PAINTING, PATRONAGE AND COLLECTING IN ENGLAND DURING THE CIVIL WARS AND INTERREGNUM, c.1640-1660

Emily Burns

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2018

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements **iv**
Abstract **v**
List of Abbreviations **vi**

Introduction **1**

Chronology 2
Focus on painting, patronage and collecting in England 14
Synopsis 15
Objectives of the thesis 17

Chapter 1: Painters in London, c.1640-1660 **18**

Introduction 18
The 'English Modern Masters' 18
The movement of painters in and out of London 26
Painting patronage in London 46
Social and geographical painting networks in London 59
Conclusion to Chapter 1 63

Chapter 2: Defining Dynasties: The Art Patronage and Collecting of Lady Anne Clifford and Philip Herbert the 4th Earl of Pembroke **64**

Introduction 64
The Art Patronage of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590-1676) during the Civil Wars and Interregnum **67**
Profile of Lady Anne Clifford 67
Lady Anne as an art patron 70
Lady Anne's experience of the 1640s 71
The *Great Picture* of Lady Anne Clifford 73
The *Great Picture*'s visual precedent 76
A question of attribution 81
Lady Anne Clifford's patronage in the North of England 89
Conclusion to the case study on Lady Anne Clifford 91

The Art Patronage of Philip Herbert, 1st Earl of Montgomery and 4th Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650) during the Civil Wars **92**
Profile of the 4th Earl of Pembroke 92
Pembroke's art patronage prior to the 1640s 94
1640s: civil war, fire and the re-decoration of Wilton House 98
Pembroke's art collecting and picture display 101
The decorative scheme of the state rooms 106
The Hunting Room by Edward Pearce Senior 111

Conclusion to Chapter 2 115

Chapter 3: Grand Designs of the Civil Wars and Interregnum: The Art Patronage and Collecting of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland and Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham of Lamport, c.1640-1660 **119**

Introduction 119

The Art Patronage of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland, (1602-1668) during the Civil Wars and Interregnum **126**
Two Strand Palaces 127
Northumberland's picture collection 131
Northumberland's finances 137
Conclusion to the case study on the 10th Earl of Northumberland 139

The Art Patronage of Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham of Lamport (1611-1675) during the Interregnum **141**
Isham's developments at Lamport Hall 145
Isham's picture collection 148
Conclusion to case study on Sir Justinian Isham 161

Conclusion to Chapter 3 162

Chapter 4: The Retention of 'the late King's goods' in and about London during the Interregnum: the cases of Oliver Cromwell and Emanuel de Critz **165**

Introduction 165

Overview of the sale and partial recovery of the Crown goods 170

The Retention of Royal Goods by the Commonwealth and the Protectorate during the 1650s **173**
Reserving goods in theory and practice 173
Beauchamp's inventory of the reserved goods pending parliamentary approval, 19 July 1654 177
The Tapestries 178
The Paintings 184
Cromwell's goods and the 1659 Hampton Court inventory 188
Conclusions to draw from the reserved and re-acquired goods 191

Emanuel de Critz's involvement in the Sale of the Royal Collection **193**
Profile of Emanuel de Critz and his work, c.1640-60 193
De Critz's purchases in the sale 197
The case of two works bought by Emanuel de Critz in the 1650s:
The Great Peece by Van Dyck and Van Leemput's copy 203

Conclusion to Chapter 4 207

Conclusion **209**

The survival of London's painting business 209
The continuance of court culture 213
The endurance of elite taste in the visual arts 216
Closing statement and potential for future research 219

Bibliography **220**

Appendix: **238**
Table of references in the Painter-Stainers' Company Court Minutes
to some artists cited in the thesis

List of Illustrations **245**

Illustrations **253**

Acknowledgements

I could not have completed this thesis without the advice and support of a number of people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors at the University of Nottingham – Associate Professor Julia Merritt, Emeritus Professor Jeremy Wood and Professor Richard Wrigley – for giving sound advice and direction as my project took shape. My special thanks go out to Jeremy for his constant guidance and encouragement throughout. I am also grateful to the Midlands 3 Cities consortium for funding my project and for providing valuable training to help me develop my skills as a researcher.

I am also indebted to a number of scholars who lent me advice along the way. I am thankful to Edward Town for many inspiring discussions and for encouraging me to turn my thoughts of doing a PhD into reality. Tabitha Barber, Justin Davies, Diana Dethloff, Claire Gapper, Lydia Hamlett, Gordon Higgott, Peter Humphrey, Angela McShane, Peter Moore, Jacob Simon and Aidan Weston-Lewis have also all been most generous in sharing their expertise. I was grateful for the chance to present and discuss my research at seminars and conferences hosted by the National Portrait Gallery, London, the History of Art Department at the University of Nottingham, the Paul Mellon Centre and, a week before my thesis submission, at the Charles I: King and Collector conference co-hosted by the Paul Mellon Centre, the Royal Academy of Arts and the Royal Collection Trust. I have also profited from helpful discussions with colleagues at the National Portrait Gallery, London, where I continued to work as an Assistant Curator alongside my doctoral research. I am particularly grateful to Catharine MacLeod for being so supportive of both my curatorial and doctoral work, and for generously sharing her seventeenth-century knowledge. My thanks also go to Charlotte Bolland, Carol Blackett-Ord, Tarnya Cooper, Jane Eade, Tessa Kilgariff, and Caroline Pegum.

Special thanks go to my parents, Alastair and Denise Burns, and my sisters, Rebecca and Olivia Burns, for their unfailing love and support. I am also grateful to my flatmates Francesca Cartier, Dani Crebbin, Nataliya Fentsur and Ana Parente for putting up with what must have seemed an unnecessarily protracted series of essay crises, and especially to Cristina Parente for her dose of wisdom or wit where needed. Particular thanks go to Jonty Olliff-Cooper, whose belief in me never failed even when mine had. Thank you also to Alex Thomas for his patience and limitless moral support during the final year. Finally, for their friendship, and stellar ability to spot typos, a big thank you to Sarah Footman, Maggie Gray and Ella Kahn.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

EMILY BURNS THESIS FOR DEGREE OF DPHIL

PAINTING, PATRONAGE AND COLLECTING IN ENGLAND DURING THE CIVIL WARS AND INTERREGNUM, c.1640-1660.

Abstract

In the period from 1640 until 1660 England witnessed religious dispute, political dissent and military conflict which led to the overthrow of the monarchy and the foundation of a republic. This era of the English Civil War and Commonwealth and Protectorate governments has therefore come to be defined as a time of change and 'revolution' in a number of ways, including in the arts. However, there is evidence to suggest that this disruption to the status quo did not extend so deep into the established infrastructure of the 'art world' and habits of its players as has previously been asserted in art-historical assessments of the period.

This thesis will interrogate the assumption that English artistic development stalled during the wars and was stifled during the Interregnum. Through select case studies, it will consider and throw fresh light on the experiences and activities of individuals from the three groups which made up the art market in this period: the artists, the art dealers, and the art patrons and collectors. In particular, this study will investigate the survival and success of the art of painting in these years, and the extent to which it prospered in London and continued to be consumed along established lines of courtly fashion and display.

The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that fashionable artistic taste tended to transcend religious and political allegiances so that art patronage of the Caroline model persisted on both sides of the divide in England through the 1640s and 1650s. This continued pattern of patronage and collecting, combined with the sales of royal and courtly art collections, buoyed London's painting market so that it retained its place at the centre of the English art world.

List of Abbreviations

ACA Alnwick Castle Archives

BL British Library

Bodl. Bodleian Library

CSP Calendar of State Papers

GL Guildhall Library

HHA Hatfield House Archives

HL House of Lords Archives

HMC Historic Manuscript Commission

HMSO His Majesty's Stationary Office

JHC Journal of the House of Commons

KRO Kendal Record Office

LMA London Metropolitan Archive

n. Footnote or Endnote

no. Catalogue Number

NRO Northampton Record Office

ODNB Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

PA Parliamentary Archives

PHA Petworth House Archives

SH Syon House MSS

TNA The National Archives

INTRODUCTION

The period from 1640 to 1660 was a time of unprecedented political and social change in England. It witnessed civil war (1642-1651), the trial and execution of the head of church and state (1649), government by Council of State and Parliament (1649-53 and 1659-60), and by Protectorate (1653-59), and the Restoration of the Monarchy (1660). Understandably, these eventful years have been a popular focus of research for social, political and military historians. However, less attention has been given to understanding if and how the political upheavals of these years were reflected in visual culture. In part, this is because there has been an assumption that – given the disruption of the wars, the apparent interruption of court patronage, and the presumed tastes of the 'puritan' victors – not much happened in terms of visual culture during this time. As a result, the period has been less thoroughly investigated from an art-historical perspective than it merits.

This thesis seeks to redress the balance by feeding into the emerging body of research on the culture of the Civil Wars and Interregnum through an examination of aspects of the practice, patronage and collecting of painting in England during this period. The objective is to investigate, through case studies, the extent to which and in what ways the painting trade experienced continuity and change during a time of great social and political change. In particular, it will investigate how some painters, dealers and their patrons were able to operate through the 1640s and 1650s. It aims to bring topics already identified as important in these years into a new relationship and to provide new lines of enquiry into this complex period. The findings will throw light on London's role in the English art market during the wars and republic, and provide insight into how far members of the elite remained active consumers of the visual arts in these years. In doing so, this thesis will give a nuanced view of the visual arts during the Civil Wars and Interregnum and enrich our understanding of the survival of court culture in this period.

Chronology

The time-frame of this investigation has been chosen because it encompasses a significant period in British history that has been relatively neglected by art historians. The degree of cultural continuity running through the period is in particular need of interrogation: the 1640s and 1650s have historically been characterised as being as distinctly different from each other as from the decades which preceded and succeeded them. The 1640s tend to be viewed as a challenging time for the country, while the 1650s are regarded as a return to business as usual.[1] However, a closer look at the evidence reveals a much more interesting picture of a cultural world at a time of political complexity. The period is therefore ripe for in-depth art-historical assessment.

The foundation of modern scholarship on the British Civil War and Interregnum periods was set at the turn of the nineteenth century by historians Samuel Rawson Gardiner and C.H. Firth.[2] The topic has continued to be subject to substantial historical enquiry, and recent studies have expanded the field and brought in revisionist assessments which place greater emphasis on the role of the nobility, on Oliver Cromwell and his court, and on propaganda.[3] Attention has also been given to the extent of financial and material damage caused by the wars: Stephen Porter has explored destruction caused by the Civil Wars, in particular that of urban centres, and Ben Coates has investigated the impact of the Civil Wars on the economy of London,

---

[1] Roy Sherwood notably argues that the Protectorate outward presentation and its court life came to closely resemble the 'normality' of Stuart monarchy: Roy Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell: King in All but Name 1653-1658* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997). In a recent article, Alec Ewing concedes that this 'is not an entirely unjustified statement', but disagrees with Sherwood's thesis in several respects: Alec Ewing, "A Royal Court in All but Name? The Protectoral Household of Oliver Cromwell (1653-1658)," *Leidschrift* 27, no. 1 (April 2012): 136.

[2] C. H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1911); Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903); C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army: A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate* (London: Methuen, 1902); Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893); Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889).

[3] The key role of the nobility in the lead-up to and early stages of the First Civil War is argued by John Adamson in J. S. A. Adamson, *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007). New assessments have recently been made of Oliver Cromwell, such as contributors to John Morrill, ed., *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London: Longman Pub Group, 1990). Furthermore, re-assessments of the received view of the degree of kingliness of Oliver Cromwell and the courtliness of his household and government have been made by Roy Sherwood and Alec Ewing: Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell*; Roy Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge: Willingham Press, 1989); Ewing, "A Royal Court in All but Name?," 135-153. The role of image-making in political propaganda has been explored by scholars including Kevin Sharpe and Jason Peacey: Kevin M. Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

finding the financial state of the city at this time less dire than had been previously thought.[4]

Acknowledgement of the Civil War and Interregnum years as worthy of art historical engagement has, however, been slower to take off. While the reigns of Charles I and Charles II have been celebrated for their rich visual culture, the Civil Wars, Commonwealth and Protectorate have continued to be characterised by violent conflict, unstable politics and religious fanaticism. In his 1991 article on the development of secular art in England the historian C. H. George expressly refuted the received view of the impact of the Civil Wars on English art, asserting that 'The death of Van Dyck in 1641 and the coming of the civil wars were not the disaster to artists that the received wisdom of historical cliché has insisted.'[5] Similarly, six years later, David Cressy both pointed out the cultural richness of the middle of the seventeenth century, and noted the absence of sustained scholarship in the area: 'The cultural matrix of the mid-seventeenth century was aflame with enormities and enmities that still await detailed investigation.'[6]

This historic disregard for the cultural continuities of the period is implicit in the way that some artistic surveys covering the seventeenth century begin or cease at the neat curfews defined by political events such as the eve of the Civil Wars in 1640, the execution of Charles I in 1649, or the restoration of Charles II in 1660.[7] The choice of such time-frames suggest there was little or no artistic continuity through the period, or imply a lack of artistic significance. Similarly, there is a body of literature, initiated by H. V. S. Ogden and M. S. Ogden and taken up by David Ormrod, Iain Pears, and

---

[4] Stephen Porter, *Destruction in the English Civil Wars* (Dover, NH: A. Sutton Pub., 1994); Ben Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).
[5] C. H. George, "Parnassus Restored, Saints Confounded: The Secular Challenge to the Age of the Godly, 1560-1660," *Albion* 23, no. 3 (Autumn, 1991), 435.
[6] David Cressy, *Birth, marriage, and death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 11-12. Bernard Capp cites this quote as the basis for his investigation into the impact of reformers of the cultural world of the mid-seventeenth century: Bernard S. Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and Its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), preface.
[7] Artistic surveys and indexes ending in 1640 include Robert Tittler, *Portraits, painters, and publics in provincial England, 1540-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and Robert Tittler, "Early Modern British Painters, c.1500-1640" (unpublished dataset, launched 1 May 2015, revised September 2017); an example ending in 1649 is David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and those beginning in 1660 include Ingrid Roscoe, M. G. Sullivan and Emma Hardy, *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009); the project *Court, Country, City: British Art, 1660-1735* (University of York and Tate Britain) and its digital output Richard Stephens, ed., "The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735," *Court, Country, City: British Art, 1660-1735*, University of York and Tate Britain (launched 2011, last accessed 27 March 2018).

Carol Gibson-Wood,[8] which argues that the London art market and growth of interest in the arts in Britain began after 1660, despite evidence to the contrary as pointed out by scholars such as Linda Levy Peck.[9]

This relative neglect of art of the Civil Wars and Interregnum has also been made explicit in numerous dismissive assessments of the quality and quantity of artistic activity at this time. These references can be found scattered throughout art historical scholarship on various subjects, including, for example, in the introduction to Wilhelm Nisser's 1927 book on the painter Michael Dahl (1659-1743). Here, as part of a broader discussion of the historical development of portraiture in England, Nisser gives a damning assessment of the art of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth: 'With the death of Van Dyck and the downfall of Charles I conditions changed considerably. Many good portraitists like Cornelius Johnson and Adrian Hanneman left England … The Puritans lacked the refined esthetic culture of their antagonists – that is quite true. They scattered the irreplaceable art treasures of Charles I; driven on by their fanatic morality, they revelled in wholesale destruction of those sculptures and paintings that represented, in voluptuous nudity, the gods, goddesses, and heroes of antiquity'.[10] The art historian and Director of the Tate Gallery (1938-64), John Rothenstein, writing two decades after Nisser, likewise gives a similarly negative assessment of the nature of the visual arts of the 1640s and 1650s: 'Patrons were no more, the great collections were long dissipated, and beauty was suspect as the enemy of the good'.[11] While these statements might be discounted, coming from non-specialists of the period, the respected seventeenth-century scholar and Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures (1972-1988), Oliver Millar wrote in 1975: 'Without the stimulus

---

[8] David Ormrod, "Dealers, Collectors and Connoisseurship in Seventeenth & Eighteenth-Century London 1660-1760," in *Kunstsammeln Und Geschmack Im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael North (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002); David Ormrod, "The Rise of the London Art Market, 1660-1760," in *Economia e Arte, Secc. XIII-XVIII: Atti Della 'Trentatreesima Settimana Di Studi' 30 Aprile-4 Maggio 2000*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 2002); Carol Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 3 (1 September 2002): 491–500; David Ormrod, "Cultural Production and Import Substitution: The Fine and Decorative Arts in London, 1660-1730," in *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London,* ed. Patrick Karl O'Brien (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); H. V. S. Ogden and M. S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955).

[9] Linda Levy Peck, "Luxury and War: Reconsidering Luxury Consumption in Seventeenth-Century England," *Albion* 34, no. 1 (2002): 17; Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[10] Wilhelm Nisser, *Michael Dahl and the Contemporary Swedish School of Painting in England* (Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1927), xxxix–xl.

[11] John Rothenstein, *An Introduction to English Painting* (London: Cassell, 1947), 31.

of the visiting artists from overseas or the demands of patrons who had travelled on the Continent and the educative influence of collectors of Renaissance and contemporary European works of art, painters in England seem, during these years, inevitably provincial'.[12] The word 'provincial' is here used derogatively, implying that British taste and aspirations in painting, cut off from the mainstream of European culture and influence, somewhat withered.[13] Shortly after this publication, Iain Pears emphasised the limitations of the English art world during the mid-seventeenth century, stating that:

> There were few collectors, and the most distinguished of the painters were foreign. Not only was there no "English School" of painting, there was little sign that anyone particularly wanted one. Only a small number of people wrote about the arts and there were no exhibitions. It was illegal to import paintings for sale, auctions were forbidden in London unless held under the aegis of the Corporation and painters were tied into the essentially artisanal guild of the Painter-Stainers' company. The catastrophe of the Civil War made the situation even worse as many of the Englishmen apprenticed to foreign painters lost their masters and the best of the great collections were broken up.[14]

Attitudes to architecture in these years have been similar to that of painting: in 1985, Oliver Hill and John Cornforth relegated the 1640s to a time of relative architectural stasis, stating that 'From 1642 until the end of the decade, there was little building activity'. They do, however, concede there was a degree of continuity through the period: 'a form of London artisan-mannerism survived alongside the Palladianism of Jones and Webb'.[15] Although there have since been piecemeal revisions to this

---

[12] Oliver Millar, "Painting under the Stuarts," in *The Genius of British Painting*, ed. David Piper (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), 121.
[13] The Oxford Dictionary defines 'provincial' when used as an adjective as 'Of or concerning the regions outside the capital city of a country, especially when regarded as unsophisticated or narrow-minded.'
[14] Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, 1.
[15] Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline, 1625-85* (London: Country Life, 1966), 22, 26.

generally unfavourable view of the impact of the Civil Wars and Interregnum on the art world, this traditional view still persists.[16]

As the above passages indicate, there are understandable reasons why some scholars might have dismissed the 1640s and 1650s as a time lacking artistic activity and great achievement. At the start of this period, three leading painters who worked for English patrons died – Orazio Gentileschi in 1639, Peter Paul Rubens in 1640, and Sir Anthony van Dyck in 1641. The Dutch painter, Cornelis van Poelenburgh is thought to have left England in 1641, and this is also the year the French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur was last recorded in the country.[17] Moreover, two other dominant artists of previous decades, Cornelius Johnson and Wenceslas Hollar, left the country a few years into the First (English) Civil War of 1642-6.[18] These artists were all of a high standard, and some had international fame, so their loss must have been keenly felt by patrons. It is also reasonable to assume that the patronage base shrunk along with its ambitions when Royalists who had been arts patrons of the Caroline court, such as William Cavendish the Earl of Newcastle (later the 1st Duke), left the capital and the country in the course of the First Civil War and focused their patronage activity on the Continent.[19] Furthermore, due to death, exile or financial concerns, many of the important Caroline collections – of Arundel, Buckingham, Hamilton, Pembroke, Van Dyck and, of course, that of the King – were dispersed in part or in their entirety in the course of the 1640s and 1650s.[20]

There is also a school of thought that the national attitude towards the visual arts changed for the worse during this period. Many of the characteristics of the 1640s and 1650s paralleled those of the years following the death of Henry VIII, which experienced official and unofficial art iconoclasm and a near-cessation of

---

[16] For example, in the work of Edward Chaney. See Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and the 'Voyage of Italy' in the seventeenth century* (Geneva: Slatkine/Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerche sul 'Viaggio in Italia', 1985), 57.
[17] When he was recorded as a witness to a Huguenot baptism on 31 January 1641. Charles Avery, "Le Sueur, Hubert (c. 1580–1658x68)," *ODNB*.
[18] Karen Hearn, *Cornelius Johnson* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2015), 8; Robert J. D. Harding, "Hollar, Wenceslaus (1607–1677)," *ODNB* (28 Aug. 2018).
[19] For Cavendish's patronage activity abroad, see Ben van Beneden and Nora de Poorter, *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648-1660* (Antwerp: Rubenshuis & Rubenianum, 2006).
[20] As Millar points out, 'None of the famous collections formed before the war, with the possible exception of the Earl of Northumberland's, came unscathed through the Civil Wars and Interregnum.' Oliver Millar, ed., "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods, 1649-1651," *Walpole Society* 43 (1970-1972): xi.

ecclesiastical patronage. A similarly negative environment for the visual arts has been ascribed to the 'Puritan Revolution'.[21] In a recent assessment of the art and architecture of the mid-seventeenth century, Timothy Wilks argues that an ascendancy of Puritanism 'caused a general malaise to settle on art production and the art market in the 1640s', which he attributes not 'merely to the disappearance of patrons and purchasers', but to the 'sheer demoralization of those who wished to engage with art.'[22] In addition to the impact of ideological prejudices imposed on the visual arts, much has been made of the physical damage inflicted on art and architecture across England by the calculated or collateral destruction caused by war and religious iconoclasm.[23] The episode of a House of Commons Committee's authorised destruction of 'superstitious Pictures and Matters' at the Queen's chapel at Somerset House, which reportedly culminated in a Rubens masterpiece being 'ripped … to bits' is a vivid example of Puritan zealotry at its most extreme.[24] Destruction was also wreaked out of greed: fine royal plate and regalia were pawned, sold or melted down for coin to finance the war.[25]

There is, however, fragmentary evidence to suggest that the period between 1640 and 1660 was far from an artistic caesura in England, and that the picture market of London retained its variety. While some key artists of the 1630s did indeed depart or die, this left a void in supply which was rapidly filled by artists such as William

---

[21] This is despite more recent scholarship of the post-Reformation showing that this was not the entire picture, and some artists, such as Hans Eworth, and limners, managed to find patrons and continue to develop their art practice. For discussion of Eworth's work and patrons, see George, "Parnassus Restored," 433. Also see Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture* (London: The Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, 1969), 342-45.

[22] Timothy Wilks, "The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration," in *The Oxford handbook of the English Revolution,* ed. Michael J. Braddick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 485.

[23] A selection of the more famous instances of iconoclasm during the Civil Wars are cited and fully referenced in Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xi-xii. The main texts on this topic are Julie Spraggon, *Puritan iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003); and Thomas Keith, "Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England," in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, ed. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: 2006), 16-40. For an account of iconoclasm in East Anglia, see Trevor Cooper, ed. *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001). Patrick Collinson puts forward a theory of increasing 'iconophobia' among Protestants following the Reformation of the previous century which has been refuted by scholars such as C.H. George and Tessa Watt, who see, rather, a general move toward more secular imagery: Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the cultural impact of the second English Reformation* (Reading: University of Reading, 1986), 22; George, "Parnassus Restored," 409-437; Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 165. For evidence of urban destruction caused by the wars, see Porter, *Destruction in the English Civil Wars*.

[24] This particular incident and its sources is discussed in detail in Albert J. Loomie, "The Destruction of Rubens's 'Crucifixion' in the Queen's Chapel, Somerset House," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1147 (Oct., 1998): 680-2. For more on this episode and other instances of iconoclasm of royal chapels, see Simon Thurley, "The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618-1685," *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 247-50.

[25] A. Jefferies Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I* (1955), Chapter 4; Ronald Lightbown, "The King's Regalia, Insignia and Jewellery," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London and Oxford: Alistair McAlpine in association with Oxford University Press, 1989): 257-275.

Dobson (bap.1611, d.1646) at the Royalist court in Oxford, and Robert Walker (1595/1610-1658) and new arrivals such as Peter Lely (1618-1680) in London. Having previously been a patron of Daniel Mytens and Sir Anthony van Dyck, the courtier Endymion Porter (1587-1649) smoothly transferred his patronage to the King's new painter, Dobson, commissioning a majestic portrait of himself inspired by Titian's painting of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, which was in the King's collection, complete with allusions to his role as an art patron (fig. 1).[26] As this thesis will explore, there is likewise evidence of continued activity by other London-based painters such as Jan van Belcamp (1610-1653), Emanuel de Critz (1608-1665), and Remigius van Leemput (1607-1675), who all executed original portraits and made copies of old and recent 'masters'. The many mid-seventeenth-century pictures lining the walls of English country houses further attest to the productivity of these years.[27]

There is, similarly, evidence of a continued demand for art. A number of other key members of the elite of the reign of Charles I, such as Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676), the 10th Earl of Northumberland (1602-1668), the 4th Earl of Pembroke (bap.1621-1669), and Lord Viscount Lisle (1619-1698) remained in England in the 1640s and 1650s and were mostly based in London. While many experienced financial difficulties at this time, these individuals – who were of both Parliamentarian and Royalist leaning, and of different religious persuasions – nevertheless continued their influence and art patronage in the 1640s and 1650s, commissioning new buildings and ambitious painted schemes, and collecting and displaying both old and new paintings.[28] Indeed, established patrons such as Lady Anne Clifford and the 10th Earl of Northumberland could be said to have peaked in

---

[26] Malcolm Rogers, *William Dobson, 1611-1646* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1984), no.8, 33–5, pl.3.
[27] C. H. George highlights that, despite the 'endlessly tedious struggle against undated anonymity', 'the pictorial treasures – overwhelmingly the portrait – of Long Galleries and great collections remain the most disused resource available to the historian of the England from Cromwell to Cromwell.' George, "Parnassus Restored," 421.
[28] The art patronage of the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Viscount Lisle have been addressed by Jeremy Wood and Hilary Maddicott respectively: Hilary Maddicott, "A Collection of the Interregnum Period: Philip, Lord Viscount Lisle, and His Purchases from the "Late King's Goods", 1649–1660," *Journal of the History of Collections* 11, no. 1 (1 January 1999): 1–24; Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland: Taste and Collecting in Stuart England," *Studies in the History of Art* 46, Symposium Papers XXVI: Van Dyck 350 (1994): 280–324; Jeremy Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland," in *English Architecture, Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes,* ed. John Bold and Edward Chaney (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 55-80. Some of the activities of these figures during the 1640s and 1650s are also discussed in Peck, *Consuming Splendor*; Peck, "Luxury and War"; and Julia F. Merritt, *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

their patronage activity during this time.[29] Other more minor members of the elite, such as Humphrey Weld, continued to seek out art worthy of the great Caroline collections: in 1647 he secretly arranged an art agent, Peter Fitton, to procure a "shopping list" of contemporary Italian artists to make bespoke pictures for his London townhouse.[30] Weld also commissioned extensive building work on Weld House in the West End in the late 1650s.[31] Other patrons such as Elizabeth Murray (1626-98),[32] and Sir Justinian Isham (1611-1675) commenced their patronage activity at this time, managing to secure the services of leading London artisans.[33] Pictures were traded by established dealers such as George Geldorp (fl.1610-1665) and lesser known ones such as Maurice Wase and Peter Fitton, and viewed by '*virtuosi'*[34] connoisseurs and antiquarians such as John Aubrey (1626-1697), John Evelyn (1620-1706), and Richard Symonds (bap.1617-1660).[35] Furthermore, prominent Caroline architects and designers, such as John Webb (1611-1672), continued their work for clients across the country in a non-partisan way.[36] This thesis will provide a more detailed analysis of some of these individuals in London in the 1640s and 1650s, revealing the extent of their activity and whether aspects of court culture were preserved in London after the King had left.

---

[29] The impressive extent of Lady Anne's patronage activity in the 1640s and 1650s can be gleaned from studies by Hearn and Hulse and Friedman, both in 2009: Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain* (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009); Alice T. Friedman, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster, and Paint: Lady Anne Clifford as Writer and Patron of the Arts," in *Anne Clifford and Lucy Hutchinson*, ed. Mihoko Suzuki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 103–20. See also Graham Parry, "The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford," in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts*, ed. David Howarth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 202–19. The Earl of Northumberland's art and architectural patronage during the 1640s and 1650s has been addressed by Manolo Guerci and Jeremy Wood: Manolo Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland: The Strand Palace during the Suffolk Ownership and the Transformations of Algernon Percy, Tenth Earl of Northumberland, 1614-68," *The Antiquaries Journal* 94 (September 2014): 211-251; Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 55–80; Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 280–324.

[30] J. P. Ferris, "A Connoisseur's Shopping-List, 1647," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975): 339-341.

[31] Weld's building activity is discussed in Peck, *Consuming Splendor,* 230-276; Peck, "Luxury and War," 6-7.

[32] Who became Lady Tollemache in 1648; 2nd Countess of Dysart in 1655; and Duchess of Lauderdale in 1672.

[33] Sir Justinian's patronage of John Webb and other artisans at Lamport Hall is discussed in John Bold, *John Webb: Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). Elizabeth Murray's patronage of portrait painters and developments at Ham House have recently been assessed in Christopher Rowell, "The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale as Collectors and Patrons," in *Ham House: 400 Years of Collecting and Patronage,* ed. Christopher Rowell (London: Yale University Press, 2013), 116-135.

[34] A term originally coined by Henry Peacham in Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman ... The Second Impression, much Inlarged. (Whereunto is annexed a description of the order of a Maine Battaile ..., with the Art of Limming, etc.)* (London, 1634), 105.

[35] Details of the activities of these figures in these years can be found in their published writings: John Aubrey, *John Aubrey: Brief Lives with an Apparatus for the Lives of Our English Mathematical Writers*, ed. Kate Bennett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); John Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, ed. John Britton (London: Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1847); Mary Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and Their Relevance to Seventeenth Century Painting Techniques* (New York: Garland, 1984); John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (London: Everyman, 2006).

[36] Mowl and Earnshaw made a case for the continued vibrancy and innovations in building work during the 1650s: Tim Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings: Rise of Puritan Classicism Under Cromwell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

In light of this evidence, and following a call to arms by Cressy, George and others, the outlook has shifted in recent decades. There is now a growing body of scholarship in the fields of cultural history and history of art which argues that there was more continuity in the art trade, the consumption of art, and in artistic taste between c.1640 and 1660 than has been acknowledged in the past. Linda Levy Peck directly addressed the debate over luxury consumption during the Civil Wars in a chapter of her book, *Consuming Splendor*, and in an associated article. She asserts that 'there was little or no break in that growth of luxury consumption during war' and that disruption caused by civil war 'must have been temporary', allowing for trade to recover to the extent that exports in 1663 were double that of 1640. She concludes that war and religious ideology 'made little dent' in luxury consumption, and that London retained its importance as a centre of conspicuous consumption during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.[37] Julia Merritt has further enriched the field with her socio-cultural history of Westminster during the 1640s and 1650s. She reveals that a lively cultural community persisted in this important political and religious centre during this period, and highlights instances of art patronage carried out in these years.[38]

The degree of influence of Puritan values on art production and consumption has also been questioned by scholars. The historian Bernard Capp has explored some cases of art production and patronage as part of a wider discussion of other cultural activity and consumption of 'worldly pleasures' in the 1650s. He finds that, despite challenges posed by Puritan reformers and official legislation, there remained continued outlets for music and dancing and luxurious dress,[39] and that, 'in art, as in music, attitudes were more nuanced than is often supposed.'[40] Indeed, in his chapter 'The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration,' Timothy Wilks concludes that only extreme Puritans and Quakers were against artistic display and that the divide in society over art 'lay not down its middle but much to one side, between sectarians and

---

[37] See Chapter 6 "The Pictures I desire to have … must be exquisitely done and by the best masters": luxury and war, 1640-1660" in Peck, *Consuming Splendor,* 230-276; Peck, "Luxury and War," 1–2, 5.
[38] Merritt, *Westminster 1640-60*.
[39] Bernard Capp and Patrick Little have shown that political and religious identity were not necessarily reflected in choices of dress, revealing that Cromwell and his court chose fashionable clothing styles and colours to project their wealth, status and power. Capp, *England's Culture Wars*, 172-8; Patrick Little, "Fashion at the Cromwellian Court," *The Court Historian* 16, no. 1 (2011): 25-42.
[40] Capp, *England's Culture Wars,* 192.

the majority.'[41] Tessa Watt goes as far as to posit that understanding of the visual arts of the period has been hindered by historians who have selected and censored material according to their beliefs, just 'like an iconoclast'.[42]

These revisionist overviews of the arts and culture of the mid-seventeenth century are supported by in-depth studies on architecture and print. In *Architecture without Kings,* Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw give sustained attention to the period given only brief attention by Oliver Hill and John Cornforth thirty years before.[43] In the 1980s John Bold made a significant contribution to the field with his work on one of the leading architects of the mid-seventeenth century, John Webb, and, along with John Reeves has addressed Webb's and others' work at Wilton House and surrounding Wiltshire properties.[44] Jeremy Wood has also made a major contribution to scholarship of the period in his assessment of the extensive architectural patronage of the Earl of Northumberland during the 1640s and 1650s.[45] Northumberland's rebuilding of parts of his Strand palace has also recently been addressed by Manolo Guerci as part of his broader assessment of the architectural history of the lost building.[46] Although their focus was principally on architectural patronage, these authors also throw light on garden design, furnishing and decorative painting at the properties under investigation.

Building on Antony Griffiths' seminal text on Stuart print culture,[47] the role of print during the Civil Wars and Interregnum period has become a popular topic, with recent studies revealing that the consumption of printed texts and images during this period was high, and that print remains a rich visual resource for understanding the period. In a number of publications, Jason Peacey has explored the use of print as a political propaganda tool for both Royalists and Parliamentarians, and Kevin Sharpe has

---

[41] Wilks, "The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration," 496.
[42] 'It is only the historian who, like an iconoclast, wants to rip down all the images on the walls which do not seem to fit.' Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety*, 332.
[43] Mowl and Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings*; Hill and Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline, 1625-85*, 22-26.
[44] John Bold, "Georgian Exemplars: John Webb's Country Houses," in *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism, Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium, 1986,* Georgian Group (Leeds: W. S. Maney and Son, 1987), 36–48; John Bold and John Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism: Some Wiltshire Houses* (London: HMSO, 1988); Bold, *John Webb*.
[45] Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 55–80.
[46] Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 211–251.
[47] Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998). For 'prints do elucidate many facets of secular culture left untouched by the painters.' Quote from George, "Parnassus Restored," 430.

demonstrated how print culture was used to subvert the authority of each political regime.[48] Helen Pierce has built on this work in her appraisal of Early Modern graphic satire, which included an assessment of graphic political satire of the mid-century, whilst Angela McShane has investigated the content and imagery of political broadside ballads, finding that the consumption of these boomed in the 1650s.[49] Furthermore, although her book of popular print ostensibly ends in 1640, Tessa Watt argues that tastes in popular print did not change as wholly or as rapidly with the onslaught of civil war as has been assumed.[50]

In addition to these re-assessments of the visual arts and culture of the period as a whole, some specific topics have been subject to significant investigation. The sale and dispersal of the collection of Charles I from 1651 has received particular attention since W. L. F. Nuttall's 1965 article on the subject, which was followed by Oliver Millar's publication of the sale inventories and Arthur MacGregor's large edited book on the goods of Charles I.[51] Jerry Brotton and Francis Haskell have since produced updated accounts of the formation and dispersal of Charles I's collection.[52] Brotton also wrote an article on Charles II's recovery of some of the dispersed collection – a topic which has recently been revisited and convincingly revised by Andrew Barclay.[53] Another popular topic is portraiture, particularly imagery of Charles I before and after his death, notably in the work of David Howarth, John Peacock, Kevin Sharpe and Helen Pierce.[54] Although Angela McShane has revealed that there

---

[48] Sharpe, *Image Wars*. Select publications by Jason Peacey on print propaganda include Jason Peacey, *Print and public politics in the English revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jason Peacey, "Radicalism Relocated: Royalist Politics and Pamphleteering of the Late 1640s," in *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context,* ed. Ariel Hessayon and David Finnegan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 51–68; Jason Peacey, "The Hunting of the Leveller: The Sophistication of Parliamentarian Propaganda, 1647-53," *Historical Research* 78, no. 199 (2005): 15–42; Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*.

[49] Angela McShane, "Wooden Idols: Royal Art on the Strand," paper given at Charles I: Art, Legacy, Memory, London Renaissance Seminar, Birkbeck (14 February 2018); Angela McShane, *Political broadside ballads of seventeenth-century England: A Critical Bibliography* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011); Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

[50] 'There may have been Reformation and Civil War, riot and rebellion, but the basic mental décor did not change as suddenly or completely as historians would sometimes lead us to believe.'Watt, *Cheap print and popular piety*, 332.

[51] W. L. F. Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures and the Commonwealth Sale," *Apollo* 82, no. 44 (1965): 302–9; Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 1–443; Arthur MacGregor, ed., *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (London; Oxford: A. McAlpine; Oxford University Press, 1989).

[52] Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and His Art Collection* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2007); Francis Haskell, *The King's Pictures: The Formation and Dispersal of the Collections of Charles I and His Courtiers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

[53] Jerry Brotton, "The Art of Restoration: King Charles II and the Restitution of the English Royal Art Collection," *The Court Historian* 10, no. 2 (2005): 115-135; Andrew Barclay, "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection: Some Implications of the 1660 Act of Indemnity and Oblivion," *Historical Research* 88, no. 242 (November 2015): 629–49.

[54] Howarth, *Images of Rule*; John Peacock, "The Visual Image of Charles I," in *The Royal Image : Representations of Charles I.*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 176–239; Sharpe, *Image Wars*; Helen Pierce, "Text and Image: William Marshall's Frontispiece to the Eikon Basilike (1649)," in *Censorship Moments: Reading Texts in the History of*

were no fixed stock portraits of Oliver Cromwell in broadside ballads of this period, Laura Knoppers has addressed other printed and painted material in her investigation of the self-presentation and imagery of Oliver Cromwell.[55]

Finally, there has been piecemeal assessment of artists active in England during the 1640s and 1650s. Although there exist respected surveys and dictionaries of artists active across the period,[56] some are now acknowledged to contain factual inaccuracies and there have been few monographs on artists active in these years. Following early and mid-twentieth century studies of the artists, the best accounts of the lives and work of Sir Peter Lely and William Dobson remain those by Oliver Millar and Malcolm Rogers.[57] Scholarship on Lely's early work, mainly his pastoral pictures, has also benefited from substantial reassessment by leading scholars in the field, and a catalogue raisonné is underway.[58] Other painters of the period who continued to be active after the Restoration, such as John Michael Wright, have received some limited attention.[59] However, artists such as Jan van Belcamp and Robert Walker lack the degree of scholarship they are arguably due, perhaps in part because they did not live into the Restoration.[60] A growing wave of interest in the painting and painters of the Civil War era is, nevertheless, reflected in recent publications on portraits of the period, and a new book on Dobson.[61]

Censorship and Freedom of Expression, ed. Geoff Kemp, Textual Moments in the History of Political Thought (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 79–86.

[55] McShane, "Wooden Idols"; Laura Lunger Knoppers, "The Politics of Portraiture: Oliver Cromwell and the Plain Style," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, No. 4 (Winter, 1998): 1282-1319; Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[56] C. H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters: A Study of English Portraiture before and after Van Dyck*, 2 vols (London: Philip Lee Warner publisher to the Medici Society, 1912); Margaret Dickens Whinney and Oliver Millar, *English Art, 1625-1714*, Oxford History of English Art, 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); Ellis Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988); Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790* (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 1994); Mary Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers: New Light on the Lives of Miniaturists and Large-Scale Portrait-Painters Working in London in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Walpole Society* 47 (1978-80): 60–242.

[57] C. H. Collins Baker, *Lely and Kneller* (London: Allen, 1922); Ronald Brymer Beckett, *Lely* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951); Oliver Millar, *Sir Peter Lely 1618-80* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1978); Rogers, *William Dobson, 1611-1646*.

[58] Caroline Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision* (London: Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012).

[59] Sara Stevenson and Duncan Thomson, *John Michael Wright: The King's Painter* (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1982).

[60] The only, very recent, assessment Walker's career is Angus Haldane, "The Face of Civil War: Robert Walker, 1599-1658: His Life and Portraits," *The British Art Journal* 17, no. 2 (Autumn, 2016): 20-29.

[61] Angus Haldane, *Portraits of the English Civil Wars* (London: Unicorn 2017); R. F. Jones, *William Dobson: The King's Painter* (Hockley, Essex: Tyger's Head Books, 2016).

Focus on painting, patronage and collecting in England

Progress has therefore been made in investigating some elements of the art world of the Civil Wars and Interregnum and in re-evaluating the artistic climate and contemporary attitudes towards the visual arts. However, appraisals of art of this time-frame have so far been confined to short chapters or articles, and the field is still in need of a more in-depth art-historical study of the whole period. This thesis will therefore endeavour to provide a more holistic view by drawing together some of the diverse themes addressed in isolation or superficially by other scholars to consider different examples of art, patronage and collecting.

The decision to investigate not just one, but three areas of artistic activity – painting, patronage and collecting – is borne out of the wish to assess the art market of the period from the opposing angles of supply and demand. It makes sense to analyse the patterns of practitioners as well as consumers of art because, at this time, it was common for individuals of the art world to have fluid roles: some painters also worked as designers; some were also dealers; others also collected on their own account, or initiated building works.

The subject will be approached through an enquiry into the extent of the survival of court culture during the Civil War and Interregnum periods. It will provide a fresh look at evidence of the continuation of Caroline court taste and the markets that supported it in a climate that was broadly hostile to the previous monarchical regime. A particular focus has therefore been given to elite patronage, in particular in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, although evidence of patronage by lower socio-economic groups is also addressed in Chapters 1 and 4.

The thesis will address the activity of principally London-based artists and patrons. The rationale for this geographical focus is that many courtiers and servants of the King, whose court was centred in London, remained in England and London during the 1640s and 1650s. Plotting the continuities and changes in patronage activities at this time would therefore enable a helpful comparison with court culture of the 1630s and 1660s.

The market for painting will likewise receive particular attention. This is firstly because picture collecting was an established pastime of royalty and the elite. It is also due to the fact that most major art world figures of the 1640s and 1650s were involved in the painting trade and were based in London. This focus is timely as painting of the 1640s and 1650s is due a proper analysis to complement the current trend in research into the material culture and print culture of the period. The experience of practicing painters during this period will be assessed along with the continuities or changes in their output, and clientele.

Painting was inextricably linked to the market for luxury goods so, to enable a more rounded assessment of painting at this time, it will be considered within the artistic context of the practice and patronage of architecture, interior design, sculpture and the decorative arts. Aspects of non-elite consumption of painting – such as basic house painting and picture-collecting in lieu of cash by creditors to the late King – will also be addressed in Chapters 1 and 4.

Synopsis

This thesis will take the form of four chapters containing case studies that will address three key aspects of the English painting market in these years: London-based painters; social and political elite English consumers of painting in London and the regions; and those who acquired works from the collection of Charles I. The case-study format was chosen because it lends itself to the objective of unpicking the intertwining narratives of painters, patrons and collectors during this period, to illuminate both well-known and more obscure figures and provide an insight into the artistic climate of the period as a whole.

Chapter 1 will assess how disruptive the events of the 1640s and 1650s were to the London-centred painting business. It will compare and contrast the experiences of practitioners of the two principal types of painting work required in London at this time: portrait painting (done by 'picture makers') and decorative painting. The former is represented here by the figure painter, Sir Peter Lely, whose long and successful English career began at the start of this period. The latter is exemplified by the

painters belonging to the London livery company for painters, The Worshipful Company of Painter-Stainers, who were mostly decorative artists. The chapter will explore how these painters responded to the challenges posed by the Civil Wars, and how well their businesses fared during the new political climate of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. It will also consider the extent to which the breakdown of the Monarchy affected the structures of elite patronage in the metropolis and whether the dominant religious values of the time stifled painterly output.

The next two chapters will provide analysis of the patronage and collecting activities of two pairs of elite patrons who span the political and religious spectrum. Both chapters will consider the ways in which these individuals were able to continue their patronage activities, the types of painting they chose to commission and collect, and their chosen setting for these works within (in some cases newly-designed) interiors. **Chapter 2** will address in particular how two aristocrats could have their very different artistic tastes fulfilled by London painters during the 1640s. It compares the re-development of the south wing of Wilton House in Wiltshire by Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke with the diverse patronage of his estranged second wife, Lady Anne Clifford. The earl's work at Wilton was overseen by John Webb and featured the work of prominent London-based painters such as Edward Pearce Senior (1598-1658) and Emanuel de Critz (1608-1665). Lady Anne Clifford, while living in Baynard's Castle in London, came into her hard-won inheritance of Skipton and Westmoreland and commissioned a commemorative triptych and a copy from London painters, before moving permanently to her estates in the North of England, where she embarked on further arts patronage. Lady Anne Clifford's case will also provide an example of one type of female patronage to be found in the midst of the Civil Wars.

Chapter 3 will investigate the similarities and differences in the patronage and collecting of two ostensibly very different sorts of elite patron who both used the same architect, John Webb, to extend their houses during the Interregnum. It will compare the re-modelling and re-decorating by Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland of both Northumberland House on the Strand in London (demolished 1874) and Syon House during the 1640s and 1650s, with the extending and decorating of Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire by Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham in the

1650s. Both patrons added to their painting collection in these years and hung some of these acquisitions in their re-designed interior spaces.

Finally, **Chapter 4** will investigate the consumption and display of pictures from the dispersed collection of Charles I that stayed in London during the Interregnum. The sale of the collection of Charles I was a unique phenomenon which enabled the consumption of art by a broad spectrum of society. However, some items were reserved by the Council of State and retained in old royal palaces, while other objects – though sold – remained nearby in London, often in the possession of former courtiers and Crown servants. The chapter will explore the use of the royal collection in the royal palaces by Oliver Cromwell and the political elite. It will also consider the role of those who had not been part of the pre-war elite patronage network, such as the painter Emanuel de Critz. It will evaluate the extent to which this event changed the art market of London in the 1650s, which will feed into the analysis in previous chapters of elite consumption of art and the continuance of Caroline court taste in the capital.

Objectives of the thesis

This thesis will throw fresh light on key aspects of the art world in England during the eventful period stretching from 1640 to 1660. It builds on existing scholarship and evidence which strongly suggests that there were significant artistic continuities through a period that has in the past been viewed by art historians as a time of distinct change, disruption and interference in established patterns of collecting, patronage and art practice. By looking at aspects of the artistic landscape of the 1640s and 1650s, this thesis will provide a better understanding of how far the production and consumption of painting, and aspects of Caroline court taste, continued through the wars and republic. In doing so, it will challenge the view that England became a cultural vacuum at this time and it will consider how London retained its primacy as an art centre during these momentous years.

CHAPTER 1

Painters in London, c.1640-1660

Introduction

The period from c.1640 to 1660 spanning the British Civil Wars and Interregnum was in many ways a time of great upheaval and change. This chapter investigates the extent to which painters of London continued to operate through the challenges of the Civil War years and how they adapted to the new 'normal' of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. In doing so, it seeks to gain an insight into how far there was change within the painting market in these years. The chapter focuses on decorative painting and portraiture – the dominant (and not mutually exclusive) types of painting activity in London during the 1640s and 1650s, as exemplified by the work of Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680) and members of The Worshipful Company of Painter-Stainers.

It will begin by introducing some key figures and characteristic features of the painting world in London, as identified by the historian William Sanderson in 1658. The painting market of the 1640s and 1650s will then be examined from three angles. The first addresses the pattern of movement of both foreign and native artists into and out of London during this period, and what impact this had on the London painting scene. This will be followed by an exploration of the practicalities of the painting market, investigating the extent to which Lely and other artists found patrons and collectors. The third 'angle' looks at the part played by the physical landscape of London and the art-related social networks formed within it in fostering the continuation of a diversity of painting activity in these years.

The 'English Modern Masters'

A useful starting point for this investigation of painters of the Civil War and Interregnum period is *Graphice,* a treatise on painting by the historian William

Sanderson (c.1586-1676). Published in London in 1658, this text offers a rare and informative insight into the state of painting in England at the time.[1] In his book, Sanderson explains that his motivations for starting the project stemmed from the disruption of the Civil Wars, in which he supported the Royalist cause.[2] He confesses that 'The Liberty of these latter loose times prevailing over my former imployments … have now resolved me into the harmlesse simplicity of doing any thing, that may … divert me … from *Malignity*'. Hence, as a 'Lover of *Arts',* Sanderson composed his theoretical tract on the subject, continuing the tradition of treatises of this period in plagiarising sections from earlier treatises, as well as incorporating his own material.[3] Sanderson's uncredited use of passages written decades before demonstrates that, in his view, the content was still relevant to a Commonwealth audience, although in practice some of the technical advice may have been out of date.

To Sanderson's mind, the 1650s heralded a re-cultivation of the arts to a level which built upon, and even exceeded, that which had come before the Civil Wars:

> *History* informs us, that in Warre, *All Arts dissolve* into that action, but when the *Roman* Sword had bounded the Empire, then the peaceful endeavours of cunning *Artizans* outwent former excellencie of the *Gracian* instructions ; from whom, these derived their Learning.[4]

This is particularly interesting in the light of the fact that, as discussed in the Introduction, the Civil War and Interregnum years, c.1640-1660, have been relatively overlooked by scholars of history of art and culture as a period worthy of sustained and focused attention. While, as Sanderson himself acknowledges, the arts suffered in

---

[1] William Sanderson, *Graphice: The Use of the Pen and Pensil., Or, The Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts* (London: Robert Crofts, 1658).
[2] Sanderson's epitaph, commissioned by his widow, states that he suffered in the Royalist cause during the civil war: 'After great Hardships sustain'd under the / late Tyranny of Rebels, / after daily Fatigues at home and abroad (bravely overcome)'. John Dart, *Westmonasterium. Or, The history and antiquities of the abbey church of St. Peters Westminster* (London: James Cole, 1723), vol. 2, 125.
[3] Sanderson, *Graphice*, 21. For analysis of the extent of Sanderson's borrowings from other authors, including Edward Norgate, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton and Junius, see: Frederick Hard, "Ideas from Bacon and Wotton in William Sanderson's *Graphice,*" *Studies in Philology* 36, no. 2 (Apr., 1939): 227-234; Luigi Salerno, "Seventeenth-Century English Literature on Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14, no. 3/4 (1951): 234-258. For the full treatises of Edward Norgate and Nicholas Hilliard, see J. M. Muller and J. Murrell, eds., *Edward Norgate*, *Miniatura or The Art of Limning* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Nicholas Hilliard, *The Arte of Limning,* ed. R.K.R. Thornton and T.G.S. Cain (Manchester: The Mid-Northumberland Arts Group, 1992).
[4] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 21.

various ways during the Civil Wars, as did most other enterprises, there is evidence that supply and demand, not to mention artistic ambition and quality, was not wholly curtailed even in this period. Moreover, there is substantial evidence to support Sanderson's viewpoint that, certainly by the mid 1650s, the art market, following a challenging stretch, had righted itself.[5] Indeed, the fact that Sanderson has the time and leisure to be an amateur art lover himself, and his belief that there is a market for enthusiasts like him, exemplifies this: 'I *speak to* Lovers *of this Art, not to* Masters'.[6] Sanderson's book is therefore a crucial entry-point to investigating non-specialist attitudes to painting in London in this period.

Sanderson's treatise is likewise invaluable as a resource for understanding the market, status and make-up of the painting world of England of the Interregnum and, to some extent, also that of the Civil War years. For, inserted within text advising readers how to design and colour with the best painting materials, is a passage naming thirty-one artists active in England whom he considered to be contemporary 'English Modern Masters'.[7] He begins by expounding on the high quality of painters active in England at the time, embracing those who were both English and foreign-born:

> These now in *England* are not less worthy of fame then any forraigner; and although some of them be strangers born, yet for their affection to our *Nation* we may mixe them together. Our Modern Masters comparable with any now beyond Seas.[8]

Sanderson goes on to provide a precious insight into the identities and specialities of some of the leading painters and, in doing so, provides clues about which types of painting were most popular in England at this time. Sanderson grouped the artists 'Not … in order and degree of merit; each one hath his deserts', but by their painting speciality.[9] Furthermore, instead of listing them in the established hierarchy of genres, with history painting coming first, he introduces them seemingly in order of the

---

[5] As discussed in the Introduction and argued in the course of this thesis. See in particular evidence presented Peck, "Luxury and War," 1–23; and Peck, *Consuming Splendor*.
[6] Sanderson, *Graphice,* Preface.
[7] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 20.
[8] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 20.
[9] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 20.

genre's respective popularity in England: thus he begins with portraiture (painting 'In the *Life'*) and relegates history ('story') painting to second in his list. The portraitists are also the most numerous in his roll call: Walker, Soust, Wright, Lely, Hayls, Sheppard, and Des Granges, presumably listed in order of his preference.[10] For 'story', meaning history painting, he lists only Isaac Fuller (1606/1620?-1672), although other artists were known to work in this genre, including Henry Gibbs (1630/1-1713).[11] Thirdly, he bestows praise on the common but usually not-so-lauded practice of copying old masters, naming '*Stone* and *Crois',*[12] presumably Symon Stone (active 1646-1671) and Michael Cross (fl.1633-1660), as particularly 'ingenious Painters' of this art. He lists Francis Barlow (c.1626-1704) as a specialist in '*Fowl* and *Fish'* and Alexander Marshall (c.1620-1682) as a painter of still-life '*Flowers* and *Fruits*'. In the landscape genre, Sanderson recommends Tobias Flushier (or Flessiers, c.1639-1679) for *'Sea-Pieces',* and Robert Streeter (1621-1679)*,*[13] whose talent for landscape he had referred to in his section on limning: 'See *Streeter's* most exact and rare *Landskips* in *Oyl',*[14] and whose abilities 'in all Paintings' he reiterates in his passage on English Modern Masters.[15] Two other all-rounder painters in England acknowledged by Sanderson are John Baptist Gaspars (1620?-1691) and a certain *'Reurie* for most Paintings, usually in little*'.*

In an effort to accommodate the breadth of artistic activity, Sanderson pays his respects to the 'excellent designes for those rare *Tapstry* work' made by '*Cleve'*, thought to refer to Francis Clein (or Cleyn, d.1658). Sanderson then lists the leading miniaturists of the day: John Hoskins the elder and his son, Samuel Cooper, Richard Gibson, and 'and *Cary'*.[16] Four female painters also receive praise: the miniaturist, '*Madam Caris',* and in oil paint 'we have a virtuous example in that worthy Artist Mrs. *Carlile',* 'Mr. *Beale,* Mrs. *Brooman'* and 'Mrs. *Weimes*'. 'Mrs. Brooman' might be the 'Mrs Boardman' mentioned by Richard Symonds.[17] The 'Mr. *Beale'* included in

---

[10] *'Walker, Zoust, Wright, Lillie, Hales, Shepheard, de Grange'*. Sanderson, *Graphice,* 20.
[11] An example of Gibbs's work is *Aeneas and his Family Fleeing Burning Troy*, 1654. 155 x 159.8 cm. Tate, T06782. See Karen Hearn, "An English Gentleman Painter, Henry Gibbs," *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1139 (Feb., 1998): 99-101.
[12] 'La Croix' is also mentioned earlier in Sanderson's text. Sanderson, *Graphice,* 16.
[13] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 19.
[14] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 73.
[15] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 20.
[16] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 20.
[17] BL/Egerton MSS/1636, transcribed in Mary Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and Their Relevance to Seventeenth Century Painting Techniques* (New York: Garland, 1984).

this list of women painters must be a misprint for the professional painter, 'Mrs' Mary Beale.[18] To conclude, Sanderson pays his respects to the gentlemen amateur painters 'Sr. *John Holland,* Mr. *Guies,* Mr. *Parker,* Mr. *Sprignall'*.[19]

This passage on the 'English Modern Masters' is enlightening in a number of ways, notably in providing painters' names and their perceived strengths. However, through its stress on the talents of certain individuals, such as Streeter's, over others', its ascribing of particular genres of painting to artists who were in fact known to have been active in more than one genre type (such as Fuller[20] and Lely[21]), and its omissions of names of other painters known to be successful at this point in time (Edward Bower(s), among others), it raises more questions than it answers. For example, other than a single nod to the tapestry designs of Francis Clein, the text makes no mention of masters of decorative painting active at the time, such as Emanuel de Critz (1608-1665), Edward Pearce (d.1658) and John Gomersall (fl. from 1611 to post-1659). It was generally accepted that many picture copyists turned to their profession having been second-rate original painters, and it is possible Sanderson may have viewed such painters of interiors and other objects as below his scope. Yet this seems unlikely given that Sanderson includes copyists in his list and discusses copying at length elsewhere in the text.[22]

Nevertheless, while Sanderson dwells on what he considered superior types of painting, he does at several points discuss the merits and challenges of decorative work in *Graphice*. Firstly, in his section on '*How to dispose of Pictures and*

---

[18] The most up-to-date scholarly text on Beale is Tabitha Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699): Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Painter, Her Family and Her Studio* (London: Geffrye Museum Trust, 1999).

[19] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 20. 'Sr. *John Holland'* is a contender for the monogram J.H. to add to Waterhouse's list of possible attributions: 'Portraitist who signs with a monogram which appears to read as 'J.H.'. Signed and dated works range from 1647 to 1662, and there is some reason to think he was mainly active in Royalist circles in the North West. He cannot be Hayls, but it is possible he may be Hesketh or Hodges.' Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 115. Although Waterhouse does not mention it, presumably the limner John Hoskins might also be considered as another contender for the J.H. monogram.

[20] Fuller was also active as a portraitist, and at a meeting of 18 September 1657 he was commissioned to paint a group portrait of the Court of Assistants: 'It is ordered that Mr Fuller shall have the makeing of the peece of the court of Assistants …', LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.48 b.

[21] Lely painted at least thirty mythological and genre paintings, in addition to the portraits he is most famous for. For more on his early subject pictures, see Caroline Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision* (London: Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012).

[22] See, for example, the contemporary criticism of Geldorp. L. H. Cust, "Geldorp, George (d.1665)," rev. P. G. Matthews, *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018). For in-depth analysis on the status and practice of copying from pictures and the collection of copies in England during the seventeenth century, consult the following doctoral theses: Susan Bracken, "Collectors and collecting in England, c.1600-c.1660," University of Sussex PhD, 2011; and Margaret Dalivalle, "Borrowed comlinesse: copying from pictures in seventeenth-century England," University of Oxford D.Phil, 2011.

Paintings', he recommends that painting should not be 'upon out-side of Houses', due to the English climate. He states 'I admit of no Colouring upon Walls' and yet nevertheless sets out how it might best be deployed if done.[23] Secondly, in his passage discussing 'Grotesco', Sanderson warned of the danger of giving the appearance of 'an Ale-house; Citizen painting, being too common; and usually else-vvhere, were very ill wrought.'[24] This both implies that the walls of ale houses were often painted, and also betrays the author's opinion of non-elite painting. Thirdly (and surprisingly late in the course of his text) he lists the 'five kinds of Paintings': '*Distemper* or *Sise-colour* ; *Frescoe*; *Oyle-Colours* ; *Miniture* or *VVater-Colours* ; *Croyons,* or dry *Colours'* of which the first two were the customary medium of decorative painters, although fresco and oils were also used.[25] Furthermore, in Part II of his treatise, in a section entitled '*Of Limning in Water-Colours'*, Sanderson contrasts the coarseness of the work of '*Painter-Stainers'* with the refinement of painting in miniature:

> In this account or number of Colours, I name not *Vermillion; Verdigreece*; *Veraiters* blew and green; and severall other Colours, frequent with *Painter-Stainers*, but in our work un-necessary, useless, & dangerous; both for their Minerall qualyties, coorse and gross bodies, not to be mixt with our Colours, of a more fine subtile, and transparent Quality.[26]

These '*Painter-Stainers'* whose work Sanderson disparaged were members of the main livery company for painters within the city of London: The Worshipful Company of Painter-Stainers. The Painter-Stainers ordinances decreed that every person within a four-mile compass of the City who practised the art of painting should pay quarterly dues to the Company and that, with the exception of gentlemen exercising the art 'for recreation or private pleasure', no one should use the art, unless he had been apprenticed for seven years to a certified Painter. Anyone practicing within this radius had to pay quarterage of twelve pence to be a liverymen, or six pence if they lived outside the walls. Yeomanry keeping house were to be charged 8

---

[23] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 24.
[24] Sanderson, *Graphice*, 25.
[25] Sanderson, *Graphice*, 27.
[26] Sanderson, *Graphice*, 54.

pence and journeymen four pence.[27] Although they welcomed all painters (and non-painters) as members, many miniaturists or limners such as the Hilliard, Oliver, Cooper and Hoskins dynasties chose to join the Goldsmiths' Company instead,[28] while painters specialising in heraldry usually joined the Heralds' livery company.[29] Furthermore, Serjeant Painters to the Crown, some portrait painters, and other, often foreign, painters traditionally lived outside the remit of the Painter-Stainers. Being favoured by the Royal Court, they usually lived in Westminster to be nearer Whitehall and the noble palaces on the Strand. Van Dyck and Cornelius Johnson, for example, were both neighbours in the parish of St Anne's at Blackfriars. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Painter-Stainers' Company had become the main guild representing the training and trade interests of mostly English practitioners of decorative painting. Nevertheless, many Painter-Stainers dabbled, or even worked exclusively, in other painting genres such as portraiture, with portrait specialists being identified as 'picture makers' in the Company records.

Though Sanderson does not indicate it, approximately a third of the 'English Modern Masters' he names were in fact members of the Painter-Stainers: definitely nine, and possibly up to thirteen, of the thirty-one names he lists. The nine were as follows: four portraitists Walker, Soest, Lely, Sheppard; two still-life specialists, Barlow and Marshall; one sea scape painter, Flushier*;* one generalist, possibly specialising in smaller works, Gaspars*;* and Clein for tapestry design. The four additional possibilities are '*Fuller'* (probably Isaac)*,* '*Cary'* (possibly George Cary mentioned as a Steward in the Painter-Stainers' minutes of 25 July 1643),[30] 'Mr. *Parker'* (possibly Henry or John Parker; both were Painter-Stainers), and 'Mr. *Sprignall'* (possibly the Painter-Stainers William or Samuel Sprigge).

Of all the names listed by Sanderson, one stands out above the rest in the canon of art history: *'Lillie'*, the Dutch painter, Sir Peter Lely. Lely had moved from Haarlem to

---

[27] As per the Company Ordinances cited in Alan Borg, *The History of the Worshipful Company of Painters, Otherwise Painter-Stainers* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills, 2005), 31.
[28] Borg, *Worshipful Company of Painters*, 30.
[29] The Painter-Stainers and the Heralds had long argued over each Company's right to paint arms. The terms of this had however been settled by the 1640s, when the Painter-Stainers had turned their attention to objecting to the Plasterers' use of painting, an issue which ran on into the Restoration.
[30] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.178.

London by 1643, the date inscribed on a signed drawing,[31] although it is possible he could have been there as early as 1641.[32] Although little is known about his work in his first few years in England, two pieces of evidence indicate that he had established himself as one of the country's leading portrait painters as early as 1647. The first of these lies in the Court Minutes of the Painter-Stainers,[33] which record Lely being made a Freeman of the Company on 26 October 1647, marking his acceptance into the English painting establishment.[34] The second piece of evidence is that between 1646 and 1648 he was selected above other artists to paint two group portraits of the imprisoned Charles I and his children, of which one, if not both, were commissioned by the most senior Parliamentarian noble, the 10th Earl of Northumberland.[35] Lely built on this success and, by 1654, he was being described as 'the best artist in England',[36] before being included among the 'English Modern Masters' named by Sanderson four years later. By 1661, his leading status was confirmed when Charles II gave him the position of Principal Painter to the Crown, a role previously held by the illustrious Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641).

That a foreign artist, as an outsider to the established English painting system, was able to set up shop in London at the start of a period of severe civil unrest and cultivate a successful career during the often-challenging years that followed is of great significance to the wider enquiry into the experience of the London painting market in the 1640s and 1650s. Lely's rapid ascendancy must, however, be assessed alongside the experiences of other more 'common', as Sanderson terms them,

---

[31] *Landscape with small figures*, signed and dated: "PLely 1643", British Museum, 1992,0516.13. M. Royalton-Kisch, "The Light of Nature: Landscape drawings and watercolours by Van Dyck and his contemporaries," exh. cat. (Antwerp and London: British Museum, 1999), no. 59. However, Oliver Millar thought this landscape looked more Dutch in style than English: Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, no. 60 (repr).

[32] For discussion of the current consensus of the date of Lely's arrival in England and an overview of previous sources on the subject, see Karen Hearn, "Lely and Holland," in *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision*, ed. Caroline Campbell (London: Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012), 34–35. Also see the following: Richard Graham, *A Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, Both Ancient and Modern* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall for W. Rogers, 1695), 343-4; Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh Der Nederlantsche Konstschilders En* Schilderessen *... Zynde Een Vervolg Op Het Schilderboek van K. V. Mander* (Gravenhage: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, en M. Gaillard, 1753); Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with Some Account of the Principal Artists: And Incidental Notes on Other Arts. Also a Catalogue of Engravers Who Have Been Born or Resided in England. Collected by George Vertue; Digested and Published ... by H. Walpole,* ed. by Ralph N. Wornum (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849).

[33] The court minute books, held by the London Metropolitan Archives in Guildhall Library, are the largest holding of material on the Painter-Stainers. This chapter includes research done on Ms 5667/1, 1623-1649 and Ms 5667/2, 1649-1793.

[34] 26 October 1647, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.221.

[35] See analysis of the two commissions in Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 295.

[36] James Waynwright writing to Mr Bradshaw, 6 October 1654, M.M.C. Sixth report, I (1887), 437b-38a. Cited in Diana Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection: Lely's subject pictures in an "un-understanding land," in *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision*, ed. Caroline Campbell (London: Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012), 59.

'Citizen' painters to gain a balanced understanding of the painting scene in London in the 1640s and 1650s. Some of these artists who were members of the Painter-Stainers' Company are listed in the Appendix.[37]

The movement of painters in and out of London

Lely is an example of a foreign artist who chose to move to London in the early 1640s, joining others who had remained in the city since the 1630s. However, other artists are known to have left the city at this time. By analysing the patterns of painters moving in and out of London between 1640 and 1660, insight can be given into the complex nature of the London painting world in these years.

Lely's motivations for moving to England might be useful in understanding why some artists stayed, others arrived, and some left. One reason for Lely's arrival in London could have been a lack of business in the Netherlands. Little is known about Lely's work before his move to London: few references have been found to him and his work in the Dutch archives,[38] and no paintings identified as his are listed in the contemporary Haarlem inventories.[39] Lely had, however, received well-rounded training with the successful artist and art dealer, Peter de Grebber (c.1600-1652/3) which would have given him broad skills and art world contacts. The historian Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) asserted that Lely had become a portrait painter 'of note', as well as a painter of subject pictures, before his move to England.[40] Evidence to support Houbraken's statement comes from the observation that Lely's reputation was substantial enough for some of his works to be copied by other artists, some examples of which were sold by The Hague guild of painters, The Guild of St Luke, in 1647.[41] Moreover, despite tightening market restrictions,[42] the city was relatively stable and prosperous during the 1640s, so there was no obvious economic imperative for Lely to leave, let alone to settle in a country in the early throes of civil war.[43] It is therefore

---

[37] Page 239.
[38] Hearn, "Lely and Holland," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 33.
[39] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 44.
[40] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 42. Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh Der Nederlantsche Konstschilders En* Schilderessen, 41-8.
[41] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 45.
[42] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 44.
[43] Hearn, "Lely and Holland," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 33.

probable that Lely opted to travel to London to further his business out of ambition rather than through desperation.

The London art scene had two main attractions for Lely, and possibly therefore for other artists. Firstly, it appears that Lely might have intended to deal in art in London as well as paint. George Vertue (1684-1756) records that he was told by the Dutch marine painter Isaac Sailmaker (1633-1721) that, on his arrival in the country, Lely had, like Sailmaker, worked for the painter and art dealer George Geldorp (d.1665).[44] De Grebber was an established art dealer who may even have played a part in setting up Lely's trip to England,[45] and Lely was certainly active as a dealer later on in his career, collaborating with the Dutchman Gerrit Uylenburgh (1625-1679).[46] Although the Civil War years were a challenging time for many, the prospect of collections being sold in response to financial instability might have been a draw for art dealers.[47] London certainly became a key centre of the dealing trade on the sale of the collections of Van Dyck from 1641, noble collections such as that of the 4th Earl of Pembroke upon his death in 1650, and that of King Charles I, Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles in the 1650s, so artists such as Lely and Geldorp who dabbled in dealing found substantial employment in that area.

Secondly, another key event occurred at the end of 1641 which might have been a consolation to native artists and a draw to foreign artists such as Lely: the country's most in-demand painter, the Flemish artist, Sir Anthony van Dyck died at his house in Blackfriars on 9 December 1641. When Van Dyck had arrived, after a period of working abroad, for his second stay in London in 1632, King Charles I immediately commissioned a series of portraits of himself and his family. Other nobles followed suit, with the result that Van Dyck became indisputably the most popular portrait painter in England. Van Dyck's former master, the Flemish painter and diplomat, Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), was his only close rival in the English market, and was not based in London. Much of the perceived richness and splendour of the 1620s

---

[44] George Vertue, "Note books," ed. K. Esdaile and H. M. Hake, *Walpole Society* 18 (1930), 74.
[45] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 41.
[46] Hearn, "Lely and Holland," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 36.
[47] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 45.

and 1630s, and therefore the assumption of the paucity of the 1640s and 1650s by contrast, is owed to the pre-eminence of the work of Rubens and Van Dyck. Van Dyck virtually monopolised elite portraits commissions and some rival painters resorted to leaving the country. This was the case for the King's former favourite, Daniel Mytens (c.1590-1647), who had moved to the Netherlands by 1634.[48]

However, other artists who offered a different sort of painting to that of Van Dyck did manage to maintain their careers in parallel. This includes the miniaturists Richard Gibson (1605/1615?-1690), Samuel Cooper (1607/8-1672), John Hoskins (c.1590-1665), and David des Granges (bap.1611, d. in or before 1672?), all of whom worked for Charles I. Other painters of smaller scale than Van Dyck, such as Joan Carlile (c.1606-1679) and Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1594-1667) also found employment.[49] Cornelius Johnson (bap.1593, d.1661) also continued his portrait practice, although even he latterly adapted to a Van Dyckian style in response to developing fashion, as can be plainly seen in his group portrait of the Capel family.[50] Thus, when Rubens died in 1640, Van Dyck died in 1641, and Poelenburgh left the country in 1641, an opportunity arose for ambitious painters.

Although Van Dyck only worked in the country for less than eight years in total, he had an enormous studio output, and one might expect that he left a 'school'. However, there was no official school of Van Dyck as such, although by the time of his death his style had become the most fashionable for English patrons. Other artists continued to seek to emulate it, probably helped by the availability of prints after his portraits published after his death.[51] There is no record of Van Dyck's workshop system (although it is likely to have been run along the lines of the studios in Antwerp) and sources are vague or conflicting as to who his assistants were. It is said that the

---

[48] Anne Thackray, "Mytens [Mijtens], Daniel (c.1590–1647)." *ODNB*. (15 Mar. 2018).
[49] Carlile was active by November 1634 when the royal physician Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573-1655) recorded in his notebook that 'Mrs Carlile ... paints very well' and had access to the notes of the Master of the King's Music and art agent. Donald C. Fels, *The Lost Secrets of Flemish Painting, Including the First Complete English Translation of the De Mayerne Manuscript* (Eijsden, the Netherlands: Alchemist, 2010), 32. Bainbridge Buckeridge reported that Joan Carlile (whom he mistakenly called Anne) was 'much in favour with Charles I, who became her patron, and presented her and Sir Anthony Vandyck with as much ultra marine at one time, as cost him above five hundred pounds'. Roger de Piles and B. Buckeridge, *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters ... Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, An Essay Towards an English-School, etc.* (London: J. Nutt, 1706), 406.
[50] National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 4759.
[51] The earliest-known edition of which was published by Gillis Hendricx: *Iconographie* (Antwerp: Gillis Hendricx, 1645 or 1646).

Antwerp painters Thomas Willeborts, Theodor Boyermans and Peeter Thys (Tyssen) and Jan van Reyn of Dunkirk all assisted with the copying of Van Dyck's portraits. It is also known that the Flemish painter David Beck worked for Van Dyck for a while, but on his master's death he left the country to become the official painter to the King of Sweden.[52] It is thought that Adrien Hanneman studied with Van Dyck, but he also left England to work for Royalists abroad.[53] Cornelius Johnson made small-scale copies of Van Dyck portraits, but his style and technique were otherwise different;[54] his nephew and student Theodore Roussell (Russell) went on to work for Van Dyck and is thought to be the painter of various sets of portrait heads after Van Dyck.[55]

Another painter, Remigius van Leemput (also known as Remy, Remi or Remée), whose work is often mistaken for that by Roussell, copied Van Dyck paintings and remained based in England during the 1640s and 1650s. As discussed later in this thesis, he acquired Van Dyck's famous painting *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St Antoine* in the sale of the King's goods, and copied Van Dyck's royal group portrait known as *The Great Peece*. Vertue asserted that Van Leemput was not only a follower of Van Dyck but that he lived with him, and that his skill as a copyist was so great that he told Lely that he could copy his pictures better than the artist could himself.[56] Vertue also stated that William Dobson worked in Van Dyck's studio and copied works by Titian and Van Dyck.[57] However, while his work shows the influence of Van Dyck and Van Dyck's idol, Titian, his painting is technically very different from the Flemish artist. Similarly, Robert Walker is often said to have worked for Van Dyck,[58] and he certainly copied Van Dyck's portrait postures in his own works, such as in his portrait of Oliver Cromwell (fig. 2). Given the scale of Van Dyck's studio output, there must have been other painters who spent time working in

---

[52] Lionel Cust, "Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections XI-The Great Piece, by Sir Anthony van Dyck, II," *The Burlington Magazine* 12, no. 59 (Feb., 1908), 282.
[53] Vertue said Hanneman was one of Van Dyck's best pupils. Vertue, "Note books," 20 (1931-1932), 107; 24 (1935-1936), 178. Lionel Cust also pointed out that Hanneman was a neighbour of Van Dyck at Blackfriars, and conjectured 'it is not unlikely that he worked as an assistant in Van Dyck's studio, and may have had a hand in completing his pictures after his death.' Cust, "The Great Piece, II," 287.
[54] Some examples of which are in the National Portrait Gallery, London collection: NPG 5103, 5104, 5105.
[55] Vertue records that he lived with Van Dyck and 'copied his pictures in small'. Vertue, "Note books," 18 (1930), 26, 79; 20 (1931-1932), 12.
[56] George Vertue, "Note books," 20 (1931-1932),107; 24 (1935-1936) 3, 19, 36.
[57] Vertue, "Note books," 20 (1931-1932), 107, 130.
[58] Vertue, "Note books," 20 (1931-1932), 107.

Van Dyck's workshop at Blackfriars and more who continued their practice in London after his death.

Although their patrons and admirers might have mourned Van Dyck's death, the painters remaining in London must have felt optimistic that their business would improve. Unfortunately for them, artists from overseas might also have come to the same conclusion. This may have been the case for the Flemish artist, John Weesop (d.1652), who was active in London from about 1641 but left the country after the execution of Charles I.[59] Weesop's works have passed for those of Van Dyck and his paintings of the later 1640s show the increasing stylistic influence of his main rival, Sir Peter Lely.[60]

Lely's move to England at the outset of the Civil Wars could therefore have been triggered by the prospect of filling the void left by Van Dyck and some of his competitors, as well as the chance of developing his art dealing career in the volatile economic climate. He was, as Millar put it 'in unpropitious times, characteristically well placed.'[61] It is even possible that Lely had originally planned his visit to be a short one, to expand his reputation across the channel, much as Van Dyck had done in his first visit to London in the winter of 1620-21 before he travelled to Italy: Richard Graham reported that later in his life Lely stated his regret that the 'great business in which he was perpetually ingag'd' in England meant that he had never had the time to travel to the great artistic sites of Europe.[62] He instead contented himself with building up an exceptional art collection, including the first drawing collection to be formed by a painter-collector in England, which served as his reference point for the European canon of art. Lely's comment implies that, despite the Civil War, he found support and work in London to sustain himself during these early years, laying the foundations of his long career in the country.

---

[59] Vertue, "Note books," 18 (1930), 49.
[60] Oliver Millar, "Weesop: Flesh on a Skeleton," *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1183 (Oct., 2001): 625-630. Also see Robert Tittler, "Early Modern British Painters, c.1500-1640".
[61] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 11.
[62] Richard Graham, *A Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, Both Ancient and Modern* (London: Printed by J. Heptinstall for W. Rogers, 1695), 343.

Yet, other challenges in the London art world at the time of his arrival meant that Lely's success as an artist in London was not at first guaranteed. Lely's early career in England was against the backdrop of accelerating political and social unrest in the lead up to and outset of the First Civil War (1642-6). These circumstances were not a likely recipe for artistic flowering and, as such, did not make London an obvious choice for new arrivals. For example, in 1641, shortly before Lely was to arrive, the Protestation Oath against popery was drawn up, the Earl of Strafford was executed, Parliament abolished the courts of High Commission, Star Chamber and the Council of Wales and the North, and the powers of the Privy Council were suppressed. Perhaps most significantly for the artisans of the City, in September the House of Commons passed a resolution for 'innovations' introduced under the Laudian reforms (such as altar rails and crucifixes) to be destroyed.

However, it seems that, at least at first, this did not stop new arrivals to the city. At the Painter-Stainers' Court of 16 December 1640, Richard Greenbury and a collection of picturemakers complained about the number of foreign and native painters illicitly practising in the City of London without abiding by the ordinances of the Company: the 'manifold grievance arising by the number of strangers and others which daily increase in and about this City to the great impoverishing of the Society'.[63] That the practice of native and foreign painters in London was considered a rapidly increasing problem is strong evidence to suggest that the attractions of London as a source of work for artists were greater than any deterrent caused by Britain's increasingly tense political situation.

One defining characteristic of the Civil War years in London was the absence of the Royal Court. Charles I and many of his Royalist followers left London on the outbreak of war in 1642, while some Parliamentarian patrons dispersed across the country in the course of the wars. Furthermore, some major patrons of the Caroline court, such as Lord and Lady Arundel, decided not to return to England from their travels on the Continent, and others, such as Queen Henrietta Maria, and William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle, went into exile. Some patrons such as the Royalist

[63] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.155.

John Evelyn chose to leave the country for much of the wars and to return again in 1652. Because the absence of the Royal Court was so closely tied to the disruption of the Civil Wars, it is hard to distinguish between each factor's impact on the art world. Nevertheless, from the evidence available, some tentative conclusions might be made regarding how the painting world of London appears to have been both adversely and positively affected by the conditions of the 1640s, and during the years of Commonwealth and the Protectorate in the 1650s.

A number of factors suggest that the period of the First Civil War was particularly testing for the painters of London. Firstly, there is evidence that some artists left the metropolis in the course of the wars. This implies that all was not entirely well with the painting market and that artists were seeking work elsewhere. The experience of William Dobson could be understood as a demonstration of this. After Van Dyck's death in 1641, and after John de Critz II 's death soon after he had inherited his father's appointment as Serjeant Painter on 18 March 1641/2,[64] it seems that Dobson assumed the role of the painter to the exiled Royal Court at Oxford. Although there is no contemporary record to confirm that Dobson was ever given the title 'Principal Painter' or 'Serjeant Painter', he was recorded as 'pictor Regiae Majestatis Angliae' on an etched portrait by Josias English in the British Museum and was generally perceived as 'the natural successor of Van Dyck'.[65] Official title or not, the fact that the King and members of his exiled Royal Court chose a new painter following the death of Van Dyck, and continued to commission portraits, perhaps suggests that they not only still saw the arts as important, but that they intended business as usual. However, Dobson returned to London by 5 August 1646 following the Parliamentarian seizure of Oxford and the King's surrender in May.[66] He spent time in debtors prison and it is recorded that he 'died poor at his house in St. Martin's Lane' shortly after in 1646.[67] Dobson's lack of money might well reflect the loss of a client base due to his long absence from the metropolis, or even suggest he was ostracised by the broadly-Parliamentarian London due to his Royalist credentials. However, the evidence about

---

[64] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 62.
[65] British Museum, 1850,0223.787. Rogers, *William Dobson, 1611-1646*, 16.
[66] When 'Mr William Dobson' is named in a list of persons in nomination for the role of Steward, the only mention of him in the Painter-Stainers' records. 5 August 1646, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.209.
[67] De Piles and Buckeridge, *The Art of Painting,* 369.

the state of the artworld as presented in this thesis would suggest that Dobson's plight was not caused by the lack of painting business in the capital at that time. Rather, the fact Dobson died aged thirty-five very soon after his return to Oxford may indicate that the artist could not work while in London due to his being seriously ill.

Another artist who left the city was the miniaturist, David des Granges (bap.1611- d. in or before c.1672). Des Granges, who married into the Hoskins family of miniaturists, had worked for Charles I before the war and, rather than following the King to Oxford, like Dobson, chose to leave England at the outbreak of the Civil Wars. He spent time with the exiled future Charles II in Scotland, where he produced versions after Adriaen Hanneman's portrait of the Prince.[68] It is also known that Cornelius Johnson left the country late in 1643 to embark on a successful 'second' career in Middelburg in Zeeland in the Netherlands, where some other friends from the Dutch community in London had relocated.[69] The absence of the usual court patronage, the looming dangers of war, the rise in popularity of Dobson in Oxford, and the opportune arrival in London of a new ambitious artist, Lely, might have cumulatively been too much for this portrait painter who had weathered the storm of competition from both Mytens and Van Dyck. However, some artists continued even against this backdrop, such as the printmaker Wenceslas Hollar (1607-1677), who worked through most of the First Civil War and only left to join his patrons Lord and Lady Arundel on the Continent in 1644.[70]

The records of the Painter-Stainers' Company also reflect this exodus of sorts: from 1642 the Company experienced a number of absences from their meetings, which continued throughout the rest of the First Civil War. These possibly marked an evasion of fines, or were due to other 'distractions' of the times. The first direct reference to the disruption of the Civil Wars occurs in an entry from a meeting of 16 November 1643 in which it is stated: 'Nowe in as much as the tymes being full of distractions*'.* This phrase was used again in the minutes of 31 October 1644 and on 13

---

[68] Versions are in the Buccleuch collection, Scotland, and the National Portrait Gallery, London, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
[69] Karen Hearn, "The English Career of Cornelius Johnson," in *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain, 1550-1800,* ed. Juliette Roding (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), 113–28.
[70] Hearn, *Cornelius Johnson*, 8; Harding, "Hollar, Wenceslaus (1607–1677)," *ODNB* (28 Aug. 2018).

November 1645.[71] Some Painter-Stainers therefore saw a direct impact on their business and attributed it to the disruption caused by the wars. However, a number of absences were explained as emigrations or travels abroad. At a meeting on 13 October 1643 it was noted that three Company members had travelled out of London: 'Mr Cottington' had reportedly gone 'beyond the seas', 'Mr fforster' no 'longe in the country' and Mr John Brooke 'not to be fownd'.[72] Mr George 'Coddington' or 'Cottington' features a few more times in the minutes of later years, as it transpires that he returned to London by 2 February 1643/4 but nothing further is heard of him before it is reported on 2 December 1645 that he 'was gone into Spaine and that he intended to inhabit there fr wrd'.[73] At a meeting of 26 October 1643, a 'Mr Ward' was recorded as 'being out of the land', and probably in Scotland.[74] On 3 October 1644, it is noted that Mr Warden Allen demanded money owed by Mr Thomas Constable who had not paid before due to his 'being then out of towne'.[75] The portrait and history painter, Isaac Fuller, having taken the Royalist side, left the country in about 1645 to study under Francois Perrier in France until about 1650.[76] A minute book entry of 29 August 1645 refers to an individual as having left the country and returned again before the end of the First Civil War: 'At this court Mr fflusheere made his appearance … alleadgnige that hee had ben divers yeares out of the kingdome'.[77] This was probably Tobias Flushier (also called Flessier or Fleshier, among other spellings), who was a painter and picture-frame maker of the Dutch emigree family who had been in London since the early seventeenth century.[78] On 24 April 1646 Captain Constable was recorded as having been 'imployed abroad upon the State service' at the time he was elected upper warden and 'contynewed till greate parte of the yeare was spent'.[79] The minutes of 1648 mention two other Company men whose protracted absence strongly implies that they had gone abroad years before: on 28 March 1648 a Mr Henry Parker 'haveinge not made his appearance at the hall for

---

[71] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.184. Also LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.192, and LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.203. Similarly, in a telling episode concerning the decaying state of 'tradeing' during the First Civil War, it was declared at a meeting on 7 November 1644, that 'Nowe forasmuch as the tymes are very dead, and little tradeinge to what hath bene heretofore... ' LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.193.
[72] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.181.
[73] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.204.
[74] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.183.
[75] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.190.
[76] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 93–94.
[77] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.199.
[78] Jacob Simon, "Tobias Flessiers," *British Picture Framemakers, 1600-1950*, National Portrait Gallery (October 2012).
[79] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.207.

theise two yeares past' is fined,[80] and on 13 October 1648 the minutes record 'Mr Gittings haveinge not made his appearance for this 3 yeares.'[81]

From the pattern of the careers of some of these artists, it appears that they may have decided that London did not offer what they needed. However, given the fashion for Italianate and Netherlandish painting, and the competition posed by artists trained on the Continent, it was by this stage considered desirable and not unusual for artists to go on an early form of what would later be termed a 'Grand Tour'.[82] Several of these artists, such as Fuller and John Michael Wright, found that their learnings from their brief sojourns abroad boosted their career. It is perhaps debatable to what extent the artists who left England felt that they were 'pushed' due to a particularly dire painting market at home, or rather 'jumped' at the chance to expand their horizons: it was probably a combination of both.

Some artists were already out of the country at the outbreak of war and chose to stay away until the Interregnum. The painter, John Michael Wright (1617-1694), had been born in London but, by the end of the 1630s, was apprenticed in Edinburgh and spent most of the 1640s in Rome working for Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. He returned to settle in London in 1656,[83] and quickly received important commissions such as the posthumous portrait of Cromwell's daughter, Elizabeth Claypole, painted in 1658, the same year in which he was included in Sanderson's list of painters (fig. 3).[84]

While some painters left London, others chose to, or had no other option than to stay. Several who had been active in the 1630s remained in the metropolis and sustained their careers with varying success through the 1640s and into the 1650s. Of the foreign-born and trained artists in Sanderson's list of 1658, perhaps the most famous other than Lely was the tapestry designer, Francis Clein. Clein, born in Rostock,

---

[80] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.224.
[81] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.227.
[82] See Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance* (Ilford: Cass, 1998).
[83] Duncan Thomson,"Wright, John Michael (bap.1617, d.1694)," *ODNB* (28 Mar. 2018).
[84] National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 952. David Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, *1625-1714* (Cambridge: University Press for the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, 1963), 73. A particularly distinguished portrait of this period is that of Colonel John Russell, Ham House, National Trust, NT 1139947.

Germany, had settled in England soon after the accession of Charles I in 1625. As Sanderson references, he was employed as principal designer to Mortlake tapestry works, yet he is also known to have engaged in decorative painting,[85] as well as portraiture, and was the teacher of the portrait painters Dobson and Richard Gibson (1615-1690), and possibly the painter Henry Gibbs.[86] He was also a printmaker: while the Mortlake tapestry business was quiet in the 1640s, Clein took to designing and etching sets of prints, frontispieces, and other designs. In the more stable conditions of the Interregnum when demand came from the Commonwealth and Protectorate courts, Clein began work at Mortlake again and was supervising new cartoons when he died.[87] Clein's trajectory into printmaking or print design in the 1650s was followed by other artists such as Isaac Fuller and Nicolas Lanier, who both produced etchings alongside their other work in painting or art dealing. Fuller produced some etchings in 1650 and published his *Drawing Booke*, the first of its kind in England, in 1654.[88] In about 1656 Lanier made etchings reproducing drawings in his own collection, including some by Giulio Romano and Parmigianino.[89]

Three notable examples of native artists who managed successfully to continue their careers from the 1630s into the 1640s and 1650s are the miniature specialists Richard Gibson, Samuel Cooper and Cooper's uncle, guardian and probable teacher, John Hoskins. All, plus Hoskins's son – also called John – were recognised as masters in miniature in Sanderson's list. Hoskins was appointed 'limner to the King' in 1640 and, although he was little employed by Charles I after this point,[90] the ageing artist continued to work into the 1650s.[91] Possibly on account of his youth, Cooper showed greater ability to adapt in the changing political climate. He had also been employed

---

[85] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 47.
[86] Hearn, "Henry Gibbs," 101.

[87] Wendy Hefford, "Clein [Cleyn], Francis [formerly Franz Klein] (d.1658)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[88] Both of these are in the British Museum collections. The print of 1650 has etched lettering along bottom 'I.Fuller fecit' 1858,0417.339; Isaac Fuller, *Un Libro da designiare* (London: Peter Stent, 1654) a set of fourteen numbered plates, 1973,0224.1 to 14.
[89] The Victoria and Albert Museum holds a volume titled 'Lanier's Drawing Book 1656' (16.5 x 6 cm, E.381-419-19). This contains forty-three impressions of etchings made in c.1656 by Nicholas Lanier and Lucas Vosterman the Elder after drawings in Lanier's collection. The etched plates were probably printed in the early nineteenth century and then bound together. For more on Lanier's etchings and his collection, see Wood, "Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666) and the origins of drawings collecting in Stuart England," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c.1500-1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick (Aldershot: Ashgate in association with Burlington Magazine, 2003), 105, n.107, n.108; 106, n.111.
[90] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 132.
[91] For example, see John Hoskins's miniature of Henry Capel, Baron Capel of Tewkesbury (c.1655) at the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5703.

by the court of Charles I, yet later worked for Oliver Cromwell from 1649 and continued a successful practice upon the Restoration. Gibson had worked for Charles I but remained with his Parliamentarian patron (who also patronised Lely) Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke during the Civil Wars, probably moving between London and Pembroke's property, Wilton House in Wiltshire. He had a reliable annuity from Pembroke, which left him in a more secure position than most other artists, who relied on payment by commission. He built up a large client base in the 1650s, after Pembroke's death, continuing his practice into the Restoration.[92]

Both Cooper and Gibson were primarily miniaturists and were therefore not in direct competition with decorative painters of larger-scale pictures. Nevertheless, it is a telling sign of Cromwell's taste and preference for the work of Cooper that it was he, not Lely, whom Cromwell commissioned to take his picture both before and after he became Protector (figs 4 and 5). Lely was given the secondary role of painting a larger portrait from Cooper's original, which was copied and circulated more widely (fig. 6).[93]

In addition to these miniaturists, several painters of larger-scale pictures also continued their careers from the 1630s into the 1640s and 1650s. These included the portraitist (and miniaturist) John Hayls (d.1679), whose style was close to Dobson and Lely,[94] and Joan Carlile, who specialised in small-scale full-length figures and supposedly also copies of Van Dyck paintings,[95] both acknowledged by Sanderson. Having joined the Painter-Stainers' Company in 1641, William Sheppard (fl.1641-1660) had some success working for aristocratic patrons at the beginning of the Civil Wars.[96] He only went abroad later during the Commonwealth, spending 1649-51 in

---

[92] John Murdoch, "Gibson, Richard [called Dwarf Gibson] (1605/1615?-1690)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[93] For an overview of Cooper's portraits of Cromwell and discussion of the contentious topic of whether the Protector sat for Lely, see Emma Rutherford and Bendor Grosvenor, eds, *Warts and All: The Portrait Miniatures of Samuel Cooper (1607/8-1672)*, exh. cat. (London: Philip Mould Ltd, 2013), 60–79.
[94] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 118. Also see Karen Hearn, "Hayls, John (d.1679)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[95] For further appraisal of Carlile's biography and painting oeuvre, see: Jane Eade, "Rediscovering the 'worthy artiste Mrs Carlile," *Apollo Magazine* (June 2018): 19-24; Margaret R. Toynbee, "Joan Carlile: Some Further Attributions," *The Burlington Magazine* 178, no. 717 (1971): 186-88; Margaret R. Toynbee, "Joan Carlile. An Additional Note," *The Burlington Magazine* 100, no. 666 (1958): 318-319; M. Toynbee and Gyles Isham, "Joan Carlile (1606? - 1679): An Identification," *The Burlington Magazine* 96, no. 618 (Sep. 1954): 273–277.
[96] Tittler, "Early Modern British Painters, c.1500-1640."

Venice and Rome, before travelling to Constantinople.[97] He was practicing again in London by 1658, as reported by Sanderson. His excellent portrait of the exiled Royalist Thomas Killigrew with a portrait of Charles I on the wall is the only painting by Sheppard known to survive (fig. 7).[98] Another artist, Edward Bower(s) (fl.1628 or 1629-1666/7), was known to paint group portraits such as that of Speaker William Lenthall and his family (fig. 8), and famously painted King Charles during his trial,[99] yet he was notably excluded from Sanderson's list of 1658. There is, nevertheless, evidence to show Bower maintained business through the 1630 and 1640s and into the 1650s. He was a Painter-Stainer, and may have been out of the City for a period during the mid 1640s as he was one of a number summoned in 1644 for 'non payment of their fines and duties and also for their contempt in not appearinge at courte'[100] and again in 1646.[101] However he was definitely in the City in 1649, when he painted Charles I at his trial and was chosen as an Assistant,[102] and became Upper Warden 1656.[103] He had a studio 'at Temple Bar' in London by 1637, which he sometimes notes in his signature.[104]

There is likewise evidence that several copyists remained busy in London over the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Sanderson picks out Symon Stone and Michael Cross for special mention. Stone was for many years employed by the Earl Northumberland as a keeper of pictures, restorer, decorator and copyist, based first at York House and then at Northumberland House, both on the Strand. Identified as 'Mr Stone who coppys' he showed Richard Symonds (1617-1660) the pictures at Northumberland House on 27 December 1652,[105] and appears at various points in the Percy accounts, such as when Northumberland bought a flower picture from him in 1648.[106] Other copyists known to have worked for the earl in the 1640s and 1650s are Jan van

---

[97] Carol Blackett-Ord, "Sheppard, William (fl. 1641–1660)," *ODNB* (31 Aug. 2018).

[98] Several versions exist, notably a signed and dated version at the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3795.
[99] *Charles at his trial,* 1648, 110 x 90 cm, National Trust, Antony, 353001.
[100] 1 July 1644, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.187.
[101] 24 April 1646, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.207.
[102] 8 November 1649, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.7 a.
[103] 24 October 1656, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.43 b.
[104] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 33.
[105] Richard Symonds' notes on the pictures at Northumberland House in 1652. BL/Egerton MSS/1636, fols 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds.*
[106] ACA/SH/U.I.6 (unnumbered). The Account of Edward Payler, receiver of his Lordship's rents and revenues in Sussex, for debts in the year ending 17 January 1648/1649: '...To Mr Stone for a pickture of fflowers ...' cited in Appendix IV of Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 311.

Belcamp (1610-1653), Remigius van Leemput (1607-1675), and George Geldorp (c.1590-1665).[107] Van Leemput and Van Belcamp, along with Walker, are possible contenders for having worked in Van Dyck's studio, but it seems that rather than taking Van Dyck's style to new heights, they, like George Geldorp, seem to have turned to being mainly copyists. Van Belcamp, for example, is attributed as the painter who copied a series of pre-existing portraits (including one by Lely) into a large triptych for Lady Anne Clifford in c.1646, known as *The Great Picture*.[108] Later, when dispersed works from the collection of Charles I were recalled by Charles II, both Emanuel de Critz and Geldorp were found to be keeping works by Van Dyck, and (as addressed in Chapter 3) possibly turning out copies. It is feasible that Lely began his career in England in Geldorp's studio helping him make copies of Van Dyck portraits and other commissions. Cross's origins are uncertain, but it is known that he previously had links to the Spanish court before working for Charles I from 1636. It is possible that he might have trained Stone.[109] Most of his output in England, however, came after 1640,[110] and he was evidently still productive by the time Sanderson writes about him in 1658. Another individual who worked as a copyist, as well as a dealer, in the 1650s was Maurice Wase. Wase sold pictures through John Webb to Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham of Lamport in c.1655, as addressed in Chapter 3. That these London-based established copyists and possibly new copyists could successfully maintain business through the Civil Wars and Interregnum points to a continued demand for this generally more affordable form of painting work.

The 1640s and 1650s saw the Painter-Stainers' Company consolidating their position in the painting world by gradually increasing regulation of their trade. This begun in the early stages of the First Civil War, but before Van Dyck's death and Lely's arrival, with a complaint by Richard Greenbury and other picture makers to the Painter-Stainers' Court about the number of foreign and native painters illicitly practising in the City of London without abiding by the ordinances of the Company. As a result of this petition, it was agreed that some picture makers would be

---

[107] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 300–301.
[108] The original was purchased by Abbott Hall Art Gallery in 1981; a contemporary copy has not survived intact. See Chapter 2 for more discussion of this commission.
[109] Susan Bracken, "Cross [Crosse, Crass], Michael [Miguel de la Cruz, Michaell de la Croy, Michaell La Croix] (fl.1633–1660)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[110] Tittler, "Early Modern British Painters, c.1500-1640."

nominated to the governing body of Assistants to ‘confer advise and be aiding to us in the procuring of redress for their and our grievance and advancement of the said Art as also for the keeping and regulating of those who use that part of the profession.’ A number of picture makers were admitted as Freemen of the Company on that day along with Greenbury himself: ‘Thomas Bowker’, Thomas Johnson (fl.1628-51), Gilbert Jackson (fl. c.1622-58), Thomas Brooker, Thomas Eykes, and ‘Marcus Garret’, the anglicised name of Marcus Gheeraerts III of the famous dynasty of painters originating from the Netherlands.[111] Other picture makers ‘desyoring to be admitted in to the Brothers of this company’ appeared on 14 February 1640/1. Applicants included ‘Mr Ager picture maker’, ‘Peter Trovell picture maker and free of the Goldsmiths’, ‘John Stephens som tyme apprentice with Mr William Peake Goldsmith and Picture maker’, and ‘Mr John Gybbes Picture maker dewelling at Canterburye’ who paid his dues 'for certayne tyme that he lyved here.'[112] The example of Mr John Gybbes and 'Philipp Hodgeson of Burney in the County of Lincolne Esq'[113] (possibly an amateur artist) also shows how picture makers who were from or based outside London would also become members of the Company, perhaps for protection, kudos or contacts. Another set of admittance requests by picture makers appeared on 28 February 1640/1 for ‘Richard Hunt picture maker sometyme apprentice with one John Betts’, ‘Mr Sheppard a picture maker by Creechurch’ (William Sheppard), ‘Walker a picture maker referred to another court’ – possibly the portrait painter, Robert Walker (1595/1610-1658), although a William Walker was also a high-profile Painter-Stainer in these years.[114] Furthermore, on 2 April 1641, ‘Robert Steter A forrin Panter’ was admitted, the same Robert Streeter who was praised as an all-rounder by Sanderson almost two decades later.[115] There were nevertheless exceptions to the rule and, at that same meeting, an unnamed picture maker ‘made his Appearance at this court but denaeth to paye any donation to this company or to bynde any Apprentices to this company’.[116] The Company's drive for new members and concern about expanding and improving regulation indicates that

---

[111] 16 December 1640, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.153.
[112] 14 February 1640, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.155. It has been suggested by Karen Hearn that this might be the Kent-based painter, Henry Gibbs. Hearn, “Henry Gibbs,” 99, n.2.
[113] 17 November 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.52 b.
[114] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.155.
[115] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.156.
[116] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.156.

there must have been a healthy number of painters practicing their trade at the time – and that there was plenty of work to keep them going.

It is curious that Lely was not made free of the Painter-Stainers until 26 October 1647, several years after his arrival. Whether Lely joined because he saw membership of the Painter-Stainers' Company as a way of connecting himself to and being officially accepted by the English painting establishment, or whether he had finally been coerced into membership, is not apparent from the minutes. The Painter-Stainers offered trade protection, but membership came at a cost and fines were given out liberally, so perhaps it was only after the First Civil War that Lely's business settled down enough for him to feel he could afford to be part of such a demanding body. Lely's fashionable Covent Garden address in the 1650s is known, as discussed below, but it is possible that in his early years in London he lived at first outside the City of London, before moving into it around 1647 and therefore coming under the Painter-Stainers' remit. Either way, Lely's joining of the painters' livery Company proved his intention to remain in the country.

Making Lely free of the Company coincided with another drive by the Painter-Stainers to attract illicitly-practicing painters, this time by inviting 'divers other Strangers...'[117] of the City to join a Company dinner.[118] These efforts to draw independent picture makers into the Company show that by this stage the painters of London had in principle nothing against foreigners – known as 'aliens' or 'strangers'[119] – as long as they were practicing on a level playing field with other painters and paying their dues towards the Company. It also suggests that there were sufficient numbers of independent picture makers carrying on their trade to make it worthwhile to the Painter-Stainers to want to crack down on this rival business and collect their dues. The London painting establishment had always had a complex relationship with foreign painters. The English court had a track record of employing foreigners, with Hans Holbein (c.1497-1543), Paul van Somer (c.1577-1621), Daniel Mytens (c.1590-1647/48), Orazio Gentileschi (1563-1639) and Van Dyck all

[117] In the minutes of a meeting on 26 October 1647, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.221.
[118] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.221.
[119] Confusingly, 'foreigner' was in general reserved for those who might be native but came from outside London.

receiving major English patronage over the course of the mid-sixteenth to early-seventeenth centuries. It was especially common for painters of Dutch or Flemish origin to work in London during this period and some, such as Marcus Gheeraerts I (c.1520-c.1590) and II (c.1561/62-1636), and John de Critz I (1551/2-1642), even managed to found dynasties of 'Anglo-Netherlandish' painters which were still active on Lely's arrival to the country. The painters of London, led by the Painter-Stainers and supported by other livery companies with involvement in painting, such as the Heralds,[120] had for decades campaigned to gain some protection for native painters from rival foreign artists.[121] In particular, the Painter-Stainers pushed for the introduction of a more favourable new Charter for the Company,[122] but this project rumbled on throughout the Civil Wars and Interregnum, and only came to fruition in the reign of James II. In the meantime, therefore, the Company had to make do with policing and regulating painters of the City through organised official 'searches' and tip-offs.

According to the minutes of 18 October 1647, the threats to the painting trade had not faded to any great extent: 'Now forasmuch as the tymes contynue full of distractions wtch is much perditiall to tradinge...'[123] Nevertheless, the movements of painters in the city are suggestive of the situation broadly improving from the mid-to-late 1640s. The minutes in the second half of the 1640s onwards show a sizable increase in fines being paid (as opposed to being chased) and a greater number of individuals being made Free of the Company.[124] The minutes also reveal a decrease in the number of recorded absences at Painter-Stainer meetings and the return of several artists who had travelled abroad, plus some new arrivals. This increase in individuals joining the

---

[120] Not all Livery companies concerned with the decorative arts were threatened by competition from foreign tradesmen and, for example, plasterwork did not appear to be a skill-set that transferred across the channel in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries at any substantial level to concern the Plasterers' Company. Claire Gapper, "The London Plasterers' Company and Decorative Plasterwork in the 16th and early 17th Centuries," *Journal of the Building Limes Forum* 9 (2002). See also Claire Gapper, "Plasterers and plasterwork in city, court and county c.1530-c.1640," PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 1998, the updated and corrected text of which can be found online at Claire Gapper, "Decorative Plasterwork in City, Court and Country, 1530-1640," http://www.clairegapper.info.

[121] Susan Foister, "Foreigners at Court: Holbein, Van Dyck and the Painter-Stainers Company," in *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts: Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar,* ed. David Howarth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 32–50.

[122] '...this Company has an entent by the advice of Counseillors to attempt something this Parliament for the strengthening of theyre Charter and Ordinence for the better regulating of the society...' 18 November 1640, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.151.

[123] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.220.

[124] It was noted on 26 October 1647 that due to the number of new yeomen, their wives and 'divers strangers', 'the charge of the Sworne dynner willbe farre greater … then it hath bene at any tyme heretofore…', LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.221. It is mentioned again on 17 November 1648: 'whereof the charge of the sworne dynner willbe farr greater … then usuall', LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.230.

Company might be a sign that there were higher numbers of practicing painters in the City, and shows that the Company was lively and active during this period. It might also signify that the Company had become more effective at searching for practising painters within the area of their remit and compelling them to join the company and pay the corresponding fees. Either way, this suggests that the financial climate had to some extent improved and the painting trade was making a recovery following the disturbances of the First Civil War.

Painter-Stainers' membership increased again in the later 1640s and into the 1650s. There were no recorded instances in the minutes of Painter-Stainers leaving London to go abroad during the Interregnum (although there must have been instances of this - it is known, for example, that Lely did journey to Holland with his friend, Hugh May, in 1656).[125] Artists began to return to the country from the mid-1640s, while others waited until the Commonwealth had been established. Tobias Flushier remained in London from 1645 and lived with Lely in Covent Garden for a while.[126] The Flushiers were probably not the only foreign family to remain in London despite the knowledge that they could ply their trade in another country. Along with Geldorp, they would have introduced Lely to a thriving Dutch expat community. George Cottington was back in the country by 11 September 1646[127] and was active in the Company again by 2 October 1646.[128] Hollar returned to London in late 1651 or early 1652,[129] and Henry Parker was also evidently back working in London by the time of the meeting of 6 April 1652 as the court was asked 'to viewe a petigree done by Mr Henry Parker for the right honoble the Earl of Lincoln...'[130] As we have seen, Fuller was back in London by 1650, when he published an etching, and was the sole artist acknowledged for the art of history painting by Sanderson in 1658. David des Granges was back in London by 1658 as he is recorded as resident in lodgings near the Fountain Tavern in the Strand.[131] He was recognised as a portrait painter in Sanderson's list of that year.

---

[125] State Papers Domestic 25/77. 150, order 29 May 1656, for a pass for Holland to be granted to 'Peter Leley, and his Serct. Hugh May'. Cited in Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 14.
[126] Jacob Simon, 'Balthasar Flessiers' and 'Tobias Flessiers', *British picture framemakers, 1600-1950* (3 July 2016).
[127] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.212.
[128] LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.221.
[129] Robert J. D. Harding, "Hollar, Wenceslaus (1607–1677)," *ODNB* (28 Aug. 2018).
[130] LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.18 b.
[131] John Murdoch, "Des Granges, David (bap.1611, d. in or before 1672?)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).

There are also a few examples in the Painter-Stainers' minutes of other foreign painters coming to work in London in the Interregnum. The now little-known Dutch painter, Abraham Van der Heyden (as 'Abraham Vanderheydon') requested that he might be admitted a member of this Painter-Stainers' Company on 31 March 1653,[132] and returned to the courts on 7 April 1653 and 12 May 1653 to pay his fine and be admitted as a member of the Company.[133] Nothing is known of his painting work, but there is a chance that he is linked to the 'J. van der Eyden' (c.1670-1697) cited by Collins Baker.[134] A further foreign arrival, the Dutch portrait painter, John Baptist Gaspars, 'referred to as 'Mr John Baptist', paid to be admitted as a Painter-Stainer on 6 September 1653.[135] He later worked as an assistant for Sir Peter Lely and became known as 'Lely's Baptist'.[136] The portrait painter, Gilbert Soest, or 'Zoust', as Sanderson calls him (c.1605-1681), was probably born in the Netherlands, or perhaps in England of immigrant parents. Nothing is known of him until 1657 when it is recorded he was living in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.[137] He was clearly highly esteemed by Sanderson, who sat for his portrait and reproduced it at the front of *Graphice* (fig. 9).

Another painter Sanderson mentions is '*Madam Caris,* a Brabanne', which is possibly a corruption of 'Brabant', which after 1648 was split between the Dutch Republic and Southern Netherlands. However, nothing is known about this artist's time in London, nor of the German-sounding 'Mrs. *Weimes'* and the French-sounding '*Reurie'* and 'Mr. *Guies'* also mentioned by Sanderson.

In addition to native artists returning and foreigners arriving in London, a slightly younger generation of native artists emerged in the later 1640s and 1650s. These included Robert Aggas (c.1620-c.1682) who was apprenticed to his father and made free of the Painter-Stainers' Company in 1646.[138] He was famous for creating

---

[132] LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.23 b.
[133] LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.23 b; LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, 24 a.
[134] Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters,* 195.
[135] LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.25 a.
[136] Vertue, "Note books," 20 (1931-1932), 135.
[137] R. H. Merley, "Soest [Zoust], Gilbert (c.1605–1681)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[138] For a detailed look at Aggas's career in the Painter-Stainers, see Richard Johns, "Framing Robert Aggas: The Painter-Stainers' Company and the "English School of Painters"," *Art History* 31, no. 3 (June 2008): 322–41.

landscapes with architectural details and, according to Redgrave, was also employed at the Blackfriars (before it was demolished in 1655) and Phoenix (formerly the Cockpit) theatres.[139] Furthermore, on 4 March 1649 it was reported that 'Robert Walker', 'Mr Edmond Marmion', and 'Mr ffrancis Barlow' were made free at that court.[140] Unfortunately, nothing further is known of the practice of Edmond Marmion, but this entry is significant as the first definite mention of the picture makers Francis Barlow and Robert Walker (although, as we have seen, a picture maker named 'Walker', possibly Robert, did appear at court back in 1641).[141] Walker was one of the main painters of the Parliamentarians, painting Cromwell, Ireton and Fairfax among others. Francis Barlow was said to have been a student of the portrait painter, William Sheppard, but specialised in landscape, animal subjects, and decorative painting, and became involved in the print trade.[142] His high-quality paintings of animals in landscapes (fig. 10) in the middle of this period demonstrate how it was not just the art of portraiture which weathered the storm of the Civil Wars, and that there was demand for other types of subjects. Another artist, the portrait painter Mary Beale, moved to Covent Garden in 1652, and soon rose in popularity to be mentioned by Sanderson in 1658 and became a close friend and follower of Lely.[143]

It is clear, therefore, that, while the uncertainty and disruption of the early 1640s led to a number of artists choosing to move out of London, many remained and some, such as Lely, even took the risk to move there and stay. The City livery company for painters adapted to the times by seeking to consolidate its control over activity by encouraging membership of both native and foreign painters, and especially picture makers. From the later 1640s, the painting trade had begun to recover: some artists returned and new ones arrived, to add to those who remained and, like Lely, were firmly established. By the time of Sanderson's survey in 1658, the London art world boasted a number of distinguished native and foreign artists 'comparable with any now beyond Seas'. This evidence of the painters of London during the 1640s and

---

[139] W. C. Monkhouse, "Aggas, Robert (c.1620–c.1682)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[140] LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.8 b.
[141] 'Walker a picture maker refferred to another Court.' 28 February 1640/1, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.155.
[142] Sheila O'Connell, "Barlow, Francis (d.1704)," *ODNB* (28 Mar. 2018). For his work in print see Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 140-3.
[143] Vertue records that Beale was a favourite pupil of Lely. Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*; Christopher Reeve, "Beale [née Cradock], Mary (bap.1633, d.1699)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).

1650s therefore demonstrates that there was in fact more activity in the painting world, and that painters' business found more success during this period, than has previously been acknowledged by historians.

Painting patronage in London

According to Sanderson, by 1658 the painters of England were so busy making a high-turnover of work to bring in money, that the quality of their work was diminishing:

> Our late *Painters* strive for wealth, by sale of Ordinary and quick work, (the bane of all Arts) rather than labour for Fame, and Glory ; the cause of many *Pieces,* so common and few of *Art.'*[144]

This would imply that the demand was high and the painters of London were receiving a fair amount of patronage, at least in the 1650s. The number of portraits, many not yet attributed, from the 1650s certainly attest to Sanderson's assertion that there were many '*Pieces*', yet while there also are many second-rate works, some are of very high quality indeed, with Lely's work among them. Moreover, Sanderson's comment presumably does not consider the output and quality of painting of the 1640s nor, given his focus on picture makers and limners, decorative painting work of the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Understanding the extent of the appetite for buying paintings in London in the 1640s and 1650s is a key factor in determining the welfare of the painting market in these years. By looking at the patronage Lely received, and evidence of patronage of members of the Painter-Stainers' Company and other painters in London, some indication can be given of the demand for painters to continue working in these years, and from what sort of patrons.

The Painter-Stainers' court minutes show that painting work in London continued throughout the 1640s and 1650s. In some cases they reveal places of work and occasionally the names of patrons. Most mentions of work done are due to complaints

---

[144] Sanderson, *Graphice*, 51.

over bad execution, illegal practice outside the ordinances of the Company, particularly by plasterers, or one Painter-Stainer taking work away from another. This should be taken into account when assessing the quality of decorative work in these years, of which, unlike framed paintings, little remains.

Despite the uncertainty and disruption, there is evidence of continued patronage of decorative painting throughout the First Civil War: in July 1645 there was a disagreement over John Thornhill taking over Mr Anthony Fawcett's work painting 'some shipp windowes belonginge to Mr Egliston of Paules Church Yard',[145] and a month later, a certain 'Langley' is taken to account for his work for 'doctor Evans'.[146] A year later, in June a report is given on the trial of Bartholmewe Clarke, a plasterer, 'for usinge the art of paintinge at the house of Mr Newton and Mr Bostorke in the pich Of Bartholmew exchange at the site of Christopher Coates'.[147]

As well as more basic work for citizens of the City, there is evidence of some elite patrons commissioning decorative painting work in London, but from the Plasterers rather than the Painter-Stainers. In July 1641 the Court was given notice 'of sertayne plasterers at work at A howse at charyng Cross At the Lord havyng of oyle culler'.[148] Furthermore, in the October of that year, 'one Appellthorp is appointed to informe Agaynst offenders to this company and to begin with the plasterer that cullered the frame in the Strand at A nobellmans house hard by the newe exchaynge'.[149] There is a chance the 'Lord' might have been Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland who, in 1640,[150] had begun renting York House on the Strand very near to the Charing Cross junction. Northumberland certainly employed the Painter-Stainer, John Gomersall, later in the 1640s for painting work at Northumberland House (the new name for Suffolk House) on the Strand, which was adjacent to York House.[151] However, if the second reference refers to the same instance of plastering work as the

[145] 4 July 1645, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.197.
[146] 15 August 1645, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.198.
[147] 1 June 1646, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.208.
[148] 14 July 1641, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.158.
[149] 5 October 1641, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.160.
[150] Various ACA/SH/U.I.5. accounts show payments for half a year's rent in 1640, then a year's rent, followed by further irregular payments through the 1640s, and a final payment in midsummer 1647. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 282, note 12.
[151] ACA/SH/U.III.2. Cited in Jeremy Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 59, 62, 66–8, note 71.

first, then the nobleman in question is more likely to be Philip Herbert, the 4th Earl of Pembroke. Pembroke had been granted Durham House (the stables of which had been demolished to make way for the New Exchange) for an annuity of £200 in 1641,[152] but it was in a bad state of repair and he commissioned John Webb in c.1641 to design a new house to occupy the site.[153] The plastering and painting work might therefore have been a temporary fix and a prelude to the planned larger development. The new building was never carried out, however, probably because of the outbreak of civil war followed by Pembroke's focus on the redecoration of Wilton House.

Another important patron is cited in the minutes of 6 April 1652, when some Assistants were asked 'to goe to viewe a petigree done by Mr Henry Parker for the right honoble the Earl of Lincoln…'[154] This must have been the Parliamentarian supporter, Theophilus Clinton, 4th Earl of Lincoln (c.1600-1667), son of the 3rd Earl of Lincoln, and son-in-law to William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele (1582-1662).[155] Other patrons mentioned in the minutes seem to have commissioned house painting: 'Mr Strurktons house in ffleetstreet';[156] 'Colonell Harvyes house';[157] ' Mr Lawrence his house at St Ellens';[158]'Mr Tomlius' 'at Bowe';[159] and 'a French merchants' 'in Pettecotte Layne'.[160]

No other names of patrons are given, but there are several mentions of sites of painting work: 'neere Candlewicke Streete', 'neere Paules', 'in Warwicke',[161] 'in Ffoster Lane',[162] 'at the Moter in Woodstreete and for worke done at the Pole head and Mr Dowses Drury Lane',[163] 'at Queenhith' (a ward of the City of London),[164] and at 'Ratcliffe'.[165] One entry in July 1640 relates to work at Dyers Hall for the wardens

---

[152] "Durham Place," in *Survey of London: Volume 18, St Martin-in-The-Fields II: the Strand*, ed. G. H. Gater and E. P. Wheeler (London: London County Council, 1937), 84-98.
[153] Bold, *John Webb,* 69-74, 158, 160, pl. 46; figs. 2-3.
[154] 6 April 1652, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.18 b.
[155] Betty S. Travitsky, "Clinton [née Knevitt], Elizabeth, countess of Lincoln (1574?–1630?)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[156] 12 May 1653, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.24 a.
[157] 21 July 1654, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.30 b, and 15 August 1654, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.31 a.
[158] 18 January 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.39 b, and 25 January 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.40 a.
[159] 16 April 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.47 a.
[160] 23 September 1658, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.56 a.
[161] 3 July 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.34 b.
[162] 7 September 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.35 b.
[163] 25 January 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.40 a.
[164] 2 July 1656, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.41 b.
[165] 16 April 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.47 a.

of that Company,[166] and a later entry of 1656 concerns painting for the 'Goldsmiths',[167] revealing that, unsurprisingly, the different livery Companies would commission work from each other. Parish churches were commissioning painting work as well and a complaint was made about the standard of work done by one Painter-Stainer at St Anthony's Church,[168] while some plasterers were summoned to the Court for going against the Painter-Stainers' ordinances and 'painting of greene colour in the church of Mary Bothawe On the 24: 25 : and 26: of September 1657'.[169] A few particularly specific details of painting work are given, such as an account of 'Anthony Williamsons worke wth they found in Lincolnes Inne Fields is not well done for it is pasted wth paper on the outside of the house in oyle'.[170] Another more detailed entry states that one offending plasterer 'on the 15th day of June 1657 did paint shopp windowes doores and posts and benches whitelead in oyle in Breadstreete at the signs of the golden Lyon'.[171]

These fleeting mentions of patrons and their locations are too few over the twenty-year stretch to enable a definitive assessment of the types of work the Painter-Stainers and other painters of London were enlisted in and where or who they were for. However, from the evidence that remains, it is clear that although the painters worked for patrons and at sites about the City of London, such as houses, churches and other Livery halls, they also carried out work further to the west, such as at the grand mansions on the Strand, near Whitehall.

However, while the minutes of the Painter-Stainers mainly record the unsatisfactory work of house painters, little information is given as to the patronage of their more successful members, such as the fashionable picture makers within their midst. One rare example is of the Painter-Stainers' Company themselves commissioning the multi-talented[172] Isaac Fuller to paint a group portrait of their court of assistants in

---

[166] 7 July 1640, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.147
[167] 2 July 1656, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.41 b.
[168] 3 July 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.34 b.
[169] 25 November 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.47 a.
[170] 2 July 1656, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.41 b.
[171] 25 November 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.47 a.
[172] In the 1650s and 1660s Isaac Fuller also published a tract on drawing, a book of etchings, painted a number of decorative works, such as the mythological subjects for the Mitre Tavern in Fenchurch Street and religious scenes such as a *Resurrection* at All Souls' College, Oxford. For more information about his career, see Catharine MacLeod, "Fuller, Isaac (1606/1620?–1672)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).

1657, the year before Sanderson praised his skill at history painting in *Graphice*.[173] As a prominent picture maker as well as card-carrying Painter-Stainer, Lely's case provides a fitting balance to that of the decorative painters.

Little is known about Lely's early patronage base; in most cases the provenance of his work from the 1640s begins in the eighteenth century. The identification of patrons is not helped by the fact that Lely's output during his first few years in England appears to have been mainly pastoral history painting, rather than portraiture,[174] so in many cases it is not possible to match up a sitter's face with a patron's identity. While likenesses can be identified in these pastoral scenes, these were mostly of the artist's regular models. Other likenesses – such as those of the musicians set, thought to be of Lely's friends and including possibly two self-portraits – were clearly meant as character types.[175]

However, 'patrons' might not be quite the right word for assessing the consumption of Lely's paintings at this time: 'collectors' might be a more useful term. Lely had been trained in the developed art market of Holland, where it was standard practice for artists to produce paintings for stock rather than for a particular commission. Less is known about the art market in England in the early 1640s so, while artists were known to sell works from their studios as well as take specific commissions, it is not clear whether the practice of selling from stock was so common.[176] There is one isolated instance in the Painter-Stainers' records of July 1641, which suggests that at least one foreign-born artist was attempting to sell his own paintings, or perhaps deal in the paintings of others: 'A stranger one fferdinand Klowd in Drewry Layne warninge geven unto him, not to make any shewe for to hange out any pictures to sale'.[177] Whether this mode of sale was common in London, or was an unusual

---

[173] 18 September 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.48 b.
[174] In his poem 'To my Worthy Friend Peter Lely', 'Lovelace had railed against the ignorance of "an un-understanding land", but Richard Graham was much more calmly matter-of-fact, noting that Lely "finding the Practice of Painting after the Life generally more encourag'd he apply'd himself to Portraits". Transcribed in Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 58, 142 (Appendix). Graham, *A Short Account,* 384; Lovelace, *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, 183; Also see Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 11.
[175] David A. H. B. Taylor, "Lely in Arcadia: Religious, pastoral, musical and mythological themes in Peter Lely's subject pictures," in *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision*, ed. Caroline Campbell (London: Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012), 69-70,76-77, 81-82, nos 5, 6, 7.
[176] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 47.
[177] 4/5? July 1641, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.158.

instance of a foreign artist continuing the customs of their home country is unclear. The Painter-Stainers' concern was of course that Ferdinand Klowd was plying his trade within the Company's area of remit without being a paid-up member. It is possible that, on his arrival in the country, Lely initially maintained this Dutch practice and advertised his talents to potential patrons through producing a selection of paintings for them, or perhaps Geldorp, to sell on.

Nevertheless, while most of Lely's subject pictures are of a generic sort which would have been ideal for the sale-by-studio-stock model, a few stand out as having possibly been made for commission. It seems that Lely showed presentation drawings for *The Finding of Moses* (c.1641) and *Idyll* (c.1650, painting now destroyed) before painting them.[178] It has also been speculated that *Reuben Presenting Mandrakes to Leah* (after 1643),[179] which pictures an obscure episode taken from the biblical story of Rachel and Leah, was commissioned by a patron to mark the birth of a long-awaited child.[180] Lely also painted six paintings of musicians that have been dated c.1648-50, but whose early provenance is not known.[181] As four of these seem to have been originally of uniform size, with two sitters facing left and the other two to the right, it is presumed that these were commissioned as a set to be hung together, possibly flanking the fifth slightly smaller painting of an eleven-course lute-player, possibly hung over a fireplace,[182] and in a music room.[183] Although the figures depict characters rather than portraits, two of the paintings show similarities to the artist's own likeness and it is possible, given Lely's passion for music, that the other sitters were from his personal circle of friends, or were perhaps from the Lanier family of musicians.[184] The same applies to his large subject piece known as *The Concert*

---

[178] The drawings are now at the British Library: *The Finding of Moses*, 1854,0513.9; *Idyll* (or, Arcadian scene with a nymph advancing towards a couple seated), 1854,0513.10. Also see Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 49–50, figs 22 and 23.
[179] The Courtauld Gallery, P.1947.LF.215. Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 100-3, no. 4.
[180] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 50.
[181] Lely's portraits of musicians were for many years in the Craven collection and it is possible that William 1st Baron and Earl Craven commissioned or bought the pictures. The pictures are as follows: *A Boy playing a Jew's Harp,* Tate, T00884; *A Man Playing a Pipe,* Tate, T00885; *A Man playing a Violin* (private collection); *A Man playing an Eleven-course Lute* (private collection); *A Girl playing a Theorbo-Lute* (private collection); *A Man, possibly the Artist, playing the Violin* (Fergus Hall Master Paintings, London). Two pictures of children singing also exist: *Two Children Singing* (private collection); *Two Children Singing*, Royal Cornwall Museum, Royal institution of Cornwall, Truro, TRURI 1936.34. The pictures are discussed in Millar, *Sir Peter Lely,* 10, 40-2, nos 11, 12, 13, 14; Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 108, 111, 116, nos 5, 6, 7, 8.
[182] Taylor, "Lely in Arcadia″ in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 77; Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 41.
[183] Dethloff, "Reception and Rejection," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 55.
[184] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 42; Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 108-11, no. 6.

(c.1650) which also features a possible self-portrait.[185] Additionally, two studies of a similar date exist which show two children singing which closely relate to figures in the scene.[186]

Identifying the sitters in Lely's earliest portraits in England would cast light on his patronage base. However, this is hampered by the fact that many of Lely's portraits from this period have not yet been securely identified.[187] This is not helped by the fact that Lely was notoriously hit-and-miss at being able to accurately capture likeness in his portraits.[188] One *Portrait of a man* (c.1646-7)[189] is thought to be a member of the Boyle or Clifford family, and a second very accomplished *Portrait of a young man* (c.1646-7) has not been ascribed an identity.[190] It is now thought that another *Portrait of a man,* later inscribed 'J. Selden', is of the Parliamentarian George Booth, first Baron Delamer (1622-1684),[191] while another much-contended likeness of *Portrait of a lady* is now considered to be a portrait of Lord Delamere's second wife, the two pendant portraits celebrating the couple's marriage in 1644.[192]

However, a number of portrait paintings by Lely with identifiable sitters do still exist from the 1640s, and many more from the 1650s. These show that, while there is little evidence of Lely's early portraiture to go on, somehow, following a few years of building his painting business, Lely evidently had gained enough respect to work as a portrait painter for major arts patrons. It seems that Lely was able to secure a few key patrons in the 1640s whose influence as taste makers and recommendations to friends and family seems have led to Lely's client base expanding exponentially in the 1650s. London was populated mostly by Parliamentarians during the Civil Wars, and so naturally Lely found most of his patrons that way inclined. Lely painted the parliamentarian and Presbyterian Sir Edward Massey (1604/9-1674),[193] while the

---

[185] Courtauld Institute of Art, Lee Collection and Royal Cornwall Museum, Royal institution of Cornwall, Truro.
[186] Philip Mould, Private Collection. Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 120-3, no. 8.
[187] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 12.
[188] Vertue cites Dryden on Lely's failure to achieve a good likeness in his portraits. Vertue, "Note books," 24 (1935-1936), 22-3. See also Caroline Campbell, "Becoming Peter Lely," in Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 15; Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 14.
[189] The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 37, no. 5; Beckett, *Lely*, no. 312.
[190] Duke of Northumberland Collection. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely,* 39, no. 8; Beckett, *Lely*, no. 339.
[191] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 34; Millar, 16.
[192] Millar and Campbell both give 'Anne' daughter of Earl of Stamford, but Lord Delamere's *ODNB* biographer, Sean Kelsey gives the name 'Lady Elizabeth (1621/2–1691), daughter of Henry Grey, first earl of Stamford.' Sean Kelsey, "Booth, George, first Baron Delamer [Delamere] (1622–1684)," *ODNB* (12 Mar. 2018).
[193] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, no. 10; Beckett, *Lely*, no. 330.

sitter was based in London between June 1646 and August 1647 (fig. 11).[194] It is the first full-length of a non-royal sitter known in Lely's oeuvre, and might have been painted on the occasion of Massey's becoming an MP for Wooton Basset on 18 June 1646, or around July 1647 when he was appointed commander of the London militia. The work is of similar size and bears close resemblance to Van Dyck's portrait of Sir Thomas Wharton (1615-1684) which Lely must have seen in the parliamentarian, Philip, Lord Wharton's collection.[195]

Lely was also notably supported by the circles of the so-called 'noble defectors'[196] who had opposed the King and remained in London during the conflict: Algernon Percy, the 10th Earl of Northumberland; Philip Sidney, the 3rd Earl of Leicester (1619-1698); William Cecil, the 2nd Earl of Salisbury (1591-1668); and Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke. These figures had been distinguished art patrons of the Caroline court and, as Parliamentarian supporters in the 1640s and of Protestant anti-Laudian leaning, these figures also shared political and religious sentiments.[197] There were many familial and social links, too: for example, Northumberland was linked to the Cecil family through his first wife, Anne Cecil (d.1637), who was the daughter of Salisbury.

One of the earliest portraits by Lely is thought to be of the Earl of Leicester,[198] who may have recommended the up-and-coming Dutch artist to his uncle, the Earl of Northumberland. Lely also painted Leicester's daughter, Lady Lucy Pelham in c.1648,[199] and his son Henry, later 1st Earl of Romney (1641-1704).[200] A possible pendant for Henry Sidney of a similar date is probably a little girl from the Sidney, Percy or Spencer families, perhaps Lady Dorothy Spencer or Lady Penelope.[201] Furthermore, in around 1644, Lely also painted the portraits of the Earl of Salisbury[202] and Catherine Howard, Countess of Salisbury.[203] He may have been introduced to

---

[194] Andrew Warmington, "Massey, Sir Edward (1604x9–1674)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[195] 1639, 217 x 128.5 cm, The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. ГЭ-547. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 12, 39-40. For further analysis of Philip, Lord Wharton's collection of portraits see Oliver Millar, "Philip, Lord Wharton, and His Collection of Portraits," *The Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1097 (August 1994): 517-530.
[196] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 14.
[197] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 11.
[198] Beckett, *Lely*, no. 290. P. Lely, oils, c.1642–1645 (probably Philip Sidney), Althorp, Northamptonshire.
[199] The Earl of Yarborough. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, no. 9.
[200] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, no. 19.
[201] Chatsworth. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, no. 20, Beckett, *Lely*, no. 76.
[202] Beckett, *Lely*, no. 462.
[203] Beckett, *Lely*, no. 461.

Salisbury by Geldorp, or perhaps other acquaintances such as the musicians Henry Oxford or Nicholas Lanier, all of whom were patronised by the earl.[204] Other portraits of this time are thought to be of Salisbury's son, Charles Cecil, Viscount Cranborne (1619-1660)[205] and his wife, Diana Maxwell, Viscountess Cranborne.[206]

Leicester had been born at Baynard's Castle, belonging to the Pembroke family, and it was here that another of Lely's patrons, the Earl of Pembroke's Royalist second wife, Lady Anne Clifford, countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590-1676) lived from 1642 until 1649. A painting by Lely exists of the Countess, which seems to be an original prototype likeness commissioned by her to be incorporated by another artist into a large tripych known as 'The Great Picture'.[207] Clifford had commissioned a number of portraits of herself in the past which show her to favour the detailed Dutch style over the more fashionable Flemish style of Rubens and Van Dyck, whom she was one of the few English senior nobility not to patronise. Although the couple were by that stage living apart, Pembroke might have seen the portrait of his wife while it was in London and this might have drawn his attention to Lely, whom he went on to patronise also: his executors paid Lely £85 in 1650 'for severall pictures made for the late Earle of Pembrooke.'[208]

Lely secured other patronage though the Pembroke and Northumberland family network. He painted a portrait of Arthur Lord Capell, later Earl of Essex (1631-1683) in about 1647, and in 1648 Northumberland commissioned a portrait of his daughter, Lady Elizabeth Percy (1636-1718), who went on to marry Capell in 1653.[209] The couple subsequently also sat for a double portrait by Lely.[210] Among other double and group portraits of the 1650s, Lely also painted Mary Capel, later Duchess of Beaufort (1630-1715), and her sister Elizabeth, Countess of Carnarvon (1633-78).[211] Another

---

[204] G. D. Owen, "Cecil, William, second earl of Salisbury (1591–1668)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[205] Beckett, *Lely*, no. 140.
[206] Beckett, *Lely*, no. 141.
[207] Private collection, c.1646, Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, no. 4.
[208] HHA, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts, 168/2, as cited in Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 37.
[209] The portrait Northumberland commissioned of Lady Elizabeth in 1648 was painted, or finished, in about 1652/3, around the time of her marriage. National Trust, Petworth House. NT 486279.
[210] c. 1655-60. National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG 5461.
[211] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 39.65.3. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 50-1, no. 27.

patron of Lely at this time was Charles Dormer, 2nd Earl of Carnarvon, whose grandfather was Lord Pembroke, and whose father-in-law was Lord Capell.[212]

Northumberland's previous role as Charles I's Lord Admiral of the Navy perhaps meant that he was acquainted with Peter Pett, whom Lely painted in c.1650.[213] It is however equally possible that Pett's commission was enabled through Lely's links with the painters Geldorp and Sailmaker, as the latter has been suggested as the artist of the ships in the scene.[214] Another painter, the miniaturist Richard Gibson, was in Pembroke's service in London at this time and became a friend of Lely, who painted two portraits of Gibson and one of him and his wife.[215]

It is around 1647 when evidence begins to show of Northumberland's direct patronage of Lely. Although Northumberland did collect landscape and history paintings,[216] there is no evidence that he purchased any of Lely's early subject pieces and seems to have patronised him solely as a portrait painter. It is possible that Northumberland was the patron of Lely's portrait of *The Three Younger Children of Charles I,* as they were in his custody at Syon at that time (fig. 12).[217] The work has been dated 1647 based on the children's ages being included in an inscription.[218] The earl definitely commissioned another portrait from Lely, of Charles I and his son James, the Duke of York (fig. 13),[219] in about 1648, as confirmed by a now-lost receipt for £30, a note of payment for £20,[220] and an 1671 inventory entry of the Northumberland collection, where it is again valued at £20.[221] The earl also

---

[212] For more on these patrons, see Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 14, 51.
[213] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, no. 17. A copy exists in the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 1270.
[214] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 44.
[215] One portrait of Gibson sleeping in the late 1640s in in a private collection: Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 43, no. 16. The couple dressed in finery in c.1650 is in Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas: Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 44, no. 18. A later portrait of 1658 of Gibson is in the National Portrait Gallery, London: Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits*, no. 1975.
[216] He owned, for example, a Venus and Mars in a landscape by Palma Giovane, a Steenwick church interior and '6 Alpine paeses & ruines of Rome'. See Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 303 Appendix, I.
[217] Now in the National Trust collection at Petworth. For discussion of this painting, see Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 295; Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 38–39, no. 7; Beckett, *Lely*, no. 79; Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 73, no. 149.
[218] For discussion of the different date options, see Margaret R. Toynbee, "The Early Work of Sir Peter Lely," *The Burlington Magazine* 86, no. 506 (1945): 125–27; Earl of Ilchester, "The Early Work of Sir Peter Lely," *The Burlington Magazine* 87, no. 509 (Aug. 1945): 206; Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 295.
[219] Northumberland Collection, Syon. See Beckett, *Lely*, 39, no. 78. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 37–38, no. 6.
[220] 'for the king and the Duke of Yorke's pickture in one peece'. Alnwick Castle MSS, as cited in Oliver Millar, "Notes on British Painting from Archives: III," *The Burlington Magazine* 97, no. 629 (August 1955): 255. Also cited in Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 37.
[221] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 305, Appendix III.

commissioned a copy of Van Dyck's portrait of himself from Lely in about 1647,[222] and three of Jocelyn Percy in the late 1650s.[223]

As the inventory valuation for the portrait of the King was the same as the amount paid for it over twenty years before, it is possible that the inventory valuations for the other works also match the fee charged by Lely. These are: £40 for the group portrait of the royal children; £10 for 'The Countess of Northumberland'; and £30 for the combined 'Three Pictures of Jocelin Earl of Northumberland'.[224] To add to these early works are some portraits painted in Lely's later career: £20 for 'The Duke and Dutchess of York'; £20 for 'Two Pictures of the Ly. Lisle'; and £10 each for 'The Lady Essex', The Lady Stanhope', 'The Lady Strangford', 'The Lady Diana Rich'.[225] Richard Symonds reported in about 1651-2 that Lely charged £5 for each 'ritratto', meaning head, and £10 for a portrait down to the knees.[226] This provides us with a good idea of the prices Lely was charging for his most prestigious commissions in the late 1640s. If in the 1640s Lely was charging about £40 for a large group portrait of royal sitters, and £30 for a smaller double portrait featuring the King, then it is reasonable to presume that Lely's other portrait work before that would have been much lower in price. That would suggest that the average cost reflected in the Northumberland picture inventory of £10 for single sitters seems to be accurate. Prior to his 'big break' in 1647/8, it is likely that Lely would have charged less than £5 for a head and shoulders portrait, and perhaps nearer £20 for the full-length portrait of Massey. After this date, it is possible that Lely charged, as reflected in the Northumberland inventory, about £10 for single three-quarter portraits and £20 for double three-quarter portraits, nearer £30 for full lengths, and £30-40 for group scenes such as the Perryer Family. For smaller portraits, such as that of Sir Justinian Isham at Lamport Hall (as discussed in Chapter 2) Lely's fee might have been nearer £5 to £8.

Another key early patron of Lely was Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart (bap.1626, d.1698). He painted a portrait of her in c.1648 (fig. 14), and again in 1650-

---

[222] Syon MS. Beckett, *Lely*, no. 389.
[223] Beckett, *Lely*, nos 390, 391, 392.
[224] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 307, Appendix III.
[225] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 305, Appendix III.
[226] Richard Symonds ' Observations concerning Pictures & paintings in England 1651-1652', BL/Egerton MSS/1636, transcribed in Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds,* 310. Also see Beckett, *Lely*, 11.

54, as well as later in her life alone and in a double portrait with her second husband, the Duke of Lauderdale.[227] These portraits by Lely are joined at Ham House by a portrait of Murray of c.1647, attributed to John Weesop (fig. 15), and a small group portrait by her Richmond neighbour, Joan Carlile, showing Murray with her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache (1624-99), and her sister, Margaret Murray, Lady Maynard (c.1638-1682) (fig. 16).[228] The postures, drapery and setting in the portraits demonstrate how Weesop and Carlile, like Lely, were in different ways heavily influenced by the portraiture of Van Dyck. For example, the colouring and style of the drapery is reminiscent of Van Dyck's famed portrait of Anne Carr, Countess of Bedford which, as Chapter 3 details, was in the Earl of Northumberland's collection at Northumberland House.[229]

There is also a small oval portrait called *Elizabeth Murray* by Joan Carlile in the Thirlestane Castle collection (fig. 17). This depicts a similar blue costume with (the same pearls and a draped brown fabric to that featured Lely's 1648 portrait of Murray. However, the likeness more closely resembles the hair and plumper facial features of Elizabeth's mother, Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray (d.1649) as seen in her portrait by Van Dyck (fig. 18).[230] On a closer look at the Thirlestane Castle portrait, while the neckline is of the fashionable contemporary sort seen in Lely's 1648 portrait of Elizabeth, the brown fabric is fixed on either side of the sitter's blue dress more like its use in Van Dyck's portrait of Catherine than the way in which it is simply draped over one arm in Lely's portrait. There also exists at Ham House a signed miniature by John Hoskins the Elder (c.1590-1665) of Catherine Bruce, which has been given the date 1638 (fig. 19). This has the facial likeness of Catherine, but a similar pose, costume and setting to Lely's 1648 portrait and Carlile's oval portrait of Elizabeth. It seems, therefore, that in choosing the pose and dress of her 1648 portrait by Lely to echo Catherine's portrait by Hoskins, Elizabeth possibly intended to pay homage to her mother. Then, perhaps after Catherine's death in 1649, Elizabeth (or someone else) commissioned Carlile to paint a posthumous picture, using Van Dyck's and

---

[227] All three remain at Ham House, London, now owned by the National Trust: 1648, NT 1139764; c.1651, NT 1139940; c.1675, NT 1139789; c.1680, NT 1139783. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 47-8, no. 23.
[228] National Trust, Ham House. NT 1139956; NT 1139727.
[229] In the collection of the Earl of Egremont, Petworth House, c.1638, 136.2 x 109.9 cm. Barnes, Susan J., Nora De Poorter, Oliver Millar, Host Vey, eds., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (London: Yale University Press, 2003), IV 22.
[230] *Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray*, 135.5 x 108 cm, National Trust, Petworth House. NT 486240.

Hoskins' portraits of Catherine, as well as Lely's more fashionable recent portrait of Elizabeth, as a reference: the result was a composite of all three, with the brown sash pulled up higher on her shoulder as in Van Dyck's portrait of Anne Carr.

Among Lady Dysart's regular guests was Oliver Cromwell, and it was possibly through her recommendation that he also became a patron of Lely in c.1654.[231] The fact that a painter of the Lord Protector could inherit the role of Principal Painter to the King within a decade is a testament to Lely's skill and popularity among patrons. It is perhaps because of Lely's confidence in his links to prominent Parliamentarians and senior nobles that in 1653 he, together with Geldorp and Sir Balthasar Gerbier, 'the arch-opportunist,'[232] petitioned Parliament to commission them to decorate Whitehall Palace with wall paintings celebrating Parliament's Civil War victories.[233] It was proposed that the paintings would be inset with portraits of generals and commanders, including a large group portrait commemorating 'the whole Assemblie' of Parliament, and a group portrait of members of the Council of State to be displayed on the walls of the Banqueting House.[234] Nothing further is recorded of this proposal, and it has been presumed that the petition was unsuccessful: as detailed in Chapter 4, this may be because the new government preferred to adorn its state buildings in rich tapestries rather than painted walls or pictures.

From the Painter-Stainers' records and analysis of the patrons of Lely in the 1640s and 1650s, it is apparent that patrons from a broad social spectrum continued to commission London-based artists and collect paintings. While the lack of records means that our knowledge of the early 1640s is thin, the Painter-Stainers' minutes indicate that painting work was still being commissioned during the First Civil War (although work was often pinched from the painters by rival plasterers). Lely's surviving portraits indicate that he became connected with members of the London elite at an early stage after his arrival. The decorative painters of London continued to work for clients about the City of London in the years that followed, as well as

---

[231] Birmingham City Museums and Art Gallery, 1949P27. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 46-7, no. 22.
[232] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 14.
[233] Stowe/MS/184 f.283 'Proposal to the Parliament of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Knt., Peter Lely, and Georg Geldorp concerning the representing, in oil, Pictures of all the memorable Atchievments since the Parlament's first sitting', printed, c.1651.
[234] BL, Stowe MS 184, f.283. Cited in Diana Dethloff, "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).

occasionally taking up commissions nearer or in the City of Westminster. Meanwhile Lely's career was going from strength to strength working for the wide network of friends and family of his earliest patrons in the country. Recommendation made through social networks was therefore a key route to increasing patronage for painters in London in the 1640s and 1650s. This evidence indicates that, rather than a dearth of patronage during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, there was, in fact, sufficient demand for the varied painting work of the established native Painter-Stainers. The evidence likewise demonstrates a continuation in high-status commissions from members of the social and political elite for particularly talented artists such as Lely.

Social and geographical painting networks in London

London in the seventeenth century was a city of two halves: the City to the east was the main commercial hub, while Westminster to the west was the political centre of the Royal Court and government (fig. 20). The two were linked by the Strand, which by the early seventeenth century was lined with the grand palaces of the aristocracy. However, between 1630 and 1640, the social geography of London was altered when high-quality housing developments in Covent Garden and Lincoln's Inn Fields were built on the land north of the Strand, linked by Drury Lane. The area became very fashionable and, by 1655, most of the area between the Strand and Holborn had been filled-in.[235]

These geographical, social and commercial changes had an impact on the art world of London in various respects. One key change was that, as many wealthy patrons and collectors relocated to the area around Covent Garden, gradually throughout the 1640s and 1650s artists who could afford it moved west to be near their clients. This was particularly the case for portrait painters, as it was the custom (unless the sitter was very senior sitter) for the client to go to the studio of the artist to have their likeness taken. Having an accessible and respectable-looking studio was therefore key to portrait painters' business.

---

[235] Peter Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps* (London: British Library, 2006), 51.

When Lely arrived in London, he initially lived with and worked for George Geldorp, in Chapel Street.[236] However, by June 1650 he was living with Tobias Flushier and Hugh May at a fashionable address on the Piazza of Covent Garden,[237] indicating that business was going well for all of them. Some painters such as Samuel Cooper, John Hoskins, Remigius van Leemput and Tobias Flushier had been in the St-Martin-in-the-Fields and Covent Garden area since the 1630s.[238] The 'stranger painter', Ferdinand Klowd, who was unaffiliated with the Painter-Stainers, had also been plying his wares in Drury Lane.[239] Other artists who moved to the area in the 1650s included Mary Beale and her husband, who had moved to Covent Garden on their marriage in 1652, and Joan Carlile and her husband, Lodovick, who moved from their house in Petersham to Covent Garden 1654 to further her career. Although Carlile did find work, the couple had returned to Petersham by the summer of 1656.[240]

A second effect of there being much building in the new sites which lay to the west of the City in the 1640s must have been increased work for craftsmen, including painters. However, apart from the noble commissions on the Strand in 1641, and Anthony Williamson's faulty painting in oil on paper at Lincoln's Inn Fields, discussed above, most of the painting work recorded in the Painter-Stainers' minutes as being carried out in the 1640s and 1650s remained in the City environs. This is probably because other work took place outside the area in which the Wardens were permitted to carry out their regular 'Search' for offenders of their ordinances.

---

[236] '"From 1642 Geldorp lived in Chapel Street by the New Chapel near Tothill"s Fields, which seems to have had a number of previous Dutch tenants including Van Poelenburgh, who was in London from 1637 to 1641, and the silversmith Christian van Vianen, and it is likely Lely lodged there when he first arrived.' Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely*, 46.

[237] 'In June 1650 May was lodging "att Mr Lilyes a picture drawer"', cited from 'Cottrell-Dormer MSS at Rousham; 'Lely and Flushier paid rates jointly for the house, in this very smart quarter, in 1651 and 1657, Flushier by himself 1652-6 and 1658-61. Lely at first seems to have lodged in the house and in due course, certainly by 1662 he is the only ratepayer in the house. As you turned left on coming into the Piazza from James Street the house was the fifth on your left from the corner. In the assessments of rates in Covent Garden for 1651 Lely's name is inserted slightly later'. Information from Westminster City Archives, St Paul Covent Garden rate books, cited in Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 14, 28 n.21. See also Jacob Simon, "Tobias Flessiers," *British picture framemakers, 1600-1950*.

[238] Tittler, "Early Modern British Painters, c.1500-1640."

[239] 4/5? July 1641; 9 July 1641, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.158.

[240] Toynbee and Isham, "Joan Carlile," 275-6. Brian Duppa, *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650-1660*, ed. Sir Gyles Isham. (Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society, 1955), 74, 81, 153.

Locations recorded of painting work carried out within the City include Lombard Street,[241] St. Mary Axe,[242] Leadenhall Street,[243] Broadstreet,[244] Warwick Lane,[245] the Old (Royal) Exchange,[246] Wood Street,[247] Poultry,[248] 'St Katherines lane',[249] 'Bartholmew exchange',[250] Bartholmew Lane,[251] Fleet Street,[252] 'the foundtaine Taverne without Newgate',[253] 'neere' Candlewick Street,[254] 'neere' St Paul's,[255] Foster Lane,[256] near St Helen's Church,[257] the ward of Queenhithe,[258] Ratcliffe,[259] Bow,[260] St Mary Bothaw,[261] and Petticoat Lane.[262] This reveals that painting work was being done at a wide spread of locations about the City, at sites located on main

---

[241] 'The sampler of woorke don by ol plasterer in Lombert Street on the syinge of the Talbott in Lombert Street', 17 January 1639/40, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.144; 'This court doth intreat Mr Gerlyn to make a sampell of the plasterers woorke that he did in Lomberd Street', 9 July 1641, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.158.
[242] 'At the search that one Mr went were fownd 3 strangers one in St Mary Axe', 19 March 1639/40, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.145.
[243] 'one [stranger] in Ledon Hale streat', 19 March 1630/40, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.145.
[244] A complaint about plasterer 'Robert Okley', servant to the plasterer 'Thomas Griffeing', 'who was taken painting shopp windowes posts and benches stone colour in oyle at the golden lyon in Broadstreet John Robinson Witnes', 9 October 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.50 a.
[245] 'Also further complaint of worke done by Mr Pollard in Warwicke and if not stopped ordered for the Beadle to give him a summons to appeare at the next court', 3 July 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.34 b; 'Whereas there was a complaint made of Mr Pollard for work done by him in Warwicke Lane and is not stopped who appeared and acknowledged his offence and promised amendment of the same', 25 (or 26?) July 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.35 a.
[246] 'Thomas Niccolls being com[m]anded to this court about the painting of the pillors in the awld Exchange', 18 September 1640, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.148.
[247] 'A complaint made to this court agaynst John Gyrlyn For woorke don by him at A Comfitmakers in Wood Street', 19 October 1640, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.150; 'Upon the complaint of Alexander Garle concerning money due to him from Anthony Williamson as ptner wth him in severall places where worke was done; the said Anthony Williamson appearing at this court requested a fortnights tyme for to compromise the business betweene him and Mr Garle for worke done at the Moter in Woodstreete ...', 25 January 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.40 a.
[248] 'Compayned to this court of A plasterer that doth paynting woork in the Powltry', 7 February 1641/2, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.164.
[249] 'one John Nayler' 'wrought in St Katherines lane and coloured a house in oyle', 29 August 1644, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.189.
[250] Complaint 'against Bartholmewe Clarke plaster for usinge the art of paintinge at the house of Mr Newton and Mr Bostorke in the pich Of Bartholmew exchange at the site of Christopher Coates', 1 June 1646, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.208.
[251] 'Bartholmew Clarke plasterer shalbe pssented at law for layinge a Belcom[?] in oyle in Bartholmew Lane at Mr Goodmans house', 13 June 1649, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.232.
[252] Work viewed at a 'house in ffleetstreet', 12 May 1653, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.24 a.
[253] 30 June 1654, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.30 b.
[254] 'Ordered on a complaint made by Thomas Harlowe for work done by him neere Candlewicke Streete who is denyed his money for the same', 3 July 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.34 b.
[255] 'That whereas Mr Anthony ffawcett had primed some shipp windowes belonginge to Mr Egliston of Paules Church Yard wcth were afterwards finished by John Thornhill', 4 July 1645, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.197; 'At this court there was a compaint made against captn Brewer by the Wardens of the Yeomandry that in their last search they found worke done by his servants neere Paules who were finishing of the same and yet not stopped ordered that the Clerke shall summon him in to appeare at the next courte', 3 July 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.34 b.
[256] In the search of 19 July 1655 they found 'worke done by Mr George Carey in Ffoster Lane very defective with the court takeing the same into a consideration have fined the saus Mr Carey for such defective worke', 7 September 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.35 b.
[257] 'Willm Lightfoote made a complaint about worke done by Thomas Hawley at Mr Lawrence his house at St Ellens', 18 January 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.39 b; further reference to the same on 25 January 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.40 a; in reference to 'Mr Whittinghams house in St Ellens', 'the said William Lightfoote came and finished the woorke that he had begunne primed and stopped before the said thomas hawley was paid for the same', 17 April 1656, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.40 b.
[258] 'There was a paper presented by the wardens of the yeomondry that in their search they found John Hodges finnishing of worke at Queenhith and dud not stopp the same it is ordered that he shalbe summoned in at the next court', 2 July 1656, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.41 b.
[259] John Taylor complaint against Mr Bristowe for taking Captn Gunnells work at 'Ratcliffe', 16 April 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.47 a.
[260] Robert Agas's complaint against Captain Brewer regarding work taken at 'Bowe', 16 April 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.47 a.
[261] Complaint about 'John Grove plasterer for greeninge a Church called St Mary Bothawe', 9 October 1657, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.50 a.
[262] 'At this court Captn Brewer sonne appeared in the behalfe of his ffather for woeke done by his Father in Pettecotte Layne att a French merchants And after hee had begun the worke Captn Gurrey finished the same before he had anye satisfaction for it', 23 September 1658, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.56 a.

thoroughfares as well as smaller streets. The fact that many of these examples were instances of plasterers, not Painter-Stainers, painting suggests that a fair amount of extensive redecoration work was being carried out. It also reveals that, to cut costs, patrons tried to use plasterers for both plastering and basic painting when they could. This implies that, despite there being ample painting projects, less work than might be expected came the way of the housepainters of London.

While Lely and associated picture makers such as 'one Mr Tayler in the Coven garden'[263] were part of the painting elite and correspondingly lived and worked near his clients, it seems that most Painter-Stainers continued to live or base their shops within the City of London. One picture maker we have looked at, William Sheppard, was in February 1640/1 based 'by Cree church',[264] meaning St Katharine Cree on Leadenhall Street in Aldgate. Other Painter-Stainers with given locations in the minutes are 'Daniel Watson in Queen Street',[265] Mr fforster' who had a 'house at Tower Hill',[266] 'John Bird at Snowe Hill',[267] 'George Carewe in ffoster Lane',[268] and 'Samuell Kinge in longe Alley in Morefields'.[269] The minutes also divulge some locations of other craftsmen, such as the plasterer 'John Nayler liveinge at Tower Hill',[270] and others of unidentified profession such as 'John Stapler in St Martins in the Fields'.[271] As their work mostly consisted of decorative painting of static objects and houses, it could be argued that, unlike picture makers, the Painter-Stainers had little need for convenient and desirable premises to entice patrons to come to them. Yet, the fact that so many painters continued to be based in the City suggests that there was enough demand for painting work during the 1640s and 1650s to continue focus their attentions there.

---

[263] 28 February 1640/1, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.155.
[264] 28 February 1640/1, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.155.
[265] 28 February 1640/1, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.155.
[266] 13 October 1643, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.181.
[267] 1 July 1644, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.187.
[268] 6 March 1655, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.40 b.
[269] 17 April 1656, LMA/GL/MS 5667/2, f.40 b.
[270] 29 August 1644, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.189.
[271] 15 October 1647, LMA/GL/MS 5667/1, f.219.

Conclusion to Chapter 1

As the material cited in this chapter suggests, the Painter-Stainers' minutes are invaluable mine of information on the day-to-day activities and preoccupations of London painters. The names and locations they cite enable the charting of the social and geographical networks of painters and some of their patrons, as well as tracking of their movement in and out of, and across, London during the 1640s and 1650s. Together with other documentary sources, such as art treatises, letters and poems, and physical evidence in the painting work that survives, the minutes help build a picture of how the painters of London fared during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, and what art they produced.

The sources reveal that while the Civil Wars and Interregnum were a challenging time for some, the painters of London managed to endure 'distracted times', and some flourished. Experience of the Civil Wars was mixed, but overall the landscape of the painting market is not as bleak as it has previously been assumed. The absence of the Royal Court, combined with the anxieties of an uncertain political landscape with its real or feared economic problems, and the promise of patronage elsewhere, seem to have led to a number of artists leaving the city. However, some established artists continued and others, such as Lely, arrived, and many diversified their talents to best adapt to the wartime painting market. The painters' livery company responded by increasing its regulation, with the effect of bringing more painters, including foreign-born rivals, into the fold, resulting in tightening social and professional networks. Familial networks and those based on political and religious affiliations among the elite of London in these years also led to a wide network of patrons, with news quickly spreading of favoured artists such as Lely. Despite the absence of the Royal Court, evidence shows that a substantial number of patrons were still commissioning and collecting works throughout the early 1640s. Major commissions had returned by later in the decade, buoyed by new or returned artists, and the emergence of the burgeoning commercial centre to the north of the Strand. Therefore, we can see that, far from being bleak, there was still significant and energetic activity amongst the painters of London during this period which deserves to be recognised.

CHAPTER 2

Defining Dynasties: The Art Patronage of Lady Anne Clifford and Philip Herbert the 4th Earl of Pembroke

---

Introduction

Having addressed the activities of Sir Peter Lely and other London-based painters during the Civil Wars and Interregnum, the following two chapters will investigate the extent of continuity in the patronage and collecting of four of his patrons through the changing political environment of the period. While there is some overlap in dating, this chapter broadly deals with patronage and collecting of the 1640s, whilst the next deals with that of the 1650s. Through case study analysis, both chapters will examine evidence of the survival of Caroline court taste, of the perpetuation of certain types of art patronage activity through this period, and of the primacy of London as a centre of patronage and collecting in these years.

This chapter will investigate the patronage and collecting of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590-1676),[1] and Philip Herbert, 1st Earl of Montgomery and 4th Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650).[2] Pembroke and Lady Anne Clifford have been selected because they were established patrons of the arts who both commissioned significant pieces of painting work in the 1640s, yet whose experience of the period was, in many ways, contrasting. Although linked by religious belief, approximate social standing, and (briefly) by marriage, the pair were of opposite politics during the Civil Wars – Lady Anne was a Royalist, while Pembroke

---

[1] From now on referred to as 'Lady Anne Clifford', 'Lady Anne' or 'the countess'.
[2] From now on referred to as 'Pembroke', 'Lord Pembroke' or 'the earl'.

was a Parliamentarian - and the pair's artistic tastes are usually characterised as distinctly different. Lady Anne is also an example of a female arts patron who continued to be active during the Civil Wars and Interregnum (another being Elizabeth Murray).

Pembroke was a leading Jacobean and Caroline courtier who, amongst other posts, held the important role of Lord Chamberlain to King Charles, yet he became a prominent Parliamentarian during the Civil Wars, and one of the few peers who sat in the Rump Parliament. The earl features regularly in histories of the early-Stuart and Civil War period, but there is no stand-alone assessment of him as a patron of the arts. Details of Pembroke's art patronage are given in the most recent Wilton House picture catalogue,[3] in histories of his family,[4] and in studies of Sir Anthony van Dyck,[5] of whom he was a key patron. Other details of Pembroke's patronage of the arts can be found in research into the re-developments that he commissioned at his family seat, Wilton House, in Wiltshire, and those planned for his London property, Durham House, from the early 1630s until his death in 1650.[6] The architectural developments at Wilton have been examined in depth by Colvin, Bold and Reeves and others while, more recently, Dr Gordon Higgott has made significant progress in unravelling the mysteries of the painted decorative scheme of the south front, as discussed below. But more work is needed to make sense of the decorative painting work at Wilton and to piece together the earl's picture collection at this time.

The cultural activities of Lady Anne have been scrutinised to a great extent. Monographs on Lady Anne's fascinating life, beginning with that by Williamson and

---

[3] Sidney Charles Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House, Salisbury, Wiltshire* (London: Phaidon, 1968).
[4] Sir Tresham J. P. Lever, Bart., *The Herberts at Wilton* (John Murray: London, 1967).
[5] Barnes, *et al.,* eds., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue*; Oliver Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982).
[6] The most up-to-date accounts are those by Heward, Bold and Reeves: John Heward, "The Restoration of the South Front of Wilton House: The Development of the House Reconsidered," *Architectural History* 35 (January 1992): 78–117; Bold, *John Webb*; Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*. These accounts cite and build on analysis and discoveries made by Tait and Colvin: A. A. Tait, "Isaac de Caus and the South Front of Wilton House," *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964): 74; Howard M. Colvin, "The South Front of Wilton House," *Archaeological Journal* 111, no. 1 (1 January 1954): 181–90. Christopher Hussey also wrote three articles on Wilton for *Country Life*: Christopher, Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – I," *Country Life* 133 (9 May 1963): 1044–48; Christopher Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – II," *Country Life* 133 (16 May 1963): 1113; Christopher Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – III," Country Life 133 (23 May 1963): 1176–80. Furthermore, another *Country Life* article has been dedicated to the decorations of the Hunting Room: Mireille Galinou, "Painting the Chase: The Hunting Room at Wilton House, Wiltshire: The Seat of the Earl and Countess of Pembroke," *Country Life* 207, no. 9 (27 Feb. 2013): 62-5.

followed by Holmes, Spence and, most recently Hearn and Hulse, address aspects of her arts patronage.[7] Other scholars have looked specifically at her literary interests and output,[8] notably her diaries and *Great Books of Record*,[9] as well as her patronage of building work,[10] monuments,[11] music,[12] and even her interest in gardening.[13] In one short article, Alice T. Friedman directly addresses Lady Anne's activities as a patron of the visual arts.[14] In another article by Friedman, an earlier chapter by Graham Parry and a more recent essay by Karen Hearn, special attention has been given to *The Great Picture* of Lady Anne, commissioned in 1646.[15] However, the identity of the artist of this famous picture remains elusive and there is more to say on this work in the context of Lady Anne's varied arts patronage during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.

In providing a more detailed analysis of this pair's key painting commissions of the 1640s, this chapter will shed new light on familiar material. It will also offer fresh insights into aspects of their patronage and collecting which have not previously been dealt with in depth, such as the attribution of the *Great Picture* and an analysis of the Hunting Room at Wilton House in the context of the better-known painting scheme of

---

[7] George Charles Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery, 1590-1676: Her Life, Letters and Work, etc*. (Kendal: T. Wilson & Son, 1922); Martin R. Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady: Lady Anne Clifford, 1590-1676* (London: Phillimore, 1975); Richard T. Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montogomery (1590-1676)* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997); Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain* (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009).

[8] Heidi Brayman Hackel, ""Turning to Her "Best Companion[s]": Lady Anne Clifford as Reader, Annotator and Book Collector," in *Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. Hearn and Hulse, 99–108; Mary Ellen Lamb, "The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading," *English Literary Renaissance* 22, no.3 (Autumn 1992), 347-368; Stephen Orgel, "Marginal Materiality: Reading Lady Anne Clifford's *Mirror for Magistrates*," in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England,* ed. Douglas Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 245-65.

[9] Katherine O. Acheson, ed., *The Diary of Anne Clifford, 1616-1619: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland, 1995); Jessica L. Malay, ed., *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Megan Matchinske, "Serial Identity: History, Gender, and Form in the Diary Writing of Lady Anne Clifford," in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England,* ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (London: Routledge, 2007), 65-80; D. J. H. Clifford, ed., *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford* (Stroud: Sutton, 1990); Anne Clifford Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, *The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford: With an Introductory Note by V. Sackville-West* (London: William Heinemann, 1923).

[10] Andrew Spicer, "Lady Anne Clifford and Her Church Building" in *A Fresh Approach: Eassays Presented to Colin Platt in Celebration of his Eightieth Birthday 11 November 2014,* ed. Claire Donovan (Ash Vale, Surrey: Trouser Press, 2014), 122-130; John Goodall, "Lady Anne Clifford and the Architectural Pursuit of Nobility," in *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*, ed. Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009), 73-86.

[11] Adam White, "Love, Loyalty and Friendship; Education, Dynasty and Service. Lady Anne Clifford's Church Monuments," in *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*, ed. Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009), 43-71; Jean Wilson, "Patronage and Pietas: The Monuments of Lady Anne Clifford," *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 97 (1997): 122-25.

[12] Hulse, "In Sweet Musicke Did Your Soule Delight" in *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*, ed. Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009), 87-97.

[13] Philippa Potts, "Lady Anne Clifford: Revealing the Gardener," in *Grand Gardens and Green Spaces*, ed. Janet Waymark (London: Birkbeck Garden History Group, 2006).

[14] A. T. Friedman, "Lady Anne Clifford as a Patron of the Visual Arts," *Quarto. Abbot Hall Art Gallery quarterly bulletin Kendal* XXVIII, no. 3 (September 1990), 6-10.

[15] Friedman, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster, and Paint," 103–20; Parry, "The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford," 202–19; Karen Hearn, "Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych," in *Lady Anne Clifford,* ed. Hearn and Hulse, 1–24.

the south front state rooms. Furthermore, although aspects of the patronage of Lady Anne and Pembroke have been addressed in isolation, their patronage has not been looked at in tandem to any great extent until now. Previous studies have not focused, as this thesis does, on the pair's patronage and collecting in the context of other patrons of the period. In addition, unlike others, this study sets the work of the artists and designers used by this pair against that of others active at the time.

In considering the activities of Pembroke and Lady Anne during the 1640s, this chapter seeks to assess whether the artistic patronage of the pair was as markedly different as has traditionally been painted. Their cases also give insight into the types of artistic patronage members of the elite engaged with during this period. Analysis of their patronage also provides an opportunity to discern how far their activities in this period demonstrate a continuation of established practices of courtly artistic consumption, such as the nature of their taste in terms of artistic style, content, and favoured artists. Analysis of their choices and actions will go towards the core thesis enquiry into what ways and to what extent Caroline courtiers were able to continue to function as art patrons during the Civil Wars, why this might have been, and what that tells us about the artistic landscape in England during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.

The Art Patronage of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590-1676) during the Civil Wars and Interregnum

Profile of Lady Anne Clifford

Lady Anne Clifford was the only surviving heir to a senior noble family: her father was George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605) and her mother was Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland (1560-1616). In her youth, Lady Anne lived as any other young noblewoman, attending Court and performing in Inigo Jones's court masques. She also received an excellent education, overseen by her accomplished mother, and her writings reveal her to be an intelligent and learned

woman with an independent spirit. A defining moment in Lady Anne's life occurred at the age of fifteen, when her father died, leaving his inheritance to her uncle, Francis Clifford, and only £15,000 to her. This was a breach of entail because the Clifford estates should have descended to the eldest heir, whether male or female. As a consequence, Lady Anne, supported by her mother, launched a campaign over several decades against members of her own family, senior nobility, and even the King, to claim back what she viewed as her rightful inheritance, which she finally received in 1643.[16]

Other experiences which shaped Lady Anne's life were her two unhappy marriages: from 1609 to 1624, to Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, later 3rd Earl of Dorset (1589-1624); and then from 1630 to 1650, to Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and 4th Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650). During both of these she spent stages of separation from her partner. With Dorset she had three boys, who did not live long, and two girls – Margaret and Isabella – who survived to adulthood and to whom she was very close. She had two miscarriages early on in her marriage to Pembroke. On Dorset's death in 1624 Lady Anne reportedly determined never again to marry a courtier, nor a man who was already a father, nor one that was 'a great curser and swearer'.[17] She nevertheless managed to attain all three in her choice of second husband, Pembroke, whom she married on 3 June 1630. The pair had known each other for years, moving in the same elite social circles at Court. Both had been widowed; both were now wealthy; they shared the same Protestant beliefs (although she was more observant); and both were equally enthusiastic patrons of art and literature. This marriage was also an unhappy one: according to an entry in a later diary, on the 18 December 1634, 'By reason of some discontent',[18] most likely over ownership of her estates and her objection to her husband's infidelities among other possible marital conflicts,[19] Lady Anne left Pembroke's rooms at the Court at Whitehall for another of his London properties, Baynard's Castle, which was situated

---

[16] Following her marriage to the Earl of Pembroke, Lady Anne signed herself for the most part 'Anne Pembroke' or 'AP', yet she continues to be known as 'Lady Anne Clifford'. Biographical information on Lady Anne cited in this chapter has been taken from Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford.*
[17] Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, 126.
[18] Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 177.
[19] Holmes suggests the choice of date of departure implies a clash over the Earl's projected Christmas arrangements. Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, 128. For further discussion of the couple's marital issues see Spence, "Clifford, Anne, countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590–1676)," *ODNB* (12 Mar. 2018).

on the Thames near the Tower of London.[20] For the eight years following her separation from Lord Pembroke, Lady Anne and her daughter, Lady Isabella, resided principally in his houses in Wiltshire, mainly at Ramsbury due to the building work at Wilton,[21] and at Baynard's Castle when she came to London.[22] Despite their separation, it seems there were periods at which Lady Anne and Lord Pembroke were on amicable terms.[23] Lady Anne came into her inheritance in 1643, and left London in 1649, shortly before Pembroke's death, to live the last thirty years of her life independently, in progress around her estates in Craven and Westmoreland.

Having been nearly side-lined out of her family's history, it is not surprising that Lady Anne would develop an obsession for recording data from her own life. This preoccupation took various forms, from the reasonably common practice of keeping a personal diary and meticulous financial accounts, to the extensive amassing of evidence for her inheritance case, and its presentation in a three-volume chronicle of her family history, called *The Great Books of Record.*[24] Within this text is 'A Sumary of the Records and a true memoriall of the Life of mee, the Ladie Ann Clifford',[25] which records her own life up to that point. With assistance, she orchestrated three versions of *The Great Books*, possibly as copies for herself and each of her two daughters, and to ensure the survival of her account as perpetual record.

---

[20] John Stow, "Castle Baynard warde," in *A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. C L Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 11-20.
[21] This she details in her *Great Books of Record*, and in the inscription on the *Great Picture. The Great Books*, 211 [1649], transcribed in Jessica L. Malay, ed., *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 813. The many inscriptions on the Great Picture have been transcribed in a seventeenth-century manuscript in Kendal Record Office, KRO/WD/Hoth/1/16, which is published by Williamson. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, Appendix XIII, 506.
[22] Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, 127–8; Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 179.
[23] For example, the pair patched up their disagreements enough for the Earl to join with her in making formal (and ultimately successful) claims to her Clifford estates in 1632 and 1637. Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, 128.
[24] The three versions of *The Great Books of Lady Anne Clifford*, of three volumes each, are kept at the Kendal branch of the Cumbria Record Office. The volume used for this chapter is WD/Hoth/A988/10/1-3, which is transcribed in Jessica L. Malay, ed., *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). Quotes in this chapter come from vol. 3. Henceforth references will give the manuscript page number, and date: e.g. *The Great Books*, 211 [1649], followed by the page number of Malay's transcript. Other copies and versions of *The Great Books* exist, including an abridged version, Harley MS 6177 at the British Library, which is transcribed in J. P. Gilson, ed., *Lives of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676), and of her Parents summarized by herself. Printed from the Harley MS. 6177* (London: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1916).
[25] Henceforth to be referred to as the 'Memorial'.

Lady Anne as an art patron

Lady Anne's record-keeping extended not only to written and numerical records, but to the visual arts also. One of the record formats Lady Anne used was portraiture: she had her portrait made at intervals throughout her life, in paint, metal and stone. Lady Anne's early portraits clearly align with courtly convention and she sat for the most fashionable court portrait painters such as Isaac Oliver, William Larkin, Paul van Somer, and possibly Honthorst.[26] Increasingly, however, it seems she used her own portraiture less for fashionable and more for politically-loaded reasons. This marked change began in the 1630s when she eschewed Court taste by, conspicuously, never sitting for Van Dyck, whose portraiture was ubiquitous at Charles I's court.[27] She would have been well-aware of Van Dyck's burgeoning client base at Whitehall and of her second husband's ardent patronage of the Flemish artist. This connection to her husband may have been the reason for Lady Anne's avoidance, for it was in the mid 1630s that her second marriage broke down.

After this difficult period in her personal life, marked by an apparent break in her art patronage, Lady Anne thrust herself back into the role of an art patron in the mid-1640s with the commissioning of a large triptych portrait of herself and her immediate family, known as the 'Great Picture'. This work is hugely significant as an example of a major act of art patronage in the heart of London at an incredibly disruptive time in British politics. An investigation into this commission should therefore provide insight into Royalist elite art patronage in London after the King's court had disbanded. It also offers a useful point of comparison to the patronage of Lord Pembroke during these years.

---

[26] Miniature, 1608–1609, Private Collection; oils, c.1618, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 6976, attributed to Larkin by Roy Strong in Strong, *The English Icon*, 222, no. 338; oils, 1619, Private Collection, Strong, *The English Icon,* 26-27, 313; oils, 1629, Private Collection, Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 93. For a detailed discussion on portraits of Lady Anne Clifford, with attributions as they stood at the time of Abbot Hall Art Gallery's exhibition on Lady Anne Clifford in 1976, see Abbot Hall Art Gallery, "Conclusions from the Lady Anne Clifford Exhibition." *Quarto. Abbot Hall Art Gallery quarterly bulletin, Kendal* XIV, no. 3 (October 1976): 3-24. For a more recent assessment of the portraits of Lady Anne, see Hearn, "Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych," in *Lady Anne Clifford,* ed. Hearn and Hulse, 1–24. 8-16.

[27] Although it is possible that she did buy or was gifted Van Dyck paintings, for example it is possible that the portrait of the Earl and Countess of Bedford in the Wilton collection (cat. 167) was commissioned by or belonged to Lady Anne, who was very close to her cousin the Earl of Bedford, and who might have left the portrait in one of her husband's properties when she departed for the North. S. C. Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 64.

Lady Anne's experience of the 1640s

That Lady Anne Clifford went to such great lengths to chronicle her past and secure her legacy is of great significance to our understanding the woman herself and the society in which she lived. This chapter looks at perhaps the most pivotal decade in Lady Anne's long life, the 1640s. Investigating her activities during this decade provides insights both into a woman's experience of England during the Civil Wars, and that of a senior noble of Royalist and Protestant persuasion.

On the outbreak of civil war in 1642, Lady Anne moved to Baynard's Castle at the earl's request: he wanted to make the property a more secure place in which to store his expensive goods – presumably in case he was compelled to leave London on Parliamentary service.[28] Lady Anne recounts the new arrangements in her *Memorial*:

> And when the civill warre betweene the King and Parliament began to grow hotter and hotter in England, my said Lord and I came together from Wilton the 12th of October 1642 with my younger daughter then the Lady Isabella Sackville, and the next daie we came to London where my said Lord went to lye att his lodgeings in the Cockpitt in St James his parke over against Whitehall to bee nere the Parliamentt. Butt I and my daughter went to lye att Baynard's Castle, which was then a howse full of riches and was the more secured by my lyeinge there …[29]

Baynard's Castle had been bought by the 1st Earl of Pembroke but 'was considered too old, damp and inconvenient in every way' to be used by the 4th Earl, who instead used Durham House off the Strand, nearer Whitehall.[30] Durham House had been owned by the bishops of Durham but, at Charles I's request, Pembroke had been granted the house in 1641 through a private act of Parliament, in return for an annual payment of £200.[31]

---

[28] Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 181.
[29] *The Great Books*, 203-10 [1642]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 811.
[30] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House*, 60.
[31] Act 16 Chas. I, c 23. Cited in Gater and Wheeler, eds, "Durham Place," 84-98.

As she relates in *Memorial*, this arrangement suited Lady Anne well, granting her a relatively safe base for six years from which to wait out the two English civil wars:

> … I continued to lye in my owne chamber without removeing sixe yeres and nyne monthes which was the longest tyme that ever I continued to ly in one howse in all my life, the civill warres being then very hott in England. So as thatt I may well say thatt was then as it were a place of Refuge for mee to hyde my selfe in till those troubles were over passed. Isaiah 43:2.[32]

Despite a strained relationship with her husband,[33] this period was a momentous and happy one in Lady Anne's life. She finally came into her inheritance of the lands of Westmoreland and Craven after the deaths of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, on 11 December 1643, and of his wife, the Lady Francis, on 14 February 1644 'without heires male'.[34] Lady Anne Clifford recorded in her *Memorial* that her inheritance 'reverted unto mee without question or controversie'[35] and an inscription on the *Great Picture* notes that it came to her 'peaseably'.[36] However, both sources also allude to the disruption of the Civil Wars upon the rental and other income from her lands.[37]

Lady Anne could not be physically present in Craven and Westmoreland in the intervening years of 'those troubles' so she appointed officers to represent her in her absence. Her letters in 1645, 1646 and 1647 to one of these overseers – her cousin, Sir John Lowther – reveal her intentions to move to the North of England as soon as was feasible.[38] However, the political unrest of the period delayed Lady Anne's departure for a while longer, and she did not make preparations for leaving until after the

---

[32] *The Great Books*, 203-10 [1642]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 811.
[33] 'About this time [1645], and for some yeres before, happened a great cause of anger and falling out betweene my Lord and mee because hee desired to have one of his younger sonnes marryed with my daughter Isabella, which I would noe way remedie' *The Great Books*, 210 [1645]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 812.
[34] *The Great Books*, 210; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 812. They did have one surviving daughter, Lady Elizabeth Clifford, the Countess of Cork.
[35] *The Great Books*, 210; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 812.
[36] From an inscription on the Great Picture, published by Williamson. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 507.
[37] 'Yett had I litle or no proffitt from thatt estate for some yeres after by reason of the civill warres.' *The Great Books*, 210; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 812; 'the misery of the then Civell wars kept her from having profits of those lands for a good while after.' Appendix XIII. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 506.
[38] Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 190, n. 1; Letter of Lady Anne to Sir John Lowther, 14 October 1646, Lowther MSS published by Williamson. Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 560; CAS Carlisle, DLons/L1/1/28/8. Cited in Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 813, n. 52.

Second Civil War had ended and King Charles I had been executed in January 1649. Lady Anne departed London for the last time on 11 July, and recollected saying her goodbyes in her *Memorial* in her usual succinct manner:

> I took my last leave of my second husband, this Earle of Pembrook in his lodgeing att the Cockpitt nere Whitehall, which was the last time thatt hee and I ever saw one another'.[39]

Lady Anne arrived at Skipton on 18 July, but, finding this and other properties 'in extreme disorder' due to being left unattended since the death of her father and 'by occasion of the late civill warres in England,' she almost immediately began her 'building and reparations' to her northern properties.[40] It is possible that Lady Anne's enthusiasm for leading such an extensive rebuilding project was inspired by her second husband's works at Wilton in the 1630s and 1640s.[41] But her own efforts were focused on a different architectural style and mainly consisted of restoring old buildings, as opposed to creating new ones.

Pembroke fell ill in May and died at his lodgings in The Cockpit on 23 January 1650, six months after his wife's departure from the city. He was buried, according to family custom, in Salisbury Cathedral.[42] As a result of Pembroke's death, Lady Anne inherited estates in Kent, and finally had the power to overthrow the 'King's Award', which was the last hurdle in her campaign to claim her inheritance, and perhaps the catalyst for her to compose her *Great Books of Record*.

The *Great Picture* of Lady Anne Clifford

In the midst of this eventful period, in c.1646, Lady Anne patronised an ambitious and now iconic painting project from her base in the City of London.[43] The finished work

---

[39] *The Great Books*, 210; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 812, 813.
[40] *The Great Books*, 212 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 813, 815.
[41] Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, 130.
[42] *The Great Books*, 212 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 815. David L. Smith, "Herbert, Philip, first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke (1584–1650)," *ODNB* (12 Mar. 2018).
[43] An inscription on the Appleby triptych states that the work was commissioned by Lady Anne in 1646.

consisted of an enormous canvas triptych that was an amalgamation of portraits of herself and members of her family in an interior space, inscribed with extensive descriptions (fig. 21).[44] Her later writings reveal that she called the central third of the triptych her 'Great Picture', but the term has since been used to describe the entire work. She also, characteristically, commissioned a full-scale copy of the work, which was held at Skipton Castle but unfortunately decayed.[45] Lady Anne's decision to duplicate this large multi-part painting indicates that, from their conception, she intended the two versions to grace the walls of her two main castles at Skipton (where she was born) and Appleby while she lived. It also allowed her to leave one each for her daughters to inherit, as she did with her *Great Books of Record*.

The three sections of the painting show three stages in the life of Lady Anne up to the date of the picture's creation. The larger central panel shows her 'in utero' in the stomach of her mother, who stands next to her father and her two brothers; the left-hand panel presents Lady Anne at age 15, at the time she should have inherited her estates; and the right-hand section shows a contemporary portrait of the middle-aged Lady Anne marking the occasion of her finally claiming her inheritance. The central family group of the *Great Picture* was based on a painting 'made about the beginning of June 1589', and the original portrait of Lady Anne in the left-hand section cannot be traced.[46]

The picture of Lady Anne in middle age, on the right-hand section of the triptych, is the only portrait in the work that might have been taken from the life. Yet, it seems it was copied from a much finer head-and-shoulders oval portrait of Lady Anne, attributed by Oliver Millar to the hand of Sir Peter Lely,[47] of which three other

---

[44] The central section of the Appleby triptych is 10ft wide by 9ft high; the side sections are 4ft wide. The picture was for a long time at Appleby Castle, and is now on display at Abbott Hall Art Gallery. AH02310/81. Centre panel: 254 x 254cm. Side panels: 254 x 119.38cm.

[45] All references in this chapter will refer to the Appleby version.

[46] Parry, "The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford," 203.

[47] *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke* (private collection), canvas (oval), 74.3 x 62.2 (29 1/2 x 24 1/2). Inscribed later with the sitter's name and decorated with her arms. Oliver Millar states that this was 'Probably the best version extant, and almost certainly the original, of a portrait type which was much copied and distributed especially in the north-west ... The type must in fact have been produced by 1646 when the triptych or 'Great Picture' at Appleby Castle, in which the full-length of Lady Anne is of the same type, was probably completed. The 'Great Picture' is a later copy, so it is impossible to determine whether the portrait of Lady Anne in it had been painted by, or only based on, Lely ' Millar, *Sir Peter Lely,* 35, 37, no. 4. Also see Abbot Hall Art Gallery, *Lady Anne Clifford, 1590-1676*, exh. cat (Kendal: Abbot Hall Art Gallery, 1976), no. 32.

versions and copies are known, including one in the National Portrait Gallery, London (fig. 22).

As discussed in Chapter 1, a head-and-shoulders portrait by Lely around this time would have cost about £5 – or possibly more because it was on an oval stretcher.[48] That Lady Anne crossed paths with and patronised Lely would be no surprise given her links to Lely's other important patrons around that time: her husband Pembroke and his political circle of so-called 'noble defectors', Northumberland, Leicester and Salisbury. As Lely was patronised by both Lady Anne and Lord Pembroke during the 1640s, it is possible that, despite their disagreements, one of the couple recommended him to the other. Lely's portrait of Lady Anne must have been commissioned before or around 1646, the date of the *Great Picture* commission. It is possible, therefore, that Lady Anne was a patron of Lely before her husband, Pembroke, and even in advance of another of Lely's early patrons, the Earl of Northumberland. Perhaps the up-and-coming Dutch artist was recommended to Lady Anne by one of his art-world contacts already in the Pembroke household, such as by the miniature painter, Richard Gibson, who Lely painted during the 1640s.[49] Another possibility is that Lely was recommended by the earl's picture keeper, William Towers. Towers was a friend of Gibson and also of the musician and art dealer Nicholas Lanier.[50] Lanier might also have been familiar with the work of Lely by this stage: Lely is known to have enjoyed music and produced several portraits of musicians during the 1640s,[51] some of whom may well have been from the Lanier 'circle'. According to Pembroke's accounts, Towers was paid £20 a year to look after the pictures at Durham House and Baynard's Castle,[52] where Pembroke and Lady Anne were respectively based in these years, so he could have recommended the artist to both patrons independently.

---

[48] Beckett, *Lely*, 11.
[49] *Portrait of Richard Gibson Sleeping*, The Trustee of the Will of the 8th Earl of Berkeley; *Richard Gibson and his Wife, Anne Shepherd,* formerly in Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely,* 42-44, nos 16, 18. There is also a copy, or possibly an original, of another portrait of Gibson in the collection at the National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 1975, see Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits*, no. 1975.
[50] For an analysis of the network see: Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers," 109-10; Towers is recorded as collecting £50 due to Lanier as a creditor of the King, and is described as 'our good friend' in Lanier's will. PRO, SP 28/350/9, f.46r; 'And to our good friend Mr William Towers, I giue two pownds, to buy him a payre of Gloues.' PRO, PCC, PROB 10/986. Cited in Jeremy Wood, "Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666)," 120, n.146.
[51] As cited in Chapter 1.
[52] Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2, ff.19, 59, 81, 103. For more on this connection see Wood, "Nicholas Lanier," 120, n. 147; Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 3.

All three sections of the *Great Picture* contain representations of family portraits on the background walls. The work's inscription informs the viewer that these were all 'copies drawen out of the Originall pictures of these Honourable personages'.[53] Presumably these pictures were already at or had been delivered to Baynard's Castle or a nearby venue to be copied (on which more below). As well as portraits, the walls are lined with a series of different books with their titles clearly displayed, which have been identified as being from Lady Anne's own collection.[54] The *Great Picture* can therefore be seen as an abbreviated visual manifestation of the arguments and histories detailed in her large written tomes, *The Great Books of Record.*

The *Great Picture's* visual precedent

That Lady Anne would want to commission a portrait to memorialise herself at that period in time is in keeping with her patronage practice before and after the 1640s. While the picture is in many ways a product of its patron's personal design, its inspiration can be traced back to her experience of her husband's art collection of the 1630s. The triptych format and the narrative sequence of scenes evident in the *Great Picture* were archaic forms and relatively uncommon in new work at that time.[55] However, the triptych has parallel in the multi-part form most distinctive in altarpieces, and in particular the *Wilton Diptych* in Pembroke's collection,[56] and also the *Donne Triptych* by Hans Memling (fig. 23),[57] owned by her cousin the 4th Earl, both of which Lady Anne might have admired. The choice of the triptych format may well have been for practical reasons: as we have already seen, Lady Anne was anxious to travel to the North at the earliest opportunity, which could not easily be done with a very large work. While *The Great Picture* was large and unwieldy when opened up, it could be safely folded to the size of the central panel, or even separated into three rolls of canvas rather than one large one.

---

[53] Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 335.
[54] For assessments of Lady Anne's writings, book collecting and literary tastes, see Friedman, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster, and Paint," 103-20; also see Brayman Hackel, "Turning to Her "Best Companion[s]," 99-108.
[55] A similar type of programme is used in the Henry Unton Memorial Painting, artist unknown, c.1596 at the National Portrait Gallery, London. NPG 710. For discussion of this work, and further information on the history of the triptych format in Britain, see Hearn, "Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych,", 16–19.
[56] Now at the National Gallery, London, NG4451.
[57] Now at the National Gallery, London, NG6275 1-3.

Secondly, the dynastic function of the work also had precedent in pictures Lady Anne would have seen at court and while moving in courtier circles. Having been a frequent visitor to Whitehall for decades, Lady Anne must have been familiar with Holbein's famous wall painting depicting the family of Henry VIII, which now only survives in two small copies by Remigius van Leemput (fig. 24). She would perhaps have known another painting of Henry VIII and his family of c.1540,[58] and one by Lucas de Heere entitled the *Allegory of the Tudor Succession*.[59] All show figures set in an architectural backdrop which can be split into three distinct segments, although, unlike the triptych, there are no physical breaks in the paintings. All are visual displays of familial succession – a topic close to Lady Anne's heart.

The other key point of reference which has been widely acknowledged is the large group portrait of the 4th Earl's family by Van Dyck, known as the *Pembroke Family,* which is displayed in the Double Cube Room at Wilton House (fig. 25).[60] This enormous canvas was commissioned by Pembroke to mark the marriage of the central pair in the scene – his heir, Charles, Lord Herbert to the heiress Lady Mary Villiers – who wed on 18 January 1636.

Stylistic qualities aside, *The Pembroke Family* and *The Great Picture* are similar in a number of ways. Firstly, they are both dynastic group portraits with antiquarian and chivalric overtones. As a painting by the King's Principal Painter, celebrating the lineage of prominent noble family in a sumptuous classical setting, the *Pembroke Family* is in keeping with the type of 'recycled' antiquarian and chivalric culture that was adopted during the Caroline period. This moved away from the out-dated Elizabethan and Jacobean modes of display such as jousting and triumphal entries and the emphasis on heraldry and a more formal and structured Anglo-Netherlandish style of painting, to a more 'classicising and cosmopolitan aesthetic'[61] typified by the

---

[58] Royal Collection, RCIN 405796.
[59] Lucy Gent, ed., *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660* (London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, the Yale Center for British Art by Yale University Press, 1995), 363.
[60] 330 x 510cm. Barnes, *et al.* eds., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue,* 572-3, no. IV.184. Also see Millar, *Van Dyck in England,* 27-29, fig. 31.
[61] John Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 161.

Flemish style of Van Dyck and a renewed focus on didactic court rituals, such as the ceremonies of the Garter and masque entertainments. Thus, as John Adamson illustrates, although adapted to suit contemporary tastes, 'the language and imagery of chivalry had continued to occupy a central place in the intellectual world of the Caroline court'.[62] There was, however, no absolute 'clean break' with the past and some 'distinctly gothic visual language' continued through the mid-seventeenth century.[63] Although the *Great Picture* was old-fashioned in many ways,[64] there are a number of elements that were in line with emerging fashions of the 1640s for the more Elizabethan and Jacobean strain of antiquarianism and the return to usage of the chivalric devices of inscription, mottos, allegory and symbolic *impresa*.[65] As Adamson points out, it seems that this turn to the structured iconography of the past was a natural reaction to the disorder of modern-day politics, and was popular amongst both Royalists and Parliamentarians as the 'formal emblems of identity' could be adapted to serve opposing political ends.[66] Furthermore, as Heal and Holmes have discussed, there was an emphasis at about this time on lineage as a claim to status,[67]which was something Lady Anne knew well. Similarly, Jan Broadway has noted that the production of family history in England the Early Modern period appears to be correlated with declining family fortunes, and the uncertainty of the civil war climate was a particular catalyst for such writings by Gervase Holles, Lord Arundel and others.[68] In this way, therefore, Pembroke and Lady Anne's patronage during the 1640s demonstrates the survival of antiquarianism, yet manifested along different trajectories.

---

[62] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 196.
[63] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 177–9.
[64] Hearn, for example, points out that pregnancy portraits were "wholly out of fashion" by 1646. Hearn, "Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych," 8.
[65] Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 183–4.
[66] For example, the Parliamentarians tried to harness the popular nostalgia for the Elizabethan reign through promoting the Parliamentary cause as one continuing the Protestant Elizabethan tradition, with the Lord General, the Earl of Essex, as a champion – a crusader, even - of the commonweal. In 1644 they re-instated the enormous tapestries depicting the Armada Victory against the Catholic Spanish on the walls of the House of Lords, and in 1646 issued a print portrait of Lord Fairfax as a "champion of England", which was more reminiscent in style to the portrait of Prince Henry on horseback than Van Dyck's equestrian portrait of Charles I. *Henry Prince of Wales on Horseback* by Robert Peake, c.1610-12, Parham Park, Sussex; *Equestrian Portrait of Charles I* by Sir Anthony van Dyck, c.1637-8, National Gallery, London. Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 182–8.
[67] Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 38.
[68] Jan Broadway, *'No historie so meete': Gentry Culture and the Development of Local History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 172.

While Lady Anne's inscriptions leave us in no doubt as to the identities of the persons in her picture, the identity of one of the family members in Pembroke's picture has been subject to debate. Although in the eighteenth century there are references to the *Pembroke Family* depicting the earl's first wife, Susan de Vere,[69] more recent scholars of Lady Anne or Pembroke believe that the woman seated to the right of the earl is Lady Anne Clifford, who was indeed his wife at the time. These authorities include Martin Holmes,[70] Alice T. Friedman,[71] R.T. Spence,[72] the 16th Earl of Pembroke[73] and the Tate[74]. However, as David Howarth and Bonner Cutting have pointed out, this is unlikely for several reasons.[75] Firstly, the great portrait features the progeny of the earl and his first wife and celebrates the succession of the family line: he had no children with Lady Anne, who was by this stage out of favour with her husband. Moreover, the likeness does not resemble Lady Anne, with her distinctive dark hair and dimpled chin. It is, however, similar to two portraits that may be likenesses of Susan de Vere: a portrait at Dulwich Picture Gallery once identified as of 'Susan Vere, first wife of Philip Earl of Pembroke', now entitled *Lady in Blue*, and a miniature currently identified as of Lady Anne Clifford in the Wilton picture collection, but posited by Cutting to be of Susan de Vere.[76]

A further similarity is that Van Dyck also depicted people posthumously on more than one occasion, including even in that very portrait: the putti in the sky are thought to represent the earl's deceased children.[77] Van Dyck also painted Venetia Stanley 'the second day after she was dead' and produced a posthumous portrait of her as an

---

[69] C. Gambarini, *A Description of the Earl of Pembroke's Pictures* (Westminster: A. Campbell, 1731), 8-9; Richard Cowdry, *A Description of the Pictures, Statues, Busto's, Basso-Relievos, and other curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton* (London: J. Robinson, 1751), 58; James Kennedy, *A New Description of Pictures* (London: Benjamin Collins, 1758), 53; George Richardson, *Aedes Pembrochianae* (Great Britain: Salisbury Press, 1795), 74. John Brittan, *Beauties of Wiltshire, Vol I* (London: J. D. Dewick, 1801), 180; Alan Cohen and Bernice Cohen, "The Riddle of the Countess of Pembroke," *The De Vere Society Newsletter* (June 2009): 26. For a discussion of these sources see Bonner Miller Cutting, "A Countess Transformed: How Lady Susan Vere Became Lady Anne Clifford," *Brief Chronicles* 4 (2012-13): 121.
[70] Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, 128.
[71] Friedman, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster, and Paint," 369.
[72] Spence, *Lady Anne Clifford,* 101; Richard T. Spence, "Clifford, Anne," *ODNB*.
[73] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House*, 38, 58-9, no. 158.
[74] Adam Nicolson, A world on the verge of collapse, Tate Etc. issue 15: Spring 2009, 1 January 2009, http://www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/world-on-verge-collapse, accessed on 14/12/16.
[75] David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 226-7; Cutting, "A Countess Transformed," 117-134.
[76] *Lady in Blue*, Dulwich Picture Gallery, DPG89; *Lady Anne Clifford,* Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House*, no. 95; discussed in Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 349-50. The likelihood of these two portraits being of Susan de Vere is discussed in Cutting, "A Countess Transformed," 123-4.
[77] He also painted a posthumous portrait of the 9th Earl of Northumberland (d.1632) for the 10th Earl. Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, 54, no. 13.

allegory of Prudence for her grieving husband, Sir Kenelm Digby.[78] The sitter being someone Van Dyck had not met and for whom no adequate portrait remained might explain why the likeness is less sure in rendering. That it was a posthumous portrait would certainly also explain the slightly stiff and awkward pose of the figure, rather than, as other scholars have read into it, that Lady Anne sat uncomfortably as a rejected member of the family: this would certainly not be something to celebrate in an expensive dynastic group portrait. If Susan De Vere is accepted as the sitter, it is easier to understand why Lady Anne might have been keen to commission her own homage to her family in the form of the *Great Picture*, and one markedly not in the style of Van Dyck.

A further way in which the two pictures are similar is their size and intended mode of display. Although Pembroke's picture was far bigger, both works were monumental in scale, and would have been designed with specific locations in mind. It is likely that *The Pembroke Family* was always intended for display in a large new south front at Wilton (the scale of which was later curtailed as discussed below) and held at Durham House in the meantime. As we shall see, Lord Pembroke invested in an ambitious display of decorative painting at Wilton and, in spanning almost the entirety of one of the walls, the *Pembroke Family* would have functioned as a (albeit more refined) continuation of the ceiling painting. As already discussed, Lady Anne similarly had her two versions of *The Great Picture* made with the full intention of transporting them to the large walls of her Northern castles, where the *Great Picture* would have had more in common with tapestry hangings.[79]

While much has been written about Lady Anne, her *Great Picture*, and her written output, there are still several questions left to be answered which would be of help in revealing more about her intentions and choices as a patron, as well as putting London's painting world at this time in greater focus.

---

[78] Dulwich Picture Gallery, DPG194; National Portrait Gallery, NPG 5727. V. Gabrieli, *Sir Kenelm Digby* (Rome, 1957), 246, 248; Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, 48-50, no. 9.

[79] Tapestry was a luxury decorative item at that time and was used to adorn walls, especially of large spaces, and also had the practical function of keeping out the cold. For an expanded discussion of the role of tapestry and its link to the Great Picture, see Hearn, "Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych," 19.

A question of attribution

The *Great Picture* is unsigned but is currently attributed to Jan van Belcamp (c.1610-1653). This attribution originated from Lionel Cust, who suggested Van Belcamp or Remigius van Leemput as possible painters, given they were Netherlandish immigrant artists who were both active as picture copiers, and who had been associated with the studio of Van Dyck.[80] Williamson briefly weighed up the likelihood of either contender, and added in another possible artist, Robert Streater, but concluded that 'Belcamp is the most likely'.[81] The consensus among recent scholars, such as Graham Parry, has also been for Van Belcamp, on the basis that: 'Belcamp was more active and more noted in his time: he was also engaged under Abraham van der Doort in copying pictures in Charles I's collection. A copyist was what Lady Anne required…'[82] Having recently advanced to the role of 'Keeper of the Pictures' in the Royal Collection following Van der Doort's death in 1640, Van Belcamp's credentials as a royal servant might also have strengthened his likelihood as a contender to work for the Royalist Lady Anne.

Yet, since Oliver Millar's attribution of the head-and-shoulders portrait oval of Lady Anne Clifford to him,[83] Sir Peter Lely has also been considered as a contender for the painter of the *Great Picture*. It certainly seems that Lely may have had a greater involvement in the preparation of the work than previously thought. As Alice T. Friedman has pointed out, other oval portraits of likenesses featured in the *The Great Picture* exist, which visual analysis has shown are by the same hand.[84] This suggests Lely was involved in at least this early stage of the commission. However, while the portrait oval is in keeping with Lely's early oeuvre, the Appleby version of *The Great Picture* is uncharacteristic of his work and shows none of the finesse of Lely's hand as demonstrated by other portraits he is known to have produced around this time.[85] If

---

[80] Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 335.
[81] Williamson, *Lady Anne Clifford*, 334.
[82] Parry, "The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford," 202.
[83] Millar, *Sir Peter Lely,* 35-6, no. 4. The oil painting is in a Private Collection.
[84] Alice T. Friedman considers the attribution of the picture in Friedman, "Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster, and Paint," 118, n. 17, n. 18. See the oval portraits by the same hand catalogued in Sheila J. MacPherson and V. A. J. Slowe, *Lady Anne Clifford, 1590-1676* (Kendal: Abbott Hall Art Gallery, 1990), nos 20, 25, 31 and 34.
[85] For example, *The Great Picture* lacks the delicacy in handing and in characterisation found in Lely's *Portrait of a Man*, *Portrait of a Lady*, and *The Three Younger Children of Charles I,* which are all dated to the mid 1640s. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely,* 35-9, nos 3, 5, 7. Also see Beckett, *Lely*, nos 295, 312. Caroline Campbell, ed., *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision*, figs 50, 52.

Lely was indeed involved in the commission from an early stage, but apparently not in the finished work, a question therefore emerges: if Lely was so evidently a talented painter, and a copyist, why did Lady Anne not commission him to paint one or both of the triptychs? It may well have been a question of price - although Lely was early in his career in England, he was attracting major commissions by the later 1640s and he could have been more expensive than hiring a professional copyist. Similarly, although, like most other painters of the time,[86] Lely worked as a copyist, it was not his speciality, and *The Great Picture* was a complex commission for even a seasoned copyist. Indeed, the commission consisted of three different types of copying: the picture was an amalgam of copies of original portraits displayed on the walls; it contains copies after portraits of the main sitters, some of which may have been after Lely's copies of the original works; and the finished picture was then to be copied in its entirety to make the duplicate version. It is known that Lely must have seen the great *Pembroke Family* as there is 'a much reduced and greatly altered version' attributed to him at the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, a drawing for which also exists.[87] It is of course also possible that Lely was originally supposed to paint the entire work but dropped out at an early stage: it was a very involved work which would have required sustained attention over a long period of time, perhaps something that, with his growing success, Lely did not feel he had.

It therefore seems credible that, in the event, Lady Anne secured Lely's services to make her contemporary likeness and to make copies of other existing family portraits as the basis for the two composite portrait groups painted by a professional copyist such as Van Belcamp. However, even then, as Karen Hearn notes, there is reason to believe that more than one artist was involved in the painting of the triptych: in addition to the copyist working on the portraits, the many coats of arms could have been painted by a heraldic specialist, while the extensive inscriptions could have been added by a scribe.[88]

---

[86] Indeed, even Van Dyck was known to make copies and posthumous portraits 'done by an old picture' for family galleries, such as that of the 9th Earl of Northumberland (d.1632) for his son the 10th Earl of Northumberland, and also made two for Charles I and one for the Earl of Pembroke. Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, 54, no. 13.

[87] The drawing was in the possession of Mr Cottrel-Dormer at Rousham at the time of the house catalogue of 1968. Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 60, information on the Lely works is given within cat. no. 44.

[88] Hearn, "Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych," 20.

No hard evidence has come to light to substantiate the attribution of *The Great Picture* to Van Belcamp and there has been no sustained enquiry into why the work may be attributed to this artist based on visual analysis. This is partly, no doubt, because very little of his work survives. Furthermore, any attempt at defining the style of the artist is muddied by the fact that their job was to imitate other painters' work. Nevertheless, some attempt will be made here to assess the likelihood of Van Belcamp as the artist.

Richard Symonds's account of Van Belcamp states that he was the go-to copyist of the King's pictures: he 'was an under copier to another Dutchman [Van der Doort] that did fondly keep the king's pictures and when any nobleman desired a copy, he directed them to Belcamp.'[89] Van Belcamp's output as a copyist is attested by several copies after work by historic and contemporary masters, and others ascribed to him, several of which remain in the Royal Collection today. Horace Walpole, citing George Vertue, also recorded details of Van Belcamp's work 'as a copier of the king's pictures'. He states that Van Belcamp was responsible for 'the whole length of Edward IV. In his night-gown and slippers (the face in profile), which hangs over the chimney in the antechamber at St. James's',[90] that was 'probably taken from the ancient original'.[91] He also relates that the picture catalogue of James II gives Edward III[92] and Edward, Prince of Wales, 'The Black Prince'[93] to Van Belcamp, both of whom he notes were 'still in an anteroom at St James's', along with a Louis XIII by the artist.[94] The catalogue also lists 'a large stag',[95] of which no trace can be found, but might well be the painting of a 'German stag' reserved for Cromwell, as discussed in Chapter 4. Also listed in Vertue's account of Van Belcamp's work are 'whole lengths of Henry VII. And VIII.' copied from Holbien's famous Whitehall mural,[96]

---

[89] BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds,* 309.
[90] Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Phaidon Press, 1963), no. 200. RCIN 400129.
[91] Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, 358.
[92] Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures*, no. 198. RCIN 404044.
[93] Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures*, no. 199. RCIN 404037. There also exists a copy after Van Belcamp or another version by his hand, NT 499896, at the National Trust collection at Lyme, Cheshire.
[94] Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures*, no. 201. RCIN 404098.
[95] Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting,* 358.
[96] The mural was destroyed in a fire but two small copies, notably not be Van Belcamp but by Remigius van Leemput, remain in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court, RCIN 405750, and at Petworth House, NT 485085.

and a portrait of Charles I's eldest daughter.[97] Finally, Vertue reports that copies by Van Belcamp of 'several English heads, remarkable persons in the reigns of Henry VIII, Elizabeth, James, and Charles I' at Wimpole in Cambridgeshire 'were all sold and dispersed with the rest of the Harleian Collection'.[98] These were, in the past, thought to be the set of forty-four oval portraits after key British and European figures of the sixteenth century in the collection of Lord Sackville's at Knole.[99] Other works in the Royal Collection thought to be by Van Belcamp are a version of Van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* (fig. 26),[100] and the small figures in 'A View of Greenwich,'[101] and possibly also the figures in another interior scene.[102]

If Van Belcamp was the painter of Lady Anne Clifford's *Great Picture* in 1646, it would have been one of his last big commissions. Following the Second Civil War and execution of the King, Van Belcamp became a Trustee for the sale of the King's goods on 2 June 1649, so from that point much of his time would have been consumed with his work inventorying and valuing the old royal collection. Shortly after, in 1653, he is said by Richard Symonds to have been 'lately dead'.[103]

Although most of the portraits in *The Great Picture* were copied from existing originals, artistic license had to be used on the part of the copyist to adapt the figures so that they worked as a group portrait. It is in these adjustments and additions that we can spy the hand of the artist. Furthermore, given Belcamp's experience as a copyist, it is likely that he would utilise a range of artistic devices he had learned through making copies of work by other painters, devices that might be identifiable in a work which demanded more of the copyist's imagination, such as *The Great Picture*. Unfortunately, the works attributed to Van Belcamp in the Royal Collection are in a bad state of conservation and access to them is restricted, and the small figures in landscapes are in any case too small to compare with the lifesize portraits of *The*

---

[97] Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting,* 359.
[98] Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting,* 359.
[99] Collection of Lord Sackville, on loan to the National Tust at Knole. NT 12971-129794.
[100] Millar, *The Tudor Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures*, no. 202. Van Belcamp's version, RCIN 403253, is currently on loan to Edinburgh Castle. Van Somer's original, RCIN 405887, of 1617 is at Windsor. A similar work is at Kinnaird Castle. There is also a version, thought to be an early studio version, at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.
[101] Royal Collection, RCIN 405291.
[102] Royal Collection, RCIN 402966.
[103] BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 309.

Great Picture.[104] However, there remains the copy after Van Somer's *Anne of Denmark* in Edinburgh and a good-quality version or copy after Van Belcamp's *The Black Prince* also exists in the National Trust collections at Lyme Park, Cheshire (fig. 27).[105] These are useful in that they depict a woman and man's portrait respectively, allowing comparison of the rendering of features, different dress and armour, as well as other details.

It is difficult to make conclusive statements about the depiction of the costumes, given that the dresses and lace ruffs in both pictures were presumably copied with close attention to colour, form and detail. Yet, it is evident that the silhouette and rendering of light and form of the young Lady Anne's robes in *The Great Picture* are very close to that of Van Belcamp's *Anne of Denmark*. It is likewise apparent that the two small children in *The Great Picture* have very similar gold and green dresses to that of *Anne of Denmark*. Furthermore, the artist of *The Great Picture* is evidently confident in their portrayal of the crinkles in the skirts of Lady Anne and her mother catching light, a mastery of which is also demonstrated in Van Belcamp's portrait of *Anne of Denmark*. The two portraits also have similarities in terms of posture: one of the children's arms is cocked and the other stretched out in a similar fashion to the *Anne of Denmark* portrait, except that rather than holding the lead of a dog they hold an unfurled scroll displaying a long inscription.

The Black Prince also bears a great resemblance to *The Great Picture* in terms of style and in the depiction of some details. Firstly, the pose of Lady Anne's father - in particular his three-quarter turn, angled elbow and distinctly placed armoured feet - is closely comparable to that of *The Black Prince.* The painting of the helmet and gauntlet on a low shelf behind Lady Anne's father, and of his armoured legs and feet, is also in some way similar, although in being more finely decorated there is less surface to show the shine that is apparent in the armour of *The Black Prince.* The painting of the sharp downward angle of the moustache and the rendering of the beard of *The Black Prince* is also similar to that of Lady Anne's father in *The Great Picture*.

---

[104] RCIN 404098, RCIN 404044 and RCIN 404037 are currently in store in Windsor. RCIN 400129 is currently in store at Hampton Court. All are in poor condition.
[105] National Trust, NT 499896.

The style of the architectural accents and the corresponding shadowing in *The Great Picture* is also reminiscent of the shallow depth and simple architecture in the background of the *The Black Prince.* Finally, the paint handling is also broad and warm in tone, as is that of *The Great Picture.*

Such visual analysis strengthens the attribution of the *Great Picture* to Van Belcamp, but expanding the same analysis to other known painters, and especially copyists, of the period only serves to re-open the debate. As painters working for the members of the court, both Van Belcamp and Van Leemput would have been based near to Lady Anne Clifford's home, Baynard's Castle, on the water, at the edge of the City of London, as would other City painters. Both artists were also known copyists, yet, as we have seen, copying was common work for jobbing artists in London at the time. However, as Van Leemput is probably the closest other contender as artist of *The Great Picture*, his claim will here be explored.

Van Leemput is now remembered for his small-scale paintings, such as the series of eighteen copies in the Royal Collection of portraits of women after Van Dyck, Lely and Samuel Cooper, and his two small copies of Holbein's Whitehall mural.[106] However, earlier in his career, he also made large-scale paintings, including copies of Van Dyck's work. He apparently remained the favoured copyist of Van Dyck's work during the early 1640s: a warrant of 19 August 1647 that is signed off by Pembroke repeats a Parliamentary Ordinance of 21 September 1643 for 'Mr Ramee Van Lempitt, Picture Drawer' to be paid £50 for copying *The Great Peece* at Whitehall 'by ye appointment of' the Earl of Pembroke for his Ma[jes]tie'.[107] This commission is evidence of Van Leemput being used as a copyist by Lord Pembroke, something which cannot be said for Van Belcamp: could Lady Anne have seen Van Leemput's work and commissioned him, as well as Lely, for her project? Or did his credentials as a Van Dyck specialist put her off, in favour of another copyist with a more antiquarian aesthetic such as Van Belcamp? Yet, as Symonds and other sources relate,

---

[106] Royal Collection, RCIN 402536, 402537, 402538, 402540, 402541, 402544, 402545, 402548, 402549, 402551, 402552, 402555, 402556; Royal Collection, RCIN 405750; National Trust collection at Petworth House, NT 485085. For a summary of Van Leemput's career, see L. H. Cust, revised by Ann Sumner, "Leemput, Remigius [Remy] van (1607–1675)," *ODNB* (28 Mar. 2018). A portrait of Anne Kingsmill, Lady Forster, 1648, also reportedly bears his signature.
[107] BL/Add./MS./32476 f.28.

working as the official copyist of the Royal Collection, Van Belcamp would have been equally familiar with Van Dyck's work and, possibly, copied it himself. Moreover, Van Leemput was an equally versatile copyist capable of making small copies of Holbein's Whitehall mural.

A copy after Van Dyck's *Great Peece* in the Birmingham Museums Trust collection is attributed to Van Leemput, but not on substantial grounds, and not helped that the picture has been damaged and overpainted (fig. 28).[108] Another copy of *The Great Peece* which deserves re-consideration as a work by Van Leemput, however, is the version at the Royal Hospital Chelsea (fig. 29).[109] As Lionel Cust outlines in his two articles on *The Great Peece* and its copies, there are records to support the provenance of both the Birmingham and Chelsea Hospital versions tracing back to Van Leemput, and the evidence for the Chelsea Hospital version is the most convincing.[110] The question of the attribution of the Chelsea Hospital *Great Peece* is therefore due reconsideration.[111] The painting has the quality of an accomplished copyist, and is also, crucially, painted upon four pieces of canvas which were joined before painting started, making up a work very close to the size of the original now at Windsor.[112] These characteristics suggest the Chelsea picture is a carefully-made copy worthy of a copyist such as Van Leemput working on commission for the King and a senior noble, who were also the country's leading patrons of Van Dyck.

While visual analysis of either of these copies of *The Great Peece* show they are far from the standard of the Van Dyck original, it is difficult to see how the lighter, sharper style has anything in common with the more cumbersome handling of Lady Anne's *Great Picture*. Nevertheless, another work attributed to Van Leemput, a copy after Van Dyck's *Dorothy North, Lady Dacre, Mrs Chaloner Chute* (c.1605-1698)

---

[108] On display at Aston Hall. Birmingham Museums Trust, 1970P264. The original of 1632 remains in the Royal Collection, RCIN 405353. The attribution of the Birmingham painting to Van Leemput is founded on Oliver Millar's suggestion that the painting may have been painted by the artist. He also suggests that one in the Devonshire Collection may be by Van Leemput. Millar, *Van Dyck in England*. Exhibition cat. London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982, 47; Oliver Millar, "Van Dyck in England", in Barnes, *et al.* eds., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogu*e, 459, IV.45.

[109] 325 x 244 cm, The Royal Hospital Chelsea, inv. 399.

[110] Lionel Cust, "Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections XI-The Great Piece, by Sir Anthony van Dyck, I," *The Burlington Magazine* 12 (January 1908): 235-37; Cust, "The Great Piece, II," 282, 287-289.

[111] I am very grateful to Drs. Justin Davies of the The Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (JVDPPP) for generously sharing the project's new research into the Chelsea Hospital version of *The Great Peece*.

[112] Cust, "The Great Piece, II," 288.

(fig. 30),[113] shows some similarities to *The Great Picture.* In particular, the rendering of the folds of the skirt of the middle-aged Lady Anne is very similar to the handling of the skirts of *Lady Dacre*, where long smooth sweeps and loops of light coloured paint have been used to conjure up the impression of light catching on crinkled fabric. Furthermore, the artist of *The Great Picture* shows an attempt at painting elegant 'Van Dyckian' hands with characteristic long, drooping-fingers, somewhat similar to those displayed in Van Leemput's *Lady Dacre.*

There are also some details of *The Great Picture* which might point to either artist's involvement. While the section showing the head and shoulders of Lady Anne was copied from Lely's contemporary oval portrait of her, the little dog jumping at Lady Anne's skirts in *The Great Picture* was purely the artist's invention, echoing the motif of a small dog leaning on the skirts of Henrietta Maria in Van Dyck's *The Great Peece*. As a copyist of *The Great Peece,* this might therefore indicate Van Leemput's involvement, though Van Belcamp and possibly other artists would also have been familiar with Van Dyck's masterpiece. There are also two little dogs in the *Anne of Denmark*: the smooth and solid rendering of the head and body is much more similar in handling to that in *The Great Picture* than the looser brushtrokes of the Van Dyck copy, and more consistent (as far as can be deduced) with Van Belcamp's own style.

Visual analysis of works by two possible artists has shown that the attribution of *The Great Picture* is still up for debate, though it seems likely that the current attribution to Jan van Belcamp still holds. Nevertheless, the very fact that there are two contenders for the attribution of this work demonstrates the healthiness of the art scene at the time and the availability of a range of talented painters with the skills for such a grand commission.

---

[113] c.1650-55. In the National Trust collection at The Vyne, NT 719436.

Lady Anne Clifford's patronage in the North of England

Those who visited the great halls of Lady Anne's castles in Appleby and Skipton would have encountered the versions of her *Great Picture*: a celebration of her family line and her claim to the Clifford estates, but also a lasting memory of the struggle she had had to go through to secure ownership of the walls on which they were displayed. Building on this implicit message of the *Great Picture*, Lady Anne continued her art patronage in much the same vein. She gifted portrait medals of herself and had copies and versions made of her more recent portraits – painted chiefly by a local artist, John Bracken – which were dispersed across her properties and given to others.[114] Although the making of duplicates as gifts was not unusual – the Earl of Northumberland had several copies of his own painting collection for this purpose[115] – the number of copies that were made after her likeness, and the strategic way in which they were dispersed, reveals her desire to encourage respect and loyalty and to ensure the lasting memory of herself in the area.

This reproduction of her likeness was complemented by her approach to her extensive programme of restoration and conservation of the castles,[116] churches[117] and other buildings she inherited. Her secretary from 1652 until 1669, George Sedgwick, estimated that she spent about £40,000 on her building projects.[118] Following restoration, she had each marked with a plaque inscribed with a date and her cipher, AP, and often a longer inscription so that no viewer would be in any doubt as to the meaning of the work or of its instigator, her memory being quite literally set in stone.

---

[114] Silver gilt medal after 1649, British Museum, London.
[115] The 10th Earl of Northumberland employed Symon Stone as a copyist and picture keeper. the Earl's commissions for copies are recorded in the household accounts discussed in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 296.
[116] She repaired her four castles in Westmoreland - Appleby, Brougham, Brough, and Pendragon – as well as Skipton and Barden Tower in Craven.
[117] Lady Anne's work is still visible at churches in Westmoreland, including St Lawrence and St Michael's, Bongate, Appleby, at St Wilfrid's and St Ninian's (Ninekirks), Brougham, and at St Mary's Chapel, Outhgill, Mallerstang. She also had work done on Holy Trinity, Skipton, at the oratory at Appleby Castle, and the chapel of Barden Tower.
[118] Cited in Elizabeth V. Chew, "'Repaired by me to my exceeding great cost and charges': Anne Clifford and the uses of architecture," in *Architecture and the politics of gender in early modern Europe*, ed. Helen Hills (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003), 103.

Although she would have been exposed to the more fashionable antique classical sculpture in the collections of Lord Arundel and other courtiers,[119] she appeared not to collect statues herself, but preferred a type of patronage with strong medieval precedent: monuments and tomb sculpture. In her early years Lady Anne commissioned monuments to her cousin, Lady Frances Bourchier in Chenies church, another in Beckington church, Somerset to Samuel Daniel, and also to her favourite poet, Edmund Spenser, in Westminster Abbey. Lady Anne continued this line of patronage once she had moved to her northern estates, erecting a monument in Brough church for her clerk of works Gabriel Vincent, one to her father at Skipton and one for her mother in Appleby church. Lady Anne's antiquarianism might be said to culminate in a final act of patronage – her tomb at Appleby church, which, rather than featuring her sculpted effigy or any likeness, displays a wall of shields. In this way, Lady Anne chose her final, lasting portrait to be a symbolic display of her rightful place within a web of family connections, marked visually by their heraldic cyphers.

Yet, perhaps the most idiosyncratic display of Lady Anne Clifford's penchant for lasting memorials to herself and her family was her 'Countess's Pillar'. This was a physical marker for a personal memory, set where two paths met near Brougham in 1654 to mark the location where Lady Anne last saw her mother. This was a particularly public demonstration of her patronage and hereditary links to the lands: the monument is covered in shields and inscriptions, should there be any doubt as to its meaning.

[119] For example, on 27 December 1616 she joined her husband and other courtiers in a visit to Arundel House to view Lord Arundel's collection of pictures and classical statuary. Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, 72, 130.

Conclusion to the case study on Lady Anne Clifford

Lady Anne Clifford's patronage of the arts in the 1640s and 1650s demonstrates that an established female arts patron could continue her activities throughout the Civil Wars and Interregnum, without apparent limitations on the scale of their ambition. That this patronage spanned portraiture, picture copying, architectural renovations, sculpted tombs and monuments indicates that the art world of England had retained its expertise in these areas, and thus maintained its variety. The geographical spread and patterns of Lady Anne's patronage also exemplifies that, while London evidently continued as the source of most artistic expertise, she was able to find artisans to meet her needs near her castles in the North of England.

Deducing the extent of continuity in the nature of Lady Anne's taste and style of patronage is, however, a more complex enterprise. Lady Anne's later art patronage has been characterised as 'consciously anachronistic',[120] and 'emphatically unfashionable',[121] assertions which are to some extent founded on Lady Anne's avoidance of the style of Van Dyck, *The Great Picture's* obvious parallels in art of previous centuries and her preference for investing in tombs, monuments and castles over, say decorative painting. Lady Anne's art patronage is inextricable, however, from her personal agenda. Her commissions reflect her strong sense of purpose in demonstrating for all to see, and in all forms she could muster – in print, paint, stone and even metal inscription – the strength of her family line and its rightful descent to herself as the last of the Cliffords. It is natural that she would therefore turn to the art which had traditionally marked memorialisation in all its forms: tombs and monuments, and, monumental portrait painting, duplicated to ensure the survival of the message. However, it must also be noted that she was one of Sir Peter Lely's earliest patrons, possibly securing the painter's services in advance of even her husband, and thus joined the ranks of fashionable – not old-fashioned – patrons in the midst of the 1640s. On the other hand, although Lely was indeed fashionable, it seems that Lady Anne commissioned his work not as an end in itself, as other patrons would,

[120] Chew, "Repaired by me to my exceeding great cost and charges," 100.
[121] Friedman, "Lady Anne Clifford as a Patron of the Visual Arts," 6-10.

but for what she considered her greater purpose – to have an up-to-date contemporary likeness to incorporate into her visual essay, *The Great Picture.* Nevertheless, her predilection for heraldry and other visual devices to present noble ancestral ties is wholly in line with Caroline courtly chivalric visual display, and in this way Lady Anne's art patronage is not so estranged from Caroline precedent as has been generally accepted.

Ultimately, that the London art world of the 1640s and that of the North of England during the 1650s could facilitate Lady Anne's tastes for both fashionable and more archaic styles and art forms is a testament to the versatility and vitality of the art world at the time. However, to get a better understanding of the London art market, and the extent of survival of court culture in the patronage by Caroline courtiers, the activities of a male courtier who was also an established arts patron before the Civil Wars will now be considered.

The Art Patronage of Philip Herbert, 1st Earl of Montgomery and 4th Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650) during the Civil Wars

Profile of the 4th Earl of Pembroke

Lady Anne's second husband, Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke was one of the most prominent noblemen in the kingdom. Once the favourite of James I, who created him Earl of Montgomery, he became Lord Chamberlain to Charles I – the chief official of the royal household. His first wife, Lady Susan de Vere died early in 1629 and, on 10 April 1630, he inherited the Earldom of Pembroke, as well as other appointments, from his brother. This made Pembroke extremely wealthy: the earldom brought in an extra £14,000 each year and he received another £6,000 a year for his brother's widow; Aubrey estimated that his total income was £30,000 p.a.[122] To Lady

[122] Aubrey's estimate was based on his understanding that that the income of the Earls of Pembroke 'was till about 1652, 16,000 pounds per annum' plus the income from his other offices. John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (Secker & Warburg: London, 1949), 303. However, by 1648 – following years of war and a fire at Wilton – it was estimated that his annual income was £20,203. Elmhirst MS,/Pye deposit, EM/1356, EM/1359. Cited in Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.

Anne, who had an acute awareness of the power of status and reputation, Pembroke's wealth and influence must have been important attributes.

Although the pair separated within five years of marriage, Lady Anne nevertheless had good words to say about her second husband in her *Memorial* written shortly after his death. Here she states with pride that 'Hee was one of the greatest noble men of his time in England in all respects and was generallie throughout the realm very well beloved.'[123] Furthermore, despite their differences, Lady Anne is balanced in her assessment of her late husband's character and interests. She begins with his academic prowess – clearly a priority for her as a highly-educated and scholarly woman: 'Hee was no scholler at all to speake of, for hee was nott past three of fower monthes att the university of Oxford',[124] because his friends 'judgeing him fittest for thatt kinde of life',[125] had encouraged him to move to Court where 'Hee spent most of his time'.[126] She concedes that her husband was not a dullard, however: 'Yett he was of a verie quick apprehension, a sharpe understandinge, verie craftie with all and of a deserneinge spirrit.'[127] Pembroke flourished at Court and was a fixture at tournaments and masques in his youth. Although Pembroke was reputedly almost illiterate, he and his brother, William, the 3rd Earl, were active as patrons of literature: they were famously the 'Incomparable Pair of Brethren' Shakespeare's first folio was dedicated to. Their ancestor was the poet, Sir Philip Sidney.[128]

However, Pembroke also gained a reputation for his foul-mouth, notorious temper and a propensity towards violence. Indeed, in her *Memorial*, Lady Anne points out that her husband was 'extremely chollerick by nature which was increased the more by the office of Lord Chamberlen to the King, which hee held many yeres.'[129] The earl was also partial to gambling and, reportedly, James I had to pay off some of his debts. Pembroke also adored hunting, on which he allegedly spent £18,000 a year.[130] Aubrey notes that 'His Lordship's chiefe delight was in hunting and hawking, both of which

---

[123] *The Great Books*, 211 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 815.
[124] *The Great Books*, 211 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 814.
[125] *The Great Books*, 211 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 814-15.
[126] *The Great Books*, 211 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 815.
[127] *The Great Books*, 211 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 815.
[128] Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.
[129] *The Great Books*, 211 [1650]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 815.
[130] Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.

he had to the greatest perfection of any peer in the realm'.[131] Clarendon confirmed this: 'He pretended to no other qualifications than to understand horses and dogs very well.'[132]

In his religion, Pembroke erred towards godly Protestantism, disapproving of the King's Laudian reforms of the 1630s and becoming a supporter of moderate episcopalianism during the 1640s. The Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria reportedly disliked him and he moved further out of favour with the monarchy after pushing for peace during the Bishops Wars in Scotland between 1639 and 1640. The final straw for his relations with the court came after he had insulted the King by reassuring anti-Straffordian demonstrators. Soon after, in another characteristic fit of anger, he struck Lord Maltravers and, prompted by the Queen, was forced to resign from his post as Lord Chamberlain.[133] Pembroke's political standing during the 1640s was, however, changeable: after flirting with both parties, Pembroke came down on the side of Parliament in the First Civil War, although he was always a moderate Parliamentarian and his previous closeness to the King meant that he was often involved in negotiations; Clarendon asserted that he made the choice out of fear and because he let Lord Say (under whose influence he was at the time) 'dispose of him as he thought fit'.[134]

Pembroke's art patronage prior to the 1640s

It seems that what Pembroke lacked in academic acumen, he made up for in enthusiasm for art and architecture and, like Lady Anne, he had established himself as a patron of the arts prior to the Civil Wars. However, as with his politics, Pembroke's art patronage was in many respects in contrast to that of his wife and, as such, helps to give a more balanced assessment of the ways in which art patronage continued in the 1640s.

---

[131] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, 304.
[132] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England: Begun in the Year 1641*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), vol. 1, 74.
[133] Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.
[134] Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion*, vol. 2, 540. Cited in Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.

As was a common practice among Charles I's art-loving circle of favourites, Pembroke is recorded as swapping works of art from his collection, such as *Saint George and the Dragon* by Raphael, and a portrait and miniatures by the limner, Nicholas Hilliard.[135] He was also given the privilege of being one of a select group attending to the King to open a consignment of pictures that had arrived in London as a present from the Pope in January 1637.[136] Following the example of the King, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Arundel, and Lord Hamilton, Pembroke employed his own art agent, a William Towers ('Mr. Touars'), who, as we have heard, was keeper of the pictures at Durham House and Baynard's Castle, and who bought works of art on the Continent for the earl during the 1640s.[137] Towers was still working for the Herbert family sometime in 1652, when he gave Richard Symonds a tour of the pictures at Durham House,[138] and the last payment to him in the Pembroke accounts was £5 'for his quarters wages for looking to the pictures at Baynards Castle' on 3 January 1653/4.[139]

Pembroke's position as an art patron is perhaps best summed-up by Aubrey, who related that the earl 'did not delight in books, or poetry: but exceedingly loved painting and building, in which he had singular judgement, and had the best collection of any peer in England, and was the great patron to Sir Anthony Van Dyck: and had most of his painting.'[140] As Aubrey mentions, like the King and courtiers such as the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Wharton – although significantly, as we have seen, not Lady Anne Clifford – Pembroke was an enthusiastic patron of Sir Anthony van Dyck. He commissioned many works from the artist, including the famous *Pembroke Family,* and also paintings of himself and members of his family, the King and the

---

[135] This episode was recorded by the keeper of the King's art collection, Abraham van der Doort in his catalogue of Charles I's collection in 1639/40: 'item a little St George, wch yor Matie had in exchange of my Lord Chamberlaine [the 4th Earl of Pembroke] for the booke of Holbins drawings wherein manie heads were done wth cryons wch my Lo: Chamblaine imediatly soe soone as hee receaved it of yor Matie gave it to my Lo: Marshall [Arundel]'. Van der Doort, C*atalogue of the Collection of Pictures, Medals, Agates and the Like, of King Charles I,* 79, no.14. The *Saint George and the Dragon* is now in Washington, inv. 1937.1.26. The early stages of the Wilton House collection are summarised in Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 1–2.

[136] Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.

[137] Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2. Discussed in Wood, "Nicholas Lanier," 120, n. 147. See also Philip MacEvansoneya, "The Sequestration and Dispersal of the Buckingham Collection," *Journal of the History of Collections* 8, no. 2 (1996): 135; Michael G. Brennan, *Literary patronage in the English Renaissance: the Pembroke family* (London: Routledge, 1988), 189-90; Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 3.

[138] 'The Earl of Pembrookes Collections of Paintings at Durham House, Mr Towers keepes them', BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds,* 313.

[139] Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2, f.103.

[140] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, 304.

Queen, and their three eldest children.[141] Symonds also commented on seeing, during his visit to Durham House in 1652-3, 'divers Ladyes by Vandyke, many having two Ladyes in a Piece'.[142] Like Lady Anne, Pembroke sat for leading portrait painters including Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger,[143] William Larkin,[144] Daniel Mytens,[145] possibly Alexander Cooper,[146] as well as Van Dyck.[147]

While Lady Anne lived mainly at Pembroke's properties in Wiltshire during the 1630s, the earl continued to reside principally in London in his rooms at the Cockpit at Whitehall, or at Durham House on the Strand. Here, Pembroke had easy access to the King at court, though Charles I also visited the earl at his country estate, Wilton in Wiltshire: Aubrey reported that the King 'did love Wilton above all places, and came thither every summer'. Aubrey also states that it was the King who, in 'about 1633', prompted Pembroke to plan a grand (and subsequently downsized) project to modernise Wilton, which spanned the last twenty years of his life: the King 'did put Philip … Earle of Pembroke upon making this magnificent garden and grotto, and to new build that side of the house that fronts the garden … all *al Italiano.'*[148] Charles I reportedly favoured his own architect, the Surveyor to the Crown, Inigo Jones, for the task. However, as Jones was engaged in work for the King at Whitehall and Greenwich and for Lord Bedford at Covent Garden, he had to turn down the request, recommending Isaac de Caus in his stead.[149] De Caus had worked for Jones on the Banqueting House years before and was the executant architect for Jones at Covent Garden between 1633 and 1634. He was assisted in decorative designs by Jones's protégé, John Webb, while Jones himself seems to have maintained a low level of supervision of the project.[150] All three men were based in London. Although Aubrey

---

[141] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 58-644, nos 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166.
[142] BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 313.
[143] Tate, c.1610, oil on oak panel, T03466.
[144] Government Art Collection, 1615.
[145] National Trust collection at Hardwick Hall, 1634, NT1129111; Wilton House, Wiltshire, 1625, Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 45, no. 118; and an attributed portrait at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire; other versions and copies exist.
[146] National Portrait Gallery, c.1630, watercolour on vellum, NPG 4615.
[147] Wilton House, *Pembroke Family* and single portrait of the Earl. Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 59, 61, nos 158, 160); Longleat House (single portrait); other versions and copies exist.
[148] Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 83-4.
[149] As Howard Colvin has demonstrated, the architect was Isaac de Caus, not his father or uncle, Solomon, as Aubrey wrongly states. Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 84; Colvin, "The South Front of Wilton House," 181–90.
[150] Aubrey said De Caus performed the work 'not without the advice and approbation of Mr Jones'. Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 84; Scholars have disagreed over the extent of Jones's involvement in the first and second phases of Wilton House's design. Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism,* 33.

approximates 'about 1633', surviving accounts reveal that work on the Wilton garden began in 1632-3, with expenditure peaking in 1634-5. Work on the house began in 1636 with the instruction for De Caus to 'take downe … that side of Wilton house which is towards the Garden and such other parts as shall bee necessary and rebuild it anew with additions according to ye Plott which is agreed'.[151]

Being famously rich, engaged in contemporary artistic court fashions and close to the King, it is unsurprising that the enormous, and therefore extremely expensive, south front outlined in De Caus's initial designs had the ambition of 'courtier houses' such as Hardwick Hall and Holdenby, built on a grand scale and with splendour fit to host a monarch. However, the original grandiose plan was curtailed by 50 percent during the building process, most likely due to its expense. The eventual scheme consisted of the eastern half of the original design with a bay in the place of the pediment on the west end to match that on the east and 'two stately pavilions at each end' that Aubrey reports were later additions to the scheme, apparently to balance the Tudor towers of the east-range.[152] The shortening of the original façade meant that De Caus had to make asymmetrical state rooms, but used some visual trickery to correct this.[153] In addition, rather than placing steps up from the garden at the centre of the scheme (as Colen Campbell wrongly illustrates) wooden steps were actually located running up into the first floor of the west end, known then as the Passage Room, and since re-structured and called the Hunting Room. The Passage Room occupied what would have been the centre of the facade of the original, larger, double-winged scheme. The asymmetrical positioning of the steps was a practical move to connect the path leading from the garden, which had been landscaped in advance of the house's redevelopment.

The case of Wilton therefore exemplifies that re-designing and re-fronting older houses in Inigo Jones's Palladian-inspired style was already fashionable in England in the 1630s. The practice of Webb, Jones's student, and other architects in the 1640s and 1650s is therefore indicative of a continuation in expertise in this area, and of

---

[151] Tait, "Isaac de Caus," 74. Cited in Bold, *John Webb*, 57.
[152] Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 83-4; Bold, *John Webb*, 60.
[153] Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 57.

their patrons' similar taste. This suggests there was a broad continuity in taste and patronage habits during the Civil Wars, as demonstrated to some extent by the previous case study on Lady Anne Clifford, and which will be explored further in this section on Lord Pembroke.

1640s: civil war, fire and re-decoration of the state rooms at Wilton House

De Caus's work on Wilton House finished in the late 1630s and Pembroke provided him with a life pension and lodgings in the house until his death in 1656.[154] However, the earl and Lady Anne were not to enjoy the new south front for long as they were compelled to return to London after civil war broke out in 1642. Worse still, a fire broke out in the south range at Wilton towards the end of 1647, due to – according to Aubrey – 'airing of the roomes'.[155] Research by Colvin revealed that the structural shell of the new south front remained, but there is still uncertainly over the extent of the internal damage.[156]

Pembroke lost no time in responding to the disaster at Wilton and Aubrey relates that in 1648 Pembroke 're-edifyed it'.[157] He also states that John Webb carried out the work, which is confirmed by Lord Pembroke's executors accounts of 1650-1 that reveal Webb was paid an annual fee of £40 to oversee the project. The accounts also indicate that both local workmen and those from London were contracted to the Wilton project, while local contractors were also set to work on the earl's other property, Ramsbury: 'the London workmasters' received 'in full for the building at Wilton £1347. 15. 6,' and 'the Country workmen' for the 'work and materials at Wilton and Ramsbury £225, in arrears of a total of £1005.'[158] Research has shown that Webb rebuilt the upper sections of the end-towers on the south front, and re-fitted the state

---

[154] 'his Lordship settled a pension on him of, I think, a hundred pounds per annum for his life, and lodgings in the house. He died about 1656; his picture is at Mr. Gauntlet's house at Netherhampton.' Aubrey also notes another beneficiary of a pension from Pembroke: the Earl's lutenist, Alphonso Ferrabosco, reportedly 'had a pension and lodgings in Baynard's Castle.' Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 84, 88.

[155] 'The south side of this stately house, that was built by Monsieur de Caus, was burnt ann. 1647 or 1648, by airing of the roomes.' Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 84. The extent of the fire and its dating is discussed in Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 41-2.

[156] Colvin, "The South Front of Wilton House," 181-90; Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 42.

[157] Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 84.

[158] Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2. Also see Colvin, "The South Front of Wilton House," 181–90. Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – II," 1112.

rooms.[159] Aubrey also states that Jones had further involvement in giving advice, which is surprising given that Jones was by that time *persona non grata* in the Parliamentary circles Pembroke had sided with. It is possible, however, that Webb also had support from De Caus, who was living on site, and the master carpenter, Richard Ryder. Ryder had worked with Webb before, and on two occasions charged for coming over to Cranborne Manor House (which he was working on between 1647 and 1650) from Wilton.[160] The resulting south front exterior by Isaac de Caus and the interiors by John Webb are key examples of how the distinctive Italianate classicism brought to the country by Inigo Jones was developed by his contemporaries and followers in the 1630s and 1640s.[161] The projects are also evidence of the active continuation of architectural development and patronage through the 1630s and 1640s and into the early 1650s.

Various drawings of designs for interiors at Wilton survive which have been problematic in terms of confirming authorship and dating. Some of the designs for doors and ceilings carry inscriptions by Jones and Webb and have been dated, due to Jones's involvement, to the 1630s; three alternative ceiling designs for the Cabinet Room are dated 1649, as are designs for composite capitals and a cartouche.[162] The designs have been variously attributed to Jones, Webb and, most recently, to another artist who worked for Jones and Webb, Edward Pearce Senior.[163] Authorship of the designs aside, the fact the layout of the scheme conveyed in the titles and annotations on these 1630s drawings matches the post-fire scheme indicates that De Caus's state room arrangement was adopted again by Webb in the following decade.[164]

Pembroke's building and redecoration projects were formative for Webb, who had begun as an assistant at the start of the project in the 1630s and had advanced to head

---

[159] Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 42–3.
[160] Bold, *John Webb*, 60.; Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 42.
[161] A theme explored in detail in Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism.*
[162] Drawings for 1630s doors (Wiltshire CRO 2057 H1/1a); 1630s ceilings (Worcester College, Oxford, Cat. 58-9, 61-5); 1649 ceilings (Worcester College, Oxford, Cat. 60; RIBA Cat. 172; Ashmolean Museum, Cotelle Album 89A); composite capitals and a cartouche of 1649 (Bk. of Caps., fos. 1-6, 39). Bold, *John Webb*, 174.
[163] In a forthcoming article, Dr Gordon Higgott asserts that the ceiling designs Bold and other scholars had ascribed to Webb were actually by Edward Pearce Senior – an artist whom he argues Jones increasingly turned to as a draughtsman: Gordon Higgot and A. V. Grimstone, "Drawings by Edward Pearce the Elder (fl.1630-d.1658)," Forthcoming. For Bold's attributions to Webb see Bold, *John Webb*, 174; Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 44-50.
[164] Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 45.

of the project by the late 1640s. Although the plans never came to fruition, by 1649 Pembroke had given Webb the opportunity to design a grand new scheme for Durham House. Webb's ambitious design is comparable to his and Inigo Jones's projected redesign of Whitehall, which was optimistically commissioned by the King at that time.[165]

The Wilton state rooms would in the 4th Earl's day have been entered from the house via the Single Cube Room (or 'Withdrawing Room') of 30' by 30' by 30'. From here one could process through to the centrepiece, the Double Cube Room' (also previously the 'Dining Room' and 'Great Room') which measures 60' by 30' by 30'. These two spaces are recognised as the grandest surviving rooms of the seventeenth century and, while some elements have been altered over the centuries, they still retain their original seventeenth-century overmantels, chimney-pieces, swag and pendant ornamentation set on pine panelling and some of the carving, as well as a portion of their splendid cove and ceiling painting. Much of the ornamentation that is of a later date is thought to be replica or in keeping with the original scheme. To the east of the Double Cube Room was a Great Geometrical (or 'Hanging') Staircase, since removed, with an adjoining lobby, a room called the King's Bedchamber, the Cabinet Room, and to its north, the Little Ante Room. To the west of the Single Cube Room was a Passage Room for access to the garden,[166] and which linked to another staircase and a small lobby.

The losses of the fire, the Civil War and concessions to his estranged wife appear to have lessened Pembroke's income, which in 1648 was estimated to be £20,203. This was roughly two-thirds of his estimated income prior to that date and only exceeded his total expenses by a narrow margin of £1,064.[167] Nevertheless, the sumptuous interiors he commissioned at this time do not betray financial limitations but rather project artistic patronage of the highest order and on a par with Caroline precedent at the Banqueting House, Somerset House and the Queen's House. They are therefore

---

[165] Six drawings, including one plan dated 1649, and one elevation for a large house, and one elevation for a smaller design. Worcs. Coll. Cat. 81-8. Cited in Bold, *John Webb,* 158, 160.
[166] 'The anti-roome to the great roome of state is the first roome as you come up staires from the garden...' Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 85.
[167] Elmhirst MS, Pye deposit, EM/1356, EM/1359. Cited in Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.

strong evidence for continuity of taste and practice into the 1640s, rather than a sharp decline or break as has previously been assumed. Indeed, the rooms of the Wilton south front are widely regarded as being the most important in Britain to have survived the seventeenth century relatively unscathed. The 4th Earl did not live to see the final incarnation of the Wilton south front, but his son allowed the project to continue. The accounts show that building work was finished in c.1651 and the interior decoration of the state rooms was at least mostly complete by May 1652, when Lodewijck Huygens was given a tour of the new 'bastie a l'Italienne' and found the ceilings fully painted.[168]

Pembroke's art collecting and picture display

The Wilton fire destroyed items from Pembroke's art collection, probably for the most part Tudor and Jacobean paintings.[169] Fortunately, it seems the earl had kept some of his collection – notably the more contemporary and fashionable works such as his Italian Old Masters and important Van Dyck paintings – at his London residence, Durham House. These were later transferred to Wilton, where they remain today. Perhaps compelled by the need to restore the losses in his art collection, and unable to commission more from his favourite artist, Van Dyck, who died in 1641, Pembroke looked to a rising star of the London painting world: Sir Peter Lely. Not much is known of Pembroke's patronage of Lely, however, but for a reference in Pembroke's executors' accounts of 22 December 1649, which reveals that the artist did paint several pictures for the earl:

> Paid to Mr Lilly, Painter, one bill signed by Mr Towers for severall pictures made for the late Earl of pembrooke, the summe of eighty-five pounds, being by the hands of Mr Anthony Gratiane, and assented unto by the Executors that he might be serviceable in the sale of pictures.[170]

---

[168] Lodewijck Huygens, *The English Journal 1651-1652, Lodewijck Huygens,* ed. and trans. by A.G.H. Bachrach and R.G. Collmer (Leiden, The Netherlands: Published for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, E.J. Brill/Leiden University Press, 1982), 271.
[169] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 55.
[170] The folios of accounts are bound in an 111-page book at Hatfield House: Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2, f.31. Also see Millar, *Sir Peter Lely*, 37.

It is thought that Lely's work for Pembroke included three portraits which remain at Wilton. One is of the earl's son, the Hon. James Herbert and his wife, Jane Spiller, presumed to be painted around the time of their marriage in 1646.[171] The second is of William, Lord Herbert, the 6th Earl of Pembroke as a child in about 1645,[172] and the third a portrait of Catherine, the second wife of Philip, the 5th Earl (to which was later added a portrait of one of her daughters).[173] As we have seen, Lely's fees in around 1647 were £5 for a head-and-shoulders portrait and £10 for a portrait down to the knees,[174] and probably about £20 for double three-quarter portraits, nearer £30 for full lengths, and between £30 and £40 for larger group scenes. This suggests that there must have been at least one more work included in the charge of £85. It is possible, although unlikely as she was a woman of independent means, that this payment covered Lady Anne's oval portrait, copied for the *Great Picture.* Although they generally differed in taste, it seems that Pembroke and Lady Anne found a shared appreciation for the work of this Dutch painter, who could portray the plain but determined demeanour of the middle-aged Lady Anne with such frank verisimilitude in a style removed from that of Van Dyck, and yet bestow Pembroke's family members with the buoyancy and elegance that Van Dyck was famed for.

The excerpt above also alludes to the future of Pembroke's art collection: when paying Lely for his painting services, the executors also requested that he be of help in assisting with 'the sale of pictures'. On succeeding his father in 1650, Philip, the 5th Earl of Pembroke, sold some of the family art collection, presumably to pay the debts of his father and to recoup enough money to finish the ambitious redecoration project.[175] The fact Lely's skill in art dealing was known in 1647 is further evidence to suggest, as posited in Chapter 1, that Lely worked as both an art dealer as well as a picture maker during his early years in London.

---

[171] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 3, 25, no. 42.
[172] John Baldock, *A Guide to the Paintings in the Public Rooms at Wilton House* (Salisbury: Printed by Philtone Litho, 2003), 4; Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House*, 3, 25, no. 43.
[173] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 3, 25, no. 44.
[174] Beckett, *Lely*, 11.
[175] Baldock, *A Guide to the Paintings in the Public Rooms at Wilton House*, 5.

With or without Lely's services as an art dealer, it seems the sale went underway rapidly. This is implied by an account of c.1652 by Richard Symonds entitled 'The Earl of Pembrookes Collections of Paintings at Durham House, Mr Towers keepes them', at the end of which he notes 'Others most or all to be sold & divers already sold.'[176] The extent of the sale of the goods is confirmed by John Aubrey, writing at some point after 1656, who reported 'Now this rare collection of pictures is sold and dispersed ... all sold by auction and disparkled by administratorship: they are, as the civilians term them, *bona caduca.*'[177] The accounts of the executors of Lord Pembroke record that prices in the sale ranged from £21 to £350, and names of purchasers in the sale reveal both British and international buyers: 'my Lady Devonshire, the Spanish Ambassador, Lord Bellasis, Sir James Palmer', and 'Mr Tenier, a Dutchman' who paid £535 for pictures. The Spanish Ambassador, Alonso de Cardenas, was also very active in puchases from the sale of Charles I's goods. The painter David Teniers had been sent to London by the Count of Fuensaldana on behalf of Spanish collectors to buy works from Pembroke's collection as well as that from the late King's collection, including, perhaps, *Venus and Cupid with an Organ Player* by Titian.[178] However, the accounts unfortunately do not record what the pictures were, tantalisingly referring to 'the paticulars of the picture book', which cannot be found.[179] It seems likely, however, that all but one of the 4th Earl's famous collection of Holbein drawings was sold around this time.[180]

It is therefore hard to be certain of the contents of Lord Pembroke's art collection upon his death. However, piecing together a cluster of contemporary accounts of visits to Wilton House and Durham House during the early 1650s, some insights can be gleaned about the whereabouts of particular items at that stage. When Huygens visited Wilton on 11 May 1652 and recorded his thoughts on the ceiling painting, he also noted some of the pictures he saw. One of these, a small oil sketch by Van Dyck of the Duc D'Eperon, he mistook for the artist's famous portrait *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St Antoine* due to the close resemblance of the sitter's features:

---

[176] BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 313.
[177] Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 85.
[178] Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, 160, 167.
[179] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 3.
[180] The Holbein drawings are now in the Royal Collection at Windsor: RCIN 912189-912273. Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 3.

'Le pourtrait du Roy dernier sur un cheval blanc estoit icy, encore dans une des meilleures salles; c'estoit une copie de Van Dyck.'[181] His reference to the work being *still* in one of the best rooms in the house implies that he had been informed that the work had also hung there before the fire. A later inventory of 1683 makes the same mistake, listing 'I of old King Charles on horseback, £80', as well as listing another portrait which might have survived the 1647 fire: 'Wm ye first Earle of Pembrooke', which is probably the full-length portrait which remains at Wilton.[182]

Significantly, the only other picture Huygens confirms was at Wilton at the time of his visit is a portrait of Pembroke's famous white racehorse, *The Peacock*, which was hanging next to the Van Dyck. This suggests that Van Dyck's enormous Pembroke family group portrait had not been transferred from Durham House to Wilton by that point, as it would surely have been a talking-point for a first-time visitor to the state rooms – the only place where it would have fitted, and where it now remains. When Aubrey visited Wilton some time after 1656, he also saw the 'King Charles I. on horseback' (presumably the Duc D'Eperon), displayed 'At the upper end' of the hall, noting that it 'was a copie of Sir Anthony Vandyke, from that at Whitehall.' He also mentions that the work was still hanging by 'Peacock' and offers the interesting information that Van Dyck had 'touched' this work also.[183]

As Huygens's account of May 1652 suggests, Symonds's list of works at Durham House of nearer 1652-3 confirms that some star items did at that point still remain in the Herbert collection there. Most notably, the *Pembroke Family* and other single and double portraits of women by Van Dyck had notably not yet been moved to the newly-redecorated state rooms of Wilton House. Symonds lists four Titians, a Correggio, a Giorgione, two Del Sartos, a Jacopo Palma, a Bassano, a Tintoretto, a Palma Giovane, other Italian Masters and 'a mighty large piece of the Ea[rle]: of Pembroke & all his family by Vandyke./ Divers ladyes by Vandyke, many pieces having 2 ladyes in a piece.'[184] As Symonds relates, these were the remainder of many

---

[181] Huygens, *The English Journal,* 271.
[182] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 5, nos 171. Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, no. 143.
[183] John Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 84.
[184] BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 313.

pictures that had 'already sold', and that 'most or all' of the pictures he saw were also 'to be sold'.[185] Yet, as implied by the 'most', some of these works were evidently kept back by the 5th Earl, or at least did not find buyers: the *Pembroke Family* and several of the Van Dycks were apparently retained, and it is possible that three of the pictures remaining in the collection today were among the those seen by Symonds at Durham House and survived the sale: *Christ washing the Disciples' feet* by Tintoretto, the *Soldiers disputing over Christ's garments* by Jacopo Palma, and Andrea del Sarto's *Virgin and Child, St John and two angels*.[186] At the time of John Evelyn's visit to Wilton House in 1654, he was able to see 'divers rare Pictures …' on display.[187] However, he gave no indication of which pictures these were and which rooms they were in, though presumably they were on the visitor route which apparently consisted of the south front state rooms and other adjoining rooms. From the executors' accounts, however, it appears that some of the pictures that had been in Durham House during the sale and Symonds's visit had been moved from there to Baynard's Castle at some point during the summer of 1652, as one 25 August 1652 there is a payment of £3 10s 6d to Towers 'for removeing the pictures from Durham house to Baynards Castle'.[188] The last reference to him in the accounts is on 2 January 1653/4, 'for looking to the pictures at Baynards Castle'.[189] Were the Van Dycks moved to Baynard's Castle at the time, prior to their transferral to Wilton, and could there have been space for the *Pembroke Family*?

The successful sale of much of the earl's art collection after his death suggests that there was a healthy English art market with demand for art dealing and collecting painting work around 1650 – something which will be explored further in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the earl's continued collecting and patronage of painters such as Lely during the 1640s suggests there was still a thriving art scene at this time and points to the continuation of Caroline courtly taste and patronage practices. Despite losses in the moveable collection, the decorative paintings on wall-panels and ceilings at

---

[185] BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 313.
[186] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 3.
[187] Evelyn, *Diary,* 310.
[188] Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2, f.81.
[189] Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2, f.103.

Wilton made during this period do remain, for the most part, in situ, and it is these that shall be here discussed in more detail.

The decorative scheme of the state rooms

The earliest record of the interiors of the house after Lord Pembroke's post-fire renovations is that of Huygens, on his visit to Wilton on 11 May 1652. He noted that the ceiling paintings in the state rooms were by a fairly good artist – 'tout peint d'une assez bonne main' – but did not give any further details.[190] A few years later, however, on 20 July 1654, the *virtuoso* connoisseur, John Evelyn, paid a visit to Wilton and recorded details of the decorative paintings in particular:

> … the most observable are the Dining-roome in the modern built part towards the Garden, richly gilded, & painted with story by *De Creete*, also some other apartments, as that of Hunting Landskips by *Pierce*: some magnificent chimney-pieces, after the *French* best manner … & divers rare Pictures …[191]

This important account reveals details of the decorative painting scheme and identifies the names of its artists: Emanuel de Critz of the famous dynasty of London-based painters, and the London Painter-Stainer, Edward Pearce, father of the better-known sculptor of the same name. Sometime after 1656, the antiquarian, John Aubrey reported in more detail on what he had seen in the house, and was also informed that the painting work was done by De Critz and Pearce:

> In the cieling piece of this great roome is a great peece, the Marriage of Perseus, drawn by the hand of Mr. Emanuel De Cretz ; and all about this roome, the pannells below the windows, is painted by him, the whole story of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia.[192]

---

[190] Huygens, *The English Journal,* 271.
[191] Evelyn, *Diary,* 310.
[192] Aubrey's sources were 'Dr Caldicot' (who had been a chaplain of the family) and 'Mr. Uniades' (who was apparently employed in some way at Wilton). Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 85.

The identity of these painters was lost in a later account of the house and its collection of 1731 by C. Gambarini, who stated that the Double Cube ceiling was by 'Signior Tommaso, a disciple of Caracci', and that the Single Cube Room was by 'the brother of Signior Tommaso, who us'd to paint only small figures'.[193] There might have been some truth as Emanuel de Critz had a brother called Thomas, who may well have helped out in the project, but there is no other evidence of this. A later account, written in 1769, adds that the hunting scenes were attributed to a certain 'TEMPESTA, Junr.', and repeats Gambarini's attribution of the painting in the Double Cube room to 'Signor Tomaso', and the scenes from *Arcadia* to the 'Brother of Signor Tomaso'.[194] The incorrect attributions (except for the Single Cube Room ceiling grotesque painting) have been put right in the 1968 catalogue of Wilton House and its collection.[195]

Fortunately, as the painting work survives in good condition today, these seventeenth-century witness accounts can be cross-referenced with the surviving scheme. The Single and Double Cube Rooms both have oil-on-plaster ceiling coves (the *volta a conca* of Palladio that was brought to England by Jones) that feature a broadly-painted mixture of naturalistic and stylised *trompe l'oeil* ornamental motifs. The coving and soffit of the Double Cube Room frames three canvases by Emanuel de Critz depicting scenes from the legend of Perseus: the central scene is *Perseus rescuing his mother from Polydectes*, and the other two are of *Perseus and Andromeda* and *Perseus and Pegasus* (fig. 31). As Aubrey states, De Critz is also thought to have been responsible for the series of scenes from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* positioned around the wainscot dado in the Single Cube Room; it was said that this text was written at Wilton (fig. 32 a, b and c). The 'Hunting Landskips by *Pierce*' that Evelyn refers to are the eighteen inset panels of hunting scenes painted by Edward Pearce, displayed in two tiers in the Passage Room, which has since been reconfigured into a larger space called the Hunting Room (fig. 33).

---

[193] Gambarini, *A Description of the Earl of Pembroke's pictures,* 6.
[194] James Kennedy, *A Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton-House* (Salisbury, Printed by E. Easton, 1769), 51, 60.
[195] Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 90-1; The Single Cube Room ceiling grotesque work was attributed to another artist, Matthew Gooderick, until Dr Gordon Higgot and A. V. Grimstone's re-attribution to Edward Pearce in a forthcoming article: Gordon Higgot and A. V. Grimstone, "Drawings by Edward Pearce the Elder (fl.1630 — d.1658)," Forthcoming.

The bold coving in the Double Cube Room (fig. 34) has been securely attributed to Pearce, as stated by Aubrey and Evelyn, while the more delicate scheme in the Single Cube Room (fig. 35), although thought to have been later overpainted by Andien de Clermont (d.1783), has historically been attributed to the painter Matthew Gooderick. The Gooderick attribution arose because Vertue stated that he worked at Wilton (although without specifying where) and Croft-Murray extrapolated that 'the only painting which can be ascribed to him is the grotesque in the cove of the Single Cube Room,[196] due to the closeness in style to the coving thought to be done by Gooderick in the Queen's Bedchamber at the Queen's House, Greenwich (fig. 36).[197] Research by Dr Gordon Higgott and A. V. Grimstone into Pearce's prints and drawings has now convincingly revealed that Pearce evidently played a greater part in the painting of the Queen's Bedchamber at the Queen's House, and was in fact wholly responsible for the decorative painting in the Single Cube Room at Wilton.[198] It would indeed make sense that the same artist would be commissioned to complete the decorative ornamentation painting in both rooms, while the painting of the three enormous Perseus story scenes and multiple small scenes from *Arcadia* would have taken up De Critz's time.

Set in the centre of the grotesque work of the Single Cube Room is a painting of *The Fall of Icarus* reputed to be by Giuseppe Cesari (Il Cavaliere d'Arpino) and reportedly brought from Florence for Pembroke by Sir Charles Cotterell (fig. 37).[199] However, the provenance and attribution of this work are not secure, and there is a chance that the painting is by De Critz, after Cesari.[200] While the painting shows knowledge of Cesari's colouring and predelectation for dramatic sunbursts, it arguably lacks the elegance and quality of an original painting by an artist who was a favourite

---

[196] Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837* (London: Country Life, 1962), 41.
[197] 'It is unlikely to be Clein, whose style we know to be different: and this leaves either John de Critz or Gooderick (as Sir John Summerson has suggested), perhaps helped out by Pierce for the feigned architectural details.' Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting*, 40–41; Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House,* 91.
[198] Gordon Higgot and A. V. Grimstone, "Drawings by Edward Pearce the Elder (fl.1630 — d.1658)," Forthcoming.
[199] Croft-Murray asserts that the current scheme might replace an earlier painting: 'there is indeed in the Parliamentary Inventory a ceiling-piece of "Dedalus & Icarus, by Julio Romano", which was valued at £500.' However, as the scene depicted and the style and origin of the painting would be the same, this does not disrupt the argument made in this chapter. Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England,* 41.
[200] I am grateful to Dr Lydia Hamlett for suggesting the attribution to De Critz, and for illuminating conversation on the topic during our joint visit to the Wilton House state rooms. She suggests that Perseus is a likeness of the 4th Earl of Pembroke. Private correspondence.

of Popes Clement VIII and Sixtus V. It is also not up to the standard of the work of an accomplished artist known to have worked in England during this period, Jacob Peeter Gowy (fl.1632-c.1661), who had painted a masterful version of the same scene.[201] Conversely, visual analysis of, for example, De Critz's technique for moulding musculature in high contrast of light and dark, the highlighted smear of paint he uses to convey cheekbones, the slightly awkward trunkation of his foreshortened bodies, and the way of rendering wings on the Pegasus are comparable to the treatments of these areas on *The Fall of Icarus* and *Arcadia.* It is likely, therefore, that the painting was based on a print after Cesari's original, such as that by Raphaello Guidi in the British Museum collection (fig. 38).[202]

While his decoration of the Single Cube Room has much in common with that of the Queen's Bedchamber, which is of a similar size, the Double Cube was a much larger scale to cover and Pearce seems to have chosen a broader painting style and larger content, reminiscent of the long panels Rubens painted on the ceiling of the Banqueting House in Whitehall for King James I.

Furthermore, from an account by the late-seventeenth century travel writer, Celia Fiennes, it would seem that the much smaller ceiling of the Passage Room was also painted with more sporting scenes, in all likelihood also executed by Pearce:

> … one Gallery and ye dineing roome was all wanscoated with pictures of ye family – there is a drawing roome and Anti roome, ye wanscoate is painted with ye whole History of the Acadia romance made by Sr Philip Sidney ... Another room is painted wth all sorts of sports, Hunting, Hawking &. – they are all finely painted on the Ceiling and very lofty… There are very fine Marble Chimney pieces in most of ye roomes, and marble windows.'[203]

---

[201]Gowy worked as an assistant to Rubens, and his *The Fall of Icarus* was based on his master's design: Jacob Peeter Gowy, *The Fall of Icarus,* 1636-8, 195 x 180 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid, P001540. Paintings identified from Gowy's period working in England include two portraits which were etched by Hollar (British Museum, Iohannes Thompson, 1644, P,3.228 and Iohannes Banfi..., 1644, Q,3.376), and a painting of a horse, *The Marquess of Worcester's dappled grey stallion, with Worcester House beyond* (sold at Christie's, London, 14 April 2011, lot 44).

[202] Raphaello Guidi after Giuseppe Caesari d'Arpino (1568-1640), *The Fall of Icarus,* 1600, engraving, 44.5 x 29.3 cm. British Museum, 1874,0808.1566.

[203] Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary: Being the Diary of C. F. With an Introduction by the Hon. Mrs. Griffiths*, ed. Emily Wingfield Griffiths (London: Field & Tuer, 1888), 4.

As will be explored in more depth in Chapter 3, Webb was much in demand across England. He was apparently an amenable designer to work with and it is likely that he worked closely with the earl in choosing the topics of the scenes and stories that were illustrated in his state rooms. The pastime of hunting might be considered a 'safe', universal topic for a period of political unrest, reflecting its owner's chief hobby. The choice of Sidney's *Arcadia* must have been as a homage to the history of the family and the house: the 4th Earl was named after his ancestor Sir Philip Sidney, so had a particularly personal connection to the man and his work. However, the *Fall of Icarus* and the Perseus trilogy might be construed as politically loaded. It is tempting to interpret the programme as making wry comment on the recent political events of the Civil Wars and the execution of the King by his own people, in a bid to stay in favour with the Commonwealth: the *Fall of Icarus* is analogous of the narrative of a king who stubbornly went too far and met his death; the hero Perseus carrying out dastardly deeds in saving his innocent mother from the clutches of a malevolent monster; the hunting scenes in which beasts are captured by cunning men; and the allusion to the Civil Wars in the fighting scenes in *Arcadia*. On the other hand, the scenes could be subversively read from the opposite perspective, showing how the populus had gone too far in the trial and execution of the head of Church and state and that the country needed to be rescued from the war and political uncertainty which had resulted. Furthermore, the symbolic parallel of the hunting scenes and the recent wars would not have been lost on contemporary viewers. With this in mind, the battles taking place among the pastoral landscapes of De Critz's *Arcadia* take on new meaning, and the one small scene of a beheading takes contemporary relevance.

How far details such as this were the choice of the patron, the instruction of Webb or the creative conceit of the artist is unclear. Given the earl's wavering loyalties, and Webb's pragmatism in working for both Royalist and Parliamentarian patrons, all these meanings might have been considered, and safely left open to interpretation for whoever visited the property. Ultimately, the earl was following established fashions for collecting Italian old masters of monumental history paintings and elegant pastoral landscapes with medium-to-small figures, as well as following the last two monarchs in patronising contemporary British decorative painting on a grand scale. Pembroke's

patronage during the 1640s therefore exemplifies some continuity of practice and taste despite the political upheaval (albeit also influenced by that upheaval).

While not out of keeping with the previous court fashions, Pembroke's new scheme was a far cry from the types of building and decorative work Lady Anne Clifford was patronising in the early 1650s. While Lady Anne was restoring her archaic castles, churches and other ancillary buildings, finishing touches were being applied to the earl's programme of Classical, Italianate, and even, as Evelyn comments, chimneypieces 'after the *French* best manner'.[204] Lady Anne was distanced from the extensive networks of artists in London as the North of England was further than most London-based craftsman were willing to travel. However, Wiltshire was well within range, and Webb used a team of local and London craftsmen and London-based painters, some of whom he had worked with before for Jones.[205] Pembroke's employment of a designer, Webb, and the painters Emanuel de Critz and Edward Pearce, all from London, likewise demonstrates the continued demand for London-based artists throughout the Civil War period.

The Hunting Room by Edward Pearce Senior

While the architecture of the south front of Wilton, and the decorative scheme of the Single and Double Cube rooms, have been analysed in some detail,[206] the 'Hunting Room', and its painter, have not received the attention that they perhaps deserve.[207] This is partly because of issues of access, as the room remains part of the current earl's private apartments at Wilton and is not included in the visitor route. Another reason for its oversight is possibly because the room has been remodelled at some point between Campbell's plan in *Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1717 and De Clermont's

---

[204] Webb based his chimney-pieces at Wilton and elsewhere on designs by the French artists Jean Barbet and Jean Cotelle. Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 44.
[205] Colvin, "The South Front of Wilton House," 187–8.
[206] Heward, "The Restoration of the South Front of Wilton House," 78–117; Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*; Bold, *John Webb*; Colvin, "The South Front of Wilton House," 181–90; Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – I," 1044–48; Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – II," 1113; Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – III," 1176–80; Bold, "Georgian Exemplars: John Webb's Country Houses," 36–48.
[207] The exception is the recent article on the Hunting Room by Mireille Galinou. Galinou, "Painting the Chase: The Hunting Room at Wilton House," 62–65. In terms of Edward Pearce, Dr Gordon Higgott is leading research into Pearce's drawing style, which has led to many new attributions and re-attributions: Gordon Higgot and A. V. Grimstone, "Drawings by Edward Pearce the Elder (fl.1630-d.1658)," Forthcoming.

additions in c.1735. The space is larger than the original Passage Room and has been padded-out with extra inset panels of decorated hunting trophies that have been attributed to De Clermont.[208]

Fortunately, there are some contemporary accounts of the room's layout and its artist. Aubrey provides a useful description:

> The anti-roome to the great roome of state is the first roome as you come up staires from the garden, and the great panells of wainscot are painted with the huntings of Tempesta, by that excellent master in landskip Mr. Edmund Piers. He did also paint all the grotesco-painting about the new buildings.[209]

This suggests, perhaps unlike that in the other state rooms, the decoration of the Passage Room is partially reflected by its function: the earl was a passionate huntsman and this room was the entry point to the great outdoors.

It would make sense that an accomplished artist such as Edward Pearce would be selected for the work. Pearce lived in the London parish of St Botoph's, Aldersgate and, according to Symonds, was based on Bishopsgate Street in about 1652: 'Pierce in Bishopsgate Street says Bradshaw is the only man that doth understand perspective of all the Painters in London'.[210] This praise was echoed by Buckeridge, who recorded that Pearce was 'a good history and landskip painter', and that he 'also drew architecture, perspective &c. and was much esteemed in his time'.[211] Pearce had been trained by the Painter-Stainer, Rowland Buckett, and himself became a Painter-Stainer, later rising to be a Warden of the Company. Pearce was a versatile artist and, as well as his decorative painting, is known to have produced architectural drawings, stained-glass designs and a series of frieze designs for engraving.[212] He was working as the principal assistant to the King's Sergeant Painter, John de Critz, by the 1630s

---

[208] Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 60–1.
[209] Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, 85.
[210] BL/Egerton MS/1636. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 311.
[211] Roger de Piles and B. Buckeridge, *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters ... Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, An essay towards an English-School, etc*. (London: J. Nutt, 1706), 452–53.
[212] Simon Jervis, "A Seventeenth-Century Book of Engraved Ornament," *The Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986), 894–900 and figs 49–60. Cited in Dr Gordon Higgot and A. V. Grimstone's forthcoming article: Gordon Higgot and A. V. Grimstone, "Drawings by Edward Pearce the Elder (fl.1630-d.1658)," Forthcoming.

and, through such projects, he would have met Jones, Webb and de Critz's son, Emanuel, with whom he would later work at Wilton. He also had a son, who was made free of the Painter-Stainers' Company by patrimony, presumably by his father, and who might have assisted him in his work at Wilton. Pearce was well-connected in the art world in London and might also have worked in Oxford during the First Civil War: the Royalist portrait painter in Oxford, William Dobson, is recorded as having painted Pearce's portrait, although this could have been painted upon Dobson's return to London.[213] Pearce died in 1658 at Belvoir Castle, where he was working with Webb on a decorative project for John Manners, 8th Earl of Rutland. Pearce's career demonstrates the importance of the Painter-Stainers' Company in the continuation of a thriving art trade.

As Aubrey references, the paintings in the Passage Room were based on etchings of hunting scenes by the Italian artist Antonio Tempesta, in particular designs from his *Il primo libbro di chacce*. However, Pearce was not simply a copyist and he made efforts to interpret Tempesta's design for his audience (see fig. 39 for comparative images of Pearce and Tempesta's designs). For example, although Pearce paints the figures hunting exotic animals (such as crocodile, monkey, elephant, lion, ostrich, bear, tiger) as well as less exotic animals (such as bull, stag, goat, goose and boar) in similar attire to that in Tempesta's designs, he paints the figures in more familiar English hunting scenes – hunting fox, hare, setting, storking, and hawking – in contemporary dress. Pearce even seems to have tailored the scheme to include a likeness of his patron: in hawking scene no.1, a figure looking distinctly like Pembroke can be identified looking out at the viewer from the far right of the picture. Another difference was that Pearce's scenes omit the women so prominently displayed in many of the Italian's scenes. This might have been at the request of the earl, whose hunting parties may have been male-only.

Tempesta's scenes suited Pembroke well: not only did they show his favourite pastime of hunting, but their depiction (with a fair amount of artistic licence) of far-

---

[213] 'There is a fine head of Mr Pierce, the father, in Mr Seamer, the goldsmith's possession, which was painted by Dobson.' De Piles and Buckeridge, *The art of painting,* 453.

away lands was in line with his business interests abroad. Pembroke had a long-standing stake in colonial enterprises by the time he commissioned Pearce's work, as a member of the the Virginia Company from 1612, the North-West Passage Company that year; the East India Company, and the Guiana Company in 1626. In 1628 he received a grant of the islands of Trinidad, Tobago, Barbados, and Fonseca. Such was his reputation that Sir Thomas Herbert's *A Relation of some Yeares Travaile, Begunne anno 1626. Into Afrique and the Greater Asia* (1634) was dedicated to him.[214] However, despite these connections, and unlike other art-loving nobles in the Caroline court such as Lord Arundel, Pembroke was not well travelled and, as Lady Anne details in her *Memorial*, 'Hee was never out of England butt some two months when hee went into France with the other Lords…' to escort Henrietta Maria back to England to marry Charles I in 1625.[215] It is possible that this early visit to France contributed to the earl's condoning of French elements in Webb's redesign of Wilton House interiors, as commented upon by Evelyn.[216] The earl's collection of books might have contained the designs of Jean Cotelle and Jean Barbet, or if Webb did not own it himself he would have been able to access it through his extensive network of artists, dealers and patrons.

The post-c.1735 scheme for the Hunting Room, with De Clermont's additions, is how the room remains today, but for one alteration where the panel depicting the elephant hunt has been removed to make space for the use of a fire. A marked-up drawing of 1802 by another of Wilton's architects, James Wyatt, shows the scheme before this intervention, and gives titles to the works (fig. 40).[217] However, as Colen Campbell's plan of Wilton of 1717 indicates, the original Passage Room would have taken up just over half the size of the current space, meaning the current layout would have been more condensed. This is feasible, given that the eighteenth-century De Clermont panels which currently alternate with Pearce's insets would not have been there. If the same panel insets were used on the same walls as today, this would mean that on the east wall the Hawking/Setting panel would have been moved to join the

---

[214] Smith, "Herbert, Philip," *ODNB*.
[215] *The Great Books*, 211 [1655]; Malay, *Anne Clifford's Great Books of Record*, 815.
[216] Webb based his chimney-pieces at Wilton and elsewhere on designs by the French artists Jean Barbet and Jean Cotelle. Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 44.
[217] WHA, 2057, H3/18/4, James Wyatt, 1802. Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre at Chippenham. I am grateful for Dr Gordon Higgott for providing this reference.

Crocodile/Fox set to the right of the door to the Single Cube Room, leaving the Lion inset above the door; likewise the Bear/Elephant set would come to join the Boar/Tiger panels on the west wall to the south of the window (see format illustrated in fig. 41). The south wall is likely to have remained the same, and notably does not have the De Clermont panels needed for the extension of the other walls. The window would, however, have once been the door to the garden, which is inaccurately shown in Campbell's plan, where he puts the stairs from the garden going up to the large window of the Double Cube Room rather than to the Passage Room. Furthermore, according to Campbell's plan, the north door of the Passage Room would have been in the centre of the room, and not to the right side as it is now. If Campbell's plan is to be trusted in this instance, then this would mean that Pearce's original panel scheme on the north wall would have mirrored that currently on the east wall of the room (minus, of course, the De Clermont panels). If the same panels were used for that wall then this would mean the over-door Bull panel would be flanked by the tall panels of the Ostrich and Stag hunts, with the Monkey and Hare ones below them, as now.

Conclusion to Chapter 2

This investigation into the activities of the established arts patrons Lady Anne Clifford and the 4th Earl of Pembroke during the 1640s has revealed that both continued to patronise major visual arts projects on an ambitious scale in the middle of a period of civil war. At first glance, the pair's patronage during the 1640s proves to be in many ways contrasting in nature. Firstly, Pembroke re-decorated Wilton after the fire along established lines of Caroline courtly taste. The project maintained the principles of the pre-fire re-development, with the elegant Italianate Palladianism espoused by Inigo Jones and upheld by his pupil John Webb, executed by the experienced court painters Edward Pearce and Emanuel de Critz. He opted for marble fireplaces based on fashionable French designs, opulent swags of flowers and fruit, classical, mythical, Arcadian and allegorical stories, and a plethora of decorative wall and ceiling painting that all sought to rival that of the Queen's House and the Banqueting House. This perpetuation of Caroline taste is also apparent in his continued display of his extensive Van Dyck collection at Durham House, with apparent intentions for its display at the finished Wilton House. His continuation in

the established mould of Caroline patronage can also be exemplified in his support for the purchase by public funds of a copy of Van Dyck's *The Great Peece* in the midst of the Civil War years, when he had already established himself as a Parliamentarian, and his relations with the King had broken down.[218]

Pembroke had a taste for the fashionable Palladian-style architecture, with elaborate French interior detailing, and a range of decorative paintings. His wife, on the other hand, increasingly preferred archaic styles of art: triptych narrative painting, reproductions of older portraits, tomb sculpture, monuments, and heavy use of heraldry and inscription. Her emphasis was on restoring her ancient castles rather than incorporating fashionable contemporary architectural additions.

However, a closer look shows that there were also instances of similarity in their types of patronage and their tastes. Both called on the expertise of a London-based network of painters and artisans during the 1640s. Both were early patrons of one of the newest and increasingly fashionable painters on the London arts scene, Sir Peter Lely. This is consistent with Pembroke's patterns of patronage up to this date, having been a leading patron of the previous fashionable London portrait painter, Van Dyck. It would also have been consistent with the trajectory of Lady Anne's early painting patronage, when she patronised the most popular portrait painters, including some those used by Pembroke. However, her patronage of Lely, a fashionable court artist who was also patronised by other members of the elite, lies in seeming contrast to her avoidance of the portraiture of Van Dyck during the 1630s and her subsequent turn to an archaic style of portraiture in *The Great Picture* in the 1640s and, in the 1650s, to more iconic portrayals of herself in paint, on medals, and in heraldic form. The key to understanding Pembroke and Lady Anne's patronage of Lely at around the same date may well be in understanding the use of the portrait. The portraits Pembroke commissioned from Lely were the final product of his act of portrait patronage. Yet, for Lady Anne, the oval portraits, while still undoubtedly displayed and consumed as any other portrait busts, were ultimately a transitionary part of a larger project to produce her two versions of *The Great Picture.* Although both portraits feature the

---

[218] BL/Add./MS./32476 f.28.

patron, familial groupings, and posthumously-painted sitters, Lady Anne did not use Lely as Pembroke had used Van Dyck in the making of the *Pembroke Family*: to take studies of portrait heads with which to turn into a larger group painting. Instead, for whatever reason, Lely was not apparently the painter of the final *Great Picture,* and the work differs to the *Pembroke Family* in its more old-fashioned aesthetic.

Nevertheless, while the pair may have generally differed in terms of their stylistic preferences, they were on the same page when it came to other elements of courtly visual display. Both patronised art which alluded in some way to their ancestry and the strength of their family line using a variety of chivalric devices. This was a fundamental characteristic of courtly visual display memorialised in the work of Van Dyck for Charles I and his family, such as *The Great Peece,* but also a pattern evident in art commissions by monarchs and leading courtiers for over a century, such as Holbein's Whitehall mural. Pembroke's commissioning of an enormous dynastic portrait, *The Pembroke Family,* from the leading painter of the day and his patronage of an ambitious new architectural and decorative scheme at Wilton during the 1630s, was followed in the 1640s by commissions for scenes from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, in homage to the family connection, along with portraits of himself and his heir immortalised in his favourite the courtly pastime of hunting. Meanwhile, Lady Anne commissioned her *Great Picture* and other copies, as well as medals, monuments, heraldry and inscriptions, with the same intention of memorialising herself and her family for posterity. Both patrons used art to mark key moments in their lives and to provide signifiers of their identity. Both memorialised family members in posthumous portraiture, and each used portraiture to celebrate the strength of their family dynasty. This suggests that, though the stylistic tastes of Lady Anne and Lord Pembroke in the 1640s were – with the exception of Lely – distinctly different, the intentions of their patronage were in many respects similar. The evidence of the activities of these two patrons therefore demonstrates that it was not only possible but entirely natural and normal for members of the elite, who had been arts patrons in previous decades, to have continued to patronise, collect and commission art even during the 1640s and 1650s.

The cases of Lady Anne and Lord Pembroke also show that patrons of markedly different artistic tastes – extending to elaborate naturalistic and grotesque work, large-

scale decorative painting, small- and large-scale single and group portraiture, epic history, pastoral landscape scenes, and painted copies – could be catered for by the London painting world during this period. The pair's patronage confirms that high-quality painting services were already available years before William Sanderson published his views on the versatility and quality of the 'English Modern Masters' active in 1658. Furthermore, these case studies show that the London art world was capable of providing artisans with the skills to meet patrons' demands for major painting projects, which is strong evidence of its ability to successfully subsist during the wartime years.

CHAPTER 3

Grand Designs of the Civil Wars and Interregnum: The Patronage and Collecting of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland (1602-1668) and Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham of Lamport (1611-1675), c.1640-1660

Introduction

In an entry of 9 June 1658, the diarist and connoisseur, John Evelyn (1620-1706), recorded that he had visited the Earl of Northumberland's picture collection at his riverside London mansion, Northumberland House. Evelyn lists what he saw to be the highlights of the earl's collection, as well as making a damning remark about the south front of the house and its recently added staircase designed by John Webb (1611-1672):

> I went to see the Ear[l]e of *Northumberlands* Pictures, whereoff that of the *Venetian* Senators was one of the best of *Titians*, & another of *Andrea de Sarta*, viz, a *Madona*, *Christ*, St. *John* & an old Woman &c: a St. Catharine of *Da Vinci*, with divers Portraits of *V. Dyke*, a Nativity of *Georgioni*: The last of our blessed Kings, & D: of *Yorke* by *Lilly*: A rosarie of flo: by the famous *Jesuite of Bruxells* & severall more: This was in Suffolck house: The new front towards the Gardens, is tolerable, were it not drown'd by a too massie, & clowdy pair of stayers of stone, without any neeate Invention.[1]

Although it represents just one man's subjective response to another's choices of art and architectural display, this short passage alludes to a number of key characteristics which are – as this chapter will show – apparent across the spectrum of elite patronage and collecting of the 1640s and 1650s.

---

[1] Evelyn, *Diary,* 357.

This chapter will build on previous fragmentary research that has shown that elite patrons and collectors on both sides of the political divide had money to spend in the 1640s and 1650s and continued to patronise the arts.[2] This chapter will continue this line of enquiry through an assessment of the activities of two individuals who ostensibly represent the different extremes of elite art consumer of the time. These are Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland (1602-1668), whose painting collection so impressed Evelyn and whose building developments did not; and Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham of Lamport (1611-1675) who, by the time of Evelyn's visit to Northumberland House, was putting the finishing touches to his own extension of Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire, also designed by John Webb.

At first glance, Northumberland and Isham might seem a pair dominated by contrasts rather than similarities. Both are best known as representatives of polar ends of the political and social spectrum of the elite: one a Protestant senior courtier who supported Parliament during the Civil Wars and was based in the heart of London; the other, a minor member of the High Anglican gentry who, as a Royalist, spent the 1650s in 'internal exile'[3] in the countryside. With apparently differing experiences, priorities and financial resources, it is easy to presume the pair would have differing artistic tastes and patronage activities over these years. On the contrary, however, the duo's patronage and collecting proves comparable in a number of ways. This provides evidence to indicate that the Civil Wars and Interregnum did not completely disrupt the patronage and collecting practices of previous decades, and that there was in fact some continuity in patronage and collecting through the 1640s and 1650s.

The first insight that can be picked out of Evelyn's record of his visit is the complex relationship between the traditional political camps of 'Royalists' and

---

[2] Studies that address the activities of individual art patrons during the Civil Wars and Interregnum include those on the Earl of Northumberland by Jeremy Wood, and Hilary Maddicott's work on Lord Viscount Lisle: Jeremy Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," in *English Architecture, Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes,* ed. John Bold and Edward Chaney (London: Hambledon Press, 1993): 55-80; Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland: Taste and Collecting in Stuart England," *Studies in the History of Art* 46, Symposium Papers XXVI: Van Dyck 350 (1994): 280–324; Maddicott, "A Collection of the Interregnum Period," 1–24. See also examples of patronage and collecting in the 1640s and 1650s cited by Bernard Capp and Linda Levy Peck: Peck, "Luxury and War," 1–23; Peck, *Consuming Splendor*; Capp, *England's Culture Wars*.

[3] Philip Major, *Writings of Exile in the English Revolution and Restoration* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 24.

'Parliamentarians'. Evelyn, like Isham, came from an avowedly Royalist, Anglican family but, as an untitled second son of minor gentry, he was evidently perceived as a non-threat by Parliament and, following a brief self-imposed exile on the Continent, was allowed to reside in London during the Interregnum with apparently only limited controls on his activities as his diaries and letters reveal.[4] Although there were certainly others, like Evelyn, who were genuinely devoted to one side of the political divide, historians must be careful not to pigeonhole Royalists and Parliamentarians (and likewise Anglicans and 'Puritans') as the divisions were not so simple, and many individuals acted in ways that suggested split or shifting allegiances in these years. Northumberland was a Protestant who supported the cause of Parliament during the 1640s, but retreated from public life during the Protectorate due to his objection to the regicide of Charles I. In contrast, Isham strongly identified as a Royalist and an Anglican. As such, he was viewed with suspicion by Parliament, who imprisoned him on three occasions;[5] yet he maintained a wide network of contacts spanning the political and religious spectrum. A more extreme example is provided by the property developer, Humphrey Weld (1612-1685) of Lulworth Castle, as his biographer, Roderick Clayton, summarises:

> Weld's life was full of ... paradoxes ... though a royalist, he had supplied four cannon to Parliament; while buying expensive art from abroad, he pleaded poverty at home, and while some of those pieces were devotional and his servants all Catholics, he managed to evade the oath of abjuration.[6]

It seems that, as the country settled into the Protectorate in the 1650s, despite some Royalist plots, many individuals such as Weld and Evelyn looked beyond their personal political preferences and found a way to continue their preferred way of life and co-exist as far as possible in the circumstances – especially, it seems, in regard to artistic expression.[7] Therefore we encounter Evelyn at the house of a Parliamentarian

---

[4] Evelyn, *Diary*, ix; John Evelyn, *The Letterbooks of John Evelyn* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).
[5] Sir Justinian was 'imprisoned as a delinquent in 1649 ... again imprisoned in 1655 and 1658.' Gyles Isham, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire* (London: 1988), 11.
[6] Roderick Clayton, "Weld, Humphrey (1612–1685)," *ODNB* (12 Mar. 2018).
[7] Julia F. Merritt and Robert Rudge have explored the extent to which members of the nobility, including royalists, moved between the countryside and the capital, and the extent to which a 'fashionable' society reconstructed itself in the capital in the 1650s. Julia F. Merritt, *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Robert Rudge, "Negotiating Defeat: English Royalism, 1646-1660" (University of Nottingham PhD, 2016).

as an art tourist, and we find Isham commissioning designs from two architects who also worked for the Parliamentarians: art transcended political barriers.

However, it was not just elite connoisseurs of art who found a way to bridge the complicated political and religious divides of the times, but also many of the art practitioners. The architect for both Isham and Northumberland, John Webb, began the 1640s as distinctly Royalist: he had been a pupil of the Surveyor of the King's Works, Inigo Jones (1573-1652) and had been imprisoned for smuggling £500 of funds to the King at Beverley at the beginning of the First Civil War.[8] However, after Webb had been dropped as Jones's successor and replaced by Edward Carter,[9] he showed pragmatism and business acumen amidst the unpredictable political climate of the 1640s and 1650s by working across the country for clientele that spanned the political, religious and social spectrum, based from his office in Scotland Yard, London.[10] Despite their different political allegiances, his clients were all members or acquaintances of the court of Charles I – all except Sir Justinian Isham,[11] whom Webb seems to have met via their mutual friend, Henry Cogan (d.1655).[12]

Webb was not the only architect active between 1640 and 1660.[13] Others of the period included Edward Carter, who directed building work on Northumberland House and was Surveyor from 1643 until 1653, and Peter Mills, who built Thorpe Hall between 1653 and 1656 for the Lord Chief Justice, Oliver St John.[14] Webb's high level of activity – and those of his rivals – in these years, is a testament to the fact that, against the backdrop of the Civil Wars and, to a greater extent, during the Interregnum, both Royalists and Parliamentarians of the nobility and gentry continued to build and

---

[8] TNA PRO SP 29/5, 74.1. Cited in Bold, *John Webb,* 3.
[9] Bold, *John Webb*, 2.
[10] His other employers included Royalists such as Henry Mordaunt, 2nd Earl of Peterborough (1621–1697) at Drayton House, Northamptonshire, and Parliamentarians, such as the 4th Earl of Pembroke (1584-1650) (and the 5th Earl) at Wilton House, Wiltshire, and also non-titled persons associated with Parliament such as Chaloner Chute (1642-1666) at The Vyne, Hampshire. Webb's functioning across social, political and religious boundaries is discussed in depth in Kimberley Skelton, "Redefining Hospitality: The Leisured World of the 1650s English Country House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 4 (2009): 506.
[11] As noted in Skelton, "Redefining Hospitality," 506.
[12] As indicated by letters published in Duppa, *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa,* 70-1, n.2.
[13] The term 'architect' is here used anachronistically as it did not yet exist as a profession as such, yet, as Webb's biographer John Bold states: Webb was 'England's first trained professional architect'. Bold, *John Webb*, 1. Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 5.
[14] Mowl and Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings*, 19. Oliver Hill and John Cornforth, *English Country Houses: Caroline, 1625-85* (London: Country Life, 1966), 22-26.

develop their houses, contradicting the received understanding that these years were a time of little cultural activity.[15]

Despite sharing an architect, the motivations Webb's client base had for raising walls and updating interior designs arguably differed. On the one hand, the spate of new building work by Parliamentarians in the 1650s perhaps reflected a need to assert their political and social standing through the adoption of a status symbol of the traditional language of power: architecture. For those Parliamentarians who were nobles, such as Northumberland, this method of expression would have come naturally; for those without courtly credentials, such building would confirm social status. Conversely, on the part of the Royalists such as Isham, banished as 'delinquents' from London, improving their stately piles reflected a wish to continue in the same vein of the Caroline era and retain or reinstate some semblance of the elite status they or their family had enjoyed previously. Humiliated, having had their official posts retracted, and forced to pay to retrieve their seized property and possessions, it is unsurprising that they desired to establish a certain control and restored dignity via the solid form of architecture.

New or redeveloped buildings necessitated new or refreshed interiors, featuring panelling, mirrors, tapestries and other wall hangings, sculpture display and, of course, pictures. Many, therefore, if not all, of Webb's clients looked to commission or collect works of art to complete their design projects. Both Northumberland and Isham acquired works of art to display in their new spaces and, in doing so, demonstrated their cultural refinement and similar taste in pictures. Moreover, Webb not only headed the architectural programme for Northumberland and Isham, but also played a role in the selection and purchase of pictures for the collection, and the layout of these works within the spaces he designed.

Evelyn's comment on Northumberland House also provides a useful starting point for discussion about attitudes to the collecting and display of 'Old Master' and contemporary painting in this period. It is significant that, in Evelyn's appraisal, he

---

[15] For the first sustained revisionist discussion of this phenomenon, see Mowl and Earnshaw, *Architecture without Kings*.

does not make a distinction between the old and newer paintings and intersperses the names on his list so that the Old Master, Leonardo da Vinci, is followed by a more recent fashionable artist, Sir Anthony van Dyck, then another Old Master, Giorgione, then the up-and-coming artist, Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). This was representative of attitudes of other art collectors at the time such as Pembroke, Northumberland and Isham, who commissioned and purchased contemporary paintings as well as collected Old Master paintings and hung them alongside each other. This mix of painting might have been inferred in part by the fact that, during the mid-seventeenth century, what modern scholars now regard as the European canon of art was still in the making, and many key Renaissance artists were of very recent or even living memory. Moreover, to further blur the distinction between 'contemporary' and 'historic' painting, the reproduction print market and the business of copying paintings, remained active over the Civil Wars and Interregnum.[16] As we shall see, against Webb's advice, Isham bought several painted copies of old and more recent masters. Northumberland himself employed at least one copyist, Symon Stone (active 1646-1671), to create duplicates and versions of works in his own collection as gifts, and possibly also to sell on.

In particular, Evelyn's notes on his visit to Northumberland House demonstrate the continued appreciation of Titian and Van Dyck into the 1650s. Evelyn begins his report by singling out a group portrait by Titian of 'the Venetian Senators' – now identified as *The Vendramin Family* – as 'one of the best of Titians' (fig. 42).[17] This statement is not only a demonstration of Evelyn's knowledge of Titian's oeuvre and his confidence in his own connoisseurial abilities, but also possibly echoes the opinion provided by his host. After all, the earl purchased *The Vendramin Family* at great expense from the dispersed estate of Van Dyck. Appreciation of Titian and the Venetian masters was already all the rage on the Continent by the time Charles I and other courtiers began collecting these works in the 1620s,[18] and, as this chapter will

---

[16] For analysis of the print market in these years, see Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1998); Also see Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
[17]Evelyn, *Diary*, 357. Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 2:147; Cecil H. M. Gould, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1975), 284–87.
[18] See, for example, Edward Chaney, ed., *The Evolution of English Collecting: The Reception of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003); Susan Bracken and Robert Hill, "Sir Isaac Wake, Venice and Art Collecting in Early Stuart England: A New Document," *Journal of the History of Collections* 24, no. 2 (2012): 183–98;

demonstrate, the elite retained staunchly Italianate taste throughout the 1640s and 1650s. Van Dyck collected Titian's pictures and drew on the Italian master's techniques, composition, colouring and style in his own work.[19] Not unsurprisingly, therefore, Northumberland both collected Titians, and became one of Van Dyck's most enthusiastic patrons in the 1630s. As Evelyn notes, he owned many portraits by Van Dyck, including his own, and he never sat again for another artist. Isham still aspired to such kinds of patronage but could not afford fine originals by Titian. He could only afford a small, damaged Van Dyck picture, so instead collected copies of the work of both artists.

There are two telling signs of the similarity in taste of the two men. Firstly, Isham commissioned a large copy of Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine*, an unfinished version of which was in Northumberland's collection. Secondly, Isham chose as the centrepiece to his new 'High Room' a copy of Titian's *Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier*, the original of which was by that time displayed at Northumberland House.

This chapter will explore elite patronage and collecting of the 1640s and 1650s through the two case studies of Isham and Northumberland. In doing so, it will seek to assess how, and to what extent, these figures were able to maintain activity as elite patrons and collectors of painting during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. It will also investigate the extent to which artistic tastes changed across the elite spectrum during this period, as well as offering new insights on the respective picture collections and their hang.

Jonathan Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[19] For example, compare Titian's Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier (c.1536–9) (Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, Wethey, *Titian*, 2:78, no. 8) and Van Dyck's Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford, with Sir Philip Mainwaring (1639–40) (Trustees of the Rt Hon Olive, Countess Filtzwilliam's Chattels Settlement and Lady Juliet Tedgell).

The Art Patronage of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland (1602-1668), during the Civil Wars and Interregnum

Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland, came from a family distinguished for their lineage of great 'antiquity and splendor'.[20] The Percys were especially powerful in the North of England, where they had owned land for generations, but had for years resided principally in their properties in the South. Algernon's early education was overseen by his father, Henry Percy, the 9th Earl, and he was described at the age of thirteen as more likely to 'be an inward man than one that will make a great noise'.[21] The earl's youthful introversion and studiousness seems to have developed into an air of studied aloofness, as he was later described by Clarendon as 'the proudest man alive'.[22] Algernon continued his studies at St John's College, Cambridge and at the Middle Temple in London, and then went travelling across the Continent for six years. He succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father in November 1632, which was notably the year Sir Anthony van Dyck returned for his second stay in London. Northumberland rose steadily in seniority at court, being appointed the Master of the Horse in 1632, sworn into the Privy Council and invested as a Knight of the Garter in 1635 and, in 1638, appointed Lord Admiral of the Navy.[23]

Perhaps stemming from a desire to mark his growing status, and following in the footsteps of established patrons of the arts such as Thomas Howard, the 14th Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), Northumberland began expanding his art collection in the 1630s, making purchases of 'pictures of diverse kindes'.[24] Van Dyck was the most popular artist among the Caroline courtiers, and the earl soon established himself as one of painter's main patrons in England, commissioning several portraits of himself and his family (fig. 43).[25] By the outbreak of civil war, therefore, Northumberland had

---

[20] Clarendon, *The history of the rebellion,* vol. 2, 537, cited in George A. Drake, "Percy, Algernon, tenth earl of Northumberland (1602–1668)," *ODNB* (12 Mar. 2018).
[21] G. R. Batho, "The education of a Stuart nobleman," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 5, no. 2 (1957), 131-43. Cited in Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220.
[22] Clarendon, *The history of the rebellion*, vol. 3, 495.
[23] Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220.
[24] ACA/SH/U.I.5 (unnumbered). The Account of Peter Dodesworth for foreign payments from 14 January 1633/1634 to 16 January 1634/1635. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 289, and transcribed in Appendix IV, 6. C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield* (London: Medici Society, 1920), 30, no. 289.
[25] For which he paid £200 in 1635. Jeremy Wood, "Dyck, Sir Anthony [formerly Antoon] Van (1599–1641)," *ODNB* (12 Mar. 2018).

already established himself as a leading patron of the arts. However, his patronage of art and architecture was to reach new heights in the two decades that followed.[26] This increase in Northumberland's patronage activity in the years of civil war, Commonwealth and Protectorate was due to a combination of factors which reveal much about the state of the painting market in London and elite artistic tastes of the 1640s and 1650s.

Two Strand Palaces

Two important factors which came to bear on the earl's capacity to be a patron of the arts throughout the Civil Wars and Interregnum were his purchase in 1642 of Suffolk House,[27] subsequently entitled Northumberland House, on the Strand (fig. 44), and his association with the Buckingham collection through renting the adjacent York House.

The purchase of Suffolk House was part of the settlement of his second marriage on 1 October 1642 to Lady Elizabeth Howard (c.1608-1695).[28] A letter of 16 June 1640 from Northumberland to Viscount Conway suggests that the earl had desired to obtain the property for some time, raising the possibility that his choice of marriage might have been informed by his real estate ambitions.[29] The earl made steps in that direction that year when he became the tenant of the Duchess of Buckingham (d.1649) and her new husband the Earl of Antrim at York House.[30] York House was splendidly furnished and contained the rich art collection of the Duchess's late

---

[26] For the first and most in-depth study of the 10th Earl of Northumberland as a patron of painting, featuring transcriptions of Symonds's, Evelyn's and Stone's accounts of the collection, and excerpts from the Percy household accounts, see Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 280–324; for the closest assessments of Northumberland's patronage of architecture, based on the building accounts now split between Syon and Alnwick, see Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 55–80. Also for Northumberland House, see Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 211–251. For other assessments of Northumberland as an architectural patron, see Bold, *John Webb,* and also an unpublished MA thesis by F. Allardyce at the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, of 1987, entitled "The Patronage of the 9th and 10th Earls of Northumberland: A Comparison."

[27] The large four-towered courtyard 'palace' had been built by Lord Henry Howard, 1st Earl of Northampton (d.1614) between 1605 and 1614 and, as such, was much newer and homogenous in its design in comparison to other houses on the street. After the 10th Earl of Northumberland died, the house survived through various redevelopments until it was eventually demolished in 1874.

[28] Algernon had married Lady Anne Cecil (1612-37) in 1629; she died in 1637. For details of the marriage settlement to Lady Elizabeth Howard see Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 216–18.

[29] CSPD, 1640, 305-6, transcribed in Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 217; Wood also speculates this in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 282.

[30] Various accounts show payments for half a year's rent in 1640, then a year's rent, followed by further irregular payments through the 1640s, and a final payment in midsummer 1647. ACA/SH/U.I.5. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 282, n.12.

husband, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628), who had also been a patron of Van Dyck.[31]

Unusually for a high-ranking courtier, up until this stage Northumberland had not owned a house in London, let alone a residence on the Strand.[32] The mansions lining the Strand had long been the preferred London location of courtiers, being near to the centre of political power at Whitehall and with direct access to the River Thames. Notably, despite the political turbulence, the street remained the most desirable location in London during the 1640s.[33] It is understandable, therefore, that the earl was keen to make his mark by becoming the proud owner of a patrician mansion on the Strand, one which was, incidentally, the closest to Whitehall. In finally owning (and renting) houses on the Strand, Northumberland marked himself as a major player of the London elite: albeit a decade or so late, he had finally 'arrived'.

However, as a home designed for a bachelor, Suffolk House was wholly unsuited to a married household and needed altering.[34] It seems the earl solved this problem by continuing to rent and reside principally at York House until its lease ran out in 1647,[35] giving him the freedom to carry out major structural and decorative work on his new property a stone's throw away. This was the first major building programme Northumberland embarked on, having only made minor changes to his properties in the 1630s.[36] This redevelopment work was carried out in two main stages. The first stage was overseen by the architect, Edward Carter (d.1663) and consisted of re-locating the living apartments from the north side of the house, to a re-designed south wing in the style of Inigo Jones between 1642 and 1649, with elements of work continuing until 1652/3.[37] A few years later, from 1655 to 1657, the earl had an external staircase built for Northumberland House under the direction of the architect, John Webb (fig. 45). He also had Webb draw up further re-designs of the house's

---

[31] During his brief visit over the winter of 1620-1, Van Dyck painted *The Continence of Scipio* for the Duke of Buckingham. It is now at Christchurch Picture Gallery, Oxford, inv. JBS 245.
[32] Previously, in the 1630s, Northumberland had rented Dorset House on Fleet Street, which was nearer the City of London than Westminster. See Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 282, n.11.
[33] As noted in Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 217.
[34] The unsuitability of the house to Northumberland's needs has been inferred from the fact he almost immediately began altering Suffolk House, whilst still living at York House. Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 222.
[35] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 282, 316, n.12.
[36] According to analysis of the Percy building accounts in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 56.
[37] According to the building accounts cited in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 71.

interiors up until 1660, which may well have been executed.[38] The earl also invested in an elaborate scheme of carving in the new interiors of Northumberland House,[39] and bought a series of antique sculptures to display on his new south terrace, for which Webb designed plinths.[40]

Why Northumberland had employed Carter and not Webb for the first stage of building work is a matter of conjecture. The earl may have been mindful of Parliament's decision to drop Webb from the role of acting Surveyor, a position he had assumed in place of the disgraced Inigo Jones.[41] Indeed, Carter – who had also been a pupil of Jones – was instrumental in Webb's fall from favour, and displaced him as acting Surveyor, before himself becoming the Surveyor of the King's Works in 1643.[42] Carter had as good credentials as Webb at this stage – having worked for Jones on the new St Paul's Cathedral, and on the scheme for the Covent Garden for the Earl of Bedford – and brought craftsmen with him who had also previously been employed by the Office of Works.[43] Having had their standard channel of patronage dry up, after both the King and Jones left London in 1642, these men must have been pleased to find immediate re-employment.

By the time of Northumberland's second project in 1655, Webb had developed his independent practice and client base, and was therefore a less risky choice. His office was also in Scotland Yard, which conveniently backed onto Northumberland House (fig. 46). Webb brought with him the mason, Edward Marshall (c.1598-1675), and an

---

[38] Although the mason who built the staircase was Edward Marshall, the design is now known to be by Webb. This attribution is supported by a payment in 1658-9 to Leonard Gammon 'by the appointment of Mr Webb for large paper for draughtes and designes for Syon and Northumberland house for 5 yeares past'. PHA 5906. The Account of Robert Scawen for the year ending 7 March 1658/9. Allardyce, "Patronage," 20, attributed the design of the stairs to Marshall. Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 72. This attribution is supported by Bold, *John Webb*, 162–64; also see discussion in Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 237.

[39] The majority of the carving was executed by Zachary Taylor, with Henry Stone providing marble fireplaces. Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 66–68.

[40] PHA 5893. Cited in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 73.

[41] See discussion of this in Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 223.

[42] Howard M. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, III, 3, 1485-1660, part 1 (London: HMSO, 1975), 156. Cited in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 59; Arthur T. Bolton, "The Wren MS 'Court Orders' with a supplement of official papers, etc.," *Wren Society* 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), 155, cited in Bold, *John Webb*, 3 and 162; For discussion of this topic and of some of Carter's former work for Inigo Jones see Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 222–23.

[43] These included the mason, Thomas Steevens, the previous Sergent Plumber and future Surveyor (and Carter's neighbour) John Embree, and the wood carver, Zachary Taylor. The principal rooms were decorated by Taylor, Thomas Simson, the carpenter Richard Veasey, and the painter, John Gomersall. The stonecutter, Henry Stone (son of Nicholas) also provided a series of marble chimney pieces for the property, and William Hollins and John Martin executed an apparently rather simple plasterwork scheme. ACA/SH/U.III.2. Cited in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 59, 62, 66–8, n. 71; Bold, *John Webb*, 164; Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 223.

experienced team.[44] The earl must have been pleased with their work on Northumberland House, as between 1657 and 1662 he also set them to work rebuilding his country property, Syon House, which had been damaged by Royalist soldiers in 1643.[45] For this, they were joined by other craftsmen who had previously worked on Northumberland House.[46]

In carrying out these expensive building projects, it is clear Northumberland remained wealthy during the 1640s and 1650s. Having paid the £15,000[47] due to his wife's family for Northumberland House via three instalments in the early 1640s, he spent a vast amount on its re-development and maintenance. It has been estimated that the earl spent £6,570 18s. 0d. on his remodeling of the house by Carter between 1642-49, while close to £2,000 more was spent constructing Webb's exterior staircase and rearranging the staterooms from 1655 to 1657.[48] Furthermore, accounts show that even more was spent on Syon House: approximately £9,370.[49] To this spending must be added the £350 a year the earl was paying to rent York House between 1640 and 1646, plus the £40 he paid annually to a caretaker and other related upkeep costs.[50] In addition to York House, Northumberland House, and Syon House, Northumberland also had to maintain his country residence, Petworth House in West Sussex. This flexible living setup may have been convenient, but it was not financially efficient. Nevertheless, the lack of time pressure combined with the inspiration from York

---

[44] Webb possibly employed Marshall through not wanting to split loyalties by staffing workmen of his rival, Carter, but also because he had experience of the quality of Marshall's work when employing him as mason for remodeling The Vyne for Chaloner Chute the year before. Northumberland might have also heard of this work, and thought he was the man for the job. Marshall was joined for this period of work on Northumberland House by Maurice Emmett, a bricklayer, and the carpenter, Richard Ryder, who had also worked for Webb at Wilton House, as well as the carpenter, Erasmus Armstrong, and the carvers Richard and Robert Cleare. The iron railing and balusters were painted by Edward Pearce (of the family of Painter-Stainers). According to the building accounts (ACA/SH/U.III.3: Building Accounts 1655-7) Marshall was paid £200 for building 'the great stone Staires which leads from the dyning roome downe the Tarrace'. Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 237–38; PHA 5896 and 5906. Cited in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 72–74; ACA/SH/U.III.2. Cited in Bold, *John Webb*, 164.

[45] Wood discovered that proposals by John Webb and Edward Marshall for the rebuilding of Syon were in fact put into execution between 1657 and 1663, negating Bold's assessment that Webb's planned work at Syon was 'apparently unexecuted'. Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 76; Bold, *John Webb*, 170.

[46] Richard and Robert Cleare, Emmett, Ryder, and Embree, who by that stage taken over from Carter as the Surveyor of the King's Works. They were joined by the additional craftsmen William Cleare (carver), Gerald Strong (carpenter), and Gideon Gibson (bricklayer). PHA 5896, 5906, 5915, 5934. Cited in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 77.

[47] Although £5,000 of the purchase price was remitted in payment of the bride's dowry. See ACA/SH/U.I.6: General Household Accounts by Henry Tayler, 1642-3 (BL Microfilm 391). Cited in Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 218.

[48] Estimates based on the household and building accounts of 1655-7 vary. Wood states £1,728 5s. 0d. was spent on 'the addition of an exterior staircase' in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 55; Whereas Guerci states £1,828 5s. 8d. was spent on 'the erection of an external staircase connecting the garden to the state rooms on the first floor, which were rearranged to receive it'. See Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 221.

[49] Based on research into the Percy household and building accounts, cited in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 55.

[50] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 281.

House's interiors may even have encouraged the earl to be more ambitious in his building and decorating scheme than he would otherwise have been.

Northumberland's picture collection

In addition to this luxury spending on architecture commissions and their associated costs, the earl also continued to develop his picture collection. The varied ways in which he added to his collection are indicative of a healthy London painting market. Firstly, Northumberland used his knowledge of the contents of York House and his political influence – or at least leveraged Parliamentary indebtedness – to obtain several paintings from this collection. In 1643, the Commons gave orders for money to be raised from the sale of the sequestrated collection of the Royalist 2nd Duke of Buckingham at York House,[51] but a report to Parliament of 14 April 1645 details that none of the pictures – valued at £20,000 – had yet been sold.[52] Fearing the house he lived in would be unceremoniously stripped of its outstanding art collection, on the 23 April Northumberland objected to the Commons that his living situation at the house would be greatly diminished. He proposed an arrangement in which his rent would be paid while he re-decorated, and that he would claim 'some of the smaller Pictures in consideration of' the £360 the state still owed him for his support of the Parliamentary cause.[53] Shortly after, on 23 July, the committee set up to investigate the pictures reported that all 'superstitious' religious works that offended Parliament's Puritan sensibilities would be burned, and the rest sold, but no further mention was made of the earl's proposal.[54]

Although evidence is incomplete, it seems Northumberland seems to have got his way, as at least twelve works are proven to have been transferred from the Buckingham collection to that of Northumberland over the coming years.[55] From an

---

[51] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 316, n.13. See also John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 302–12; and Philip MacEvansoneya, "The Sequestration and Dispersal of the Buckingham Collection," *Journal of the History of Collections* 8, no. 2 (1996): 133–154.
[52] TNA/PRO/SP/99/15 cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 281 and n.3.
[53] *Journals of the House of Commons* 4, 120-1. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 281, n. 4.
[54] L. Whitacre, House of Commons Proceedings 1641-1647, BL Add. MS 31, 116, fol. 206v. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 281, n.8.
[55] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 285.

account given by Richard Symonds (1617-1660) of his visit to Northumberland House on 27 December 1652,[56] it is evident that at least four paintings previously in the Buckingham collection had ended up in that of Northumberland by this date. These were Titian's *Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier*,[57] a picture of a bare-breasted old woman by Palma Vecchio,[58] and two paintings of the Virgin and Child by, or after, Andrea del Sarto.[59] The *Corsini Madonna* has been re-attributed as an original by Del Sarto and remains in the family collection at one of the 10th Earl of Northumberland's properties, Petworth House. The second Del Sarto has been identified as that mentioned in the Buckingham inventory: *The Madonna and Child with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant John the Baptist*.[60] It is also possible that a church interior by Hendrick van Steenwijck the younger (c.1580-1649) in the National Trust collection at Petworth is the 'Stenwich. An inside of a church very rare & good' mentioned by Symonds and the 'great Perspective' of a church interior by Hendrick van Steenwijck previously recorded in the Buckingham collection.[61] However, the artist did many works of this type. Other contenders that lack sufficient evidence are a nativity by Bassano, and a portrait of a man by Tintoretto and another by Holbein.[62]

It is not known which of these items were 'saved' by Northumberland from the list of pictures which offended the arbiters of Parliamentary Protestant taste, but it is possible that the devotional scenes of the Virgin and Child meant for Italian Catholic consumption, and the salacious secular content of the Palma, might have qualified.

---

[56] Richard Symonds' notes on the pictures at Northumberland House in 1652. BL Egerton MSS 1636, fols 91v, 92r, 92v, 93r. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*. Also transcribed in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," Appendix I. Symonds' account states how he was shown 'The Collection of ye Earle of Northumbld in Suffolke house' by 'Mr Stone who coppyes' and details the works he saw. Stone is now known to be Symon Stone, as the Percy accounts show he was a long-term employee, working as a copyist and curator in the 1640s, a decorative painter in the late 1650s and early 1660s, and as an appraiser of the collection on the death of the 11th Earl in 1671. As cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 295, and Appendix IV. Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 235, ns 137 and 138.

[57] See Michael Jaffé, "The Picture of the Secretary of Titian," *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 756 (Mar. 1966): 114–26; Wethey, *Titian*, 2:78, no. 8. Regarding the picture's presence in the Buckingham collection see Randall Davies, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc. at York House in 1635," *The Burlington Magazine* 10, no. 48 (March 1907): 380.

[58] Davies, "Duke of Buckingham's Pictures," 382.

[59] Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection*, 11–114, nos. 320, 333. For an update on the Corsini Madonna's attribution - as an original rather than a good copy, see Antonio Natali, *Andrea Del Sarto: Catalogo Completo Dei Dipinti* (Florence: Cantini, 1989), 52, no. 18. The Madonna and Child with Sainte Elizabeth and the Infant St John the Baptist is proposed a good early copy in John K. G Shearman, *Andrea Del Sarto* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 2, 227-228, no. 39. The National Gallery picture is inv. 3939. See Gould, *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools*, 17–188.

[60] Although in the inventory Elizabeth is misidentified as Anne. See discussion in n.21 of Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 16.

[61] Hendrick van Steenwijck the younger (c.1580-1649), *An Imaginary Church or Cathedral Interior, with a Biblical Scene,* 1621, National Trust, Petworth House, NT 485096. Davies, "Duke of Buckingham's Pictures," 379.

[62] As noted in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 285.

The Titian, however, has no such inflammatory meanings and, as a work by an artist the earl admired, was possibly purchased through the usual channels of sale from Buckingham's dispersed estate. Either way, the earl's case for acquiring some of the seized pictures would no doubt have been boosted by his status as a Protestant and established art collector, whose main interest in the paintings was their intrinsic value as beautiful, well-executed works of art, and not what was regarded as their 'popish' content.

It is evident that another group of pictures from Buckingham's collection – a set of eight small pictures of figures from the Old and New Testament by Adam Elsheimer – had also made it into the Northumberland collection by 30 June, 1671 (fig. 47).[63] They feature in an inventory of the Percy collection of pictures of that date, three years after the 10th Earl's death, by the same Symon Stone, who had given Symonds his tour.[64] The late date of their appearance in lists of the collection might imply that the Elsheimers were not part of the selection of pictures Northumberland made from the Buckingham collection in the late 1640s. However, they do fit the earl's desire for some of the 'smaller Pictures' from this collection and, as their size is more conducive to display in more intimate surroundings, it is most likely that they were hung in a private closet not made accessible to Symonds on his visit. Either way, the earl's acquisition of a number of works by Italian (and possibly also Northern European) old masters from the Buckingham collection demonstrates a continuing taste in the art of these masters into the 1640s and 1650s, and also marks Northumberland's enthusiasm, as well as financial ability, to continue his collecting in these politically turbulent times.

In addition to acquiring a selection of works from York House, the Earl also made other picture purchases of Titians and old masters in the 1640s and 1650s. In 1645, he

---

[63] Catalogued as nos. 272-279 in Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection*, 33–36; also see no. 17 in Keith Andrews, *Adam Elsheimer, Paintings, Drawings, Prints* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), 147–48; regarding the pictures' presence in the Buckingham collection see Davies, "Duke of Buckingham's Pictures," 382; also see discussion of the works in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 283 and n.16.

[64] ACA/107, G.C. 26 (BL Microfilm 351): "A note of the Pictures att Northumberland House taken and Appraised by Mr Symon Stone The 30th of June 1671"; transcribed by Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 304–8, Appendix III. Hereafter referred to as simply 'Stone's inventory'.

settled a debt of £200 from John Writtewronge[65] in exchange for two valuable Titians – *The Vendramin Family* and *Perseus and Andromeda* – from the dispersed collection of Van Dyck, of which *The Vendramin Family* was so admired by Evelyn.[66] He also purchased (from an unknown source and possibly also from the Van Dyck collection) a Titian painting, *Nymph and Faun,* which was in the collection by the time Symonds viewed it in 1652 (fig. 48).[67] In 1657, shortly before his death that year, the musician and art connoisseur Jerome Lanier sold the earl three pictures from the dispersed collection of Charles I for £120: a *Saint John the Baptist,* then attributed to Correggio, and the pagan classical subject pieces *The Sacrifice of a Goat to Jupiter* by Giulio Romano (fig. 49), and *Psyche Abandoned on a Rock by her Parents* by Polidoro da Caravaggio.[68] The household accounts and Stone's inventory also show Northumberland bought from his employee, Stone, in 1648 'a Picture of a Baskett of Flowers' (valued at £5),[69] and the accounts of 1656 record one instance of Northumberland buying art from Webb: a 'small peece' of 'Venus' by Rottenhammer for £5.[70] As the following case study on Sir Justinian Isham will show, this was not the only example of Webb acting as a picture dealer for his architectural clients.

It is also notable that, by 1671, Northumberland owned a portrait of Lady Dorothy Saville by 'Mrs. Carlisle', valued by Stone at £2. This was presumably by Joan Carlile, who specialised in small-scale portraits and whose work for Sir Justinian Isham will shortly be discussed in more detail. This portrait by Carlile in the Northumberland collection has so far been overlooked by scholars of her oeuvre,[71] and might now be added to the list of unidentified works by this fascinating Early

---

[65] Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck's `Cabinet Di Titien': The Contents and Dispersal of His Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1051 (Oct. 1990): 695, Appendix II. Also see Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 285.
[66] For the Perseus and Andromeda, now at the Wallace Collection, see Wethey, *Titian*, 3:169-172, no. 30. John Ingamells, "Perseus and Andromeda: The Provenance," *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 952 (July 1982): 396–400.
[67] See extended discussion of the complicated history of the painting in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 285–86.
[68] PHA 5893. The Account of Orlando Gee for foreign payments for the year ending 31 January 1657/1658. Referenced in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 297-8, 312, nos. 51-52. For more on Jerome Lanier and his and his nephew, Nicolas Lanier's drawings collections, see Jeremy Wood, "Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666)," 85-121.
[69] ACA/SH/U.I.6 (unnumbered). The Account of Edward Payler, receiver of his Lordship's rents and revenues in Sussex, for debts in the year ending 17 January 1648/1649: 'To Mr Stone for a pickture of fflowers' cited in Appendix IV of Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 311.
[70] PHA 5883. The Account of Orlando Gee for foreign payments for the year ending 31 January 1656/1657. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," Appendix IV, 312, also see comment on 302.
[71] The work is not mentioned in any of the three articles on Carlile. Toynbee and Isham, "Joan Carlile," 273–77; Toynbee, "Joan Carlile. An Additional Note," 318-319; Toynbee, "Joan Carlile: Some Further Attributions," 186–88. Carlile is also discussed in the letters between Duppa and Isham as published in Duppa, *Correspondence*, xiv, xv, 19, 33 n.3, 34 n.3, 74, 81, 82, 125 n.4, 150, 153, 159, 209, 210.

Modern female portrait painter. There are no other portraits by her in Stone's list, so it seems that Northumberland was not a major patron of her work.

Having built up a collection of Van Dycks in the 1630s, the earl also continued to collect his work in the 1640s and 1650s. The sheer dominance in numbers of the works of the Italian Old Masters and Van Dyck in Symonds's list of works on show in 1652 makes the earl's admiration for these masters plainly apparent. Within the list is 'A Senator of Venice & his Secretary by him writing on a Table', which can be identified as Titian's double-portrait of Georges d'Armagnac and Guillaume Philandrier. Furthermore, four portraits of women by Van Dyck were noted by Symonds as on display in Northumberland House by 1652. These were 'Lady Newport', meaning Anne Boteler, Countess of Newport, Later Countess of Portland (1637-1638) (fig. 50); 'Mrs Murrey', meaning Catherine Bruce (d.1649) (fig. 18); 'Mrs Porter', meaning Olivia Porter, the wife of Endymion; and 'Another Lady above in a light blew garmt' (probably Anne Carr). Another portrait of the earl's sister, Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, is recorded as being purchased in the accounts of 1651, and presumably displayed in another Percy property.[72] It has been suggested that as Endymion Porter and the Earl of Newport had their estates sequestrated by Parliament in the 1640s, they perhaps turned to selling the Van Dyck portraits of their wives to willing collectors such as Northumberland to top up funds.[73] By Stone's inventory of 1671, the portraits had increased to eight, forming a fashionable gallery of 'beauties'. The fact these represent a range of figures with political, religious and family ties, and are of varying quality, implies that Northumberland's choice was driven solely by his wish to assemble a sizeable collection of works by the artist, while working with what the market offered.

Further evidence of Northumberland's taste for Van Dyck can be deduced from the fact that he never commissioned another an up-to-date painted likeness of himself, not even from the increasingly popular Lely. Instead, he continued to have copies and

---

[72] As discussed in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 290; PHA 5836. The Account of Peter Dodesworth for foreign payments from 17 January 1650/1651 to 17 January 1651/1652: 'For a picture of the Countesse of Carliles'
[73] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 291.

versions made of his Van Dyck family portraits.[74] He was, nevertheless, one of the first patrons to discover Lely's talents, and commissioned him to paint several portraits his son, Joceline Percy (1644-1670) and other members of his family in these years. He also granted Lely the prestigious commission of painting the King and the royal children, then in the earl's custody.[75]

Symonds's list of the Van Dycks also reveals that Northumberland openly displayed a half-length portrait of Charles I and an unfinished picture of the King on horseback (fig. 51), and by 1671 Northumberland also owned a copy of a Van Dyck of Queen Henrietta Maria. The unfinished picture was a variation of *Charles I on Horseback attended to by M. de St. Antoine* from the collection of Charles I, which was at that point missing. It was later found in the possession of the painter and reputed Van Dyck studio assistant, Remigius van Leemput, and given back to the Crown in 1660.[76] Yet Northumberland also commissioned and collected two more recent portraits of the King and his heir and other children by Lely: *Charles I with James, Duke of York*,[77] and *The three younger children of Charles I*.[78] This act of commissioning new royal portraits from Lely might be considered more threatening than the continued display of Van Dycks, if interpreted as visual propagation of the Stuart Dynasty, and yet it was allowed by Parliament. This continued display of Van Dyck portraits of the King – the type of works common in every aristocratic household in the 1630s – is in keeping with Northumberland's political sensibilities at the time, with sympathies for the cause of both Parliament and the King.

As well as reflecting Northumberland's artistic taste for the King's former Principal Painter, and his political sentiments regarding the execution of the King, this continued public display of royal portraiture and the art of Van Dyck in the nearest 'Strand Palace' to Whitehall goes some way to indicate that the Commonwealth was willing to overlook political expression made via the visual arts. This would suggest

---

[74] As payments recorded in the Percy accounts of 1655, 1658 and 1659 show, cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 294, see Appendix IV.
[75] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 294, and see Appendix III and IV for references to portraits. Two portraits of Josceline Percy by Sir Peter Lely exist: one of c.1653 at the Holburne Museum, A44; and one of 1658 at the Walker Art Gallery, WAG 2945.
[76] Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures*, 94–95, 144.
[77] Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection*, 156–57; Beckett, *Lely*, no. 78; Whinney and Millar, *English Art*, 170–71.
[78] Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection*, 73, no. 149, no. 7. Millar, *Sir Peter Lely,* 38–39.

that there was more continuity in artistic taste from the 1630s through to the 1650s than has heretofore been allowed.

It is likely that Symonds's list, as with most inventories, is arranged in order of the sequence of pictures on display in Northumberland House. He began in a space or spaces showing the Italian Venetian school, including works by Titian and Tintoretto, then moved past a series of Van Dycks, on to the Italian Old Masters again, then to works by Lely and ended in a space containing a series of Dutch landscapes, including the Steenwijck. As was tradition in the great houses of the period, the paintings would mostly have been displayed in a designated gallery space: in this case the 'Long Gallery' and 'Little Gallery'. Some works might also have been distributed at other locations about the house, such as the withdrawing and dining rooms. The display of the pictures at Northumberland House at the time of Symonds's visit might have been similar to the configuration outlined in fig. 52. Evelyn's account of 1658 and Stone's inventory of the collection of 1671 both reflect broadly the same order of works, despite the number of paintings increasing from forty-four to over eighty. Only two designs by Webb for the interior hang of Northumberland House survive, of a new dining room of 1657 and a withdrawing room of 1660 (figs 53 and 54). In his drawings, Webb sets out the outlines for one painting of portrait orientation, and one of landscape orientation which, it can be presumed, were planned for these spaces.

Northumberland's finances

As well as collecting Old Masters from prestigious collections and commissioning portraits from a leading contemporary artist, Northumberland also commissioned copies of works from his own collection, apparently to give to friends and relatives.[79] The Percy accounts show that some of these were executed by Stone (who was introduced by Evelyn as 'Mr Stone who coppies'), as well as possibly by George Geldorp (for whom there is a payment for two pictures in 1642), Jan van Belcamp

[79] Stone's copy commissions recorded in the household accounts are discussed in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 296.

(for pictures in 1640) and Remigius van Leemput (for a picture repair in 1654).[80] The earl also saw it fit to spend money on the luxury of keeping Stone as a permanent picture keeper, and made many payments to him for cleaning and tending to his pictures, and for materials for a re-hang of the pictures in 1657.[81]

However, despite these great investments in the luxuries of art and architecture, it would be wrong to assume that the earl was exceptionally wealthy, or that he was left with much money in reserve. In fact, he came close to bankruptcy in the 1640s due to the First Civil War and its repercussions: he never got back the large loans he had made to the king; he had contributed substantial funds in support of Parliament; he was not for a time able to claim the allowance for his custody of the royal children; his properties Wressle Castle and Syon House had been damaged; and the rents from his ancestral lands in the North were severely disrupted. In an attempt to relieve these pressures, in 1646, Northumberland submitted a bill for £45,000 of losses over the preceding five years, mostly consisting of non-payment of rents but also damages to his properties.[82] As a result, he was helped by a grant of £10,000 by Parliament,[83] who were no doubt mindful of his previous financial support and his powerful position as an aristocratic ally, tipped as a future Lord Protector.[84]

This grant was, however, not enough to alleviate the pressures on his finances and the earl took to selling off assets. In 1647 he sold some of his northern land for £9,000 and sold more the following year for £7,000.[85] Furthermore, the tension between what he wanted as a collector and his financial capability to obtain it meant that he took the pragmatic decision to part with some of his collection. In 1645 he sold some of his pictures for £439: one apparently being the *Perseus and Andromeda* by Titian that he had bought from Van Dyck's collection shortly before.[86] Furthermore, a consignment

---

[80] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 300–301.
[81] Several of these payments are discussed in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland."
[82] Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220; Also see discussion in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 287 and n.40; Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, 196.
[83] Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220; Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 287.
[84] Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220; Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 56; Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 287 and 317, n.40, which cites its source as Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, vol. 2, 189 which cites rumour from Salvetti to Gondi, March 21/31 1645.
[85] Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220.
[86] ACA/SH/U.I.6. (unnumbered). The General Account for 1645, and ACA/SH/U.I.6 (unnumbered). The Account of Peter Dodesworth for foreign payments from 17 January 1644/1645 to 17 January 1645/1646. As cited in Appendix IV of Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," commentary on 287.

of Northumberland's pictures were sent – presumably for sale – to the Netherlands in 1647, and that year he also sold the vast majority of his fine plate for the large sum of £3,601 10s. 7d.[87] The following year saw another consignment of goods to the Netherlands, this time of tapestries.[88]

Northumberland therefore managed to evade bankruptcy in the 1640s. However, his woes continued in the early 1650s, when the earl once again obtained a loan of £10,000, this time at 6% interest from the wealthy physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne (1573-1655).[89] His financial situation seems to have improved by 1657, marked by his purchases for £120 of three pictures from the Royal Collection. He also spent £352 (with an additional £65 offset in exchange for five of his bronze statues) on antique sculpture and more on preparing the terrace on the south entrance of his house for their display.[90]

Conclusion to the case study on the 10th Earl of Northumberland

The 10th Earl of Northumberland's patronage and collecting activities in the 1640s and 1650s reveals much about how a member of the elite continued to function during this politically and economically disrupted period of the Civil Wars and the new regime of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The earl proved adept at finding ways to develop his picture collection. Firstly, in the case of obtaining works from the Buckingham collection, the earl took advantage of his social standing and position of political influence to get what he wanted. He sought out both old master and contemporary works, and Parliament seemed to have tolerated his open display of secular and 'popish' works as well as portraits of Charles I and his heirs.

Secondly, the earl managed to continue his building projects and art collecting through careful balancing of his finances. At times, this necessitated disposal of some

---

[87] ACA/SH/U.I.6. The Account of Peter Dodesworth for foreign payments, 16 January 1640/41-16 January 1641/1642. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 288. Also see Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220.
[88] ACA/SH/U.I.6. The Account of Edward Payler for foreign payments for the year ending 17 January 1648/1649. Cited in Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," commentary on 288.
[89] PHA 319, 620. Referenced in Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 320; Guerci, "From Northampton to Northumberland," 220.
[90] Based on various accounts cited in Appendix IV of Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," discussion on 298-9.

of his collection to free up the funds for future purchases. This enabled him to buy, for example, the two expensive Titians from Van Dyck's collection and possibly the pictures from York House at around 1645 'at a time when he was least able to spend money freely'.[91] The fact that Northumberland chose to dedicate a significant proportion of his limited funds, not to mention effort, in the 1640s and 1650s on architecture and painting tells us something of the precedence art had in his list of priorities at the time. The earl's continued collecting suggests that he either felt strongly enough about collecting to get himself near to the brink of financial ruin or, conversely, he perhaps was not in such a dire fiscal situation as surviving records suggest.

There was also a strong element of luck in terms of the choice of works that were available for him to buy. In fact, in many ways the earl's collecting of pictures in the 1640s and 1650s shows that he benefited from the disruption caused by civil war and its permutations into the Interregnum. He obtained valuable works from the sequestrated collection of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, from the dispersed collection of King Charles I and, possibly as a consequence of the straitened finances of Porter, from Writtewronge and the Earl of Newport. He was also one of the collectors who profited from the death of Van Dyck and the consequent dispersal of the artist's impressive collection in the 1640s. This meant that the painting market of London was awash with a range of paintings for sale from the outset of the 1640s and into the 1650s. Whatever the exact circumstances of these purchases, Northumberland evidently held arts patronage as a high priority and divided his expenditure accordingly.

Northumberland's extensive display of collecting and patronage using busy and ambitious architects, craftsmen, portrait painters, copyists and dealers all seems to suggest a thriving art market in London during these years. The type of art he patronised and collected also points to a continuation in tastes from previous decades, as well as demonstrates that religious and political affiliations were not necessarily reflected in art purchases. In this way Northumberland continued in the style of

---

[91] Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 286.

courtly arts patronage propagated during Charles I's reign. However, Northumberland represents an individual who was wealthier than most, generally on good terms with Parliament and allowed to continue to reside at the heart of London. The question therefore remains: was Northumberland's positive experience as an art patron during the 1640s and 1650s repeated for other patrons of the time, and was it possible for other patrons in less fortunate positions to continue to function productively in these years? The following case study of the patronage and collecting of Sir Justinian Isham will now explore this question.

The Art Patronage of Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham of Lamport (1611-1675) during the 1650s

In 1651, Sir Justinian Isham inherited his father's Baronetcy and the family seat, Lamport Hall in Northamptonshire. In the years that followed, he built an extension to the old building and set about furnishing it with new picture purchases. Isham's case is of interest because it is an example of art patronage apparently carried out against the odds. As a Royalist and Anglican, so an outsider to the political and religious regime, he was fined by Parliament, exiled from London, and imprisoned, yet he was still able to be an ambitious patron of the arts in this period. This case study will investigate how a very different type of elite patron to the Earl of Northumberland rose above the limitations put upon him and was able to be active during the Interregnum with patronage activities which were, in many respects, comparable to that of the earl.

Isham's family had been established in Northamptonshire for centuries, and settled at Lamport in the 1560s.[92] The Ishams had only advanced from being minor landholders to the minor gentry very recently when Justinian's father, John, was knighted by James I in 1608, and then created a baronet by Charles I in 1627.[93] The fresh memory

---

[92] Gyles Isham, the 12th and last Baronet Isham, has written widely on the history and collections of the Ishams at Lamport, as well as published a book of the letters from Sir Justinian's friend, the Bishop Brian Duppa to Sir Justinian, including some of Sir Justinan's draft responses. Duppa, *Correspondence*; Isham, *Catalogue*; Gyles Isham, *The Architectural History of Lamport Hall* (Northampton: Printed for Northamptonshire Architectural and Archaeological Society by Archer and Goodman, 1953); Gyles Isham and Sydney W. Newbery, *Lamport Hall* (Derby: English Life Publications, 1974).
[93] Arthur Oswald, "Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire I," *Country Life,* 26 September 1952: 933.

of this title being bestowed by the King goes some way to explaining the family's Royalist stance during the Civil Wars.[94] While the Ishams and some other local Northamptonshire families including the Spencers, Comptons, Wakes, Vauxes and Brudenells sided with the King during the Civil Wars, Northamptonshire was broadly Parliamentarian and other families such as the Drydens, Knightleys, Yelvertons, and Montagus supported Parliament.[95] The county was of course the location of the Battle of Naseby at which the Parliamentarians triumphed.

As the only son, Sir Justinian was prepared from a young age for the role of a country squire. He was well educated, attending Uppingham School and Christ's College, Cambridge, before being admitted to the Middle Temple in London, where he practised law.[96] He was also reasonably well travelled, having visited the Netherlands between 1633 and 1634.[97] With this grounding, Isham developed into a cultured and learned man with scholarly interests in both the arts and sciences. He was well read in both classical and contemporary texts, to which his published correspondence with the Anglican bishop, Brian Duppa, testifies.[98] He was also a keen book collector, and letters show him purchasing, lending and borrowing books throughout the 1640s and 1650s, expanding his impressive library at Lamport; a few titles were even dedicated to him.[99]

Sir Justinian's first marriage to Jane Garrard ended on her death in 1639, leaving him with four daughters but no surviving son, and a main pre-occupation once settled at Lamport Hall in the early 1650s was finding a new wife. One of the women he misguidedly pursued was Dorothy Osborne, who mocked the baronet in her letters to her future husband Sir William Temple as 'Sir Solomon', and 'the Emperour', describing him as a 'self-conceited coxcomb', although she conceded that Temple 'of

---

[94] John Isham's accounts show that he paid a total of £1,202 to Parliament and possibly loaned the King £500 in 1642. L. F. Salzman, ed., "Parishes: Langport with Hanging Houghton," in *A History of the County of Northampton: Volume 4* (London: Victoria County History, 1937), 197.
[95] Duppa, *Correspondence*, xxxix.
[96] Duppa, *Correspondence*, xxxiii.
[97] 'In a small Bible (1625) which was at Lamport in 1880, but which cannot be traced, was this note: "This was the only booke I carried in my pocket when I travelled beyond the seas the 22nd yeare of my age and many years after Just. Isham."' Cited in Duppa, *Correspondence*, xxxv.
[98] Duppa, *Correspondence*.
[99] Henry Cogan (d.1655) dedicated his translation of Girolamo Lunadoro's Italian book entitled The Court of Rome (1650; trans. 1654) to Isham. Duppa, *Correspondence*, 70-1, n.2.

all her suitors liked him the best'.[100] Sir Justinian eventually found a more sympathetic, second wife in Vere Leigh of Stoneleigh Abbey in 1653.

Isham's letters show that he maintained a wide circle of contacts across the country throughout the 1640s and 1650s. He corresponded and, in some cases, met, with writers, lawyers, eminent clerics, and with the educational reformer and writer, Samuel Hartlib and members of his Baconian circle.[101] The mostly Royalist contacts he maintained through this period, and the scholarly reputation he sustained, no doubt were contributing factors to his instalment as an MP in the Cavalier Parliament upon the Restoration, and his role as a founding member of the Royal Society. Sir Justinian's letters and draft replies, as well as those to or about him, give some idea of his private and public persona, best articulated by his distant relative and friend, Sir Ralph Verney, who described Sir Justinian as 'a very discreet person, of a plentifull fortune, and of an antient family.'[102]

This reference to Isham's wealth is particularly significant, as it challenges the perception that all Royalists were in some degree of poverty in these years. Although many elite Royalists struggled financially due to loans, fines, confiscations, and the disruption of rents, many, such as Sir Justinian, evidently still had substantial reserves to draw on. This is in parallel to the experience of Northumberland, who also had financial difficulties but maintained the capacity to spend on luxuries.

Sir Justinian left Lamport to show support for the King at his wartime court in Oxford in 1642 but, being more of a scholar than a soldier, he did not take part in any fighting.[103] Nevertheless in 1646, as a result of his show of 'delinquency', Parliament seized his estate of Shangton in Leicestershire, forcing him to 'compound' to retrieve his property and its associated income from rents. Although he managed to negotiate the sum down on the grounds that, prior to the wars, he had been solicitor to Essex,

---

[100] Moore Smith ed., *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne*, 1928. Cited in Duppa, *Correspondence*, xlii.
[101] Isham's correspondence is filed under 'IC' at Northamptonshire Record Office (NRO), Northampton. Also see his published correspondence with Bishop Brian Duppa: Duppa, *Correspondence*, 104.
[102] Duppa, *Correspondence*, 104.
[103] Duppa, *Correspondence*, xxiv.

the Lord General, the substantial fine of £1,100 was confirmed on 18 March 1650.[104] Lamport was, however, spared from seizure, and Sir Justinian's father, the ageing Sir John Isham (1582-1651), was allowed to remain at the Hall under house arrest during the wars. Nevertheless, he was still forced to contribute money to the Parliamentary forces in addition to the loans he had made towards the Royalist war effort.[105] Moreover, despite attaining an order for immunity for his house, its contents and Sir John's person in 1643,[106] anxious letters from Sir Justinian in Oxford to his sister Elizabeth at Lamport[107] reveal that this did not stop what Sir John described as "frequent quarterings'' by Parliamentary troops.[108] After King Charles I's execution, an Act of 26 February 1649/50 banished Sir Justinian and all other 'delinquents' from London and Westminster, ordering them to remain under self-imposed house-arrest.[109] Sir Justinian therefore went to join his father, sister and four daughters in exile at Lamport Hall.[110] He kept up with the news, however, reading both Royalist and Parliamentarian papers and demonstrating an interest in understanding the scope of the political debate.[111]

Soon after this, on 8 July 1651, Sir Justinian's father died, and he inherited the baronetcy with a substantial estate of c.£1,700 per annum. Lamport remained Sir Justinian's principal residence during the 1650s, apart from two spells of imprisonment at St James's Palace in London from June to October 1655, where he met Sir Ralph Verney, and in Northampton in 1658. Both of these incarcerations were apparently in response to tensions caused by Royalist uprisings and not any particular

---

[104] The fine was 1/10 of the value of Shangton. Calendar of proceedings of the Committee for the Advance of Money, part 1, 485. Cited in Duppa, *Correspondence*, xli. Also see Oswald Barron, *Northamptonshire Families*, supplement to *Victoria History of the County of Northampton* (London, 1906), 157.
[105] A letter under the Royal sign manual demands £500 from Sir John 'for the defence of Our Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Lawes of the Land.' Duppa, *Correspondence*, xxxix; Isham, *The Architectural History*, 5.
[106] NRO/IC/246.
[107] NRO/IC/3273 and NRO/IC/3274.
[108] Duppa, *Correspondence*, xi.
[109] "February 1650: An Act for removing all Papists, and all Officers and Soldiers of Fortune, and divers other Delinquents removed from London and Westminster, and confining them within five miles of their dwellings, and for encouragement of such as discover Priests and Jesuits, their Receivers and Abettors," in C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London: HMSO, 1911), 349-354. Also see Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*, vol. 1, 247.
[110] Duppa, *Correspondence*, xli. For a detailed analysis of the circumstances of the beginning of the correspondence see Introduction to 1650.
[111] These included 'relatively dry' titles such as *Civicus, Moderate Intelligencer, Several Proceedings* and *Politicus*, as well as the 'more lively' *Aulicus, Britanicus, Elencticus* and *Pragmaticus.* Jason Peacey, *Print and public politics in the English revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 108.

transgression by Isham.[112] Isham was released only after swearing not to plot against the Protector and there is no evidence to suggest that he did otherwise.[113] On the Restoration, his loyalty to the Crown was recognised by the Cavalier Parliament of 1661 and he was made the MP for Northamptonshire, remaining in post until his death in 1675.[114]

Isham's developments at Lamport Hall

On inheriting the Lamport estate, Isham immediately began to make changes. That year, he rebuilt the chancel of the church of All Saints near Lamport Hall, retaining the medieval appearance.[115] His next project, on the Hall itself (as well as possibly unexecuted plans for grand gates and a 'Recinct') was much more radical.[116] Isham first turned to the French Huguenot architect, David Papillon, who lived in nearby Lubenham. Papillon had Parliamentarian sympathies, having fortified Northampton for Parliament, but seemed as amenable to working for his Royalist neighbour, Sir Justinian, as Sir Justinian was clearly open to doing business with him. This enterprise fell through, however, as Papillon proposed two schemes in 1652 to pull down the old house and build anew,[117] while Isham wanted to add a modern extension to the old house.[118] The two nevertheless stayed on good terms, exchanging letters while Sir Justinian was in prison in 1655 and after.[119]

By 1654, three years after his father's death, letters show that Sir Justinian had secured the architect John Webb to carry through his vision of extending Lamport

---

[112] Isham wrote on the back of a letter from his bailiff, John Capet, dated 6 August 1655: 'Haveing bin brought hither from our own houses by souldiers, and heere imprisoned the space of 2 months to the prejudice of our healthe and certaine detriment of our severall families affairs and fortunes.' NRO/IC/362. For reference to his imprisonments see Bold, *John Webb*, 87; Isham, *The Architectural History*, 8; Duppa, *Correspondence*, xli; There is also one reference to Isham being imprisoned in 1649, but no archive source is provided. This was in Isham, *Catalogue*, 11. For Verney's side of the story see chapter 7 of Verney, *Memoirs*, III, 1892.

[113] Isham, *The Architectural History*, 8.

[114] R. Priestley, "Isham, Sir Justinian, second baronet (1611–1675)," *ODNB* (12 Mar. 2018).

[115] Gyles Isham, *All Saints' Church ('All Hallow's'), Lamport, Northamptonshire* (Rugby: George Over Ltd., 1950).

[116] Bold, *John Webb*, 89.

[117] Oswald, "Lamport Hall, I," 934.

[118] Isham, *The Architectural History*, 5. Papillon was critical that the old house had a "mauvaise situation" and was a structure "si fort repugnant aux reigles de l'art", pointing out that it had but one room fit to receive "des personnes d'honneur". Letter of 12 May 1652, NRO/IC/312.

[119] In a letter of 2 November 1655 Sir Justinian invited Sir Ralph Verney to Lamport 'where you may see what the want of my presence hath now necessitated me to in very ill season, my house not yet all covered'. Sir Justinian then signs a letter of 10 November 1655 'Architrave, Freeze and Cornice', alluding to his preoccupation with his works at Lamport Hall. For later letters from Verney to Isham of 1656, see NRO/IC/393 and 394.

Hall.[120] Although Webb's affiliation with the King's Works and early support for the royal cause might have made him a distinctly Royalist choice, it seems that he, like Papillon, proved pragmatic and worked for patrons across the social, political and religious spectrum. Webb talked openly to Isham in his letters about his ongoing work at Drayton House, Belvoir Castle and Chevening, and was involved in many other projects at that time, including, by 1655, the exterior staircase of Northumberland House.[121]

Isham and Webb were likely to have become acquainted via their mutual friend, the translator Henry Cogan. He, like Webb, came from a Somersetshire family and shared a role with him as one of the overseers of Inigo Jones's will. This friendship is a source of proof that Isham continued to visit London during the Interregnum, as some letters from Duppa to Isham in 1651 and 1653 are addressed to him at 'Mr Cogan's house near Charing X'.[122] The writer dedicated his translation of *The Court of Rome* to Isham in 1654, praising his 'vertuous and generous inclination to grace and cherish all that may any way conduce to the advancement of knowledge and good Arts'; in an endorsed draft reply to Cogan's request for Isham to accept the dedication, Isham thanked him for 'your kind remembrance of mee who am now meere rustick', indicating a degree of self-consciousness about his 'exile' in Northamptonshire.[123] This exchange shows that Sir Justinian maintained his scholarly reputation in the London literary circles in the 1650s, while simultaneously cultivating a parallel life as a country gentleman.

---

[120] We can be certain that Webb was the architect because of a series of 33 drawings, many letters and other papers relating to the project, which are all now kept at Northamptonshire Record Office. The reference for the drawings is NRO/IL/3079/A1-30 and A50.
Of particular interest are the letters from John Webb to Sir Justinian Isham. These were originally recorded as NRO/IL/3956/A51 and are now numbered NRO/IC/4772/1-10. They are dated the 19, and 24 June and 20 July 1654, the 22 February 1654/5, the 6 and 16 April and 31 May 1655, and 11, 22 and 27 June 1657. Nine of these letters from Webb to Isham were published by Alfred J. Gotch, and a tenth discovered by Gyles Isham and published by John Bold. Alfred J. Gotch, "Some Newly Found Drawings and Letters of John Webb," *RIBA Journal* 28, no. 10 (24 September 1921): 565–82; John Bold, "John Webb and the Lamport Recinct," *Notes and Queries* 28, no. 1 (February 1981): 55–56. Also see sources outlined in Bold, *John Webb*, 162. There also exist in the record office two letters from the art dealer Maurice Wase to Webb, one of which is featured in one of Arthur Oswald's three articles on the Hall in Country Life. Arthur Oswald, "Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire II," *Country Life*, 3 October 1952: 1022–25.
[121] For example: Countess of Rutland, repairs 1654-8; 2nd Earl of Peterborough, chimneypiece 1653; 14th Lord Dacre, capitals 1656; Northumberland House, staircase and other rooms 1655-60; Chaloner Chute, The Vyne 1654-7; Sir John Maynard, Gunnersbury 1658-63; Colonel Edward Harley, Ludlow 1655. For details of Webb's projects in these years see Bold, *John Webb*.
[122] See Letter XIII, February 12th, 1651 and Note 1 and Letter XXVI, February 1st, 1653 in Duppa, *Correspondence*, 29-30 n.1, 61 n.1.
[123] NRO/IC/343. Duppa, *Correspondence*, 71.

Little is known about Northumberland and Webb's relationship as patron and client, but many sources illustrate the co-operation of Webb and Isham on the Lamport Hall design and building project. The architect wrote letters directly to his patron, rather than via the building contractor Thomas Sargenson of Coventry or the mason, John Greene, and the two met in person at Lamport or London when they could.[124] Webb proved very flexible in designing according to Isham's wishes,[125] and the finished building can therefore be said to truly represent Isham's taste.

The result was a five-bay Italian palazzo (fig. 55), containing a series of smaller rooms, a grand staircase and a double-height room called the 'high room' with a carved fireplace and a lofty, plaster ceiling. It would have looked very striking set in the Northamptonshire countryside. In commissioning this project by a leading architect from London, Isham asserted his status as a fashionable man of culture, with taste worthy of the metropolis. Therefore, while Isham's architectural commission was not in itself a particularly 'Royalist' political statement, his project is proof that a Royalist could continue to flourish in exile through maintaining social and artistic links with London, and that architectural practice and patronage did continue to a high standard in the 1650s on both sides of the political divide.

The high architectural standard was carried through into the interior furnishing also. Letters from Webb to his patron show that he was not only the architect but – as with his work for Northumberland – also assumed the role of interior designer, making plans, advising Isham about hiring sculptors and purchasing pictures to adorn the space. He commissioned top sculptors of the day: it is thought that the carving of the chimneypiece in the High Room was carried out by Caius Gabriel Cibber,[126] and the French Sculptor in Ordinary to Charles I, Peter Besnier (or 'Bennier') carved the coat-

---

[124] There are various mentions in the letters from Webb to Isham which indicate Isham visiting Webb in London or Webb coming up to visit Isham at Lamport. See, for example Webb's letter of 20 July 1654, NRO/IC/4772/3: 'I hope ere long to visitt you at Lamport' and, of 16 April 1655, NRO/IC/4772/6: 'There is also a merchant in London hath lately brought severall paintings out of Italy aswell copyes as originalls wch you may also see, in ye meane while I will see you & give you my opinion.'

[125] Webb proves his flexibility in a letter of 19 June 1654, NRO/IC/4772/1, in which he defers to Isham's choice of a portico, which Isham later rejected: he sent Isham designs of the front facade '... with a portico added wch you may take or leave at pleasure, though I am for it, it being a great ornament & much usefull, & I will so ordered yt that it shall not appeare temple like.'

[126] Bold, *John Webb*, 85.

of-arms cartouche over the entrance doorway to the new wing.[127] From Webb's letters it seems Isham had been considering Besnier as the creator of the sculptures in flat-topped niches on the short side walls of the High Room and sculpted busts set above a frieze of masks, swags and reliefs but, after Webb's reservations about the 'fancifull' French style of carving,[128] the work was given to the German, Andreas Kearne.[129] These records of Isham's architectural and interior works at Lamport Hall therefore demonstrate how the local and London art networks had maintained their variety and could offer artisans working in different styles and to a high standard. Unfortunately, this scheme did not survive the eighteenth-century redecoration of the room, and only the fireplace survives intact (fig. 56). However, some of Webb's designs for interior elevations of the High Room survive in Northamptonshire Record Office (fig. 57 a, b, c, d). These give an indication of what the space might have looked like, complete with sculpural details.

Isham's picture collection

Isham's painting collection has not been studied to any great extent. Indeed, to the author's knowledge, the 12th Baronet Sir Gyles Isham's catalogue, first published in 1934, is the only published work focusing on the picture collection.[130] This is partly because the Hall and its contents remained in the Isham family until 1976 when the 12th Baronet died, passing it to The Lamport Hall Preservation Trust. While the House's keepers have since changed many of Sir Gyles Isham's attributions, some paintings remain without provenance or attribution. Fortunately, in addition to some of the mid-seventeenth-century art collection remaining in the house, some architectural drawings and letters from the 1650s survive, as well as two inventories

---

[127] In a letter of 12 July, NRO/IL/3956, Besnier updated Isham that 'yor building goeth on verie well according to yor plott and for my part the Pictures and shields I shall have finished the nexte weeke'.
[128] See letter from Webb to Isham of 6 April 1655: 'As for yor ffrench workman I desire alwaies to employ our own countrimen, for by emploiment those grow insolent & these for want thereof are deiected, supposing they are not accompted able to performe when indeed it is only want of encouragement makes them negligent to study because a better conceite of foreiners as had then of themselves. I say not this in disaffection to strangers for I love them, as I should expect the like from them if I were abroad but only that our owne natives may be used to good workmanshippe and enioy the benefitt their country affords, howsoever if the man bee able in gods name employ him rather then bee at charge to bring one from London especially if you intend statues in the neeches as I designed, but then also lett him cast them for you out of Antique moulds for ffrench fashions are you know fantasticall.' NRO/IC/4772/5.
[129] Vertue states 'a German sculptor, brother in law to Nicholas Stone senr ... carved many statues for Sr Justinian Isum'. Vertue, "Note books," 18 (1930), 98. Discussed in Bold, *John Webb*, 89.
[130] Isham, *Catalogue*.

of the collection made shortly after Sir Justinian's death for his son, Thomas.[131] It is therefore possible to make some observations as to which paintings were definitely bought, and which were very likely to have been bought, by Sir Justinian in the 1650s. However, while some works in the Lamport collection can be identified as pictures purchased by the 2nd Baronet, there are other works for which more supporting evidence needs to be found. This makes deciphering how the architectural design accommodated the works of art purchased for it a difficult, but not wholly unfruitful, exercise. It also provides a useful point of comparison to the picture collecting of the Earl of Northumberland.

Isham collected paintings by contemporary portrait painters in London and originals and copies of pictures of the Old Master Italian school. In this respect, his tastes were no different from those of the Carolinian court of previous decades, or of Parliamentarian patrons such as Northumberland, and therefore demonstrate a continuity in taste through the 1640s and 1650s. In the Lamport collection, there are three portraits of Isham by leading contemporary portraitists of his day: Joan Carlile (c.1606-1679), Samuel Cooper (1609-1672) and Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680), all of whom were numbered among the 'English Modern Masters' listed by William Sanderson in his treatise *Graphice* of 1658.[132] Analysis of Isham's relationship with these artists, and the timing of the portrait commissions tell us something of his motives as a patron, and also offer an insight into the painting market of London at the time.

Isham's painting by Joan Carlile is a small conversation piece called *A Stag Hunt* (fig. 58). It is of particular interest because Carlile was one of the very first English women to practice painting professionally.[133] She and her husband, the dramatist, Lodowick Carlile (1601/2-1675), were Royalists, like Isham. The Carliles were allowed to retain

---

[131] Northamptonshire Record Office: Isham papers (Lamport Collection): I, IC, IL. The inventories are, firstly, an untitled inventory of pictures in twenty-eight rooms, NRO/IL/4099 and, secondly, 'The note of Sir Thomas Isham's pictures', NRO/IL/4402. These two inventories and another inventory which cites exclusively Thomas's Italian picture purchases are mentioned in Michael Jaffé, "The Picture of the Secretary of Titian," *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 756 (Mar. 1966): 120.
[132] Sanderson, *Graphice.*
[133] The most up-to-date article on Joan Carlile is Jane Eade, "Rediscovering the 'worthy artiste Mrs Carlile." *Apollo Magazine* (June 2018): 19-24. Also see Gyles Isham and Margaret Toynbee's studies of Carlile's life and work: Toynbee, "Joan Carlile. An Additional Note," 319-318; Toynbee, "Joan Carlile: Some Further Attributions," 186-88; Isham and Toynbee, "Joan Carlile (1606? - 1679): An Identification," 273–277.

their homes and jobs during the Commonwealth and Cromwell's Protectorate because of Lodowick's role as the keeper of the Royal Deer Park at Richmond. The Carliles provided a base for other Royalists who visited London and Richmond, and Isham was one such visitor, staying with the Carliles in 1649 when he was negotiating to get his fine for Shangton reduced.[134] It was there that the baronet became firm friends with their neighbour, Bishop Brian Duppa.[135]

The Stag Hunt shows the Carlile family on one side of a landscape setting, presumably Richmond Park, and Isham and some unidentified ladies (and what seems to be half a sculpted bust) on the other side. The men gesture to the centre of the scene where a dead stag lies next to a cross bow. With its landscape setting, several portraits in different poses, a jewel-like colour scheme and display of drapery, and a prominent self-portrait of the artist, the work is a showpiece of Joan Carlile's talents. There is no record of when and how this picture entered Isham's collection, though it is traditionally thought to originate from the time Isham stayed with the Carliles at Petersham in 1649-50. However, if it is to be assumed that the lady seated below Isham is his wife Jane (née Garrard), then the picture must have been executed before her death on 3 March 1639.[136] Isham certainly looks much younger in this painting than in his portraits of the 1650s. It is possible that her seated pose, loose bodice and arm gesture across her stomach, paired with the the woman bending over her offering flowers is in reference to her being pregnant. The couple had four girls, Jane, Elizabeth (d.1734), Judith (d.1679), and Susan, before she died after giving birth to a son, John. An inventory of about 1677 lists two entries which could refer to the Carlile picture: a 'Sr Justinin. & two Landskips wth a Ladyes' in Sir Thomas's Isham's chamber, and 'Pictures of Sr Just.n + daughters' in the High Room.[137] It is difficult to tell whether the latter reference refers to separate portraits of Sir Justinian and his daughters, or a group picture such as *The Stag Hunt.* The other women in the painting are too old to be Isham's daughters by Jane, whom he married in 1634, but they could

---

[134] Other Royalist lodgers of the Carliles included Lucy, Lady Carlisle, Philip Stanhope, the 2nd Earl of Chesterfield, Thomas Knyvett, and Gilbert Sheldon. This would have kept the Carliles, and, by extension, their close friends Duppa and Isham, well-informed on the gossip of the Royalist circles. The Carliles were also friends with another of Isham's regular correspondents, Dorothy Long, of Draycot House, Wiltshire (d.1710, wife of James Long, 2nd Bart 1673). Duppa, *Correspondence*, xxiv–xxv.
[135] Duppa reminisced in 1658 that Richmond Park was 'a Place something the more beloved by me because from thence I had my first enjoyments of yr Friendship'. Letter XCVII, January12th, 1658. Cited in Duppa, *Correspondence*, xxiv.
[136] A fact pointed out by Jane Eade in Eade, "Rediscovering the 'worthy artiste Mrs Carlile," 21.
[137] NRO/IL/4099 f.1r.

feasibly be his elder sisters the diarist Elizabeth (1609-1654) and Judith (b.1610). If the picture does not feature Jane, and therefore may be dated later, the mystery women may indeed be Isham's daughters. Another possible identity of the prominently-seated lady is the mutual friend of both the Carliles and Ishams: Elizabeth Murray (1626-1698).

In 1654, when Sir Justinian had settled himself at Lamport Hall, Brian Duppa wrote to him from Richmond expressing his wish for a portrait of Isham by Carlile: 'I have had a long studied designe of having yr Picture, and by that Hand rather then by any else'.[138] Yet, there is no evidence that Isham owned other works by Carlile, or ever sat for any other portrait of himself by the artist.

We know that Isham did sit for two other portraits, however. These were a watercolour miniature by the leading limner of the day, Samuel Cooper, signed and dated 1653 (fig. 59), and an oil in an oval by Sir Peter Lely, of around the same date (fig. 60). Like Webb, both Cooper and Lely had been strategic in forging successful careers in the Interregnum years working for both Royalist and Parliamentarian patrons, and it may well have been Webb who recommended the London-based artists to Isham – both having been patronised in the 1640s by the Earl of Northumberland.[139] As was the case for Lady Carlile, who moved to work in Covent Garden for a spell in the mid-1650s,[140] it seems that the value of being a good portrait painter was more important to sitters than political allegiance. However, in contrast to Carlile's portrait of him wearing a hat and feather among other individuals in fancy dress, in these portraits Isham sits calmly against a blank background, dressed in sombre black and white with his lips gently pursed and his hooded eyes looking discerningly at the viewer. This more reserved portrait type fits the pared-down conventions of the day, revealing no trappings of power or office, nor symbols of the sitter's pastimes or the extent of his learning. This matches Verney's description of Isham's personality as a 'very discreet person',[141] and presents the new baronet as quietly confident and sure of

---

[138] Letter XLIII, February 14 1654. With endorsed reply from Isham. Duppa, *Correspondence*, 82.
[139] For example, a portrait by Cooper of c.1645 of Elizabeth, Countess of Northumberland, nee Howard, whom Northumberland married in 1642, was listed in her will proved on 13 November 1690. Burghley collection, MIN0003.
t[140] Eade, "Rediscovering the 'worthy artiste Mrs Carlile," 22.
[141] Alfred J. Gotch, *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Northamptonshire* (London, Batsford, 1936), 57.

his place in the world. It seems likely that his motivations for commissioning these two portraits soon after inheriting the baronetcy and moving to Lamport were in part to mark his likeness for posterity on the event of his rise to the title. Alternatively, they might represent the efforts of the forty-something widower to cultivate his image and advertise his eligibility to a second wife and produce an heir for Lamport.

In addition to these works which can be dated to the early 1650s, there is another miniature showing an older, moustached Isham, which is unattributed but seemingly by a Dutch or Flemish artist. The miniature is painted in oil on copper, not the usual watercolour on vellum, which suggests the artist was possibly more accustomed to working in larger scale (fig. 61). From the age of the face, facial hair, hairstyle and dress it does seem to be more of a post-1660 Restoration date. It has more in common with a large portrait of Isham in the collection by Lely's studio assistant, Jean Baptist Gaspars (fig. 62). Gaspars was Flemish, from Antwerp, and arrived on the London painting scene in 1645 so, given his connections to Lely and Lely's to Isham, it is quite possible that Gaspars could be the mystery painter of this miniature.

As his correspondence with Webb and Duppa, and his sittings for London artists show, Isham was not confined to Lamport Hall and did make trips down to London and Richmond despite the various Acts exiling Royalist 'delinquents'. Isham's engagement with the contemporary portrait painting scene in London from the outset of his exile in the early 1650s demonstrates that patronage networks functioned across England at the time, and that London remained the nexus of the art world and was still the place to secure the most fashionable commissions. Isham's commissions also provide an example of how the works of London-based artists were transmitted into the provinces.

Isham's continued connection with the London art world in this period can be demonstrated further by his other picture purchases in the 1650s. In addition to commissioning and collecting fashionable contemporary portraiture, he also found the financial means to assemble a small collection of originals and copies of Italian old master paintings. Letters addressed to Isham from John Webb, Isham's lawyer, Theodore Greene, and his art agent Maurice Wase (all based in London) help to flesh out the picture of Isham's collecting activities in the 1650s. Through these letters we

can discern approximately when and how some items came into the collection, as well as glean some additional information about the London painting market of the mid-1650s.

In a letter of 16 April 1655, Webb wrote to Isham to update him on his meeting with the art agent Wase regarding possible pictures for Isham to purchase.[142] Webb enclosed a note from Wase (fig. 63) detailing the prices of a selection of pictures, and gives advice on the suitability of the works in question.[143] These are, firstly, a painting by Van Dyck of Christ and St John the Baptist when children – described as 'the two boys' or 'the van dyck' in all correspondence, perhaps to mask its religious content from Parliamentary censors – and a picture of the dying Lucretia by an unknown artist. Priced by Wase at £24 and £20 respectively, Webb notes that both have been damaged and not repaired very well. There is no record of a Lucretia ever being in the Lamport collection, so Isham might have turned down this offer, but the Van Dyck can be securely identified from other letters to Isham as a painting that remains in the Lamport collection: *The Infant Christ and St. John the Baptist* (fig. 64).

Greene wrote to Isham a month after Webb's letter, on the 17 May, reporting that he had 'spoken wth Mr Wase' and was going to pay him £20 for a picture.[144] He informs Isham that Wase had 'undertaken to send the peece safely downe by ... this retorne' and requests Isham confirm receipt of it. In a letter one week later of the 24 May from Wase to Isham, he names the work as the Van Dyck painting of the infants.[145] Evidently, Isham or Webb had managed to negotiate the price down by four pounds, probably on the grounds of its bad condition. On the 31 May, Webb wrote again to Isham, stating how glad he was that Isham had bought the Van Dyck, and uses their apparent joint admiration of it to bolster his advice to Isham to 'buy principalls rather than Copyes', despite their greater expense.[146] Isham was fortunate to have Webb's connoisseurial talents at his disposal, as it seems some enterprising art dealers were

---

[142] NRO/IC/4771/6.
[143] The note from Wase is reproduced in facsimile at Lamport Hall, but so-far cannot be located at the NRO; it is not kept along with the Webb/Isham correspondence.
[144] NRO/IC/357.
[145] Wase's letter to Isham of 24 May 1655 can not be traced in Northamptonshire Record Office, but a facsimile exists at Lamport Hall.
[146] NRO/IC/4772/7. Gotch, "Some Newly Found Drawings and Letters."

duping contemporary collectors into buying copies masked as originals: in his treatise on art of 1658, the writer William Sanderson accused the painter, musician and dealer, Sir Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666) of ageing painted copies so they could be passed off as 'from a good hand.'[147]

The next two pictures offered by Wase to Isham are copies of old masters. One is after Titian of an unknown subject but apparently containing a nude woman, which Webb feared might offend Lady Isham. Wase prices it at half the price of the Van Dyck, at £12. Although there is no evidence to confirm that this copy was bought, it has been historically identified as a work in the collection depicting Susanna and the Elders (fig. 65). However, this *Susanna and the Elders* does not seem to be based on any Titian design, and seems to be an unknown original type, or a composite of various depictions of the scene by other Italian artists. It is possible that Sir Justinian did not buy Wase's copy after a nude by Titian after all, or, if he did, the work has since left the collection.

The other copy listed by Wase is after Guercino and is offered at the cheapest price of £10. The subject is described as 'The ould man makeing of Bassquets', which implies it is a scene from the story of Erminia and the Shepherds. Interestingly, Stone's 1671 inventory of the Northumberland collection at Petworth records 'A Picture of an Old Man Making a Baskett, and a Woman standing by him', which might be a contender for the original used for Webb's copy;[148] incidentally, a version of this scene, described as 'Of *Bamboots,* A Landskip with the History of Erno and Ermine' was also in Sir Peter Lely's collection when sold on his death decades later.[149] There is, however, no record of such a picture ever being in the Lamport collection, so it seems Isham never bought the picture he was offered. Webb does make an interesting comment in relation to this work, though, stating how the picture 'might well be placed over ye dore in yor roome betwixt ye first window & Ceeling' to take off some of its 'hardness'.[150] Which room in the property exactly this comment refers to is

---

[147] Sanderson, *Graphice*, 16. This incident is cited in Wood, "Nicholas Lanier," 87.
[148] Symonds fol. 74r, inv. no.177, valued at £20. Cited in appendix to Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 307.
[149] Measurements recorded as 2 x 3 ft. "Sir Peter Lely's Collection", *The Burlington Magazine* 83, no. 485 (Aug., 1943) 186.
[150] NRO/IC/4772/6.

unclear, but given Webb's keen interest in the placement, and as Isham did not have a picture gallery, it is probably one of his new rooms, and most likely, the 'High Room', which has ample space to hang smaller works high up above the door. This passage suggests Webb was involved in designing the hang of pictures for Isham as well as purchasing them, and hints at the sort of layout that was being created inside his new extension.

In his letter of 16 April Webb also offers the services of two alternative picture dealers in addition or instead of Maurice Wase, stating:

> There is a friend of mine hath a much better copy after Titian & lower prised of ye dying Lucrecia, wch at your coming to Towne you may see. There is also a merchant in London hath lately brought severall paintings out of Italy aswell copyes as originalls wch you may also see, in ye meane while I will see you & give you my opinion.[151]

This passage is revealing in many ways. Firstly, it shows us that Webb was well connected in the London picture market. Secondly, it demonstrates that the English painting trade with the Continent continued, at least in the mid-1650s, and that London remained a competitive site for picture trading of both original Old Masters and the contemporary copy market. A we have already seen, the art agent Peter Fitton sought out artwork in Italy for Humphrey Weld in the mid-1640s,[152] and Sir Peter Lely is recorded as travelling to Holland with Hugh May in May 1656.[153] A contender for Wase's art-dealing 'friend' or 'merchant' is the musician and picture dealer Nicholas Lanier, who is known to have travelled on the Continent between 1645 and 1660, and he obtained passes allowing him to import works of art into England in 1655 and 1658.[154]

---

[151] NRO/IC/4772/6.

[152] Ferris, "A Connoisseur's Shopping-List, 1647," 339-341.

[153] State Papers Domestic 25/77. 150, order 29 May 1656, for a pass for Holland to be granted to 'Peter Leley, and his Serct. Hugh May'.

[154] 1655 Pass: TNA PRO, SP 25/76, fol.258 (also numbered 264); duplicated in SP 25/112, fol.214. 1658 Pass: TNA PRO, SP 25/114, fol.144. Cited in Wood, "Nicholas Lanier," 87.

The fact that there were several versions of particular paintings – the Titian with the nude, the dying Lucretia, and the Erminia and the Shepherds – being sold by other London picture dealers indicates that those being offered to Isham were the types of paintings that were in wider circulation on the market, and not just particular to Maurice Wase's taste. It also confirms that Isham did still travel down to London on occasion and was not wholly confined to his life of 'Royalist retreat' in Northamptonshire.

These letters also show that Isham purchased a large version of Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback attended to by M. de St. Antoine* from Wase (figs 66 and 67). In his letter to Isham of the 17 May, Isham's lawyer Greene also wrote that the 'peece' Isham had enquired about 'wilbe too big for any roome you have'.[155] This indicates that Green was familiar enough with Isham's new structure to know that the *Charles I on Horseback* would be too big to fit on the available wall space in the High Room, despite the room's large size. In relation to this large picture, he asks whether a copy of half the size might do better in its place: 'yf you would have a coppie, would knowe whether a figure of halfe the bignes of the originall will not serve.' But, in any case, he reports that Wase had stated the price of the large original was £200 'at least'.[156] Subsequently, in his letter to Isham of the 24 May, Wase also confirms that the big painting Greene referred to without a title a week before is 'The kings picture on Horseback', and asks for £250 for it, or £50 for a 'good Coppy'. Wase worked as a painter and copyist as well as a dealer, and it is possible that he was doing some of the copies he offered for sale himself. One sentence in the letter from Wase suggests he offered at least one of his own copies to Isham: 'I hope you Receved The tow boyse safe if you are nott desireous too have the Coppy thereof which I did, I pray Returne it'. However, another tantalising possibility is that the painter and copyist, Remigius van Leemput, in whose possession the original Van Dyck was by this stage, produced copies after the work. As a possible former studio assistant for Van Dyck, it would make sense that Van Leemput would want to continue in the vein perpetuating the style of his late master, for which there was evidently demand.

---

[155] NRO/IC/357.
[156] NRO/IC/357.

By the enormous size of the version of the *Charles I on Horseback* now in the Lamport collection, it seems that, despite Greene's advice, Isham insisted on buying the large replica of the Van Dyck. At 361 cm by 274 cm, it is the largest of the four principal versions of the scene, though only slightly bigger than the Van Dyck original, and is and it is the only one to give the Royal Arms in its entirety.[157] While the purchase of Van Dyck originals and copies was common among elite patrons of both sides of the political and religious spectrum, this purchase of an enormous version of the Van Dyck portrait of the recently executed king in 1655, in the midst of Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate, can be interpreted as a bold statement of his on-going Royalist sympathies. Wherever in the public rooms the picture was hung, it would have made a strong impression on visitors. While Webb's new entrance hall, the High Room would have been a large enough space to comfortably accommodate the picture, this would have been unlikely if the room was decorated according to the designs by his hand which survive (fig. 57 a, b, c, d). These show all four double-height walls occupied by windows, doors, a fireplace and niches for sculptures. It is more likely that the portrait was displayed in the dining room, which was often the custom for royal pictures, as William Sanderson pointed out in his *Graphice*: 'The *Dyning-Roome ;* with the most eminent ; a *King* and *Queen* ... to express their Love and Lyalty, by some such *Embleme*, or note of remembrance ... Or of chiefe Nobility, (Favourits) to waite upon their princely Persons.'[158] There is evidence that Sanderson's recommendations were followed to some extent at Lamport Hall at least by the time of an inventory of about 1677, shortly after Sir Justinian's death. This lists 'The Kings [portrait]' as ' In ye dining Room', and reveals a 'Picture of K. Ch. ye first' was displayed 'In ye dining room Chamber'.[159] It is possible that these pictures were the copies after Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback* and *Le Roi à la ciasse* from Sir Justinian's collection, both being portraits of Charles I. Alternatively, 'The Kings [portrait]' might refer to the king at that time, Charles II, which still leaves

---

[157] The original painted for Charles I in 1633 is in the Royal Collection, RCIN 405322. It was valued by the Trustees for Sale and sold to 'Pope', 22 December 1652, then acquired by Remigius van Leemput but recovered for Charles II in 1660. The portrait is now displayed at Buckingham Palace.

[158] Sanderson, *Graphice,* 26-7.

[159] NRO/IL/4099 f.1v. Michael Jaffé dated the inventory to 'about 1677'. Jaffé, "The Picture of the Secretary of Titian," *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 756 (Mar. 1966): 120.

the possibility that a portrait of Charles I had been hung in the Dining Room during the Interregnum, and replaced at some point after the Restoration by the portrait of Charles II.

Maurice Wase's letter relating to the *Charles I on Horseback* is dated the 24 May 1655, and on the 9 June – probably before the picture purchase had been concluded – Isham was arrested and kept in prison with other known Royalists at St James's Palace until the autumn. It is possible that word had got out about Isham's rather incriminating choice of painting, but there is no evidence to show that the picture was seized and confiscated, and it remains in the collection today. Indeed, letters show that Isham was updated on the progress of his building works during his imprisonment.[160] Isham was not arrested alone, and in his letters of 1655 imply that he was joined by many others who had been rounded up as a preventative measure by the Protectorate.[161] This indicates that, however strong a statement of Royalism Isham's collecting of the large *Charles I on Horseback* was, it was either not seen in situ by the relevant persons of the Protectorate, or – as with the royal portraits in Northumberland and Pembroke's collections – was not considered an issue.

It is possible, however, that, shaken by his month of imprisonment, Isham decided to be more discreet in the nature of his picture purchases after this point. This goes some way to explaining why there is no further reference in Webb's or other surviving letters to his picture purchases, but for one very brief hint in his lawyer, Greene's letter to Isham's bailiff, Mr John Capet a few months after his release from prison on the 12 February 1656, in which he encloses a now lost note of 'the painteing stuffe and the prices'.[162] This suggests that there was another batch of pictures on offer in London but as to what these were, one can only conjecture.

---

[160] See, for example, a letter from Mr John Capet to Sir Justinian, dated September 3rd, 1655, NRO/IC/364, in which Capet writes that Lady Isham was troubled by Sir Isham's last letter, but goes on to update Isham on the Lamport Hall building progress. He states that the floors of the building had been laid, the slate roof was in progress, and the upper cornice of the front will be finished in the week ready for the nails and 'Balasters'.
[161] In an endorsed draft letter, Isham wrote 'Being now heere a Prisoner amongst many others of our country', NRO/IC/358. In another letter is written "Many persons of qualitie are in holft [holdfast] the names of wch are in the news bookes', NRO/IC/359. On the back of a letter from his bailiff, John Capet, dated August 6th, 1655, Sir Justinian wrote: "Haveing bin brought hither from our own houses by souldiers, and heere imprisoned the space of 2 months to the prejudice of our healthe and certaine detriment of our severall families affairs and fortunes.' NRO/IC/362.
[162] NRO/IC/380.

There are two other works in the Lamport collection which, if they were purchased at this time, would strengthen the impression that Isham's art purchases were intended in part as a bold statement of his political loyalties. These are a large copy of Van Dyck's portrait of Charles I at a hunt, best known by Van der Doort's French description 'Le Roi à la ciasse' (figs 68 and 69),[163] and a copy of Paul van Somer's portrait of the mother of Charles I, Queen Anne of Denmark (figs 70 and 71).[164] These may be the works referred to in Greene's cryptic note about 'painteing stuffe' but there is also an unsubstantiated rumour at Lamport Hall that the *Le Roi à la Ciasse* came from nearby Holdenby, an enormous palace which had been sold after the Civil Wars to the Parliamentarian Adam Baynes, who reduced the house to a single wing and in doing so sold off or destroyed much of its contents.[165] The c.1677 inventory locates 'Queen Anne' upstairs in 'ye matted Chamber', along with 'Old Mr Isham' (potentially Lely's portrait of Sir Justinian) and a portrait of Charles II.[166]

Regardless of their origin, in displaying a by-then unfashionable portrait of the dead King's mother, and two large portraits of Charles I, one with a complete Royal Coat of Arms, it seems that Isham wanted to draw visual connections to the heritage and potency of the Stuart dynasty, whose heir, the future Charles II, was still alive. It is perhaps unexpected that such a studious, reserved man would want to make such an obvious statement of his loyalties when up to that point he was largely left alone by the Parliamentary government. It is also surprising that workshops in London, whether that of Van Leemput or Wase or one of Webb's other connections, risked not only selling the pictures of Charles I but also making copies of them. This suggests there was enough demand from collectors, but also indicates that the Commonwealth overlooked historic portraits of the King and his family and that, possibly, only martyrologies and contemporary portraits of the Duke of York were considered threatening. This is evidence of a continuation of Caroline tastes and habits. It is also arguably confirmation that religious and political statements in art were allowed, so

---

[163] The original of c.1636 is at the Louvre, Paris, inv.1236.
[164] Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405887. Painted for Queen Anne of Denmark in 1617, it was sold to Jackson and others on 23 October 1651 and recovered at the Restoration. Now displayed at Hampton Court Palace.
[165] "Holdenby," in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the County of Northamptonshire, Volume 3, Archaeological Sites in North-West Northamptonshire*, (London: HMSO, 1981), 103-109. *British History Online*, accessed April 17, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/northants/vol3/pp103-109.
[166] NRO/IL/4099 f.1v.

long as they were not in a church for the former or a government building for the latter. Indeed, as we have seen, the Earl of Northumberland also owned borderline 'popish' pictures as well as royal portraits by Van Dyck and recent ones by Lely. Northumberland's feelings about the execution of the King were known, and yet he was allowed to continue to reside at Northumberland House in the 1650s, displaying portraits of the Stuart dynasty. Nevertheless, Northumberland's Van Dycks and Lelys of royal subjects must have come into the collection in the 1630s or 1640s, when Northumberland was backing Parliament. They were not 'made-to-measure' bespoke commissions in the midst of the Interregnum for a planned space, as Isham's were, but examples of his continued collecting of the work of leading artists.

Another painting in Isham's collection which echoes that of Northumberland is a copy of Titian's *Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier*, the original of which was in the collection of Northumberland (figs 72 and 73). Though not mentioned in the letters, this might have been part of the 'painteing stuffe' purchased by Sir Justinian at the time of building his new wing. It is likely that Webb played a key role in the selection of the work to be placed within his decorative scheme in the later 1650s. Indeed, while the original double portrait at Northumberland House was not singled out by Evelyn as 'one of the best of Titians', its medium size and the gravitas of the scene depicted was an appropriate purchase for a collector who self-identified as a 'man of letters', and suited for display in the premier position in the room, set into Webb's fireplace overmantel, where it remains today. It is likely that Isham's copy of the painting was made with the earl's approval. If so, it is possible that the copy might have been made by the painter Symon Stone, who the earl employed as a keeper of pictures and a copyist, and who might have painted the copy of the *Vendramin Family* by Titian in the earl's collection.[167] Other contenders are copyists known to have worked for the earl at one point or another: Jan van Belcamp, Remigius van Leemput, and George Geldorp.

---

[167] *The Vendramin Family,* 205.8 x 288.5 cm, c.1645-53. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406055. The attribution to Symon Stone was suggested by Gyles Isham and supported by Michael Jaffé: Michael Jaffé, "The Picture of the Secretary of Titian," *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 756 (Mar. 1966): 120.

A surviving sketch by Webb of the fireplace, and another one of the east wall of the High Room featuring the fireplace (fig. 74), shows that at least this wall of the High Room was executed to his designs, and includes the exact space marked out for where the painting now sits.[168] This implies that Isham had already purchased, or was at least planning on buying, this copy after Titian by the time Webb produced this drawing in 1655. It also suggests that Webb was required to design his fireplace, and possibly other elements of the room's interior, to best showcase Isham's new picture purchases; we have after all already heard how Webb provided a suggestion for the best place to hang the copy of a Guercino. The references to the enormity of the *Charles I on Horseback* compared to the size of the room also indicate that parties involved in the sale were conscious of its planned destination in Webb's house.

Conclusion to case study on Sir Justinian Isham

Through analysis of the surviving Isham correspondence, Webb's drawings and collection items remaining at the Hall, it is possible to reconstruct what we can be sure was (and what is very likely to have been) bought by Isham for his picture collection at Lamport, and possibly how the works were displayed. There are admittedly some frustrating gaps in the evidence, but nevertheless the material demonstrates that an individual finding himself on the 'wrong' side of the political and religious divide, and based outside the centre of power and commerce, could continue to patronise architecture, sculpture and painting on an ambitious scale in the 1650s. While not taking up arms against the new regime, or being outspoken in any recorded way, Isham betrayed his true sentiments by displaying pictures of the late King in his redeveloped home. It would seem that the Commonwealth and Protectorate turned a blind eye towards such visual displays of Royalism, so long as they were not paired with active Royalist resistance. Isham's imprisonments in these years can therefore be seen as a preventative measure by the Protectorate to round up

[168] While it appears the space was planned with this picture in mind, it was removed to storage in 'ye upper Wardrobe' at the time of the c.1677 inventory. It is there identified as 'Machiavell', reflecting the mistaken belief that the painting depicts Machiavelli. Thomas clearly had a different taste in pictures to his father, as the inventory reveals that he also put some of his father's other early acquisitons in the store: the 'Susanna', 'The two Boys' and 'Sr Justinian Ishams [portrait]'. NRO/IL/4099 f.1r.

all known Royalist sympathisers in periods of increased political agitation, rather than a reaction to any particular transgression by Isham himself.

Isham's continued patronage in these years owed as much to his robust financial situation as to his personal determination to continue cultural pursuits. It also helped that he actively maintained his links with London through correspondence and occasional visits. Isham looked to London, not Northampton or anywhere nearby, for up-and-coming contemporary artists to paint his portrait, and for a dealer to sell him Old Master and contemporary pictures. However, like Northumberland, Isham's continued patronage in this period was also facilitated by factors outside his control, such as the art world contacts provided by Webb, the availability of works on the market and the healthy copy industry of the 1650s.

Therefore, as well as giving a detailed perspective on one patron's activities in the 1650s, the material also throws light on aspects of the painting market in London. In addition to names and, sometimes, places, the letters give tantalising glimpses of what sorts of paintings were in circulation in the mid-1650s and which type of pictures were thought worthy of the copy market. We likewise learn of the competitive prices set on the pictures for sale, and the amount a modest member of the gentry was willing to pay. Isham's favouring of royal portraiture and the works of Titian, Van Dyck and contemporary portrait painters such as Lely and Cooper aligned him with elite tastes of previous decades, while showing that he had kept abreast of the fashions of the times, despite his enforced exile. Isham's patronage was akin to both contemporary and earlier patronage practices: it therefore adds to the body of evidence that suggests that there was more continuity in the art market through this period than is broadly accepted.

Conclusion to Chapter 3

The cases of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland and Sir Justinian Isham therefore show that elite patrons on opposite sides of the political and religious divide, and with differing social status and financial resources, were able to be active throughout the 1640s and 1650s. From the very outset of this period, the earl

embarked on not one, but two stages of expensive developments to his new home in London, Northumberland House, as well as commissioning the rebuilding of his country house, Syon. He developed his collection of old and contemporary painting along the way, selling assets when needed to ensure he retained the funds to expand his collection, and even accepted pictures in lieu of debt. Isham similarly commissioned architectural developments about his country property in the 1650s and expanded his collection. He also commissioned at least two portraits of himself from leading London portrait painters. The pair are therefore proof that the political and economic disruption brought on by the Civil Wars did not put a stop to the high quality of architectural and artistic patronage continuing in London and further afield in England.

In fact, to some extent the wars and other events of these years rendered the painting market more active, and even made it easier to collect paintings. Firstly, the dispersal of Royalist collections such as that of the Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Buckingham, and that of Charles I, meant that the market was flooded with pictures, the best of which were to be acquired by collectors with higher status and influence, such as Northumberland. Secondly due to the circulation of these works they were seen by a broader range of people, and copies were made, such as those offered by Wase to Isham of the *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine*, possibly executed by its possessor, Van Leemput. Thirdly, the destruction and iconoclasm was an impetus for new commissions and collecting, as Northumberland's rebuilding and fitting out of Syon proves. Finally, aside from the impact of the wars, high quality works were on the market anyway due to other contemporary events, such as the death of Van Dyck and the dispersal of his collection, and the new output of contemporary portrait painters such as Lely, who, with other painters such as Dobson and Carlile, replaced the void left by Van Dyck.

This enabling, as opposed to hindering, effect of the events sparked during the 1640s is supported by the fact that Northumberland actually increased the scale of his patronage and collecting between 1640 and 1660 and, despite the limitations put upon him, Isham chose to begin his. Both also embarked on multiple, back-to-back and overlapping projects in these years, and were able to afford the same fashionable London architects and artists of the day. Both Northumberland and Isham showed

themselves to be personally invested in their building and picture collecting projects, calling on advice but making key decisions themselves, despite the potential financial or political risks of these choices. Ultimately, therefore, despite the caesura in the traditional Royal Court-centred patronage network due to the absence of the King and the displacement of many elite patrons from London, Northumberland's and Isham's cases suggest that Caroline-style patronage continued, the picture market adapted, and the city remained the centre of the art world for elite patrons. Their cases strongly indicate that the social, religious and political identity of patrons during this period had little bearing on artistic tastes, and that Caroline fashions for art and architecture were still dominant.

CHAPTER 4

The Retention of 'the late King's goods' in London during the Interregnum: the cases of Oliver Cromwell and Emanuel de Critz

Introduction

An investigation into the continuities and changes that took place in the English art world between 1640 and 1660 would not be complete without an assessment of the impact of the re-appropriation and organised sale of the royal properties and goods following the King's execution in 1649.[1] The so-called 'Commonwealth Sale' and ensuing secondary sales of the royal collection – along with the dispersal around this time of other noble collections such as those of the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Duke of Hamilton – caused an unprecedented influx of art for sale in the capital which caught the attention of both native and foreign art collectors. This phenomenon saw, for the first time in British history, the mass transfer of luxury goods and high-status works of art from restricted palace interiors to public showrooms and the private possession of persons of lower socio-economic strata. It is indisputable, therefore, that, in the broadest sense, the sale of the royal goods, plus the parallel dispersal of other great collections, brought about a great change in the artistic landscape of England during the 1650s. However, the detailed picture is not so simple. It is complicated by the fact that a large proportion of the goods were kept back by the state for continued display in the retained royal residences. In addition, a number of figures who had worked as dealers and copyists during the 1630s and 1640s were able to continue their careers in a similar vein during the 1650s, as they were called upon to assist in the sale and subsequent

[1] Although mostly described here and elsewhere, for ease, as the goods of the King, the royal goods inventoried at all the royal palaces and houses and put up for sale (or retained by the Council of State) also included items owned by Queen Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles; the sale was officially 'The Sale of the Goods and Personal Estate of the late King Queen and Prince.' See the first Act of 4 July 1649: "An Act for sale of the goods and personal Estate of the late King, Queen and Prince," in Firth and Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, 160-168.

dispersal of royal goods. Furthermore, the values placed on and selling prices of art by certain artists or of particular subjects, the choices made in the selection of works of art by dealers and collectors, as well as contemporary comments about specific examples, also indicate continuities in artistic fashions and the dominant taste. By unpicking the ways in which this balance of continuity and change was manifested and how deep each extended, this chapter seeks to present insights into aspects of the English art world and London's role as an art centre in these years, as well as to provide examples of the survival of patterns of elite art consumption and taste through this period.

The dispersal of the King's goods during the Interregnum has been addressed in detail by a number of scholars. Progress in the field has owed much to the publication of source material during the nineteenth century, such as the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (RCHM or HMC) reports, which began in 1870, and increased public access to the State Papers kept by the Public Record Office (PRO, now The National Archives, TNA). In the course of his research into the life of Rubens (published in 1859), W. Noel Sainsbury also made memoranda on material in the State Papers that he thought to be of interest to scholars of art, and published his findings relating to art during the Interregnum.[2] Another great leap in scholarship in the field came in the mid-twentieth century, when Wilhelm Treue and W. L. F. Nuttall's valuable articles on the topic were followed by Oliver Millar's publication of edited transcripts of surviving inventories and valuations of the goods.[3] Millar's transcribed text – a composite of manuscripts kept at TNA, Corsham Court and the Society of Antiquaries, among others – is supported by a concise but detailed introduction to the inventories and sales which cites relevant manuscript sources and secondary material. These published inventories and other records relating to the sale were duly analysed by scholars such as A. Pritchard, and thoroughly cross-referenced

[2] William Noel Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, as an Artist and a Diplomatist* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859); William Noel Sainsbury, "Extracts from the State Papers of the Interregnum (1649-1660)," *The Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, 1863: 166–71.
[3] Wilhelm Treue, "The Dispersal of Charles I's Collection," in *Art Plunder: The Fate of Works of Art in War and Unrest* (New York: John Day Co., 1960), 302–9; W. L. F. Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures and the Commonwealth Sale," *Apollo* 82, no. 44 (1965): 302–9; Millar, "The Inventories and Valuations of the King's Goods, 1649-1651," i-xxviii, 1-443.

and contextualised in a volume edited by Arthur MacGregor.[4] Jonathan Brown set the sale in its national and European cultural context and, with J. H. Elliott, published documents from the Spanish Alba Archives concerning acquisitions made on behalf of the King of Spain. Information on the purchases for Cardinal Mazarin has long been available in an account in French published in 1885.[5] The acquisition of works of art from the King's collection to augment the collections of some elite connoisseurs, such as the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Viscount Lisle, has also been addressed by Jeremy Wood and Hilary Maddicott.[6] More recent books by Jerry Brotton and Francis Haskell have presented their interpretations of the 'story' of the sequence of events and the trajectories of key objects and characters involved.[7] A particular topic of revision of late has been Charles II's recovery of works from the sale. Following close analysis of legal cases arising from the 1660 Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, Andrew Barclay has convincingly revealed that recovery of goods dispersed in the sale was a slower, more complicated, and less successful process than has previously been argued by scholars such as Brotton and Stephen Gleissner.[8] Another topic of contention has been the sale's legacy. Oliver Millar – who was well placed to comment – conceded that the sale was not, as expressed by Horace Walpole and other writers, 'carried out in a vandalistic spirit by a crew of barbaric republicans who destroyed the achievement of a great royal connoisseur'. Yet, he spoke for many in stating that it was a 'cultural disaster' and roundly condemned Brotton's assertion that the dispersal was 'a good thing' because it led to the development of 'a more cosmopolitan style'.[9]

---

[4] A. Pritchard, "George Wither and the Sale of the Estate of Charles I," *Modern Philology* 82 (1980): 370-81; Arthur MacGregor, ed., *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (London; Oxford: A. McAlpine; Oxford University Press, 1989).

[5] Brown, *Kings & Connoisseurs*; J. Brown and J. H. Elliott, eds, *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-55* (London: Yale University Press, 2002); Gabriel Jules comte de Cosnac and Antoine de Bordeaux, *Les Richesses Du Palais Mazarin. Correspondance Inédite de M. de Bordeaux, Ambassadeur En Angleterre, État Inédit Des Tableaux et Des Tapisseries de Charles Premier Mis En Vente Au Palais de Somerset En 1650. Inventaire Inédit Dressé Après La Mort Du Cardinal Mazarin En 1661* (Paris: Renouard, 1885).

[6] Jeremy Wood, "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland," 280–324; Maddicott, "A Collection of the Interregnum Period," 1–24.

[7] In his review of Brotton's book, Oliver Millar pointed out that the text was 'marred too often by errors of fact and of interpretation'. O. Millar, "The Collection of Charles I," *Court Historian* 12 (2007): 72; Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*; Haskell, *The King's Pictures*.

[8] Andrew Barclay, "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection: Some Implications of the 1660 Act of Indemnity and Oblivion," *Historical Research* 88, no. 242 (November 2015): 629–49; S. Gleissner, "Reassembling a Royal Art Collection for the Restored King of Great Britain," *Journal of the History of Collections* 6 (1994): 103-15; Brotton, "The Art of Restoration," 115-135.

[9] Millar, "The Collection of Charles I," 79, 80.

The emphasis has, for good reason, been on the 'dispersal' of the royal collection in terms of goods that were acquired by the King's creditors and sold on and foreign dignitaries' competing campaigns to purchase high-value items. However, while the royal goods were indeed removed from the ownership of the royal family, and many were sent abroad, some items were retained or bought back by the Council of State and stayed in the royal palaces during the 1650s, while other goods remained nearby in Westminster and the City of London, often in the hands of the King's former servants and established personalities of the Caroline art world. Rather than attempting to re-tell the story of the sale, this chapter will focus on some instances of the *retention* of the royal collection within London after the King's execution. It addresses aspects of the consumption of the royal goods by two protagonists of very different social status, and ostensibly differing attitudes to the arts: the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), and the artist, collector and dealer, Emanuel de Critz (1608-1665).[10]

The first case study will focus on the items from the collection of Charles I that were retained or bought back for the uses of the state and put at the disposal of Lord Protector Cromwell at his principal residences: the palace of Whitehall in Westminster, and at his country weekend retreat, Hampton Court. This builds on Sean Kelsey's work on the Rump Parliament which features the Rump's appropriation of goods from the royal collection.[11] It benefits from the illuminating investigations into the Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate rule and the workings of his court initiated by Roy Sherwood and taken up by Kelsey, Andrew Barclay and, most recently, Alec Ewing.[12] It also draws on material touched on by Simon Thurley in his invaluable histories of the royal palaces, which provide insights into the state of and the use of the palaces during the Civil Wars and Protectorate.[13] However, the list of reserved goods, the

---

[10] Hilary Maddicott has given focused assessment of the activities of another major purchaser in the sale, Lord Viscount Lisle. Maddicott, "A Collection of the Interregnum Period," 1–24.
[11] Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649-1653* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997). For the Rump Parliament, also see Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament, 1648-1653*. Cambridge University Press, 1974.
[12]Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*; Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell: King in All but Name*; Sean Kelsey, "Unkingship, 1649-1660," in *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, ed. Barry Coward (Blackwell Companions to British History. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 331–49; Andrew Barclay, "The Lord Protector and His Court," in *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives*, ed. Patrick Little (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 195–215; Ewing, "A Royal Court in All but Name?," 135-153.
[13] Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Simon Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Yale University Press, 2003); Simon Thurley, *Somerset House: The Palace of England's Queens 1551-1692* (London: London Topographical Society, 2009).

agency of Cromwell himself in the sale, and his continued use of the royal goods, has not yet been foregrounded in any great detail to date, and will be considered in more depth in this chapter.

As his decoration project at Wilton House in Wiltshire drew to a close, De Critz became deeply involved in the sale of the King's goods in London. As a creditor to the King, and a leader of three Dividends, he collected and dealt in art from the royal collection during the 1650s and subsequently returned a number of works to Charles II at the Restoration in 1660.[14] De Critz features in most accounts of the dispersal of the royal collection due to his role as a major purchaser in the sale. Yet, his important place in the art world of England at this time has not been addressed in any great detail since R. L. Poole's and Mary Edmond's studies of decades ago. In these accounts, De Critz is in both cases discussed as part of a broader investigation into the history of his illustrious family.[15] Waterhouse gives a succinct summary of Poole and Edmond's findings but does not add anything further.[16] Edmond's *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry gives Emanuel one paragraph as part of his father's entry,[17] and other accounts of the artist given by Haskell,[18] Millar and Whinney,[19] Nuttall,[20] Collins Baker,[21] and Croft-Murray,[22] are similarly brief. In addition to these examples, De Critz is discussed briefly by Bold and Reeves and Christopher Hussey, among other scholars, as one of the artists active at Wilton House,[23] and Lionel Cust mentions him in his investigation into an unattributed portrait.[24] Emanuel de Critz is therefore ripe for re-assessment to consider and recognise his role as an artist, dealer and collector central to the functioning of the art market in London and further afield in England during the late-1640s and 1650s.

---

[14] De Critz's and other returns of royal items on the Restoration has been most recently addressed in Barclay, "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection," 647.
[15] Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers," 156–61; Rachael Emily Malleson Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family of Painters," *Walpole Society* 2 (1912-13): 45-68.
[16] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 60; Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain*, 77–79.
[17] Mary Edmond, "Critz, John de, the elder (d.1642)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).
[18] Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, 182–3, 208.
[19] Whinney and Millar, *English Art*, 83, 291.
[20] Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 308.
[21] Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters,* 116–20, 122, 123.
[22] Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting,* 41–3, 198.
[23] Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism*, 54, 55; Christopher Hussey, "Wilton House, Wiltshire – II," *Country Life* 133 (16 May 1963): 1113.
[24] Lionel Cust, "A 17th Century Portrait by an Unknown Painter," *The Burlington Magazine* 30, no. 170 (May 1917): 167.

Overview of the sale and partial recovery of the Crown goods

After Charles I was executed on 30 January 1649, the Commons rapidly appointed a committee to 'take care' of the late King's goods.[25] The King had left many creditors who now sought recompense from the new government. However, the Council of State was short of money and came to the conclusion that the easiest way of getting funds fast was to liquidate the royal assets that had come into the government's possession, as well as literally to liquify other assets, as in the melting down of gold to turn into coin. Some items had in fact already been disposed of by this time,[26] but most remained where they had been abandoned. Oliver Cromwell himself raised a concern in the February that these goods were in danger of being embezzled if nothing was done about them.[27] The development of the plan for the sale can be charted in a series of resolves and orders beginning on 23 March 1649 when the Commons commanded that the personal estate of the King, Queen and Prince should be inventoried and valued, so that those that were not 'thought fit to be reserved for the use of the State' could be sold.[28] An amended Act was passed on 4 July and published on 26 July.[29] It stipulated that the first £30,000 raised from the sale was to go to the Navy (although in the event only £26,000 was paid, at first as a gift, but later converted to a loan which was never paid back). Further proceeds were to be used to pay off the debts to household servants of the King, Queen and Prince, with the exception of those servants who had been identified as 'delinquent', meaning those who were known to have supported the King's cause during the Civil Wars. Any money remaining after that was to be put toward 'publick Uses of this Commonwealth.'[30]

---

[25] '*Ordered* That Mr. *Holland*, the Lord *Grey*, Mr. *Humphry Edwards*, Mr. *Love*, do take care of all the Goods that lately belonged to the King; and also of the Crown and Sceptre, and other Jewels.' "House of Commons Journal Volume 6: 1 February 1649," in *JHC*, vol. 6, 1648-1651 (London: HMSO, 1802): 128.

[26] Some had already been sold on in the course of the wars. For some instances of this, such as 'a Statue of Brass' from Windsor Castle, used to settle arrears of pay due to the Castle garrison and other similar examples, see Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xi-xii.

[27] "House of Commons Journal Volume 6: 22 February 1649," in *JHC,* vol. 6, 148. TNA/PRO/SP/25/87, 16.

[28] '*Resolved*, &c. That the personal Estate of the late King, Queen, and Prince, shall be inventoried, appraised, and sold: except such Parcels of them as shall be thought fit to be reserved for the Use of State.' "House of Commons Journal Volume 6: 23 March 1649," in *JHC,* vol. 6, 172.

[29] "House of Commons Journal Volume 6: 23 March 1649," in *JHC,* vol. 6, 172. Further readings: 185 and 243; Act passed: 249. TNA/SP/25/87, 33, 39, 58, 59; 25/62, 130; 25/94, 83. "Act for sale of the goods and personal Estate of the late King, Queen and Prince," in Firth and Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances*, 160-80. Some goods had already been sold on in the course of the wars. For some instances of this, such as 'a Statue of Brass' from Windsor Castle, used to settle arrears of pay due to the Castle garrison and other similar examples, see Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xi-xii.

[30] Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xiv.

The team of Trustees appointed to inventory and value the items chose the founder Thomas Beauchamp as their Clerk. The Trustees included some who had previously worked for the King, so were familiar with the royal residences, and others who had knowledge of luxury goods, including a draper, a skinner, a haberdasher, and a tailor.[31] The sale Trustee Jan van Belcamp was the successor to Abraham van der Doort as the Keeper of the King's pictures and, as such, he was probably the main Trustee responsible for drawing up the inventories of works of art: he can be seen to have signed the five inventories which feature the bulk of the royal pictures and statues. Given his role during the Civil Wars, it is likely that he had access to Van der Doort's inventories of 1639 to help inventory and value the goods after 1649.[32] Somerset (previously Denmark) House was allocated as the Trustees' headquarters and its Great Hall was fitted up as a venue for the sale.[33] A team of Contractors made up of merchants and 'citizens of London' was tasked with selling the goods at no less than the value set by the Trustees, and preferably higher: the July Act noted that particular goods 'by reason of their Rarity or Antiquity' might attain better prices than those estimated by the Trustees if sold abroad 'where such things are much valued'.[34]

The sale began in late October 1649, although inventories were still being submitted until November 1651.[35] However, it quickly became apparent that the sale was not as lucrative as had been hoped: for example, although the sale of furnishings did marginally better than painting, by May 1650, about seven months into the sale, only thirty-eight individuals had bought 375 pictures, mostly of the lower price range, raising only £7,750.[36] The flooding of the market with high-quality objects may have

---

[31] For more information on the Trustees and their Clerk Thomas Beauchamp, see Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xiv-xv. Details of the Trustees and their work can also be found in two articles which focus on one of the Trustees, George Wither, and their Clerk, Beauchamp: A. Pritchard, "George Wither and the Sale of the Estate of Charles I," *Modern Philology* 82 (1980): 370-81; Peter Beauchamp, "The 'servant" Extraordinary: Some Account of the Life of Thomas Beauchamp (1623-c.1697), Clerk to the trustees for the Sale of King Charles I's Collections," *The British Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (2010): 6-8.

[32] Although Oliver Millar cautiously stated that 'There is no evidence that the Trustees had access to any of Van der Doort's manuscripts', Francis Haskell has rightly pointed out that 'Van Belcamp had worked under Van der Doort before succeeding him in this post, and it is hard to believe that he did not have access to the inventory of his great predecessor when helping to draw up his own necessarily far more superficial catalogue.' Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xv, xviii; Francis Haskell, "Charles I's Collection of Pictures," in *The Late King's Goods,* ed. Arthur MacGregor, 226.

[33] Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xv. TNA/SP/25/62, 547; 25/16, 43.

[34] 'But whereas divers of the said goods and premises are of such nature, as that though by reason of their rarity or antiquity, they may yield very great prices in forein parts, where such things are much valued, yet for particular mens use in England, they would be accounted little worth, and so yield no considerable price'. "Act for sale of the goods and personal Estate of the late King, Queen and Prince," Firth and Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances*, 160-80.

[35] Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xvi.

[36] Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, 145; A breakdown of the figures is given in Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 303.

had the effect of keeping prices low. The selection for sale was also more limited than it would otherwise have been because – as this chapter explores – the Council of State had held back thousands of pounds worth of quality goods for its continued use.[37] The sale Trustees therefore drew up a so-called 'First List' of 120 of the most needy creditors, who received swift payment.[38] This was followed by a second Act for sale, of 17 July 1651, which prompted the drawing up of a 'Second List' of 970 more names, who were given part or all of the funds they were due in the form of goods in lieu of cash based on Parliament's valuations of the goods.[39] Most creditors sought to liquidate the goods as soon as possible. They quickly found the best way of doing this was to join with other creditors, making fourteen syndicate-like groups, called 'dividends', each led by a creditor who usually had some experience in the luxury goods trade. This nominee would select objects valued up to about £5,000, which they would share out, or sell (probably on commission) on other creditors' behalf.[40] Despite these measures, the Council of State's indecision about what to reserve, and its consequent reservation of more than its allocated share of goods, led to the suspension of the sale for long periods and meant that many creditors remained in a desperate financial situation by the close of the sale in 1654. Delayed payments from the sale did however continue until March 1658.[41]

As a result of the sale, many masterpieces were lost from the Royal Collection forever, some destined to become the jewels of art collections in Britain and abroad.[42] Nevertheless, some art owned by creditors remained unsold at the time of the Restoration in 1660, and other works that had been sold on the primary and secondary markets also remained in the capital and elsewhere about the country at this date. A Commission was begun almost immediately upon the Restoration to look into the whereabouts of and to recall the royal goods. To help them track down the location of items, the members took a number of measures. Firstly, they enlisted the help of

---

[37] *JHC*, vol. 6, 172. See also Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xviii–xxii; Sainsbury, "Extracts," 167–9.
[38] The 'necessitous Servants and Creditors to the late King'. *JHC*, vol. 6, 272. See Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xx.
[39] Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 303; Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xxi.
[40] Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 305; Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xxi.
[41] 'The Treasurers Accompte of their disbursemts of the Money raysed by Sale of the late King Queene & princes goods & personall Estate.' TNA/SP/28/350, 9. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xxi.
[42] For example, Correggio, *Venus and Cupid with a Satyr,* 1524-27*,* Musée du Louvre, Paris, 42; Raphael, *'La Perla',* or *Virgin and Child with St Anne and the Infant St John the Baptist,* c.1518*,* Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid*,* P00301; Titian, *The Supper at Emmaus*, c.1534, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 746. Some foreign acquisitions are given in Barclay, "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection," 632.

Thomas Beauchamp as Clerk, and consulted the inventories and sale records from the previous years. They also passed a series of orders and Acts to enforce their authority. These encouraged the voluntary return of goods in the possession of individuals keen to ingratiate themselves with their restored Monarch, and also offered to reward individuals who reported 'discoveries' of goods in others' possession. On 12 May 1660, the Lords issued an order, subsequently printed, instructing all those holding royal goods to surrender them within seven days. Some goods were returned promptly, but others were recovered only following complicated court cases, and many high-value goods were never to return.[43]

The retention of royal goods by the Commonwealth and the Protectorate during the 1650s

Reserving goods in theory and practice

Although he did not become Lord Protector until late 1653, Oliver Cromwell seems to have played a key role in influencing the fate of the Royal Collection from the outset. The Council of State met for the first time on 17 February 1649, and on 22 February Cromwell reported to the Commons that 'divers Goods belonging to the State are in Danger to be imbeziled'.[44] It is true that several royal properties containing goods had stood abandoned and with little if any security during the wars. They were now at risk of being looted by opportunists or the royal servants and unauthorised squatters.[45] Cromwell's report had the immediate effect of spurring Parliament to order that the library, statues and pictures at St James's Palace be taken under the care of the Council of State 'to be preserved by them', and that they were empowered 'to dispose of such of them' for the service of the state, 'as they shall think fitt'.[46] These actions

---

[43] For a thorough analysis of the Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion, and of the court cases that ensued after 1660, see Barclay, "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection," 629–49.
[44] "House of Commons Journal Volume 6: 22 February 1649," in *JHC*, vol. 6, 148. TNA/PRO/SP/25/87, 16.
[45] See Arthur MacGregor, "The King's Goods and the Commonwealth Sale. Materials and Context," in *The Late King's Goods,* ed. Arthur MacGregor, 19–49. See also Simon Thurley's monographs on Whitehall, Hampton Court and Somerset House: Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*; Thurley, *Hampton Court*; Thurley, *Somerset House.*
[46] "House of Commons Journal Volume 6: 22 February 1649," in *JHC*, 148. TNA/PRO/SP/25/62, 7. Cromwell's report and the subsequent order are discussed in Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xiv, xx; Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*, 211.

were followed by the Act of the 4 July 1649 described above, which gave the option for the Council of State to reserve goods from other ex-royal properties. While Cromwell's motives might not have been as cynical as Brotton speculates,[47] it is significant that Cromwell placed himself in the centre of concerns about the future of the Crown goods, and it is perhaps no coincidence that the committee appointed to compose the act for the sale was made up of 'Cromwellian loyalists'.[48]

In theory, the Council of State reserved the right to keep back items for use as it saw fit and the Trustees were not permitted to sell on goods before the Council had made its selection. The Council was required to inform the Contractors of the sale which goods it wanted to reserve within fourteen days of having received its copy of a 'Duplicate' inventory of goods. Its requests would then be submitted to Parliament for approval.[49] However, it repeatedly ignored its deadlines, holding up the proceedings of the sale, and agitating the sale's Trustees and Contractors. The frustration also went the other way: the Council found that in some locations, such as at Hampton Court, goods had been sold before it was able to make its reservations.[50] On 10 May 1650 the Council reprimanded the Trustees for selling 'diverse necessary things' from Greenwich.[51] Furthermore, in his article on the sale, Sainsbury drew attention to a series of documents which tracked the Council becoming impatient to have twelve statues they state were 'considerable for their antiquity and rarity, will yield little by sale, and are worthy to be kept' transferred from St James's to Whitehall.[52] These reveal that the Council had requested the statues' transferral on 13 February 1651, but they were not removed until June.[53] The disorganised way that the Trustees and the

---

[47] Brotton states 'It became clear that Cromwell was using the threat of theft and embezzlement to secure as many of the king's goods as possible with a view to selling them before ... they were smuggled out of the country by royalists ... it was an effective way to push the issue up the political agenda.' Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*, 211–2. Fears of royal goods being embezzled from the palaces had begun as early as 1644, when the House of Lords moved that the Wardrobe at Windsor Castle be inventoried. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xi-xii.

[48] Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*, 213.

[49] 'That the said Council of State, upon the return of any such Duplicate unto them, as is afore directed, from the said Trustees, shall within fourteen days after such return, make choice of such particulars of the premises therein contained, as they shall think fit, to be reserved for the uses of State, not exceeding the value of Ten thousand pounds, and send an extract and accompt thereof to the Contractors hereafter named (who are thereupon to forbear any sale of such particulars, until further Order from the Parliament.' "July 1649: An Act for sale of the goods and personal Estate of the late King, Queen and Prince," in Firth and Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances,* 160-168. Process described in Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xiv.

[50] TNA/SP/25/63, 396. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xvi.

[51] TNA/SP/25/64, 331. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xviii.

[52] Sainsbury, "Extracts," 167–68.

[53] On 13 February 1651 the Surveyor of Works was directed to 'take care to bring twelve statues from James House to bee placed in ye garden of Whitehall which are to bee such as hee shall find to bee most proper for that use'. The letters are referenced as: Domestic Interregnum, vols xlv; xciii, 84; cxvii; xlvii; xlviii. Also see Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xx.

Council attended to the sale seem to have resulted in some instances of 'double booking' of goods. For example, a group of creditors submitted a petition to the Protector in 1658 asking for works (mostly statues) they had bought or been allocated in the sale to be restored to them, 'they haveing bine greate sufferers by the late Genll Cromwell's detaining thereof'. Among these were two sculptures 'bought by Mr. De Critz' (he is elsewhere identified as 'Emanuell'): 'Antoninus' for £120 (fig. 75), and 'Dianira' for £200.[54]

Another difficulty encountered by the Trustees was the Council's refusal to adhere to the quota for reserved goods set out in the first Act. The Council was initially only allowed to reserve £10,000 worth of goods, but this was deemed insufficient for its needs and another £10,000 was granted in a second Act of 17 July 1651.[55] However, this limit was also exceeded. The valuation of goods reserved for the use of the Council of State, pending Parliamentary approval, signed off by Thomas Beauchamp, the Trustees' Clerk, on 19 July 1654 amounted to over £53,000 – more than double what had been agreed.[56] It has been estimated that all-in-all, £35,497 16s. 6d. in value of items of furniture and works of art from the late King's collection were put at the disposal of Cromwell.[57] Not all the goods reserved were on open display in the public buildings: a note in the Council Day's Proceedings of 24 June 1656 reveals that reserved goods of the value of over £26,500 were not in the service of the Commonwealth, but instead in the private ownership of members Council members, still at Somerset House, or kept by the Commonwealth servant, William Legge, who had been Wardrobe Keeper at Whitehall until 1654, when he was 'ousted' by Clement Kynnersley.[58]

Whatever the final value, the Council's reservation of over £20,000 worth of goods meant that a large proportion of the goods inventoried by the Trustees could not be

---

[54] MS in possession of Mr Alfred Morrison, transcribed in HMC 9th Report, part II, and also in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 55–6.
[55] "July 1649: An Act for sale of the Honors, Manors, Lands heretofore belonging to the late King, Queen and Prince," in Firth and Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances*, 168-191. Also see Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xviii.
[56] PA, Main Papers, May-11 June 1660, 'relating to the late King's goods'. HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95. Calendared in HMC, 7th Report (1879), 91-2. See Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xviii.
[57] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 25. CSPD, 1654, 360.
[58] 'Note of King's goods in private hands, chiefly members of Council, &c., or at Somerset House, and at Mr. Legg's, not used. Total value, 26,504l. 8s. 2d.' Council, Day's Proceedings, June 24 1656. TNA/SP/18/128 f.238. See Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xix.

sold. This retained selection included, as we shall see, some valuable pieces. The Council's stalling over what to reserve put the Trustees of the sale in a difficult position in meeting their obligations, considering that the sale was ostensibly for 'public uses of this Commonwealth' and to raise money to pay creditors from the 'second list', to 500 of whom £14,000 was still owing.[59] The Trustees' troubles worsened when corruption charges were raised against Beauchamp in January 1653, followed on 30 August by a full investigation into the Trustees' activities.[60] Furthermore, petitions of the spring and autumn of 1654 from creditors to the Protector and Council indicate that Cromwell was intending to retain yet more goods for his own use. A petition from the Trustees of 5 January 1654 to the Council ends with: 'We beg your orders about the 20.000*l*. worth of goods, that we may sell the rest, pay the debts, and get free from these clamours and complaints'.[61] The Protectorate refused to release reserved goods and the sale was ended. It has been estimated that the Creditors to the King in the end only received a total of £70,751 3s.[62] Although many Crown properties were sold by the Council of State after the regicide, a selection were retained, or had to be reacquired, for the use of the Protector and his successors 'for the maintenance of his and their state and dignity'. These were St James's House, Whitehall Palace and its mews, Somerset House, Greenwich House, the Manor at York, Windsor Castle and Hampton Court Palace, along with their attached lands. In practice, Cromwell only used Whitehall during the week, and retreated to Hampton Court on the weekends.[63] On 6 March 1654 the Council issued a warrant to Trustees authorising them to send all the remaining royal goods to Clement Kynnersley, the protectoral Wardrobe Keeper, for his Highnesses' use.[64] From this point on, an enormous amount of effort was put into securing and relocating royal goods for the use of the Protector, in some cases repossessing items which had been loaned out and not returned, or buying back items which had passed into private

---

[59] Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 305; Haskell, *The King's Pictures*, 168.
[60] These investigations would continue at intervals throughout the 1650s. For example, on 24 June 1659 the Council ordered another investigation into the authorities of the sale; *JHC*, vol. 7 (1813), 250-1. See Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xviii-xix.
[61] 'Petition of the trustees and contractors for sale of the late King, Queen, and Prince's goods, to the Protector.' TNA/SP/18/65 f.21. See Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 305.
[62] Nuttall's estimate. Barclay points out that Millar's estimate £65,751 9s. 7d. is lower because it was only based on the Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D 695 fos 9v-10v and does not take into account information given by other sources, as Nuttall's does. Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 305; Barclay, "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection," 632, n. 20. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xxi.
[63] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 15.
[64] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 25. CSPD, 1654, 433.

ownership.[65] These actions indicate the interest of Cromwell and his Council in retaining some degree of the magnificence of royal rule.

Beauchamp's inventory of the reserved goods pending parliamentary approval, 19 July 1654

We have a good idea of the royal possessions that were kept by the Council of State and for Protector Cromwell, and where some items were located at various moments, because of two key sources: an itemised list produced by Thomas Beauchamp in 1654 detailing reserved goods being held 'until the pleasure of the Parliament be further known therein',[66] and an inventory of Hampton Court made after Cromwell's death, on 18 June 1659.[67] These will now be analysed in turn.

As Beauchamp writes at the start of his twenty-eight-page manuscript, the list was created in response to an order of 27 September 1651.[68] Understandably given the great number of items that had been reserved, it seems to have taken Beauchamp a while to finish, as he signs off the final total on 19 July 1654.[69] However, more items were apparently added after this date, as a further list of almost £900 worth of pictures and pedestals was scribbled on the back page. This brought the value of goods reserved and pending parliamentary approval up to £53,870 2s. 1d.

As might be expected, given that they needed to furnish government offices and dwellings, Beauchamp's list shows that the goods retained or bought back by the Council included many practical domestic items and furniture such as chairs, tables, one 'close stool reserved for the service of His Highness at Whitehall',[70] and even

---

[65] For an explanation of some of the difficulties the Council came into trying to claim ex-Crown goods see Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 29.
[66] PA, Main Papers, May-11 June 1660, 'relating to the late King's goods', Inventory of the King's goods delivered by Thomas Beauchamp. 'HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95. Calendared in HMC, 7th Report (1879), 91-2. See Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xviii.
[67] Inventory of the goods at Hampton Court, taken by Serj. E. Dendy and John Embree, surveyor to the Council of State, 18 June 1659, TNA/SP/18/203, 41 (67-81). *JHC* vol. 7, 681, 791. Also see Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xx.
[68] 'By an order of the Council of State, dated the 27th of September 1651, the particular goods hereafter named are reserved from sale until the pleasure of the Parliament be further known therein.' HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 1.
[69] "Examined by mee Thos. Beachampe, the 19th of July 1654, sometyme regr to the trustees for sale of the late King's goodes." HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 25.
[70] Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 57.

charcoal. It also, however, features various luxury goods and decorative items such as bedroom suites,[71] fine plate,[72] musical instruments,[73] 'Turkey' carpets, tapestries, statues,[74] a number of pictures, and a globe of the world.[75] This suggests that the Council of State and Cromwell were well aware of the importance of material splendour as a device for projecting political power and status, in much the same way as preceding monarchs had done. However, they had to achieve this with a fraction of the goods available to Charles I and, as a consequence of this, it seems they preferred to reserve items with maximum visual impact.

The Tapestries

Cromwell demonstrated his appreciation of tapestries early in the Commonwealth when he requested on 23 April 1650, shortly before he left the country for his campaign against the Royalists and Catholic Irish,[76] 'That the hangings containing the story of Eightie-eight be reserved to the use of the State.'[77] These were the ten enormous pieces of tapestry depicting the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588. 'The Armada tapestries', as they are known, were duly reserved for the Council of State and appear as 'the victory by sea over the Spanish Fleet' in Beauchamp's list, valued highly at £7,426 10s.'[78] The tapestries had been displayed in the House of Lords at the Palace of Westminster sporadically from 1644, but it seems they were

---

[71] For example, in addition to more basic furniture, there were at least two complete bedroom suites recorded as 'in His Highness's service at Whitehall'. One of these, brought from Wimbledon, was made of red velvet, cloth of gold and silver with gold and silver embroidery, three carpets, three chairs, six stools, and two matching red velvet seat cushions, which was all valued at £500; another suite valued at £120 consisted of a black and yellow satin bed, and other furniture of damask, taffeta and velvet, adorned with silver and gold tassles. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 57, 128. These are other reserved furniture and bedding are discussed in Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 26.

[72] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 30.

[73] It is known the Protector liked music, and this is evidenced by the fact that such lengths were taken to instal organs at the Protectoral palaces. A large organ valued at £300 was taken out the Magdalen College, Oxford and installed in the Great Hall at Cromwell's weekend retreat, Hampton Court. Furthermore, in January 1656, permission was given for an organ to be transported by sea from Exeter to London for the Protector. Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 23, 30.

[74] 'a figure of Mercury in brass', 'The Statue of Mercury in brass, 80l.' HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 3, 18.

[75] A 'globe, or sphere of the world' valued at £5 was reserved at Hampton Court - another new and more expensive globe was also commissioned for display at Whitehall. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 178. Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 30.

[76] He was in Dublin by mid-August and returned to London in May 1650. John Morrill, "Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658)," *ODNB* (15 Mar. 2018).

[77] The 'story of Eighty-eight' refers to the destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Domestic Interregnum. Vol. xcii, 238. Cited in Sainsbury, "Extracts," 168–9.

[78] 'The victory by sea over the Spanish Fleete', HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95. Also featured in the sale inventories published by Millar: 'A true Inventory of ye Goods that are in the Tower Wardrobe in the Custody of John Pidgeon, a true particular whereof is in this Bookeat large declared as followeth.' Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 5-6. Domestic Interregnum. Vol. xcii, 238. Cited in Sainsbury, "Extracts," 168–9.

displayed permanently in the House of Lords by 1651.[79] As the new head of state, Cromwell clearly did not want to receive important guests such as ambassadors, familiar with continental modes of display, in government buildings and palaces with denuded walls. It therefore follows that the luxury items that feature most in Beauchamp's list are multiple series or sets of tapestry, which were often described as 'Arras Hangings'. The royal collection had enormous amounts of these and, though a high proportion were sold, many were retained or bought back by the Council and Cromwell. Although expensive commodities in comparison with paintings, tapestries may have offered more value than other works of art: their large size would have suitably adorned the many spacious rooms as well as keeping them warm and, as labour-intensive luxury items that often contained expensive materials such as gold and silver thread, they were impressive indicators of the status of the owner. The adoption of the established trappings of European rulers by the Commonwealth and, even more so, the Protectorate, evidently had the desired effect, as the decoration and the impression it made is recorded in contemporary reports by Parliamentarian, Royalist and foreign visitors to palace buildings.

Evidence from the latter is provided in the writings of the Dutch diplomat Lodewijck Huygens, who visited London in the winter of 1651 to 1652. His notes reveal how effort was made to receive foreign ambassadors in the manner to which they were accustomed, seating them in velvet chairs on a large Turkish carpet at an ambassadorial reception at Parliament; meeting in a 'large well-tapestried room' with a fire at Whitehall; and lodging them in what Huygens describes as 'very beautifully furnished apartments' decked out with velvet silver and gold beds, reportedly from the King's goods. Yet Huygens's account also indicates that – at least in 1651-2 – the government had to be economical and selective with its display in the more day-to-day aspects of its operation. Despite keeping back more goods than it was supposed to, the Council of State retained only a portion of what used to adorn the palaces, so it seems logical that they concentrated the most luxurious goods in the most important rooms, leaving others spare. Huygens's account supports this by noting that the

---

[79] They can be viewed on the walls in a print of 1644: Wenceslaus Hollar, *Trial of Archbishop William Laud in the House of Lords*, 1644, 1st state etching, British Library, BL Q,6.20. Adamson references the re-display of the "Armada" tapestries by Cornelius Vroom in the House of Lords. Adamson, "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England," 188.

presentation of some official spaces was rather sparse: on his visit to the Banqueting House he observes that 'there was nothing in the world now except three long deal tables', and at Whitehall he saw 'the room of the Council of State, the Chamber of Admiralty, the Court-Martial room' which were presumably decorated to his liking, but also saw 'a few other rooms that were not particularly sumptuous'. The King's bedroom and cabinet he describes as 'simple enough too.' He notes that the Long Gallery at Whitehall 'in the past used to be adorned with very valuable paintings'.[80]

By the time of the Protectorate, however, it seems that the old royal and government spaces were even more finely adorned.[81] The Wardrobe Keeper, Clement Kynnersley, is known to have provided Cromwell with hangings and other goods for his apartments at Whitehall and for Hampton Court, which he used as his country residence from April 1654.[82] In 1654 an English report on a visit by the ambassadors of the United Provinces states that the Banqueting House 'was hung with extraordinary rich hangings' as well as chairs, stools and carpets.[83] A further impression of the decoration of the protectoral palaces was provided by the art connoisseur and Royalist, John Evelyn, who wrote in his diary on 11 February 1656 that 'I adventur'd to go to White-Hall, where of many years I had not ben, & found it very glorious & well furnish'd.'[84]

In addition, the subject matter of the tapestry designs chosen for public spaces could also convey meaning and reflect the values of the owner. Beauchamp's list of reserved goods reveals that the hangings assigned to the Protector featured dramatic classical, mythological or Old Testament scenes, as well as allegories. These included various 'triumphs',[85] the story of 'Diana and Actaeon',[86] some series depicting the sieges of

---

[80] Lodewijck Huygens, *The English Journal 1651-1652, Lodewijck Huygens*, ed. and trans. A.G.H. Bachrach and R.G. Collmer (Leiden, The Netherlands: Published for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, E.J. Brill/Leiden University Press, 1982), 41, 42, 43, 45.

[81] As Sean Kelsey argues: 'the creation of a glittering government compound at Whitehall was only ever imperfectly achieved by the Rump. It was not until Cromwell made it the seat of his personal monarchy that the palace was returned to something approaching its former splendour.' Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic*, 29.

[82] Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xix.

[83] Anon., *The Whole manner of the treaty ... between His highness the Lord Protector, and the Lords Embassadors of the Vnited provinces of Holland* (London: printed by T.L., 1654).

[84] Evelyn, *Diary,* 333.

[85] In addition to the *Triumphs of Caesar* by Mantegna, there were also included: 'triumphs'; 'hangings, the subjects being … Triumphs'. HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 4, 15, 24.

[86] 'Diana' was also a subject of one of the reserved Mortlake designs; 'arras … six of Actaeon'; 'hangings, the subjects being Actaeon…'. HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95,17, 19, 23, 24.

Jerusalem and Troy, the histories of Charlemagne and of Julius Caesar, the story of David including *The Judgement of Solomon*,[87] and a set showing *The Seven Deadly Sins*.[88] The most expensive tapestry by far among those reserved was the ten-piece set once owned by Henry VIII depicting *The History of Abraham*, which was enriched with gold and silver thread and was valued accordingly at £8,260.[89]

This impressive array of reserved tapestries was evidently considered not quite enough, because several more were bought back from sale purchasers for Cromwell's use.[90] For example, in May 1654, Kynnersley was granted £11 8s. 0d. to re-purchase four pieces of tapestry from three different people. Five months later, a rich five-piece suite called *The Five Senses* was bought for £375, with other hangings of *Cupid and Venus, Elijah the Prophet,* and *The Story of Jacob.*[91] In October 1654 a six-piece suite of *The Story of Vulcan, Mars and Venus* was bought for £350, to be hung in Cromwell's own lodgings at Whitehall. The Protector clearly liked this story of Vulcan, Mars and Venus as, in his bedchamber at Hampton Court, Cromwell also hung another tapestry of the same story – *The History of Vulcan, Mars and Venus.*[92] Kynnersley also received all the goods from Stirling Castle in the same year and, in 1655, all the hangings that remained at Windsor were conveyed to him for use by Cromwell.[93] Furthermore, in late 1656, a selection of goods including hangings was ordered to be transferred from Scotland to London for the use of the Protector. The tapestries in this consignment were eight pieces showing *The Story of Noah*, four pieces depicting *The Labours of Hercules*, and another suite of seven pieces, plus seven turkey carpets, four feather beds, four rugs, four blankets, three bolsters and one quilt.[94] There was also some quibbling about the cost of tapestries of *The Story of Hero and Leander* which were being offered for £180.

---

[87] 'Four pieces of David'; 'David and Nathan, David and Solomon, David and Abigail'; ''hangings, the subjects being ... David'. HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 8, 15, 24.
[88] From the Tower Wardrobe, along with another set of hangings showing 'Antiques'. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 4-5.
[89] *The Story of Abraham* Series, 1540-43, attributed to Pieter Coeck van Aelst, woven wool and silk tapestry with gilt metal-wrapped thread, 482.0 x 770.0 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 1046. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 158. Other expensive tapestry sets included *The Story of Tobias* (nine pieces) £3,409; *The History of Julius Caesar* (ten pieces) £5,022; *The Story of St Paul* (nine pieces) £3,065. Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 26.
[90] Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xix.
[91] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 27.
[92] 'Hangings…being the history of Vulcan and Venus'; 'hangings of Vulcan and Venus tapestry'; 'Designs at Mortlake for making of Tapestry hangings … the subjects being Vulcan and Venus…'. HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 2, 9, 19.
[93] Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xix.
[94] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 31.

In adorning state buildings and the Protector's private lodgings with expensive tapestries, it is clear that the Protectorate had no qualms about projecting courtly magnificence. In addition, the Protectorate carried out another act with kingly precedent in its restarting of the royal tapestry works at Mortlake, which had been a pet project of Charles I. The tools for tapestry making were duly reserved, along with the 'Draughts and Designs' in the hands of the designer Francis Clein. It also seems that the Raphael *Cartoons for the Acts of the Apostles*,[95] and Mantegna's nine nine-feet-square tempera-on-canvas paintings of the *Triumph of Caesar* were retained with the view to being copied and made into tapestries.[96] On 23 April 1650, at the same time that he was issuing the instruction to reserve the Armada tapestries, Cromwell requested: 'That before the pictures at Hampton Court that conteyne the Triumphs of Caesar be sold that the Councell be informed what value they are bidden for them.'[97] The *Triumph* was subsequently included in Beauchamp's list of reserved goods and kept at Hampton Court.[98] Valued at £1,000, it was the most expensive entry for painting in the reserved goods, yet still only an eighth of the value of the Abraham tapestries. The new tapestries may not have been planned for the Protector's lodgings as they already included tapestries with similar subjects. Raphael's *Cartoons* were also reserved around this time, possibly with the view to being used as the basis for new tapestries.[99] These had been kept rolled up in a chest and valued at £300 (the same price Charles I had purchased them for when a Prince in 1623). Given that the *Cartoons* had the impressive provenance of being commissioned by Pope Leo X as the designs for tapestries for the Sistine Chapel, the *Cartoons* were perhaps a rather surprisingly 'Popish' choice for a so-called Puritan ruler.

---

[95] Raphael, *Cartoons of the Acts of the Apostles*, bodycolour on paper mounted onto canvas, c.1515-1516, V&A, on loan from the collection of Her Majesty the Queen, V&A object nos: Royal Loans 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 19. Charles I commissioned expensive tapestries after the Raphael *Cartoons* from the tapestry works at Mortlake, but these had left the royal collection before the Commonwealth Sale. It is possible that they were sold for funds during the Civil Wars or were among the goods Henrietta Maria took into exile. They are identified as 'The Cartoones of Raphaell beinge ye Acts of ye Appostles. vallued at 300' in 'Pictures of ye privee. Lodgeings & Privy gallery at whitehall' in Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xx, 72.
[96] Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar*, tempera on canvas, c.1484-92, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 403958, 40395, 403960, 403961, 403962, 403963, 403964, 403965, 403966. 'Imprs Nine. peeces beinge a triumph. of Julius Ceasar; done, by Andre de Mantanger', in 'A true. Inventory of the Pictures in Hampton Court Viewed and Apprised ye 3.4 & 5 of Octobr 1649', part of 'Dupliate L'. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xx, 186.
[97] Domestic Interregnum, vol. xcii, 238. Cited in Sainsbury, "Extracts," 168–9.
[98] Beauchamp's list details 'Pictures from Hampton Court, nine pieces being the Triumphs of Julius Caesar, done by Andreas de Mantanger, valued at 1,000l.' HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 2, 7.
[99] Beauchamp's list details 'The cartoons of Raphael, being the Acts of the Apostles, valued at 300l., at Whitehall.' HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 3.

Cromwell continued to be involved in the Mortlake tapestry project as on 29 August 1653, three years after his first statement on the subject, he wrote to the Wardrobe Keeper at Hampton Court, ordering 'That ye Triumphs of Caesar at Hampton Court be sent to Sir Gilb. Pickering for him to take copies of them'.[100] The following warrant was issued in consequence on 8 September:

> These are to will and require you to deliver unto Sir Gilb. Pickering or whom he shall appoint, the pictures called ye Triumphs of Caesar, to be by him made use of for takeing of copies of them, wch are afterward to be returned into ye States Wardrobe, Of which you are not to fayle.[101]

The project apparently stalled, however, and was still not complete three years later, when, on 26 May 1657, it was ordered that the same pictures be copied in tapestry for the Lord Protector:

> On reading the humble peticon of Phillip Hallenberch and the tapestry workemen at Mortlack, Ordered, That the peticoners doe designe the story of Abraham or the story of the Triumphs of Caesar, or both, as his Highness the Lord Protector shall direct ; and that Mr Clyne be spoken wth to that purpose ; Provided yt the charge of the whole exceed not £150 : and that the designe be not made use of, but in such sort as his Highness shall give leave and appoynt.[102]

The commission went ahead, and it was ordered that Clein be given £20 'towards the charge' of the two new designs.[103] Mantegna's paintings with their subject of a military victory had returned to display at Hampton Court by the time of the inventory of 18 June 1659.[104]

---

[100] Sir Gilbert Pickering was the Protector's Lord Chamberlain. Sainsbury, "Extracts," 169.
[101] TNA SP 25/70 f.355. Sainsbury, "Extracts," 169.
[102] Domestic Interregnum, vol. cv. 827. Sainsbury, "Extracts," 169.
[103] Various orders and warrents were made for this payment between August 1657 and March 1657/8: SP 25/78 f.79; SP 25/78 f.289; SP 25/106 f.54; SP 25/106 f.64.
[104] TNA/SP/18/203, 41.

This episode demonstrates Cromwell's personal role in the sale and dispersal of the royal collection. He had the power to pick and choose those goods he wanted to retain; he had the luxury to change his mind about the selections; he could order new art inspired by items from the royal collection and he could even command creative direction over the use of the designs. Cromwell's response to the petition of the workmen at Mortlake tapestry factory is an example of how his collecting and commissioning activity during this period directly affected the livelihoods of artists. In continuing, albeit in a limited way, the works at Mortlake, Cromwell enabled the continuation of a type of artistic production that had been championed by Charles I. He even continued to employ court artists such as Francis Clein. The Protector's consumption of tapestry during the 1650s demonstrates that he therefore not only absorbed the royal collection items into his own collection, but sought to augment his collection along the same lines of the rulers who had preceded him. This indicates that there was more continuity in the use of the royal palaces and their art collections than has been generally allowed. Moreover, far from the art trade being crippled by the Commonwealth, the unique circumstances of the dispersal of the royal collection actually stimulated the art trade of the time.

The Paintings

Other than the *Cartoons* and the *Triumph* canvases which, in many ways, functioned as tapestries, only nine other pictures were included in the main body of Beauchamp's list. These included 'a picture of Edward III' in the Garter Room at Windsor (£4),[105] and 'A picture of the four elements' at Somerset House (£15). Specifically stated to be in Cromwell's use at Whitehall were three paintings attributed to Giulio Romano, entitled 'The Burning of Rome by Nero' (£25),[106] 'Julius Caesar with an eagle above his shoulders'(£34),[107] and 'Temperance putting water into a glass' (£15).[108] Also at

[105] HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 16.
[106] Workshop of Giulio Romano, *Nero Playing while Rome Burns,* c.1536-9, oil on panel, 121.5 x 106.7 x 2.0 cm, RCIN 402576. HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 21.
[107] Described in the sale inventory as 'A Dictator, or Julius Caesar, with an Eagle above his Shoulder'. Workshop of Giulio Romano, *The Omen of Claudius's Imperial Powers* [but thought to depict Julius Caesar at the time of the Commonwealth Sale], c.1536-9, oil on panel, 121.4 x 93.5 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402806.
[108] Copy after ? Girolamo Romanino, *Temperance,* c.1600-50, Oil on canvas, 106.3 x 159.2cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406089.

Whitehall with the Protector was a pastoral picture, entitled ‘A shepherd and a nymph by Paolo Fiaminigo' (£3), and three landscapes: ‘A landscape of a city by Bonifacio’(£30), ‘A landscape by Fletcher (£2), and ‘A landscape of the bay of St Lucas by Porcelino’ (Jan Porcellis, £10).[109]

To these paintings can be added the twenty-four pictures itemised in the extra list at the end of Beauchamp's manuscript. The delay in adding these works to the list might be because Beauchamp had trouble tracking down reserved pictures due to the recent death of Jan van Belcamp, the successor to Abraham van der Doort as the Keeper of the King's Pictures, and probably the main Trustee responsible for drawing up the inventories of works of art. The pictures on the added list are in general of modest price, mostly valued at under £40, but range from £2 for a landscape by a 'Fletcher' (probably the painter Tobias Flushier or Flessiers) to the most expensive painting, ‘Herod[ias] with Baptist’s head by Titian', which was valued at £150.[110] There is also a 'mary ye Child' attributed to Schiavone for £100 and 'a famely' attributed to Pordenone for £80. These were still very small amounts in comparison to the thousands of pounds afforded on decking the palaces with sumptuous tapestries and velvet and damask furniture.

Yet, the selection of reserved paintings does suggest that the Council had a mind to choose pictures with artistic merit and artists who had remained fashionable since the 1630s. Included in the reservations are two works attributed to Titian: the so-called 'Herodias' mentioned above, as well as 'a madona by Titian', identifiable in the sales inventories as 'Mary Christ & Joseph. done by Tytsian' 'and a lady praying', reserved from Greenwich (£60).[111] Individual pictures are attributed to Pordenone and Schiavone of the Italian school, and Van Somer and Gheeraerts of the Anglo-Netherlandish school. Three further pictures are described as being by Giulio Romano, Raphael's favourite pupil. Also in the list is 'a venitian Lady' (£4), presumably a portrait by an artist of the Venetian school. There are also other portrait

---

[109] Jan Porcellis,, *A View of a Bay with Shipping* , [previously identified as *The Bay of St Lucas*], c.1624, oil on canvas, 124.1 x 225.9 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405566.
[110] HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 26. In the inventories it was described as 'Herodias with the Head of St John the Baptist', 'A true. Inventory of the Pictures in Hampton Court Viewed and Apprised ye 3.4 & 5 of Octobr 1649', part of 'Dupliate L'. Millar, ed., “Inventories and Valuations," 190.
[111] Millar, ed., “Inventories and Valuations,” 66.

heads of unidentified sitters, which suggests that the paintings were selected on their artistic merit and not the renown of the sitter.

Furthermore, the selection reflects a cross-section of subjects in keeping with Caroline conventions and also – as we have seen in previous chapters – found in any elite art collection of the time. From what can be deduced from Beauchamp's list of thirty-three pictures (not including the *Triumph* and *Cartoons)*, there are eleven portraits, eight religious paintings, six works of historical or mythological painting, three landscapes, two allegorical pictures, one hunting-themed picture, one battle scene, and one arcadian pastoral scene. The choice of classical or Arcadian scenes included 'Bathsheba' (£60), the Judgement of Venus (£25) and a 'Shepherd and a Nymph' (£3). The 'Armory. a Stagg.' (£15), identifiable in the sales inventories as 'a german stagg', may well be the copy of a stag picture in the royal collection, reported by Vertue as being by Jan van Belcamp.[112] The battle scene is described as 'a battaile wth a bridge' (£40).

Of the portraits, the full-length *Portrait of King Louis XIII of France* (£15),[113] a portrait of the Queen of France, and *An Ambassador of France* (£10), attributed to Paul van Somer,[114] were perhaps selected with a view to diplomacy (fig. 76). There were no paintings by Van Dyck, no doubt because recent royal portraits were not included on the list. Yet, it seems that older portraits of historic English royals, such as that of Edward III in the Garter Room at Windsor, were deemed harmless. The quality of the Gheeraerts portrait of a court jester, John Derry,[115] as well as its curiosity as a subject, might explain its selection (fig. 77). The same might apply to the painting of a tall household servant, described as 'Picture of Giant' (fig. 78).[116] That a number of portraits were featured in the list of reserved goods is also in keeping with Cromwell's pattern of art patronage: he was active as a patron of portraiture in the years before he became Lord Protector, when he commissioned

---

[112] HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 26. Vertue, "Note books," 24 (1935-1936), 5, 49, 90. Also see Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, 358.
[113] Jan van Belcamp, *Louis XIII*, 1636, Oil on canvas, 201.6 x 122.6 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 404098.
[114] Attributed to Paul van Somer, *Portrait of a Man, possibly a French Ambassador to James I,* c.1622-5, oil on canvas, 125.8 x 111.1 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402889.
[115] Marcus Gheeraerts, *Tom Derry*, 1614, National Galleries of Scotland, PG 1111.
[116] Cornelis Ketel (1548-1616), *A Giant Porter,* inscribed 1580, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406799.

portraits of himself and his family from the most fashionable contemporary painters – Samuel Cooper, Sir Peter Lely and Robert Walker, as well as possibly John Michael Wright.

Some reserved pictures were, however, somewhat counter-intuitive or surprising choices from a government which had explicitly banned the consumption of popish or lascivious pictures. For example, in its display of a young woman's cleavage, ‘Temperance putting water into a glass' is rather more salacious than its title would imply, although its theme would be appropriate for display in the rooms where government business was being done (fig. 79). The presence of this picture on the list, plus the reservation and acquisition of Vulcan, Mars and Venus tapestries, suggest the Protector had a tolerance and even an interest in more titillating imagery.

The two works attributed to Giulio Romano which joined this picture were also surprising in their less than tactful choice of subject: something might be read into the implicit or even explicit political meaning behind 'A Dictator, or Julius Caesar' and Emperor Nero playing the fiddle while watching Rome burn (figs 80 and 81). Similarly, the subjects of Judith with the head of John the Baptist ('Judyth', £15, identifiable in the sales inventories as *A Young Woman with Goliath's Head*), and Titian's Salome (although identified as 'Herod' or Herodius') with the head of John the Baptist were perhaps a little too close to home given the recent beheading of the last head of state (fig. 82).[117] This penchant for pictures of decapitations is also suggested by the selection of a picture of the beheaded St Paul, described vividly as: 'A Peece of Paule beinge dead drawen out of ye Cittye' (£40).[118]

Surprisingly, Italian religious paintings with Catholic associations or content were some of the most numerous and high value items on the list of reserved pictures supplied to Cromwell at Whitehall. These included the painting of St Paul already mentioned, Sciavone's 'Marie, and Elizabeth and the Child' (£100), 'A Madonna with

---

[117] Titian and workshop, *Salome with the Head of St John the Baptist,* oil on canvas, c.1560-70, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, P.2011-0002. Peter Humfrey, Timothy Clifford, Aidan Weston-Lewis, Michael Bury, *The Age of Titian,* exh. cat. (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2004), 178-9, 436, no. 65. I am grateful to Peter Humphrey and Aidan Weston-Lewis for confirming the picture in question is the painting now in Tokyo.
[118] Reserved from Greenwich. Millar, ed., “Inventories and Valuations,” 66.

Many Angels and One with a Scourge' (£20), and 'Mary's Ascension with the Apostles looking on' (£10). The latter remains in the Royal Collection today but, at some point – possibly during the 1650s – lost the offending upper section with the ascending Virgin (fig. 83).[119] This is puzzling as it is unlikely that the Council would go to the trouble of retaining the picture and using up the precious allocation if it had an inappropriate theme and was intended for defacement. That the Council, or at least Beauchamp, was aware of the possibly sensitive nature of some of the reserved goods is indicated in the description of a picture of the Christ child with St John the Baptist as '2 naked boys' (£50) in the list of reserved goods, possibly to conceal its superstitious content (fig. 84).[120] In a striking example of two people of very different religious and political leanings collecting similar types of art, a similar description – 'The 2 boys' – was given to another portrait of the same subject by Van Dyck which was acquired in 1655 by Sir Justinian Isham, a High Anglican Royalist in exile on his estate in Northamptonshire, as already discussed in Chapter 3.[121] The presence of paintings of these kinds in the list of reserved goods therefore indicates that there was more continuity in taste than might have been assumed from a government with Puritan leanings.

Cromwell's goods and the 1659 Hampton Court inventory

The inventories give tantalising glimpses of where certain objects were displayed, but the best record we have of the display of the protectoral palaces is an inventory of Hampton Court drawn up after Cromwell's death on 3 September 1658 and presented on 18 June 1659.[122] Consisting of twenty-six written and six blank pages, the inventory itemises all the non-fixed contents in each room, beginning in the Great Presence Chamber, extending to the buttery and diary, and finishing in the Grooms of the Chamber's rooms. It therefore gives a complete picture of what the Protector's

---

[119] Luca Cambiaso, *The Assumption of the Virgin* (A Fragment), c.1540-85, oil on canvas, 170.3 x 161.9 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402709.
[120] Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli [then attributed to Parmigianino], *The Infant Christ and St John Embracing*, c.1533-40, oil on panel, 37.8 x 47.6 x 2.4 cm, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 401367.
[121] Sir Anthony van Dyck, *The Infant Christ and St John the Baptist.* Prime version, acquired by Sir Justinian Isham, 1655. Lamport Hall Preservation Trust, Northamptonshire. A version of this painting is in the Royal Collection: Sir Anthony van Dyck, *The Infant Christ and St John the Baptist,* c.1639, Royal Collection Trust, acquired by Charles II, first recorded in 1666. RCIN 405630.
[122] TNA/SP/18/203, 41, 67-81.

family home looked like shortly after his death, thereby providing an insight into how it might have looked the years previously.

As is to be expected, the inventory reveals that the main public and important private spaces of the palace were richly adorned in 'arras' tapestries, 'turqy' carpets and luxurious fabrics. In 'a Roome appointed for Strangers', the appraiser found 'The roome hangd wth 44 pares of crimson velvet and cloth of gold', 'One Bedsted wth a furniture of needle worke of poeticall fancyes', and a substantial amount of cloth of gold, satin and velvet.[123] The Protector was clearly keen to impress his guests with all the fine trimmings worthy of a head of state and not, as we might assume, the sparse furnishings of an austere Puritan.

The inventory is also helpful in providing entries that correspond with Beauchamp's list of reserved goods of 1654. Here we find in the 'Dressing Roome' of the late Queen 'Three peices of fine tapistry hangings of Vulcan and Venus', and then, in 'His late Highness's bed-chamber', another 'Five pieces of fine tapistry hangings of Vulcan and Venus'.[124] In the apartments of Cromwell's daughter, Frances, hung a more noble subject, *The Glory of Maleagar.* We also find stored in the 'Lower wardrobe' 'Fower pieces of Tapistry hangings of David and Abigaill'.[125] These were clearly all items that had been retained from Beauchamp's selection. There are also several tapestries on the subject of 'tryumphs', which may well be those made at Mortlake on Cromwell's instruction: in the 'Paradice Roome' were 'Seaven peices of rich hangings of Arras, of the tryumphs of the Capitall Sinns';[126] 'In the late Kings presence Chamber' were found 'Three pieces of fine old hangings of the Tryumphs';[127] and, finally, in the withdrawing-room of 'formerly Duke of Hamilton's, late Lord Claypole's' were 'Two peices of Hercules and peice of Tryumphs – of tapistry hangings'.[128]

---

[123] TNA/SP/18/203 67-4, 6.
[124] TNA/SP18/203 67-3. These may include the those by Francis Clein (1582-1658)/Mortlake c.1620-22, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 1857, 58, 59, 60.
[125] TNA/SP18/203 67-13.
[126] TNA/SP18/203 67-3.
[127] TNA/SP18/203 67-6.
[128] TNA/SP18/203 67-7. These may include *The Triumph of Bacchus* and *The Triumph of Hercules*, c.1540
Woven silk and wool tapestry with gilt-metal- and silver-wrapped thread, late-sixteenth century, Hampton Court, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 1362 and 1363.

The inventory also includes fountains and antique sculpture in the gardens. It features the fountain that – complete with its brass figures by Fanelli, lead pipes and marble and stone cisterns – was conveyed from Somerset House garden to Hampton Court in March 1656.[129] This joined the brass statues of Venus, Cleopatra, Adonis and Apollo that were located in the 'Moat Garden'.[130] The Banqueting House was still painted in grotesque work and heraldry: 'Eight peicese of grotescoe painting on Cloth wth Sheilde over them', and 'Two pieces of the same over the doores'.[131] We know more about the sculptures in the gardens of Whitehall and Hampton Court because of the 1658 petition already cited, which details two sculptures allocated to Emanuel de Critz.[132] Cromwell's taste in the classical nude statues was not approved of by some and, as discussed below, it was reported that the statue of Antoninus and other statues were attacked by a fanatical Quaker. Cromwell's continued display of sculpture was also criticised in a letter by a Puritan called Mrs Mary Netheway, who complained of the 'monsters which are set up as ornaments in the privy garden' and demanded he destroy them, 'for whilst they stand, though you see no evil in them' 'yet there is much evil in it, for whilst the groves and alters of the idols remained untaken away in Jerusalem, the wrath of God continued against Israel'.[133] These episodes suggest that Cromwell's decoration of his house and garden with choice classical nudes from the royal collection was only strongly opposed by the more extreme religious and puritan persuasion.

However, the inventory also reveals that the palace is notably devoid of pictures. The only instances are the *The Triumph of Caesar*[134] displayed in the Long Gallery, and a picture of horns or antlers located in 'the late Princes gallery':[135]

> In the long Gallery
> Nine pieces of painting of the tryumphs of Julius Casar done by
> Andreaa Montanea

---

[129] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 30.
[130] TNA/SP/18/203, 67-20. Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 31.
[131] TNA/SP/18/203, 67-20.
[132] MS in possession of Mr Alfred Morrison, transcribed in HMC, 7th Report (1879), 91-2. Also in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 55–6.
[133] Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*, 31.
[134] TNA/SP/18/203, 67-4.
[135] TNA/SP/18/203, 67-6.

One small Billiard board
One paire of andirons
One paire of Creepers
In a syde Gallery adjoyning.
One Billiard board
One paire of andirons
…
In the late Princes gallery
One hundred twenty and seaven hoenes of severall sorts of Beasts
One picture of a large paire of hornes from Amboiz
Twelve branches for candles[136]

The 'large paire of hornes from Amboiz' may possibly be the German stag painting referred to in Beauchamp's list, which is possibly the copy of a stag reported by Vertue to be by Jan van Belcamp.[137] The word 'Ambioz' would seem to mean Amboise, but if it in fact refers to the German town, Ambras, then the identification is more convincing.[138]

This absence of pictures at Hampton Court suggests that those that were reserved were mainly on display in Cromwell's weekday palace, Whitehall, and other properties.

Conclusions to draw from the reserved and re-acquired goods

From surviving records it is therefore possible to glean some idea of the sort of art Cromwell inherited from Parliament's reserved goods, which items he specifically coveted, and to some extent how he furnished his private residences during his Protectorate. As the above list and inventory show, in terms of his tastes in household

[136] TNA/SP/18/203 67-4, 6.
[137] HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, f.95, 26. Vertue, "Note books," 5, 49, 90. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, 358.
[138] I am grateful to Aidan Weston-Lewis of the National Galleries Scotland for pointing out the possibility 'Amboiz' might be a corruption of Ambras.

decoration, Lord Protector Cromwell hardly practiced 'Unkingship'.[139] Though limits were put upon the Council of State's reservations, these were not ceded to, and the Protectorate apparently reserved all the goods it wanted, creating a collection within a collection. While the most fashionable works were released for sale overseas, it seems that attempts were made to retain art according to established modes of courtly display with an emphasis on expensive textiles, antique sculpture, and Italian history paintings and portraits. The collection that Cromwell created out of the late King's goods demonstrated a continuation in taste for Caroline artistic fashions, albeit with a tighter budget. This suggests that the Protector recognised the importance of magnificence as a political tool for asserting authority and was conscious of the role of the visual arts in the projection of this power. Cromwell not only absorbed some of the most-famed items from the collection of Charles I into his own collection, namely the *Cartoons* and *Triumph,* but, through restarting the works at Mortlake and purchasing additional goods, sought to augment his collection along similar lines to the royals who had preceded him, and was on several occasions directly involved in the shaping of this display.

The evidence indicates that the Protector favoured sumptuous hangings, costly interiors and antique sculpture over an extensive display of pictures, as preferred by Charles I. However, his taste in pictures still comes through in his preference for martial and imperial subjects of the lives and triumphs of great classical generals and emperors, thus aligning himself with ancient classical precedent rather than recent kingly example. Yet, the subjects of some of his selection from Charles I's picture collection, not to mention nude statues, indicates a surprising tolerance, or even enthusiasm, for more superstitious and lascivious content than one might expect. In this way, his picture selection is not dissimilar from those of his political and religious rivals. This counteracts the popular view of Cromwell as austere Puritan and offers more evidence to support the view that there was some continuity in Caroline art patronage and tastes, even during the republic. Having addressed the activity of one who was at the apex of the political, ruling elite, the next case study will consider someone further down the social ladder, to explore ways in which a 'middling sort'

---

[139] Sean Kelsey, "Unkingship, 1649-1660".

encountered works of art from the late King's goods that was retained in London during the 1650s.

Emanuel de Critz's involvement in the sale of the Royal Collection

Profile of Emanuel de Critz and his work, c.1640-60

Emanuel de Critz (1608-1665) had an influential role in the art world of the late 1640s and 1650s, as a painter, dealer and collector. His painting work has already been addressed in Chapter 2, and this chapter will focus on De Critz's involvement in the sale of the goods of Charles I and, in particular, where it intersected with that of the Lord Protector and his government.

Emanuel was the third son of the painter John (Jan) de Critz I (d.1642) and his first wife, Helen Woodcock. His brothers John II (d.1642), and Thomas (1607-53) were also painters, although apparently not his youngest brother, Oliver (b.1625-d. before 1660). John I had moved with his parents from Antwerp to England, and the family lived in the thriving Dutch community in London. John I remarried into the De Neve family and two of his sisters married into the Gheeraerts family, both leading dynasties of Dutch immigrant painters.[140] John I was the Serjeant Painter to James I and Charles I and, on his death in 1642, the appointment passed to his eldest son, John II, who died shortly afterwards at the Royalist base in Oxford. Emanuel is presumed to have been trained in painting by his father,[141] and prepared for the role of being or assisting a Serjeant Painter: in a petition on the Restoration Emanuel stated that he 'hath been bredd up in ye place [of Serjeant Painter], and executed the same (wth his brother [John]) most part of his Fathers dayes'.[142] However, rather than passing to Emanuel on his brother's death (an inaccuracy that has been sustained by both contemporary and more recent scholars),[143] it seems that the role of the King's main

[140] For more detail on these interlinked families of artists and their work, see Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers."
[141] Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 60; Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting*, 198.
[142] The National Archives, SP/29/1 f.119, 'The Case of Emanuel de Critz', ?May 1660.
[143] Such as John Aubrey in *Brief Lives*, and more recently by scholars such as Lionel Cust. Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, xcix; Cust, "A 17th Century Portrait," 167.

painter was taken by William Dobson. Emanuel de Critz's petition to be awarded the position at the Restoration was also unsuccessful.[144]

Emanuel's family connections and experience of working for the Caroline elite meant that he was well positioned in the art world by 1642. However, his close relation to two Serjeant Painters to the King, and his brother's support of Charles I at Oxford, might have initially pinned Royalist credentials to Emanuel De Critz. Understandably, he pleaded his unswerving loyalty to the Crown in his two petitions of 1660.[145] Yet, Emanuel's allegiance in the 1640s and 1650s is similar to that of many figures working in the arts during this period, such as Sir Peter Lely and John Webb, who were pragmatic in working for patrons across the political and religious, as well as social, spectrum.

Little is known about Emanuel de Critz's work and location in the 1640s. Tracing his activity is complicated by the fact that Emanuel's brother, Thomas, was also active for some of the period under question. In the accounts of the 4th Earl of Pembroke's executors of 26 December 1649, it is recorded that a 'Mr. Decritz' was paid £3 2s. 'for painting at the Cockpitt in 1642', 'upon a bill signed by Mr. Webb' (the architect).[146] John Aubrey mentions De Critz three times in *Brief Lives*: once referring to a conversation in 1649 about the *catafalco* of Inigo Jones; secondly regarding De Critz's presence at a 'debate' during the Civil Wars; and thirdly concerning De Critz providing Aubrey with oil (probably for paint).[147] Emanuel is definitely the De Critz whose house Symonds recorded in his Note Book as visiting in c.1651, as the art Symonds lists corresponds with other records of the property of the artist, as discussed below. However, despite Poole's assertion that the previous instance of a De Critz in Symonds's notes must also refer to Emanuel,[148] there is otherwise no hard evidence to prove that Symonds's other mentions of a De Critz refer to Emanuel and

---

[144] The petition of May 1660 is TNA/SP/29/1 f.119. A detailed De Critz Family and their records can be found in Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers," 155-162; Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family". Also see, Edmond, "Critz, John de, the elder," *ODNB*; Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 116-123; Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 60.
[145] TNA/SP/29/1 f.119v and HL/PO/JO/10/1/285, 87. Transcribed in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57–9.
[146] Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2, f.31. Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting*, 198.
[147] Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, xxxv, xcix, 197, 348; Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 54–55
[148] Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57.

not Thomas, other than that he would shortly be dead: ‘Walker cryes up Decreet for ye best painter in London’,[149] and the ‘Mr Decreetz’ who had a recipe for cleaning pictures.[150]

Emanuel de Critz is also a contender for the attribution of a collection of portraits of members of the Tradescant family,[151] and a self-portrait of a painter, that are all now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and variously attributed to Emanuel, Thomas or Oliver de Critz (or example, figs 85-88).[152] This has been called "the most celebrated puzzle of all' in the history of British painting'.[153] There is also one portrait of John Tradescant the Younger at the National Portrait Gallery in London, which seems to be closely related to the Ashmolean set (fig. 89).[154] It is thought that the portraits were ‘no doubt painted in Lambeth’, where the Tradescants lived, and the De Critz family had property.[155] The double portrait of Hester and her stepson, John, has a contemporary inscription that gives the date of the work as September 1645, but there is no agreement on the dating of the other works, save that some appear earlier in date than others due to the respective ages of the sitters. Poole attributed the Tradescant Oxford portraits to Emanuel de Critz,[156] but this was later disputed by Mary Edmond, who asserts that ‘the available evidence suggests that the Thomas de Critz … painted the Tradescant portraits, and that he is more likely to have done so than Emanuel’. She also contends that the self-portrait inscribed 'Oliver de Critz' is by Thomas. Edmond presents archival evidence supporting this attribution and argues that a known work by Emanuel, called *Sir John Maynard,* but probably more likely to be

---

[149] Richard Symonds’s Note Book, BL/Egerton MS/1636, 98. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds,* 307.
[150] Vertue, Notebooks, I, 11-12; Edmond, “Limners and Picturemakers,” 208.
[151] These are *John Tradescant the Elder,* WA1898.7; *John Tradescant the Elder,* 1685 A no. 659, WA1898.8; *John Tradescant the Younger,* 1685 A f.47, no. 71, WA1898.10; *John Tradescant the Younger and Roger Friend (Zythepsa of Lambeth),* 1685 A f.50, no. 91, WA1898.11*; John Tradescant the Younger and Hester, his second Wife*, WA1898.12; *Hester, the second wife of John Tradescant the Younger, and her stepson John*, WA1898.14. Another portrait in the set, *Hester, the second wife of John Tradescant the Younger, her stepson John, and her stepdaughter Frances* seems to be by a different painter from the others and is still unattributed.
[152] The Ashmolean still attributes the works to Emanuel. See Collins Baker's, Poole's and Edmond’s analysis of the pictures for conflicting attributions. Edmond, “Limners and Picturemakers,” 159; Poole, “An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family,” 62-6; Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 122–23; See also Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting*, 198; Whinney and Millar, *English Art*, 83.
[153] Edmond, “Limners and Picturemakers,” 156.
[154] NPG 1089, attributed to Thomas De Critz, c.1652. See also John Tradescent the Younger (1608-62) attributed to Thomas de Critz sold via Philip Mould Ltd.
[155] Poole, “An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family,” 62.
[156] Poole, “An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family,” 63. Lionel Cust attributed a portrait of a ‘young sculptor’, possibly Edward Pearce the Younger, to Emanuel de Critz, on the basis of its similarities in style (albeit ‘Except for certain differences of technique’) to the Ashmolean self-portrait. This attribution therefore needs to be re-visited. Cust, “A 17th Century Portrait,” 166-7.

Dr. Brian Walton (c.1600-1661) (fig. 90),[157] 'is far inferior' to the Tradescant pictures. On the other hand, Thomas had a good reputation as a painter: Vertue reported that 'besides John Decretz the Serjeant Painter was Tho. Decretz, his Brother and a better painter'.[158] There is still no current consensus among scholars,[159] but it would seem that Edmond's (and some of Collins Baker's) argument is most convincing.

Yet, as we have seen in Chapter 3, Emanuel's painting practice was sophisticated enough to have secured the important commission from Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke at the end of the 1640s to paint two ambitious schemes alongside Edward Pearce Senior in John Webb's re-designed south front at Wilton House. The 4th Earl died in 1650, so the decoration of the new south front interiors was finished by his son the 5th Earl, and was completed sometime before 11 May 1652 when Lodewijck Huygens viewed the rooms.

As discussed in Chapter 2, De Critz is said to have painted three large scenes from the legend of Perseus on the ceiling of the Double Cube Room (fig. 31), and a cycle of episodes from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* around the dado in the Single Cube Room (fig. 32 a, b, c).[160] At one point in the eighteenth century, the *Arcadia* scenes were attributed to the 'brother' of the painter of the Perseus canvases,[161] and although there is no evidence to prove that Emanuel's brother helped him out with the commission, the scale of the painting project could suggest that an assistant or collaboration might have been necessary. Indeed, as this chapter will explore, by the early 1650s Emanuel must have been very busy as he was heavily involved as a purchaser and dealer of the King's goods in London. Whether Thomas de Critz was well enough to assist his brother is, however, another matter: he died in 1653, about a year after the project completion. Furthermore, although there is no evidence to prove it, it is surely

---

[157] Faintly signed '[????] de Critz', and dated 1657. Last recorded in the collection of the Countess of Warwick at Helmingham Hall. Vertue records a portrait of 'Sejeant Maynard' by 'Decritz' was in Lady Stamford's ownership in 1657. Vertue, "Note books," 18 (1930), 111. Also see Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*, 60; Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers," 158; 'a feeble Van Dyckian piece, far below the level of the Tradescant portraits.' Whinney and Millar, *English Art*, 83. The work was 'lost' at the time of Collins Baker writing about it in 1912: Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 117.
[158] Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers," 159.
[159] Edmond, 'Critz, John de, the elder', *ODNB.*
[160] See Bold and Reeves, *Wilton House and English Palladianism,* 54, 55; Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting*, 42, 198.
[161] James Kennedy, *A Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton*-House (Salisbury, Printed by E. Easton, 1769), 51, 60.

possible that, as well as asking for the help of Sir Peter Lely, an artist and known dealer patronised by the earl, in the sale of the earl's pictures collection, the executors of the 4th Earl of Pembroke might have likewise sought out De Critz's advice.

De Critz's purchases in the sale

Thus, as the Wilton commission neared its completion, De Critz became a prominent player in another of the artistic milestones of the Commonwealth: the sale of the 'late King's goods'. He was named as a creditor to the Crown in the 'second list' and, with his knowledge of art and possibly other luxury goods, plus his connections in the art world, was well placed to become the leader of as many as three syndicates of creditors: the 1st, 5th and 14th dividends. From the remaining sale papers, De Critz's own petitions of 1658 and 1660 and other contemporary accounts, we can reconstruct some of the order of events and identify works that passed through De Critz's hands.

Records show that 684 pictures in total were acquired by members of the fourteen dividends, amounting to £20,625.[162] In making acquisitions for his three Dividends, De Critz took responsibility for almost £15,000 of royal goods,[163] which included 154 pictures, valued at over £3,000 in total.[164] This would imply that, despite De Critz's expertise in paintings, he saw other royal goods that he had selected, such as furniture, as having more potential than pictures to turn around profit for himself and his groups of creditors. Indeed, he likewise limited his purchases of sculpture to eighty items, amounting to £1,000, most of which was taken up by the £800 cost of the finest work in his collection: Bernini's bust of Charles I.[165]

According to a note made by the connoisseur, Richard Symonds, on his visit to 'Decreets house' at Austin Friars in about 1651, the artist was already displaying '3

---

[162] Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 305.
[163] The First Dividend - 'De Critz and others' – received £4,999 16s. worth of goods; the Fifth Dividend – 'De Critz and four others' – got £5,000 3s.; and the Fourteenth Dividend – 'Decritz and others' - collected £4,787 19s. See Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 305. 'The fourteen Dividends acquired goods to the value of £65,751. 9s. 7d., principally on 23 October 1651.' Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 305. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xxi.
[164] See Bodl./Rawl./D/698, fols 10-11. Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*, 266, 390 n.33; Nuttall, "King Charles I's Pictures," 308.
[165] Destroyed. Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," 131–3, 139, 155.

Rooms full of ye king's Pictures…' there.[166] This property, or rented rooms, might have been De Critz's official showroom for his art dealership,[167] as Edmonds records that De Critz lived on the north side of Long Acre, Covent Garden in the 1650s.[168] It is apparent from Symonds's list of some of the works he saw, and his notes of a few of the prices, that the goods were those purchased in the sale by De Critz for himself or members of his three Dividends.

> In Austin Fryars at Decreets house.
>
> 3 Rooms full of ye king's Pictures.
>
> 2 large quadros for colours a secco by Correggio about 3 foot and a half high, one Martias being fleaed and one offers snakes towards him, and one below smiling. A brave part : The other of Pallas and others, both prized at £1000 apiece.
>
> 2 stories by Julio Romano finisht in oyle out of Ovids *Met.* Juno angry and frowning at Jupiter and Semele. The other Pallas and Wood fawnes, both prized at £160. 2-foot high each.
>
> A Fortune standing on a globe, kept up by 2 Cupids by Jul. Rom. prized at xxl.
>
> Also the story of ye Bull carrying away Europa by Julio Romano and Pozzo(?).
>
> Or Sauior Crowned with thornes by Torch light, 2 foot and half high Bassan Vecchio.
>
> Ye Virgin, S. Joseph and 2 more half figures by Titian.
>
> A David wth Goliath's head of very red colouring, ye David by Giorgione. 5l.
>
> The King's head in white marble done by Bernino at Rome prized at £400.
>
> A large story of Pharoah's daughters finding moses in ye Rushes by Gentileschi.
>
> All ye King's Children done together by Van Dyke.
>
> The Duke of Buck. And his family by Gentileschi.
>
> The Buriall of Or Sauior copied by Crosse from Titian and on ye Tomb is Bassi Relevi and ye Corner broken.[169]

The works he describes can be identified in order as the *Allegory of Virtue* and the *Allegory of Vice* by Correggio (figs 91 and 92);[170] two scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and a *Fortuna,* all now attributed to the workshop of Giulio

---

[166] Richard Symonds's Note Book, BL/Egerton MS/1636, 99. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 308.
[167] In 1657 De Critz is recorded as selling antique sculptures including a 'Bacchus' to Algernon Percy the 10th Earl of Northumberland. Wood, "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy," 73; Millar, ed., *Inventories and Valuations*, 298, 303, 315.
[168] Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers," 218.
[169] Richard Symonds's Note Book, BL/Egerton MS/1636. 'Observations concerning pictures and paintings in England 1651-1652', 99 [fols 99v-100r new pagination]. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 308; Also transcribed and discussed in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 56–57.
[170] Louvre, Paris, Inv. 5926 and Inv. 5927. Cecil H. M. Gould, *The Paintings of Correggio* (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), 239–42.

Romano;[171] a *Rape of Europa* now attributed to a follower of Giulio Romano;[172] a *Christ Crowned in Thorns* by Bassano;[173] a *Holy Family* after Titian;[174] a *David and Goliath* after Giorgione;[175] one of Henrietta Maria's pictures from the Queen's House in Greenwich, *The Finding of Moses* by Orazio Gentileschi;[176] *The Family of the 1st Duke of Buckingham* by an unknown artist;[177] and a copy after Titian of *The Burial of Christ* by Crosse.[178] He also acquired two royal portraits: Bernini's famous bust of Charles I,[179] and *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* by Van Dyck (fig. 93).[180] Bernini's bust is notably priced at £400, half of what it had been valued in the sales inventories, perhaps reflecting the difficulty of selling, or rather transporting, a large, heavy and precious marble sculpture.

As well as amateur connoisseurs such as Symonds, it is also recorded that the Spanish Ambassador Cardenas and Cardinal Mazarin's art agent, M. de Bordeaux, also frequented De Critz's showroom to view pictures for sale.[181] De Critz was not the only collector and dealer to put his objects on show: Symonds also records viewing items owned by several of the King's former servants: the King's Embroiderer, Edmund Harrison, held items at a wharf near Somerset House; he mentions a 'Knightly', an upholsterer named 'Grynder', the King's Glazier, Baggley, and

---

[171] These could be the Birth of Bacchus, J. Paul Getty Museum, 69.PB.7; less likely, The Birth of Diana and Apollo, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402816; and probably the Fortuna, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405744. Poole states that the Fortuna is no. 287 in Mr Law's illustrated catalogue of 1898. Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57.
[172] Possibly that ascribed to a 'follower of Giulio Romano', RCIN 402801. Poole states that it is no. 293 in the Mr Law catalogue. Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57.
[173] Possibly the picture now at Christ Church, Oxford. J. Byam Shaw, *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford* (London: Phaidon, 1967), no. 92.
[174] Possibly *The Virgin and Child, Saint Luke and a Donor*, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406070, bought by Charles I as a Titian, and once entitled *The Holy Family*, but now attributed to Palma Giovane. John K. G. Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), no. 176.
[175] *David with the Head of Goliath*, after Giorgione, RCIN 402782. Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures*, no. 112. Poole suggests that this is probably the picture now in Vienna, as stated by Claude Phillips: '*David with the Head of Goliath* (No. 285 in the Vienna Gallery), formerly in Archduke Leopold William's collection, and probably in that of Charles also'. Claude Phillips, *The Picture Gallery of Charles I* (London: Seeley and Company, 1896), 88. Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57.
[176] On loan from a private collection to the National Gallery, London, L951. Poole wrongly suggests that De Critz's picture was another version of the scene now at the Prado, Madrid, P00147, citing 'Bryan's Dictionary'. The Prado version had been sent as a gift from the artist to Philip II of Spain in 1633. Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57.
[177] The artist was actually Gerrit van Honthorst, not Gentileschi. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406553. Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures*, no. 138.
[178] Whereabouts unknown. The original by Titian is in the Louvre, Paris, Inv. 749.
[179] Lost in a fire at Whitehall in 1697. Cust, "Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections: XIII: The Triple Portrait of Charles I by Van Dyck, and the Bust by Bernini," *The Burlington Magazine* 14, no. 72 (March 1909): 337; David Howarth, "Charles I, Sculpture and Sculptors," in *The Late King's Goods*, ed. Arthur MacGregor, 95–97.
[180] RCIN 404405. See Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures,* no.152.
[181] 'Cardenas was seen regularly frequenting the makeshift galleries and shops established by dividend heads like de Critz in Austin Friars.' Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*, 272, 298; Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xxii; For M. de Bordeaux's reports see Comte de Cosnac and De Bordeaux, *Les Richesses Du Palais Mazarin*, 413–20, 169–240.

Captain Robert Mallory.[182] John Evelyn also visited Jerome Lanier at Greenwich in 1652 and 1653, and records seeing valuable Italian paintings and other rare items in his possession:

> 1 *Aug* [1652]: Came Old *Jerome Lennier* (a man greatly skill'd in Painting & Musique) and another rare Musitian, cald *Mell*: 2 [Aug]: … I went to see *Jer: Lenniers* rare Collection of Pictures, especially those of *Julio Romanos,* which surely had ben the Kings, & an *Egyptian* figure &c: there were also excellent things of *Polydor, Guido, Raphael, Tintoret* &c.
>
> 14 [Jan 1653] I went to *Greenewich* to see againe *Mr. Lenniers* Collection, who shewed me *Q: Elizabeths* head in Intaglia in a rare *Sardonyx,* cut by a famous *Italian*, *Mr. Lennier* who had ben a domestic Servant of that *Queene,* assured me it was exceedingly like her.[183]

In addition to Symonds's notes, the papers of the Commission for the Sale of the Late King's Goods contain references to pictures scattered about the properties and showrooms of the creditors, dealers and opportunists of London. The twenty-seven entries listed in the 'A p'ticular of the inventories of the King's goods brought into the Lords' Committees' of May 1660 name some of the Londoners who still had pictures in their possession, as well as giving a glimpse of the sorts of works that had remained, for whatever reason, unsold.[184] In some cases, specific names are given, including that of De Critz, or descriptions of works are provided, while in others, only the number of pictures owned is cited, or named pictures are followed by an '&c.', which implies the owner had more pictures than are listed.

The papers include a certain Edward Martyn, who is reported in one entry to have retained five pictures, which included portraits and 'a St. Francis', and in another entry as having six pictures 'one being the Duke of Florence'. 'Lord Whitlocke' is

---

[182] BM/Egerton MS/1636, ff.90v, 97, 98, 99v-100. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*; See also Millar, ed., "Inventories and Valuations," xxi.
[183] Evelyn, *Diary*, 292, 295.
[184] PA/HL/PO/JO/10/I/285 fos 59-121. Calendared in HMC, 7th Report, app. 88-93. Lords Journals, xi. 43a. For detailed breakdown of attempts to recover the King's goods after 1660, see Barclay, "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection," 629–49.

recorded as having 'the Slauter of the Hellena of Greese' '&c.' Thomas Osborne had 'a Joseph and a St. Francis by Gentelico, a picture by Woter, five pictures of the King's family in little, the King's family in water-colours, &c.' 'Wm. Bacon has … a picture of Mary and Angels.' John Embree had a number of pictures: 'The Deluge, done by Bassano'; 'Pomfrett Castle'; 'A Madonna of Egypt, done by Titian'; 'A man in black, done by Tintorett'. The list goes on.[185] Apart from tending toward the cheaper end of the spectrum, there is no defining characteristic among the named unsold pictures: they are a combination of predominantly Italian classical and religious subjects, portraits (including several of Charles I and his family) and the occasional landscape and still-life. The list is therefore broadly representative of the make-up of the royal art collection, and of what still remained on the walls of noble houses and even the palaces, suggesting that the tastes of cash buyers and creditors remained similar to those of previous decades.

In De Critz's petition of May 1660, he lists the six works 'in his sole possession', others that he owned partially with other creditors, and those items in his custody that were owned outright by others.[186] This was one of the largest lists of goods to be restored to the Crown, including twenty-four paintings, Bernini's bust of Charles I, two other marble sculptures, a bronze statue and a barge,[187] valued at £1,576. However, given the large number of goods that are recorded as having passed through De Critz's hands, the short list suggests that he had evidently done well in selling off goods. Two items viewed by Symonds on his visit of 1651 – the Bernini bust and Gulio Romano's *Rape of Europa* - are still with De Critz, and are listed as in his sole ownership. The *Christ Crowned in Thorns* from Symonds's account might well be one of the 'two oval pieces of Bassano'. Other items listed in the petition were 'A head of St Jerome' and 'A sea-piece—in a friend's hand at prsent.' Interestingly, the 'greatt brass figure of Anthoninus', presumably the 'Antoninus' cited in De Critz's 1658 petition, was also listed in this letter of 1660. This suggests that the work had been conveyed to De Critz's custody following his complaint of 1658, but it seems

---

[185] PA/HL/PO/JO/10/I/285, fos 59-121.
[186] PA/HL/PO/JO/10/1/285. 'A particular [illegible] of such goods as are in the Custody of Ema. De Critz May 15th 1660.' in 'Papers relation to the King's goods', Undated May – 11 June 1660. Calendared in HMC 7th Report, 1879, 90.
[187] 'a Privy Barge (late converted into a Gallery)', called 'The Prince Barge' in the second petition. See Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 58.

that this move was triggered by another interference: the statue was 'atempted by ye Quaker in the Garden [Whitehall], and thence secured by me wth charge to another place.' Poole gives the information that the statue had been rescued from the attack by Richard Meredith, 'who sold it to de Critz and others for £120'.[188] However, this would imply that De Critz had paid twice over to obtain the same statue, so there is clearly more to this story than had so far been revealed.

De Critz's political sympathies are hard to make out during the 1640s and 1650s. As we have seen, De Critz had possibly worked for the leading Parliamentarian Pembroke, painting the Cockpit in 1642, soon after the death of his brother John who had been defending the Royalist cause in Oxford. Several years later, De Critz then worked out in Wiltshire for Pembroke and subsequently his Parliamentarian son. However, this is possibly indicative of the pragmatic approach of London art world professionals, who needed to find work where they could at this unsettled political time. After all, De Critz's fellow artisans at Wilton – Edward Pearce Senior and John Webb – also demonstrated this career opportunism in the 1640s and 1650s. Needless to say, like many others at the Restoration, De Critz pleaded that his loyalty to the King's cause had not wavered during the Interregnum. He states in his two petitions to Charles II in May 1660 how he had 'preserved' and made 'secure' the King's goods by purchasing them and keeping them in his 'safe custody'; that he had 'used all means' to 'convey' the Bernini statue to Charles II in exile, 'but could not'; and that the King had likewise had 'oft notice' from De Critz of his collecting of the King's goods 'with great care and danger', and 'great loss and sufferance'.[189] De Critz of course does not mention that he had also sold on some of the King's goods for profit, although, given his position as a creditor, this was excusable according to the loophole provided in the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. De Critz's involvement in the sale of the King's collection is therefore evidence in favour of the argument that the art trade was invigorated by this unusual dispersal of a royal collection.

[188] Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 59.
[189] Petitions of May 1660: TNA/SP/29/1, f.119. See transcript in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57-8.

The case of two works bought by Emanuel De Critz in the 1650s:
***The Great Peece* by Van Dyck and Van Leemput's copy**

Along with the Bernini sculpture, and the Correggio, one of the most important works of art in De Critz's picture haul was a full-length royal dynastic painting by Sir Anthony van Dyck, known as *The Great Peece* (fig. 94). It shows Charles I with Queen Henrietta Maria and their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary, with two dogs at their feet and a distant view of Westminster in the background. The King wears the blue ribbon and star of the Garter, and beside him on the table are displayed the signifiers of his kingship: his crown, sceptre and orb. The picture was painted for Charles I by August 1632, when a warrant was made for payment of £100 to Van Dyck. It was hung prominently in the King's Long Gallery at Whitehall, probably on the end wall so that it could be displayed to its full striking effect.[190]

The records of the sale reveal De Critz, representing his syndicates, was sold or allotted two pictures that match the description of *The Great Peece*:

> Pictures out of ye Beare Gallery and some of ye Privy Lodgings at Whitehall … The great peece of Vandycke being very curiously done. To Mr De Crittz, and others in ye 14th Dividend, 60li.
> (1651)

> A True Inventory of Severall Pictures now remaining in Somersett House, wch came from Whitehall and St James's … The King Queene Prince and Princesse (by Vandycke) 150li sold Mr De Crittz & others in a dividend as aprised 23 Oct. 1651.'
> (23 October 1651)

---

190 Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405353. Millar, "Van Dyck in England", in *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogu*e, ed. Barnes, *et al.*, 459-60, IV.45.

Another reference to the latter work appears about six weeks later:

> The Great Peice of Van Dyke being very curiously done. Sold to Mr Decrittz at the appraised price, 7th Dec. 1651, for 60li.'
> (7 December 1651)

The difference in price between the two works suggests that one, for which De Critz paid the appraisal price of £150, must have been the original by Van Dyck, while the latter, 'being very curiously done' and costed at £60, was the full-scale copy made by Remigius van Leemput in 1643 (possibly fig. 28 or fig. 29).[191] It is notable that Van Leemput's copy had increased in value by £10 from the amount the artist was originally paid, possibly a premium for it being a high-quality copy.[192]

Given De Critz's knowledge of Van Dyck's paintings through working for two of his most ardent patrons – the King and the Earl of Pembroke – it is unsurprising that he would attempt to buy one of the finest paintings in the King's art collection. As with other portraits by Van Dyck bought at the sale, the work's artistic value trumped the political implications of owning a portrait of the executed King and the exiled Charles II. It is less clear, however, how far this was also the case with the copy by Van Leemput. Although he was an accomplished copyist, the work's lesser artistic quality might have given more weight to the meaning of the picture's content.

However, despite being allotted and having paid for the works, it is unclear whether the pictures ever made it into De Critz's possession. Although in his account of De Critz's property at Austin Friars, Symonds reveals he saw '3 Rooms full of ye king's Pictures', including Correggios, Julio Romanos, Titian, and even two other royal portraits – the sculpture of Charles I by Bernini, and the *The Five Eldest Children of Charles I* by Van Dyck – he conspicuously doesn't mention the enormous *Great Peece* by that same artist. This suggests that either Symonds visited before De Critz

---

[191] This is the theory was originally put forward by Lional Cust. Cust, "The Great Piece, I," 236.
[192] BL/Add/MS/32476 f.28. It is possible that phrase 'very curiously done' might also arguably point to a small copy after *The Great Peece* at Woburn Abbey which is also attributed to Van Leemput. Millar, "Van Dyck in England", in Barnes, *et al.* eds., *Van Dyck*, 459, IV.45; Millar, *Van Dyck in England* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982), 47.

had collected his purchases, or that he kept these particular works at his private home on Long Acre, or that there was perhaps some delay in securing them. De Critz's petition of 1658 only lists statues, pedestals, hangings and a carpet that had remained in the custody of the state; no paintings are mentioned, even through *The Great Peece* original was of comparable value.

De Critz's run-in with Cromwell for detaining his statues, and possibly more, was followed only a couple of years later by two further pettitons delivered by the artist in May 1660 after the Restoration of Charles II.[193] *The Great Peece* is again not mentioned, the implication being that he either did not receive it, or its copy, or he had disposed of this work through sale by that stage. *The Great Peece* was eventually restored to the Crown by Colonel Hawley on Aug 16, 1661, although unfortunately it is not recorded from whence it came. Described as 'the King and Queen's picture with ye prince by him, and the princess in ye Queen's Armes being a large peice done by Anthony Van Dike', it resumed its place at Whitehall.[194]

There is no reference, however, to Van Leemput's copy being restored. It is possible that, as with the pictures and sculptures detained by Cromwell, it never made it into Emanuel de Critz's possession. As Lionel Cust has suggested, it might have stayed instead in the possession of its artist and, on his death, passed into the ownership of his son-in-law Robert Streater the younger, who in turn sold it through Henry Ireton the younger for £47 5s. to Chelsea Hospital.[195] Van Leemput was also a buyer in the sale of the King's goods and, as we have seen, obtained Van Dyck's *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine* from the creditor Hugh Pope.[196] The records of this work during the Interregnum are limited and confusing. It seems that by the Restoration, after a brief trip to Antwerp with Van Leemput for an unsuccessful attempt to sell for £200, the work was back on display in its original location at St James's Palace, yet still officially in the custody of Van Leemput.[197] Could De Critz

---

[193] PA HL/PO/JO/10/I/285, f. 26 (no.87). Both petitions are transcribed and analysed in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 57-9.
[194] *Inventory of goods recovered by Colonel William Hawley*, 1 June 1660-16 August 1661. BM/Add.MS/17916.
[195] Cust, "The Great Piece, II," 287-8.
[196] Haskell, "Charles I's Collection of Pictures," 158; Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures*, 93.
[197] Haskell, *The King's Pictures,* 158; Millar, "Van Dyck in England", in Barnes, *et al.* eds., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue* 2003, 462, IV 47.

have had a similar setup and the copy remained at Whitehall, so that it was not necessary for him to report the work in 1660? This could have meant that rather than remaining with Van Leemput throughout the period, the work might have stayed at Whitehall, in De Critz's ownership, and moved back into the custody of its creator as late as 1660.

De Critz certainly had access to the picture gallery at Whitehall on 30 June 1660, when he met Samuel Pepys and his employer, Edward Montagu: Pepys recorded in his *Diary* that 'Mr. De Cretz … looked over many of the pieces, in the gallery with me and told me [by] whose hands they were, with great pleasure.'[198] Could *The Great Peece* or its copy have been there? This was shortly after De Critz's petition to the King requesting the position of Serjeant Painter, and perhaps he saw the opportunity to demonstrate how 'noe man understands the Place [of Serjeant Painter] like him.'[199] Unfortunately, despite returning all the royal goods and being amenable to those in favour of the restored King, De Critz was not successful in his bid to be Serjeant Painter and died shortly after, in 1665.[200] De Critz did, however, get a commission out of Pepys, for whom he made a copy after Lely's portrait of Montagu, now in the collection at Audley End in Essex (fig. 95).[201] This was hardly a commission on the scale of Wilton House's state rooms a decade before. Pepys's notes about the painter of 1660-62 are, in fact, the only insights we have into his work between the Restoration and his death; the last one is enlightening:

> 1662, 9 May. To Mr. de Cretz, and there saw some good pieces that he hath copyed of the King's pieces – some of Raphael and Michaell Angelo, and I have borrowed an Elizabeth of his copying to hang up in my house.[202]

It is intriguing whether these were new copies made from the restored works post-Restoration, or whether they had been made by the painter during the 1650s when the

---

[198] Diary entry of Saturday 30 June 1660. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Bell, 1970), vol. I, 188-9.
[199] De Critz's petition of May 1660, transcribed in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 58.
[200] Will of Emanuel de Critz, dated 3 March 1662/3, proved 4 Nov 1665. Transcribed in Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 60-1.
[201] This commission is mentioned by Pepys in his diary entries on the 23 and 24 of October and 12, 15, 19 and 24 November 1660. Pepys, *Diary*, vol. I, 271-4, 290-6, 301-2.
[202] Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 60.

King's goods were on display at Somerset House or in circulation around private houses and dealers' sale rooms. Indeed, the Michelangelo could have been the 'small pe of or Lady, Christ, and Joseph by Mich. Angello B.' included in his May 1660 list of 'other men's [royal sale goods] intrusted to my hands.'[203]

Emanuel De Critz's involvement in the sale and dispersal of the royal goods demonstrates how a practising artist with court connections could adapt and take on the role of a dealer, heading-up a buying syndicate and selling on works to the secondary market in London. In this way, he and other artists, such as Remigius van Leemput, were able to diversify their activity in the London art world, functioning as art makers, collectors and dealers. Furthermore, collectors and visitors to De Critz's and other show rooms, such as Symonds, were able to view and buy works previously owned by a monarch and kept from public view.

Conclusion to Chapter 4

Through two case studies, this chapter has explored aspects of the complex mechanics of the sale of the Crown goods and the retention of a portion of them in and nearby London during the Interregnum. It has shown how the unique conditions of the sale created a climate in which glaziers and embroiderers could come to own (albeit often only for a short time) fine works of art, great masterpieces from the royal palaces could be displayed in lodgings at Austin Friars, and eager collectors on the Continent could amass a world-class collection in one shipment. However, what has also become apparent is that the Council of State and the Protector upheld the 'status quo' of magnificent visual display to the best of their ability through reserving goods for the use of the state over and above the amount officially allowed by Parliament and the Trustees of the sale. Large works and tapestry cycles were retained to ensure that the walls of Whitehall and Hampton Court did not look spare: opulent furnishings were kept in the rooms that mattered – those seen by visitors and those inhabited by the Lord Protector and his family. Cromwell's interest in the work of Mortlake

[203] Poole, "An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family," 58.

tapestry factory, and in the Italian masters, also revealed a degree of continuity with the artistic taste of his predecessor.

Emanuel de Critz emerges as a key character on the arts scene in the period 1640-60, shifting through art world roles and political loyalties. He continued to paint in the 1640s and early 1650s, while also becoming an art collector and dealer during the Protectorate, during which time it is possible he made copies of the works in his possession. His selection of goods for himself and others reveals his knowledge of the art and luxury goods market in London. Yet, if we are to believe his petitions of 1658 and 1660, he was still owed money and had come into financial difficulties by the time of the Restoration. By the end of his life, he was reduced to being a modest copyist. De Critz could therefore, on the one hand, represent the fading of a great artistic dynasty of the sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. Nevertheless, on the other hand, his agency on all levels of the London art world and different roles ensured he continued the artistic influence enjoyed by his father through twenty years of political discord.

Ultimately, these examples show that, while the sale undoubtedly brought changes in the patterns of consumption of works of art during this period, there are also instances of continuity in this regard. Following the strains of the 1640s, the sale of the late King's goods injected the artistic community of London with trade and artistic inspiration, while the ex-royal palaces remained in many respects, as Evelyn notes, 'very glorious'.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has investigated several problematic aspects of the practice, patronage and collecting of painting in England during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. In particular, it has explored the extent to which London retained its role as a centre of the art market during the years of civil war and the Interregnum, and how far the English elite remained active consumers of the visual arts in this period. The findings show that the 1640s and 1650s in England were far richer in painting activity and patronage than tends to have been acknowledged. Moreover, the investigation has also revealed that, despite the wars and great political changes, a number of collecting and patronage characteristics of the preceding decades continued in a similar vein throughout part or all of this period. The conclusions can be grouped into three interlinked areas of investigation, concerning the survival of the London painting business, the continuance of court culture, and the characteristics of elite taste.

The survival of London's painting business

At the core of the investigation lies the question of how far practitioners and purveyors of the art of painting were able to continue their trade in London during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. Most interpretations of the business of painting in London during the Civil Wars in particular have been overwhelmingly negative and, certainly, the outlook for artists at the outset of the period looked bleak. On the 'demand' side, established reserves of patronage in London were drained when a number of Royalists who had been art patrons left the metropolis to join the Royal Court at Oxford or to go into exile on the Continent. On the 'supply' side, two prolific and influential artists of the preceding decade, Rubens and Van Dyck, died on the eve of civil war, and many other talented artists left the city during the course of the First Civil War (1642-6) to follow the court to Oxford, or to set up business abroad. That the brilliant painter, William Dobson, who had successfully cornered the market for portraits of Royalists in Oxford during the First Civil War, died 'poor' in 1646 has also been cited as an indicator of the sorry state of painting in the city at that time.

However, this is not the whole story. A closer look at different types of painters working in London during the 1640s reveals a more complex picture of their experience of these years, and their output. Whilst the First Civil War undoubtedly had a negative impact on the business of painting, this thesis argues that, after the initial disruption, aspects of the market recovered to some extent by the late 1640s as artists and patrons learned how to navigate the uncertainties of the time.

There were indisputable challenges: the Civil Wars precipitated diverse financial difficulties at all levels of the social spectrum across the nation, and the First Civil War in particular had an adverse effect on the London painting market. This is confirmed by evidence provided by the Minutes of the Painter-Stainers' Company meetings, analysed in Chapter 1, which reveal that some of these (mostly decorative) painters who remained in London during the early 1640s found trade affected by the 'distractions' of the times and experienced a depressed art market. Yet, as the work of other scholars has also suggested, the findings indicate that the wars' effect on the economy of London was not as severe as has traditionally been assumed, especially at the upper echelons of society.[1] This is reflected in the careers of a number of the more highly-skilled portrait painters active in London in the 1640s, who were able to continue their practice in London relatively unabated throughout that period. These included Robert Walker, who positioned himself as the leading portrait painter for the Parliamentarians during the wars; Edward Bowers, who was commissioned to paint the King at his trial, but otherwise mainly painted middle-class sitters; and the Royalist, William Sheppard. Meanwhile, Dobson's penury at the time of his death may not be a function of market collapse but simply the result of his being too ill to work. Another highly-skilled practice, miniature painting, not only survived but continued to flourish throughout the 1640s and 1650s, led by established limners John Hoskins, Samuel Cooper and Richard Gibson. It is possible that the continued success of these undeniably talented artists was helped by the small size and ease of portability of the medium at a time of uncertainties, scarcity of some artistic materials, and much geographical movement of people (through war or exile), but it is difficult

---

[1] Ben Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

to say how far this was the case. Significantly, two painters from Antwerp, Sir Peter Lely and John Baptist Gaspars, started up their painting practices in London in c.1643 – at the heart of the First Civil War – and found enough trade to stay. After only a few years in the country, Lely had built up a sufficient reputation to secure top commissions from a set of elite London patrons who were tightly interrelated by blood and social links, including the Earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, Lady Anne Clifford and the Countess of Dysart.

Analysis of the Painter-Stainers' Company Minutes and the careers of other artists during the 1640s and 1650s has also provided a more nuanced look at the two decades as a whole, revealing differences across the period which defy grouping under simply 'the Civil Wars' and 'Interregnum'. The Minutes reveal that, while the First Civil War did precipitate challenges for City painters, from around 1646, its members' affairs were more in order and the Company's attempts at enforcing its regulations had begun to improve. By the late 1640s, it appears the painting trade had largely made a recovery: Company membership increased as artists returned and new members arrived; fewer absences were reported; and fewer fines were chased while more were paid. This documentary manuscript record is supported by the pictures produced in these years, which indicate that, by c.1650, Lely had healthy competition from John Hayls, Gilbert Soest, and John Weesop, among others, signifying a robust market for contemporary painting had returned.

This research project has likewise enabled a better understanding of how the painters of London fared during the periods of Commonwealth and Protectorate government. Evidence of painters active in London in the 1650s points to a generally thriving market for painting, and although there are still traces of some artists having difficulty, this would be the case in any period. The sale and dispersal of the King's goods – though in itself an example of distinct change in the art trade in the 1650s – consolidated London's continued position as an art centre. The 1650s saw the art world increasingly centralised in the Covent Garden area, where Lely, Geldorp, Flushier, Cooper, Mary Beale and others set up shop. Clein and Carlile also moved there briefly to further their careers. Given the success of Lely and other up-and-coming portrait painters such as Beale and John Michael Wright during this period, it would seem that Carlile's struggle to further her career under the Protectorate was a

symptom of shifting tastes rather than a lack of demand for art. Indeed, in the closing years of the republic, William Sanderson's claim that 'These now in England are not less worthy of fame then any forraigner … Our Modern Masters comparable with any now beyond Seas' is supported by a list of artists with a broad range of specialities, including history painting and still life. This list notably features four women artists, two of whom – Beale and Carlile – are better-known, but the other two – 'Mrs Brooman' and a 'Madame Caris' – are yet to be identified. The list also includes other names of artists who remain obscure, highlighting the potential for further investigation into artists active in London in this period.

There is also evidence to indicate that the market for copies and versions continued through the 1640s and 1650s. Many artists – including commercially successful ones such as Walker and Lely – worked as copyists of old masters or contemporary portraits, especially after Titian and Van Dyck. The copyists Jan van Belcamp and Remigius van Leemput, both already established at the court of Charles I, continued as specialists in this area. The ambitious amalgamation of copied portraits in Lady Anne Clifford's *Great Picture* is evidence of the talent that was available in the City in 1646. Copyists continued to be in demand in the 1650s, when Sir Justinian Isham was able to select from a range of copies after Italian old master paintings and recent Van Dyck portraits that were available on-demand from London workshops.

A development which arguably might have been prompted by the temporary slump in the art market at the beginning of the wars, coupled with the uncertainties of the times, was that painters with expertise in multiple areas flourished, and many other painters sought to diversify their practice. Thus, painters such as Emanuel de Critz found employment doing decorative painting, portraiture and copying, as well as art dealing. Several artists such as Francis Barlow, Francis Clein and Isaac Fuller turned to the art of etching for book illustration, which was becoming increasingly popular and lucrative in this period.

The case studies explored in this thesis reveal that another distinctive strand of work for artists of the period was art dealership. Examples include Maurice Wase, who worked as both a copyist and dealer; the architect John Webb, who doubled as a dealer and art adviser for his patrons; and the painter George Geldorp. This trend was

given further impetus by the inventorying and sale of the Royal Collection from 1651, which energised the London art market with an influx of high-quality goods and created roles in art-advising and dealing for versatile art-world figures. Emanuel de Critz, for example, took advantage of this in advising other Crown creditors on valuations and purchases. The sale also gave the unprecedented opportunity for high-standard paintings, which had for a long time only been accessible to the elite few, to be viewed by a range of patrons and seen and copied by artists, arguably influencing their own tastes and development as collectors and painters.

Evidence presented in this thesis therefore indicates that, although the painters of London had a mixed experience of the Civil Wars and some experienced particular hardship during the First Civil War, their business had broadly recovered by the Interregnum. That London painters were kept in trade points to there being a critical mass of active patrons calling on London artisans in these years. Furthermore, it shows that London was able to retain its place as the centre of the English art world, despite a brief moment of rivalry in the early 1640s from the Royalist court in Oxford.

The continuance of court culture

Another key strand of enquiry is the extent to which the established patterns of patronage and collecting in England weathered the turbulence of the Civil Wars and the different political setup of a republic. At the centre of this problem is the question of the survival of the structures that made up court culture, a key part of which was the ostentatious display of appreciation of the arts. The Royal Court, based in London, had been a major source of visual arts patronage in the decades before civil war broke out: it was at the Caroline court that artists and designers such as Inigo Jones, Francis Clein, Van Dyck and John Hoskins flourished, patronised by the King and his courtiers, some of whom also amassed internationally-renowned art collections. When Charles I and his court disbanded in 1642, the King and some of his courtiers regrouped at the Royalist wartime court of Oxford. It would be reasonable to expect that the physical absence of the court from London would correspond with the removal of court culture from the centre and, along with it, a major source of visual arts patronage.

However, the evidence presented in this thesis suggests this was not the case. London continued as the centre of the English art world after the King and his court had left, and, despite the changed social and political structure of England, some courtly constructs, including the patronage and collecting of painting amongst the country's elite, survived. As Chapters 2 and 3 outline, it appears that the survival of aspects of court culture was possible because several major patrons of the Caroline court of the 1630s remained in London during the Civil Wars and Interregnum and continued their patronage and collecting activities. The Earl of Northumberland's art patronage in fact peaked during this period as he invested in partial rebuilding and redecoration of Northumberland House, drawing on the skills of London-based architects and artisans such as John Webb and John Gomersall. He also continued to collect paintings, such as those from the collections of the Duke of Buckingham and Van Dyck, as well as continuing to commission original paintings and copies by Lely and other London artists. When the Earl of Pembroke, another early patron of Lely, turned his attentions to redecorating the state rooms of Wilton House in Wiltshire, he also drew on London art expertise. He commissioned John Webb to oversee the changes and other London-based artists, Emanuel de Critz and Edward Pearce, to carry out an ambitious painted scheme. Furthermore, while based in London during the Civil Wars, Lady Anne Clifford embarked upon a deeply personal patronage project involving portraiture of herself and close family in the 1640s, before leaving to inhabit her hard-won Northern estates in the 1650s, where her patronage activity continued. Both she, and another leading female arts patron of the period, the Countess of Dysart, were also early patrons of Lely.

It is also clear from surviving evidence discussed in Chapter 4 that during the Cromwellian Protectorate there was a return to some of the courtly structure and practices of royal rule. Although, to cover debts, the Council had to sell most of the royal palaces and the great proportion of the King's goods, it retained the royal properties in London and many items from the royal collection to furnish them. The spaces were used for offices, lodgings or rooms for entertainment of foreign dignitaries, just as they had been during Charles I's rule. Servants of the Protectorate were set up in the old royal servants' lodgings while, at Whitehall, Cromwell took the late King's rooms, and at Hampton Court he took rooms that had been the Queen's.

This research also shines further light on the private collections of luxuries formed by Cromwell and other senior figures in his government. Cromwell patronised the leading contemporary painters Cooper, Lely and Wright, commissioning portraits of himself from the late 1640s, and his family in the 1650s. The Commonwealth also continued to fund the Mortlake tapestry factory, Charles I's pet project, from which the Protector commissioned new tapestries after works from the retained royal collection. Similarly continuing established courtly convention, Cromwell and other elite patrons such as Northumberland, Pembroke and Lady Anne also all made use of contemporary portrait painters and copyists based in London. Once Lady Anne had settled in the North of England in the 1650s, however, she turned to local artists such as John Bracken. This appears to be for geographical reasons: she never returned to the South and it was rare for artisans from London to venture so far north for commissions.

The findings also reveal more about the persistent influence of London-centred court culture on other members of the country's elite. In contrast to Lady Anne, Sir Justinian Isham maintained his links to the metropolis even though, as a Royalist, he had been forced out of London into 'internal exile' at his estate in Northamptonshire. From here, he continued to commission London-based architects and artists, such as Webb, Lely, Carlile and Cooper, and also to collect works by and after Van Dyck and Titian from a London dealer, Maurice Wase. In this way he formed a modest art collection of the Caroline model in his house in Northamptonshire. The evidence suggests, therefore, that the London art world not only benefited from patrons remaining *in situ*, but also received continued patronage by individuals no longer based in the capital itself. Moreover, while there remained a patronage base in London and elsewhere in England which continued to draw on London art expertise, some of the architects and artists themselves, such as John Webb, Emanuel de Critz and Edward Pearce, continued to show pragmatism and flexibility in their willingness to work outside London.

Like the Painter-Stainers of London, investigation into the lives of Northumberland, Pembroke and Isham reveals that they all experienced financial strains caused in different ways by the Civil Wars. It is hard to prove whether financial limitations may

have affected the scale and ambition of their patronage in comparison to Caroline precedent. What is clear, however, is that, while their spending-power was weakened, these patrons were evidently still wealthy enough to embark on ambitious architectural and decorative patronage projects while still commissioning and collecting pictures. It seems that they kept costs down by electing to extend and redecorate existing structures, rather than building entirely new buildings: while Pembroke entertained the idea of completely rebuilding Durham House, he evidently conceded that the designs produced by Webb would amount to a prohibitively expensive project. Lady Anne Clifford, on the other hand, came into her immense inheritance at the start of this period and might have commanded the funds to build from scratch, yet the importance she gave to her genealogical, geographical and material heritage led her to likewise choose to conserve and restore her properties rather than build anew.

This assessment has therefore revealed that, despite some patrons experiencing financial constraints, elite arts patronage along past courtly lines persisted through the 1640s and 1650s. It also shows that this activity continued to be centred mainly in London, which was a major factor in the perpetuation of London's role as centre of the art world.

The endurance of elite taste in the visual arts

Another key factor to consider when determining how far elite court culture persisted in the 1640s and 1650s is the extent to which Caroline artistic taste continued in these years. This enquiry is complicated by differing theories about aesthetics circulating at the time. The Civil Wars and Interregnum periods have popularly been synonymous with the destruction of art and architecture, whether through collateral or deliberate damage by acts of war, or the religious zealotry and iconoclasm encouraged by Puritan preachers and Acts of Parliament. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, art appreciation and Caroline aesthetic values were maintained by some patrons. Analysis of elite patronage in these years in fact reveals some counter-intuitive art choices, indicating that an elite patron's religious and political persuasion did not necessarily determine the nature of their visual art taste and ensuing patronage. Thus,

while Protestant nobles of the Caroline court patronised Catholic artists and collected pictures by Italian masters such as Titian, despite their 'popish' associations, so did several of the elites of the wartime, Commonwealth and Protectorate governments. Despite being a Protestant, Parliamentarian grandee, Northumberland engineered the acquisition, on the grounds of their excellence as works of art, of Italian works from the collection of the Duke of Buckingham and bought Titian's enormous *Vendramin Family* from the estate of Van Dyck. Isham's correspondence with his dealer in London reveals that there were other copies and versions after Italian masters in circulation on the market. Furthermore, though much of the royal collection was sold to cover Crown debts, many prized pieces, such as nude antique sculpture, salacious Mortlake tapestries and the Mantegna *Triumphs,* were retained by the Protectorate to decorate former royal properties.

Just as the religious persuasion of elite patrons did not dictate their artistic choices to any great extent, nor did their tastes appear to be set according to their political ideology. Thus, the Parliamentarian Lord Pembroke commissioned a decorative scheme at Wilton by London painters that reflected his and his artists' knowledge of the ceiling paintings for royal patrons recently at the Queen's House, Greenwich and Somerset House, as well as those completed by Rubens in the Banqueting House two decades before. In addition, Pearce's paintings of the favourite royal pastime of hunting in the Hunting Room epitomised chivalric, courtly imagery and thus perpetuated ideology of the Caroline court into the Commonwealth period. Furthermore, Pembroke, Northumberland and Sir Justinian all patronised John Webb, who was the protégé and son-in-law of the main designer and architect of the Caroline court, Inigo Jones, yet evidently had no trouble securing patronage from both sides of the political spectrum.

This investigation has also revealed that a taste for originals by, or copies and versions after, the King's Principal Painter, Sir Anthony van Dyck, remained in high currency throughout the 1640s and 1650s. While Sir Justinian's choice of two large copies after Van Dyck portraits of Charles I is in keeping with his Royalist credentials, his correspondence with contacts in Parliamentarian-held London reveals that there was a thriving market for such works there also. Northumberland commissioned new portraits of the King and his children by Lely, whilst both he and

Pembroke owned royal portraits. These royal portraits seem to have lacked political stigma, probably because they were by a recognised master whose work was still fashionable. Accordingly, they were openly displayed alongside other masterpieces from their art collections at their residences, to be seen by all who visited. The elite taste for Van Dyck's English style and portrait compositions was also reflected in contemporary painting from Dobson to Walker. Lely markedly adapted his style to elite English patrons' taste for Van Dyck-style portraits, yet his early Dutch-style pastoral paintings seem to have also had an impact on the painters of London: there is a detectable cross-fertilisation of style from the works of Lely to Walker and Weesop around 1650.

The dispersal of the old royal collection in the 1650s caused a further injection of paintings by Italian old masters and Van Dyck, among others, into circulation on the market. Yet, it appears this did not herald a great democratisation of art wherein the lower classes developed a taste for the fine arts. Indeed, to most creditors, paintings and sculpture were assets which they sought to convert into money as quickly as possible. Nevertheless, elite connoisseurs, such as Philip Lord Lisle and Northumberland, members of the political elite such as John Lambert and John Hutchinson, and artists such as Emanuel de Critz did take advantage of the sale and purchased works for themselves to keep.

This investigation has also revealed, however, that taste for the artistic fashions of the Caroline court did not extend to all elite arts patrons during the 1640s and 1650s. From the 1640s onwards, perhaps in reaction to the taste of her husband, Lady Anne Clifford increasingly tended towards a more archaic style of art and architecture. In 1646 she commissioned a painting that consisted of copies of portraits of herself and family members in stiff formal poses reminiscent of Jacobean portraiture, combined into the outmoded picture convention of a narrative sequence in a similarly old-fashioned triptych format. Furthermore, once in the North of England, she chose to restore her inherited castles and churches rather than to build fashionable classical extensions, as Sir Justinian, Pembroke and Northumberland were doing in Northamptonshire, Wiltshire and London. However, while the artistic style was archaic, the conceptual core expressed through biography, genealogy and heraldry

was very much in-line with the courtly principals of chivalry and antiquarianism promoted by Charles I.

This study therefore finds that art appreciation and consumption along Caroline principles continued to be the norm in elite circles. While there were instances of art being rejected or defaced, this was usually by those with extreme Puritan beliefs, such as Quakers. Amongst the elite, artistic taste tended to transcend religious and political allegiances. Instead, the preferences of both Royalist and Parliamentarian, or Anglican and Puritan patrons appear to have been shaped by their own personal interests, as well as by elite fashion. This maintained many of the same characteristics of the artistic fashions of the Caroline court, where collecting art by Italian old masters and leading contemporary painters was a sign of status.

Closing statement and potential for future research

This thesis has interrogated misconceptions about the art world of the 1640s and 1650s and illuminated the diversity of painting, patronage and collecting during this period. In doing so, it feeds into the emerging revisionist assessment of the visual culture of this period, in which substantial progress has already been made in the areas of art patronage, printmaking, architecture and sculpture. This study has given greater attention to the nuances of the different years of the two decades, tracing evidence of continuities and change in the art market and its players. It has considered, in particular, the survival of court culture and of London as a centre of painting, patronage and collecting, and thrown new light on the activities of patrons, painters and other art world figures.

Analysis of the business of painting during the Civil Wars and Interregnum reveal that there is potential for further research in this period, in particular to investigate the work of painters for non-elite patrons and of painters working outside London. More could also be done to unearth the identities of individuals named in the Painter Stainers' Company's Court Minutes, or those unknown practitioners found in Sanderson's list of English Modern Masters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archive material

Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford
Bodl Lib MS/Rawl/D/695 fols 6-11.

British Library
BM/Add/MS/17916. 'Inventory of the goods recovered by Colonel Hawley, register of pictures', 1 June 1660 – 16 Aug 1661.
BM/Add/MS/32476 f.28. 'Misc. letters and papers; 1602- circ. 1711; warrant to pay Remigius van Leemput, signed by the Earl of Pembroke and others, 19 Aug. 1647.
Stowe/MS/184 f.283 'Proposal to the Parliament of Sir Balthazar Gerbier, Knt., Peter Lely, and Georg Geldorp concerning the representing, in oil, Pictures of all the memorable Atchievments since the Parlament's first sitting', printed, c.1651.

Microfilm of Alnwick Castle Archives, Syon House MS kept at the British Library:
SH/U.I./5/ General Household Accounts 1631/40. BL Microfilm 390
SH/U.I./6/ General Household Accounts 1641/86. BL Microfilm 391
SH/U.III./2/ Building Accounts. BL Microfilm 394
SH/U.III./3/ Building Accounts. BL Microfilm 394

Guildhall Library (London Metropolitan Archives)
LMA/GL/MS 5667/1. Painter-Stainers' Company Court Minutes (Book of Ordinances), 1623-1649.
LMA/GL/MS 5667/2. Painter-Stainers' Company Court Minutes (Book of Ordinances), 1649-1793.

Hatfield House Archives
Private and Estate MSS, Accounts 168/2.

Kendal Record Office
KRO/WD/Hoth/A988/10/1-3. The great Books of Lady Anne Clifford.
KRO/WD/Hoth/1/16. Transcript of inscriptions in the Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford.

Northamptonshire Record Office
Isham papers (Lamport Collection)
NRO/I
NRO/IC
NRO/IL

Parliamentary Archives at the House of Lords
PA HL/PO/JO/10/I/285. 'Papers relating to the King's Goods', [undated] May 1660 – 11 Jun 1660.

The National Archives
TNA SP 18/203 41. 'The inventory of Sgt Dendy and Surveyor Embree of Hampton Court on 18 June 1659'. The inventory starts at Sequence No. 0071 or f.67r.
TNA SP 28/350 fol.9 ff. 1-59. 'Treasurers Account Book 1650-1657'.
TNA SP 29/1 fol.119v. 'The Case of Emanuel de Critz', May 1660.
TNA SP 29/447 fos 272-9, 285-6, 292-3.

Worcester College, Oxford University, Oxford
Worcester College, Oxford, Cat. 58-9, 61-5.

Rare books

Graham, Richard. *A Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, Both Ancient and Modern.* London: Printed by J. Heptinstall for W. Rogers, 1695.
Peacham, Henry. *The Compleat Gentleman ... The Second Impression, much Inlarged. (Whereunto is annexed a description of the order of a Maine Battaile ..., with the Art of Limming, etc.).* London, 1634.
Piles, Roger de, and B. Buckeridge. *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters ... Done from the French of Monsieur de Piles. To which is added, An Essay Towards an English-School, etc.* London: J. Nutt, 1706.
Sanderson, William. *Graphice: The Use of the Pen and Pensil., Or, The Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts.* London: printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne, 1658.

Secondary literature

Abbot Hall Art Gallery. "Conclusions from the Lady Anne Clifford Exhibition." *Quarto. Abbot Hall Art Gallery quarterly bulletin, Kendal* XIV, no. 3 (October 1976): 3-24.
———. *Lady Anne Clifford, 1590-1676.* Exh. cat. Kendal: Abbot Hall Art Gallery, 1976.
Acheson, Katherine O., ed. *The Diary of Anne Clifford, 1616-1619: A Critical Edition.* New York: Garland, 1995.
Adamson, John S. A. "Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England." In *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England,* edited by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake: 161-197. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
———."Politics and the Nobility in Civil-War England." *The Historical Journal* 34 (1991): 231-255.
———."The Baronial Context of the English Civil War." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 40 (1990): 93-120.
———. *The English Civil War: Politics, Religion and Conflict, 1640-49.*
———. *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007.
Andrews, Keith. *Adam Elsheimer, Paintings, Drawings, Prints*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1977.
Ashton, Robert. *The City and the Court: 1603-1643.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Aubrey, John. *Aubrey's Brief Lives*. Edited by Oliver Lawson Dick. Secker & Warburg: London, 1949.

———. *John Aubrey: Brief Lives with an Apparatus for the Lives of Our English Mathematical Writers.* Edited by Kate Bennett. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

———. *The Natural History of Wiltshire*. Edited by John Britton. London: Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1847.

Aylmer, Gerald E. "Crisis and Regrouping in the Political Elites: England from the 1630s to the 1660s." In *Three British Revolutions. 1641, 1688, 1776,* ed. J. G. A. Pocock. Princeton University Press, 1980.

———. *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement, 1646-1660* (London: Macmillan, 1972)

———. *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-42*. Rev. edn. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974.

Baker, Christopher, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick, eds. *Collecting prints and drawings in Europe, c.1500-1750.* Aldershot: Ashgate in association with Burlington Magazine, 2003.

Baldock, John. *A Guide to the Paintings in the Public Rooms at Wilton House*. Salisbury: Printed by Philtone Litho, 2003.

Barber, Tabitha. *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699): Portrait of a Seventeenth-Century Painter, Her Family and Her Studio.* London: Geffrye Museum Trust, 1999.

Barclay, Andrew. "Recovering Charles I's Art Collection: Some Implications of the 1660 Act of Indemnity and Oblivion." *Historical Research* 88, no. 242 (November 2015): 629-49.

———. "The Lord Protector and His Court." In *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives*, edited by Patrick Little, 195-215. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Barnes, Susan J., Nora De Poorter, Oliver Millar, Host Vey, eds., *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings.* London: Yale University Press, 2003. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Beal, Mary. *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and Their Relevance to Seventeenth Century Painting Techniques*. New York: Garland, 1984.

Beauchamp, Peter. "The 'servant" Extraordinary: Some Account of the Life of Thomas Beauchamp (1623-c.1697), Clerk to the trustees for the Sale of King Charles I's Collections." *The British Art Journal* 11, no. 1 (2010): 6-18.

Beckett, Ronald Brymer. *Lely*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951.

Beneden, Ben van, and Nora de Poorter, *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648-1660.* Antwerp: Rubenshuis & Rubenianum, 2006.

Bold, John, and John Reeves. *Wilton House and English Palladianism: Some Wiltshire Houses*. London: HMSO, 1988.

Bold, John. "Georgian Exemplars: John Webb's Country Houses." In *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism, Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium, 1986,* 36-48. Georgian Group. Leeds: W. S. Maney and Son, 1987.

———. "John Webb and the Lamport Recinct." *Notes and Queries* 28, no. 1 (February 1981): 55-6.

———. *John Webb: Architectural Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Borg, Alan. *The History of the Worshipful Company of Painters, Otherwise Painter-Stainers*. Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills, 2005.

Bracken, Susan, and Robert Hill. “Sir Isaac Wake, Venice and Art Collecting in Early Stuart England: A New Document.” *Journal of the History of Collections* 24, no. 2 (2012): 183-98.

Braddick, Michael. *God’s Fury, England’s Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars*. Rep. ed. London: Penguin, 2009.

Brayman Hackel, Heidi. “Turning to Her “Best Companion[s]”: Lady Anne Clifford as Reader, Annotator and Book Collector.” In *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*, edited by Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, 99-108. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Occasional Paper, 7. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009.

Brennan, Michael G. *Literary Patronage in the English Renaissance: the Pembroke family*. London: Routledge, 1988.

Brittan, John. *Beauties of Wiltshire, Vol I.* London: J. D. Dewick, 1801.

Broad, John. "Gentry Finances and the Civil War: The Case of the Buckinghamshire Verneys." *Economic History Review* 32 (1979): 183-200.

Broadway, Jan. *'No historie so meete': Gentry Culture and the Development of Local History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Brotton, Jerry. “The Art of Restoration: King Charles II and the Restitution of the English Royal Art Collection.” *The Court Historian* 10, no. 2 (2005): 115-135.

———. *The Sale of the Late King’s Goods: Charles I and His Art Collection.* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2006.

Brown, J. and J. H. Elliott, eds. *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604-55.* London: Yale University Press, 2002.

Brown, Jonathan. *Kings & Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Volume 43 of A.W. Mellon lectures in the fine arts. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Bruce, John, ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1625-1649.* London:
Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858-1897.

Campbell, Caroline, ed. *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision*. London: Courtauld Gallery in Association with Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012.

Capp, Bernard S. *England’s Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and Its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Chaney, Edward, ed. *The Evolution of English Collecting: The Reception of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.

———. *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations Since the Renaissance*. Ilford: Cass, 1998.

———. *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and the 'Voyage of Italy' in the seventeenth century.* Geneva: Slatkine/Centro Interuniversitario di Ricerche sul 'Viaggio in Italia', 1985.

Chew, Elizabeth V. "Repaired by me to my exceeding great cost and charges': Anne Clifford and the uses of architecture." In *Architecture and the politics of gender in early modern Europe*, edited by Helen Hills, 99-114. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of. *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England: Begun in the Year 1641*. Edited by W. Dunn Macray. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888; reprint 1969.

Clifford, D. J. H., ed. *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford.* Stroud: Sutton, 1990.

Coates, Ben. *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
Cohen, Alan and Bernice Cohen. "The Riddle of the Countess of Pembroke." *The De Vere Society Newsletter* 16, no. 2 (June 2009): 24-29.
Collins Baker, C. H. *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield*. London: Medici Society, 1920.
Collins Baker, C. H. *Lely and Kneller*. London: Allen, 1922.
———. *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters: a Study of English Portraiture before and after Van Dyck*. 2 vols. London: Medici Society, 1912.
Collinson, Patrick. *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation*. Reading: University of Reading, 1986.
———. *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988.
Colvin, Howard M. "The South Front of Wilton House." *Archaeological Journal* 111, no. 1 (1 January 1954): 181-90.
Colvin, Howard M., *The History of the King's Works*. III, 3, 1485-1660, part 1. London: HMSO, 1975.
Cooper, Trevor, ed. *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001.
Cosnac, Gabriel Jules, comte de, and Antoine de Bordeaux. *Les Richesses Du Palais Mazarin. Correspondance Inédite de M. de Bordeaux, Ambassadeur En Angleterre, État Inédit Des Tableaux et Des Tapisseries de Charles Premier Mis En Vente Au Palais de Somerset En 1650. Inventaire Inédit Dressé Après La Mort Du Cardinal Mazarin En 1661*. Paris: Renouard, 1885.
Cowdry, Richard. *A Description of the Pictures, Statues, Busto's, Basso-Relievos, and other curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton.* London: J. Robinson, 1751.
Cressy, David. *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Croft-Murray, Edward. *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837*. 2 vols. London: Country Life, 1962.
Cust, Lionel. "A 17th Century Portrait by an Unknown Painter." *The Burlington Magazine* 30, no. 170 (May 1917): 166-7.
———. "Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections XI: The Great Piece, by Sir Anthony van Dyck, I." *The Burlington Magazine* 12 (January 1908): 235-37.
———. "Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections XI: The Great Piece, by Sir Anthony van Dyck, II." *The Burlington Magazine* 12, no. 59 (February 1908): 282, 287-289.
———. "Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections: XIII: The Triple Portrait of Charles I by Van Dyck, and the Bust by Bernini." *The Burlington Magazine* 14, no. 72 (March 1909): 337-41.
Cutting, Bonner Miller. "A Countess Transformed: How Lady Susan Vere Became Lady Anne Clifford." *Brief Chronicles* 4 (2012-13): 117-134.
Dart, John. *Westmonasterium. Or, The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peters Westminster.* Vol. 2. London: James Cole, 1723.
Davies, Randall. "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, Etc. at York House in 1635." *The Burlington Magazine* 10, no. 48 (March 1907): 376+379-82.
Duppa, Brian. *The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650-1660*. Edited by Sir Gyles Isham. Publications of the Northamptonshire Record Society. Vol. 17. Northampton: Northamptonshire Record Society, 1955.

Eade, Jane. “Rediscovering the 'worthy artiste Mrs Carlile.” *Apollo Magazine* (June 2018): 19-24.

Edmond, Mary. “Limners and Picturemakers: New Light on the Lives of Miniaturists and Large-Scale Portrait-Painters Working in London in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” *Walpole Society* 47 (1978-80): 60-242.

Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Edited by E. S. de Beer. New ed. London: Everyman, 2006.

———. *The Letterbooks of John Evelyn.* Edited by Douglas Chambers and David Ian Galbraith. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.

Ewing, Alec. “A Royal Court in All but Name? The Protectoral Household of Oliver Cromwell (1653-1658).” *Leidschrift* 27, no. 1 (April 2012): 135-153.

Fels, Donald C. *The Lost Secrets of Flemish Painting, Including the First Complete English Translation of the De Mayerne Manuscript.* Eijsden, the Netherlands: Alchemist, 2010.

Ferris, J. P. “A Connoisseur's Shopping-List, 1647.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975): 339-341.

Fiennes, Celia. *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary: Being the Diary of C. F. With an Introduction by the Hon. Mrs. Griffiths.* Edited by Emily Wingfield Griffiths. London: Field & Tuer, 1888.

Firth, Charles Harding, and Robert S. Rait, eds. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*. 3 vols. London: HM Stationery Office, 1911.

Firth, Charles Harding. *Cromwell’s Army: A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate*. London: Methuen, 1902.

Fisher, F. J. "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *T. R. H. S.* 30 (1948): 37-50.

Foister, Susan. “Foreigners at Court: Holbein, Van Dyck and the Painter-Stainers Company.” In *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts: Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar,* edited by David Howarth, 32-50. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Friedman, Alice T. “Constructing an Identity in Prose, Plaster, and Paint: Lady Anne Clifford as Writer and Patron of the Arts.” In *Anne Clifford and Lucy Hutchinson*, edited by Mihoko Suzuki, 103-20. Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700, 5. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.

———."Lady Anne Clifford as a Patron of the Visual Arts." *Quarto. Abbot Hall Art Gallery quarterly bulletin Kendal* XXVIII, no. 3 (September 1990): 6-10.

Galinou, Mireille. “Painting the Chase: The Hunting Room at Wilton House, Wiltshire: The Seat of the Earl and Countess of Pembroke.” *Country Life* 207*,* no. 9 (27 Feb. 2013): 62-5.

Gambarini, C. *A Description of the Earl of Pembroke's pictures.* Westminster: Printed by A. Campbell, in King-street, near St. Margaret's Church, 1731.

Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, ed. *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628-1660.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889.

———. *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656*. 4 vols. New ed. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

———. *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649*. 4 vols. New ed. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893.

Gent, Lucy, ed. *Albion’s Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*. Studies in British Art 2. London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, the Yale Center for British Art by Yale University Press, 1995.

George, C. H. "Parnassus Restored, Saints Confounded: The Secular Challenge to the Age of the Godly, 1560-1660." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 23, no. 3 (Autumn, 1991): 409-437.

Georgian Group. *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism, Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium, 1986,* Leeds: W. S. Maney and Son, 1987.

Gibson-Wood, Carol. "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century." *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 3 (1 September 2002): 491-500.

Gilson, J. P., ed. *Lives of Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676), and of her Parents Summarized by Herself. Printed from the Harley MS. 6177*. Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1916.

Gleissner, S. "Reassembling a Royal Art Collection for the Restored King of Great Britain." *Journal of the History of Collections* 6 (1994): 103-15.

Goodall, John. "Lady Anne Clifford and the Architectural Pursuit of Nobility." In *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*, edited by Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, 73-86. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009.

Gotch, Alfred J. "Some Newly Found Drawings and Letters of John Webb." *RIBA Journal* 28, no. 10 (24 September 1921): 565-82.

———. *Squires' Homes and Other Old Buildings of Northamptonshire.* London: Batsford, 1939.

———. *The Old Halls and Manor Houses of Northamptonshire.* London, Batsford, 1936.

Gould, Cecil H. M. *The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools*. London: National Gallery Publications, 1975.

———. *The Paintings of Correggio*. London: Faber & Faber, 1976.

Green, Mary. A. E., ed. *Calendar for the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-60*. London: HMSO, 1889-93.

———. *Calendar of State Papers, Commonwealth Series, 1649-1660*. London: Longman and Co., 1875-1886.

———. *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money, 1642-1656.* London: HMSO, 1888.

Griffiths, Antony. *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689.* London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1998.

Guerci, Manolo. "From Northampton to Northumberland: The Strand Palace during the Suffolk Ownership and the Transformations of Algernon Percy, Tenth Earl of Northumberland, 1614-68." *The Antiquaries Journal* 94 (September 2014): 211-251.

Haldane, Angus. "The Face of Civil War: Robert Walker, 1599-1658: His Life and Portraits." *The British Art Journal* 17, no. 2 (Autumn, 2016): 20-29.

———. *Portraits of the English Civil Wars*. London: Unicorn Press 2017.

Hard, Frederick. "Ideas from Bacon and Wotton in William Sanderson's *Graphice.*" *Studies in Philology* 36, no. 2 (Apr., 1939): 227-234.

Haskell, Francis. "Charles I's Collection of Pictures." In Arthur MacGregor, *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories,* 203-231. Oxford: A. McAlpine; Oxford University Press, 1989.

———. *The King's Pictures: The Formation and Dispersal of the Collections of Charles I and His Courtiers*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013.

Heal, Felicity, and Clive Holmes. *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700.* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994.

Hearn, Karen. *Cornelius Johnson.* London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2015.

———. "Lady Anne Clifford's Great Triptych." In *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain,* edited by Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, 1-24. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Occasional Paper, 7. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009.

———. "An English Gentleman Painter, Henry Gibbs." *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1139 (Feb., 1998): 99-101.

———. "The English Career of Cornelius Johnson." In *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain, 1550-1800,* edited by Juliette Roding, 113-28. *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 13. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003.

Hearn, Karen, and Lynn Hulse. *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*. Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Occasional Paper, 7. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009.

Heward, John and R. Taylor. *The Country Houses of Northamptonshire.* Swindon: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, 1996, 136-139.

Heward, John. "The Restoration of the South Front of Wilton House: The Development of the House Reconsidered." *Architectural History* 35 (January 1992): 78-117.

Hexter, J. H. "The Wealthy Parliamentary Gentry – and the Reality of Ideology." In *The Origins of the English Civil War: conspiracy, crusade, or class conflict?,* edited by Philip A. M. Taylor. Boston: Heath, 1960.

Hill, Oliver, and John Cornforth. *English Country Houses: Caroline, 1625-85*. London: Country Life, 1966.

Hilliard, Nicholas. *The Arte of Limning.* Edited by R.K.R. Thornton and T.G.S. Cain. Manchester: The Mid-Northumberland Arts Group, 1992.

Holmes, Martin R. *Proud Northern Lady: Lady Anne Clifford, 1590-1676*. London: Phillimore, 1975.

Houbraken, Arnold. *De Groote Schouburgh Der Nederlantsche Konstschilders En* Schilderessen ... *Zynde Een Vervolg Op Het Schilderboek van K. V. Mander*. Den tweeden druk van veele drukfouten gezuivert en met nieuwe registers voorzien. Gravenhage: J. Swart, C. Boucquet, en M. Gaillard, 1753.

Howarth, David. "Charles I, Sculpture and Sculptors." In *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, edited by Arthur MacGregor, 73-113. London; Oxford: Alistair McAlpine in association with Oxford University Press 1989.

———. *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Hughes, Ann, ed. *Seventeenth-century England: A Changing Culture.* London: Ward Lock, 1980.

Hulse, Lynn. "In Sweet Musicke Did Your Soule Delight." In *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*, edited by Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, 87-97. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009.

Hussey, Christopher. "Wilton House, Wiltshire", I; II; III, *Country Life* 133 (9; 16; 23 May 1963): 1044-48; 1109-13; 1176-80.

Huygens, Lodewijck. *The English Journal 1651-1652, Lodewijck Huygens.* Edited and translated by A.G.H. Bachrach and R.G. Collmer. Leiden, The Netherlands: Published for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, E.J. Brill/Leiden University Press, 1982.

Ilchester, Earl of. “The Early Work of Sir Peter Lely.” *The Burlington Magazine* 87, no. 509 (Aug. 1945): 206.
Ingamells, John. ““Perseus and Andromeda”: The Provenance.” *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 952 (July 1982): 396-400.
Isham, Gyles. "The Architectural History of Lamport Hall." *Reports and Papers of the Northamptonshire Architectural and Architectural Society* 57 (1951): 13-28.
———. *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire.* London: [publisher not identified], 1988 [first published c.1630].
———. *All Saints' Church ('All Hallow's'), Lamport*, *Northamptonshire.* Rugby: George Over Ltd., 1950.
———. *The Architectural History of Lamport Hall*. Northampton: Archer and Goodman, 1953.
Isham, Gyles, and M. Toynbee. “Joan Carlile (1606? - 1679): An Identification.” *The Burlington Magazine* 96, no. 618 (Sep. 1954): 273-77.
Isham, Gyles, and Sydney W. Newbery. *Lamport Hall.* Derby: English Life Publications, 1974.
Jaffé, Michael. “The Picture of the Secretary of Titian.” *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 756 (Mar. 1966): 114-27.
Johns, Richard. “Framing Robert Aggas: The Painter-Stainers’ Company and the “English School of Painters”.” *Art History* 31, no. 3 (June 2008): 322-41.
Jones, R.F. *William Dobson: the King's Painter*. Hockley, Essex: Tyger's Head Books, 2016.
Journal of the House of Commons. Vols 2-7, 1640-1660. London: HMSO, 1802.
Keith, Thomas. “Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England.” In *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England*, edited by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 16-40. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006.
Kelsey, Sean. *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649-1653.* Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
———.“Unkingship, 1649-1660.” In *A Companion to Stuart Britain*, edited by Barry Coward, 331-49. Blackwell Companions to British History. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.
Kennedy, James. *A Description of the Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton-House.* Salisbury, Printed by E. Easton, 1769.
———. *A New Description of Pictures.* London: Benjamin Collins, 1758.
Knoppers, Laura Lunger. “The Politics of Portraiture: Oliver Cromwell and the Plain Style.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 51, No. 4 (Winter, 1998): 1282-1319.
———. *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print 1645-1661.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Lamb, Mary Ellen. “The Agency of the Split Subject: Lady Anne Clifford and the Uses of Reading.” *English Literary Renaissance* 22, no.3 (Autumn 1992): 347-368.
Lever, Tresham J. P. Sir Bart. *The Herberts at Wilton*. John Murray: London, 1967.
Little, Patrick, ed. *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
Little, Patrick. “Fashion at the Cromwellian Court.” *The Court Historian* 16, 1 (2011): 25-42.
Lomas, S.C., ed. *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell: with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle.* London: Metheun, 1904.

Loomie, Albert J. “The Destruction of Rubens's 'Crucifixion' in the Queen's Chapel, Somerset House.” *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1147 (Oct., 1998): 680-682.
Lovelace, Richard. *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*. Edited by Cyril Hackett Wilkinson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.
MacEvansoneya, Philip. “The Sequestration and Dispersal of the Buckingham Collection.” *Journal of the History of Collections* 8, no. 2 (1996): 133-154.
MacGregor, Arthur. “The King’s Goods and the Commonwealth Sale. Materials and Context.” In *The Late King’s Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, edited by Arthur MacGregor, 13-52. Oxford: Alistair McAlpine in association with Oxford University Press, 1989.
———. *The Late King’s Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*. London; Oxford: A. McAlpine; Oxford University Press, 1989.
MacPherson, Sheila J. and V. A. J. Slowe. *Lady Anne Clifford, 1590-1676.* Exh. Cat. Kendal: Abbott Hall Art Gallery, 1990.
Maddicott, Hilary. “A Collection of the Interregnum Period: Philip, Lord Viscount Lisle, and His Purchases from the “Late King’s Goods”, 1649-1660.” *Journal of the History of Collections* 11, no. 1 (1 January 1999): 1-24.
Major, Philip. *Writings of Exile in the English Revolution and Restoration*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
Malay, Jessica L., ed. *Anne Clifford’s Great Books of Record*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
Matchinske, Megan. “Serial Identity: History, Gender, and Form in the Diary Writing of Lady Anne Clifford.” In *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England,* edited by Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle, 65-80. London: Routledge, 2007.
McShane, Angela. *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-century England: A Critical Bibliography*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011.
Merritt, Julia F. *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution*. Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
Millar, Oliver, ed. “Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I.” *The Walpole Society* 37 (1958-1960): i-xxiv, 1-256.
———. “The Inventories and Valuations of the King’s Goods, 1649-1651.” *The Walpole Society* 43 (1970-1972): i-xxviii, 1-443.
Millar, Oliver. “Notes on British Painting from Archives: III.” *The Burlington Magazine* 97, no. 629 (August 1955): 255-256.
———. “Painting under the Stuarts.” In *The Genius of British Painting*, edited by David Piper. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975.
———. “Philip, Lord Wharton, and His Collection of Portraits.” *The Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1097 (August 1994): 517-530.
———. *Sir Peter Lely, 1618-80*. London: National Portrait Gallery, 1978. Exhibition catalogue.
———. “The Collection of Charles I.” [Review of Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King’s Goods,* 2006] *Court Historian* 12 (2007): 71-80.
———. *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen.* Vol. 1. Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen. London: Phaidon Press, 1963.

———. *Van Dyck in England*. Exhibition cat. London: National Portrait Gallery, 1982.
———. "Weesop: Flesh on a Skeleton." *The Burlington Magazine* 143, no. 1183 (Oct., 2001): 625-630.
Morrill, John, ed. *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution*. London; New York: Longman Pub Group, 1990.
Morrill, John. *Revolution and Restoration: England in the 1650s*. London: Collins and Brown, 1992.
Mowl, Timothy, and Brian Earnshaw. *Architecture without Kings: Rise of Puritan Classicism Under Cromwell.* Manchester, England and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.
Muller, J. M., and J. Murrell, eds. *Edward Norgate*, *Miniatura or The Art of Limning* [c.1627]. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.
Murdoch, John, Jim Murrell, Patrick J. Noon and Roy Strong. *The English Miniature.* London: Yale University Press, 1981.
Natali, Antonio. *Andrea Del Sarto: Catalogo Completo Dei Dipinti*. Florence: Cantini, 1989.
Nisser, Wilhelm. *Michael Dahl and the Contemporary Swedish School of Painting in England.* Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri-aktiebolag, 1927.
North, Michael, and David Ormrod, eds. *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998.
Nuttall, W. L. F. "King Charles I's Pictures and the Commonwealth Sale." *Apollo* 82, no. 44 (1965): 302-9.
Ogden, H. V. S, and M. S. Ogden. *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955.
Orgel, Stephen. "Marginal Materiality: Reading Lady Anne Clifford's *Mirror for Magistrates*." In *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England,* edited by Douglas Brooks, 245-65. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
Ormrod, David. "Cultural Production and Import Substitution: The Fine and Decorative Arts in London, 1660-1730." In *Urban Achievement in Early Modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London,* edited by Patrick Karl O'Brien, 210-30. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
———. "Dealers, Collectors and Connoisseurship in Seventeenth & Eighteenth-Century London 1660-1760." In *Kunstsammeln Und Geschmack Im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Michael North. Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002.
———. "The Rise of the London Art Market, 1660-1760." In *Economia e Arte, Secc. XIII-XVIII: Atti Della 'Trentatreesima Settimana Di Studi' 30 Aprile-4 Maggio 2000*, edited by Simonetta Cavaciocchi, 305-21. Florence: Le Monnier, 2002.
———. *The Rise of Commercial Empires: England and the Netherlands in the Age of Mercantilism, 1650-1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
Oswald, Arthur. "Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire." I; II; III, *Country Life* (26 September; 3 October; 10 October 1952): 932-35; 1022-25; 1107-09.
Parry, Graham. "The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford." In *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts*, edited by David Howarth, 202-19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993
Peacey, Jason. "Radicalism Relocated: Royalist Politics and Pamphleteering of the Late 1640s." In *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Radicalism in Context*, edited by Ariel Hessayon and David Finnegan, 51-68. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

———. “The Hunting of the Leveller: The Sophistication of Parliamentarian Propaganda, 1647-53.” *Historical Research* 78, no. 199 (2005): 15-42.
———. *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
———. *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
Peacock, John. “The Visual Image of Charles I.” In *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, edited by Thomas N. Corns, 176-239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
Pears, Iain. T*he Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
Peck, Linda Levy. "for a King Not to be Bountiful were a Fault": Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England.’ *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 31-51.
———. “Luxury and War: Reconsidering Luxury Consumption in Seventeenth-Century England.” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 34, no. 1 (2002): 1-23.
———. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
Pembroke, Anne Clifford Herbert, Countess of. *The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford: With an Introductory Note by V. Sackville-West.* London: William Heinemann, 1923.
Pembroke, Sidney Charles. *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings in the Collection at Wilton House, Salisbury, Wiltshire*. London: Phaidon, 1968.
Pepys, Samuel. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham, and William Matthews. 11 vols. London: Bell, 1970-83.
Pevsner, N. *The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire*. Edited by B. Bailey. 3rd ed. London: Yale University Press, 2013.
Phillips, Claude. *The Picture Gallery of Charles I*. London: Seeley and Company, 1896.
Pierce, Helen. “Text and Image: William Marshall’s Frontispiece to the Eikon Basilike (1649).” In *Censorship Moments: Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, edited by Geoff Kemp, 79-86. Textual Moments in the History of Political Thought. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
———. *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
Piper, David. *Catalogue of Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, *1625-1714*. Cambridge: University Press for the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery, 1963.
Poole, Rachael Emily Malleson. “An Outline of the History of the De Critz Family of Painters.” *Walpole Society* 2 (1912-13): 45-68.
Porter, Stephen. *Destruction in the English Civil Wars*. Dover, NH: A. Sutton Pub., 1994
Potts, Philippa. “Lady Anne Clifford: Revealing the Gardener.” In *Grand Gardens and Green Spaces*, edited by Janet Waymark. London: Birkbeck Garden History Group, 2006.
Pritchard, A. “George Wither and the Sale of the Estate of Charles I.” *Modern Philology* 82 (1980): 370-81.
Richardson, George. *Aedes Pembrochianae.* Great Britain: Salisbury Press, 1795.

Rogers, Malcolm. *William Dobson, 1611-1646*. London: National Portrait Gallery, 1984. Exhibition catalogue.

Roscoe, Ingrid, M. G. Sullivan and Emma Hardy. *A Biographical Dictionary of Sculptors in Britain, 1660-1851*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.

Rothenstein, John. *An Introduction to English Painting*. 2nd ed. London: Cassell, 1947.

Rowell, Christopher. "The Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale as Collectors and Patrons." In *Ham House: 400 Years of Collecting and Patronage,* edited by Christopher Rowell, 116-135. London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Rutherford, Emma and Bendor Grosvenor, eds. *Warts and All: The Portrait Miniatures of Samuel Cooper (1607/8-1672)*. Exh. cat. London: Philip Mould Ltd, 2013.

Sainsbury, William Noel. "Extracts from the State Papers of the Interregnum (1649-1660)." *The Fine Arts Quarterly Review* 1, (1863): 166-71.

———. *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, as an Artist and a Diplomatist. Preserved in H.M. State Paper Office. With an Appendix of Documents Respecting the Arundelian Collection; the Earl of Somerset's Collection; the Great Mantuan Collection; the Duke of Buckingham Etc.* London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859.

Salerno, Luigi. "Seventeenth-Century English Literature on Painting." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14, no. 3/4 (1951): 234-258.

Salzman, L. F., ed. "Parishes: Langport with Hanging Houghton," in *A History of the County of Northampton: Volume 4*, London: Victoria County History, 1937: 195-200.

Sharpe, Kevin M. *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Sharpe, Kevin M. and Peter Lake, eds. *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England.* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994.

Shaw, J. Byam. *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford*. London: Phaidon, 1967.

Shearman, John K. G. *Andrea Del Sarto*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

———. *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Sherwood, Roy. *Oliver Cromwell: King in All but Name 1653-1658*. Stroud: Sutton, 1997.

———. *The Court of Oliver Cromwell*. Cambridge: Willingham Press, 1989.

Skelton, Kimberley. "Redefining Hospitality: The Leisured World of the 1650s English Country House." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 4 (2009): 496-513.

Spalding, Ruth, ed. *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675.* Oxford University Press, 1989.

Spence, Richard T. *Lady Anne Clifford: Countess of Pembroke, Dorset and Montogomery (1590-1676)*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997.

Spicer, Andrew. "Lady Anne Clifford and Her Church Building." In *A Fresh Approach: Eassays Presented to Colin Platt in Celebration of his Eightieth Birthday 11 November 2014,* edited by Claire Donovan, 122-130. Ash Vale, Surrey: Trouser Press, 2014.

Spraggon, Julie. *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2003.

Stevenson, Sara and Duncan Thomson. *John Michael Wright: The King's Painter*. Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1982.
Stone, Lawrence. *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the late 16th and 17th Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973).
———. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.
Stow, John. "Castle Baynard warde," in *A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, edited by C. L. Kingsford, 11-20. Oxford: Clarendon, 1908.
Stoye, John. *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
Strong, Roy. *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture.* London: The Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, 1969.
Suzuki, Mihoko, ed. *Anne Clifford and Lucy Hutchinson.* Ashgate critical essays on women writers in England, 1550-1700, vol. 5. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.
Tait, A. A. "Isaac de Caus and the South Front of Wilton House." *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964): 72, 74.
———. "Post-Modernism in the 1650s." In *Inigo Jones and the Spread of Classicism, Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium, 1986,* Georgian Group, 23-35. Leeds: W. S. Maney and Son, 1987.
Thurley, Simon. "The Stuart Kings, Oliver Cromwell and the Chapel Royal 1618-1685." *Architectural History* 45 (2002): 238-274.
———. *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History.* London: Yale University Press, 2003.
———. *Somerset House: The Palace of England's Queens 1551-1692.* London: London Topographical Society, 2009.
———. *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240-1698.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
Tittler, Robert and Anne Thackray. "Print Collecting in Provincial England Prior to 1650: the Randle Holme Album." *The British Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (2008): 3-11.
Toynbee, Margaret R. "Joan Carlile: Some Further Attributions." *The Burlington Magazine* 178, no. 717 (1971): 186-88.
———. "Joan Carlile. An Additional Note." *The Burlington Magazine* 100, no. 666 (1958): 318-319.
———. "The Early Work of Sir Peter Lely." *The Burlington Magazine* 86, no. 506 (1945): 125-27.
Toynbee, Margaret, R. and Gyles Isham. "Joan Carlile (1606?-1679) - An Identification." *The Burlington Magazine* 96, no. 618 (1954): 273-277.
Treue, Wilhelm. "The Dispersal of Charles I's Collection." In *Art Plunder: The Fate of Works of Art in War and Unrest*, 96-102. New York: John Day Co., 1960.
Vertue, George. "Note books." Edited by K. Esdaile, earl of Ilchester and H. M. Hake. 6 vols. *Walpole Society* 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 30 (1930-55).
Walpole, Horace. *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with Some Account of the Principal Artists: And Incidental Notes on Other Arts. Also a Catalogue of Engravers Who Have Been Born or Resided in England. Collected by George Vertue; Digested and Published ... by H. Walpole ... with Additions by the Rev. James Dallaway*, ed. by Ralph N. Wornum. 6th ed. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849.
Waterhouse, Ellis Kirkham. *Painting in Britain 1530-1790.* New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994.
———. *The Dictionary of 16th & 17th Century British Painters*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988.

Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Wethey, Harold Edwin. *The Paintings of Titian*. 3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1969.
Whinney, Margaret Dickens and Oliver Millar. *English Art, 1625-1714*. Oxford History of English Art, 8. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
White, Adam. "Love, Loyalty and Friendship; Education, Dynasty and Service. Lady Anne Clifford's Church Monuments." In *Lady Anne Clifford: Culture, Patronage and Gender in 17th-Century Britain*, edited by Karen Hearn and Lynn Hulse, 43-71. Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 2009.
Whitfield, Peter. *London: A Life in Maps*. London: British Library, 2006.
Wilks, Timothy. "The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration." In *The Oxford handbook of the English Revolution,* edited by Michael J. Braddick, 483-498. Oxford Handbooks in History. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
Williamson, George Charles. *Lady Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke & Montgomery, 1590-1676: Her Life, Letters and Work, etc*. Kendal: T. Wilson & Son, 1922.
Wilson, Jean. "Patronage and Pietas: The Monuments of Lady Anne Clifford." *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 97 (1997): 122-25.
Wood, Jeremy. "Van Dyck's `Cabinet Di Titien': The Contents and Dispersal of His Collection." *The Burlington Magazine* 132, no. 1051 (Oct. 1990): 680-695.
———. "Nicholas Lanier (1588-1666) and the Origins of Drawings Collecting in Stuart England." In *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c.1500-1750*, edited by Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick, 85-121. Aldershot: Ashgate in association with Burlington Magazine, 2003.
———. "The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland." In *English Architecture, Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes,* edited by John Bold and Edward Chaney, 55-80. London: Hambledon Press, 1993.
———. "Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland: Taste and Collecting in Stuart England." *Studies in the History of Art* 46, Symposium Papers XXVI: Van Dyck 350 (1994): 280-324.
Worden, Blair. *The English Civil Wars, 1640-1660.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2009.
———. *The Rump Parliament, 1648-1653*. Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Digitised sources and datasets

Firth, C. H. and R. S. Rait, eds. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911. *British History Online*. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum.
Gapper, Claire. "Plasterers and plasterwork in city, court and county c.1530-c.1640." PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 1998, [unpublished]. Updated and corrected text available on http://www.clairegapper.info.
Gater, G. H. and E. P. Wheeler, eds. *Survey of London: Volume 18, St Martin-in-The-Fields II: the Strand*. London: London County Council, 1937. *British History Online.*
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol18/pt2/pp84-98

Simon, Jacob. *British Artists' Suppliers, 1650-1950*. National Portrait Gallery. Launched 2006, 3rd edition, October 2011. https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers.php

Simon, Jacob. *British Picture Framemakers, 1600-1950*. National Portrait Gallery. Launched 2007, 3rd edition, October 2012. https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers.php

Simon, Jacob. *British Picture Restorers, 1600-1950.* National Portrait Gallery. Launched 2009, 2nd edition, August 2014. https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-british-picture-restorers.php

Stephens, Richard, ed. "The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735." Part of project, *Court, Country, City: British Art, 1660-1735*, University of York and Tate Britain, launched 2011. Last accessed 27 March 2018. http://artworld.york.ac.uk

Tittler, Robert, ed. "Early Modern British Painters, c.1500-1640." Unpublished dataset. Launched 1 May 2015, revised September 2017. Excel file. http://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/980096/.

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (*ODNB*) entries

Avery, Charles. "Le Sueur, Hubert (c. 1580–1658x68), sculptor." *ODNB*. 28 Aug. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16516.

Blackett-Ord, Carol. "Sheppard, William (fl. 1641–1660), portrait painter." *ODNB*. 31 Aug. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25348.

Bracken, Susan. "Cross [Crosse, Crass], Michael [Miguel de la Cruz, Michaell de la Croy, Michaell La Croix] (fl. 1633–1660), painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6795.

Clayton, Roderick. "Weld, Humphrey (1612–1685), property developer and administrator." *ODNB*. 12 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-58161.

Cust, L. H. "Geldorp, George (d. 1665), portrait painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10507.

Cust, L. H., revised by Ann Sumner. "Leemput, Remigius [Remy] van (1607–1675), painter and art collector." *ODNB*. 28 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28094.

Dethloff, Diana. "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680), portrait painter and art collector." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16419.

Drake, George A. "Percy, Algernon, tenth earl of Northumberland (1602–1668), politician." *ODNB*. 12 Mar. 2018.

http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21923.
Edmond, Mary. "Critz, John de, the elder (d. 1642), serjeant-painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7413.
Harding, Robert J. D. "Hollar, Wenceslaus (1607–1677), etcher." *ODNB*. 28 Aug. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13549.
Hearn, Karen. "Hayls, John (d. 1679), portrait painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12770.
Hefford, Wendy. "Clein [Cleyn], Francis [formerly Franz Klein] (d. 1658), painter and tapestry designer." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5593.
Kelsey, Sean. "Booth, George, first Baron Delamer [Delamere] (1622–1684), politician." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2877.
MacLeod, Catharine. "Fuller, Isaac (1606/1620?–1672), portrait and history painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10230.
Merley, R. H. "Soest [Zoust], Gilbert (c. 1605–1681), portrait painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25984.
Monkhouse, W. C. "Aggas, Robert (c. 1620–c. 1682), landscape and scene painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-210.
Morrill, John. "Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658), lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6765.
Murdoch, John. "Des Granges, David (bap. 1611, d. in or before 1672?), miniature painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7545.
Murdoch, John. "Gibson, Richard [called Dwarf Gibson] (1605/1615?–1690), miniature painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10631.
O'Connell, Sheila. "Barlow, Francis (d. 1704), painter." *ODNB*. 28 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1432.
Owen, G. D. "Cecil, William, second earl of Salisbury (1591–1668), politician."

ODNB. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-37272.

Priestley, R. "Isham, Sir Justinian, second baronet (1611–1675), scholar and politician." *ODNB*. 12 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14489.

Reeve, Christopher. "Beale [née Cradock], Mary (bap. 1633, d. 1699), portrait painter." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1803.

Smith, David L. "Herbert, Philip, first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke (1584–1650), courtier and politician." *ODNB*. 12 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13042.

Spence, Richard T. "Clifford, Anne [known as Lady Anne Clifford], countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery (1590–1676), noblewoman and diarist." *ODNB*. 12 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5641.

Thackray, Anne. "Mytens [Mijtens], Daniel (c. 1590–1647)." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19712.

Thomson, Duncan. "Wright, John Michael (bap. 1617, d. 1694), painter." *ODNB*. 28 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30040.

Travitsky, Betty S. "Clinton [née Knevitt], Elizabeth, countess of Lincoln (1574?–1630?), noblewoman and writer." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-40933.

Warmington, Andrew. "Massey, Sir Edward (1604x9–1674), parliamentarian and royalist army officer." *ODNB*. 15 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18297.

Wood, Jeremy. "Dyck, Sir Anthony [formerly Antoon] Van (1599–1641), painter and etcher." *ODNB*. 12 Mar. 2018. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28081.

Unpublished, Forthcoming & PhD Theses

Bracken, Susan. “Collectors and collecting in England, c.1600-c.1660.” University of Sussex PhD, 2011.

Dalivalle, Margaret. “Borrowed comlinesse: copying from pictures in seventeenth-century England.” University of Oxford D.Phil, 2011.

Higgot, Gordon and A. V. Grimstone. “Drawings by Edward Pearce the Elder (fl.1630-d.1658).” Forthcoming.

Rudge, Robert. “Negotiating Defeat: English Royalism, 1646-1660.” University of Nottingham PhD, 2016.

APPENDIX:

Table of references in the Painter-Stainers' Company Court Minutes to some artists cited in the thesis

The following extracts are from the Painter Stainers' Company Court Minute Books at London Metropolitan Archives, Guildhall Library, GL CLC/L/PA/B/1/ MS5667/1, MS5667/2/1 and MS5667/2/2.

The organisation of the Painter-Stainers followed the standard hierarchy of City livery companies. That is, a yearly cycle of one Master, two Wardens (an 'elder' or 'upper' warden and a 'younger' or 'lower' warden), supported by the Livery, the Yeomen and the Freemen. The Livery consisted of those who took on the official Company positions within the Court of Assistants, who were made up of senior members who alternated these senior positions among them. The Yeomen were householders who paid the quarterly membership fees, called 'quarterage', but only the more prosperous would advance to the Livery, where they were still assessed at a lower rate than other liverymen. As the 'Yeomanry', they held their own court and appointed their own officers, who were approved by the Livery. The Yeomanry was dissolved in 1659, leaving the company to continue with just Freemen and Liverymen. Apprentices were the lowest rung in the hierarchy and could not obtain the position of Freeman until they had served their full apprenticeship (which was officially seven years) with a painter. Their masters would then pay for them to become Freemen through redemption, and, more rarely, by patrimony. Painter-Stainers could have up to two apprentices, although this was not always observed, and apprentices could be transferred between masters if needed, such as on the death of a master or other change in circumstances.

The rules to which the Company adhered were set out in 'The Book of Ordinances', containing the finer points negotiated after receipt of their first Royal Charter. The Ordinances defined the Company's control over the painting trade, and key among its rules was the decree that everyone who practised the art of painting within four miles of the City should pay quarteridge to the Company. To police this, senior members of the Company carried out regular 'searches' to seek out faulty work by its own members or illegal painting work done by non-paying members or members of other guilds. The Master and Wardens had the power to enter any premises within four miles of the City to inspect painted works. Sometimes complaints were also raised in monthly court meetings against painters who had through various means been identified as not working according to regulations.

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	KNOWN DATES	PROFESSION (IF KNOWN)	MS REFERENCES TO MENTIONS IN THE MINUTE BOOKS, 1640-1660
Agas	Samuell		Painter-stainer	'Thomas Knell servant to John Pearce Robert Agas svt to Mr Samuell Agas Jeremy Austin servant to Thomas Arnold - were this day made free' Ms 5667/1, f.211, 2 October 1646 (Quarter Day) Mr Samuell Agas wrote to Mr Girlinge saying he was sick and missed court Ms 5667/1, f.219, 15 October 1647 Mr Samuell Agas - fine. Ms 5667/1, f.222, 11 November 1647 Fine re wardenship. 17 November 1647 (audit day) 'Mr Smauell Agas paid five pounds towards his fine for warden to Mr Warden Garrett' Ms 5667/1, f.235 8 October 1649 Mr Samuell Agas nom warden Ms 5667/2, f.26 a 14 October 1653 Mr Thomas Cooke elected master Mr Samuell Agas Mr William Downam – wardens Ms 5667/2, f.26 b, 18 October 1653 (Election Day) Master and wardens sworne - Mr Thomas Cooke master Mr Samuell Agas Mr William Downam – wardens Ms 5667/2, f.26 b, 25 October 1653 William Bagnell servant to Mr Samuell Agas - free Ms 5667/2, f.29 b, 7 April 1654 (Quarter Day)

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	KNOWN DATES	PROFESSION (IF KNOWN)	MS REFERENCES TO MENTIONS IN THE MINUTE BOOKS, 1640-1660
Agas	Robert		Painter, served Samuell Agas.	'Thomas Knell servant to John Pearce Robert Agas svt to Mr Samuell Agas Jeremy Austin servant to Thomas Arnold - were this day made free Ms 5667/1, f.211, 2 October 1646 (Quarter Day)
Ager		[If James Agar, d.1641]	'picture maker'	'Mr Ager picture maker appeared at this court desyoring to be admitted in to the Brothers of this company …' Ms 5667/1, f.155, 14 February 1640/1 'Further at this court the Apprentice of Mr Argere turned over unto Robert nohcting of this company it now by him turned over and by him unto Robert Chetham to searve out the rest of his tyme of his indentures'. Ms 5667/1, f.164, 19 January 1641/2
Barlow	Francis	c.1626-1704	Painter-Stainer Painter and printmaker	'Robert Walker Mr Edmond Marmion Mr ffrancis Barlowe were at this court made free' Ms 5667/2, f.8b, 4 March 1649
Bowers	Edward	fl.1629-1666/67	Portrait painter	'Mr Bowers Mr Dowreinge Anthony Maria Smith Henry Manninge and Henry Parker are (by Mr Stedman my Lord Mayors officer) to be summoned in before my Lord Mayor on Wednesday morninge next for non payment of their fines and duties and also for their contempt in not appearinge at courte.' Ms 5667/1, f.187, 1 July 1644. 'Ordered that Mr John Dowson Mr Edward Bowers and Mr Wm Walker be by virtue o the Recorders Warrt Brought before my Lord Maior on Tuesday next for their contempt in not obeyinge the ordinances and orders o this company.' Ms 5667/1, f.207, 24 April 1646 Featured on the list of names of Masters and Court of Assistants at the beginning of Ms5667/2, 1650: '32. Edward Bower'. Ms 5667/2, f.5b Chosen to be of the assistants. Ms 5667/2, f.7a, 16 November 1649

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	KNOWN DATES	PROFESSION (IF KNOWN)	MS REFERENCES TO MENTIONS IN THE MINUTE BOOKS, 1640-1660
				Paid fine for his wardenship. Ms 5667/2, f.15b, 7 October 1651 'At this court ordered ad agreed that the Mr and Wardens Mr Isaacson Mr Carpenter Mr Boteler Mr Constable Captn Gittins Mr Withie MR Bowers Mr Harger Mr John Walker Mr John Bird Captn Brewer and Captn Dakers should meet Colonell Wotton 'at the foundtaine Taverne without Newgate to conferr With him what may be don for the good of the Company.' Ms 5667/2, f.30b, 30 June 1654 Nominated for Upper Warden, and accepted. Ms 5667/2, f.36b, 4 October 1655 'Mr Bowers declared in court that he was willing to resigne his place of the wardenship to Mr Nicholas Harger and at this expiration of Mr Hargers yeare he would take his place of Wardenshipp.' Ms 5667/2, f.37a, 12 October 1655 'It is concluded ordered and agreed on by the whole Court for the Mr and Wardens Mr Boteler Mr Constable Mr Gomersall Mr Bowers Mr Willm Bird and Mr Heames to go to the Recorder to take his advice what to use in lawe may be taken for the house and safty of the Company against such as use the Art and ministery of painting being not freemen, who disobey the ordinances of the said Company and will not be conformable thereunto but wilfully neglect to make their appearance and to pay there dutyes wth by virtue of severall ordinances of the said company they are enjoyned to doe upon penalties of any neglect or wilfull rofusall as by the said ordinance appeares./ Ordered that the Warden shall give him 40 s for his foo for his advise.' Ms 5667/2, f.41a, 12 June 1655 [wrong, means 56] Nominated for Upper Warden. Ms 5667/2, f.42a, 26 September 1656 Listed as one of the wardens. Ms 5667/2, f.43b, 18 October 1656

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	KNOWN DATES	PROFESSION (IF KNOWN)	MS REFERENCES TO MENTIONS IN THE MINUTE BOOKS, 1640-1660
				Sworn in as warden. Ms 5667/2, f.43b, 24 October 1656 Inlcuded in a list of names: Ms 5667/2, f.55a, 23 July 1658. His servant Oliver Smythson made free. Ms 5667/2, f.59a, 21 January 1658 'Appointed to ride to atttend the Kinges comeing to the Cittie … Mr Bowers and in his refusall Mr Heanes in his place' Ms 5667/2, f.65b, 2 July 1660 '3rd warden' Ms 5667/2, f.68 a, 19 July 1661 Elected as Master. Ms 5667/2, f.69 b, 18 October 1661 Sworn in as Master. Ms 5667/2, f.69 b, 24 ? October 1661
Bowker	Thomas		'Picture maker'	'At this court 2 men were sworen to the orders and ordinances of this House being Picture Makers but free of other companyes' Ms 5667/1, f.153, 16 December 1640
Dobson	William	1611-1646	Portrait painter	'Cheife psons to be warned in against the next court wth are in nomination for stewards … Mr William Dobson' Ms 5667/1, f.209, 5 August 1646
Flushier	Tobias	1610-1685	Painter	'At this court Mr fflusheere made his appearance, and being in arreare to this company 33s paid of 5s alleadgnige that hee had ben divers yeares out of the kingdome; and therefore humbly desired the favour of this board to have some mittigation thereof wth the court causeinge him towthdrawer, and takeinge the same into their consideration ordered him to pay 14s more on Michas day next, and soe to be fully discharged of the remainder, but in case he should make default of payment of the said 14s, then it is ordered that he shall pay 28s wtch is yet in arreare; and not to expect any mittigation of the same.' Ms 5667/1, f.199, 29August 1645

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	KNOWN DATES	PROFESSION (IF KNOWN)	MS REFERENCES TO MENTIONS IN THE MINUTE BOOKS, 1640-1660
				'And also Mr Lilley Mr fflusheire and Mr Leigh to be taken upon the Recorders Warrant, and brought before his Lopp on the aforesaid day for not being conformable to the ordinances and orders of this company.' Ms 5667/2, f.19a, 30th July 1652 'At this court Mr fflusheire sent his man; who paid 20s of his Masters arrears.' Ms 5667/2, f.23a, 26 January 1652 'And also Mr fflusheire and Mr Lilley chosen Assistants who are not to be summoned at any tyme wthout speciall order of court.' Ms 5667/2, f.53b, 4 February 1657
Fuller	?	[If Isaac Fuller: 1606-1672]	[If Isaac Fuller: Painter, specialising in both secular and religious decorative schemes, portraits and self-portraits.]	'It is ordered that Mr Fuller shall have the makeing of the peece of the court of Assistants and the Mr and Wardens to retorne him thankes for his love with assurance that they will indeavour to make him some parte of requitall for the same' Ms 5667/2, f.48 b, 18 September 1657
? [Could be John Baptist Gaspars, known as 'Lely's Baptist'? Could also be John Baptist Geldorp, son of George Geldorp (c.1590-1665) or John Baptist	John Baptist	[If John Baptist Gaspars: c.1691]	[If John Baptist Gaspars: Painter, Flemish]	'Mr John Baptist appeared and was admitted a member of this company'. Ms 5667/2, f.25a, 6 September 1653

SURNAME	FIRST NAME	KNOWN DATES	PROFESSION (IF KNOWN)	MS REFERENCES TO MENTIONS IN THE MINUTE BOOKS, 1640-1660
Jackson van Eersel (fl.1663-71)]	Gilbert	fl.1622 - 1640	'Picture Maker' Portrait painter	'At this court 2 men were sworen to the orders and ordinances of this House being Picture Makers but free of other companyes ther Names were Gylbert Jackson & Thomas Bowker'; 'Mr Gylburt Jackson' Ms 5667/1, f.153, 16 December 1640.
Lely	Peter (Sir)	1618-1680	Portrait painter	'Mr Peter Lelley … made free at this court' Ms 5667/1, f.221, 26 October 1647. 'And also Mr Lilley Mr fflusheire and Mr Leigh to be taken upon the Recorders Warrant, and brought before his Lopp on the aforesaid day for not being conformable to the ordinances and orders of this company.' Ms 5667/2, f.19a, 30th July 1652. 'It was informed by the Beadle that it was Mr Lilleys request, that he might have an apprentice bound to some member of this company and there to be turned over to him It was ordered at the next court to take the same into consideration and also to whom he shalbe bound to.' Ms 5667/2,.22b, 18 November 1652. 'And also Mr fflusheire and Mr Lilley chosen Assistants who are not to be summoned at any tyme wthout speciall order of court.' Ms 5667/2, f.53b, 4 February 1657.
Sheppard	?	[If William Sheppard, fl.1641-after 1660. Could also be James Shepperd, who is mentioned in P-S minutes of Jan 1629]	'picture maker'	'Mr Sheppard a picture maker by Creechurch promiseth to paye for his admittance into the Compmay the som of £5 to be pd at a Quarter day' Ms 5667/1, f.155, 28 February 1640/1

List of Illustrations

Paintings are oil on canvas unless otherwise stated.

Fig. 1. William Dobson (1611-1646). *Portrait of Endymion Porter.* c.1642-5. 149.9 x 127 cm. Tate, N01249.

Fig. 2. Robert Walker (1599-1658). *Oliver Cromwell.* c.1649. 73.7 x 61 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 536.

Fig. 3. John Michael Wright (1617-1694). *Elizabeth Claypole, née Cromwell (1629-1658)*. 1658. Oil on panel, 54 x 45.1 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 952.

Fig. 4. Samuel Cooper (1609-1672). *Oliver Cromwell.* 1649. Watercolour on vellum. 5.7 x 4.8 cm, oval. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5589.

Fig. 5. Attributed to Samuel Cooper (1609-1672). *Oliver Cromwell.* c.1655. Watercolour on vellum. 6 x 4.8 cm, oval. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5274.

Fig. 6. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *Oliver Cromwell.* c.1653/4. 76.2 x 62.9 cm. Birmingham Museums Trust, 1949P27.

Fig. 7. William Sheppard (fl.1641-1660). *Thomas Killigrew.* 1650. 124.5 x 96.5 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3795.

Fig. 8. Attributed to Edward Bower (fl.1629-1667). *Speaker William Lenthall (1591-1662) and his Family*, c.1643-5. 244 x 270.5 cm. Parliamentary Art Collection, WOA 4187.

Fig. 9. William Faithorne (1616-1691) after Gilbert Soest (c.1605-1681). *Portrait of William Sanderson.* Frontispiece to *William Sanderson, Graphice: The Use of the Pen and Pensil, Or, The Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts. London: printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, under Serjeant's Inne*, 1658. Engraving, dated 1658. Image courtesy of Getty Research Institute.

Fig. 10. Francis Barlow (c.1626-1704). *Jay, Green Woodpecker, Pigeons and Woodstart.* c.1658. 76.2 x 63.8 cm. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1978.43.1.

Fig. 11. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *Sir Edward Massey.* c.1647. 190.6 x 127 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 4938.

Fig. 12. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *The Three Younger Children of Charles I.* c.1647. 198 x 231 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486192.

Fig. 13. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *Charles I and James the Duke of York.* c.1648. 126.4 x 146.7 cm. Northumberland Collection at Petworth House.

Fig. 14. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *Elizabeth Murray, later Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale.* 1648. 124 x 120 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139764.

Fig. 15. Attributed to John Weesop (fl.1641-d.1652). *Elizabeth Murray, Lady Tollemache, later Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale (1626-1698).* c.1647. 124.5 x 99 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139956.

Fig. 16. Joan Carlile (1600-1679). *Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart (1626-1698), with her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache (1624-99), and her sister, Margaret Murray, Lady Maynard (c.1638-1682).* c.1648-60. 109.2 x 92.7 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139727.

Fig. 17. Attributed to Joan Carlile (1600-1679). Called *Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale (c.1630-1698)*, but here attributed to her mother, Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray (d.1649). Oil on panel, 22 x 17 cm. Thirlestane Castle Trust, H.4703.

Fig. 18. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray.* 135.5 x 108 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486240.

Fig. 19. John Hoskins the elder (c.1590-1665). *Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray (d.1649)*, 1638. Watercolour on vellum, 50.4 x 59 x 4 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139682.

Fig. 20. Wenceslas Hollar (1607-1677). *A Map of Both Citties London and Westminster, Before the Fire,* 1667. 10.4 x 10 cm. The British Museum, 1888,0612.57.

Fig. 21. Attributed to Jan van Belcamp (c.1610-1653). *The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford*, *The Appleby Castle Tripych.* 1646. Centre panel: 254 x 254 cm. Side panels: 254 x 119.38 cm. Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Cumbria.

Fig. 22. Unknown artist after Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *Lady Anne Clifford.* c.1650 (original in private collection is c.1646). 75.6 x 62.9 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 402.

Fig. 23. Hans Memling (fl.1465-d.1494). *Donne Triptych.* c.1478. Oil on oak, 71 x 70.3 cm. The National Gallery, London, NG6275 1-3.

Fig. 24. Remigius van Leemput (d.1675) after Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/8-1543). *Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Jane Seymour.* Dated 1667. 88.9 x 99.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405750.

Fig. 25. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, with his Family.* c.1635. 330 x 510 cm. Wilton House Trust.

Fig. 26. Jan van Belcamp (1610-53) after painting by Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621). *Anne of Denmark.* 1630-39. 247.2 x 144.4 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 403253.

Fig. 27. Unknown artist after Jan van Belcamp (c.1610-1653). *Prince Edward (1330-1375), Prince of Wales, 'The Black Prince'.* 1700-1729. 228.6 x 115.6 cm. National Trust, Lyme Park, loan from Lord Newton, NT 499896. [after version in Royal Collection Trust, 1630-40, 205.2 x 130.4 cm, RCIN 404037]

Fig. 28. Called Remigius van Leemput (1607-1675) after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *'The Great Peece' of Charles I and his family.* c.1643. 288 x 228.2 cm. Birmingham Museums Trust, Aston Hall, 1970P264.

Fig. 29. After Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *'The Great Peece'* 325 x 244 cm. The Royal Hospital Chelsea, 399.

Fig. 30. Attributed to Remigius van Leemput (1607-1675) after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Dorothy North, Lady Dacre, Mrs Chaloner Chute (c.1605-1698).* 1650-1655. 123 x 96.5 cm. National Trust, The Vyne, NT 719436.

Fig. 31. Emanuel De Critz (1608-1665). *The Legend of Perseus* on the ceiling of the Double Cube Room, Wilton House, surrounded by painted coving by Edward Pearce I. Photo by Emily Burns.

Fig. 32 a, b, c. Emanuel De Critz (1608-1665). Scenes from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* on the dado of the Single Cube Room, Wilton House. Photo by Emily Burns.

Fig. 33. The Hunting Room at Wilton House, featuring panels by Edward Pearce (1598-1658) and Andien De Clermont (d.1783). Photo by Emily Burns.

Fig. 34. Attributed to Edward Pearce I (1598-1658). Detail of the painted north cove of the Double Cube Room, Wilton House, with part of the ceiling painting by Emmanuel de Critz (1608-1665) in view, c.1649-51. Photo by Emily Burns.

Fig. 35. Attributed to Edward Pearce I (1598-1658). Detail of the ceiling cove on the west side ofthe Single Cube Room, Wilton House, c.1649-51. Photo by Emily Burns.

Fig. 36. Attributed to Edward Pearce I (1598-1658) and Matthew Gooderick (fl.1617-54). Detail from the coved ceiling of the Queen's Bedchamber, Queen's House, Greenwich. c.1637-39. Photo by Emily Burns.

Fig. 37. Giuseppe Cesari (Il Cavalliere d'Arpino) (1568-1640). *The Fall of Icarus.* 335.3 x 304.8 cm. Painting set in the Single Cube Room ceiling, Wilton House. Photo by Emily Burns.

Fig. 38. Raphaello Guidi after Giuseppe Caesari (1568-1640). *The Fall of Icarus.* 1600. Engraving, 44.5 x 29.3 cm. British Museum, 1874,0808.1566.

Fig. 39. To aid visual comparison, here Edward Pearce's (1598-1658) Hunting Room panels with Wyatt's titles (numbered 1-18) are put in order of the room's north/east/south/west wall and juxtaposed with the Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) designs which have matching motifs. I am grateful to Dr Gordon Higgot for providing the following photographs of Pearce's work in the Hunting Room.

1. OSTRICH. Antonio Tempesta. Published by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652). *Ostrich Hunt,* Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes, 1624. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.
2. STAG. Antonio Tempesta. *Mounted huntsmen are chasing deer with their dogs in the background.* Wellcome Library, 41647i
3. BULL. Antonio Tempesta. Published by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652). *Two Swordmen on Horseback and Dogs Killing a Bull.* Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.29
4. MONKEY. Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters Capturing Monkeys,* Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes, 1602. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.75.6
5. HARE [taken from the RABBIT hunting scenes by Tempesta]. Antonio Tempesta. *Rabbit Hunt,* Lombardia Beni Culturali, H0110-o4731

6. HAWKING.
a) Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters shooting birds,* 1598. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1863.5628
b) Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters with falcons chasing wild birds* 1598. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1863.5632
7. LION. Antonio Tempesta. *Lion Hunt.* Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.62.1
8. CROCODILE. Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters Capturing and Killing Crocodiles,* 1602. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.77.5.
9. SETTING. Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters setting up a trap* Primo Libro di Caccie Varie, 1598. WA1863.5620
10. FOX. Antonio Tempesta. *A Fox Hunt,* Hunting Scenes II Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.80.6
11. HAWKING.
a) Antonio Tempesta. *Bird hunt with a falcon,* c.1621, Hunting Scenes VII. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1924.9.408
b) Antonio Tempesta. *Falcons Bringing Down Wild Birds,* Hunting Scenes II. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.85.7
c) Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters shooting birds,* 1598 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1863.5628
12. GOAT [actually probably ANTELOPE, or at least copied after Tempesta's antelope hunting scenes]. Antonio Tempesta. *Antelope Hunt,* Hunting Scenes III, 1598. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.79.5
13. STORKING. Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters approaching feeding birds as decoys,* 1598, Primo Libro di Caccie Varie. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1863.5625
14. DUCK [Actually GEESE]. After Antonio Tempesta. *Divers Capturing Geese,* 1627. Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.46
15. BOAR. Antonio Tempesta. *Boar Hunt,* Hunting Scenes VII, 1609-1621. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.68.1
16. BEAR. Antonio Tempesta. Published by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652). *Men on Foot and Dogs Fighting a Large Bear,* 1624, Hunting Scenes I. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.38
17. TIGER [actually LEOPARDS]. Antonio Tempesta. *Hunters Trapping Leopards with Mirrors,* Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.76.2
18. ELEPHANT. Antonio Tempesta. *An Elephant Hunt, with an Elephant Killing a Man,* Hunting Scenes II. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.85.1

Fig. 40. James Wyatt's marked-up drawing of the Hunting Room, Wilton House, with the names of Edward Pearce's hunting subjects. 1802.

Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham, WHA, 2057, H3/18/4.

Fig. 41. Hunting Room layout today with indication of changes that have been made. Emily Burns.

Fig. 42. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576). *The Vendramin Family*. c.1540-45. 206.1 x 288.5 cm. The National Gallery, London, NG4452.

Fig. 43. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland with his first wife, Lady Anne Cecil and their daughter Lady Katherine Percy*. c.1635. 135 x 180 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486239.

Fig. 44. Canaletto (1697-1768). *The Strand front of Northumberland House with reconstructed façade*. 1752. 84 x 137 cm. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle.

Fig. 45. C. Grignon after S. Wale, engraving by Dodsley and Dodsley. *The garden front of Northumberland House.* 1761. Guildhall Library.

Fig. 46. Wenceslas Hollar (1607-1677). Detail of Hollar's map of London, after 1688, showing Northumberland House on the corner of Charing Cross, and the nearby 'York Staires' to alight from the river at York House. Dutch National Library, 1049B11_020.

Fig. 47. Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610). *St. John the Baptist.* 1605. 9 x 7 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486236.

Fig. 48. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576). *Nymph and Faun,* otherwise known as *Venus and a Satyr*, or*, Mars and Venus*. c.1570. 96.5 x 130.8 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486193.

Fig. 49. Workshop of Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546). *The Sacrifice of a Goat to Jupiter.* c.1536-9. 123 x 66.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406166.

Fig. 50. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Anne Boteler, Countess of Newport, Later Countess of Portland*. 1637-1638. 134.3 x 107.8 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486238.

Fig. 51. Left unfinished by Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and finished by a later artist after 1671. *Charles I on Horseback*. 212 x 120 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486181.

Fig. 52. Richard Symonds's list of pictures seen at Northumberland House in 1652, separated into potential picture groupings in different viewing spaces. Emily Burns.

Fig. 53. John Webb (1611-1672). Design for overmantel for the dining room of Northumberland House. Signed and dated 1657. BAL, RIBA Collections, SC206/Jol&WeJ[164].

Fig. 54. John Webb (1611-1672). Design for the chimneypiece and overmantel for the withdrawing room. Signed and dated 1660. BAL, RIBA Collections, SC206/Jol&WeJ[165].

Fig. 55. John Webb (1611-1672). Elevation of south front of Lamport Hall. Northamptonshire Record Office, NRO/IL/3079/A2.

Fig. 56. Interior of the High Room today, showing Webb's chimneypiece and overmantel still intact, but with eighteenth-century changes to the walls and ceiling. Lamport Hall.

Fig. 57. John Webb (1611-1672). Design for east wall of the 'High Room' entrance hall of Lamport Hall. Northamptonshire Record Office, a. North wall, NRO/IL/3079/A18.

b. South wall, NRO/IL/3079/A16
c. East and west walls, NRO/IL/3079/A17
d. Floorplan, NRO/IL/3079/A50

Fig. 58. Joan Carlile (c.1606-1679). *A Stag Hunt*, featuring the Carlile family, Sir Justinian Isham and unidentified ladies. Probably before 1639. 61 x 74 cm. Lamport Hall, 95.

Fig. 59. Samuel Cooper (1609-1672). *Sir Justinian Isham.* Signed and dated 1653. Lamport Hall.

Fig. 60. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *Sir Justinian Isham.* 60 x 47 cm. Lamport Hall, 4.

Fig. 61. Unknown artist (John Baptist Gaspars (1620-1691)?). Oval miniature in oil on copper. *Sir Justinian Isham.* Lamport Hall.

Fig. 62. John Baptist Gaspars (1620-1691). *Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham.* 123 x 99 cm. Lamport Hall, 34.

Fig. 63. Note from Maurice Wase to John Webb, enclosed in letter of 16 May 1655 from Webb to Isham. Untraceable in Northamptonshire Record Office. Photograph by Emily Burns of facsimile kept at Lamport Hall.

Fig. 64. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *The Infant Christ and St. John the Baptist*. c.1626. 70 x 55 cm. Lamport Hall, 76.

Fig. 65. After an artist of the Italian school (Wase wrongly attributes to a copy after Titian). *Susannah and the Elders.* 143 x 114 cm. Lamport Hall, 77.

Fig. 66. Copy by unknown artist (here suggested as Remigius van Leemput) after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine.* After 1633. 361 x 274 cm. Lamport Hall, 16.

Fig. 67. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine.* Dated 1633. 370 x 270 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405322.

Fig. 68. Copy by unknown artist after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) *Le Roi à la Ciasse.* 270 x 208 cm. Lamport Hall, 40.

Fig. 69. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *Le Roi à la Ciasse*. c.1636. 266 x 207 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 1236.

Fig. 70. Copy by unknown artist after Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621). *Queen Anne of Denmark.* 259 x 117.5 cm. Lamport Hall, 41.

Fig. 71. Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621). *Queen Anne of Denmark*. 265.5 x 209 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405887.

Fig. 72. Unknown copyist (possibly Symon Stone, fl.1646-1671) after Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576). *Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier.* 98 x 125 cm. Lamport Hall, 42.

Fig. 73. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576). *Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier*. c.1536-9. 104.1 x 114.3 cm. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle.

Fig. 74. John Webb (1611-1672). Design for chimneypiece and overmantel for the 'High Room' entrance hall of Lamport Hall. Northamptonshire Record Office, NRO/IL/3079/A19.

Fig. 75. Hubert le Sueur (c.1580-1658). Bronze copy after Belvedere *Antinous.* 1636-7. 213.0 x 89.0 x 103.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle, RCIN 71438.

Fig. 76. Attributed to Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621). *Portrait of a Man, possibly a French Ambassador to James I.* c.1622-5. 125.8 x 111.1 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402889.
Fig. 77. Marcus Gheeraerts (1561 or 1652-1636). *Tom Derry.* 1614. 71.40 x 57.90 cm. National Galleries of Scotland, PG 1111.
Fig. 78. Cornelis Ketel (1548-1616). *A Giant Porter.* Inscribed 1580. 289.6 x 170.7 x 5.3 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406799.
Fig. 79. Copy after ? Girolamo Romanino (c.1485-c.1566). *Temperance* c.1600-50. 106.3 x 159.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406089.
Fig. 80. Workshop of Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546). *Nero Playing while Rome Burns.* c.1536-9. Oil on panel, 121.5 x 106.7 x 2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402576.
Fig. 81. Workshop of Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546). *The Omen of Claudius's Imperial Powers* [but, at the time of the Commonwealth Sale, thought to depict Julius Caesar]. c.1536. Oil on panel, 121.4 x 93.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402806.
Fig. 82. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576) and workshop. *Salome with the Head of St John the Baptist.* c.1560-70. 90 x 83.3 cm. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, P.2011-0002.
Fig. 83. Luca Cambiaso (1527-1585). *The Assumption of the Virgin* (A Fragment). c.1540-85. 170.3 x 161.9 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402709.
Fig. 84. Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli (c.1500-1569) [attributed to Parmigianino at the time of the Commonwealth Sale]. *The Infant Christ and St John Embracing.* c.1533-40. Oil on panel, 37.8 x 47.6 x 2.4 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 401367.
Fig. 85. Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653). *John Tradescant the Elder* (c.1570-1638). 79 x 62 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1685 A no. 659, WA1898.8.
Fig. 86. Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653). *John Tradescant the Younger* (1608-1662). 107 x 86 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1685 A f. 47, no. 71, WA1898.10.
Fig. 87. Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653). *John Tradescant the Younger and Roger Friend (Zythepsa of Lambeth).* 107 x 132 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1685 A f. 50, no. 91, WA1898.11.
Fig. 88. Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653). *Hester, the second wife of John Tradescant the Younger, and her stepson John.* Signed [? 'De Critz']. Dated 1645. 136 x 111 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1898.14.
Fig. 89. Attributed to Thomas De Critz (1607-1653). *John Tradescant the Younger.* 1652. 80 x 61 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 1089.
Fig. 90. Attributed to Emanuel De Critz (1608-1665). Called *Sir John Maynard.* Possibly Dr. Brian Walton (c.1600-1661). Faintly signed "???? de Critz" and dated 1657. Dimensions unknown. Collection of Lord Tollemache at Helmingham Hall.
Fig. 91. Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534). *Allegory of Virtue*. 1528-30. 142 x 86 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 5926.
Fig. 92. Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534). *Allegory of Vice*. 1528-30. 142 x 86 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 5927.

Fig. 93. Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641). *The Five Eldest Children of Charles* I. Signed and dated 1637. 163.2 x 198.8 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 404405.

Fig. 94. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). '*The Great Peece': Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary*. 1632. 303.8 x 256.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405353.

Fig. 95. Emanuel de Critz (1608-65) after Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). *Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich.* 1660. 76 x 61 cm. From a private collection on display at Audley End House, Essex.

Illustrations

Introduction



Fig. 1. William Dobson (1611-1646)
Portrait of Endymion Porter, c.1642-5
149.9 x 127 cm. Tate, N01249.

Chapter 1



Fig. 2. Robert Walker (1599-1658)
Oliver Cromwell, c.1649
73.7 x 61 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 536.



Fig. 3. John Michael Wright (1617-1694)
Elizabeth Claypole, née Cromwell (1629-1658), 1658
Oil on panel, 54 x 45.1 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 952.



Fig. 4. Samuel Cooper (1609-1672)
Oliver Cromwell, 1649
Watercolour on vellum, 5.7 x 4.8 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5589.



Fig. 5. Attributed to Samuel Cooper (1609-1672)
Oliver Cromwell, c.1655
Watercolour on vellum, 6 x 4.8 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5274.



Fig. 6. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680)
Oliver Cromwell, c.1653/4
76.2 x 62.9 cm. Birmingham Museums Trust, 1949P27.



Fig. 7. William Sheppard (fl.1641-1660)
Thomas Killigrew, 1650
124.5 x 96.5 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 3795.



Fig. 8. Attributed to Edward Bower (fl.1629-1667)
Speaker William Lenthall (1591-1662) and his Family, c.1643-5
244 x 270.5 cm. Parliamentary Art Collection, WOA 4187.



Fig. 9. William Faithorne (1616-1691) after Gilbert Soest (c.1605-1681)
Portrait of William Sanderson. Frontispiece to William Sanderson's *Graphice*, 1658.
Engraving, dated 1658. Image courtesy of Getty Research Institute.



Fig. 10. Francis Barlow (c.1626-1704)
Jay, Green Woodpecker, Pigeons and Woodstart, c.1658
76.2 x 63.8 cm. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1978.43.1.



Fig. 11. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680)
Sir Edward Massey, c.1647
190.6 x 127 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 4938.



Fig. 12. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680)
The Three Younger Children of Charles I, c.1647
198 x 231 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486192.



Fig. 13. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680)
Charles I and James the Duke of York, c.1648
126.4 x 146.7 cm. Northumberland Collection at Petworth House.



Fig. 14. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680)
Elizabeth Murray, later Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1648
124 x 120 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139764.



Fig. 15. Attributed to John Weesop (fl.1641-d.1652)
Elizabeth Murray, Lady Tollemache, later Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale (1626-1698), c.1647
124.5 x 99 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139956.



Fig. 16. Joan Carlile (1600-1679)
Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart (1626-1698), with her first husband, Sir Lionel Tollemache (1624-99), and her sister, Margaret Murray, Lady Maynard (c.1638-1682), c.1648-60. 109.2 x 92.7 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139727.



Fig. 17. Attributed to Joan Carlile (1600-1679)
Called *Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale (c.1630-1698)*, but here attributed to her mother, Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray (d.1649). Oil on panel, 22 x 17 cm. Thirlestane Castle Trust, H.4703.



Fig. 18. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray
135.5 x 108 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486240.



Fig. 19. John Hoskins the elder (c.1590-1665)
Catherine Bruce, Mrs William Murray (d.1649), 1638
Watercolour on vellum, 50.4 x 59 x 4 cm. National Trust, Ham House, NT 1139682.

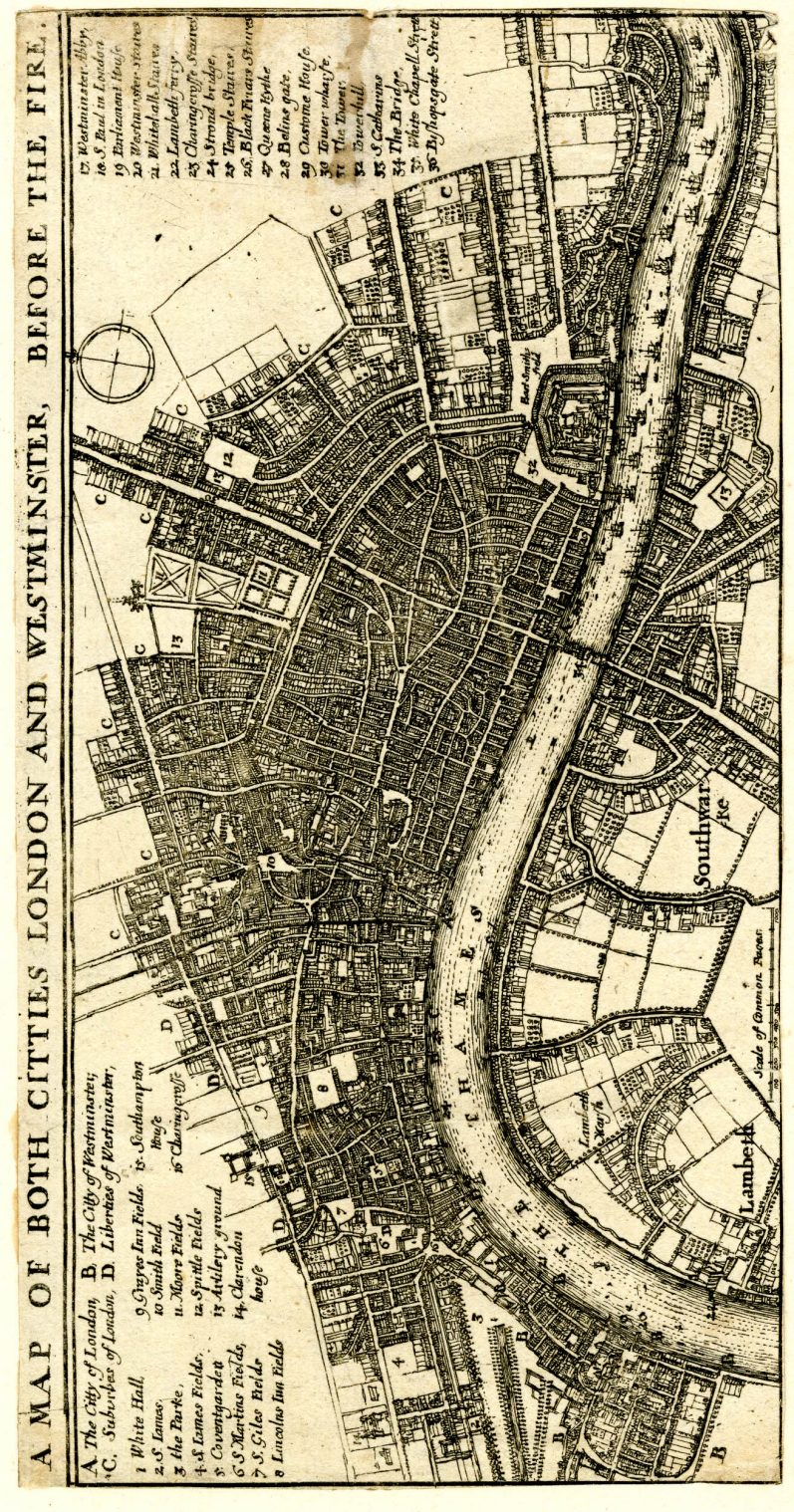


Fig. 20. Wenceslas Hollar (1607-1677)
A Map of Both Citties London and Westminster, Before the Fire, 1667
10.4 x 10 cm. The British Museum, 1888,0612.57.

Chapter 2



Fig. 21. Attributed to Jan van Belcamp (c.1610-1653)
The Great Picture of Lady Anne Clifford, *The Appleby Castle Tripych,* 1646
Centre panel: 254 x 254 cm. Side panels: 254 x 119.38 cm.
Abbot Hall Art Gallery, Kendal, Cumbria.



Fig. 22. Unknown artist after Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680)
Lady Anne Clifford, c.1650 (original in private collection is c.1646)
75.6 x 62.9 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 402.



Fig. 23. Hans Memling (fl.1465-d.1494)
Donne Triptych, c.1478
Oil on oak, 71 x 70.3 cm. The National Gallery, London, NG6275 1-3.

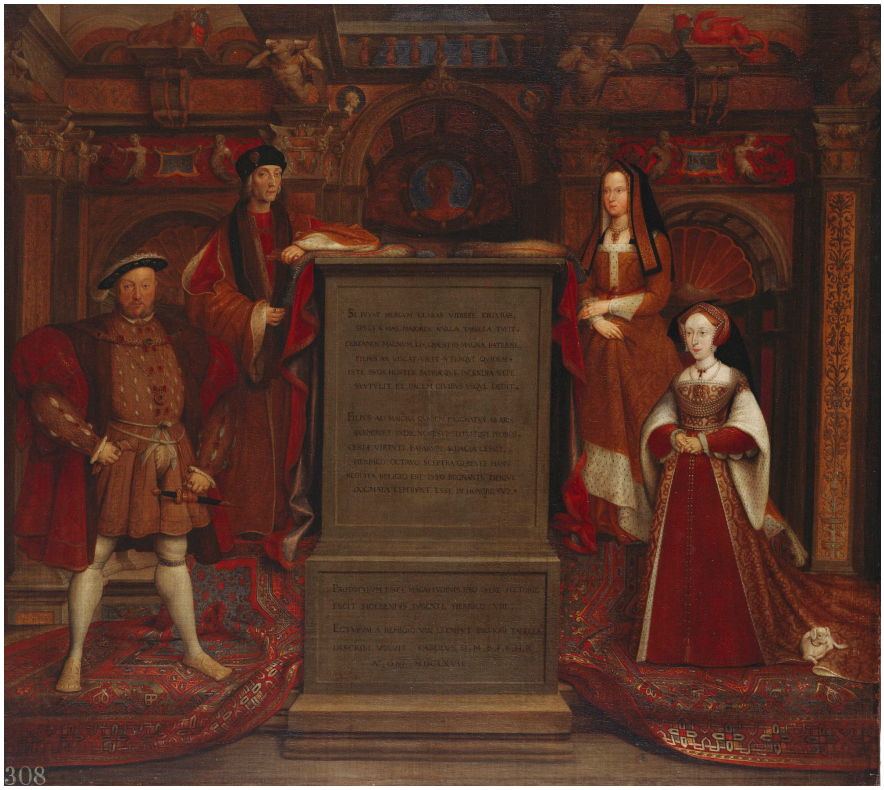


Fig. 24. Remigius van Leemput (d.1675) after Hans Holbein (1497/8-1543)
Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, dated 1667
88.9 x 99.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405750.



Fig. 25. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, with his Family, c.1635
330 x 510 cm. Wilton House Trust.



Fig. 26. Jan van Belcamp (1610-53) after painting by Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621)
Anne of Denmark, 1630-39
247.2 x 144.4 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 403253.



Fig. 27. Unknown artist after Jan van Belcamp (c.1610-1653)
Prince Edward (1330-1375), Prince of Wales, 'The Black Prince', 1700-1729
228.6 x 115.6 cm. National Trust, Lyme Park, loan from Lord Newton, NT 499896.
[after version in Royal Collection Trust, 1630-40, 205.2 x 130.4 cm, RCIN 404037]



Fig. 28. Called Remigius van Leemput (1607-1675) after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641). *'The Great Peece' of Charles I and his family,* ?c.1643
288 x 228.2 cm.
Birmingham Museums Trust, Aston Hall, 1970P264.



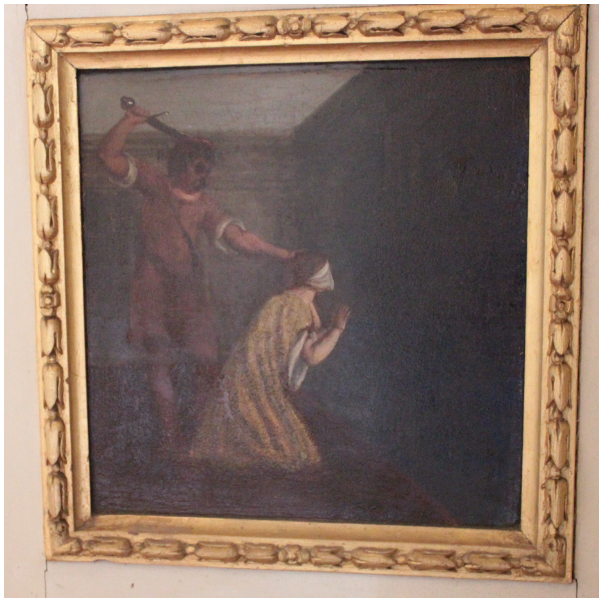
Fig. 29. After Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
'The Great Peece', ?1643
325 x 244 cm. The Royal Hospital Chelsea, 399.



Fig. 30. Attributed to Remigius van Leemput (1607-1675) after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Dorothy North, Lady Dacre, Mrs Chaloner Chute (c.1605-1698), 1650-1655
123 x 96.5 cm. National Trust, The Vyne, NT 719436.



Fig. 31. Emanuel De Critz (1608-1665)
The Legend of Perseus on the ceiling of the Double Cube Room, Wilton House, surrounded by painted coving by Edward Pearce I. Photo by Emily Burns.

a. 

b. 

c.



Fig. 32, a, b, c. Emanuel De Critz (1608-1665)
Scenes from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* on the dado of the Single Cube Room, Wilton House. Photos by Emily Burns.



Fig. 33. The Hunting Room at Wilton House, featuring panels by Edward Pearce (1598-1658) and Andien De Clermont (d.1783). Photo by Emily Burns.



Fig. 34. Attributed to Edward Pearce I (1598-1658)
Detail of the painted north cove of the Double Cube Room, Wilton House, with part of the ceiling painting by Emmanuel de Critz (1608-1665) in view, c.1649-51
Photo by Emily Burns.



Fig. 35. Attributed to Edward Pearce I (1598-1658)
Detail of the ceiling cove on the west side of the Single Cube Room, Wilton House, c.1649-51. Photo by Emily Burns.



Fig. 36. Attributed to Edward Pearce I (1598-1658) and Matthew Gooderick (fl.1617-54). Detail from the coved ceiling of the Queen's Bedchamber, Queen's House, Greenwich, c.1637-39. Photo by Emily Burns.



Fig. 37. Called Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino (Il Cavalliere d'Arpino) (1568-1640) *The Fall of Icarus.* 335.3 x 304.8 cm. Painting set in the Single Cube Room ceiling, Wilton House. Photo by Emily Burns.



Fig. 38. Raphaello Guidi after Giuseppe Caesari (1568-1640)
The Fall of Icarus, 1600
Engraving, 44.5 x 29.3 cm. British Museum, 1874,0808.1566.

Fig. 39.
To aid visual comparison, here Edward Pearce's Hunting Room panels with Wyatt's titles (numbered 1-18) are put in order of wall (north/east/south/west) and juxtaposed with Antonio Tempesta designs which have matching motifs. I am grateful to Dr Gordon Higgot for providing the photographs of Pearce's work in the Hunting Room.

1. OSTRICH

Pearce, Wilton House





Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Published by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652)
Ostrich Hunt.
Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes, 1624.
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.

2. STAG

Pearce, Wilton House





Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Mounted huntsmen are chasing deer with their dogs in the background. Wellcome Library, 41647i

3. BULL



Pearce. Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Published by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652)
Two Swordmen on Horseback and Dogs Killing a Bull
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.29

4. MONKEY



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters Capturing Monkeys
Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes, 1602
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.75.6

5. HARE [taken from the RABBIT hunting scenes by Tempesta]



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Rabbit Hunt
Lombardia Beni Culturali, H0110-o4731

6. HAWKING

Pearce, Wilton House





Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters shooting birds. 1598
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
WA1863.5628





Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters with falcons chasing wild birds.
1598
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
WA1863.5632

7. LION



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Lion Hunt
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.62.1

8. CROCODILE



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters Capturing and Killing Crocodiles. 1602
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.77.5

9. SETTING



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters setting up a trap
Primo Libro di Caccie Varie. 1598
WA1863.5620

10. FOX



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
A Fox Hunt. Hunting Scenes II
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.80.6

11. HAWKING



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Bird hunt with a falcon. c.1621.
Hunting Scenes VII
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
WA1924.9.408



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Falcons Bringing Down Wild Birds.
Hunting Scenes II
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.85.7



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters shooting birds. 1598
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
WA1863.5628

12. GOAT [actually probably ANTELOPE, or at least copied after Tempesta's antelope hunting scenes]



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Antelope Hunt. Hunting Scenes III. 1598
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.79.5

13. STORKING



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters approaching feeding birds as decoys. 1598
Primo Libro di Caccie Varie
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1863.5625

14. DUCK [Actually GEESE]



Pearce, Wilton House



After Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Divers Capturing Geese. 1627
Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.46

15. BOAR



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Boar Hunt. Hunting Scenes VII, 1609-1621
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.68.1

16. BEAR



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630), Published by Claes Jansz Visscher, (1587-1652)
Men on Foot and Dogs Fighting a Large Bear. 1624. Hunting Scenes I
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, M22312.38

17. TIGER [actually LEOPARDS]



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
Hunters Trapping Leopards with Mirrors. Diverse Animal Hunting and Battle Scenes
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.76.2

18. ELEPHANT



Pearce, Wilton House



Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630)
An Elephant Hunt, with an Elephant Killing a Man. Hunting Scenes II
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, S9.85.1

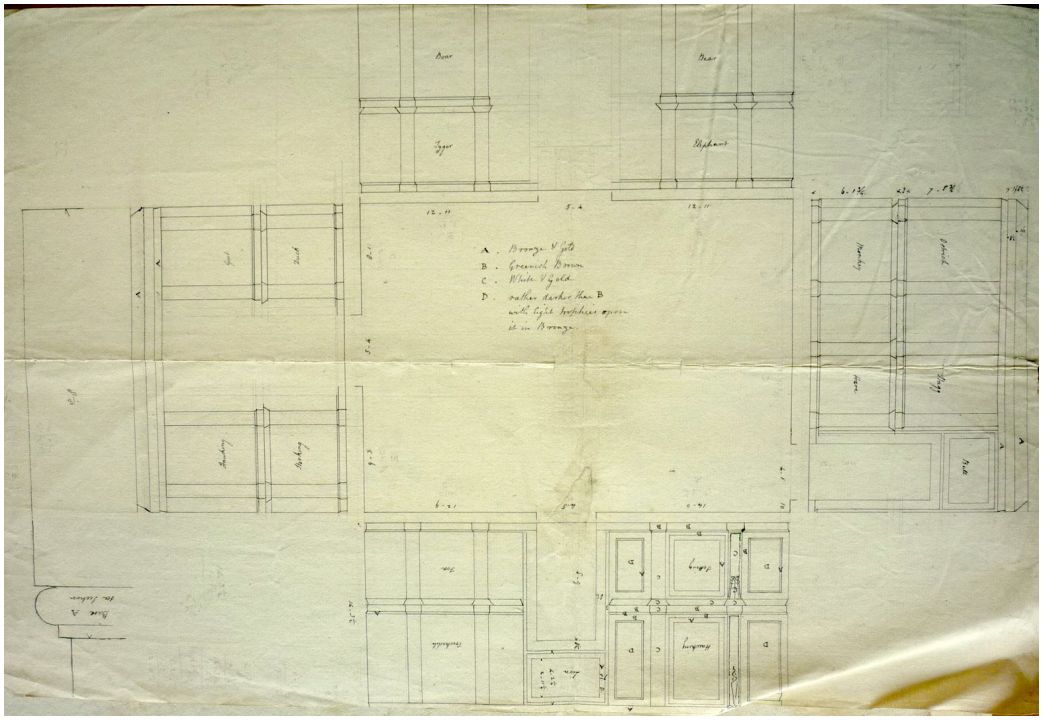


Fig. 40. James Wyatt's marked-up drawing of the Hunting Room, Wilton House, with the names of Edward Pearce's hunting subjects, 1802
Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Chippenham, WHA, 2057, H3/18/4.

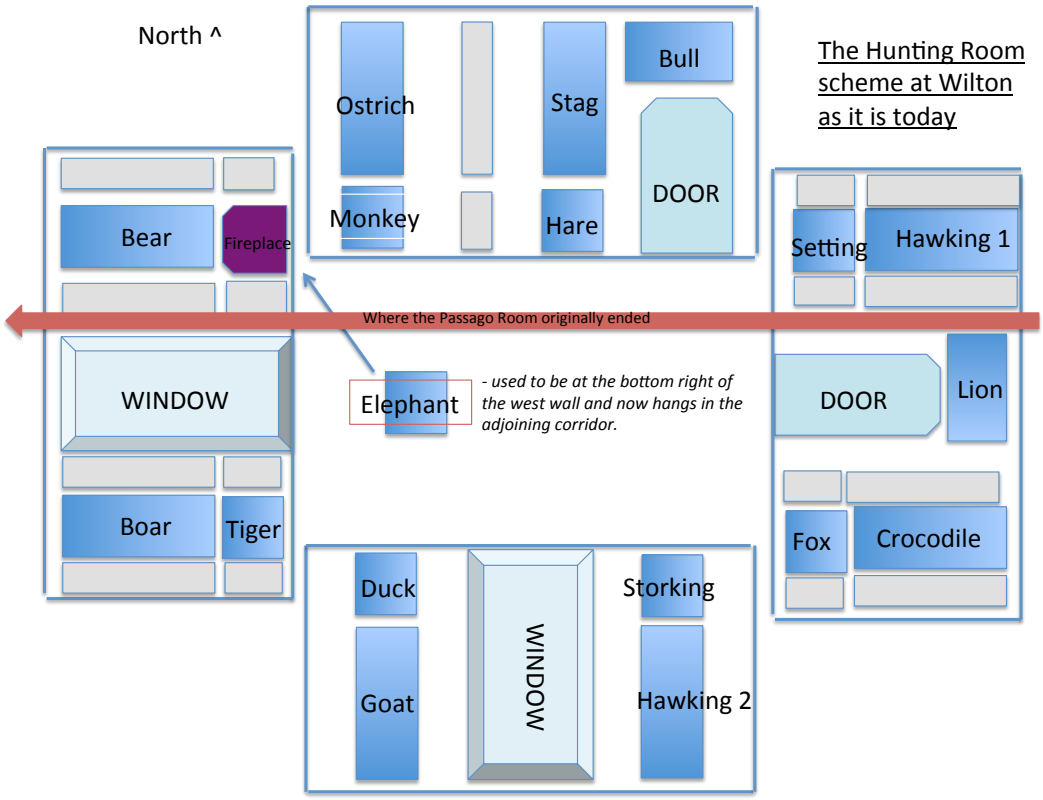


Fig. 41. Hunting Room layout today with indication of changes that have been made.
Emily Burns.

Chapter 3



Fig. 42. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576)
The Vendramin Family, c.1540-45
206.1 x 288.5 cm. The National Gallery, London, NG4452.



Fig. 43. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland with his first wife, Lady Anne Cecil and their daughter Lady Katherine Percy, c.1635
135 x 180 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486239.



Fig. 44. Canaletto (1697-1768)
The Strand front of Northumberland House with reconstructed façade, 1752
84 x 137 cm. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle.



Fig. 45. C. Grignon after S. Wale, engraving by Dodsley and Dodsley.
The garden front of Northumberland House, 1761
Guildhall Library.

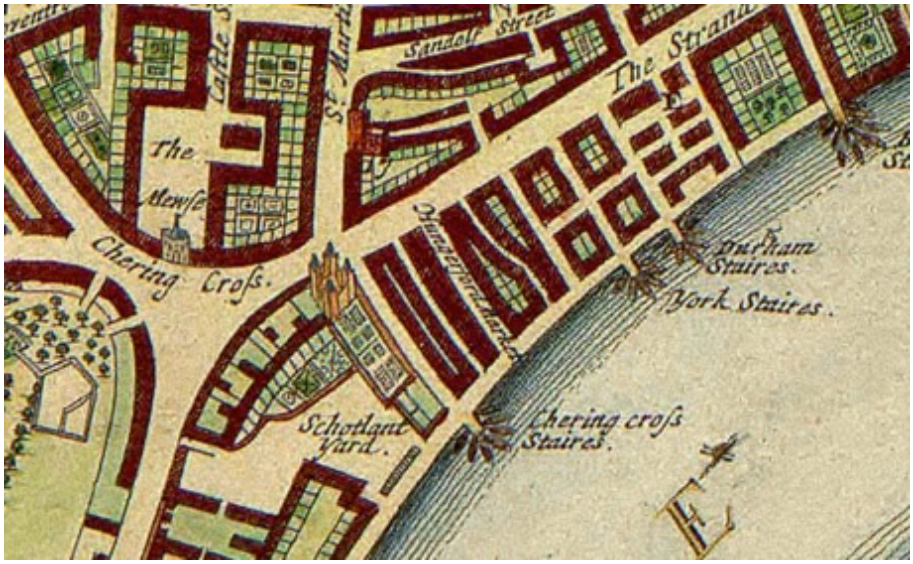


Fig. 46. Wenceslas Hollar (1607-1677)
Detail of Hollar's map of London, after 1688,
showing Northumberland House on the corner of Charing Cross, Scotland Yard to the West of it, and the nearby 'York Staires' to alight from the river at York House.
Dutch National Library, 1049B11_020.



Fig. 47. Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610)
St. John the Baptist, 1605
9 x 7 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486236.

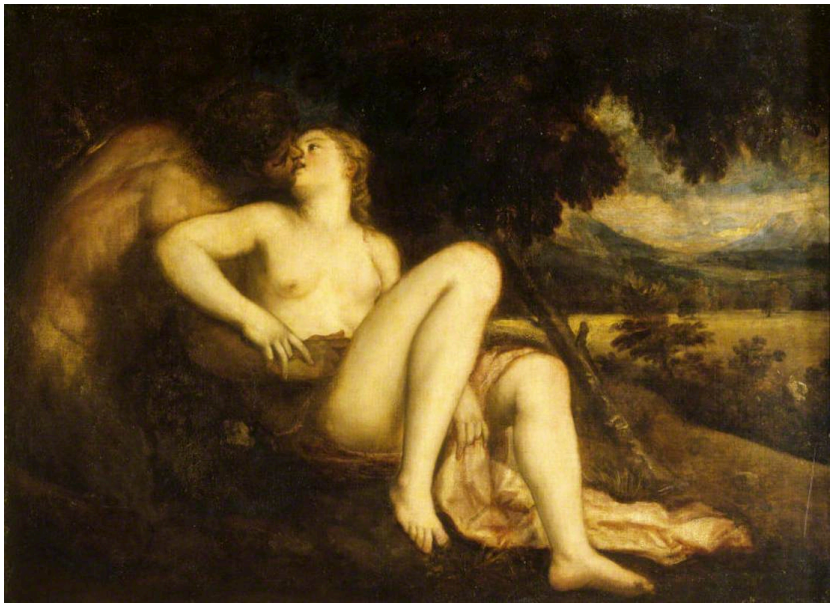


Fig. 48. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576)
Nymph and Faun, otherwise known as *Venus and a Satyr*, or*, Mars and Venus*, c.1570
96.5 x 130.8 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486193.



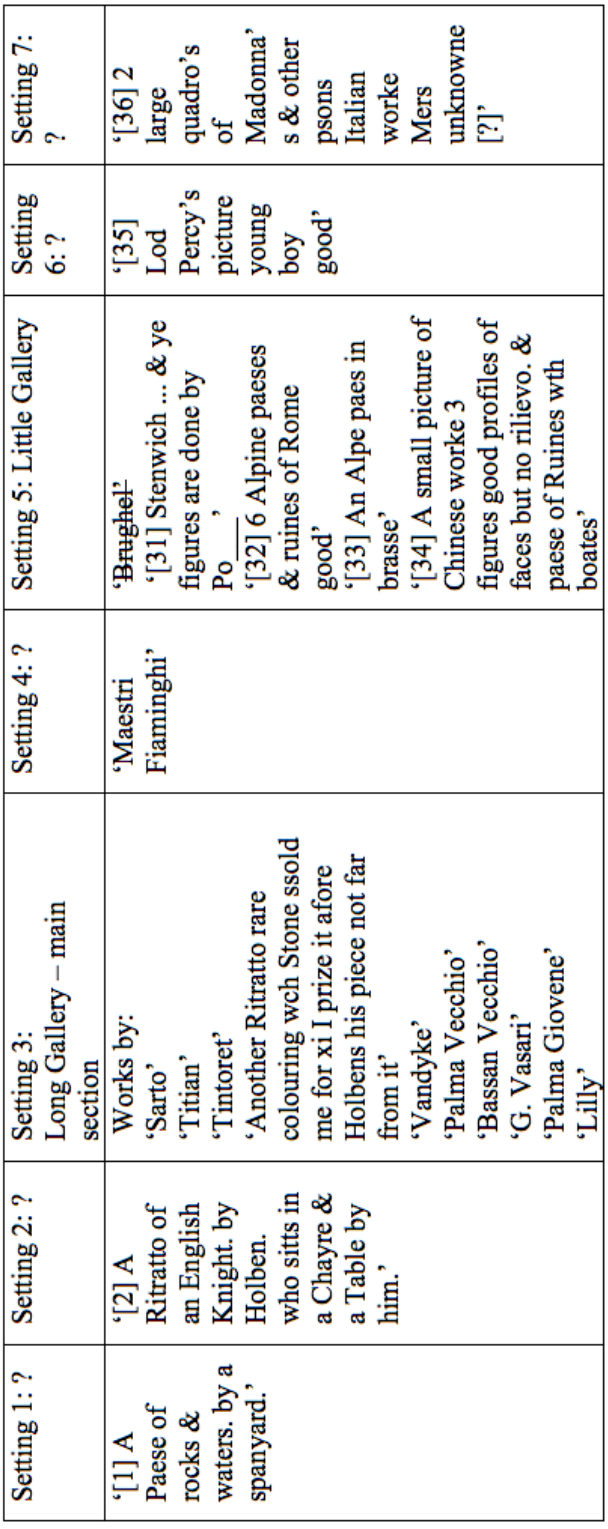
Fig. 49. Workshop of Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546)
The Sacrifice of a Goat to Jupiter, c.1536-9
123 x 66.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406166.



Fig. 50. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Anne Boteler, Countess of Newport, Later Countess of Portland, 1637-1638
134.3 x 107.8 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486238.



Fig. 51. Left unfinished by Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) and finished by a later artist after 1671.
Charles I on Horseback
212 x 120 cm. National Trust, Petworth House, NT 486181.



Setting 1: ?	Setting 2: ?	Setting 3: Long Gallery – main section	Setting 4: ?	Setting 5: Little Gallery	Setting 6: ?	Setting 7: ?
'[1] A Paese of rocks & waters. by a spanyard.'	'[2] A Ritratto of an English Knight. by Holben. who sitts in a Chayre & a Table by him.'	Works by: 'Sarto' 'Titian' 'Tintoret' 'Another Ritratto rare colouring wch Stone ssold me for xi I prize it afore Holbens his piece not far from it' 'Vandyke' 'Palma Vecchio' 'Bassan Vecchio' 'G. Vasari' 'Palma Giovene' 'Lilly'	'Maestri Fiaminghi'	'~~Brughel~~' '[31] Stenwich ... & ye figures are done by Po___' '[32] 6 Alpine paeses & ruines of Rome good' '[33] An Alpe paes in brasse' '[34] A small picture of Chinese worke 3 figures good profiles of faces but no rilievo. & paese of Ruines wth boates'	'[35] Lod Percy's picture young boy good'	'[36] 2 large quadro's of Madonna's & other psons Italian worke Mers unknowne [?]'

Fig. 52. Richard Symonds's list of pictures seen at Northumberland House in 1652, separated into potential picture groupings in different viewing spaces. Emily Burns.

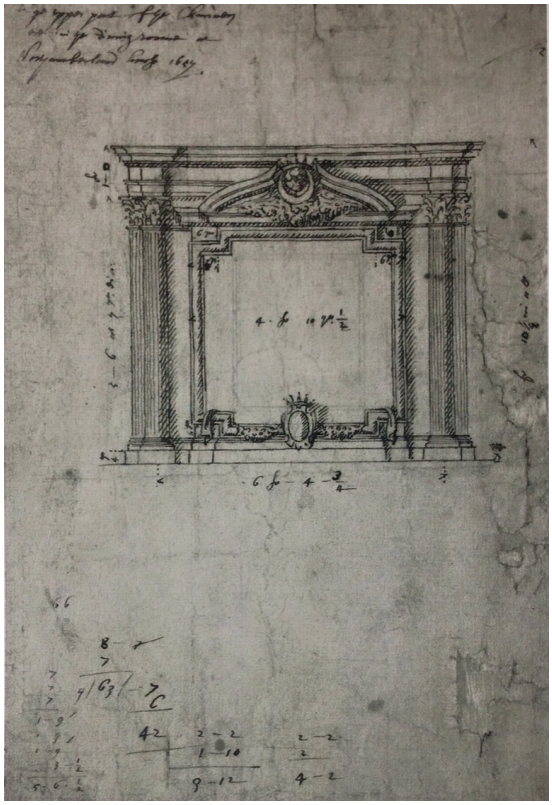


Fig. 53. John Webb (1611-1672)
Design for overmantel for the dining room of Northumberland House, signed and dated 1657
BAL, RIBA Collections, SC206/Jol&WeJ[164].

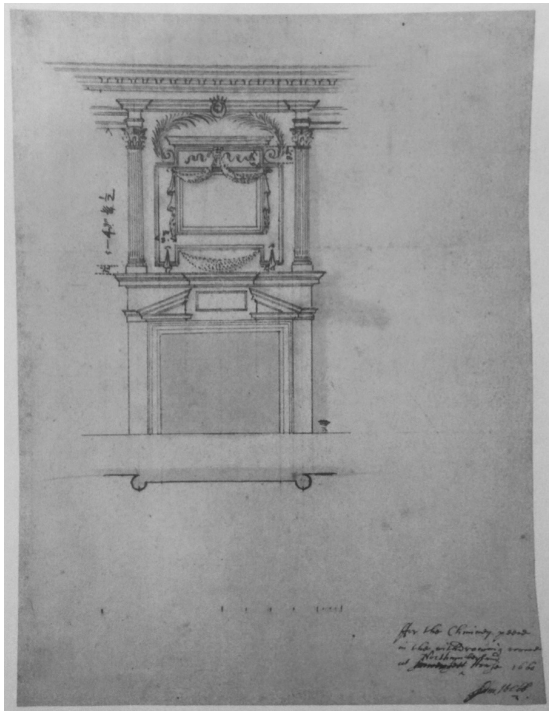


Fig. 54. John Webb (1611-1672)
Design for the chimneypiece and overmantel for the withdrawing room at Northumberland House, signed and dated 1660.
BAL, RIBA Collections, SC206/Jol&WeJ[165].

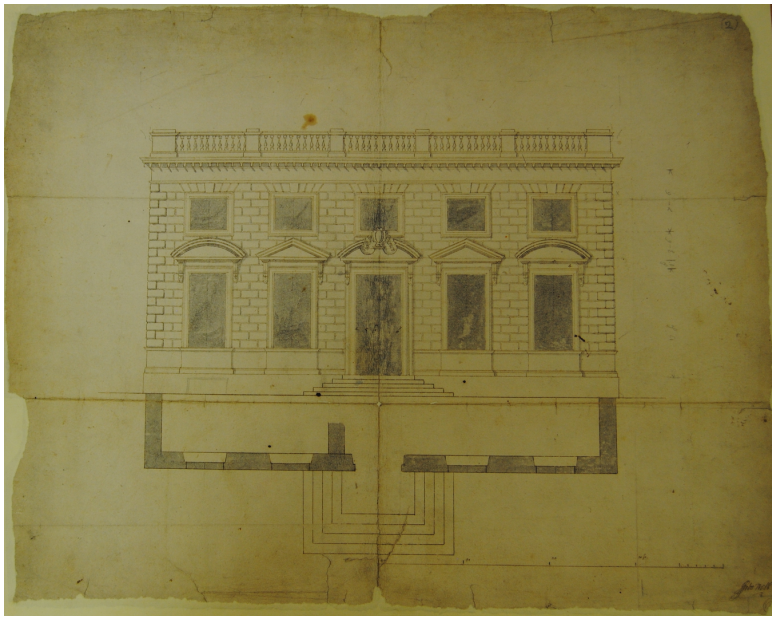
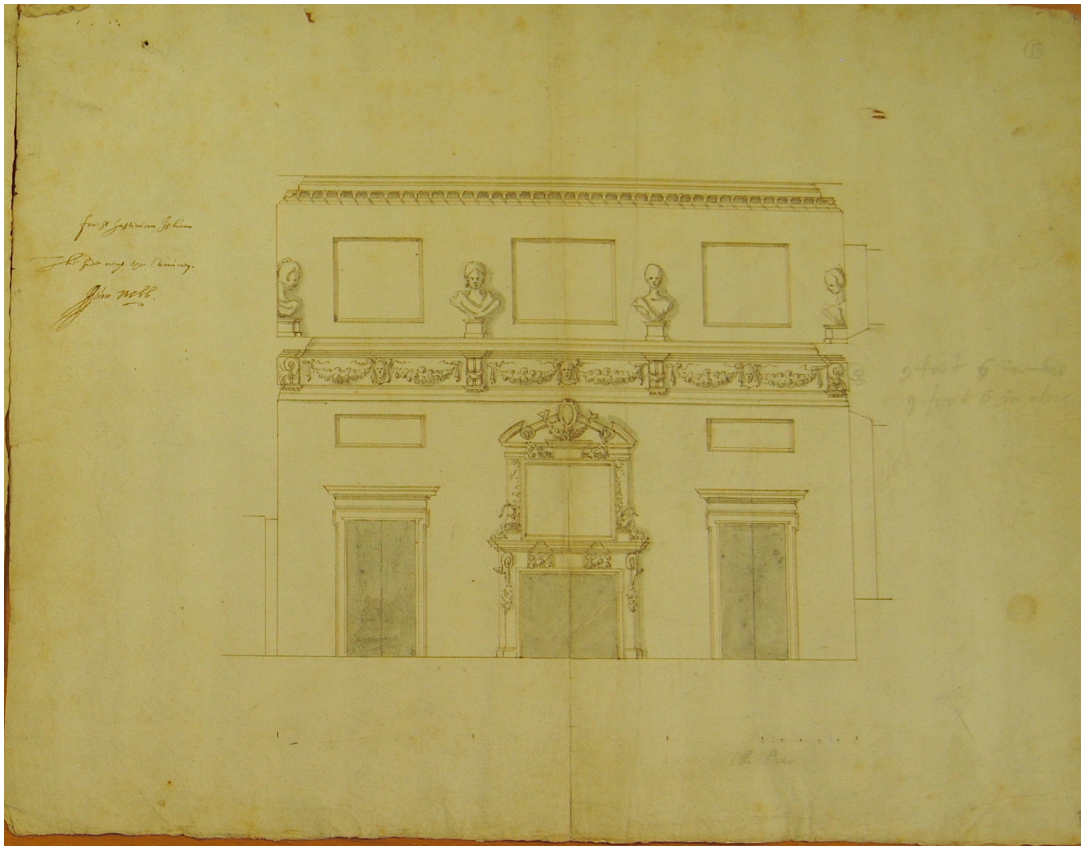


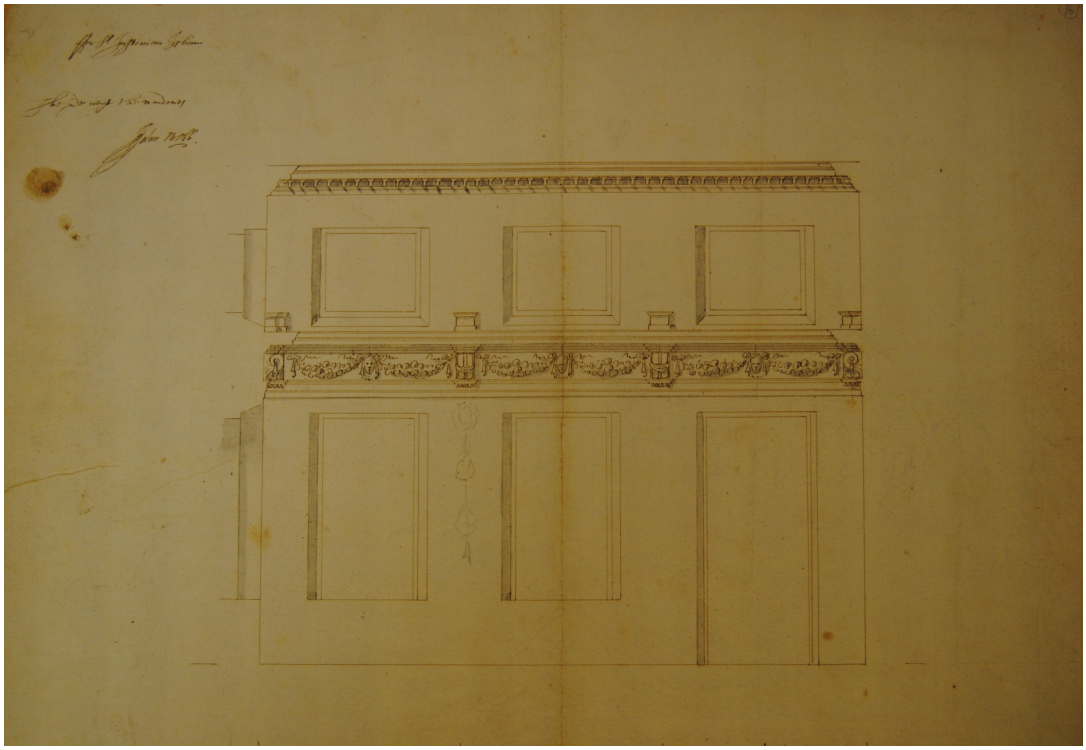
Fig. 55. John Webb (1611-1672)
Elevation of south front of Lamport Hall (the double-height High Room occupies the three bays on the right)
Northamptonshire Record Office, NRO/IL/3079/A2.



Fig. 56. Interior of the High Room today, showing Webb's chimneypiece and overmantel still intact, but with eighteenth-century changes to the walls and ceiling.
Lamport Hall.



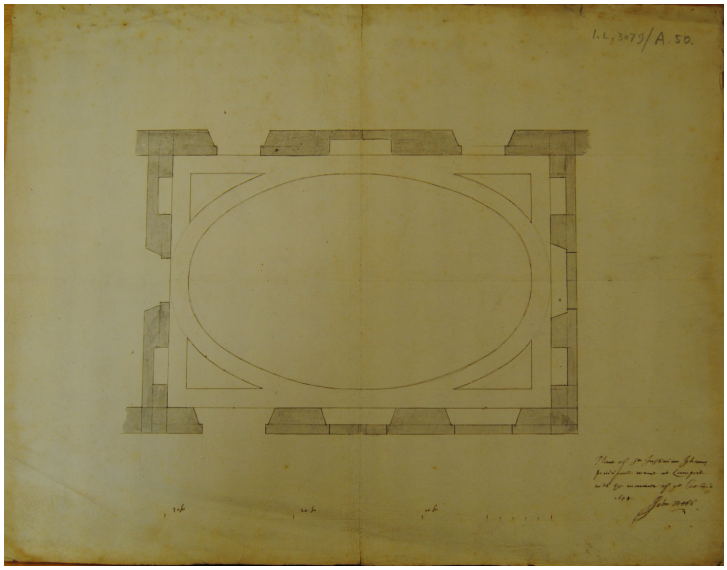
a.



b.



c.



d.

Fig. 57. John Webb (1611-1672)
Design for east wall of the 'High Room' entrance hall of Lamport Hall.
Northamptonshire Record Office
a. North wall, NRO/IL/3079/A18.
b. South wall, NRO/IL/3079/A16
c. East and west walls, NRO/IL/3079/A17
d. Floorplan, NRO/IL/3079/A50



Fig. 58. Joan Carlile (c.1606-1679)
A Stag Hunt
Featuring the Carlile family, Sir Justinian Isham and unidentified ladies
Probably before 1639
61 x 74 cm. Lamport Hall, 95.



Fig. 59. Samuel Cooper (1609-1672)
Sir Justinian Isham, signed and dated 1653
Lamport Hall.



Fig. 60. Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680)
Sir Justinian Isham
60 x 47 cm. Lamport Hall, 4.



Fig. 61. Unknown artist (John Baptist Gaspars (1620-1691)?)
Sir Justinian Isham
Oval miniature in oil on copper. Lamport Hall.



Fig. 62. John Baptist Gaspars (1620-1691)
Sir Justinian Isham, 2nd Baronet Isham
123 x 99 cm. Lamport Hall, 34.

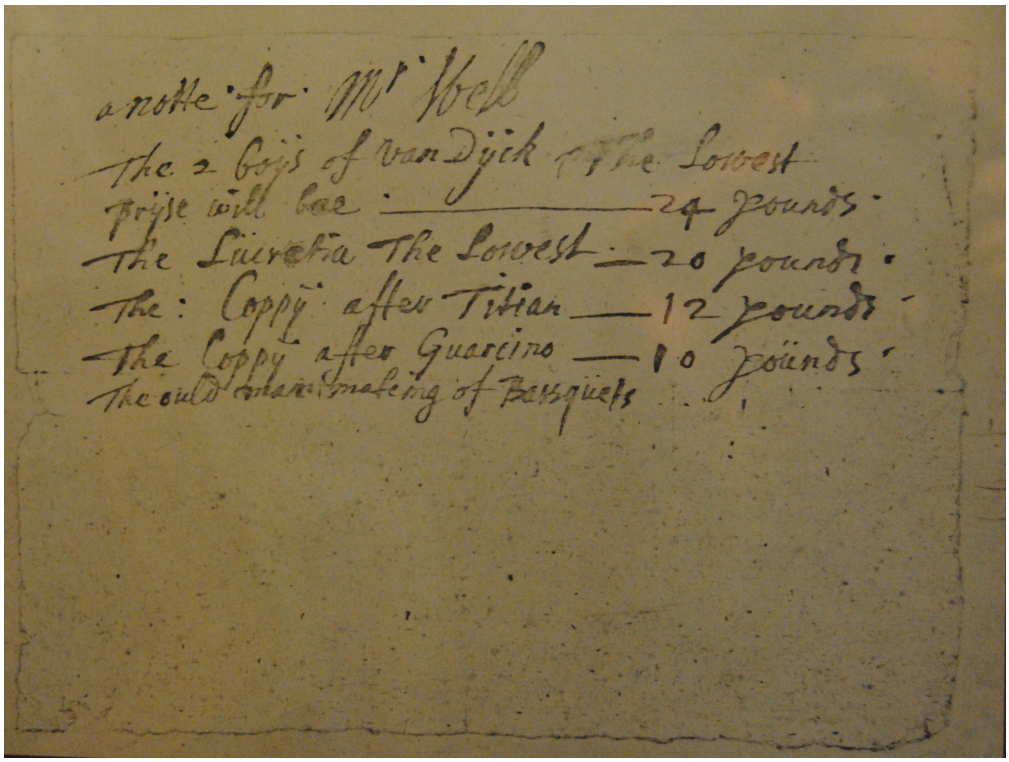

a notte for Mr Webb
The 2 boys of van Dyck the Lowest
Prise will bee ——— 24 pounds
The Lucretia The Lowest — 20 pounds
The Coppy after Titian — 12 pounds
The Coppy after Guarcino — 10 pounds
The old man making of Basquets

Fig. 63. Note from Maurice Wase to John Webb, enclosed in letter of 16 April 1655 from Webb to Isham. Untraceable in Northamptonshire Record Office. Photograph by Emily Burns of facsimile kept at Lamport Hall.



Fig. 64.
Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
The Infant Christ and
St. John the Baptist,
c.1626. 70 x 55 cm.
Lamport Hall, 76.



Fig. 65. After an artist of the Italian school
(Wase wrongly attributes to a copy after Titian)
Susannah and the Elders
143 x 114 cm. Lamport Hall, 77.



Fig. 66. Copy by unknown artist
(here suggested as Remigius van Leemput)
after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine, after 1633
361 x 274 cm. Lamport Hall, 16.



Fig. 67. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Charles I on Horseback with M. de St. Antoine,
dated 1633. 370 x 270 cm.

Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405322.



Fig. 68. Copy by unknown artist
after Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Le Roi à la Ciasse
270 x 208 cm. Lamport Hall, 40.



Fig. 69. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
Le Roi à la Ciasse, c.1636. 266 x 207 cm.
Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv.1236



Fig. 70. Copy by unknown artist after Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621)
Queen Anne of Denmark
259 x 117.5 cm. Lamport Hall, 41.



Fig. 71. Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621)
Queen Anne of Denmark
265.5 x 209 cm.
Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405887.



Fig. 72. Unknown copyist (possibly Symon Stone, fl.1646-1671) after Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576). *Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier.* 98 x 125 cm. Lamport Hall, 42.



Fig. 73. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576). *Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, with his secretary Guillaume Philandrier*, c.1536-9. 104.1 x 114.3 cm. Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle.



Fig. 74. John Webb (1611-1672)
Design for chimneypiece and overmantel for the 'High Room' entrance hall of Lamport Hall, 1654
Northamptonshire Record Office, NRO/IL/3079/A19.

Chapter 4



Fig. 75. Hubert le Sueur (c.1580-1658)
Bronze copy after Belvedere *Antinous,* 1636-7
213.0 x 89.0 x 103.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle, RCIN 71438.



Fig. 76. Attributed to Paul van Somer (c.1576-1621)
Portrait of a Man, possibly a French Ambassador to James I, c.1622-5
125.8 x 111.1 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402889.



Fig. 77. Marcus Gheeraerts (1561 or 1652-1636)
Tom Derry, 1614. 71.40 x 57.90 cm.
National Galleries of Scotland, PG 1111.



Fig. 78. Cornelis Ketel (1548-1616)
A Giant Porter, inscribed 1580
289.6 x 170.7 x 5.3 cm.
Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406799.



Fig. 79. Copy after ? Girolamo Romanino (c.1485-c.1566)
Temperance, c.1600-50
106.3 x 159.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406089.



Fig. 80. Workshop of Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546)
Nero Playing while Rome Burns, c.1536-9.
Oil on panel, 121.5 x 106.7 x 2 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402576.



Fig. 81. Workshop of Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546)
The Omen of Claudius's Imperial Powers, c.1536-9
Oil on panel, 121.4 x 93.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402806.



Fig. 82. Titian (fl. c.1506, d.1576) and workshop
Salome with the Head of St John the Baptist, c.1560-70
90 x 83.3 cm. National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, P.2011-0002.



Fig. 83. Luca Cambiaso (1527-1585)
The Assumption of the Virgin (A Fragment), c.1540-85
170.3 x 161.9 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 402709.



Fig. 84. Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli (c.1500-1569)
[attributed to Parmigianino at the time of the Commonwealth Sale]
The Infant Christ and St John Embracing, c.1533-40.
Oil on panel, 37.8 x 47.6 x 2.4 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 401367.



Fig. 85. Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653)
John Tradescant the Elder (c.1570-1638)
79 x 62 cm.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
1685 A no. 659, WA1898.8.



Fig. 86. Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653)
John Tradescant the Younger (1608-1662)
107 x 86 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1685 A f. 47, no. 71, WA1898.10.



Fig. 87. Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653)
John Tradescant the Younger and Roger Friend (Zythepsa of Lambeth)
107 x 132 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,
1685 A f. 50, no. 91, WA1898.11.



Fig. 88.
Attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607-1653)
Hester, the second wife of John Tradescant the Younger, and her stepson John
Signed [? 'De Critz'], dated 1645
136 x 111 cm.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, WA1898.14.

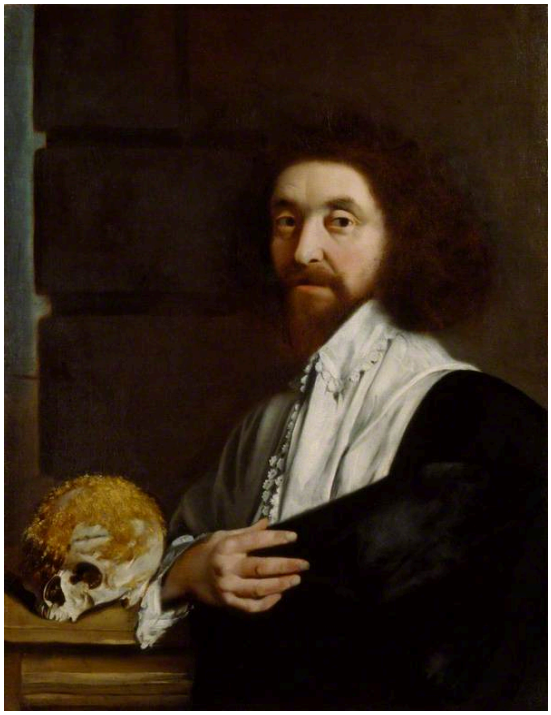


Fig. 89.
Attributed to Thomas De Critz (1607-1653)
John Tradescant the Younger, 1652
80 x 61 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 1089.



Fig. 90. Attributed to Emanuel De Critz (1608-1665)
Called *Sir John Maynard.* Possibly Dr. Brian Walton (c.1600-1661)
Faintly signed "???? de Critz" and dated 1657.
Dimensions unknown. Collection of Lord Tollemache at Helmingham Hall.





^Fig. 91.
Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534)
Allegory of Virtue, 1528-30
142 x 86 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 5926.

>Fig. 92.
Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534)
Allegory of Vice, 1528-30
142 x 86 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. 5927.



Fig. 93. Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641)
The Five Eldest Children of Charles I, signed and dated 1637
163.2 x 198.8 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 404405.



Fig. 94. Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)
'*The Great Peece': Charles I and Henrietta Maria with their two eldest children, Prince Charles and Princess Mary*, 1632
303.8 x 256.5 cm. Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405353.



Fig. 95. Emmanuel de Critz (1608-65) after Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680).
Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich, 1660
76 x 61 cm. From a private collection on display at Audley End House, Essex.