and martial implements and musical instruments are much to the fore. Yet the floral tradition is sufficiently strong to effect a lodgment on the overdoors, capitals and frieze.

Again a few years and Ripley was architect to the new Admiralty building. The Board Room was lined with oak and had fluted Corinthian pilasters supporting a modillioned cornice, just as we have seen at Lyme and Mawley. Above the fireplace is a wind gauge, as in William III's Gallery at Kensington, and it is enframed with carvings. Here nautical instruments and weapons predominate, but the Gibbons tradition is stronger than in Sir Edward Blount's drawing-room. The crown above the palm leaves reminds us of Petworth (Fig. 180), the hanging fishes are quite in the Gibbons manner and the drops are bunched as he would have designed them. At this same date one Mr. Cossin was building a small but highly finished chapel at Redland on the outskirts of Bristol. The little chancel has a large framed picture over the altar-table, and on each side of it a pair of framed panels (Fig. 231). All these are surrounded with very fine carvings in the manner of Gibbons, and the whole get-up is in the

manner of Queen Anne rather than in that of George II.

The bunches of flower and foliage that occur below the frames (Fig. 232) between ribbon knots tied with a tasselled cord are delicately carved in soft wood left untouched as Gibbons would have had it. They are glued and bradded on to the oak background, as are likewise the numerous drops where flowers are less prominent, and, besides palm branches and bay sprigs, open books, folded sheets of paper, trumpets, torches, and in one instance a bishop's mitre, are to be found. About the picture and also on the dado there are cherub heads (Fig. 234). They certainly show a decline since the days of Gibbons. They are rather insipid and have nothing of the living expression and delicious and varied pose that we find in St. Paul's.

Soon after the Redland Chapel was complete, Mr. Tyndal, a wealthy citizen of Bristol, built himself a stately house, known as The Fort, just above the city. It remains intact in the hands of his descendant. Most of the ornament is of plaster in the rococo and Chinese Chippendale styles. But, while such is present in the dining room, we here also find swags and drops, executed in wood, although always meant to be painted, which are reminiscent of Gibbons' manner. The drops are similar to those at Kirklington (Fig. 213).

Such occasional survivals, by their very rarity, help to prove how individual was the style which we rightly—inevitably indeed—label with the name of its one great exponent.



FIG. 232.—DETAILS OF CARVING, REDLAND CHAPEL, BRISTOL, 1740.



FIG. 231.—REDLAND CHAPEL: SOUTH SIDE OF APSE. CIRCA 1740.

It came with him and went with him, and though it is well to be correct and make every effort to differentiate the produce of his chisel and workshop from other contemporary work, it is very excusable for the unlearned to apply indiscriminately the name of Grinling Gibbons to the whole of it.

It is therefore fitting to both begin and end this account of the woodwork of his age with a portrait of the man. The frontispiece reproduces a print by the contemporary mezzotinter, John Smith, from the Kneller

portrait. We know from Horace Walpole that after Gibbons' death in 1720 "his considerable collection was sold." It was very likely then that Horace's father, Sir Robert, bought this picture, which was one of the Houghton Collection which the third Lord Orford sold to the Czarina Catherine, and which is now at the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. Horace Walpole thought much of this canvas, and held that Sir Godfrey had "shown himself as great in that portrait as the man who sat to him."² The portrait that closes the book (Fig. 233) is by Closterman, who, as we learn from the same source, "drew Gibbons the carver and his wife in one piece which pleased."² She is dressed in a low-cut silk gown and plays with a string of pearls. He is the same in look and dress as he appears under Kneller's brush, but is a trifle stouter in the face. He rests his left arm on a great slab of marble, on which he has been sculpturing some of his favourite boys. John Closterman was of Osnaburgh, and came to England to paint drapery for Riley, who was a good, if not a fashionable, portrait painter. After his death in 1691 Closterman obtained some vogue, and was employed by the Dukes of Marlborough and Somerset. Perhaps it was this connection with the owner of Petworth that led to his painting the author of its famous carvings.

REFERENCE IN CHAPTER XVII.

¹ Information given to the author by Lady Newton.

² Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1763, III, p. 86.



FIG. 233.—GRINLING GIBBONS AND HIS WIFE.

From a mezzotint by John Smith after a picture by John Closterman.



FIG. 234.—CONSOLE, REDLAND
CHAPEL, BRISTOL.

INDEX.

Note.—The large numerals indicate ILLUSTRATIONS of the subjects indexed, and refer not to the figure numbers, but to the PAGES on which illustrations will be found. The small numerals indicate REFERENCES in the TEXT.

- Abbotstone, Gibbons employed at, by the Duke of Bolton, 202; wainscoting and Gibbons' carvings at, transferred to Hackwood Park, 203.
- Acanthus, **15, 30, 53, 68, 69, 70, 91, 92, 103, 106, 106, 107, 117, 119, 122, 120, 132, 137, 138, 147, 150, 151, 159, 171, 177, 181, 186, 210, 214, 215, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235.**
- Admiralty, carvings at the, 244; mantel-piece in **242, 244**; statue of James II at, **93, 94.**
- Aisle screens at St. Paul's, **116, 117, 119.**
- Aldersgate, sculpture of James I on, **48.**
- Aldrich, Dr., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, **143.**
- All Hallows Barking, font cover in, **165**; pulpit at, **18, 19.**
- All Hallows Lombard Street, altar-piece in, **155**; mention of "Miller, carver" in accounts, **163**; pulpit in, **158**; sounding board in, **158.**
- All Hallows the Great, pulpit of, and screen in, removed to St. Margaret Lothbury, **160, 161.**
- All Souls' College, Gibbons' drawings of mantel-pieces at, **135**; Wren's designs for Memorial to Charles I preserved at, **86, 88**; Wren's drawings at, referred to, **124, 139.**
- Altar at Whitehall Chapel, **22, 125, 126, 127, 128.**
- Altar belustrade, pierced and modelled panels in, **19, 70.**
- Altar-pieces in Chapel at Trinity College, Oxford, **143, 144, 145, 146**; in All Hallows Lombard Street, **155**; in St. James' Piccadilly, **156, 156, 157, 157**; in St. Margaret Pattens, **155, 155**; in St. Mary Abchurch, **154, 154**; in St. Mildred Bread Street, **155**; in St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, **153**; in St. Stephen Walbrook, **155**; St. Vedast Foster, **153**; form of, in the City churches, **155.**
- Altar rails at St. Peter and St. Paul at Mecklin, **95.**
- Amorini, **19, 30, 39, 42, 49, 99, 104, 109, 125, 126, 128, 129, 129, 130, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138, 148, 171, 172, 173, 180, 182, 184, 184, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 204, 205, 216, 217, 217, 218, 218, 228, 227, 228, 234**; Gibbons' fondness for carving, **77**; on carved frame at Cassiobury, **76, 76.**
- Amsterdam, decorations in the Stadthuys, **22**; drops from the Stadthuys, **21, 22**; Stadthuys at, now Royal Palace, **21**; Stadthuys begun in **1648, 21**; swags from the Stadthuys, **20, 22.**
- Anatomy, lack of knowledge of, in fifteenth century wood-carving, **1.**
- Ancaster, Duchess of, portrait of, at Belton, **201.**
- Andrews, Ambrose, carving by, for Carpenters' Company, **28.**
- Anecdotes of Painting, account of William Emmett in, **58**; Life of Grinling Gibbons in, **46**; reference to Petworth in, quoted, **186**; quoted, **51, 225.**
- Animal, Bird, Fish, Flower, Fruit, etc., forms, carved, **10, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 49, 52, 53, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 61, 62, 63, 64, 64, 65, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 96, 99, 100, 104, 108, 109, 113, 123, 125, 128, 129, 129, 131, 132, 132, 133, 134, 135, 135, 136, 137, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 142, 143, 147, 148, 150, 154, 155, 156, 156, 157, 157, 158, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 167, 168, 168, 169, 169, 170, 171, 171, 172, 174, 174, 175, 175, 179, 180, 180, 181, 181, 182, 184, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 192, 193, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 204, 205, 206, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 216, 217, 217, 219, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 245.**
- Anne, Queen, George Vertue, engraver of portraits for Sir Godfrey Kneller under, **45.**
- Antiquities of Middlesex, by Bowack, quoted, **94.**
- Antwerp, Quellin's work mostly done at, **95.**
- Ara Coeli Church, Rome, pulpit in, **19.**
- Arbury, Archbishop Laud's cabinet at, **6, 9**; chapel door at, **24, 24**; drops in chapel at, **24, 24**; Gibbons' agreements relating to monuments preserved at, **190**; monuments at, **94.**
- Archbishop Laud, his arms on fireplace at St. John's College, **6, 8**; his cabinet at Arbury, **6, 9**; his work at St. John's College, Oxford, **6.**
- Architecture, Gothic, under George IV, **64.**
- Architraves, **106, 167, 168, 184, 184, 203, 215**; by Gibbons at various places compared, **106**; in Skinners' Hall, **167**; at Vintners' Hall, **168.**
- Arlington, Lord, succeeded by Joseph Williams as Secretary of State, **55**; visit of, with Evelyn, to Gibbons' house at Bow Street, **53.**
- Arms (see also Heraldic Devices) in Cedar Room of Skinners' Hall, **168**; in New River Company's offices, **169, 169**; Penhalow coat of, in room from Clifford's Inn, **171, 172**; Royal, in Chelsea Hospital, **178**; in St. Margaret Pattens, **155**; in St. Peter Cornhill carved by Thomas Poulteney and Thomas Askew, **160, 163**; in screen in St. Margaret Lothbury, **161, 163.**
- Art of the Plasterer, The, Mr. Bankart's, referred to, **102.**
- Arundel, Jonathan Ritson's carvings at, **195.**
- Ashburnham House, date of, uncertain, **29**; staircase at, **30, 167**; woodwork at, painted, **30.**
- Ashmole, Elias, appointed Windsor Herald, **46**; his interest in astrology, **46**; his "Nativity" of Grinling Gibbons, **46, 46**; letter from Gibbons to, **46, 47.**
- Askew, Thomas, and Thomas Poulteney, carvers of Royal Arms in St. Peter Cornhill, **163**; Liveryman of Joiners' Company, **163.**
- Audience Chamber at Windsor, carved frames in the, **60, 61, 63**; carvings over doorways in, **63.**
- Austin, Cornelius, carver, **140.**
- Badminton, chimney-pieces at, **206**; drops in dining-room at, **70**; Gibbons' carvings at, **206**; reconstructed by the Marquess of Worcester, afterwards Duke of Beaufort, **206**; Sir Peter Lely's portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort at, **206.**
- Balusters, **103, 158, 167, 180**; decorated, at Ashburnham House, **30**; replaced by pierced panels, **19.**
- Bankart, Mr., his *The Art of the Plasterer*, referred to, **102.**
- Bargello, the, Florence, Gibbons' carving in, **66.**
- Barges, Royal, carving and decoration of, **48.**
- Barking, All Hallows, **18, 19, 165.**
- Barlow, Thomas, Provost of Queen's College, his arms in library, **150.**
- Barrow, Dr. Isaac, arms of, in library at Trinity College, Cambridge, **141, 142**; Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, **139.**
- Barry, Sir C., his work at Vintners' Hall, **168.**
- Basing House, built by a Marquess of Winchester, **202.**
- Basket, used in his designs, by Gibbons, **91.**
- Basket of flowers, carved, **184, 184, 192, 193, 214**; at Petworth, **188, 189, 190**; in Chelsea Hospital Chapel, **180**; in libraries at Cassiobury, **75.**
- Bathurst, Dr., Head of Trinity College, Oxford, **143.**
- Bay leaf replaced by oak leaf and acorn by Royalists, **38.**
- Beauchamp, Ephraim, master-mason, at St. Paul's, **198.**
- Beaufort, the Duke of, Sir Peter Lely's portrait of, at Badminton, **207**; Badminton reconstructed by, when Marquess of Worcester, **206**; his house at Badminton, referred to, **186.**
- Bedlam, figures at, sculptured by Gains Gibber, **98.**
- Belton, acquired by Richard Brownlow, **198**; alterations to, in **1777, 198**; arrangement of rooms at, **201**; built by Sir John Brownlow, **198**; carvings in chapel gallery at, **199, 201**; chimney-pieces in hall at, **194, 195, 201**; composition of carving at, referred to, **95**; Gibbons' architraves and cornices at, **106**; Gibbons' carvings at, **186, 201**; Gibbons' work at, referred to, **9, 61**; Mr. Rogers' method of preserving carvings at, **198**; reference to laying of first stone at, in steward's accounts, **198**; Wren's connection with, **198.**
- Bentham, *History of Ely* by, referred to, **159.**
- Berkeley House, designed by Hugh May, destruction of, **173.**
- Berkeley, Lord, his house designed by Hugh May, **174.**
- Bettenot, chief actor in Davenants' Company, **48.**
- Beverley Minster, font cover at, **159, 162.**
- Biography, *The Dictionary of National Life of Gibbons in*, referred to, **51, 88.**
- Birch, Mr. George, his book on Wren churches referred to, **162.**
- Bird, Francis, sculptures at St. Paul's by, **98.**
- Birkbeck, his association with Mr. Rogers, **197**; his repairs to Gibbons' carvings at Burleigh, **197.**
- Bishop's Throne at St. Paul's, **105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 114, 118, 120.**

- Blackiston, Dr., present head of Trinity College, Oxford, 143.
 Blenheim, Edward Strong's work at, 98.
 Bloodworth, Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor at time of the Great Fire of London, 168.
 Bloomsbury, St. George's, Nicholas Hawksmore, architect of, 100.
 Board of Admiralty, the, Deptford, formerly the meeting-place of, 48.
 Bodleian Library, Oxford, arrangement of bookcases in, 140; letter from Gibbons to Ashmole in, 46, 47.
 Bohemia, Queen of, portrait of, by Honthorst at Hampton Court, 135.
 Bohun (see also Boone), Christopher, referred to by Evelyn, 54; his house at Lee, referred to, 170.
 Bolection moulding, 136, 137, 138, 169, 201, 220, 222.
 Bolton, the Duke of, Bolton Hall built by, 202; Gibbons employed at Abbotstone by the, 202; the Marquess of Winchester created, 202.
 Bolton Hall, built by the Duke of Bolton, 202.
 Boone (or Bohun), Christopher, his clock referred to by Evelyn, 77; his house at Lee, referred to, 170.
 Bow Street, Christopher Bohun visits Gibbons at, 54; Gibbons' house in, 45, 53.
 Bowack, his *Antiquities of Middlesex*, 94.
 Boyton, walnut wood used for wainscoting at, 4.
 Brangwyn, Mr., his paintings in Skinner's Hall, 166.
 Brewers' Company, William Whiting, the designer of Brewers' Hall, 43.
 Brewers' Hall, built by Captain Cane, 43; condition of, 43, 166; designed by William Whiting, 43; doorway in, 43, 44; east end of, measured drawing of, 40, 43; gateway of, 43; mantel-piece in, 43, 44; screen in, 42, 43; the parlour in, 43; wainscoting in, 43; west end of, measured drawing of, 40, 43.
 Bristol Library, mantel-piece presented by Michael Beecher to the, 174, 174, 175, 238.
 Britton and Brayley, reference to Hackwood Park, quoted, 202, 203.
 Browne, Sir Richard, father-in-law of John Evelyn, 50.
 Brownlow, Richard, his possession of Belton, 198.
 Brownlow, Sir John, Belton built by, 198.
 Brussels, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, carving at, 95.
 Buccleugh, Countess of, afterwards Duchess of, 218.
 Buccleugh, the Duchess of, marble mantel-pieces carved by Gibbons for, 94, 190, 218, 218, 220, 221, 222.
 Buckingham House, designed by Wynn, destruction of, 173.
 Builder, *The*, account of a Gibbons' carving at Modena in, 66; correspondence in, as to Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen*, 51.
 Building up of layers of wood for carving, 51, 61, 93, 180, 201.
 Burdett-Coutts, Baroness, Gibbons' carving of lace cravat bought by, 83.
 Burgers, engraver of plates of Queen's College Library, 150.
 Burling, Brillbeck's repairs to Gibbons' carvings at, 197.
 Burlington, Lord, decadence of English joinery in time of, 12.
 Burlingtonian School of Architects, referred to, 241.
 Burnham, Whitehall Palace altar re-erected in Parish Church at, 126, 127, 128.
 Bush Hill Park, Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen* removed to, 51.
 Butterfield, Mr., his restoration of Winchester College Chapel, 232, 235; woodwork in Winchester College Chapel removed by, 235.
 Cabinet, carved, at Arbury, 6, 9.
 Cambridge, Pembroke College Chapel, 54, 58.
 Camden, Viscount, tomb of, by Gibbons, 94.
 Cannons, staircase from, re-erected in Lord Chesterfield's house in Mayfair, 51.
 Canterbury Close, doors in, 18, 38, 39, 39, 43.
 Capel, Arthur, Lord, Father of Earl of Essex, 68.
 Capel, Lady, portrait of, at Cassiobury, 70.
 Carey Street, doorway from house in, 180, 182.
 Carnarvon, Lady, portrait of, at Cassiobury, 75.
 Carpenters, attempt to define the sphere of, 2; Charter of Incorporation of, 1; fixed furniture deemed to be work for, 2; importance of, in Saxon times, 1; joiners or, permitted to lay a deal floor, 2; limited in 1672 to plain constructional work, 3; their quarrel with joiners, 2; wages of those employed in the building of St. Paul's, 98.
 Carpenters' Company, new buildings of the, in 1664, 26; old buildings of the, 26.
 Carpenters' Hall, destruction of, 26, 166.
 Carpentry, development of, in Middle Ages, 1.
 Cartouches, 6, 18, 26, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 70, 77, 80, 90, 150, 178, 181, 212, 238, 240.
 Carvers—Cornelius Austin, 140; Lobb, Joel, 227, 228; Maine, Jonathan, 118, 120, 121, 123; Miller, mention of, in All Hallows' Lombard Street accounts, 163; Phillips, Henry, his work at Windsor, 57; Ritson, Jonathan, 195; Taylor, Zachary, 9; Watson, Samuel, 225, 227, 228.
 Carvers, importance under Charles II, 3, 4; mentioned in fifteenth century, 1.
 Carvers, wood, of Late Renaissance period not called ceilers, 5; some Late Renaissance, members of Joiners' Company, 5.
 Carving, improvement of, under James I, 6; in King's Anteroom, Windsor, 59, 60; in fifteenth century, 1; of men-of-war and Royal barges, importance of, 48; wood, of time of Charles II and William III, much wrongly called "Grinling Gibbons'", 11.
 Carvings in rooms appropriate to their use, 60, 61, 204, 206, 209, 210, 218, 225, 229.
 Cassiobury altered by one of the Wyatts, 68; carved baskets of flowers in libraries at, 75; carved clock case at, 54; carved swags in dining-room at, 70; carved wood frame by Gibbons at, 76, 76, 77, 77, 92, 217; carving in inner library compared with the Petworth carving, 75; carvings at, unpainted when first seen by Mr. Rogers, 78; carvings at, referred to, 92, 96; ceiling in Lady Essex's sitting-room at, 77; chimney-piece in great library at, 75, 75; date of Gibbons' carvings at, unknown, 58, 78; doorway in inner library at, 73; doorway of Lady Essex's sitting-room at, 77; drops in library at, 75; eagles as centre-pieces of chimney-piece carvings at, 70; Evelyn's praise of the chimney-piece in great library at, 75; fireplace in dining-room at, 70, 71; Gibbons' architraves and cornices at, 106; Gibbons' liking for an eagle in chimney-piece carvings seen at, 64; Gibbons' work at, compared with that in other places, 90; Gibbons' work under May at, 85; Hugh May and Gibbons employed at, 68; illustration of, in Kip's *Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, 68; inherited by Lord Capel from Morrison family, 68; inner library at, 73, 75; "loyal" frame at, 76, 76, 92, 217; mantel-pieces at, not the original, 70; mantel-piece in little dining-room at, 77; mouldings at, 91; Mr. Rogers' visit to, 75; over-doors in Green Drawing-room at, 70, 73; pierced panels in dining-room at, 70; portrait of Lady Capel at, 70; portrait of Lady Carnarvon at, 75; portrait of Lord Ranelagh at, 90; portrait of William Lord Russell at, 75; relics of Charles I in carved frame at, 76, 76; rope-like oak leaf swags in great library at, 75, 75; screen in dining-room at, 71, 72; screen in little dining-room at, 77; staircase at, 19, 34, 68, 69, 215; suite of rooms at, designed by May, 70; sunk panels in little dining-room at, 77, 79; swags in inner library at, 73, 75; the oval room at, 70.
 Cavetto, 206; in cornice at Hampton Court, 132, 136, 138; in cornice at Holme Lacy, 209, 210; in cornice at Kensington Palace, 129; often relied on for effect by Gibbons, in his cornices, 91; of the carved frames at Petworth, 193.
 Cavetto moulding in Chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, 146.
 Cedar, 146, 167, 201.
 Ceiler, the, a wood-worker in fifteenth century, 1; derivation of the word, 1.
 Ceilings, in corporation of, with joiners, 1; the Worshipful Company of Joiners and, 153.
 Ceiling in Lady Essex's sitting-room at Cassiobury, 77.
 Ceilings, plaster, at Chelsea Hospital, 181; at Compton Park, 238; at Holme Lacy, 208; at New River Company's offices, 160, 169; at Ransbury Manor, 212; at Sudbury Hall, 213, 216; succeed open roofs, 2.
 Chancel and nave, division of, where there is no screen, 162.
 Chandos, Duchess of, Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen* said to have been given by Charles II to, 51.
 Chandos, Duke of, referred to by Horace Walpole, 51.
 Chapel at Arbury, door in, 24, 24; at Arbury, drops in, 24, 24; at Chelsea Hospital, carving in, 178; at Cornbury, woodwork in, designed by Hugh May, 54; at Farnham Castle, door in, 24, 25; at Farnham Castle, drops in, 24; at Farnham Castle, pierced panels of door in, 24; at Farnham Castle, woodwork in, 23; at Hampton Court, altar-piece in, 138; at Hampton Court, carving in, 137; at Pembroke College, carving in, 39, 42; at Pembroke College, presented by Bishop of Ely, 42; at Petworth, refitted by the Duke of Somerset, 191; at Redland, 244, 245; at Trinity College, Oxford, Gibbons' use of whorled scroll in, 92; at Winchester College, carvings formerly in, 230, 230; at Windsor, carvings from, now in Waterloo Chamber, 64; at Whitehall Palace, 124, 125; the King's, at Windsor, Gibbons' work in, 65.
 Chapel gallery at Belton, carvings in, 199, 201.
 Chapel screens at Forde Abbey, 12, 13; at Queen's College, Oxford, referred to 152; at St. Paul's, 14, 161, 163; at Trinity College, Oxford, 19, 148.
 Charing Cross, Hubert le Scur's statue of Charles I at, 88; pedestal of Charles I's statue at, designed by Wren, 88.
 Charles I, designs by Gibbons for mausoleum statue of, 84, 86, 88; Hubert le Scur's statues of, 88; medallion of, on carved frame at Cassiobury, 76, 76; memorial mausoleum abandoned on account of expense, 88; pedestal of his statue at Charing Cross, designed by Wren, 88; portrait of, at Petworth, 185, 192; portrait of his daughter's husband at Windsor, 61, 64; preservation of le Scur's statue of, by John Rivett, 88; relics of, in carved frame at Cassiobury, 76, 76; repairs and alterations to St. Paul's under, 97; statue of, in former screen at Winchester Cathedral, 9.
 Charles II, Baptist May, Keeper of the Privy Purse to, 53; building of Winchester Palace stopped by death of, 124;

- carvings on the pedestal of the statue of, at Windsor, 88; effigy of, in Westminster Abbey, 84; first stone of Chelsea Hospital laid by, 176; gardens at Hampton Court begun by, 129; grant of Eltham to Sir John Shaw by, 38; his alterations to Windsor Castle, 57; his gift of carving to the Duke of Florence, 66; his orders for designs for memorial to Charles I, 86; Hugh May appointed architect at Windsor by, 54; land in Chelsea given to Royal Society by, 176; no equestrian statue of, made by Gibbons, 48; painted wood in time of, 4; pedestal of statue at Windsor, carved by Gibbons, 54, 55, 56; price paid for lace cravats by, 84; Ramsbury Manor, a good example of a country house under, 212; reaction against painting woodwork under, 93; statue of, at Chelsea Hospital, 91, 94, 95, 177; statue of, at Royal Exchange, 95; statue of, at Windsor, 94, 125; supposed purchase of Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen* by, 51; the subject of Verrio's fresco in Chelsea Hospital, 178.
- Charlton House, Kent, built by Sir Adam Newton, 142.
- Charter of Incorporation granted to Carpenters, 1.
- Chatsworth, absence of Gibbons' name in accounts at, 186; agreement as to work by carvers at, 228; an example of Gibbons' influence, 236; Caius Cibber's sculptures at, 98, 225, 237; carvings in Chelsea Hospital compared with those at, 175; evidence of the authorship of carvings at, 202; Gibbons' work at, 91, 225; Highmore employed at, 225; Lanscroun employed at, 225; paintings by Ricard, Laguerre and Verrio at, 225; *Particular Description of*, by Dr. Leigh, referred to, 225; plasterwork in State dining-room, 102; rebuilt by the Earl of Devonshire, 223; Samuel Watson's drawings at, 228; Thornhill employed at, 225; William Talman, architect of, 223; woodwork of Samuel Watson at, 225; Wren's survey and report on, 223.
- Cheapside, Lord Mayor Waldo's house in, 170.
- Cheere (also spell'd Cleere), William, his connection with St. Lawrence Jewry, 102; joiner at St. Mary-le-Bow, 153; joiner, his work at Chelsea Hospital, 181, 182.
- Chelsea Hospital, additional land bought from Lord Cheney for, 176; altar gates in chapel at, 177, 180; altar-piece in chapel at, referred to, 138; association of Evelyn with Sir Stephen Fox in drawing up regulations for, 176; carving in chapel at, 178, 179; carvings in, attributed to Gibbons in official handbook to, 175; carvings in, compared with those at Chatsworth, 175; cubicles in, 178, 178; Earl of Ranelagh's connection with the building of, 177; Evelyn's reference to establishment of, quoted, 176; Evelyn's reference to Wren's plans for, quoted, 176, 177; failure of Archbishop's appeal for funds for, 177; first stone of, laid by Charles II, 176; fresco by Verrio in hall of, 178; Gibbons' name absent from accounts of, 175; Gibbons' statue of Charles II at, 91, 94, 95, 177; Governor's room at, referred to, 172; grant by William III to the Earl of Ranelagh of land belonging to, 177; hall in, 178; James II's interest in, 182; James II wood-carvings in, 175; joinery in, designed by Wren, 178; land granted to, let to Thomas Frankelyn until needed, 177; mantel-piece in, 179; Morris Emmet employed by Wren at, 57; organ in chapel at, 180; pierced panels in altar rails at, 70; plaster ceiling at, 181; singing gallery in chapel at, 180; staircases at, 177; statue of Charles II by Gibbons given by Tobias Rustat to, 87, 94, 95, 177; statue of Charles II, Gibbons' only connection with, 177; Tobias Rustat's subscription to, 177; Verrio's work at, finished by H. Cooke, 169; wainscoting in, 178, 181; wainscoting in chapel at, 180; woodwork in, of oak, 178.
- Cheney, Lord, land for Chelsea Hospital acquired from, 176.
- Cherubim, 86, 87, 89, 91, 99, 100, 108, 115, 121, 126, 126, 127, 128, 158, 159, 161, 180, 245; employment of by Gibbons, 90, 91.
- Cherubs, 17, 23, 38, 39, 91, 99, 104, 109, 114, 126, 127, 129, 129, 145, 146, 154, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 171, 173, 180, 184, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 216, 217, 218, 226, 227, 229, 234, 235, 247.
- Chestnut, wainscot of Spanish, at Lee Place, 54.
- Chimney-pieces (see also mantel-pieces), 7, 8, 18, 25, 26, 31, 35, 54, 75, 75, 96, 124, 186, 191, 194, 195, 200, 201, 203, 203, 204, 206, 212, 213, 218, 218, 230, 231, 222, 224, 226, 227, 230, 234; at Badminton, 206; at Bolton, 194, 195, 200, 201; at Cassiobury, 75, 75; at Dalkeith, 94, 100, 218, 218, 220, 221, 222; at Farnham Castle, 24, 25, 26; at Hackwood, 203, 203, 204; at Lyme Hall, 241; at Petworth, 191; at Whitehall Palace by Gibbons, 124; at Windsor, 64; Florentine, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 18; Gibbons' liking for an eagle in carvings over, 64; ornaments for, by Laurent Vandermeylen, 96.
- Chippenhain Park, 148; Ceia Fiennes' visit to, 146; walnut wood used for wainscoting at, 4.
- Christmas, Gerrard, sculptor, 48.
- Christmas, Mathias, carver of the "Great Ship," 48.
- Christian IV of Denmark, portrait of, by van Mander at Hampton Court, 131, 134.
- Christian Year*, Keble College, a monument to author of, 231, 232.
- Cibber, Caius, 95; exterior carving at Hampton Court by, 93; his sculpture at Chatsworth, 225; his sculpture at St. Paul's, 98; his work at Hampton Court, 93, 98, 132.
- City churches, built by Wren, 153; form of altar-pieces in the, 155; oak generally used for carvings in the, 154; reconstruction of, advocated when pulled down, 164.
- Civil War, the effect of, on building, 12.
- Clarendon House, designed by Pratt, destruction of, 173.
- Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, Hugh May employed at Cornbury by, 54.
- Clarke, Dorothy Lady, Gibbons' monument to, 94.
- Clerkenwell, New River Head in, 169.
- Clifford's Inn, chimney-piece in room from, 171, 172; doorways in room from, 171, 172, 173; John Penhalow's chambers in, 171, 172; Penhalow coat of arms in room from, 171, 172; room from, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 171, 172.
- Clint, his portrait of Jonathan Kitson at Petworth, 105.
- Clock, carved, by Gibbons, at Lee Place, 54; carved, framing of fixed, at Cassiobury, 77.
- Closterman, John, his portrait of Gibbons and his wife, 246, 246.
- Coal, tax on, used towards cost of St. Paul's, 118, 153.
- Coats, carver, employed by Gibbons, 95.
- Colehill, Inigo Jones' work at, referred to, 12; staircase at, 30.
- Colinmas, 3, 7, 108, 115, 116, 145, 147, 148, 149, 154, 157, 158, 161, 161, 163, 169, 169, 170, 176, 183, 184, 206, 243, 244.
- Continental influence on English art, 17.
- Composition, use of, instead of wood, at Wilton, 12.
- Compton Park, doorways at, 236, 237, 238; fireplace at, 234, 238; oak wainscoting at, 238; plaster ceiling at, 238; the home of the Penruddocks, 238.
- Confession chair, foliage panels for, by Gibbons, 67.
- Cooke, H., ceiling at Islington Waterworks painted by, 170; his painting on ceiling at New River Company's offices, 169; staircase at Ranelagh House painted by, 170; Verrio's work at Chelsea Hospital finished by, 169, 178.
- Cooper, Sir George, woodwork from Winchester College Chapel re-erected by, 235.
- Cornbury, Thomas Strong employed under May at, 98; work at, by Hugh May, 54.
- Cornices, 106, 186, 206, 206, 210, 212, 222, 230, 231, 233, 239, 243, 244; at Chelsea Hospital, 177, 178, 178, 181; at Hampton Court, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138; at Kensington Palace, 129; at Skinner's Hall, 167; by Gibbons at various places compared, 106; cavetto of, often relied on for effect by Gibbons, 91; in room from Clifford's Inn, 171, 172, 173; in screen of St. Peter's Cornhill, 160; of doorway from Carey Street, 180, 181; of organ case in St. Lawrence Jewry, 157; of screen in St. Margaret Lotbury, 161, 164; of sounding board in St. Margaret Lotbury, 161; of sounding board in St. Stephen Walbrook, 158.
- Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, Gibbons' carving given by Charles II to, 66.
- Cosin, Bishop, his staircase at Durham Castle, 19, 27.
- Court of Aldermen, define spheres of carpenters and joiners in, 1632, 2, 3.
- Coussin, gilding at Windsor by, 58.
- Covent Garden, St. Paul's Church, Grinling Gibbons buried in, 45; Thomas Murray, the portrait painter, buried in, 45.
- Cravats, lace, carved by Gibbons, 46, 76, 81, 82, 83, 83, 84, 193, 193, 205, 230; price paid by Charles II and William III for, 84.
- Crucifixion*, the, carving of, by Gibbons, 50, 51, 80.
- Cubicles in Chelsea Hospital, 178, 178.
- Cullen, carved panel at, 83; carving of lace by Gibbons at, 84, 84, 230.
- Cunningham, Allen, his reference to Gibbons' carvings at Chatsworth, quoted, 223; his reference to Petworth, 186.
- Cunningham, Mr. Peter, his account of a Gibbons carving at Modena, 66.
- Cunningham, Wheatley and, their *London Past and Present*, referred to, 88.
- Dalkeith Palace, doorcases at, 222; Gibbons' carving at, 218, 220, 221, 222; marble mantel-pieces at, by Gibbons, 94, 190, 218, 218, 220, 221, 222.
- Dallaway, the, Sussex historian, quoted, 195.
- "Dantisc wainscot" in St. Paul's, 102.
- Dart, —, Whitehall Palace altar referred to by, 127.
- Dashwood, Sir James, builder of Kirtlington, 218.
- d'Aubigny, George Lord, his daughter wife of Joseph Williams, 55.
- Devis, Roger, and Hugh Webb, their account for work in St. Paul's, 102, 106; master-joiner at the Earl of Ranelagh's house, 177; models for St. Paul's woodwork made by, 98, 100.
- Deal, 2, 4, 124, 201; a rare wood, 2; chapel screen at Forde Abbey of, 12, 13; painted, used under Charles II, 4.
- Deal floor, to be laid by either carpenter or joiner, 2.
- Denham, Sir John, appointed Surveyor of Royal Works, 24; succeeded by Wren as Surveyor-General in 1660, 53.
- Deptford, formerly a Royal dockyard, 48; formerly the meeting-place of the Board of Admiralty, 48; Grinling Gibbons discovered by John Evelyn in, 44.

- Designs by Gibbons for Charles I's mausoleum statue, **84, 86, 88**; for frieze, **87**; for overmantels, **65, 88, 89**.
- Devonshire, Earl and afterwards Duke of, his house at Chatsworth referred to, **186**; Chatsworth rebuilt by, **223**; his position at Court, **223**.
- Diary, Celia Fiennes', quoted, **65, 93, 118, 130, 131, 142, 146, 159**; Evelyn's, quoted, **38, 45, 48, 50, 54, 55, 57, 65, 68, 77, 80, 125, 156, 176, 177**; Pepys', referred to, **53**.
- Dictionary of National Biography, article on Gibbons in the, **51, 88**; no mention of Hugh May in the, **53**.
- Dievoet (or Dyvoet), of Brussels, his connection with Gibbons, **95, 125**.
- Dockyard, Deptford, formerly a Royal, **48**.
- Dogs, watch, at St. Paul's, **101**.
- Dominichino, his picture of St. Agnes at Windsor, **61**.
- Doogood, Henry, plasterer at St. Paul's, **102**.
- Doors, **3, 13, 14, 25, 32, 34, 43, 65, 115, 142, 151, 160, 225, 226, 227, 229, 230, 231, 233, 237**; Archbishop Juxon's, at Canterbury, **18**; in Canterbury Close, **38, 36, 39, 39**; in chapel at Whitehall Palace, **125**; in Farnham Castle Chapel, **24, 25**; in Queen's College, **150, 151, 180**; in Tredegar Park, **32, 33, 35**.
- Doorcases at Dalkeith, **222**; at St. Lawrence Jewry, **157**; in vestry of St. Lawrence Jewry, **162**; of screen in St. Margaret Lothbury, **161, 163**.
- Doorhead from Grosvenor Road, **180**.
- Doorways, **3, 13, 14, 25, 33, 34, 43, 85, 115, 135, 143, 173, 160, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 236, 237**; in Audience Chamber at Windsor, carvings over the, **63**; in Brewers' Hall, **43, 44**; in Cassiobury library, **75**; in Compton Park, **236, 237, 238**; in Hackwood Park, **203**; in Hampton Court, **134**; in inner library at Cassiobury, **73**; in Lady Essex's sitting-room at Cassiobury, **77**; in library of Trinity College, Cambridge, **143, 143**; in Ramsbury Manor, **212**; in room from Clifford's Inn, **171, 172, 173**; in St. Lawrence Jewry, **157, 162, 164**; in St. Paul's, **108**; in St. Stephen Walbrook, **158**; in Skimmers' Hall, **167**; in Sudbury Hall, **215**; in Thorpe Hall, **13, 14, 16**; in Venice resembling woodwork at St. John's College, **18**; from the Duke of Urbino's Palace, **18**; from Carey Street, **180, 182**; of "Spanish Ambassador's House" in Mark Lane, **182, 183, 164**; pedimented, at Farnham Castle, **25**.
- Dorset Gardens, Fleet Street, new theatre in, opened **1671, 48**; Grinling Gibbons perhaps employed carving at, **48**.
- Drapery, carvings of, **90, 94, 115, 121, 129, 131, 135, 138, 147, 167, 180, 181, 161, 184, 212, 212, 229, 230, 235**; employment of, by Gibbons in his designs, **90**; folded and fringed in Gibbons' carvings, **64**.
- Drops, **10, 70, 89, 90, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 136, 137, 137, 150, 162, 164, 168, 167, 187, 189, 170, 171, 174, 175, 176, 185, 187, 166, 169, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200, 202, 204, 205, 205, 206, 206, 207, 208, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 212, 215, 217, 217, 218, 221, 224, 225, 226, 227, 230, 231, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 243, 244, 245, 245**; at Cassiobury, **70**; in ante-room, Windsor Castle, **60**; in dining-room at Cassiobury, **70**; in Farnham Castle Chapel, **24**; in library at Cassiobury, **75**; from Stadthuys, Amsterdam, **21, 22**; on doors of Canterbury Close, **39**; those by Inigo Jones and Gibbons, compared, **90**.
- Durham Castle, Bishop Cosin's work at, **25**; font cover or tabernacle in, **26, 29**; screen in gallery at, **25, 26**; staircase at **19, 25, 27, 28, 34**.
- Dutch fashions in decoration introduced with the Restoration, **21**. Dutch pierced panelwork, circa **1670, 19, 19**.
- Dyvoet, of Brussels, his association with Gibbons, **95, 125**.
- Eagle, as centre, in compositions of Gibbons, **92**; as centre-piece in chimney-piece carvings by Gibbons, **64, 70**; carved, **187, 192**; carved, at Holme Lacy, **208, 206**; eagle, flying, in screen in St. Margaret Lothbury, **161, 163**.
- East India Company, importers of lacquer, **54**.
- Edward III, palace at Windsor built for, **57**.
- Egremont, the Earl of, his ownership of Petworth, **195**.
- Elizabeth, Queen, and James I, travel became more general under, **17**; furniture multiplied under, **1**; her imprisonment at Hampton Court under Mary, referred to, **130**.
- Elm, **2, 43, 130**; for floors, **2**; used in Pembroke College Chapel, **43**.
- Elmes, John, his account of memorial to Charles I, referred to, **86**.
- Elmes, Robert, his catalogue of Wren's drawings at All Souls' College, **88**.
- Eltham, Sir John Shaw's staircase at, **36, 38**.
- Ely, *Benham's History of*, referred to, **157**.
- Ely, Bishop of, chapel at Pembroke College, presented by, **42**; uncle of Sir Christopher Wren, **42**.
- Ely Cathedral, font cover formerly in, **162**; Celia Fiennes' description of, **159**.
- Emmett Maurice, chief bricklayer at the Earl of Ranelagh's house, **177**; bricklayer at Hampton Court, **130**; employed at Whitehall Palace, **124**; master bricklayer at Windsor, **57**.
- Emmett, Maurice, junior, bricklayer at Hampton Court, **130**.
- Emmett, William, exterior carving at Hampton Court by, **93**; his carvings at Chelsea Hospital, **172, 181**; his sculpture at Hampton Court, **131**; his work at St. Martin Ludgate, **163**; joinery by, at Hampton Court, **130**; mention of, in St. Paul's Ludgate accounts, **163**; Walpole's reference to, **58**.
- Entablature, **6, 12, 13, 18, 26, 42, 53, 87, 89, 132, 157, 158, 161, 244**.
- Environ of London, the, referred to, **51**.
- Essex, Earl of, May and Gibbons employed at Cassiobury by, **68**.
- Etty, —, architect, Grinling Gibbons' work at York with, **48**.
- Etty, —, painter, son of Etty the architect, **48**.
- Evelyn, John, **20, 21, 29, 38, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 57, 65, 68, 75, 77, 89, 125, 143, 156, 176, 177**; his association with Sir Stephen Fox in drawing up regulations for Chelsea Hospital, **176**; entries concerning Gibbons in Diary of, **45**; Gibbons discovered by, **23, 44, 50**; Gibbons introduced to May and Wren by, **54**; his account of altar-piece in St. James', Piccadilly, **175**; his account of finding Gibbons, quoted, **50**; his account of Gibbons' introduction to the King, quoted, **50**; his account of Whitehall Palace Chapel, **125**; his description of the clock at Lee Place, **54, 77**; his discovery of Gibbons referred to in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, **51**; his praise of Gibbons' work in the King's chapel, Windsor, **65**; his praise of the chimney-piece in great library at Cassiobury, **75**; his reference to establishment of Chelsea Hospital, quoted, **176**; his reference to Gibbons' mantel-piece in Whitehall Palace, **89**; his reference to Hugh May, **54, 57**; his reference to Wren's plans of Chelsea Hospital, quoted, **176, 177**; his statement that Gibbons was a musician, **48**; his visit to Cassiobury, **68**; introduction to Lord Kilgare asked for by Gibbons, **55**; most reliable authority on Gibbons, **49**; son-in-law of Sir Richard Browne, **50**; subscriber to cost of chapel at Trinity College, Oxford, **143**.
- Exchange, the Royal, statue of Charles II at, **95**.
- Exton, Rutland, tomb of Viscount Camden by Gibbons at, **94**.
- Farnham Castle, carving at, **58**; chimney-piece in hall at, **24, 25, 26**; door in chapel, **24, 25**; drops in chapel, **24**; pedimented doorways at, **25**; pierced panels in chapel door at, **24**; repaired by Bishop Morley, **23**; staircase at, **24**; woodwork in chapel, **23**.
- Festoons, **61, 75, 115, 136, 143, 148, 156, 157, 181, 186, 201, 204, 210**.
- Fiennes, Celia, her account of Gibbons' work at Windsor, **65**; her reference to the cost of St. Paul's, **118**; her references to Gibbons' work being unpainted, **63, 93**; her visit to Chippenham Park, **146**; her visit to Hampton Court, **130, 131**; her visit to Trinity College, Cambridge, **142**; her visit to Trinity College, Oxford, **146**.
- Figure, human, carvings of, **3, 6, 42, 51, 52, 61, 92, 94, 99, 104, 126, 127, 128, 147, 148, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 165, 174, 174, 164, 169, 192, 193, 205, 216, 217, 220, 221, 222, 225, 228, 229**; example of Gibbons' treatment of the, **64, 64**; Gibbons' use of, in his designs, **91**.
- Finch, Lord Chancellor, his house in Kensington, **128**.
- Finials, vase, in chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, **148**.
- Fire of London, the Great, change of London's water system after, **169**; timber-framed houses illegal in London after, **2**.
- Fireplaces, **6, 8, 62, 64, 66, 70, 71, 160, 169, 203, 212, 212, 213**; carving over, in Presence Chamber at Windsor, **62, 64**; in dining-room at Cassiobury, **70, 71**; in Hackwood Park, **203**; in New River Company's offices, **169, 169**; in St. John's College, Cambridge, **6, 8**.
- Florence, Duke of, carving given by Charles II to, **66**; the Bargello at, Gibbons' carving in, **66**.
- Floor-laying, a cause of difference between carpenters and joiners, **2**.
- Font, marble, in St. James' Piccadilly, by Gibbons, **157**.
- Font and cover in Ely Cathedral, removal of the, **159, 162**; in St. Stephen Walbrook, **158, 161**.
- Font cover in All Hallows Barking, **165**; in Beverley Minster, **159, 162**; in Durham Cathedral, **26, 29**; in London churches, usually of oak, **160**; in St. Mildred Bread Street, **160**.
- Forde Abbey, chapel screen at, **12, 13**; redecoration of, by Mr. Attorney General Prideaux, **13**; staircase at, **16, 19, 215**; the dining-room at, **11**; wainscoting at, **13**; work at, compared to that at Rainham, Colchill and Wilton, **13**.
- Fort, or Forth, Alexander, employed by May at Windsor Castle, **57**; master-joiner at Hampton Court, **130**.
- Fox, Sir Stephen, his association with Evelyn in drawing up regulations for Chelsea Hospital, **176**; his ownership of Melbury Hall, **218**; his scheme for pensioning disabled soldiers, **175**.
- Framed wainscoting, introduction of, **1**; at Cassiobury, **76, 76, 77, 77**.
- Frames, carved, at Holme Lacy, **210, 210, 211**; at Petworth, **186, 167, 168, 169, 192, 193, 193**; at Sudbury Hall, **216, 216, 217**; by Gibbons, belonging to Horace Walpole, **82, 83**; by Laurent Vandermeulen, **96**; in Audience Chamber at Windsor, **60, 61, 63**; in Cross Gallery at Somerset House, **9**; in Presence Chamber at Windsor, **62, 63**; Italian, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, **17, 18**; by Gibbons, the "Loyal" frame at Cassiobury, **76, 76, 92, 117**.

- Friezes, 6, 70, 87, 89, 91, 135, 136, 167, 174, 174, 161, 184, 206, 206, 238; at Hampton Court, 67, 89, 132, 135; in Skinners' Hall, 167; often dispensed with by Gibbons, 91.
- Frogley, Arthur, compared with other joiners, 148; joiner, his work in chapel at Trinity College, Oxford, 143.
- Fulham Church, Gibbons' monument to Lady Clarke in, 94.
- Fulkes, master-mason at St. Paul's, 98.
- Furniture, fixed, deemed carpenter's work, 2; forms of, multiplied under Elizabeth, 1; good, reserved for joiners, 2.
- Gallery at Somers House, picture frames in, 9; in chapel at Belton, carvings in, 199, 201.
- Gallery screen in S. Paul's, 115, 115.
- Gallery, singing, in Chelsea Hospital Chapel, 180; in St. Lawrence Jewry, 162; usual in Wren's churches, 157.
- Galleries for churches, 2.
- Gateway of Brewers' Hall, 43.
- Gentleman's Magazine, reference to Jonathan Ritson in, quoted, 195.
- George I, portrait of, at Hackwood Park, 203.
- George IV, Gothic taste under, 57; Gothic architecture under, 64.
- Gesu and Maria Church at Rome, altar balustrade in, 19.
- Ghent, St. Nicholas Church, pulpit at, 95.
- Gibbons, the name of a family of English musicians, 47.
- Gibbons, Grinling, 21, 22, 30, 42, 43; absence of his name in Chatsworth accounts, 186; account in Evelyn's diary of the finding of, quoted, 5; account of, by Lattrell, 46; account of, by Thomas Murray, 45, 47; account of, quoted by George Vertue, 46; accounts for work done at Kensington Palace by, 128; a draughtsman as well as a sculptor, 86, 87; Allen Cunningham's reference to carvings by, at Chatsworth, 223; article on, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 88; association of Seidon with, at Petworth, 186, 190, 191; Bishop Morley's woodwork wrongly attributed to, 23; born at Rotterdam, 9; buried at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, 45; carved wood frame by, belonging to Horace Walpole, 62, 83; carving at his house in La Belle Sauvage Yard, 82; carving by given by Charles II to the Duke of Florence, 66; carving by, in Palace at Modena, 66; carving in St. Lawrence Jewry, unlike that of, 162; carving in Skinners' Hall attributed to, 166; carving of the Crucifixion by, 50, 51; carvings at Lyme Hall, attributed to, 242; Celia Fiennes' account of his work at Windsor, 65; Chatsworth an example of the influence of, 229; date and place of his birth, 47; date of his carvings at Cassiobury unknown, 78; decorations at Wilton resemble yet differ from work of, 8; designs for Charles I's mausoleum statue by, 64, 86, 87; designs for overmantels by, 65, 86, 89; difference between the art of Inigo Jones and of, 82; discovered by John Evelyn, 23, 44; draperies in carvings of, at Hampton Court, 64; employed by James II, 67; employed by the Duke of Bolton at Abbotstone, 202; entries in the accounts at St. Paul's relating to, 99; Evelyn takes Lord Arlington and the Duchess of Grafton to visit, 53; Evelyn's reference to mantel-piece by, in Whitehall Palace, 89; example of his treatment of the human figure, 64, 64; folded draperies introduced in his carvings in the Throne Room at Windsor, 64; his adoption of principles introduced by Inigo Jones, 90; his agreement relating to marble monuments, 189; his architraves and cornices at various places compared, 106; his association with Hugh May at Windsor, 54, 64; his birthplace fixed by his letter to Elias Ashmole, 46; his carving compared with that of Laurent Vandermeulen, 95, 96; his carving of the *Slaying of St. Stephen*, 51, 52, 52; his carvings at Abbotstone transferred to Hackwood Park, 203; his carvings at Badminton, 205; his carvings at Belton, 186, 198-201; his carvings at Hackwood Park, 202; his carvings at Lee Place, 54; his carvings at Petworth referred to by Horace Walpole, 186; his carvings at Sudbury Hall, in unsuitable setting, 217; his carvings at Windsor not in the state he intended them to be, 66; his carvings in drawing-room at Sudbury Manor, 216, 216, 217; his carvings in library at Trinity College, Cambridge, 140; his carvings in Waterloo Chamber at Windsor spoiled by their arrangement, 65; his carvings of lace, 46, 81, 82, 83, 63, 84, 193, 193, 205, 230; his classic vases not intended to be stained or painted, 66; his carvings made at Petworth, 91; his declining years, 241, 242; his Fellowship of the Royal Society, 100; his handwriting, 46; his house in Bow Street, 45; his house in La Belle Sauvage Yard, 46, 49, 182; his influence on his contemporaries, 229, 230; his liking for an eagle in chimney-piece compositions, 64; his loan towards cost of St. Paul's, 118, 120; his marble chimney-pieces at Dalkeith, 94, 190, 218, 218, 220, 221, 222; his name absent from Chelsea Hospital accounts, 175; his nationality uncertain, 47; his "Nativity," by Elias Ashmole, 46, 46; his portrait by Closterman, 246, 246; his possible relationship to Simon and Orlando Gibbons, discussed, 47, 48; his residence in Deptford mentioned by Evelyn, 48; his spelling, 46; his statue of Charles II, 91, 94, 95, 177; his statue of James II, 93, 94; his superiority to Watson, 91; his use of cherubim in design, 91; his use of the human figure in his designs, 91; his woodwork discussed, 85; his work at Hampton Court, 130-138; his work at Petworth referred to, 125; his work at St. Paul's, 97-123; his work at Windsor Castle, 57-67; his work in different places compared, 90; his work in marble, 53, 54, 55, 56, 93, 94, 125, 157; his work in the King's chapel, Windsor, 65; Horace Walpole's reference to his carvings at Chatsworth, 225; Horace Walpole's reference to sale of his collections, 174, 245; individuality of his work, 85, 92; Laurent and Devot employed as journeymen by, 95; letter from his sister as to his birth, 47; life of, by Horace Walpole, 46; little known of before his association with May, 61; little record existing of, 45; marble font by, in St. James' Piccadilly, 157; Mr. Rogers' reference to his scrolled whorls, 148; Nicholas Hawkimore, domestic clerk to, 100; no documentary proof of his carvings in country houses, 190, 202; no equestrian statue of Charles II made by, 48; no payment recorded at Petworth for carvings by, 191; pedestal of Charles II's statue at Windsor carved by, 54, 55, 56; Pelican in her Piety by, in St. James' Piccadilly, 156, 167; references to, in accounts at St. Paul's, 108; sepulchral monuments by, 94; Simon Gibbons possibly the father of, 48; Sir Godfrey Kneller's portrait of, frontispiece, 245, 246; some accounts of, discussed, 48; statues of saints in Whitehall Palace chapel by, 223, 126; Stoakes' account of, 46, 47, 48; sundial at Windsor by, 53, 56; swags and drops by, compared with those by Inigo Jones, 90; the Duke of Somerset a great patron of, 140; the frieze often dispensed with by, in his designs, 91; the spelling of his name, 55; the whorled scroll invented by, 64; type and construction of wainscoting in time of, 4; use of acanthus leaf in cornices by, 91; Vertue's notes about, not first-hand, 45; wood-carvings wrongly attributed to, 10, 23, 175.
- Gibbons, Orlando, composer, 48.
- Gibbons, Simon, carpenter, 48, 48.
- Gibbs, James, architect of Radcliffe Library, Oxford, 86.
- Gibson, *View of Gardens near London*, by, quoted, 182.
- Gilt on carved woodwork, 70, 93.
- Gleham, Suffolk, furniture from Sir Dudley North's London house at, 170.
- Gloucester, the Duke of, portrait of, at Windsor, 63, 64.
- Gothic architecture at Strawberry Hill, 68; under George IV, 64.
- Goyer, Sir Robert, sale of his pictures, referred to, 84.
- Grammont, Abbey of, carvings at, 96.
- Great Fire of London, the, change of London's water system after, 169; timber-framed houses illegal in London after, 2.
- Grove, James, carpenter at Hampton Court, 130.
- Grove, plasterer under Wren, 102.
- Gulloche, the, used by Gibbons, 92.
- Hackwood Park, alterations to, by the Duke of Bolton, 202; alterations to, by Wyatt, 203, 205; carved panel at, 63; chimney-pieces at, 203, 203, 204; Gibbons' carvings at, 202; portrait of George I at, 203; portrait of William III at, 203; reference by Britton and Brayley to, 202, 203; wainscoting and Gibbons' carvings transferred to, from Abbotstone, 203.
- Hales, Chief Justice, his reference to Badminton, quoted, 206.
- Hamilton, the Marquess of, portrait by Mytens at Hampton Court of, 181, 134.
- Hampton Court Palace, accounts for work done under James II at, 130; altar-piece in chapel at, 138; alterations by William III at, 129; Cains Cibber's work at, 93, 98, 132; canal at, dug and gardens begun by Charles II, 129; carving in chapel at, 137, 180; cavetto's in cornices at, 132, 136, 138; Celia Fiennes' visit to, 130, 131; chapel at, Whitehall Palace altar not used in, 126; composition of carving at, 95; cornices at, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138; designs by Gibbons for mantel-pieces intended for, 86; designs for, in Soane Collection, 89; draperies in Gibbons' carving at, 64; exterior carving at, by Emmett and Gibber, 93; frieze in the King's bedchamber at, 87, 89; Gibbons' carvings at, 49, 93, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135; Gibbons' work at, compared with that in other places, 90; Gibbons' work at, referred to, 66, 61, 85, 131; Flomthorst's portrait of Queen of Bohemia at, 135; iron work by Wren at, 51, 102, 131, 138; mantel-pieces at, 134, 135, 135, 136, 136, 137; Maurice Emmett and Alexander Fort employed at, 130; Mytens' portrait of the Marquess of Hamilton at, 134; panels at, 136, 138; Sir Godfrey Kneller's portraits at, 130; Tobias Rustat under house-keeper at, 130; Verrio's painting in King's staircase at, 134; wainscoting at, 4, 132, 136; Water gallery at, 54, 130; William Emmett's work at, referred to, 181; Wren's work at, 129.
- Handwriting of Gibbons, 46.
- Harleian Manuscripts, the, second Earl of Oxford the collector of, 45.
- Hasted's *Kent*, Lee Place described in, 54.
- Hatfield, screen at, 1.

- Hawkinsore, Nicholas, domestic clerk to Gibbons, 100; his work at Queen's College Library, 148; his work referred to, 235; pupil of Wren, 86, 89.
- Henrietta Maria, Queen, 9; medallion of, on carved frame at Cassiobury, 78, 76; portrait of, at Petworth, 192.
- Henry VIII, Gothic forms modified under, 17; his palace at Hampton Court, 129; Holbein's portrait of, at Petworth, 187, 192.
- Heraldic cartouches at Cassiobury, 77; carvings at Petworth, 101, 102; carvings in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, 139, 140, 140, 141, 141, 142, 143, 143, 190; devices, carved, 6, 8, 25, 26, 42, 81, 77, 139, 140, 140, 141, 142, 142, 143, 143, 160, 161, 163, 183, 169, 169, 171, 178, 190, 191, 192, 204, 204, 205, 206, 208, 208, 208, 212, 236, 237, 238.
- Highmore, his employment at Chatsworth, 225.
- Hill, Thomas, employed at Whitehall Palace, 124; master-mason, at the Earl of Ranelagh's house, 177; master-mason, at St. Paul's, 98.
- History of Ely, Bentham's*, referred to, 150.
- History of the Vintners' Company*, Milbourn's, referred to, 168.
- Holbein, his portrait of Henry VIII at Petworth, 187, 192.
- Holkham, decoration at, comparison with that at Wilton, 8.
- Holland House, the White Parlour at, 6, 7.
- Holme Lacy, carvings at, 92; carved frames at, 210, 210, 211; mantel-pieces at, 208; oak wainscoting at, 208; plaster ceiling at, 208; swag and drop by Gibbons formerly at, 88, 89, 207; swag from south pediment at, 212, 212; whorled scroll at, 88, 93.
- Honthorst, Gerrard, portrait of Queen of Bohemia at Hampton Court, 135.
- Hopson, Charles, his wainscoting at Chelsea Hospital Hall, 178; joiner, his work in St. Paul's, 102; master-joiner at the Earl of Ranelagh's house, 177; models for St. Paul's wood-work made by, 98, 99, 100.
- Honess, timber-framed, illegal in London after the Great Fire, 2.
- Howard family, le Sœur's statue of Charles I made for one of the, 88.
- Hulton, Provost, his library at Queen's College, Oxford, 148.
- Human figures, carvings of, 3, 42, 51, 52, 91, 92, 94, 99, 104, 128, 127, 128, 147, 148, 157, 158, 159, 180, 161, 161, 165, 174, 174, 184, 189, 192, 193, 205, 218, 217, 220, 221; example of Gibbons' treatment of the, 64, 64; Gibbons' use of, in his designs, 91.
- Hursley Park, Hampshire, Gibbons' influence on work lately transferred to, 230; woodwork in Hall at, formerly in Winchester College Chapel, 230, 230, 231, 232.
- Huyssum, referred to, 92.
- Ibach, Josias, statue of Charles II at Windsor, by, 55.
- Incorporation of joiners and ceilers, 1.
- Inner Temple, mantel-piece in Benchers' reading-room in, 171, 172.
- Ironwork of Tjouw, 51, 98, 100, 102, 131, 151, 235.
- Islington, Walpole's reference to, ceiling painted by H. Cooke at waterworks at, 170.
- Italian frame in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 17, 18.
- Italian Renaissance, influence of, in England under Henry VIII, 17.
- Italian seventeenth century organs compared with those in Wren's churches, 19.
- Italy, Inigo Jones' visits to, 18.
- Jacobsen, James, screen presented to All Hallows the Great by, 161.
- James I, King, carving of, on Aldersgate, 48; Hubert le Sœur's statue of, at Winchester Cathedral, 88; improvement of carving under, 6; statue of, in former screen at Winchester Cathedral, 9; travel more general under Elizabeth and, 17.
- James II, accounts for work done at Hampton Court under, 130; carving in Modena presented to his father-in-law by, 66; disuse of Whitehall Palace by, 128; Gibbons employed by, 67; his interest in Chelsea Hospital, 182; statue of, by Gibbons, 93, 94; work at Whitehall Palace under, 124.
- Jansen, his portraits of Lord and Lady Seymour at Petworth, 189, 193.
- Jennings, Richard, understudy of John Longland, 97.
- Jervas, portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria by, at Petworth, 192.
- Joiners, attempt to define the sphere of, 2; employed by Carpenters' Company, 26; good furniture reserved for, 2; mentioned in fifteenth century, 1; or carpenters permitted to lay a deal floor, 2; their quarrel with carpenters, 2; their work at St. Paul's, 98, 100, 102; their work at Whitehall Palace, 124.
- Joiners, Alexander Fort or Forth, 57, 130; Arthur Frogley, 143, 148; Charles Hopson, 98, 99, 100, 102, 148, 178; John Smallwell, 99, 100, 102, 124, 148, 153, 177; John Turner, 57; Roger Davis, 98, 100, 124, 148, 177; Samuel Wyatt, 57; William Chere, 153, 162, 181, 182; William Emmett, 130, 131, 181.
- Joiners' and Ceilers' Company, the, 2, 153; Incorporation of, 1.
- Joiners' Company, the, some late Renaissance wood-carvers, members of, 5; Thomas Poulteney and Thomas Askew, liverymen of the, 164; William Emmett, liveryman of the, 181.
- Joinery, English, decadence of, in time of Lord Burlington, 12; excellence of, in Wren's time, 3; first appearance of good, in seventeenth century, 80; in Chelsea Hospital, 178; in later Stuart times, high quality of, 2.
- Jones, Inigo, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 18, 21, 22, 29, 30, 38, 39, 42, 43, 47, 68, 80, 81, 82, 88, 90, 97, 124, 127, 134, 162, 167, 200, 241; arrangement of his work, referred to, 162; bay leaf much used by, in carvings, 38; Burlingtonian school founded on style of, 241; Christian IV of Denmark patron of, 134; classical spirit influencing the work of, 6; commissioned to rebuild Wilton in 1647, 8; difference between the art of Gibbons and of, 82; effect of his style on architecture, 80; employment of human mask by, 90; Gibbons' adoption of principles introduced by, 90; Gibbons' use of oak leaves and acorns in place of the bay leaves and berries used by, 68; his alteration in house planning, 200; his appointment as Surveyor of Works, 18; his appreciation of architectural values, 80; his designs for new Palace at Whitehall, 124; his influence less in his lifetime than after, 12; his influence on architecture, 12; his influence on work of Wren and Gibbons, 11; his methods considered, 80, 81; his preference for painted wood, 4; his preference for stone and plaster to wood, 12; his repairs and alterations of St. Paul's, 97; his type of mantel-piece referred to, 167; his visits to Italy, 18; his work at Wilton, 6, 7; many houses wrongly attributed to, 17; medallion head of, 18; screen in Winchester Cathedral by, 88; scrolled ornamentation used by, 39; Simon Gibbons, master-carpenter under, 47; stone, marble or plaster preferred to wood by, 4; Surveyor of Works, 6; swags and drops by, compared with those by Gibbons, 90; Whitehall Palace, altar in, wrongly attributed to, 127.
- Jones, Sir William, Ramsbury Manor built by, 212.
- Juxon, Archbishop, his arms on door of Canterbury Close, 38; his doors at Canterbury, 18, 38, 39, 43.
- Kampen, Van, architect of Amsterdam Stadthuys in 1648, 21.
- Keble, John, Keble College a monument to, 231, 232; vicar of Hursley, 231.
- Kempster, master-mason at St. Paul's, 98.
- Kensington Palace, accounts for work done by Gibbons at, 128; carving in orangery at, 129, 130; composition of, in carving at, referred to, 95; cornices at, 129; formerly Nottingham House, 128; mantel-pieces at, 129; mantel-piece at, with weathercock dial, 128; oak wainscoting at, 4, 129; overmantels at, 128, 129; portrait of General Spalcken at, 129.
- Kildare, Earl of, his marriage to Lord O'Brien's daughter, 55.
- King, Dr. Walter, Whitehall Palace altar presented to Burnham by, 127.
- King's ante-room at Windsor, carving in the, 59, 60.
- King's chapel, Windsor, Gibbons' work in the, 65.
- Kip, illustration of Cassiobury in his *Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, 68.
- Kirtlington, built by Sir James Dashwood, 218; mantel-piece at, 218, 219; drops at, 221.
- Kueller, Sir Godfrey, George Vertue employed as engraver by, 45; his portrait of Gibbons, frontispiece, 245, 246; his portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset at Petworth, 188, 192; portraits of Court ladies by, 130.
- Knights of the Royal Oak, intended founding of an Order of, 68.
- La Belle Sauvage Yard, Gibbons' house in, 46, 49, 182.
- Lace, Gibbons' carvings of, 46, 81, 82, 83, 83, 84, 193, 193, 205, 230.
- Lace cravats, price paid by Charles II and William III for, 84.
- Laguerre, paintings at Chatsworth by, 225.
- Lancewood, 51.
- Lanscrown, his employment at Chatsworth, 225.
- Lansdown House, carved frames at, compared with others, 217; frame carved by Gibbons in, 82, 83.
- Latin Races, artistic originality of the, 17.
- Land, Archbishop, his arms on fireplace at St. John's College, Oxford, 6, 8; his cabinet at Arbury Park, 6, 9; his work at St. John's College, Oxford, 6; renovation of St. Paul's under, 6.
- Laurent, his connection with Gibbons, 95; his carving in Belgium, 95.
- Law, —, his mention of Gibbons' carving at Hampton Court, 131.
- Lawrence, Sir Thomas, his portrait of Lord Liverpool at Windsor, 65.
- Laying of floors, a cause of difference between carpenters and joiners, 2.
- "Leatherwork," term applied to scrollwork, 39.
- Leconfield, Lord, report of his agent relating to accounts, quoted, 190.

- Lee Place, clockcase by Gibbons at, 54, 77; described in *Hasted's Kent*, 54; Mr. Boone's house at, referred to, 170.
- Leeds, Ralph Thoresby at, with Etty and Gibbons, 48.
- Leigh, Lyme the home of the family of, 244.
- Leigh, Dr., his *Particular Description of Chatsworth*, referred to, 225.
- Lely, Sir Peter, Gibbons noticed by, 48; his portrait of the Duchess of Richmond at Windsor, 64; his portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort at Badminton, 206.
- Leoni, his alterations at Lyme Hall, 243; his work at Moor Park, 219.
- le Secur, Hubert, 9; his statues of Charles I and James I at Winchester Cathedral, 88; his statue of Charles I at Charing Cross preserved by John Rivett, 88.
- Library at Cassiobury, the inner, 74, 75; at Louvain University, 95; at Queen's College, Oxford, 148, 150, 151; at St. Paul's, 121, 122; at Thorpe Hall, 14, 16; at Trinity College, Cambridge, 95, 139, 141, 150, 190; Bristol, the mantel-piece presented by Michael Beecher to, 174, 174; Theological, established by Archbishop Tenison, 123.
- Limewood, 51, 61, 75, 93, 115, 132, 135, 140, 143, 148, 150, 154, 159, 180, 196, 201, 205.
- Lincoln's Inn Fields, theatre in, 48.
- Liverpool, Lord, portrait of, at Windsor by Sir Thomas Lawrence, 65.
- Londinium, Malcolm's, referred to, 126, 127, 128.
- London, change of water system in, after the Great Fire of, 168, 169; timber-framed houses illegal, after the Great Fire of, 2.
- London, *Past and Present*, referred to, 88.
- Longland, John, carpenter at St. Vedast Foster, 153; his association with the Strongs, 153; second stone of St. Paul's laid by, 97.
- Lord Mayor's seat in St. Paul's, 104, 118.
- Loughbury, St. Margaret, 10, 158, 161, 163.
- Louvain, library of, University at, 95.
- "Loyal" frame at Cassiobury, 76, 76, 92, 217.
- Luttrell, his account of Gibbons, 46, 48; his reference to lace cravat carved by Gibbons, 46, 82, 83; his reference to visit of William and Mary to Hampton Court, 129.
- Lyme Hall, authorship of carvings at, discussed, 243; carving at, attributed to Gibbons, 242; chimney-piece in, 241; Leoni's alterations to, 243; panels in saloon at, 242, 242; the home of the Legh family, 244.
- Lyson's *Envoirs of London*, referred to, 51.
- MacKay, his *Tour Through England*, referred to, 225.
- Madonna del Ruscello, Vallerano, organ in church of the, 10.
- Maine, Jonathan, carver, 120, 121, 123, 161, 163; his chapel screens in St. Paul's, 161, 163.
- Malcolm's *Londinium*, referred to, 126, 127, 128.
- Malines, Laurent Vandermeulen, carver, born at, 95.
- Mantel-pieces (see also chimney-pieces), 20, 35, 35, 38, 43, 44, 70, 77, 86, 89, 94, 128, 129, 134, 135, 135, 136, 137, 162, 167, 167, 168, 169, 171, 171, 172, 172, 174, 174, 179, 181, 191, 208, 210, 210, 218, 219, 224, 226, 227, 238, 242, 243; at Cassiobury not the original ones, 70; designs for, by Gibbons, 86; at Brewers' Hall, 43, 44; at Cassiobury, 70, 77; at Chelsea Hospital, 179, 181; at Hampton Court, 134, 135, 135, 136, 137; at Holme Lacy, 208, 210, 210; at Kensington Palace, 129; at Kirtlington, 218, 219; at Mawley Hall, 243; at New River Company's offices, 169, 169; at Petworth, 101; at Skinners' Hall, 166, 167, 167; at the Admiralty, 242; at Tredegar Park, 35, 35, 38; at Vintners' Hall, 168; at Whitehall Palace by Gibbons, 89; in Benchers' reading-room in Inner Temple, 171, 172; in chapel gallery at Belton, 201; in room from Clifford's Inn, 171, 172; in vestry of St. Lawrence Jewry, 162; marble, by Gibbons, 94; presented by Michael Beecher to the Bristol Library, 174, 174; with weathercock dial at Kensington Palace, 128.
- Mantel-shelf, generally wanting in Wren's time, 201.
- Marble font by Gibbons in St. James' Piccadilly, 157.
- Marble, Gibbons' work in, 53, 54, 55, 56, 93, 94, 125, 157.
- Mark Lane, doorway of "Spanish Ambassador's house" in, 182, 183, 184.
- Marlborough, the Duke of, his Flemish campaigns, referred to, 96.
- Marot, Daniel, favourite architect of William III, 89.
- Mary, Queen, her residence at Hampton Court, 54.
- Mask, employment of human, by Inigo Jones, 90.
- Mawley Hall, mantel-piece in, 243; oak wainscoting at, 244; woodwork at, 244.
- May, Baptist, Keeper of the Privy Purse to Charles II, 53.
- May, Hugh, appointed architect at Windsor, 54; appointed Paymaster to the King's Works 1660, 53; brass in Mid-Lavant Church to, 53; Controller of Works at Windsor, 53; destruction of Berkeley House, designed by, 173; Gibbons' work under, 34, 85; his association with Gibbons at Windsor, 64; his designs at Windsor Castle, referred to, 57; his work at Cornbury, 54; his work at Windsor Castle, 57; little known of Gibbons before his association with, 91; reference to, in Evelyn's *Diary*, 51; succeeded by Wren as Controller of Works at Windsor, 124; suite of rooms at Cassiobury designed by, 70; Thomas Strong's work under, 98.
- Mechlin, carvings by Laurent Vandermeulen at, 96; St. Peter and St. Paul, altar rails at, 95; St. Peter and St. Paul, panels in, 95.
- Medallions, carved, 189, 193, 204, 205, 216, 217, 217, 218, 230; carved portrait at Melbury, 218; at Petworth, 189, 193; at Sudbury, 216, 217; head of Inigo Jones, 16.
- Melbury Hall, Gibbons' carvings at, 217, 217; Sir Stephen Fox's ownership of, 218.
- Melville, Lord, letter to, from the Duchess of Buccleugh, quoted, 221.
- Men-of-war, carving and decoration of, 48.
- Messenger des Sciences et des Arts de la Belgique*, paper in, referred to, 96.
- Metropolitan Water Board, Clerkenwell "Water House" taken over by the, 169.
- Middle Ages, the development of carpentry in, 1.
- Middle Temple Hall, screen in, 1, 3, 172.
- Mid-Lavant Church, brass in memory of Hugh May, 53.
- Mignard, his portrait of the Duchess of Orleans in Presence Chamber at Windsor, 64.
- Milbourn, his *History of the Vintners' Company*, referred to, 168.
- Miller, carver, mention of, in All Hallows Lombard Street accounts, 163.
- Models for woodwork in St. Paul's, 98, 99, 100, 102.
- Modena, carving by Gibbons in Palace at, 66.
- Modillioned cornices at Badminton, 206, 206; at Hampton Court, 134, 135; Kensington Palace, 129; at Mawley Hall, 243, 244.
- Monkhouse, Cosmo, his account of memorial to Charles I, referred to, 86.
- Monmouth, the Duke of, his house in Soho Square, 174, 175; son of Charles II, 218.
- Montagu George, letter to, from Horace Walpole, quoted, 186.
- Moor Park, Hertfordshire, owned by the Duke of Monmouth, 219.
- Morgan, William, his association with William Emmett, 181.
- Morley, Bishop, woodwork put in by him at Farnham Castle wrongly attributed to Grinling Gibbons, 23; Farnham Castle repaired by, 23.
- Morning chapel at St. Paul's, 120, 121.
- Morrison family, Cassiobury inherited by Lord Capel from the, 68.
- Motto on chimney-piece at Farnham Castle, 25.
- Mouldings, 57, 65, 68, 70, 91, 108, 132, 134, 136, 137, 146, 157, 169, 171, 172, 178, 181, 186, 203, 212, 222, 235, 238; built up, 4; solid, 3.
- Murray, Thomas, account of Gibbons by, quoted in George Vertue's note-book, 45, 47, 48; buried at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, 47.
- Musée des Arts Decoratifs Brussels, carving at, 95.
- Museum, the Victoria and Albert, carvings from St. Sepulchre's in, 164, 166; doorway from Carey Street in, 180, 181; doorway from the Duke of Urbino's Palace in, 18; example of James I panelling in, 6, 7; Florentine chimney-piece in, 18; Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen*, bought by, 51, 52; room from Clifford's Inn at, 171, 172; want of carvings of Wren's period in, 166.
- Myddelton, Hugh, his scheme for bringing water to London, 168, 169.
- "Mystery of Carpentering," the, 1.
- Mytens, his portrait of the Marquess of Hamilton at Hampton Court, 134.
- Nave and chancel, division of, where there is no screen, 162.
- Newcastle, the Duke of, gift of oak for St. Paul's by, 102.
- Newdegate family, tomb of, by Gibbons, 94.
- Newdegate, Sir Richard, agreement for tomb between Gibbons and, 94, 95.
- Newel posts of Farnham Castle staircase, 25; square paneled, 30.
- New River Company, their offices in Clerkenwell, 169; botlection mouldings in, 169; breplace in, 169, 169, 170; mantel-piece in, 169, 169; oak panels in, 169; royal arms in, 169, 169, 170; wainscoting in, 169.
- New River Head in Clerkenwell, 169.
- Newton, Sir Adam, referred to, 142.
- Nollekens, his reference to the Duke of Monmouth's house in Soho Square, quoted, 175.
- Norfolk, the Duke of, employment of Jonathan Ritson by, 195.
- North, Sir Dudley, his house near Goldsmiths' Hall, 170.
- Notes and Queries*, correspondence in, as to Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen*, 51.
- Nottingham House, now Kensington Palace, 128.
- Nottingham, Lord Chancellor Finch, Earl of, 128.
- Oak, 2, 3, 143, 146, 150, 153, 160, 167, 168, 169, 174, 178, 180, 181, 235, 239, 245; employed throughout Chelsea Hospital, 178; for floors, 2; lining of walls in Brown Room, Tredegar Park, 34; mantel-piece in Bristol Library, 174, 174; the staple wood for joiners under Charles II, 4; overmantels, at Hampton Court, 174.
- Oak leaf and acorn replacing bay leaf in decoration, with the Royalists, 38.

- Oak leaves and acorns the Royalist badge, introduced in carving of Cassiobury staircase, 68, 69.
- Oak, Royal, Knights of the, intended foundation of an Order of, 68.
- Oak wainscoting, 3, 146; at Chelsea Hospital, 178; at Compton Park, 238; at Hampton Court Palace, 4, 136; at Holme Lacy, 208; at Kensington Palace, 4, 129; at Lee Place, 54; at Lord Mayor Waldo's house, 170; at Mawley Hall, 244; at Petworth, 186.
- Oliver, John, assistant surveyor at St. Paul's, 100.
- Oman, Mr., Librarian of All Souls' College, Oxford, 87.
- Open roofs, succeeded by plaster ceilings, 2.
- Orange, William Prince of, portrait of, at Windsor, 61, 64.
- Organ in the chapel at Whitehall Palace, 125; in Chelsea Hospital Chapel, 186; in Church of the Madonna del Ruscello, Valferano, 19; in St. Antonio at Piacenza, 19; in St. Lawrence Jewry, 157; in St. Mary-at-Hill, 157; in St. Paul's Cathedral, 19, 99, 99, 100, 115; in St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, 166; in St. Stephen Walbrook, 19, 158; in Wren's churches, few contemporary, 157; Italian seventeenth century, compared with those in Wren's churches, 19.
- Organ case at St. Lawrence Jewry, 162; at St. Paul's, 99, 99, 100, 102; at St. Paul's, reference to, in accounts, 114.
- Organ gallery at St. Paul's, Strype's description of, the, 104.
- Orleans, Charlotte Duchess of, portrait of, at Windsor, 62, 64.
- Oval Room, the, at Cassiobury, 70.
- Overdoors, 244; at Cassiobury, 70, 73; at Chatsworth, 228; carved panels as, 64, 64, 66.
- Overmantels, 212, 213, 214, 216, 224, 226, 227; at Belton, 199; in Chelsea Hospital, 179; at Kensington Palace, 128, 129; at Skinners' Hall, 167; at Windsor Castle, 58, 61; designs for, by Gibbons, 85, 86.
- Oxenden, Mrs. Mary, her loan towards cost of St. Paul's, 118.
- Oxford, the Earl of, patron of George Vertue, 145.
- Oxford, the Bodleian Library at, letter from Gibbons to Ashmole in the, 46, 47; the Radcliffe Library at, designed by Gibbs, 86; the Sheldonian Theatre at, 54; Wren's designs for memorial to Charles I preserved at All Souls' College at, 86, 88.
- Paint, carving spoilt by, 58, 61, 66, 78, 84, 93, 143, 146, 148, 150, 166, 172, 181, 184, 191, 201, 205, 215.
- Painted dead used under Charles II, 4; wood used by Inigo Jones, 4.
- Palladio, referred to, 85.
- Panelling, 148; in Pembroke College Chapel, 43; in sounding board at St. Stephen Walbrook, 158.
- Panels, 19, 19, 68, 69, 137, 140, 150, 174, 222, 226, 227, 238; at Ashburnham House, 30; at Badminton, 206, 207; at Belton, 201; at Cassiobury, 68, 70, 77, 79; at Chelsea Hospital, 70, 177, 178, 178, 180, 234; at Compton Park, 238; at Cullen, 83; at Durham Castle, 25, 27, 28; at Farnham Castle chapel, 24; at Forde Abbey, 13, 16; at Hackwood Park, 83, 204, 204, 205; at Hampton Court, 136, 138; at Holme Lacy, 208; at Hursley Park, 230, 231, 232; at Lyme Hall, 242, 242; at Pembroke College Chapel, 43; at Petworth, 194; at Queen's College Library, 150, 151, 151; at Ramsbury Manor, 204, 212; at Redland Chapel, 244; at Ribston Hall, 239; at St. Lawrence Jewry, 162; at St. Peter and St. Paul, Mechlin, 95; at St. Peter's Cornhill, 160; at San Anastasia, Verona, 19; at Skinners' Hall, 167; at Tredegar Park, 30; at Trinity College Chapel, 70, 146, 146, 147, 148, 234; at Vintners' Hall, 168, 168; at Windsor, 64, 64, 66; foliage, for confession chair, carved by Gibbons, 67; from room in Clifford's Inn, 171, 172, 173; from St. Sepulchre's, in Victoria and Albert Museum, 164, 166; in wainscoting, large, 4; oak, in New River Company's offices, 199; of organ case in St. Lawrence Jewry, 157; on pedestals of statues of Charles I at Charing Cross and Winchester, 88; openwork, in side pews in City churches, 162; pedimented, 6; pedimented, at Sudbury Hall, 213, 216.
- Parentalia, the, 86, 87, 125, 156.
- Peace of Ryswick, St. Paul's choir opened on day of thanksgiving for the, 120.
- Pediments, 31, 32, 33, 34, 90, 120, 135, 138, 143, 148, 150, 155, 157, 158, 161, 167, 171, 172, 173, 174, 174, 177, 180, 182, 191, 212, 228, 229, 236, 237; of doorways at Farnham Castle, 25; of doorways at Tredegar Park, size of, 34; in Brewers' Hall, 43, 44; in Trinity College Library, 143, 143.
- Pelican in her Piety, 157; by Gibbons in St. James' Piccadilly, 156, 156, 157; over porch at St. Mary Abchurch, 157.
- Pembroke College Chapel, 39, 42, 54, 58; designed by Sir Christopher Wren, 42; presented by Bishop of Ely, 42; screen in, compared with that in Brewers' Hall, 44; swags in, 42; wainscoting in, 42; Wren's work in, 139, 162.
- Penhalow, John, his chambers in Clifford's Inn, 171, 172.
- Penhalow, Mr. J. C., his research as to room from Clifford's Inn, 172.
- Penruddock, Compton, the home of the family of, 238.
- Pepys, Samuel, his *Diary* referred to, 53; taken by Evelyn to see Gibbons' work, 53.
- Pett, Mr. Peter, builder of the "Great Ship," 48.
- Petworth, alterations to, by sixth Duke of Somerset, 185; acquisition of, by Percy family, 185; association of Seiden with Gibbons at, 186; carved frames at, 186, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 193; carved vase at, compared with that at Trinity College, Oxford, 148; carving at, compared with that in inner library at Cassiobury, 75; carving at, damaged by worms, 196; carving of point lace cravat at, 193, 193; chapel at, refitted by the Duke of Somerset, 191; composition of carving at, referred to, 95; Gibbons' carvings at, 142; Gibbons' work at, compared with that in other places, 99; Gibbons' work at, referred to, 9, 60, 61, 125; heraldic carvings at, 191, 192; Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII at, 187, 192; Horace Walpole's account of, quoted, 186; mantel-pieces at, 191; Mr. Rogers' reference to condition of carvings at, 196; no payment to Gibbons for carving recorded at, 191; portrait of Charles I at, 185, 192; portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria at, 192; portraits of Lord and Lady Seymour at, 189, 193; portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset at, 188, 192; reference to, in Vertue MSS., 186; Ritson's restorations of carvings at, 196; Seiden's work at, 191; the Earl of Egremont's ownership of, 195; vase at, sculpturing of, compared with Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen*, 53; vases at, sculptured by Gibbons, 91; whorled scroll at, 93.
- Phillips, Henry, carver, his work at Windsor Castle, 57, 58.
- Philip V of Spain, frames carved for, by Vandermeulen, 96.
- Phillips, Henry, succeeded by William Emmett as master-joiner, 130.
- Piacenza, organ in St. Antonio at, 19.
- Pierced panels, 12, 13, 19, 19, 68, 69, 140; at Ashburnham House, 30; at Cassiobury, 68, 70; at Tredegar Park, 30; in Chelsea Hospital Chapel, 70, 177, 180, 234; in Durham Castle staircase, 25, 27, 28; in Farnham Castle chapel, 24; in Forde Abbey staircase, 16; at Hursley Park, 230, 230, 231, 232, 234; in Queen's College Library, 150, 151, 151, 235; in St. Lawrence Jewry, 162; in San Anastasia, Verona, 19; at Trinity College Chapel, Oxford, 70, 146, 146, 147, 148, 234.
- Pierce, Edward, frames by Zachary Taylor painted and gilt by, 9.
- Piggott, Mr. F. S. A., his account of the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, 51.
- Pilasters, 3, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 80, 87, 108, 150, 160, 167, 174, 174, 180, 180, 206, 215, 238, 243, 243, 244.
- Pine, 66, 194, 238.
- Plane tree wood, 166.
- Plaster ceilings at Chelsea Hospital, 181; at Compton Park, 238; at Holme Lacy, 208; at New River Company's offices, 160, 169; at Ramsbury Manor, 212; at Sudbury Hall, 213, 216; succeeded open roofs, 2.
- Point lace, carving of, 46, 81, 82, 83, 83, 84, 193, 193, 205, 230.
- Pope, Sir Thomas, founder of Trinity College, Oxford, 143.
- Porch, interior, at St. Magnus Thames Street, 157; at St. Mary Abchurch, 157.
- Portrait medallion, carved, 16, 189, 193, 204, 205, 216, 217, 218, 230.
- Poulteney, Thomas, and Thomas Askew, royal arms in St. Peter's Cornhill carved by, 163; liveryman of Joiners' Company, 164.
- Pratt, architect of Lord Clarendon's London house, 21; destruction of Clarendon House, designed by, 173.
- Presence Chamber at Windsor, portrait of Charlotte Duchess of Orleans in the, 62, 64; carved frames in the, 62, 63, 63; carving over fireplace in the, 62, 64.
- Prickwillow, Ely font and cover removed to church at, 159.
- Prideaux, Mr. Attorney-General, redecoration of Forde Abbey by, 13.
- Puckering, Sir Henry, cypher of, in library at Trinity College, Cambridge, 142, 142.
- Puckering, Sir Thomas, uncle of Sir Henry, 140.
- Palpiets—in All Hallows Barking, 18, 19; in All Hallows Lombard Street, 158; in All Hallows the Great, 161; in Ara Cræli Church, Rome, 19; in chapel at Whitehall Palace, 125; in St. Margaret Lotbury, 19, 158, 161; in St. Mary Abchurch, 19, 158; in St. Nicholas, Ghent, 95; in St. Stephen Walbrook, 19, 158, 160; in St. Vedast Foster, 153; in Wren's churches, compared to those in Italy, 19; Italian seventeenth century, compared with those under Charles I and in Wren's time, 19.
- Pyne, his *Royal Residences*, referred to, 63; his view of Windsor Chapel, 65.
- Quellin, Artus, the elder, decoration of Amsterdam Stadthuys by, 22.
- Quellin, Artus, the younger, nephew of Artus Quellin the elder, 22; his association with Gibbons, 125; his monument to Mr. Thynne, 125; his work mostly done at Antwerp, 95; kneeling angel by, 127, 128.
- Quellin, Erasmus, sculptor, 22.
- Quellin, Hubert, engraver, 22.
- Queen's College, Oxford, chapel screen at, referred to, 152; doors in, 180; heraldic devices in library at, 150, 150; library at, 148; pierced panels in library at, 150, 151, 154, 235.

- Radcliffe Library, Oxford, the, designed by Gibbs, 86.
- Rainham, Inigo Jones' work at, referred to, 12.
- Ramsbury Manor, a good example of a country house of Charles II's time, 212; built by Sir William Jones, 212; chimney-piece at, 212; Cromwell entertained at, 8; doorway at, 212; panels at, 212; plaster ceiling at, 212.
- Ranelagh, the Earl of, grant of land belonging to Chelsea Hospital to, by William III, 177; his connection with the building of Chelsea Hospital, 177; his house at Chelsea described by Gibson, 182; portrait of, at Cassiobury, 90; site of his house subsequently Ranelagh Gardens, 182.
- Ranelagh Gardens, the site of Lord Ranelagh's house, 182.
- Ranelagh House, staircase at, painted by H. Cooke, 170.
- Rawlins, Nathaniel, master-mason at St. Paul's, 98, 101.
- Rebow, J. Gardon, his account of Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen*, 51.
- Record Office, the, accounts of works done at Windsor in, 57.
- Redland, chapel at, 244, 245, 245.
- Restoration, the, Dutch fashions in decorations introduced with, 21; memorial to Charles I decided on after, 86; renewal of architectural activity during, 20; revival of art under, 23.
- Renaissance style, the, English later, 2.
- References to Chapter I, 5; Chapter IV, 44; Chapter V, 49; Chapter VI, 56; Chapter VII, 67; Chapter VIII, 79; Chapter IX, 96; Chapter X, 123; Chapter XI, 138; Chapter XII, 152; Chapter XIII, 184; Chapter XIV, 201; Chapter XV, 222; Chapter XVI, 240; Chapter XVII, 246.
- Ribbons, 53, 61, 68, 70, 76, 134, 135, 136, 136, 137, 143, 150, 168, 168, 174, 174, 186, 189, 191, 192, 193, 198, 205, 213, 216, 221, 243, 245.
- Ribston Hall, carved panel at, 239, 240.
- Ricard, paintings at Chatsworth by, 225.
- Richmond, the Duchess of, portrait of, by Lely at Windsor, 64.
- "Right wainscot" in St. Paul's, 102; meaning of term, 4.
- Riley, portrait painter, referred to, 246.
- Ripley, architect of the Admiralty, 24.
- Ritson, Jonathan, his carvings at Petworth, 195, 196; his portraits by Clint at Petworth, 195; his restorations of carvings at Petworth, 196; his work at Arundel, 195; reference to, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, quoted, 195.
- Rivett, John, preservation by, of le Saur's statue of Charles I, 88.
- Roberts, William, his accounts for work at Windsor, 57.
- Rogers, Mr. W. G., Cassiobury carvings unpainted when first seen by, 78; his account of the paint on woodwork in chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, 146; his association with Birkbeck, 197; his comment on pierced panels in Queen's College library, 150, 151; his method of preserving carvings, 198; his opinion of Gibbons' whorled scrollwork, 76; his reference to condition of Petworth carvings, quoted, 196; his reference to Gibbons' scrolled whorls, 148; his visit to Cassiobury, 75; his woodwork in St. Mary-at-Hill, 157.
- Rome, Ara Cœli Church at, pulpit in, 19; Gesu and Maria Church at, altar balustrade in, 19.
- Roofs, open, succeeded by plaster ceilings, 2.
- Rotterdam, the birthplace of Grinling Gibbons, 9.
- Royalists, oak leaves and acorns the badge of the, used in carvings of Cassiobury staircase, 68, 69.
- Royal Residences, Pynce's, referred to, 63.
- Royal Society, the, Gibbons' Fellowship of, 100; Joseph Williams, President of, 55; land given by Charles II to, 175.
- Russell, Admiral, Earl of Orford, his house at Chippenham referred to, 146.
- Russell, William Lord, portrait of, at Cassiobury, 75.
- Rustat, Tobias or Toby, his statues of Charles II, 94; his subscription to Chelsea Hospital, 177; statue of Charles II by Gibbons given to Chelsea Hospital by, 91, 177; statues of Stuart Kings by Gibbons set up by, 55, 94; under-housekeeper at Hampton Court, 130.
- Rye House Plot, the Earl of Essex involved in the, 68.
- St. Albans, the Earl of, development of land north of St. James' Park by, 155.
- San Anastasia, Verona, pierced and modelled panels in, 19.
- St. Antonio, Piacenza, organ in, 19.
- St. Benet, Gracechurch Street, William Clerc, joiner at, 153.
- St. Dunstan's, tower of, 121.
- St. George and the Dragon in panel over door in Throne Room at Windsor, 64, 64.
- St. George's Bloomsbury, Nicholas Hawksmore, architect of, 100.
- St. George's Hall, Windsor, 64.
- St. James' Piccadilly, altar-piece in, 156, 156, 157, 157; designed by Sir Christopher Wren, 155; Evelyn's description of altar-piece in, 156; marble font by Gibbons in, 157.
- St. John, Chief Justice, rebuilding of Thorpe Hall by, 13.
- St. John's College, Oxford, 6, 13, 18.
- St. Lawrence Jewry, carving in, unlike that of Gibbons, 162; doorcases at, 157, 162; mantel-piece in vestry of, 162; openwork at back of churchwardens' pews at, 161; organ case in, 157, 162; perforated panels of pews in, 162; singing gallery in, 162, 180; vestry of, 162, 163.
- St. Magdalen, Old Fish Street, Jonathan Maine's work at, 121.
- St. Magnus, Thames Street, interior porch at, 157.
- St. Margaret Lothbury, pulpit in, 19, 161; royal arms in screen in, 161, 163; screen in, 161, 163; sounding board in, 158, 161.
- St. Margaret Pattens, altar-piece in, 155, 155; Jonathan Maine's work at, 121; openwork at back of churchwardens' pews, 161; royal arms in, 155; western screen in, 155.
- St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Archbishop Tenison once vicar of, 123.
- St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, William Emmett's work at, referred to, 181.
- St. Mary Abchurch, altar-piece in, 154, 154; interior porch at, 157; Pelican in her Piety over interior porch at, 157; pulpit in, 19, 158; raised box-pews at sides of, 162; sounding board in, 158, 161.
- St. Mary-at-Hill, organ at, 157; woodwork in, by Mr. Rogers, 157.
- St. Mary, Fish Street, woodwork in, 154.
- St. Mary-le-Bow, Wren's rebuilding of, 158.
- St. Michael and St. George, Chapel of the Order of, at St. Paul's, 121.
- St. Mildred Bread Street, altar-piece in, 155; font cover in, 160.
- St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, altar-piece in, 155.
- St. Nicholas, Ghent, pulpit at, 95.
- St. Peter and St. Paul, Mechlin, altar rails at, 95; panels in, 95.
- St. Peter Cornhill, royal arms in, 160, 163; screen in, 160, 161.
- St. Paul's Cathedral, accounts relating to building and repairs of, 97; Bishop's throne in, details of the, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 114, 118, 120; building accounts for, 88; building begun 1675, 97; Caius Gibber's carvings at, 98; carved chairs for, 118; Celia Fiennes's reference to cost of, 118; choir stalls at, 100, 112, 113, 114, 145; coal tax used towards cost of, 153; cost of books for, 118; cost of, how met, 118; cost of the carving on organ, 112; craftsmen employed at, as lenders of money towards the cost of, 118; Edward Strong's work at, 98; entries relating to Gibbons in the accounts at, 99, 108; Ephraim Beauchamp, master-mason at, 98; Fulkes, master-mason at, 98; Gibbons' arcitraves and cornices at, 106; Gibbons' work at, compared with that in other places, 90; Gibbons' work at, referred to, 61; Gibbons' work in stone at, 98; Gibbons' work under Wren at, 85; Henry Doogood, plasterer at, 102; iron gates by Tijou in, 100; iron screen under organ by Tijou at, 102; ironwork by Tijou at, 51, 98, 100, 102; John Smallwood's accounts for work at, 102; joiners' work in, 100; Jonathan Maine's chapel screens at, 161, 163; Kempster, master-mason at, 98; laying of first and second stones, 97; library at, 121, 122; Lord Mayor's seat in, 104, 118; models for woodwork in, made, 98; morning chapel at, 120, 121; Nathaniel Rawlins' work at, 98, 101; oak from Welbeck given by the Duke of Newcastle for use in, 102; opening of choir at, 120; organ in, 19, 99, 99, 100, 102; rearrangement of choir fittings at, in nineteenth century, 100; reference to organ case in accounts, 114; renovation under Bishop Laud, 6; Roger Davis' and Hugh Webb's account for work in, 102, 106; screens at, 16, 100, 102, 108, 115, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 120; sculptures at, by Francis Bird, 98; Thomas Hill, master-mason, at, 98; Thomas Wise, master-mason, at, 98; Thompson, master-mason, at, 98; unpainted oak in, 97; wages of carpenters employed in building, 98; woodwork in lumber-rooms of, 164; work done by Gibbons in, referred to in Evelyn's *Diary*, 45; Wren's order as to workmen swearing, 101; Wren's report on the state of, 97.
- St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, Grinling Gibbons buried in, 45; Thomas Murray, the portrait painter buried at, 45.
- St. Paul's Ludgate, mention of William Emmett in accounts of, 163.
- St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, carved panels from, in Victoria and Albert Museum, 164, 166; organ in, 166; screen in, 166.
- St. Stephen, *The Stoning of*, carving of, by Gibbons, 51, 52, 52, 53.
- St. Stephen Walbrook, altar-piece in, 155; font and cover in, 158, 161; organ in, 19, 158; pulpit in, 19, 158, 160, 161; singing gallery in, 180; Thomas Strong employed at, 97, 153; screen in, 158.
- St. Vedast Foster, altar-piece in, 153; pulpit in, 153.
- Salvin, his alterations at Windsor Castle, 58.
- Sayes Court, Deptford, district round, formerly favourite rural resort, 54; residence of John Evelyn, 50.
- Scots, Mary Queen of, portrait of, in Audience Chamber at Windsor, 60, 63.
- Scott, Lord Henry, copy of bill of Gibbons furnished by, 221.
- Screen, division of nave and chancel where there is no, 162.
- Screens at All Hallows' the Great, 160, 161; at Brewers' Hall, 43, 44; at Cassiobury, 70, 72, 77; at Durham Castle, 25, 28; at Forde Abbey, 12, 13; at Hatfield, 1; at Pembroke College chapel compared with that in Brewers' Hall, 44; at Queen's College Chapel, referred to, 152; at St. Margaret Lothbury, 161, 163; at St. Margaret Pattens, 155; at St. Paul's, 16, 100, 102, 108, 115, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121; at St. Peter Cornhill, 160; at St. Sepulchre's Holborn, 166; at St. Stephen Walbrook, 158; at the Middle Temple Hall, 1, 3, 172; at Trinity College Chapel, Oxford, 19, 143, 148, 152; at Vintners' Hall, 168; at Winchester College, 9, 81, 88, 234, 235; in Wren's designs for churches, 160.

- Sendamore, James Viscount, Gibbons employed at Holme Lacy by, 207; his marriage with the Earl of Exeter's daughter, 238.
- Scriptors—*le Scur*, Hubert, 9; Stone, Nicholas, 9.
- Seldon, carver employed by Gibbons, 95; his association with Gibbons at Petworth, 186, 190, 191; his work at Petworth, 191.
- Sepulchral monuments by Gibbons, 94.
- Settignano, Desiderio da, chimney-piece attributed to, 18.
- Seymour, Lord and Lady, portraits of, at Petworth, 189, 193.
- Shaw, Sir John, granted lease of Eltham by Charles II, 38; his staircase at Eltham, 36, 38.
- Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, the, 54, 139.
- Singing gallery in Chelsea Hospital chapel, 180; in St. Lawrence Jewry, 162; in St. Stephen Walbrook, 180; usual in Wren's churches, 157.
- Skinner's Hall, carved friezes in, 167; carved wall panels in, 167; carving in, attributed to Gibbons, 166; Cedar Room of, 166, 167, 169; cornice in, 167; mantel-piece in, 167, 167; Mr. Brangwyn's paintings in, 166; Mr. Wadmore's account of, quoted, 166; oak wainscoting in, referred to, 170; pedimented doorways in, 167; staircase in, 167.
- Smallwell, John, joiner at St. Vedast Foster, 153; his account for work at St. Paul's, 102; master-joiner at the Earl of Ranelagh's house, 177; models for St. Paul's woodwork made by, 99, 100.
- Smith, John, his print of Kneller's portrait of Gibbons, frontispiece, 245.
- Soane Collection, designs for Hampton Court Palace in, 89.
- Soho Square, the Duke of Monmouth's house in, 174, 175.
- Solid mouldings, 3.
- Somerset House, picture frames in Cross Gallery at, 9.
- Somerset, Protector, cloister of St. Paul's pulled down by, 121.
- Somerset, the Duke of, portrait of, at Petworth, 188, 192; Gibbons' work at Petworth for, 125; his cypher carved at Badminton, 206; his cypher and arms of, in library of Trinity College, Cambridge, 140, 140, 141; marriage of, to Percy heirs, 185; statue of, in library at Trinity College, Cambridge, 140.
- Sounding board at All Hallows Lombard Street, 158; at St. Margaret Lothbury, 158, 161; at St. Mary Abchurch, 158, 161; at St. Stephen Walbrook, 158, 160, 161.
- Spanish Ambassador's house, Mark Lane, doorway of, 182, 183, 184.
- Spain, Philip V of, frames carved for by Vandermeulen, 96.
- Spalden, General, portrait of, in Kensington Palace, 129.
- Spelling of Gibbons, 46.
- Spencer, Lawrence, clerk of the works at St. Paul's, 101.
- Stadhuis, Amsterdam, the, begun in 1648, 21; decorations in, 22; drops from, 21, 22; swags from, 20, 22.
- Stain on carving, 58, 66, 68, 76, 78, 93, 116, 166, 174, 216, 238.
- Stair, iron, by Tijou at Hampton Court, 138.
- Staircase at Ashburnham House, 30; at Belton, 200; at Cassiobury, 19, 34, 68, 69; at Chelsea Hospital, 177; at Colehill, 30; at Durham Castle, 19, 25, 27, 28, 34; at Eltham, Sir John Shaw's, 36, 38; at Farnham Castle, 24; at Forde Abbey, 10, 19; at Hampton Court, 130; at Ranelagh, painted by H. Cooke, 170; at Skinner's Hall, 167; at Sudbury Hall, 214, 215; at Thorpe Hall, 15, 16, 19, 68; at Tredegar Park, 30, 30, 38, 68; at Tythrop, 34; at Tyttenhanger, 37, 38; at Wintners' Hall, balusters of, 167; at Windsor Castle, May's, destroyed by Salvin, 58; from Cannons, re-erected in Lord Chesterfield's house in Mayfair, 51.
- Stalls, choir, at St. Paul's, 100, 101, 112, 113, 114, 145.
- Starling, Sir Samuel, Lord Mayor 1670, 44.
- Statuary groups, designs for by Gibbons, 84, 86, 87.
- Statues by Caius Cibber at Chatsworth, 225, 228; of Charles II, by Gibbons, at Chelsea Hospital, 87, 177; of Charles II at Royal Exchange, 95; of Charles II at Windsor, 94, 125; of Evangelists in chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, 147, 148; of James I and Charles I, formerly in Winchester Cathedral, 9; James II, by Gibbons, 93, 94; of saints by Gibbons, in Whitehall Palace Chapel, 125, 126; made by Gibbons for Toby Rustat, 55, 94; no equestrian statue of Charles II by Gibbons, 48.
- Steele, Richard, referred to, 50.
- Steenwyck, referred to, 92.
- Stokes, his account of Gibbons, 46, 47, 48.
- Stoke, Edith, Wren's connection with, referred to, 198.
- Stone, Nicholas, 9, 46.
- Strange, Sir John, Master of the Rolls, referred to, 98.
- Strawwork, flat, unmodelled, at Holland House, 6.
- Strawberry Hill, Gothic architecture at, 68; sale at, referred to, 83.
- Streeter, Robert, Sergeant Painter, 58.
- Strings, staircase, oak leaves design of, at Cassiobury, 70.
- Strong, Edward, his employment at City churches, 153; his work at St. Paul's, 98.
- Strong, Thomas, employed at St. Stephen Walbrook, 153; first stone of St. Paul's laid by, 97.
- Strong, Timothy, grandfather of Thomas Strong, 98.
- Strong, Valentine, father of Thomas Strong 98.
- Strongs, the, association of, with John Longland, 153.
- Strype, his account of Charles I's statue at Charing Cross, referred to, 88; his edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, referred to, 100.
- Stuarts, high quality of joinery in times of later, 2.
- Sudbury Hall, doorways at, and at Thorpe Hall, compared, 215; Gibbons' carvings at, not in suitable setting, 217; Gibbons' carvings in drawing-room at, 216; pedimented panels at, 213, 216; plaster ceiling at, 213, 216; staircase at, 214, 215, 234.
- Sundial at Windsor carved by Gibbons, 53, 56, 94.
- Survey of London*, Strype's, St. Paul's organ gallery described in, 100.
- Surveyor-General, Wren succeeds Sir John Denham as, 53.
- Surveyor of Works, Inigo Jones, 6, 18.
- Swags, 13, 20, 22, 25, 26, 29, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 60, 61, 70, 73, 75, 75, 81, 84, 84, 88, 89, 90, 93, 129, 130, 132, 134, 143, 150, 156, 157, 158, 162, 166, 168, 180, 181, 181, 184, 189, 192, 194, 204, 206, 206, 207, 212, 212, 215, 225, 229, 230, 231, 233, 235, 239, 240, 241; those by Inigo Jones and Gibbons compared, 60.
- Tabernacle of font in Durham Cathedral, 26, 29.
- Talman, William, architect of Chatsworth, 223.
- Talman, Controller of Works, 53.
- Tanner, Sir Henry, 24.
- Taylor, Zachary, 9.
- Tenison, Archbishop, 120, 123.
- Théâtre de la Grande Bretagne*, by Kips, illustration of Cassiobury in, 68.
- Thompson, master-mason at St. Paul's, 98.
- Thoresby, Ralph, the Leeds antiquarian, reference to Grinling Gibbons by, 48.
- Thornhill, his employment at Chatsworth, 225.
- Thornton, Thomas, carvings for Carpenters' Company, 26.
- Thorpe Hall, doorways at, 13, 14, 16, 215; rebuilding of, by Chief Justice St. John, 13; staircase at, 15, 16, 19, 68, 215; work at, compared to that at Rainham, Colehill and Wilton, 13.
- Throne Room at Windsor, the whorled scrolls in over-doors in, 64, 66.
- Thynne, Mr. Quellin's monument to, in Westminster Abbey, 125.
- Tijou, his ironwork, 51, 98, 102, 131, 138, 151, 235; iron balustrade of staircase at Cannons, the work of, 51.
- Timber-framed houses general in Middle Ages, 1; illegal in London after Great Fire, 2.
- Tintoret, Gibbons' carvings of cartoons by, 94; Gibbons' carving of the Crucifixion by, 51, 80.
- Tonbridge School, picture of, in Skinner's Hall, 167.
- Tour Through England*, by Mackay, referred to, 225.
- Tredegar Park, carving at, referred to, 168; doorways at, 32, 33, 35; Gilt Room at, 34, 38; mantel-piece in Brown Room at, 35, 35, 38; oak lining of walls of Brown Room at, 34; staircase at, 30, 30, 38, 68; the Brown Room at, 31.
- Trinity College, Cambridge, Celia Fienes's visit to, 142; Gibbons' carvings in library at, 140; heraldic devices in library at, 139, 140, 140, 141, 142, 143, 143, 190.
- Trinity College, Oxford, altar-piece in chapel at, 143, 144, 146; carvings in chapel at, referred to, 180; Celia Fienes's visit to, 146; chapel screen at, 19, 143, 148, 152; Mr. Rogers' account of the paint on woodwork in chapel at, 146; pierced panels in chapel at, 70, 146, 146, 147, 148, 234; statues of Evangelists in chapel at, 147, 148; Thomas Strong employed under Wren at, 98; variety of woods used in chapel at, 146; wainscoting in chapel at, 143, 146, 148.
- Turner, John, employed by May at Windsor Castle, 57.
- Tuscany, the Grand Duke of, Gibbons' carving given by Charles II to, 66.
- Tythrop, staircase at, 34.
- Tyttenhanger, staircase at, 37, 38.
- Urns, wooden, in Venice, resembling those of Wren's time, 18.
- Vallerano, organ in church of the Madonna del Ruscello at, 19.
- Vanbrugh, his plans for Blenheim carried out, 241.
- Vandermeulen, Laurent, carvings by, 95, 96; his work with Gibbons, 125.
- Vanderstein, his work at Queen's College library, 150.
- Van Kampen, architect of Amsterdam Stadhuis, in 1648, 21.
- van Lokeren, A., paper by, referred to, 66.
- Van Mander, Karel, his portrait of Christian IV of Denmark at Hampton Court, 134.
- Van Os, Jan, referred to, 92.
- Varnish on carvings, 58, 66, 68, 76, 78, 93, 166, 174, 215, 238.
- Vases, carved, 229; by Maine at St. Paul's, 148; at Lyme Hall, 242, 243; at Petworth, 91, 188, 191, 192, 193; at Trinity College, Oxford, similar to that at Petworth, 148.

- Venetian joint lace carved by Gibbons, 66, 81, 82, 83, 83, 84, 193, 198, 205; price paid for carvings of, by Charles II and William III, 84.
- Venice, doorway in, resembling woodwork at St. John's College, 18; wooden urns in, resembling those of Wren's time, 18.
- Verrio, his painting at Whitehall Chapel, 124; his painting in King's Chapel, Windsor, 65; his painting in King's staircase at Hampton Court, 134; his work at Chelsea Hospital, finished by H. Cooke, 169, 178; painted ceiling at Chatsworth by, 225; painted ceilings at Windsor Castle by, 57, 58, 60.
- Vertue, George, employed by Sir Godfrey Kneller to engrave his portraits, 45; his MSS. referred to, 94, 186; his note-books purchased by Horace Walpole, 46; information as to Gibbons in note-books of, 45, 50; reference to carving of lace by Gibbons in note-book of, 84; second Earl of Oxford, patron and friend of, 45; the carvers of the "Great Ship" mentioned in note-book of, 48.
- Vestry at St. Lawrence Jewry, 162, 163; position of, in Wren's churches, 162; wainscoting of, in Wren's churches, 162.
- Victoria and Albert Museum, the, carvings from St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, in, 164, 166; doorway from Carey Street in the, 180, 182; doorway from the Duke of Urbino's Palace in, 18; example of James I panelling in, 6, 7; Florentine chimney-piece in, 18; Gibbons' *Stoning of St. Stephen* bought by, 51; Italian carved wood frame in, 17, 18; room from Clifford's Inn at, 171, 172; want of carvings of Wren's period in, 166.
- View of Gardens near London*, by Gibson, quoted, 181.
- Viner, Sir George, his purchase of Gibbons' carving of the Crucifixion, 30.
- Viner, Sir Robert, Lord Mayor of London, 50.
- Viner, Sir Thomas, son of Sir George, 51.
- Vintners' Company, the, *History of*, by Milbourn, referred to, 168.
- Vintners' Hall, balusters of staircase in, 167; carved panels at, 168, 168; mantel-pieces at, 168; screen at, 168; Sir C. Barry's work at, 160; wainscoting at, 168, 168, 170; woodwork of oak at, 168.
- Vitruvius, architectural rules of, 85.
- Wadmore, Mr., his account of Skinners' Hall, quoted, 166.
- "Wainscot," "Dantsie," in St. Paul's, 102; oak and Spanish chestnut, at Lee Place, 54; "Right," 4, 93, 102.
- Wainscoting at Belton, 201; at Brewers' Hall, 43, 44; at Chelsea Hospital, 178, 180, 181; at Compton Park, 238; at Forde Abbey, 13; at Hackwood Park, 202; at Hampton Court, 4, 130, 132, 136; at Holme Lacy, 208; at Kensington Palace, 4, 129; at Lord Mayor Waldo's house, 170; at Mawley Hall, 244; at New River Company's offices, 169, 170; at Pembroke College, 42; at Petworth, 186; at St. John's College, 13; at Vintners' Hall, 168, 168; at Winchester College Chapel, 235; construction of, in beginning of seventeenth century, 3; deal, 124; for wall-lining, general in Wren's time, 3; framed, introduction of, 1; in chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, 143, 146, 148; in room from Clifford's Inn, 172; in side pews of City churches, 162; in vestries of Wren's churches, 162; seventeenth century, change in character of, 3, 4; type and construction of, in Grinling Gibbons' time, 4; walnut used for, at Chippenhams and Boyton, 4.
- Walbrook, St. Stephen, 19, 97, 153, 155, 158, 160, 161, 180.
- Waldo, Lord Mayor, his house in Cheapside, 170.
- Walnut, 2, 4, 146; used by joiners in Charles I's time, 4; used for wainscoting at Chippenhams and Boyton, 4.
- Walpole, Horace, George Vertue's note-books purchased by, 46; his account of Gibbons, referred to, 48; his account of Petworth, quoted, 186; his frame carved by Gibbons, 82, 83; his letter to George Montagu, quoted, 186; his note as to lace cravat carved by Gibbons, 83; his praise of Gibbons' panels of the Windsor statue, 94; his reference to Gibbons' assistants, 95; his reference to Gibbons' carvings at Chatsworth, quoted, 225; his reference to H. Cooke's ceiling at the Islington Waterworks, 170; his reference to Kneller's portrait of Gibbons, 146; his reference to monuments and statues by Gibbons, 94; his reference to Petworth in *Anecdotes of Painting*, quoted, 51, 186, 192; his reference to sale of Gibbons' collections, 246; his reference to Vandermeulen, 96; his reference to William Emmett, 58; life of Gibbons by, 46; referred to, 46.
- Watch dogs at St. Paul's, 101.
- Water Board, the Metropolitan, Clerkenwell "Water House" taken over by, 169.
- Water, Hugh Myddelton's scheme for supplying London with, 168, 169.
- Waterloo Chamber, Windsor, carvings in, formerly in the chapel, 64; carvings in, spoiled by their arrangement, 65.
- Waterworks, Islington, ceiling in, painted by H. Cooke, 170.
- Watson, Samuel, Gibbons' superiority to, 61; his carving at Chatsworth, referred to, 204, 225; his carving of a pen, 225; his drawings at Chatsworth, 225, 228; his woodwork at Chatsworth, 225; Horace Walpole's reference to, 227.
- Webb, Hugh, Roger Davis and, account for work done by, at St. Paul's, 102.
- Webb, John, 24, 53; assistant to Imigo Jones, 8; his style at Ramsbury Manor, 212; his style at Sudbury Hall, 235; increased use of wood by, 12; work at Thorpe Hall attributed to, 16; work of, reflects taste of his time, 13.
- Wessex, referred to, 92.
- Welbeck, oak trees from, used at St. Paul's, 102.
- Wellington monument, once in Morning Chapel at St. Paul's, 121.
- Westminster Abbey, effigies of Charles II and William III in, 84; Quellin's monument to Mr. Thynne in, 125; Whitehall Palace altar re-erected in, and removed from, 126, 127.
- Westphalia, Peace of, 21.
- Wheatley and Cunningham, *London, Past and Present*, by, referred to, 88.
- Whitehall Palace, altar in chapel at, 22, 125, 126, 127, 128; banqueting House at, 6; Banqueting House, influence of Italian Renaissance shown in, 18; burnt 1696, 126; chapel at, 124; chapel, altar in, 22; chapel at, Gibbons' statues of saints in, 125, 126; disuse of, by James II, 128; disuse of chapel at, under William III, 126; Evelyn's account of the chapel at, 125; Imigo Jones' designs for the new, 124; statue of James II formerly in privy garden at, 94; Wren architect of, 89.
- Whiting, Willian, surveyor of Brewers' Company, 43.
- Whorled scrolls, 63, 65, 66, 74, 76, 89, 95, 96, 137, 142, 145, 146, 147, 147, 151, 154, 156, 156, 157, 185, 193, 195, 195, 201, 210, 210, 211, 211, 215, 218, 219, 242, 243; in over-doors in Throne Room at Windsor, 64, 66; invented by Gibbons, 63, 64; on carved frame at Cassiobury, compared with that in Windsor and Trinity College chapels, 76; over portrait of Lord Liverpool at Windsor, 65; at Holme Lacy, 88, 93; at Lyme Hall, 243; at Petworth, 93, 191, 193; at Windsor, 92.
- Wildegos, Mr., Master of the Carpenters' Company, 26.
- William III, alterations to Hampton Court by, 129; Daniel Marot, favourite architect of, 89; disuse of Whitehall Palace Chapel under, 126; Earl of Devonshire's activity in the cause of, 223; effigy of, in Westminster Abbey, 81; H. Cooke, historical painter under, 169; his grant of land belonging to Chelsea Hospital to the Earl of Ranelagh, 177; portrait of, at Hackwood Park, 203, 208, 204; portrait of at New River Company, 169; portrait of William Prince of Orange, the father of, 61, 64; price paid for lace cravats by, 84; prosperity of New River Company under, 169.
- Williams, Joseph, President of the Royal Society, 55; Secretary of State, 55.
- Wilton, decoration at, 8; double cube room at, 8, 10; influence of Italian art in decorations at, 18; Imigo Jones' work at, 6, 7; sculpture used in moderation in the decoration of, 80; use of composition in place of wood at, 12; work at, compared with that at other places, 13, 90.
- Wimpole, Cambridgeshire, referred to by George Vertue, 45.
- Winchester, marble columns given to Charles II for his palace at, 66.
- Winchester Cathedral, former screen in, 9, 81, 88; Hubert le Sœur's statues of Charles I and James I in, 88.
- Winchester College, Butterfield's restoration of, 232; carvings from, now at Hursley Park, 230, 230, 231, 235; woodwork formerly in chapel at, various owners of, 235; Dr. Yeatman-Biggs's letter to the *Morning Post* as to woodwork formerly in chapel at, 235; Wren's work at, 232, 233.
- Winchester, 1st Marquess of, Basing House built by, 202; 6th Marquess of, created Duke of Bolton, 202.
- Wind gauge over fireplace in the Admiralty, 242, 244.
- Windsor Castle, accounts for work at, in Record Office, 57; carved frames in Audience Chamber at, 60, 61, 63; carved frames in Presence Chamber at, 82, 63; carved over-mantel at, 88; carved panels in the Throne Room at, 64, 64, 66; carving from chapel, now in Waterloo Chamber, 64; carving in ante-room at, 59, 60; carving in "King's Eating Room," referred to, 204; carving over doorways of Audience Chamber at, 63; carving over fireplace in Presence Chamber at, 82, 64; carvings in Waterloo Chamber spoiled by their arrangement, 65; Celia Fiennes' account of Gibbons' work at, 65; Charles II's work at, 57; chimney-piece in Throne Room at, 64; drops in Ante-room at, 60; Evelyn's references to May's work at, 57; Gibbons' architraves and cornices at, 106; Gibbons' association with Hugh May at, 64; Gibbons' work at, 57, 65, 85; gilding at, done by Coussin, 58; Hugh May, Controller of Works at, 53; Ibach's statue of Charles II at, 57; joiners employed at, by May, 57; May succeeded by Wren as Controller of, 124; May, his alteration of William of Wykeham's building at, 57; May, his staircase at, destroyed by Salvin, 58; May, his work at, 57; Morris Emmett, master bricklayer at, 57; portrait of Charlotte Duchess of Orleans in Presence Chamber at, 62, 64; portrait of Mary Queen of Scots in the Audience Chamber at, 60, 63; portrait of the Duke of Gloucester at, 63, 64; portrait of William Prince of Orange at, 61, 64; Pyne's view of the chapel at, 65; St. George's

- Hall at, 64; Salvin's work at, 58; Sir Peter Lely's portrait of the Duchess of Richmond at, 64; statue of Charles II at, 88, 94; sundial on the North Terrace at, 53, 57, 94; swags in Ante-room at, 60; Verrio's paintings at, 57, 58, 60, 65; whorled scrollwork at, compared with that on the Cassiobury frame, 76; William Emmett's work at, referred to, 181; William Roberts' accounts for work at, 57; Wyatville's restoration and alterations at, 58.
- Wise, Thomas, chief mason at the Earl of Ranelagh's house, 177; master-mason at St. Paul's, 98.
- Wolseley Hall, Staffordshire, staircase in, referred to, 167.
- Wood as an easily obtainable wall lining, 4.
- Wood carvers of late Renaissance period not called ceilers, 5; some late Renaissance, members of Joiners' Company, 5.
- Wood carving of Charles I's and William III's time, much wrongly called "Grinling Gibbons," 11.
- Wood, painted, used by Inigo Jones, 4; use of composition instead of, at Wilton, 12.
- Woodroffe, William, screen in Brewers' Hall by, 44.
- Wren, Sir Christopher, beginning of his architectural career, 139; few contemporary organs in churches by, 157; Gibbons' work under, 54, 85; Gibbons' work in marble under, 93; Hampton Court Chapel, redecoration of, designed by, 126; his account books for the City churches, 153; his accounts, 121; his association with the Royal Society and Chelsea Hospital, 176; his connection with Belton, 108; his connection with Queen's College library, 235; his designs for Chelsea Hospital, referred to by Evelyn, 176, 177; his designs for memorial to Charles I, 86, 88; his drawings at All Souls' College, referred to, 124; his early work at Pembroke College, referred to, 163; his London churches, 153; his orders as to workmen swearing in St. Paul's, 101; his plans for Blenheim not adopted, 241; his report on the state of St. Paul's, 97; his survey and report on Chatsworth, 223; his woodwork in early buildings, 39; his work at Hampton Court, 129; his work at Trinity College library, Cambridge, 139; his work at Winchester College, 232, 233; joinery in Chelsea Hospital, designed by, 178; Mr. George Birch's book on churches by, 162; Morris Emmett employed by, 37; organs in churches of, compared with Italian organs of seventeenth century, 19; pedestal of Charles I's statue at Charing Cross, designed by, 88; Professor of Astronomy, 54, 143; pulpits in his churches compared with those in Italy, 19; references to Jonathan Maine in his accounts relating to City churches, 163; St. James' Church, Piccadilly, designed by, 155; singing galleries in churches by, 157; screens in his churches, 160; Surveyor of His Majesty's works, 53; taken by Evelyn to see Gibbons' work, 53; the *Parentalia*, by his son, the first life of, 86, 87; Thomas Strong's work under, 98; vestries usually included in his church plans, 162; want of carvings of his time in Victoria and Albert Museum, 166; work of, influenced by Inigo Jones, 11.
- Wreaths, 56, 61, 70, 129, 129, 135, 137, 154, 155, 174, 192, 235, 243.
- Wyatt, Lewis, his alterations to Hackwood Park, 203, 205.
- Wyatt, Samuel, employed by May at Windsor Castle, 57.
- Wyatts, Cassiobury altered by one of the, 68.
- Wyatville, carvings moved from Windsor chapel by, now in Waterloo Chamber, 64; his work at Windsor Castle, 57, 58.
- Wykeham, William of, May's alteration of his building at Windsor, 57.
- Wyndham, the Hon. Percy, letter from, as to Ritson's carvings, quoted, 106.
- Wynn, destruction of Buckingham House, designed by, 173.
- Yeatman-Bigge, Dr., his letter to the *Morning Post* as to woodwork from Winchester College, 237.
- York, the Duke (afterwards James II) and Duchess of, their rooms at Windsor Castle, 57.

Note.—The large numerals indicate ILLUSTRATIONS of the subjects indexed, and refer not to the figure numbers, but to the pages on which illustrations will be found. The small numerals indicate REFERENCES in the text.

ERRATA.

Page 51, line 4,	for "Anecdotes of Painters" read "Anecdotes of Painting"
" 58, " 12, "	" " " "
" 126, " 12, "	" 1696 " read " 1698."
" 169, " 36, "	" Salters " read " Skinners."
" 170, " 20, "	" " " "
" 186, " 37, "	" Anecdotes of Painters " read " Anecdotes of Painting."
Pages 208-212, for	" Holm Lacey " read " Holme Lacy "



A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS

PUBLISHED AT
THE OFFICES OF

“COUNTRY LIFE,” LTD.

20, TAVISTOCK STREET
COVENT GARDEN
LONDON, W.C.



A NEW SERIES OF ARCHITECTURAL BOOKS

THE PROPRIETORS OF "COUNTRY LIFE" have pleasure in announcing a new and important series of Architectural Monographs under the general editorship of Lawrence Weaver, F.S.A., Hon. A.R.I.B.A., of which "Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens" and "Grinling Gibbons and the Woodwork of his Age" are the first volumes.

The series will include books by authors of acknowledged authority on the work of great architects of the past, such as the Brothers Adam; on the architectural development of the minor arts of Plasterwork, Ironwork and the like; and on individual features of buildings, such as Fireplaces and Chimneypieces, Staircases and Panelled Rooms. The volumes will be uniform in size, type and style of binding. Two are now in the press, and six more are in active preparation. The prices at which they are published will vary with the number of pages in each volume, but in all cases will be much lower than ever before attempted for books so fully and finely illustrated.

It is hoped that the following Monographs will be published in 1914-15. Fully illustrated Prospectuses will be forwarded, as issued, to anyone making application.

THE WORK OF THE BROTHERS ADAM, BY ARTHUR T. BOLTON,
F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A. [*In the Press.*]

DECORATIVE PLASTERWORK, BY LAURENCE TURNER [*In the Press.*]

WROUGHT IRONWORK: GATES, RAILINGS AND SCREENS, BY
MAXWELL AYRTON.

ENGLISH PANELLED ROOMS, BY W. H. WARD, M.A. Cantab., A.R.I.B.A.

ENGLISH FIREPLACES AND CHIMNEYPICES, by WALTER H.
GODFREY.

STAIRCASES: THEIR DESIGN AND DECORATION.

HOUSES AND GARDENS BY E. L. LUTYENS

Described and criticised by
LAWRENCE WEAVER

Large crown folio (16 by 11), bound in quarter buckram, gilt.
Nearly 400 pages and 600 superb illustrations.

25/- net; by post Inland 25 10; Foreign and Colonial Post 27/-



FOLLY FARM FROM END OF POOL.

This book is lavishly illustrated with photographs of about eighty of Mr. Lutyens most typical houses and gardens, many of which have never previously been published. Interspersed in the text is a large number of plans, and there is an appendix of 22 pages giving a valuable series of scale drawings of typical buildings. The subjects are accompanied by descriptions and critical appreciations which incidentally throw considerable light on the general development of the domestic building of to-day. In all respects the book is the most important and interesting monograph on the work of an architect yet published.

The Scotsman says: "Among the English architects whose work has saved modern domestic architecture from the reproach of merely handing down the traditions of a lost art, none has done more or better work than Mr. E. L. Lutyens. . . . Mr. Lawrence Weaver has written a learned and judicious appreciation of the work of this busy and indefatigable master-builder, which covers an extraordinarily large and varied field. . . . Architects and students of architecture will pronounce it valuable in itself and of good promise for the series in which it appears."

The Morning Post says: "The publication of Mr. Weaver's work on the buildings and career of Mr. Lutyens is . . . an event in the world of architecture."

The Manchester Guardian says: "It is only when we see a publication such as this that we realise what quality characterises some of the building of to-day. Abundantly and splendidly illustrated, this book shows the work of a great master, whose influence is even greater than his most enthusiastic admirers can appreciate."

The Irish Times says: "The book is perfect of its kind. Nothing but praise is due to the arrangement; indexing, appendices, and general appearance of this most attractive volume."

The Aberdeen Free Press says: "It is a welcome and valuable addition to the modern literature of architecture."

The finest Architectural Monograph ever published in this country.

WINDSOR CASTLE

AN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

Collected and written by Command of Their Majesties

QUEEN VICTORIA, KING EDWARD VII. and
KING GEORGE V.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L.

Imperial Quarto, in two sumptuous Volumes, and a Portfolio.

Bound in Half Sheepskin	-	£6 6 0	net
„ Whole Sheepskin	-	8 8 0	„
„ Full Morocco	-	10 10 0	„



WINDSOR CASTLE stands alone among the buildings of Great Britain. It is the greatest among our early fortresses and the most splendid of Royal Palaces. It includes within its walls a rich example of the most typically English phase of Gothic Architecture—St. George's Chapel, the home of the Knights of the oldest existing order of Chivalry in Christendom, the most noble Order of the Garter. The story of English building during eight centuries is very fully written in the stones of Windsor, but not so that everyone may read. The slow accretions of centuries are not easy to disentangle, and it needed the skill and wide archaeological experience of Mr. W. H. St. John Hope to set out in its true proportions the fascinating story of the growth of this great architectural organism.

The edition is strictly limited to 1,050 numbered copies, of which nearly 400 were subscribed before publication. In no circumstances will the book be reprinted. It is illustrated by exquisite reproductions in colour of drawings by Paul Sandby; by a large number of colotype plates reproducing a unique collection of original drawings, engravings and photographs which show the Castle at every stage of its development; as well as by beautiful woodcuts, prepared expressly by the great engraver Orlando Jewitt for this History, when it was first projected. The Portfolio contains a notable reproduction of Norden's View of Windsor and a complete series of plans, specially printed in fourteen colours, which show the dates of all the buildings in the Castle and their successive changes. Many of the illustrations are reproduced for the first time, by special permission of His Majesty the King, from originals in the Royal Library at Windsor.

The text is printed from new type on pure rag paper, specially made for this edition, and the volumes are produced in a way which does the fullest justice to a work of national importance.

The Times says: "This story of the noble buildings of Windsor, with which the personal history of all our English Sovereigns is so closely linked, is a piece of historical research, and reconstruction of which all who have been concerned in it may be proud."

Uniform with "Small Country Houses of To-day," "Small Country Houses: Their Repair and Enlargement," and "The House and Its Equipment."

GARDENS FOR SMALL COUNTRY HOUSES

By GERTRUDE JEKYLL and LAWRENCE WEAVER

Third Edition. Revised and Enlarged.

Large quarto, cloth, gilt

15/- net, by post (inland) 15/7

Foreign and Colonial Post, 16/7

300 pages, and over 400 illustrations, with coloured frontispiece

AMONGST the vast number of books on all aspects of gardening this volume takes a new and distinctive place. It deals with garden design as a whole, with reference both to the proportions and architectural elements which govern a successful plan, and to right and artistic planting. The first seven chapters describe in detail some beautiful gardens of varying type which illustrate the solving of different problems. Very important are the planting plans by Miss Jekyll, whose reputation as a deviser of colour schemes is world-wide. In other chapters the treatment of various kinds of sites is discussed in detail, with scores of plans and photographs of examples by well-known designers. The chief architectural features of gardens, such as pergolas, pools and fountains, walls, steps and paving, garden houses, seats and sundials, are described with a lavish series of illustrations. Others deal with cultural problems such as the planting of retaining walls and the use of climbing plants. The illustrations are of a beauty and educational value impossible to over-estimate. No owner of a small country house who wishes to improve its garden can afford to be without this notable book.



The Spectator says: "There could be no more helpful book than this to consult."

Uniform with "Small Country Houses: Their Repair and Enlargement,"
"Gardens for Small Country Houses," and "The House and its Equipment."

SMALL COUNTRY HOUSES OF TO-DAY

Edited by LAWRENCE WEAVER

Large quarto, cloth, gilt

15/- net; by post (inland) 15/6. Foreign and Colonial Post, 16/6

224 pages, 300 illustrations.



A FINE BRICK HOUSE.

repair and add to old country cottages and farmhouses. To all of moderate means who contemplate building or altering a country house, this book, which treats the subject clearly and in a large spirit, yet in an untechnical way, will be of the utmost value.

THIS volume fills a distinctive place, because not only is the picked work of more than 40 of the best architects of the day shown by plan and photograph, but it is discussed in detail, frankly yet sympathetically. As the houses illustrated, nearly fifty in all, vary from whitewashed week-end cottages costing less than £500 to dignified country homes costing £5,000, all sorts of internal arrangement and architectural and garden treatment are brought under review. Not least important are the chapters which deal with the right way to

Uniform with "Gardens for Small Country Houses," "Small Country Houses of To-day," and "Small Country Houses: Their Repair and Enlargement."

THE HOUSE AND ITS EQUIPMENT

Edited by LAWRENCE WEAVER

Large quarto, cloth, gilt

15/- net; by post (inland) 15/6. Foreign and Colonial Post, 16/6

212 pages, 240 illustrations.



CHINA SHELVES AND RADIATOR
CUPBOARD.

Small Country Houses," and therefore supplement that book in a useful way.

IT is impossible that any one writer can deal with the many problems that arise out of the artistic and practical equipment of a house, at least with equal knowledge and sympathy. The scheme of this volume, with its forty-three chapters contributed by twenty-three experts of acknowledged ability, ensures the throwing of fresh light on scores of questions that concern the comfort and pleasure of everyone. To all who own a home, and are not wholly satisfied with it, and to all who contemplate improving an existing house or building anew, this volume will be of the utmost value. The eleven chapters on garden design deal in the main with features appropriate to larger gardens than are illustrated in "Gardens for

Uniform with "Small Country Houses of To-day"; "Gardens for Small Country Houses," and "The House and Its Equipment."

SMALL COUNTRY HOUSES: THEIR REPAIR AND ENLARGEMENT

Forty Examples Chosen from Five Centuries

By LAWRENCE WEAVER

Large quarto, cloth, gilt. 15/- net.

By post (inland) 15 6. Foreign and Colonial Post 16/6. Nearly 250 pages and 300 illustrations.



A FIT SUBJECT FOR REPAIR.

THE growing tendency to rescue old buildings from neglect and the important problems which are raised by such work prompted the issue of this book. Detailed descriptions reveal how houses of bygone days have been re-equipped as modern needs demand, without destroying the witness they bear to the old traditions of building. Incidentally, the author has shown in how many cases the records of modest little houses have been preserved, and how intimately their local story is woven into the larger fabric of national history. The book is an invaluable guide to all who are desirous of repairing an old house, and who wish to achieve it in the right spirit.

THE "COUNTRY LIFE" BOOK OF COTTAGES

(Costing from £150 to £600)

By LAWRENCE WEAVER

Large octavo, cloth, gilt. 5/- Net.

By post (Inland) 5/5. Foreign and Colonial post, 6/- Nearly 250 pages and 300 Illustrations and Plans.

THE aim of this phenomenally successful book is to set out some of the problems and conditions imposed by varying limits of cost, and to show how modern architects have succeeded in providing convenient and successful cottages at reasonable prices. In this book full consideration has been given to all types of cottages—for the rural labourer, the estate servant, the small-holder, the clerk who lives outside the town, the "week-ender," and those of limited means who want a permanent home of refined character in the country at the smallest possible cost.

It is an indispensable book to all estate owners; to everyone who contemplates building a cottage of any sort, and to all who are interested in Housing questions.

"The 'Country Life' Book of Cottages," says *The Scotsman*, "is of the highest interest to all who have to build, and are naturally anxious to do so with a due regard to economical as well as aesthetic considerations."



IN ENGLISH HOMES

Illustrating the architectural character, decorations and furniture of some of the most notable Houses of England.

Volumes I., II., and III.

AND

ENGLISH HOMES of the EARLY RENAISSANCE (ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBEAN HOUSES AND GARDENS)

Edited by H. AVRAY TIPPING, M.A., F.S.A.

£2 2s. net each

By post £2 3s.

These four notable volumes form together an unequalled pictorial survey of the domestic architecture of England of every style and period. They are, moreover, a treasury, not only of the life stories of the notable men and women who have lived in our historic homes, but of those county and village traditions which throw so much light on the larger issues that have made the history of the nation.

The following are the principal Houses illustrated:—

VOLUME I.

Agecroft Hall, Lancashire	Conbe Abbey, Warwickshire	Kewsey Hall, Lancashire	Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire
Apethorpe, Northamptonshire	Crews Hall, Cheshire	Lanbyres, Cornwall	Stourhead, Wiltshire
Anlley Bad, Essex	Drakelowe Hall, Derbyshire	Levens Hall, Westmorland	Sutton Place, Surrey
Belton House, Lincolnshire	Dunster Castle, Somersetshire	Lilliscoe, Wiltshire	Sydenhams House, Devonshire
Brislington Court, Gloucestershire	Eastnor Castle, Herefordshire	Longlet, Wiltshire	The Denery Gardens, Berkshire
Boston House, Middlesex	Gifford's Hall, Suffolk	Melbury House, Dorsetshire	The Yeme, Hampshire
Bowood Park, Wiltshire	Godinton, Kent	Old Place, Sussex	Tythrop House, Oxfordshire
Bradfield, Devonshire	Goodwood House, Sussex	Osburgh Hall, Norfolk	Waddleson Manor, Buckinghamshire
Branshill Hall, Cheshire	Grimsborne, Lincolnshire	Parham Park, Sussex	Wickham Place, Sussex
Branshill Park, Hampshire	Groombridge Place, Kent	Ragley Hall, Warwickshire	Wentworth Castle, Yorkshire
Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire	Haldon Hall, Derbyshire	Red Lodge, Bristol	West Dean Park, Sussex
Burton Agnes, Yorkshire	Hampden Court, Middlesex	Rufford Abbey, Nottinghamshire	Westwood Park, Worcestershire
Caesobury Park, Hertfordshire	Harwick Hall, Derbyshire	Rushmore Park, Suffolk	Wilton House, Wiltshire
Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire	Hatfield House, Hertfordshire	Safron Walden, Norfolk	Woolton House, Dorsetshire
Castle Howard, Yorkshire	Havell Grange, Warwickshire	Sawthill Hall, Yorkshire	Wroxton Abbey, Oxfordshire
Chastleton House, Oxfordshire	Holme Lacy, Herefordshire	Speke Hall, Lancashire	
Chewton House, Hampshire	Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire	Staaway House, Gloucestershire	
Cobham Hall, Kent	Kingston Lacey, Dorsetshire		

VOLUME II.

Adlington Hall, Cheshire	Drakelowe, Derbyshire	Lynae, Cheshire	Samlesbury Hall, Lancashire
Aston Hall, Warwickshire	East Sutton Park, Kent	Marshmore, Hampshire	Siergh Castle, Westmorland
Attingham Park, Shropshire	Glynde, Sussex	Maxstoke Castle, Warwickshire	Stockton House, Wiltshire
Baileysay Clifton, Warwickshire	Hartford House, Dorsetshire	Melby Hall, Yorkshire	Tenille House, Yorkshire
Beaumont Hall, Yorkshire	Hever Castle, Kent	Newburgh Priory, Yorkshire	The Grange, Devonshire
Bickling Hall, Norfolk	Hill Hall, Essex	No. 12, Weldbach, Bristol	Treasurer's House, Yorkshire
Bolton or Castle, Derbyshire	Honiton Tower, Lancashire	Park Hall, Shropshire	Wetherick Abbey, Nottinghamshire
Burton Constable, Yorkshire	Holland House, Kensington	Prinknash Park, Gloucestershire	Woolton House, Gloucestershire
Canon Ashby, Northamptonshire	Hortonby Castle, Yorkshire	Queensy Hall, Leicestershire	Woolton Hall, Yorkshire
Chicheley Hall, Buckinghamshire	Hutton-in-the-Forest, Cumberland	Ragdale Old Hall, Leicestershire	Woolton Hall, Worcestershire
Chorde, Wiltshire	Lightfoot Motte, Kent	Rabston Hall, Yorkshire	
Cotchford, Cornwall	Knockwath House, Hertfordshire	Redmanston, Hertfordshire	
Darton House, Oxfordshire	Langley, Essex	St. Donats Castle, Glamorganshire	

VOLUME III.

Apethorpe Hall, Northamptonshire	Deene Park, Northamptonshire	Houghton Hall, Norfolk	Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire
Brimston, Wiltshire	Hitchley, Oxfordshire	Hurley Park, Hampshire	Stowe House, Buckinghamshire
Bretney Park, Gloucestershire	Burford Hall, Cheshire	Kirkcree Park, Yorkshire	Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire
Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire	Duncombe Park, Yorkshire	Newby Hall, Yorkshire	Swakeleys, Middlesex
Boughton House, Northamptonshire	Easton Neston, Northamptonshire	Nostell Priory, Yorkshire	Thorp Hall, Northamptonshire
Bronze Park, Kent	Foric Abbey, Derbyshire	Oldton Hall, Cheshire	Troscobar Park, Monmouthshire
Castle House, Oxfordshire	Gilling Castle, Yorkshire	Pelworth, Sussex	Tydealmere, Hertfordshire
Cain Mally, Glamorganshire	Hillwell Park, Somersetshire	Ravensbury Manor, Wiltshire	Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire
Chatsworth, Derbyshire	Heath Old Hall, Yorkshire	Rusham Hall, Norfolk	Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire
Deilington Castle House, Oxfordshire	Holkham Hall, Norfolk	Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire	Wilton Hall, Norfolk
	Holme Lacy, Herefordshire	Stoke Edith Park, Herefordshire	

EARLY RENAISSANCE VOLUME.

Bateman, Sussex	Chavenage, Gloucestershire	Kildwick Hall, Yorkshire	Shaw House, Berkshire
Berwick Hall, Lancashire	Chequers Court, Buckinghamshire	Kirby Hall, Northamptonshire	Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire
Boyeton House, Wiltshire	Cobham Hall, Kent	Lake House, Wiltshire	Shilton Hall, Shropshire
Bronches Hall, Norfolk	Cobhouse Manor, Somerset	Maldeney Hall, Cambridgeshire	Stourhead, Wiltshire
Bretton Hall, Cheshire	Daneway House, Gloucestershire	Nettlecombe Court, Somerset	Studley Priory, Oxfordshire
Broughton Hall, Staffordshire	Derwent Hall, Derbyshire	Owpen Manor, Gloucestershire	Waddington Hall, Derbyshire
Burford Priory, Oxfordshire	Doddington Hall, Lincolnshire	Parham House, Berkshire	Trerice Manor House, Cornwall
Castle Brunwick Hall, Warwickshire	East Quantockhead Court House, Somersetshire	Pas Mawr, Carmarthenshire	Water Eaton Manor, Oxfordshire
Chatsworth Castle, Staffordshire	Gwydir Castle, Carmarthenshire	Queens Hall, Leicestershire	Wilton Park, Sussex
Charlton House, Kent	Hall Farm Wood, Lancashire	Salford Hall, Warwickshire	Wootton Lodge, Staffordshire
Charterhouse, The, London		Seckford Hall, Suffolk	Yarmton Manor, Oxford

IN ENGLISH HOMES



A SPECIMEN ILLUSTRATION.

THE DESCENT OF THE STAIRWAY,
TEMPLE NEWSAM, YORKSHIRE.

"Such a work as *IN ENGLISH HOMES* comes as something of a revelation. One may have a general idea, or even some particular knowledge of the splendours of architecture, decoration, furniture, and works of art appertaining to our country mansions, and yet be astonished at all the taste and magnificence represented in the profusion of excellent photographs. The abundant illustrations are well designed to exemplify the elaborate details of carving and plaster work, as well as the bold architectural schemes that characterise the interiors and exteriors of the house."—*Morning Post*.

GARDENS OLD AND NEW

(The Country House and its Garden Environment)

Edited by H. AVRAY TIPPING, M.A., F.S.A., the illustrations being from Photographs specially taken by CHARLES LATHAM. Crown folio (15 in. by 10 in.). Handsomely bound in cloth, gilt edges.

Volumes I., II., and III.

£2 2s. net each

By post £2 3s.

These three volumes illustrate the relationship between house and garden, and the beauties of every type of garden, both formal and natural, in a way never before attempted. They afford a complete survey of the whole history of garden design and garden architecture, considered from every point of view, historical, artistic and horticultural.

The following are the principal Houses illustrated in the work:—

VOLUME I.

Alton Towers, Staffordshire	Compton Beauchamp, Berkshire	Holme Lacy, Hereford	Prior Park, Bath
Asridge Park, Great Berkhamstead	London, Surrey	Lechliff Hall, Kent	Rogley Hall, Warwickshire
Atterhampton Hall, Dorchester	Drayton House, Northampton	Kelly House, Tavistock	Rushway Hall, Cheshire
Barhamstead Hall, Cheshire	Rivaton Castle, Derbyshire	King's Weston, Gloucestershire	Risley
Bechou, Cheshire	Fontaine Hall and Abbey, Yorkshire	Langston Lacy, Herefordshire	Ross Lechliff Court, Worcestershire
Billing, Norfolk	Franks, Kent	Levens Hall, Westmoreland	St. Catherine's Court, Bath
Birkswall, Sussex	Great Fungley Manor, Surrey	Lilleshall, Shropshire	Stonleigh Abbey, Warwickshire
Bronze Hall, Norfolk	Gay's Cliff, Warwick	Longford Castle, Wiltshire	Studley Royal, Yorkshire
Broughton Castle, Banbury	Hall Barn, Buckinghamshire	Loxley Park, Surrey	Sutton Place, Gloucestershire
Burwick Hall, Northampton	Hall, The, Banfont-on-Avon	Loyd's Park, Gloucestershire	Sydenham House, Devonshire
Casa de Pilatos, The, Seville	Hall House, Richmond	Montacute, Somerset	Tissington Hall, Derbyshire
Charlton House, Kent	Hamwick Hall, Dorsetshire	Newstead Abbey, Nottingham	Trentham, Staffordshire
Chatsworth, Derbyshire	Heckfield Place, Hampshire	Norton Conyers, Yorkshire	Van House, Somerset
Cleeve Prior Manor, Worcestershire	Hembury Court, Gloucestershire	Old Place, Landford	Wilton House, Salisbury
Clevedon Court, Somerset	Heslington Hall, York	Panshanger, Hertfordshire	Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire
Clifton Hall, Nottingham	Hever Castle, Kent	Penshurst, Kent	

VOLUME II.

Azerott Hall, Manchester	Easton Hall, Grantham, Lines	Keatwell Hall, Suffolk	Packwood House, Birmingham
Albury Park, Surrey	Elton Hall, Cheshire	Leighton Hall, Walspool	Pain's Hill, Surrey
Altham House, Heris	Lydon Hall, Northants	Lincoln Park, Maidstone, Kent	Parham Park, Sussex
Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire	Proscoure and Windsor	Lilleshall Hall, Berkshire	Parllyn Castle, N. Wales
Baleucres, Fife	Ormsay Park, Yorkshire	Lochnach, Wigtownshire	Peabury, Kent
Barncliffe, Lancashire	Groundridge Place, Kent	Langton, Wiltshire	Plethford Hall, Shropshire
Barrow Court, Somerset	Gwydyr Castle, Denbighshire	Mapperton House, Beaumont	Powis Castle, Montgomeryshire
Brookhurst Park, Hants	Baldon Hall, Dorsetshire	Margam Park, Glamorganshire	St. Fagan's, Cardiff
Castle Ashby, Northants	Balsor, Worcestershire	Maris Hill, Essex	Sedgwick Park, Sussex
Chastleton House, Gloucestershire	Hampton Court, Middlesex	Melford Hall, Suffolk	Shrubland's Park, Suffolk
Chirk Castle, Denbighshire	Harwood House, Yorkshire	Mere Hall, Dorsetshire	Smithill's Hall, Lancashire
Chiswick House, Middlesex	Highnam Court, Gloucestershire	Moyus Park, Essex	Stoke Edith Park, Hereford
Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire	Hour Cross, Binton-on-Trent, Staffordshire	Munstead, Surrey	Stoke Rochford, Lincolnshire
Crathorne Manor, Brest	Inwood House, Somerset	Newhall's Abbey, Middlesex	The Yvie, Hants
Drakelow Hall, Staffordshire	Kellistown Hall, Derbyshire	Okeover Hall, Derbyshire	Wickham Park, Dorsetshire
Drumlanrig, Dumfriesshire		Orchardleigh Park, Somerset	Wilton Court, Kent
Edinburgh Castle, Perthshire		Oreham, Surrey	Witcham, Wiltshire

VOLUME III.

Arley Hall, Cheshire	Easton Lodge, Essex	Kewell Manor, Trowbridge	Speke Hall, Lancashire
Atterhampton Hall, Dorsetshire	Faulkbourne Hall, Essex	Laver Marney Towers, Essex	Stubbington Hall, Huntingdonshire
Batton, Devonshire	Gayhurst, Buckinghamshire	Llangwyn Hall, Pembrokeshire	The Deane, Gardens, Reading, Berkshire
Bowood, Wiltshire	Gifford's Hall, Suffolk	Lyme Hall, Cheshire	Trevorcy, Cornwall
Bradfield, Devon	Great Trosley Manor, Surrey	Newton Ferrers, Cornwall	Wilton House, Salisbury
Brantam Park, Yorkshire	Hallfield House, Hertfordshire	St. Overy's Priory, Essex	Wolton House, Arlesbury
Caons Ashby, Northamptonshire	Holland House, Kensington	South Wmsar Manor, Wiltshire	Wrest Park, Bedfordshire
Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire	Hutton-in-the-Forest, Cumberland		

GARDENS OLD AND NEW



A STONE URN AT MARGAM PARK, GLAMORGANSHIRE

(Reduced specimen illustration.)

"These beautiful books owe their charm to the wonderful collection of photographs of gardens and garden architecture which such a paper as COUNTRY LIFE has had a unique opportunity of making. The principle conveyed in the letterpress is that held by all great gardeners and architects—that house and garden are, or should be, intimately associated, and that the character of the possessors should be reflected in both. The accounts of lovely garden after lovely garden are most agreeable reading. There is no country in the world where man-created sylvan beauty can be found comparable to this in England, and as albums of charming pictures for the garden lovers and a mine of elegant suggestion to the garden-maker, these volumes are the best thing of their kind we have ever seen."—*Daily Chronicle*.

Our Common Sea-birds

CORMORANTS, TERNS, GULLS, SKUAS, PETRELS, AND AUKS

By PERCY R. LOWE, B.A., M.B., B.C., with Chapters by BENTLEY BEETHAM, FRANCIS HEATHERLEY, F.R.C.S., W. R. OGILVIE-GRANT, OLIVER G. PIKE, W. P. PYCRAFT, A. J. ROBERTS, etc.

Large quarto, cloth, gilt, with over 300 pages and nearly 250 illustrations.

15/- net; post free (inland) 15/7



UNLIKE the majority of books dealing with birds, this volume is of interest to the general reader and to the student of ornithology alike.

It is a book that enables the reader to identify our Sea-birds by name, to understand their movements, their habits, their nests, and their eggs.

Dr. Lowe, during many yachting trips round the British Islands, in the Mediterranean, and across the Atlantic, has had exceptional opportunities of studying the habits and life histories of our Sea-birds, and this book, in addition to embodying much valuable information from the latest records, contains a large number of new facts and original theories of intense interest to all.

The introductory pages and the chapters on the Flight of Birds deserve the very closest attention, and the illustrations are of extraordinary merit and beauty. They exhibit in a marked degree the result not only of the skill, knowledge and ingenuity of the photographers, but of their high enthusiasm and unwearying patience.

A BOOK THAT WILL APPEAL TO ALL NATURE LOVERS.

The Peregrine Falcon at the Eyrie

By FRANCIS HEATHERLEY, F.R.C.S.

Illustrated throughout with wonderful photographs by the Author and C. J. KING.

Denby quarto, cloth, gilt.

5/- net; by inland post 5/6

THIS fascinating book on the Peregrine Falcon—the grandest bird of prey left in England—combines the salient facts of almost innumerable field notes, *written at the eyrie itself*. It is a book that should appeal with irresistible force to all true nature lovers. Many striking and unexpected facts were revealed to the author as a result of unwearying patience in a diminutive hut slung from the precipice of a lonely islet. These records are now set forth in a wonderful narrative which discloses the life history of the Peregrine Falcon from the moment of its hatching to the day it finally leaves the eyrie.



The Times says: "We commend this faithful and truly scientific inquiry to all lovers of animals and to those who are in quest of a real knowledge of nature."

PASTIME WITH GOOD COMPANY

Pictured by G. D. ARMOUR

With an Introduction by HORACE G. HUTCHINSON.

Royal quarto, tastefully bound, gill.

15/- net; by inland post 15/6

Containing over FIFTY choice plates,
thoroughly typical of Mr. Armour's art.



THIS volume is sure of a warm welcome from every Sportsman and Sportswoman of to-day. In the beautiful picture gallery disclosed through its pages, Mr. Armour presents a wonderfully representative collection of his art. Whether it is the field in "full cry," the grouse coming over the heather, the polo player dashing towards the goal, or the otter hound surging through the rapids; all are portrayed with individuality and fidelity, by means which have the appealing merit of simplicity and directness. The plates are perfect specimens of pictorial art. Each one deserves and, indeed, demands a frame.

The "Country Life" Library of Sport

Edited by HORACE G. HUTCHINSON.

12s. 6d. net each volume. By post 6d. extra.

A Series devoted to Sport and Pastime; each branch being dealt with by the most qualified experts on the subjects which they have made peculiarly their own.

CRICKET

With over 80 Illustrations taken from the most interesting of the old cricketing prints. One Volume.

FISHING

With Coloured Plates of Salmon and Trout Flies. Over 250 full-page Illustrations and numerous diagrams. In Two Volumes.

SHOOTING

The breeding, rearing, and shooting of pheasants, partridges, and wild duck. In Two Volumes.

BIG GAME SHOOTING

With over 200 Illustrations from photographs showing animals in their actual habitat and natural environment. In Two Volumes.

POLO, PAST AND PRESENT

The game is traced from its cradle in Persia, many centuries back, up to the present time. Profusely illustrated. In One Volume.



"Mr. Hutchinson and his colleagues have done their work thoroughly."—*The Globe*.

GOLF GREENS AND GREEN KEEPING

By HORACE G. HUTCHINSON.

Cheap Edition 5s. net. By post 5s. 4d.

"The practical worth of the volume is nearly equal to the combined worth of all the books that have been written on the theory and practice of golf."—*Yorkshire Post*.

"Country Life" Library of Garden Books

THE CENTURY BOOK OF GARDENING

Edited by E. T. COOK. *A Comprehensive Work for every Lover of the Garden.* 624 pages, with about 600 illustrations, many of them full-page 4to (12 in. by 8½ in.). 21s. Net. By post 21s. 10d.

"No department of gardening is neglected, and the illustrations of famous and beautiful gardens and of the many winsome achievements of the gardener's art are so numerous and attractive as to make the veriest cockney yearn to turn gardener. If THE CENTURY BOOK OF GARDENING does not make all who see it covet their neighbours' gardens through sheer despair of ever making for themselves such gardens as are there illustrated, it should, at any rate, inspire everyone who desires to have a garden with an ambition to make it as beautiful as he can."—*Times*.

GARDENING FOR BEGINNERS

(*A Handbook to the Garden.*) By E. T. COOK. *Coloured plates and over 200 illustrations, plans and diagrams from photographs of selected specimens of Plants, Flowers, Trees, Shrubs, Fruits, etc.* Sixth Edition. 12s. 6d. Net. By post 13s.

"One cannot speak in too high praise of the idea that led Mr. E. T. Cook to compile this GARDENING FOR BEGINNERS, and of the completeness and succinctness with which the idea has been carried out. Nothing is omitted . . . It is a book that will be welcomed with enthusiasm in the world of gardeners."—*Morning Post*.



WALL AND WATER GARDENS

With Chapters on the Rock Garden, the Heath Garden and the Paved Water Garden. 5th Edition. Revised and Enlarged. By GERTRUDE JEKYL. *Containing instructions and hints on the cultivation of suitable plants on dry walls, rock walls, in streams, marsh pools, lakes, ponds, tanks, and water margins.* With 200 illustrations. Large 8vo, 220 pages. 12s. 6d. Net. By post 12s. 11d.

"He who will consent to follow Miss Jekyll aright will find that under her guidance the old walls, the stone steps, the rockeries, the ponds, or streamlets of his garden will presently blossom with all kinds of flowers undreamed of, and become marvels of varied foliage."—*Times*.

COLOUR SCHEMES FOR THE FLOWER GARDEN

By GERTRUDE JEKYL. *With over 100 illustrations and planting plans.* Third Edition. 12s. 6d. Net. By post 13s.

"Miss Jekyll is one of the most stimulating of those who write about what may be called the pictorial side of gardening. . . . She has spent a lifetime in learning how to grow and place flowers so as to make the most beautiful and satisfying effects, and she has imparted the fruits of her experience in these delightful pages."—*Daily Mail*.

THE FRUIT GARDEN

By GEORGE BUNYARD and OWEN THOMAS. 507 pages. Size, 10½ in. by 7½ in. 12s. 6d. Net. By post 13s.

"Without any doubt the best book of the sort yet published. There is a separate chapter for every kind of fruit, and each chapter is a book in itself—there is, in fact, everything that anyone can need or wish for in order to succeed in fruit growing. The book simply teems with illustrations, diagrams, and outlines."—*Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*.

LILIES FOR ENGLISH GARDENS

Written and compiled by GERTRUDE JEKYL.

8s. 6d. Net. By post 8s. 10d.

"LILIES FOR ENGLISH GARDENS is a volume in the COUNTRY LIFE Library, and it is almost sufficiently high commendation to say that the book is worthy of the journal. Miss Jekyll's aim has been to write and compile a book on Lilies which shall tell amateurs, in the plainest and simplest possible way, how most easily and successfully to grow the Lily."—*Westminster Gazette*.

THE UNHEATED GREENHOUSE

By MRS. K. L. DAVIDSON.

Cheap Edition, 5s. Net. By post 5s. 4d.

"An infinity of pleasure can be obtained from the due use of an unheated house built under proper conditions, and it is the function of Mrs. Davidson's book to provide hints and directions how to build such a house, and how to cultivate the plants that can be cultivated with advantage without artificial heat."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE ENGLISH VEGETABLE GARDEN

By various experts.

Cheap Edition, 5s. Net. By post 5s. 6d.

"The book is of a thoroughly practical nature, and covers the whole ground from the trenching of the land to the gathering of the produce, and, aided by suitable illustrations, the writers have succeeded in furnishing a book which will be of inestimable advantage to the enterprising private or market gardener who would make the most of his resources."—*Field*.

"Country Life" Library of Garden Books—continued.**CHILDREN AND GARDENS**

By GERTRUDE JEKYLL. *A garden book for children, treating not only of their own little gardens and other outdoor occupations, but also of the many amusing and interesting things that occur in and about the larger home garden and near grounds. Thoroughly practical and full of pictures.* 6s. Net. By post 6s. 4d.

"Little bits of botany, quaint drawings of all kinds of things, pretty pictures, reminiscences and amusements—why, it is a veritable 'Swiss Family Robinson' for the bairns, and we shall be surprised and disappointed if it is not introduced into many hundreds of homes."—*Liverpool Post*.

**ROCK AND WATER GARDENS
THEIR MAKING AND PLANTING**

With *Chapters on Wall and Heath Gardens.* By F. H. MEYER. Edited by E. T. COOK. 6s. Net. By post 6s. 4d.

"In this book the author has studied every detail of Nature's ways in order to reproduce in the garden the charms of natural scenery."—*Standard*.

TREES AND SHRUBS FOR ENGLISH GARDENS

By E. T. COOK. 12s. 6d. Net. By post 12s. 11d.

"It contains a mass of instruction and illustration not always to be found altogether when required, and as such it will be very useful as a popular handbook for amateurs and others anxious to grow trees and shrubs."—*Field*.

MY GARDEN

By EDEN PHILLPOTTS. 207 pages. 60 full-page illustrations. Cheap Edition. 6s. Net. By post 6s. 5d.

"It is a thoroughly practical book, addressed especially to those who, like himself, have about an acre of flower garden, and are willing and competent to help a gardener to make it as rich, as harmonious, and as enduring as possible. His chapters on irises are particularly good."—*World*.

A GARDEN IN VENICE

By F. EDEN. *An account of the author's beautiful garden on the Island of the Giudecca at Venice. With 21 colotype and 50 other illustrations. Parchment, limp.* 10s. 6d. Net. By post 10s. 10d.

"Written with a brightness and an infectious enthusiasm that impart interest even to technicalities, it is beautifully and rarely pictured, and its material equipment is such as to delight the lover of beautiful books."—*Glasgow Herald*.

SEASIDE PLANTING OF TREES AND SHRUBS

By ALFRED GAUT, F.R.H.S. *An interesting and instructive book dealing with a phase of arboriculture hitherto not touched upon. It is profusely illustrated, and diagrams are given explaining certain details.* 5s. Net. By post 5s. 4d.

"Mr. Gaut has accomplished a piece of very solid and extremely useful work, and one that may not be without considerable influence upon the future development of coast-side garden work and agriculture."—*Liverpool Courier*.

ROSE GROWING MADE EASY

By E. T. COOK. *A simple Rose Guide for amateurs, freely illustrated with diagrams showing ways of increasing, pruning and protecting roses.* 1s. Net. Cloth, 1s. 6d. Net. Postage 3d. extra

"... gives full and reliable information on everything connected with the subject, and ought to be in the hands of every rose grower, be he an amateur or an experienced gardener."—*Aberdeen Free Press*.

**SWEET VIOLETS AND PANSIES
AND VIOLETS FROM MOUNTAIN AND PLAIN**

Written by several authorities, and Edited by E. T. COOK. *This interesting subject has never been treated in the same way as set forth in this illustrated book. The information is thoroughly practical. A dainty gift-book to gardening friends.* 3s. 6d. Net. By post 3s. 10d.

"Altogether excellent, and must be useful both to the grower of prize flowers and to the amateur."—*Guardian*.

THE BOOK OF BRITISH FERNS

By CHAS. T. DRUERY, F.L.S., V.M.H., *President of the British Pteridological Society.* 3s. 6d. Net. By post 3s. 10d.

"The book is well and lucidly written and arranged; it is altogether beautifully got up. Mr. Druery has long been recognised as an authority on the subject."—*St. James's Gazette*.



"Country Life" Library of Garden Books—continued.**THE HARDY FLOWER BOOK**

By E. H. JENKINS. *A complete and trustworthy guide to all who are desirous of adding to their knowledge of the best means of planting and cultivating hardy flowers.*
Large Crown 8vo, 50 illustrations and coloured frontispiece. 2s. 6d. Net. By post 2s. 10d.

THE SMALL ROCK GARDEN

By E. H. JENKINS. *Large Crown 8vo, over 50 illustrations and coloured frontispiece.*
 2s. 6d. Net. By post 2s. 10d.

THE DISEASES OF TREES

By PROFESSOR R. HARTIG. *Royal 8vo.*
 10s. 6d. Net. By post 10s. 10d.

GARDENING MADE EASY

By E. T. COOK. *An instructive and practical gardening book of 200 pages and 23 illustrations, all showing the way certain garden operations should be performed. It is the A.B.C. of gardening.*

1s. Net. Cloth, 1s. 6d. Net. Postage 3d. extra.

FRUIT GROWING FOR BEGINNERS

A simple and concise handbook on the cultivation of Fruit. By F. W. HARVEY, F.R.H.S.

1s. Net. Cloth, 1s. 6d. Net. Postage 3d. extra.

"An amazing amount of information is packed into this book."—*Evening News.*

**VEGETABLE GROWING MADE EASY**

A simple and concise handbook on the cultivation of Vegetables. By OWEN THOMAS, F.R.H.S., V.M.H., and GEORGE WYTHES, F.R.H.S., V.M.H., with a chapter on **The Cooking of Vegetables**, by MRS. FRANCES KEYZER.

1s. Net. Cloth, 1s. 6d. Net. Postage 3d. extra.

POEMS

By DOROTHY FRANCES GURNEY.

5s. Net. By post 5s. 3d.

ANIMAL LIFE BY THE SEA-SHORE

By G. A. BOULENGER, LL.D., D.Sc., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.Z.S., and C. L. BOULENGER, M.A., D.Sc., F.Z.S. *A simple and concise manual for all who wish to increase their knowledge of the habits and life histories of the wonderful creatures which are to be found on the sea-shore.* Nearly 100 illustrations.

5s. Net. By post 5s. 4d.

CAUSERIES ON ENGLISH PEWTER

By ANTONIO DE NAVARRO. *Treats of Old Pewter, Pewter Church Plate, Evolution of the Tankard, The Trencher and its Uses, Church Flagons, Chalice, Patens, Forks, Salts, Spoons, and the Custody of Pewter.*

Quarto, Price 10s. 6d. Net. By inland post. 11s.

THE FIRST AND CHIEF GROUNDES OF ARCHITECTURE

By JOHN SHUTE, 1563, with a historical and critical introduction by LAWRENCE WEAVER. *Facsimile edition, limited to one thousand numbered copies of this rare and important work, the first book on architecture published in England.* Folio, half-bound in sheepskin, 15s. Net. By post 15s. 6d.

ENGLISH LEADWORK: ITS ART AND HISTORY

By LAWRENCE WEAVER, F.S.A. 440 illustrations.

25s. Net. By post 25s. 9d.

ECONOMIES IN DAIRY FARMING

An important Work on Dairying by ERNEST MATHEWS (the well-known Judge and Expert).

7s. 6d. Net. By post 7s. 10d.

PHOTOGRAPHY FOR BEGINNERS

An instructive and practical book, worded clearly but non-scientifically, for the tyro camera user.

1s. Net. Cloth, 1s. 6d. Net. Postage 3d. extra.

FRENCH HOUSEHOLD COOKING

By MRS. FRANCES KEYZER. *Shows how simple and inexpensive is the art of cooking as the French understand it.*

1s. Net. Cloth, 1s. 6d. Net. Postage 3d. extra.



GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00838 6506

