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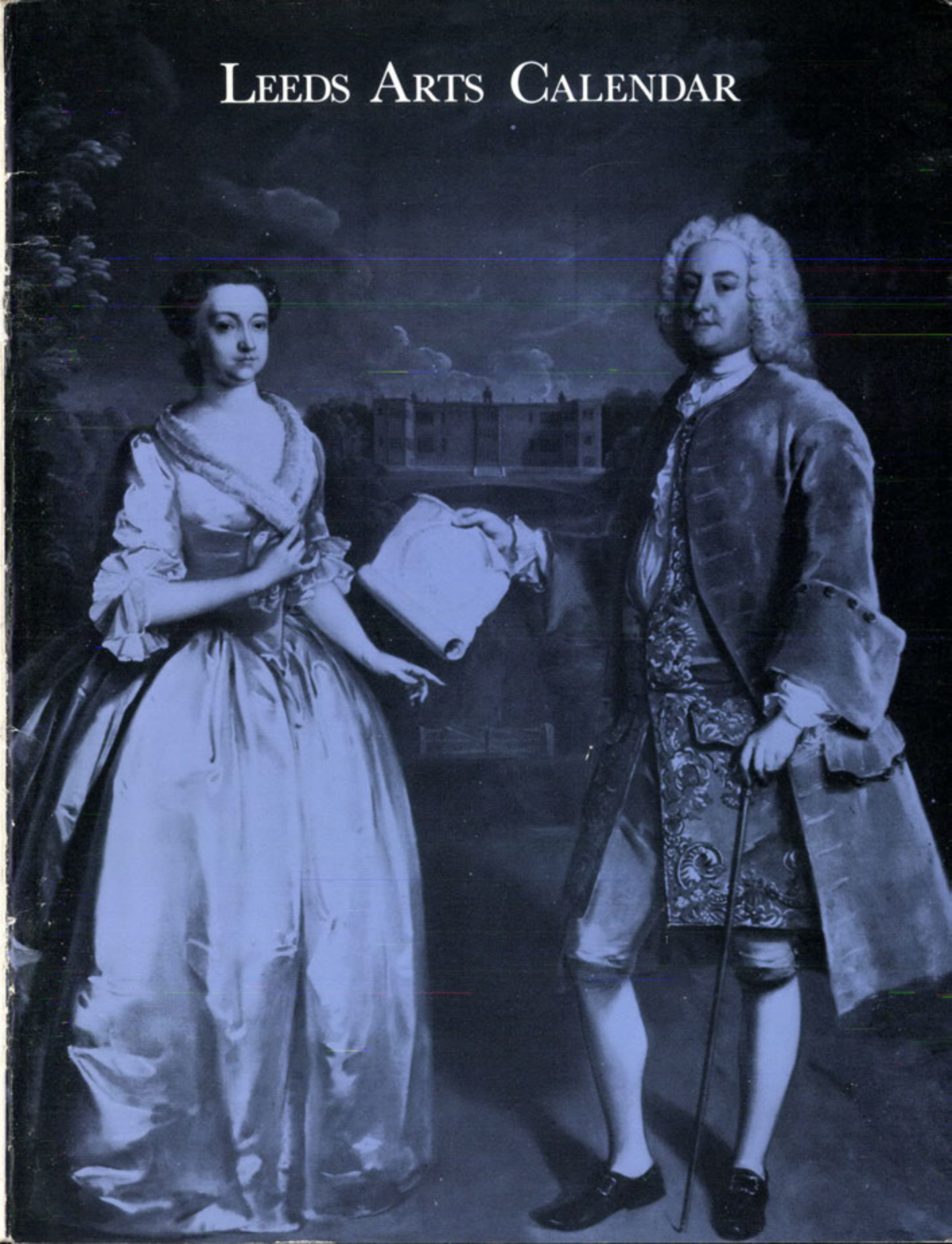

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Portrait of Henry, 7th Viscount Irwin and his wife standing in the park at Temple Newsam. Lord Irwin is shown holding a design for a plaster ceiling.

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Editorial

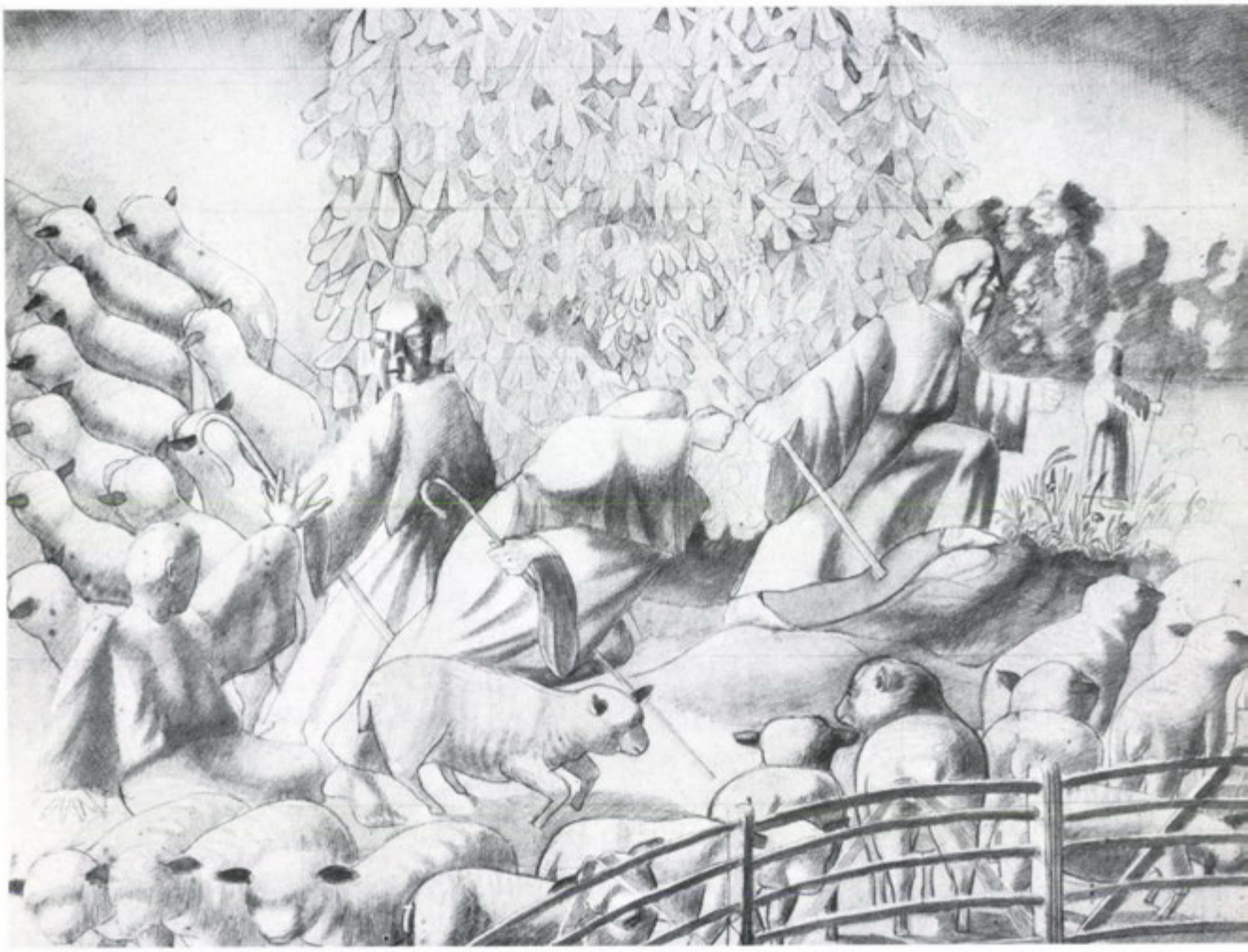
For months, in fact ever since the completion of the study precinct at Temple Newsam, known – one hopes in perpetuity – as Smithfield, was in sight it has not been fanciful to foresee there a frantic flutter of femininity fired by faithful philanthropy. The awesome prospect has been before us of frenzied female figures ferrying fine objects from temporary storage to the new and fully furnished accommodation. Indeed to plan these functions to full effect every effort has been made.

Since the Harrogate branch of NADFAS was founded in 1967 conversations have been in progress between its members and the body curatorial. That the common good – unlike the common market – would soon be agreed by both of the main parties – the amateurs and the professionals – was inevitable from the start. For some time groups of NADFAS members have attended seminars given at Temple Newsam by members of staff on various aspects of the decorative arts. Their keenness and application has always been impressive, as was their very evident desire to help in any way possible the practical work of the art museums. Such enthusiasm is stimulating to everybody. When in due course the formidable task of listing, labelling and placing the enormous reserve collection of ceramics in their new cases presented itself the problem was one of manpower. Problem is perhaps hardly the right word, for the solution was already at hand – womanpower. Temple Newsam owes an enormous debt to all those ladies who submitted themselves to a very demanding course of instruction on handling 'delicate' objects, how to list, label and lay on shelves, and then got down to the sheer grind of the job without losing their enthusiasm. The whole exercise has been a model of its kind and now the reserve ceramic collection is set up for 'students' of all sorts to examine and enjoy in a way which would be the pride of any museum. One of the important long term projects at Temple Newsam is now complete and that it was eventually accomplished with the aid of a group of supporters who asked nothing but the joy of working with beautiful things and the satisfaction of helping to make a fine collection more useful is something which should constantly be borne in mind in the future. Maybe one day NADFAS members will find themselves overworked – but at least they increase and multiply for there are now societies in Leeds and York as well as Harrogate.

Last December two drawings of great interest to Leeds came up in the same sale at Christies, one by Stanley Spencer, the other by his brother Gilbert. That by Stanley is one of the preliminary designs for the scheme sponsored by Sir Michael Sadler for decorating the Town Hall in Leeds. It was a splendid project and the brainchild of one of the most enlightened Vice-Chancellors whoever graced this, or for that matter any other university. That it came to nothing is perhaps not so sad as it may sound for the sketches for it – and Leeds now lacks only the two by H. S. Williamson – show little coherence and it is difficult to imagine, however good the motive which inspired them, that they would have made a satisfactory final product. Apart from our judgment of the scheme on the available evidence we are very much more critical in the 1970s of anything intended to embellish a building the magnificence of which we appreciate much more than did the Leeds citizens of 1920 vintage. The Sadler scheme is fully discussed in this issue of the Calendar by Alexander Robertson and it is hoped shortly to exhibit the designs in the Art Gallery. If Stanley's drawing (Fig. 1) is more of a document than an artistic entity that by Gilbert has a strong personality which, in some respects at least, rivals that

of the picture for which it is a preliminary study. The painting, called *The Shepherds Amazed* has long been in the Leeds collection. In spite of the idiosyncratic human form and composition conjured at once by the very name 'Spencer' there is a quietism about this picture emphasised by its sombre colour scheme as well as by its narrow tonal range. In this respect particularly it is very unlike the work of Stanley and the drawing now acquired, apart from its interest in representing an earlier stage in the process of making a picture, does much to illuminate Gilbert as an artist. That both drawings were bought by the L.A.C.F. underlines two very important characteristics of the fund. In the first place its catholicity, the 'works of art' bought through the years represent an extraordinarily wide range of taste and were acquired for a great variety of reasons – all of them good and many of them exemplary. This is something members can be very proud of – it has been touched upon in a number of Calendar editorials already. The fact that these drawings were auctioned when the corporation purchasing kitty was almost completely flat illustrates the second important characteristic –

1. *Gilbert Spencer, The Shepherds Amazed, pencil and brown wash 12½ × 17 in. Drawn in 1920; study for the oil painting in Leeds City Art Gallery.*
Purchased by the Leeds Art Collections Fund, 1973.



that of a fairy godmother. Once again the L.A.C.F. has been able and willing to make real and legal the ownership of two drawings which surely might be claimed as belonging to the Leeds collections in the sense that their rightful home is with other members of their families.

A fine and representative piece of silver by Omar Ramsden has been bought for Lotherton with money found on a 50/50 basis from the Gascoigne endowment fund and the government through the Victoria & Albert Museum grant-in-aid system. Taste in art changes – sometimes very rapidly when an object in question is less than a century old. Freedom caskets can be unbelievably ugly, but they can also be magnificent even if unlikable; either way it would have been hard to imagine a few years ago that a museum would actually want to buy one. This revulsion may have had something to do with the fact that so many of them, with extremely dubious artistic ancestry, still lurk in Town Hall vaults. It is well to remember, however, that some caskets were to the late 19th and early 20th centuries what race cups were to the late 18th and early 19th centuries – masterpieces of the silversmith's art. A commission to make one could present an opportunity to demonstrate the maker's prowess in all the skills of his craft including design. The specimen acquired for Leeds is pretty good. It was made in 1926 at the Fulham workshops which Ramsden retained after the fruitful partnership with Alwyn Carr had been dissolved just after the Great War. Ramsden also kept the highly skilled group of craftsmen which he and Carr had got together and, with them, his business flourished almost until the beginning of the second World War. He died in 1939. By 1926 the Ramsden style had crystallised; it has a unique quality but this was something which really belonged to the workshop as a whole. It is difficult to disentangle the artistic personality of the man under whose mark the products passed to posterity from those of the men who actually made them. The casket has great local interest too, the inscription on it speaks for itself 'I was wrought for Sir Berkeley Moynihan, Bart., K.C.M.G., C.B., by command of the Lord Mayor and Council of the City of Leeds in the year of our Lord MCMXXVI'.

The next milestone in the history of Lotherton is about to be set up. This is the creation of a gallery for the Savery collection of Chinese pottery and the Gascoigne oriental collection. It will be on the ground floor of the north, or domestic wing which projects at right angles to the main house past the east end of the chapel. A great deal of thought has gone into the display units and lighting systems with the result, we hope, that the objects will be seen under conditions worthy of them. Flexibility has been a major consideration as well: to show off the beauties of a neolithic pot, for example, it should be possible to show it in different lights and against a variety of backgrounds. The plans also include a kind of foyer in which visitors can sit and ruminate or wait for each other. In this area too, catalogues, booklets, postcards and transparencies as well as, all in good time, a great deal more country-house-type-merchandise will be on sale. The whole project is something of an experiment on a number of different levels – we hope to succeed in at least some of our objectives – time will tell.

Sometimes editorials end with staff news, goings and comings and activities which may be of interest to readers of the *Calendar*. There is nothing particular to report internally this time but to all concerned with Temple Newsam and Lotherton Hall the retirement of Mr. George Knight, the Director of Parks, represents much more than a departmental change of control. He was one of those men – whose increasing rarity should be the cause of the utmost public concern – who thought of administration as a tool whose only proper purpose is to smooth professional practice. Mr. Knight was the first public trustee of the Lotherton garden, his plans for restoring its Edwardian beauty will be fulfilled in nature's own good time and not according to any human schedule or forecast. His successor, Mr. John Dunstan, is another man with the right priorities. With good wishes for the future in his job can go a well founded complacency that Lotherton Hall and Temple Newsam will be well tended under his regime too.

The Long Gallery Ceiling at Temple Newsam

The Long Gallery is the most splendid of the Georgian rooms at Temple Newsam. It was remodelled by Henry Ingram, 7th Viscount Irwin (1691–1761), who succeeded to the title in 1736 and proceeded to refashion all the first floor rooms on the north and west sides between 1738 and 1747. His portrait by Philip Mercier hangs appropriately in the Long Gallery and shows him holding a plan of a plaster ceiling, standing with his wife in the gardens at Temple Newsam against a backcloth of the house (cover design). It was probably painted in 1741 or 1742 when Mercier did three other full length portraits still in the house.[1]

Work in the Long Gallery had begun by 1740 for the mason Robert Doe is recorded as working on the two magnificent chimneypieces between 3 March and 23 April.[2] They are taken from William Kent's design in Isaac Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones* of *c.* 1735.[3] However, their inset canvases by Antonio Joli are very unlikely to date before 1744, the year in which the artist came to England.

This article identifies the thirteen medallion portraits on the ceiling, from contemporary prints, as George I and George II, his Queen, children and children-in-law. It speculates on the role of Daniel Garrett as architect at Temple Newsam and concludes with an appendix of Thomas Perritt's well-known account for the plasterwork.

The splendid plaster ceiling, 108 × 29 feet, is the work of the York plasterer Thomas Perritt (1710–59) between 1743 and 1745 and of his apprentice Joseph Rose, senior (1723–80), the uncle of the more famous Joseph Rose, junior (1745–99), who did so much work for Robert Adam. Perritt worked extensively in Yorkshire and is one of the first native plasterers to establish a reputation for himself after the dominance of Italian stuccoists in the 1720s and 1730s. His father, Jonathan, was a plasterer and so was William Perritt, perhaps his elder brother. Perritt's bill, which is transcribed in Appendix 1, came to £198 1s 8d, accounting for nearly half of the total of £419 16s 1d that he was paid between 1741 and 1747 for his work in the house. At the end of the bill is a note of amounts received on account. If, as seems reasonable, the £100 paid on 4 August 1743 is for the Long Gallery, and no other room previously executed, then work must have begun much earlier in the year for him to have been paid for over half in August. A further £20 was paid on 21 January 1745 and the final account submitted on 19 March 1745. Perritt then moved on to the adjoining Long Passage in the West Wing of the house (Appendix 2). This was re-styled by Mrs. Meynell Ingram in 1894.[4] The account is readily understood except for the word *Goloss* which occurs three times, twice in conjunction with ovolo; it must mean *Guilloche*. Of interest is the payment for work in the Venetian Window, which stood in the centre of the north side but was replaced by a simpler window by Mrs. Meynell Ingram, when she altered the North Entrance to the house. It is illustrated in *The Magazine of Art* for 1893.

An examination of the account shows that by far the most expensive items were the '13 Medals at 10s 6d each', a fairly standard charge for work of this sort. As long ago as 1938 Philip Hendy, then newly appointed Director at Temple Newsam, had suggested that the medallions were George II and his family.[5] This idea, however, has not been generally accepted.[6] Recent research has shown that they do indeed represent George II and his family, but with the addition of his father George I.

In the centre of the ceiling is George I. Round the room are ranged his son,

1. *George I.*

2. *George I, Chereau after Kneller.* *Detail (reversed).*

daughter-in-law, and grandchildren, in facing pairs. Nearest the North West Room are George II's unmarried children, on the north (fireplace) side are two women, who must be Amelia and Caroline, the second and third daughters, who both died unmarried, and on the south (courtyard) side are William, Duke of Cumberland, the younger son, who died unmarried, and Louisa, the fifth daughter, who married Frederick V, King of Denmark, but not until December 1743, when the ceiling was well under way. In the middle, on the north side, is Frederick, Prince of Wales, the eldest son and, presumably, his wife Augusta, Princess of Wales, and on the south is George II and his wife Queen Caroline. At the Chapel end are the married daughters and their husbands; on the north is Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and his wife Mary, the fourth daughter, and on the south is William IV, Prince of Orange, and his wife Anne, Princess Royal, the eldest daughter.

In identifying the medallions, paintings and sculpture were considered as possible sources, but attention soon turned to coins, medals, prints and waxes, media of much wider circulation. Paintings would have given the plasterer the problem of preparing a profile view from the full or half face image, even had he access to a suitable collection of royal portraits. As to sculpture, busts just did not exist of most of the royal children. Coins showed only the King and in an untypical classical pose at that. Medals offered a wider selection of profiles of the King and a close source was found for the George II. Mezzotints, however, were found to be the answer for all but one of the children for they were not portrayed on medals except when they married. Most of these are the work of John Faber, junior (*c.* 1695–1756), whose father had come from The Hague, but one is by John Simon (1675–1751), a French Protestant refugee. Both artists are amongst the masters of the medium, which enjoyed great success in eighteenth century England. And lastly a Wax portrait by Gosset supplied a very close parallel for the Prince of Wales. Isaac Gosset the elder (1713–99), one of a famous family of wax modellers, did portrait waxes of eight of the members of the royal family depicted on the ceiling.[7] George Vertue, the engraver, mentions four of these in his notebooks in 1752.[8] He also tells us that Gosset 'sells each head in oval frames for one guinea apeece, the original model at 4 guin. each. Other persons have got these & from molds & casts them in plaster of paris and are sold all over the town and Country – at a small price'. It is apparent then, that although they may not have survived in any number, these waxes and the copies after them were widely circulated in their day.

The problem in identifying the medallions is that facial features are often distorted in the transition from the fine

3. *Amelia.*

5. *Amelia,*
Faber after Hysing. *Detail.*

4. *Caroline.*

6. *Caroline,*
Faber after Hysing. *Detail.*

7.
William
Augustus.

8.
William
Augustus, by Faber. *Detail.*

9. *Louisa.*

10. *Louisa,*
Faber after Pond. *Detail.*

11. *Frederick*
Louis, Prince of Wales.

12. *Frederick*
Louis, wax by Gossett. *Detail (reversed).*

13. *Augusta,*
Princess of Wales.

14. *Augusta,*
Faber after Philips. *Detail.*

15. *George II.*

16. *George II, medal by Croker.*

17. *Queen Caroline.*

18. *Queen Caroline, Faber after Highmore.*

Detail.

19. *Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.*

20. *Frederick II, Simon after Rusca.*

Detail.

process of mezzotint engraving to the coarser medium of plastering. This is further accentuated in instances where no profile portrait was available so that a full-face or half-face portrait would have had to be twisted round. Identification is necessarily a matter of selecting the small features of dress and jewellery which remain more readily recognisable. Here follows an analysis of possible sources and analogies for each medallion, in the same order as they are listed above.

George I (1660–1727) is difficult. While he resembles a number of prints and medals, none of these are very close in detail. But the identification seems likely, since he is the only person who makes sense situated in the middle of a ceiling of George II and his family. Reproduced here is Jacques Chereau's engraving after Kneller's well-known profile portrait of 1715. Many of the details differ but some variant of this image may have been the source for the medallion.[9]

Amelia (1711–86) and Caroline (1713–57), sisters close in age and of similar appearance, are not easy to tell apart. Only three different images of them when grown up, none in profile, were published in prints before the date of the ceiling. They were based on portraits by Amiconi, Mercier and Hysing, of which the last two have some points of resemblance to the medallions. The Hysing's are reproduced here in John Faber's mezzotints,[10] but no claim is made as to the exact source.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, K.G. (1721–65) died unmarried. He fought with his father at the Battle of Dettingen in 1743, the year the ceiling was begun, but he was only 22 then, and few prints had been made, none the same as the plaster medallion. Reproduced is a detail of Faber's mezzotint[11] of him as a young man, not at all close to the medallion.

Louisa (1724–51), the youngest daughter, married Frederick, King of Denmark, on 11 December 1743, just too late for him to make an appearance on the ceiling. It is Faber's mezzotint[12] after Arthur Pond which offers the closest analogy. This must date to the early 1740s, for only the second state refers to her as consort to Frederick V. It shows her full face with the earring and the same hairstyle with flowers and ringlets at the back, but without a necklace and very differently dressed.

Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (1705–51), was on bad terms with his father, who looks at him diagonally across the ceiling. The analogies to the wax portrait by Isaac Gosset in the Schreiber Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum[13] and to the Battersea enamel of about 1753–56, also in the Schreiber Collection,[14] have long been realised. Much closer still, however, is another wax portrait by Gossett of which there are examples at Windsor Castle and in the Bate Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum.[15] It is in left profile and thus shows the star of the Garter, which was always worn on the left side. For purposes of comparison it has been reproduced in reverse.

Augusta, Princess of Wales (1719–72), whom Frederick married in 1736, was the youngest daughter of Frederick II, Duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg. Like her husband, she is the subject of a wax in the Schreiber collection,[16] but this is not close to the medallion. It is confusing that she is shown in a very similar style to Princesses Amelia and Caroline. The reason for assuming that she is in fact Augusta, is that she faces her husband the Prince of Wales. A mezzotint by Faber,[17] after Charles Philips, which has some resemblance to Augusta (and to Amelia and Caroline), is reproduced here.

George II (1683–1760), does not relate to any mezzotint, but rather to a medal of the Royal Family by John Croker, which was struck in 1732 for distribution to foreign princes and to others whom the King wished to honour.[18] The other side of the medal shows his children in profile, but different from the ceiling.

Wilhelmina Charlotte Caroline (1682–1737), daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, and wife of George II, was known as Caroline. She appears opposite her husband on the same medal of the Royal Family, but while the medallion derives the classical costume from the medal, the jewellery and the hairstyle, most notably the fall of the hair, come from the mezzotint by Faber after

21. *Mary.*

22. *Mary,*
Faber after Pond. *Detail.*

23.
William IV,
Prince of Orange.

24.
William IV,
Faber after P. Van Dyck. *Detail (reversed).*

25. *Anne.*

26. *Anne,*
Faber after Mercier. *Detail (reversed)*

Joseph Highmore.[19] Caroline had been dead five years by the time the ceiling was begun.

Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (1720–85), is based closely on the mezzotint by John Simon after Carlo Rusca.[20] Although the medallion turns the print into profile, the curly hair and all the details of straps and studs remain the same.

Mary (1723–72), the fourth daughter, who married Frederick II in 1740, is based on the mezzotint by Faber, after Arthur Pond.[21] Although the print shows her full face and with a slightly different hairstyle, its use as a source is confirmed by such details as the bouquet in her breast, the pearls and feathers in her hair, and the lie of the lace edging of her dress.

William Charles Henry Frisco, that is, William IV, Prince of Orange (1711–51), comes from the mezzotint by Faber after Philip Van Dyck,[22] engraved in 1734 on the occasion of his marriage to Anne, Princess Royal. The mezzotint is in profile to the left, and so with the garter star visible. For purposes of comparison it has been printed in reverse. The medallion also resembles many contemporary medals.

Anne, Princess Royal (1709–59), the eldest daughter, is from a mezzotint by Faber after Philip Mercier, again engraved in 1734.[23] Close comparisons are the hairstyle, the jewellery and the lace edging on her dress, though her nose has been somewhat reduced in the medallion. The mezzotint is in profile to the right and has been reversed in the illustration.

Other instances of royal portraits used as decorative features do occur at this time: of Anne, Princess Royal and her husband William IV, Prince of Orange, on the wall of the Drawing room at Hall Place, Maidenhead, probably by an Italian plasterer about 1735 and based on Faber's mezzotints after Philip Van Dyck;[24] of Augusta, Princess of Wales on the fireplace in the Sterne Room in Greys Court, York;[25] and of Frederick, Prince of Wales on the fireplace, possibly imaginary, in Francis Hayman's painting of 1740 of the Family of Jonathan Tyers.[26] But no portrait medallions identical to the Long Gallery have been traced, and it would seem that they were made specifically for Henry Ingram. Portrait medallions often of classical figures were very common features of eighteenth century plasterwork. Ceiling medallions were less common than those on walls and are seldom given the prominence of the Temple Newsam set, which are particularly large and have considerable detail cut in quite deeply. Perritt's charge of 10s 6d each seems fair when compared to other work of the period.

There remain several unanswered questions. Why did Ingram commission this unique assembly of royal portraits? He had been MP for Horsham from 1721 to 1736; he was a staunch Whig and as such supported the King, but other men were of the same belief, yet did not feel obliged to express their political sympathies on their ceilings.

Who designed the ceiling? Perhaps Daniel Garrett (active 1736–72), a minor figure in Lord Burlington's circle. He succeeded Henry Flitcroft as Burlington's personal clerk of the works and draughtsman. It was he who supplied the design for the plasterwork of the Long Passage (Appendix 2), and probably he was responsible for the other rooms as well, although there are no documents to support this view. Perhaps the plan Henry Ingram holds in his portrait is an unexecuted design of Garrett's.[27] He may also have designed the contemporary Stables for there is some similarity between the pedimented centre on the south side with three arches enframing windows, and his South Front at Fenham Hall, Newcastle, where he is documented as working in 1748.[28] A painting in the Temple Newsam collection attributed to Mercier may show Garrett's whole scheme with a balancing Riding School to the south of the Stables and connecting walls to the house.

Garrett did a lot of work in Yorkshire and the North of England and it may have been one of his other Yorkshire patrons who recommended him to the Ingrams. Sir Thomas Robinson the amateur architect was related by marriage to the Ingrams. He was an enthusiastic supporter of Garrett, whom he recommended in December 1736 to his father-in-law, Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle, for

the building of the steps of the Mausoleum at Castle Howard, and in March 1737 to Lord Derby.[29] What more reasonable than that he should also recommend him to Henry Ingram. He had married the eldest daughter of the Earl while Rich Ingram, the 5th Viscount (d.1721), had married Anne the third daughter. Anne long survived her husband and could possibly be the Lady Irwin for whom Hawksmoor in 1727 sent designs to Castle Howard for a Chimney Piece at Temple Newsam.[30] In November 1736 Robinson writes to the Earl that 'Lady Irwin also gave me an acc't of the progressive steps of your works. . . .'[29] He may refer to Anne again, now a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales, or alternatively, to the wife of Henry Ingram.

Perhaps we can postulate two hands at work in the design of the ceiling – the architect and the plasterer. The ceiling is formed of five main panels, an oval, two rectangles and two octagons, along the middle, and twelve portrait medallions around the outside, all linked together by lesser mouldings forming subsidiary rectangular panels. It is suggested that this is the architect's conception, while the delightful rococo decoration within the five main panels is that of the plasterer. Whatever the case the disposition of the medallions has been carefully thought out to embrace all the royal family. Men face right and women all but one left, which accords with recent research on the social distinctions that a portraitist often conveys by making the social superior face right.[31] At one end are the unmarried children, in the middle the past, the present and the expected future king, and at the other end the married children. The whole scheme is beautifully conceived and executed and is one of the finest large ceilings of the eighteenth century.

JACOB SIMON

3	4	11		13	19	21
			1			
9	7	17		15	25	23

Diagram correlating the plates by number to the position of each portrait medallion on the ceiling.

1. *Leeds Arts Calendar*, No. 39, 1958, pp. 9–20.
2. *ibid*, p. 21.
3. Geoffrey Beard, *Georgian Craftsmen and their Work*, 1966, p. 132.
4. *Leeds Arts Calendar*, No. 65, 1969, p. 7.
5. *Pictures and Furniture*, p. 26, catalogue of inaugural exhibition at Temple Newsam, 1938; *Country Life*, LXXXIII, 28 May 1938, p. 547.
6. *Leeds Arts Calendar*, No. 41, 1958, p. 9; Beard, *op. cit*, p. 59.
7. E. J. Pyke, *A Biographical Dictionary of Wax Modellers*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 56–9.
8. Vertue notebooks Vol. III, p. 160, *Walpole Society*, vol. XXII, 1933–34.
9. Freeman O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 6 vols., 1908–25. Vol. II, p. 293, No. 12; henceforth referred to as *B.P.*
10. *B.P.*, I, p. 42, No. 3, p. 384, No. 4.
11. *ibid*. IV, p. 493, No. 2.
12. *ibid*. III, p. 92, No. 1.
13. D. R. Reilly, *Portrait Waxes*, 1953, p. 115, pl. 46.
14. *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, January 1967, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 2.
15. R. Reilly and G. Savage, *Wedgwood: the Portrait Medallions*, 1973, p. 152, shows the Wedgwood medallion taken from it.
16. Reilly, *op. cit*., p. 115, No. 45.
17. *B.P.* I, p. 90, No. 8.
18. Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. III, British Museum, 1911, pl. CLI, No. 5.
19. *B.P.* I, p. 347, No. 7.
20. British Museum, Cheylesmore Collection, CS 81, I, No. 4278.
21. *B.P.* III, p. 200, No. 1.
22. British Museum, Cheylesmore Collection, CS 271, I, No. 1783.
23. *B.P.* I, p. 61, No. 14.
24. *Country Life*, LXXXIII, 12 March 1938, p. 274.
25. *ibid*. L, 24 September 1921, p. 382.
26. John E. Ruch, 'A Hayman Portrait of Jonathan Tyer's Family', *Burlington Magazine* CXII, August 1970, p. 495.
27. It resembles the ceiling of 53 Micklegate, York (Beard, *op. cit*., p. 71) but this rather coarse ceiling is later, probably about 1755. (Royal Commission on Historic Monuments, *City of York*, vol. III, 1972, p. 76).
28. *Country Life*, CLV, 31 January, 1973.
29. G. F. Webb, 'The Letters and Designs of Nicholas Hawksmoor relating to the building of the Mausoleum at Castle Howard', *Walpole Society*, XIX, 1930–31, pp. 160–1.
30. *Leeds Arts Calendar*, No. 42, 1959, p. 23.
31. N. Humphrey and C. McManus, 'Status and the left cheek', *New Scientist*, Vol. 59, No. 860, 23 August 1973, pp. 437–9.

I am grateful for the valuable assistance of Terry Friedman, Robin Gibson, Christopher Gilbert and, above all, of my wife Rosalind.

Appendix I
Thomas Perritt's account for the Long Gallery Ceiling (Leeds City Archives, TN/EA 12/10)

Plasterer's Work done at Temple Newsam for the R^{t} Hon^{be} Henry Lord Viscount Irwin
19 March 1744/5 to Tho: Perritt

y^{ds} Feet I^{n} In the Gallery		£ s d
573..0 of Plain Ionick Cornice	at 4^{d} p f^{t}	9..11..—
328..0 of Frize plain	at 4^{d}	5.. 9.. 4
218..6 of Architrave plain	at 4^{d}	3..12..10
1029..4 of Enrich'd Moulding in the Cornice at 1$^{d}\frac{1}{2}$ p f^{t}		6.. 8.. 8
294 Modilion's, pannel's & flowers at 6^{d} each		7.. 7..—
328..0 of Enrich'd Frize at 2^{s} p f^{t}		32..16..—
524..8 of Enrich'd Moulding in the Architrave at 1$^{d}\frac{1}{2}$ p f^{t}		3.. 5.. 7
294$\frac{3}{4}$—0 of Plain Cieling at 5^{d} p y^{d}		6.. 2.. 9
64..9 of Plain Moul^{g} Circular to the Oval frame at 6^{d} p f^{t}		1..12.. 4
51..0 of Enrich'd Goloss & Ovelo to d^{o} at 1^{s} p f^{t}		2..11..—
23..9 of plain Moul^{g} in the three small Circles at 6^{d} p f^{t}		—..11..10
28..6 of Loril leaves to d^{o} Circular at 6^{d} p f^{t}		—..14.. 3
104..6 of plain Moul^{g} in the two long pannel's at 4^{d} p f^{t}		1..14..10
76..— of Enrich'd Frett & Ovelo to d^{o} at 9^{d} p f^{t}		2..17..—
113..8 of plain Moul^{g} in the Octagon's at 4^{d} p f^{t}		1..17..10
88—0 of Enrich'd Goloss & Ovelo to d^{o} at 9^{d} p f^{t}		3.. 6..—
1080— of Astragal plain & Enrich'd at 4^{d} p f^{t}		18.. 0..—
8 Small Flowers at 1^{s}:6^{d} each		0..12..
13 Medals at 10^{s}:6^{d} each		6..16..
106..1 of Ornam^{t} in the Oval at 2^{s} p f^{t}		10..12.. 2
70..6 of D^{o} in the two long pannel's at 2^{s}		7.. 1..—
68..6 D^{o} in the Spandrils at 2^{s}		6..17..—
162—0 D^{o} in the Octagon's at 2^{s}		16.. 4..—
In the Windows		
61..3 of Plain Moulding at 4^{d} p f^{t}		1.. 0.. 4
23..2 of Enrich'd Goloss at 7^{d} p f^{t}		0..13.. 6
15$\frac{2}{3}$ — — of Plain Cieling at 5^{d} p y^{d}		0.. 6.. 6
140..6 of Enrich'd Oge at 1$^{d}\frac{1}{2}$ p f^{t}		0..17.. 7
58..0 of Ornam^{ts} in the Cielings at 2^{s} p f^{t}		5..16..—
4 Flower's 1f^{t}:11^{n} Diameter at 3^{s} each		0..12..—
24..8 of Festoon's to the Sides at 2^{s} p f^{t}		2.. 9.. 4
345..8 of Plain Moulding in the Mullion's at 4^{d} p f^{t}		5..15.. 2
106..8 of Plain Raised pannels at 2^{d} p f^{t}		0..17.. 9
		174.. 9.. 1
More in the Window's		
113..4 of Enrich'd Ovelo at 1$^{d}\frac{1}{2}$ p f^{t}		0..14.. 2
	Carried Over	175.. 3.. 3

	In the Venetion Window/Brought over	175.. 3.. 3
y^{ds} Feet I^{n}		
107..6	of Enrich'd Ovelo at 1$^{d}\frac{1}{2}$ p f^{t}	0..13.. 5
	2 Flower's 1 f^{t}: 2 I^{n} Diameter at 3^{s} each	0.. 6..—
	5 Flower's 1 : 1 Diameter at 3^{s} each	0..15..—
	2 Spandril Flower's at 2^{s} each	0.. 4..—
11..0	of Festoon at 2^{s} p f^{t}	1.. 2..—
55..0	of Plain Raised pannel at 2^{d} p f^{t}	0.. 9.. 2
44..0	D^{o} Circular & Spandrils at 3^{d} p f^{t}	0..11..—
	In the Closet	
32...0	0 of Plain Work at 4^{d} p y^{d}	0..10.. 8
141..6	of Plain Mullion at 2^{d} p f^{t}	1.. 3.. 7
	In the Vestibule	
51$\frac{1}{2}$	0..0 of Plain Cieling at 5^{d} p y^{d}	1.. 1.. 5
109..0	of Plain Cornice in finishing at 6^{d} p f^{t}	2..14.. 6
93..4	of Dentle at 2^{d} p f^{t}	0..15.. 6
113$\frac{3}{4}$	0..— of Sides done with finishing at 7^{d} p y^{d}	3.. 6.. 3
	Ornam^{ts} & Plain Work over the Library Chimney piece	1..15..—
	Day's Bill	7..10..11
		198.. 1.. 8

		£	s
4 August 1743	Rec^{d}	100	0
21 Jan^{ry} 1744/5	Rec^{d}	20	0
		£120	0

Rec^{d}

Appendix II
Thomas Perritt's agreement to plaster the Long Passage (Leeds City Archives, TN/EA 12/10).

The Long Passage at Temple Newsam all to be Groyn'd, Except the Parts Opposite the three great Windows. those three parts, and the Sofeat of ye Windows to have an Enrichd Ovelo, allso an Enrich'd Ovelo at top of the Cove, a Plain Cornice and Plain Impost, Eighteen Mask's, the Impost and Wall's below to be done in finishing, the other Work all White, the Pillasters to be Wood, and all to be finished According to M^{r} Garretts design the Whole Expence of the Workmanship only for the Plastering to be Twenty Seven Pounds. 25 March 1745 T:P.

The Leeds Town Hall Decoration Scheme

The story of the ill-fated scheme to decorate the interior of the Victoria Hall in the Town Hall, Leeds has been told several times, but only in passing in this journal.[1] Sir Michael Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University (1911–23) was an enlightened and enthusiastic patron of the Arts, and after the First World War he had been impressed by the designs executed for the Imperial War Museum in London, and so together with William Rothenstein he conceived the idea of commissioning 'murals' to decorate the walls of the interior of Leeds Town Hall. Rothenstein had held the chair of Civic Art in Sheffield from 1917 and both men were anxious to inaugurate a project which would bring art to a large number of people in the West Riding. In February 1920, therefore, Sir Michael proposed the idea to the City Council of commissioning designs from young artists to form the basis of a decorative scheme for Leeds Town Hall. If the plan were accepted, Sadler would ask local interests and individuals to pay for one panel each. The final decorations would be executed on canvas and fixed to the walls. In order to convince the City Fathers that this was a desirable scheme, Ford Madox-Brown's decorations for Manchester Town Hall were mentioned as a worthy forerunner for civic consideration. Since the plan would not cost the rate-payers a penny, it was accepted. As a safeguard William Rothenstein was to choose the artists and a distinguished panel of London gallery directors, Sir Charles Holmes of the National Gallery, Mr. D. S. MacColl of the Wallace Collection and Mr. Charles Aitken of the Tate were to judge the designs as to their merit and general harmony. They would then be submitted to the City Council.

Seven artists were soon selected: Stanley Spencer, John and Paul Nash, Percy Jowett, Albert Rutherston, Edward Wadsworth and Jacob Kramer. Each artist was to receive 20 guineas plus expenses. The designs were to remain the property of Sir Michael Sadler, but the copyright was to remain with the artists unless the designs were accepted when presumably they would have belonged to the City. On 22 April the artists visited the Town Hall and chose the spaces they thought would be suitable for their ideas.[2]

When the scheme was announced in the press, the reaction, at least from many local and more traditionally trained artists was distinctly unwelcoming.[3] In spite of the adverse comments, however, all proceeded smoothly until Rothenstein received the Stanley Spencer drawing which he found he could not accept. Of this drawing (Fig. 1) he later wrote that the design 'though admirable in itself was ill-adapted to the others'. The programme laid down for the designs was the theme of Leeds itself, its people and industries. Spencer's drawing is certainly full of lively activity, representing a busy scene in a Leeds street of back to back houses, presumably on a Monday with the washing hanging across the road and front steps being cleaned. It is completely personal and wonderfully composed, but it was

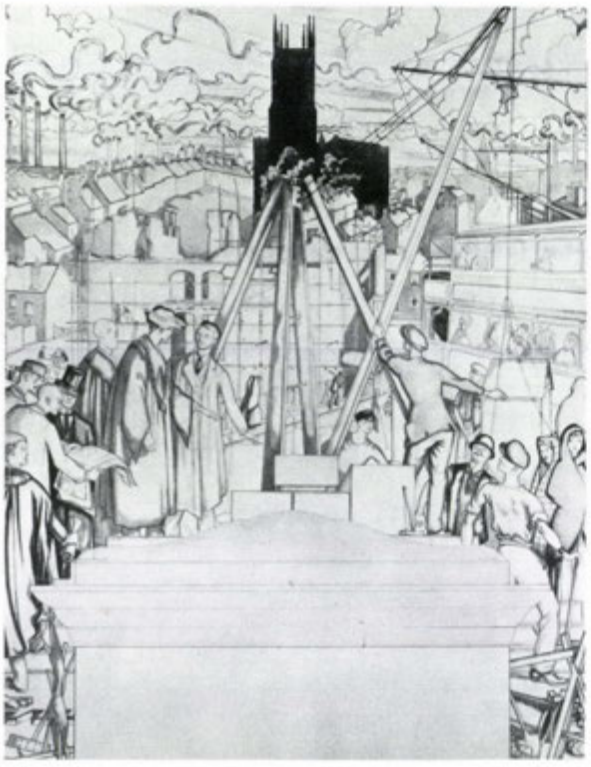
considered to be out of step with the other designs. (Later the Spencer drawing formed the basis for a small oil painting, formerly in the Sadler collection.) It may be that it was at this stage that Harold Williamson was asked to submit designs, but his drawings, discussed later, have since disappeared.[5]

The project progressed throughout 1921 and Sadler went ahead with plans for the designs to be reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*. By October, when the drawings were complete, Sadler felt unhappy about them and the article did not materialise. The fact that Sir Michael was not satisfied with the designs emerged in a letter to Councillor Hawkesworth of the Art Gallery and Property Committee on the 12 November, which concluded, 'though I appreciate the very great excellence of the individual designs I regard them as too discordant in character to be suitable for juxtaposition on the walls of the Town Hall and I cannot, therefore, recommend them to you for this purpose'. Two days later the drawings were reproduced in the Leeds press, with comment and opinion.

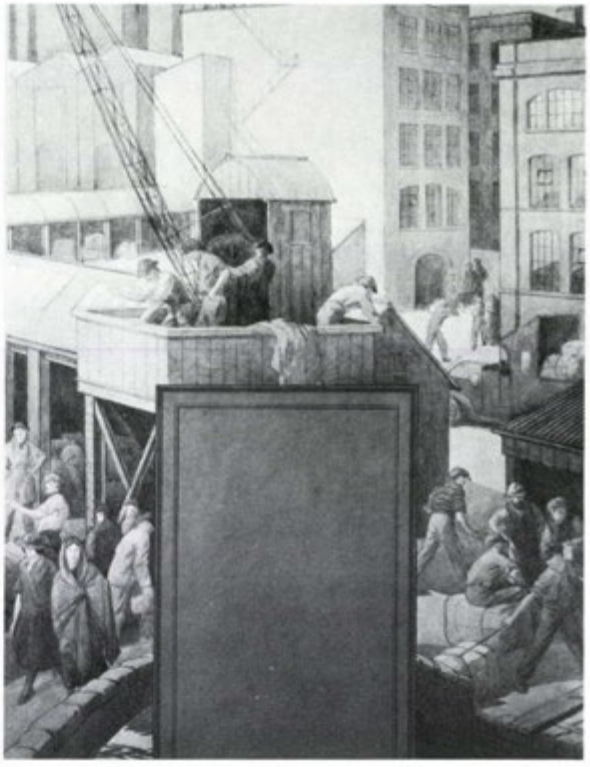
1. *Stanley Spencer, Study for the Leeds decoration.*

The *Yorkshire Post* divided them into three groups: Rutherston's *Building* (Fig. 2) and Jowett's *Woollen Mills* (Fig. 3) were considered to show clean drawing and to have the charm of old architectural prints; Paul Nash's *The Canal* (Fig. 9) and John Nash's *Rhubarb and Coal* (Fig. 7) were seen as transitional, more vigorous and less neat in handling, to the second main group, J. Nash's *Millworkers' Landscape* (Fig. 8) which 'sought for ugliness of form at the expense of truth' and P. Nash's *The Quarry* (Fig. 6) which was described as '"Blake-like", the most harmonious and much the best drawing.' Kramer's *Mining* (Fig. 4) and Wadsworth's *Leeds* (Fig. 5) were 'busy and unrestful'. Kramer's drawing showed an interest in pattern, while Wadsworth was accused of depicting Leeds being blown to pieces by a heavy gun or possibly a Bessemer converter. The newspaper agreed that the designs were 'too discordant'.[4]

Two comments in the press are worth mentioning here: one, from an artist, the other from the *Yorkshire Post's* London correspondent. The artist, in a letter to the *Yorkshire Post* on 11 November 1921, welcomed the collapse of the scheme, before it had gone too far. He attacked the selection procedure and the type of artist invited to take part. Instead he put forward a plea for artists whose work was 'sound, wholesome and based on a national art tradition'. This letter should be read in full as it raises the whole issue of traditional versus new art which the writer tended to regard as passing whims of fashion. The letter ended by urging Yorkshire people to consider the beauties of their countryside

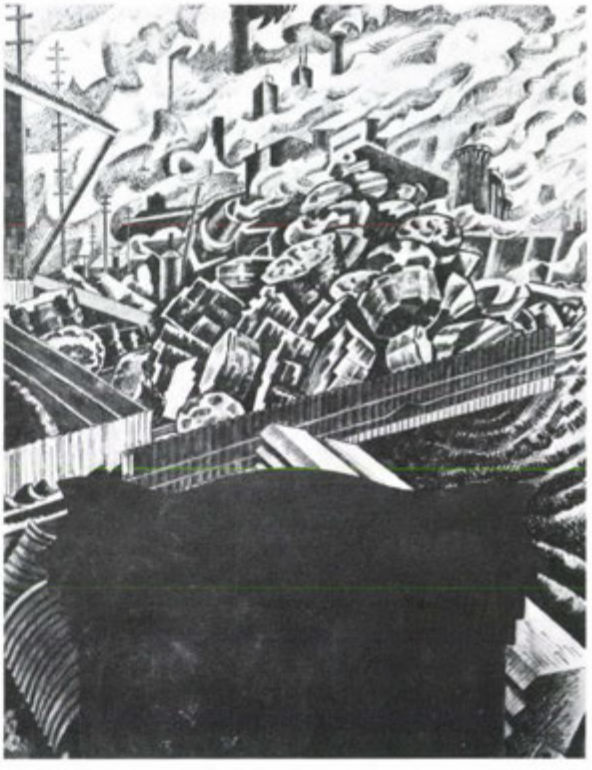


2. *Albert Rutherston, Building.*



3. *Percy Jowett, Woollen Mills.*

4. *Jacob Kramer, Mining.*



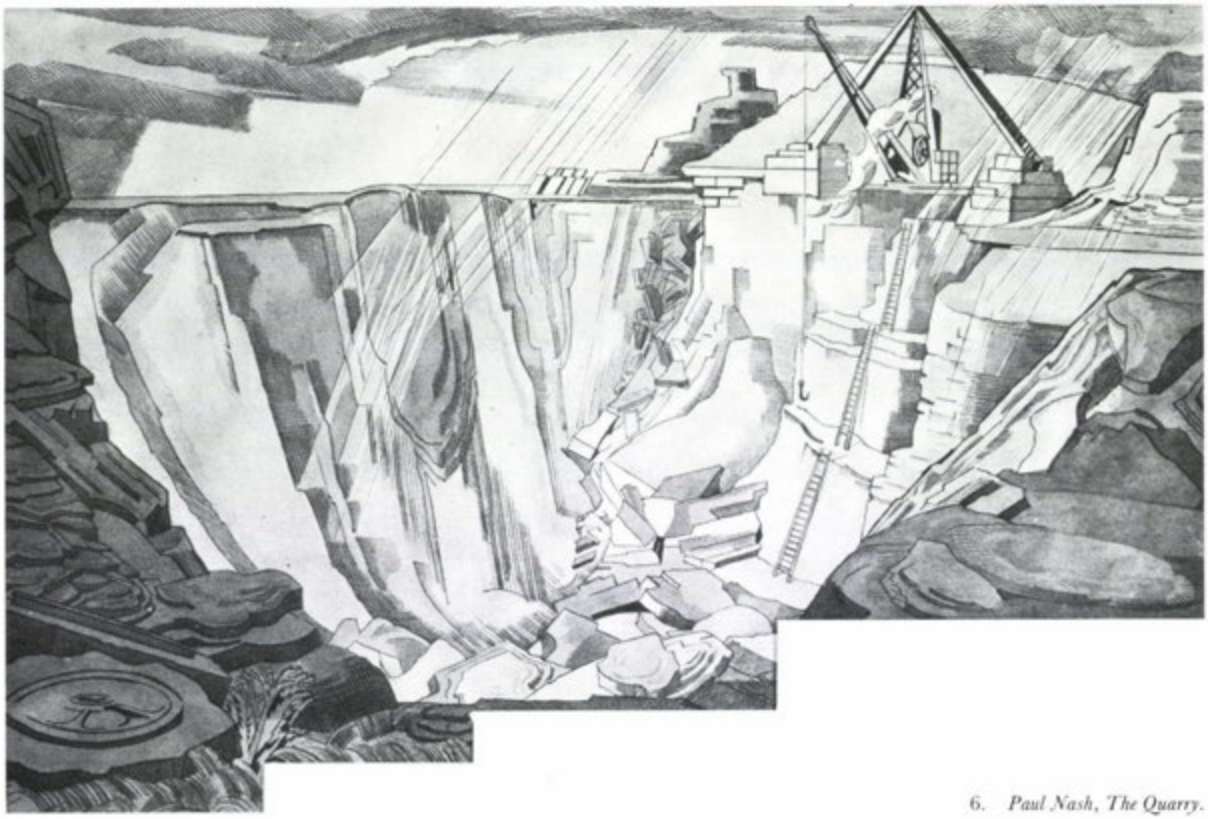
5. *Edward Wadsworth, Slag Heaps.*

as an inspiration to clean and wholesome work which will 'refresh and help to raise us above the daily cares and troubles of life, the true function of true art'.

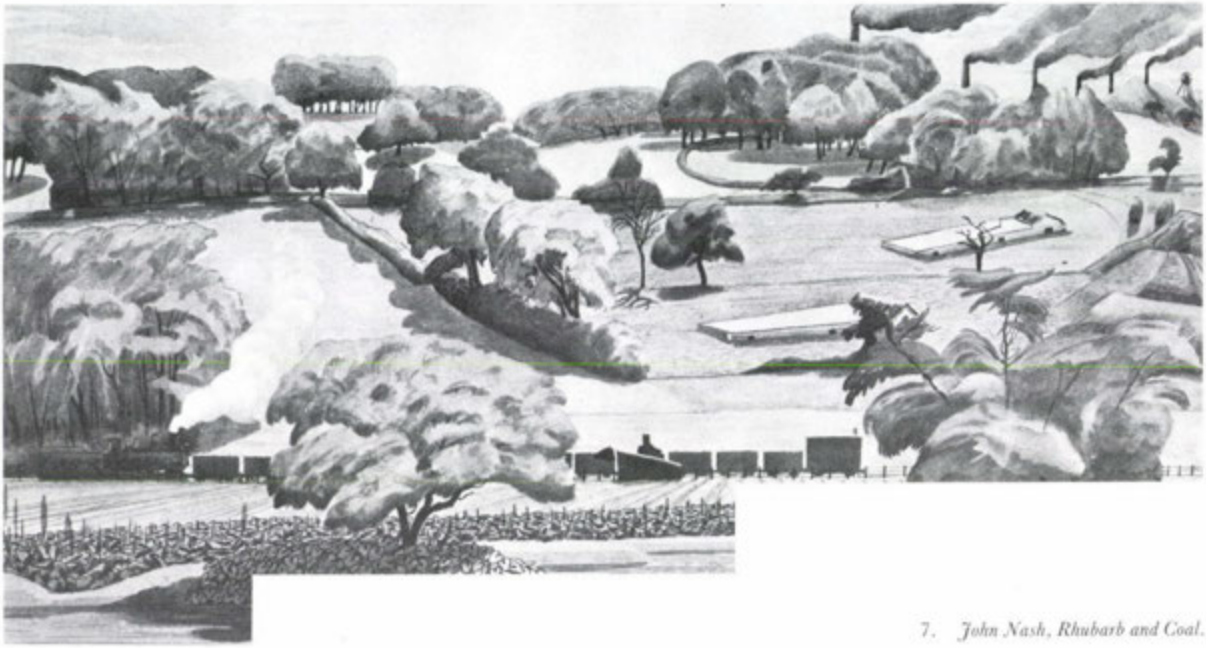
The *Yorkshire Post* correspondent on November 30 1921 was more objective. He had been able to see the drawings in London and had to recount that they were probably too 'advanced' for popular taste.[5] He saw the impossibility of using them for the projected scheme but went on . . . 'The artists are pioneers . . . engaged in breaking down conventions, and in establishing a new order. Their work is full of vitality, it is stimulating and courageous. . . .' But he had to admit that 'the artists had too much freedom. They should have been called upon to work to a definite scheme'.

When Sir Michael publicly condemned the designs as a decorative whole, even before the drawings themselves had been seen in Leeds and before Rothenstein and the London directors had given their advice to the Town Council, he brought upon himself a stream of letters and accusations. The letters and replies can be read in full in the press.[6] The main developments are here summarised briefly. Two of the artists, Rutherston and Wadsworth wrote to the press to say that five designs had been accepted by Rothenstein and three rejected, and that it was for the artists concerned to bring their work into harmony. They felt that publication of the designs and Sir Michael's statement had prevented this second stage from taking place. To this letter the Vice-Chancellor replied that he knew nothing about any designs being 'accepted' and that anyway what he had said was only a recommendation and that it was up to the City to accept or reject the designs. Then 'A.J.S.' (? A. J. Sanders) joined in the argument and in a letter to the *Yorkshire Post* blamed the artists for submitting incomplete designs, as they ought to have known that their work was to be judged on the merit of their cartoons and not on half-developed schemes. Rutherston and Wadsworth wrote again and suggested that Sir Michael had perhaps been left in the dark by Rothenstein about the accepted designs. Moreover they made it quite clear that there was nothing in the original agreement between Sir Michael and the artists about the Vice-Chancellor taking upon himself a criticism of the designs. They were to have been approved by Rothenstein and the London Gallery directors' Committee and then submitted by Sadler to the Town Council. In an interview published by the *Yorkshire Evening News*, Sir Michael made it quite clear that in his original agreement it was stated that the designs were to be harmonious. When he finally saw them, he had told Rothenstein that he found them to be discordant. He had also told the artists this and the London directors as well. No-one objected. He had then informed the Town Clerk of Leeds and the committee chairman, so that the City should not assume his tacit approval and hold him to the promise to collect funds for the execution of the designs. In spite of all this, he told the newspaper, it was still up to the City. It later appeared, however, that the condition about the designs being harmonious had only been conveyed to *the City* in the plan as first put forward in February 1920. The artists had not been told about it in the March agreement of that year. Rothenstein knew about the so-called harmony condition, and as he had agreed to undertake all negotiations with the artists over the designs he should have told them this.[7]

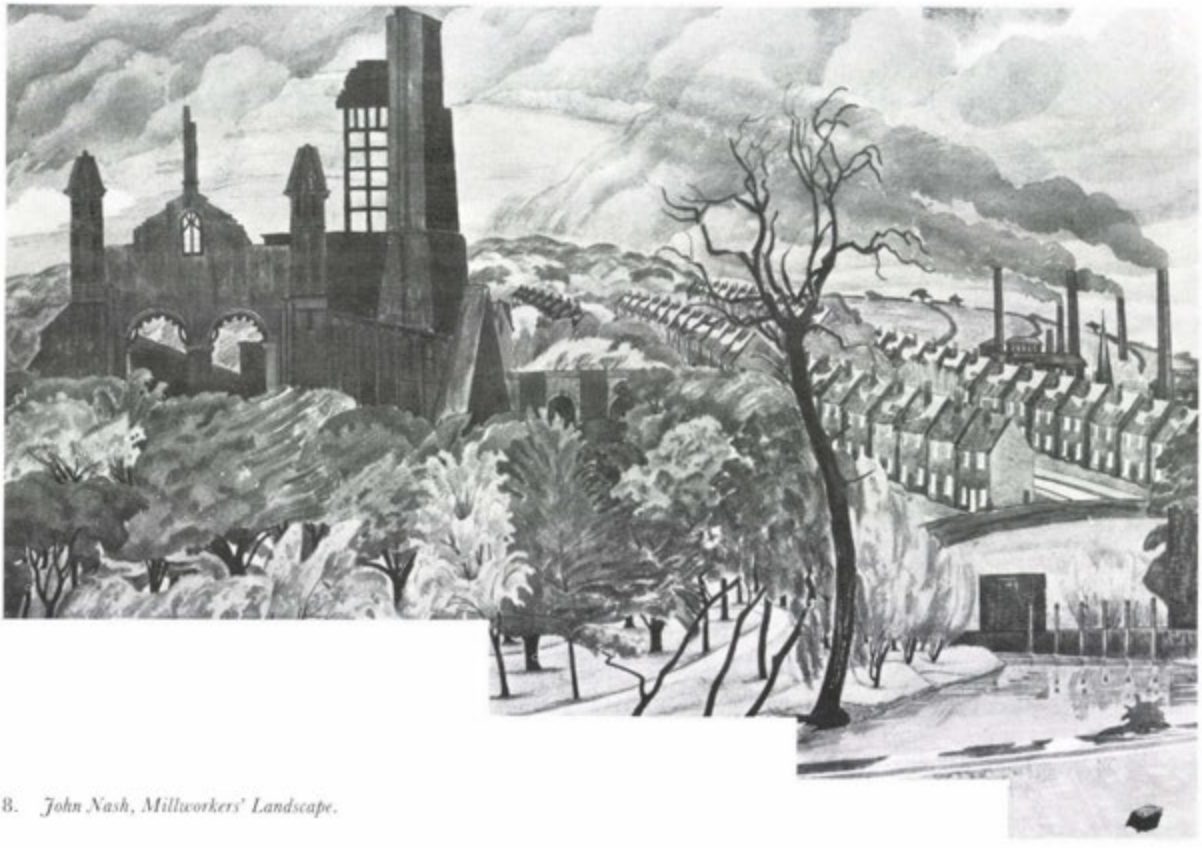
On 6 December 1921 a letter reached the Council from Rothenstein and the London directors giving their judgment on the designs. In the letter they say that the times do not seem ripe for expenditure of such money as would be needed. They mention the 'promise' shown by the artists, but say that much revision is needed if a decorative whole is to be achieved. However, they hope that such a project will go ahead soon, and that this will help to revive the art of mural decoration. The following day Alderman Willey, the chairman of the Art Gallery and Property Committee, said, in the *Yorkshire Post*, 'I think my committee, judging from the photographs, believe the designs to be most inappropriate. The Victoria Hall is a magnificent building, and I, for one, would like to see it decorated, not by a discordant group of young experimenters, but by an artist of proved powers. . . .' On



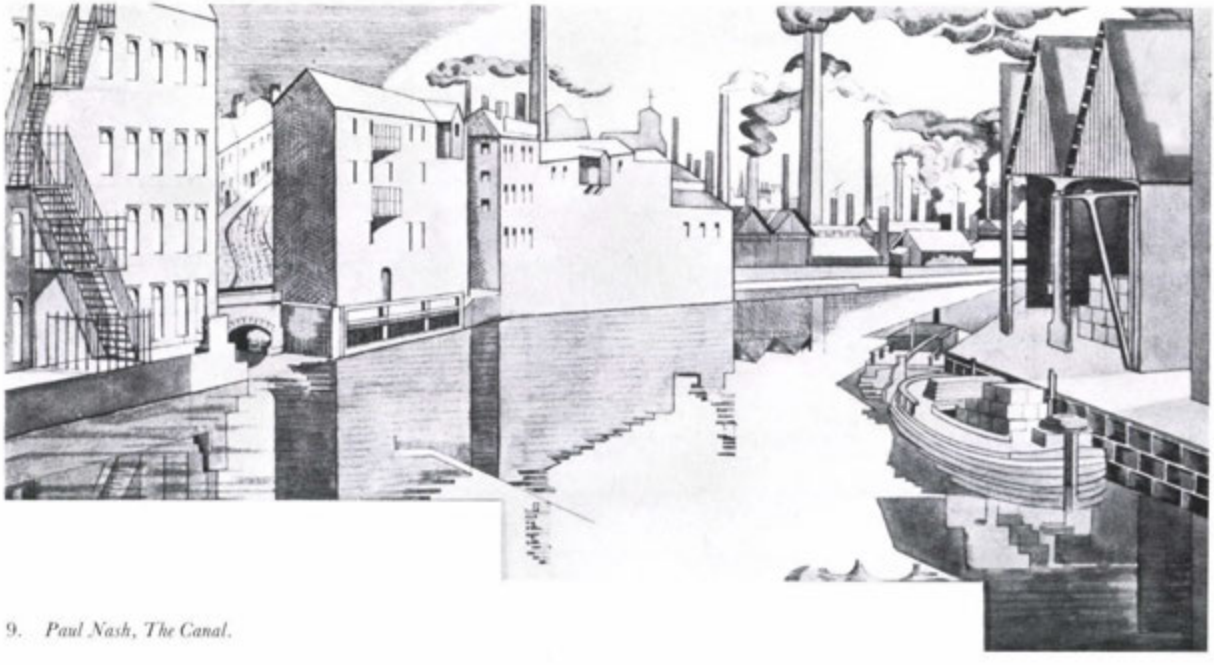
6. *Paul Nash, The Quarry.*



7. *John Nash, Rhubarb and Coal.*



8. *John Nash, Millworkers' Landscape.*



9. *Paul Nash, The Canal.*

14 December, Rothenstein wrote to the *Yorkshire Post* agreeing with Sir Michael about the designs, but pointing out that the defects could be remedied if the scheme were carried further. He accepted some responsibility for the lack of co-ordination, but ended by pointing out the damage Sir Michael's statement had had on public opinion.

Thus the whole project came to an end and what had started as an idealistic venture, petered out in a squabble over words and contracts. The designs themselves were turned down by the Print Room of the British Museum and by the Contemporary Art Society for presentation to the Tate. They were put on exhibition in Leeds and Birmingham, but then disappeared from sight until 1944 when Michael Sadleir presented them to Leeds.[8] Looked at today the drawings are very much of their period; apart from the Vorticist designs of Kramer and Wadsworth, the rest keep to the demands of mural decoration in that the drawing and modelling are relatively flat. However, if the project had gone ahead, the effect inside the columned barrel-vaulted hall might have been somewhat bizarre. What is most surprising is that the scheme progressed as far as it did. Sir Michael Sadler's son mentions the tendency his father had for passing from one visionary enthusiasm to another, and there is no doubt that public condemnation of the designs seriously undermined the entire project.[9] Yet the whole idea remains one of the few schemes of private patronage on such a scale this century and if it did not succeed it was surely worth the attempt.

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON

1. Anthony Bertram. *Paul Nash. The Portrait of an Artist*, 1955, pp. 108–9. Sir William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories*, Vol. II, pp. 348–9. Michael Sadleir, *Michael Ernest Sadler* – a memoir by his son, 1949, pp. 319–27. Robert Speaight, *William Rothenstein; the portrait of an artist in his time*, 1962.

2. Several writers have mentioned the lobby and vestibule as the sites for the decorations, but there is no suitable space in the vestibule, and in the main hall there are only four large spaces and four smaller ones. It is difficult to imagine where the designs by the Nash brothers were to go unless the drawings were to be divided.

3. Sadleir, pp. 321–2.

4. The drawings are now known by different titles, the original ones are listed here:

Paul Nash	*The Canal* (in fact the river Aire) was called *View of the Aire from Leeds Bridge*.
John Nash	*Rhubarb and Coal* was called *Landscape and trees*.
John Nash	*Millworkers Landscape* was called *Kirkstall*.
Jacob Kramer	*Mining* was called *Coal Mine*.
Edward Wadsworth	*Slag Heaps* was called *Leeds*.

5. The two drawings by Harold Sandys Williamson were of *Buslingthorpe* and *Men at Work*. They were not illustrated with the other designs in the press but were 'on show' with the rest in London. The first drawing is described as having men at work in a trench, with a smelting works or steel works in the background while the second had men at work with picks and shovels. A stream runs along in the middle distance and naked urchins are on the bank intent on bathing. It is not known what became of these two designs.

6. Leeds Reference Library. Local History. Leeds Newspaper Cuttings, Vol. 8, pp. 132, 157. Vol. 10, pp. 18, 41–6, 58, 59, 65, 69, 71–2, 74–5, 76, 82.

7. Sadleir, p. 323. Mentions a letter from Rothenstein to Sadler in which he writes that since neither of them felt that money would be forthcoming to complete the project, Rothenstein had not felt like asking the artists to revise their schemes to bring them into harmony.

8. The Spencer drawing was given to John Behrens by Sadler and remained in the Behrens family until December 1973 when it was sold at Christies. It was bought by the Fine Art Society on behalf of the Leeds Art Collections Fund.

9. Sadleir, p. 325.

Granet's Interior of the Capuchin Monastery, Rome

Many readers of this journal will probably ask themselves why such a gloomy picture should be the subject of this note. The idol of yesterday has become boring. It is just another version of a once famous picture which has been lately relegated to the reserves of the City Art Gallery. Yet, for the present writer at least, historical considerations cannot be ignored and there is also the hope that a change in taste may bring the artist back into favour.

François-Marie Granet (1775–1849) is now known only because he happened to be the sitter for one of Ingres' most successful male portraits which Granet himself bequeathed to the Museum which bears his name at Aix-en-Provence. Popular in his lifetime as an artist he became curator of the Louvre in 1826 and of Versailles in 1830. After the revolution of 1848 he retired to his native Aix-en-Provence for the remaining year of his life.

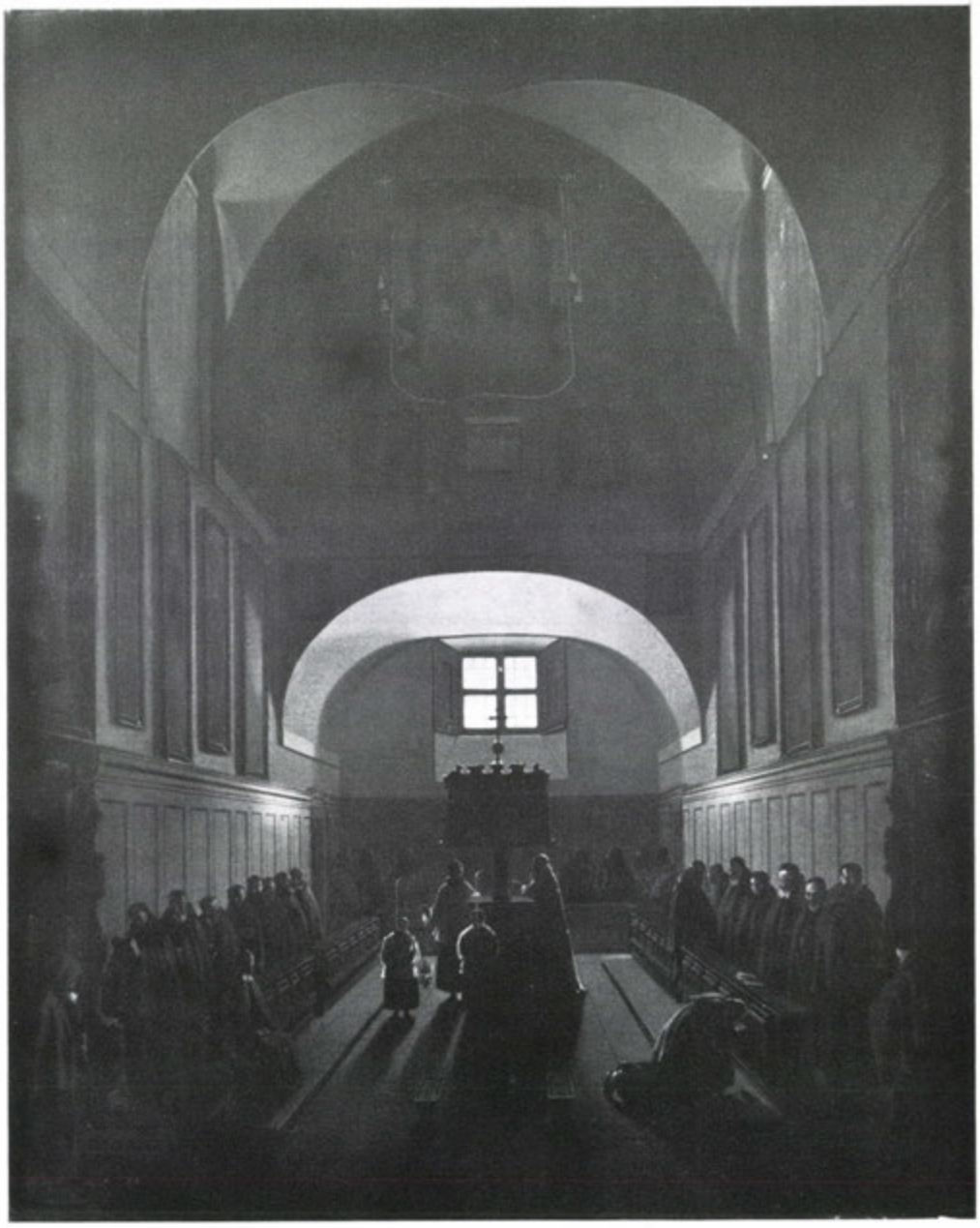
Too little is known about the present picture. It came as a gift to the City Art Gallery from Miss H. G. Thompson in 1956 in memory of the late T. Edmund Hervey. Nothing further regarding the history of the picture has so far come to light. The subject is the *Interior of the Capuchin Monastery* (Fig. 1) in the Piazza Barberini, Rome. No less than seventeen versions are recorded in contemporary sources[1] and this is almost certainly one of them. The taste for 'dim religious light' evaporated with the dawn of the twentieth century and it is difficult to imagine the enormous success the picture achieved. Only three[2] of the versions so far known are dated – that in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (1815), the Hermitage, Leningrad (1818) and the Louvre (1824). This disparity in dating obviously makes it unwise to attempt to date the Leeds version.

Each of the surviving versions show some slight difference from one another. The artist introduced some subtle change which has the effect of making a large number of different versions rather than one prime original and several copies of it. Curiously enough the Leeds version corresponds very closely to the drawing which is in the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne (Fig. 2). The differences between the painting and the drawing are slight and are limited to the position of the monk half way down the left hand side and the number of panes in the window at the centre.

The quality of the paint is unusual for a picture of the period – the dry surface is peculiar to Granet. He rarely used impasto but his sense of precision has none of the classical quality associated with Ingres and his school, indeed it is much closer to the seventeenth century Dutch. It is perhaps a trifle bold to mention the name of Saenredam as Granet's spiritual ancestor but he had that same sense of detachment which makes the Dutch master unforgettable. Granet's Capuchin interiors appear to be full of anecdote but we find on closer inspection that the faces are closed and characterless. The atmosphere is airless and silent. The tradition that one of his contemporaries informed M. Granet that he had just heard one of his Capuchins sneeze is an example of the effect that the picture had at the time.

The next few years are bound to see considerable changes in the way works of art are looked at. Already in Leeds the unthinkable has happened – Canova's *Hope Venus* is now seen to be one of the chief treasures of the collection. Granet may never recapture the success Canova now enjoys but at least he deserves a little praise.

CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT



1. *François-Marie Granet: Interior of the Capuchin Monastery, Rome, Leeds City Art Galleries.*

1. Charles Sterling and Margaretha Salinger, *Catalogue of French Paintings II*, XIX Century, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1966, p. 4 recorded that there is an (undated) book on Granet by A. de la Fizelière (not traced by the author) which states that there were 17 versions.

2. The other surviving versions known to me or recorded in the literature are as follows:
   i. Chatsworth, Derbyshire, Devonshire Collection.
   ii. Leningrad, Hermitage (Catalogue 1958, No. 1322, pl. 297).
   iii. London, Sotheby's, Anon Sale 18 June 1931 lot 15, bt. Staples.
   iv. New York, Capuchin Church. Sterling and Salinger (q.v.) noted versions in at least two Capuchin Churches in New York.
   v. New York, Metropolitan Museum No. 80.5.2. Published by Sterling and Salinger (q.v.).
   vi. New York, Yonkers, Capuchin Church. Mentioned by Sterling and Salinger – (q.v.).

2. *François-Marie Granet: Interior of the Capuchin Monastery, Rome (drawing), Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.*

vii. Paris, Louvre (with nuns instead of monks) *Catalogue of 19th century Paintings*, 1959, No. 990, repr. Inventory No. 5050.

viii. Richmond, Surrey, Cook Collection (formerly). *Doughty House Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 67, No. 452, repr. Sold Sotheby's London, 25 June 1958, lot 58, bt. Agnew.

ix. Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace. Lionel Cust, *Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings at Buckingham Palace*, 1909, p. 214, canvas $76\frac{1}{2} \times 58$ in.

x. Rome, Capuchin Monastery. Mentioned by Sterling and Salinger (q.v.).

xi. A signed copy by Thomas Sully, formerly in the collection of Charles Woolsey Lyon, Millbrook, New York; sold Parke-Bernet, New York, 11 April 1973, lot 8 (described in the Sale Cat. as being a direct copy of another version by Granet formerly in the collection of Benjamin Wiggins, Boston, U.S.A.).

I am indebted to Dr. Anita Brookner whose enthusiasm for French art of this period has been infectious.

Chippendale's Upholstery Branch

Having missed the opportunity to advance his business career through a judicious marriage Chippendale contrived to promote it by entering into partnership with a prosperous Scotsman named James Rannie. There is evidence that whereas Chippendale contributed ability as a designer and cabinet-making expertise to the venture Rannie supplied most of the initial capital and a knowledge of upholstery crafts. They were accordingly able to provide a complete house furnishing service.

In the subscribers' list to Chippendale's *Director* Rannie is cited as a cabinet-maker but such sources were apt to be inaccurate and it is probably more significant that in his will he referred to himself as 'upholder and cabinet-maker', implying the former trade held precedence. Furthermore Chippendale styled himself 'cabinet-maker' on the original title page of his *Director* and the first two editions are devoid of instructions relating to upholstery materials and techniques whereas the revised text of 1762 includes many prefatory notes on this topic.

Three of the fire policies Chippendale took out with the Sun Insurance Company[1] have been located by sampling their registers (1755, 1756 and 1767) and a plan made by the company in 1803 survives.[2] When studied together these sources give an excellent idea of the layout of Chippendale's workshops and the value of his stock. The main departments comprised: a cabinet-maker's shop occupying three storeys; the glassroom; feather room; veneering room; a chair room; large upholsterer's shop; the counting house; a room for drying deals with the carpet room above; various warehouses, stores and sheds and four roof-top stacks for seasoning wood. Only the departments engaged in upholstery activities need concern us here. The upholsterer's shop, a long two storied building behind No. 60, St. Martins Lane and adjoining the feather room contained the firm's most expensive merchandise. Stocking this department must have involved a heavy capital outlay since it accounted for nearly half the entire insurance valuation – £2,600 in 1756. Luxurious chair coverings generally cost more than the actual frames.

In his capacity as an upholsterer Chippendale traded in carpets which, as Sheraton remarked were 'a leading article of a well furnished house'. He maintained a special carpet room on an upper floor, kept a selection of samples to show customers and the firm's sale of stock following the death of James Rannie in 1766 included 'Turky and other Carpets, one of which is 13 Feet by 19 Feet'.[3] A letter from Ninian Home to the partners dated 20 June 1789 illuminates this branch of their activities: 'You may remember you showed me some pieces of carpeting when I was in London and I made a choice of one. It was a large patern with a good deal of yellow in it. There must be a covering for it of green serge. I shall have an exact plan of the floor taken and send to you that you may know how to make the carpet'. On arrival this plan would be chalked on the floor of the carpet wareroom, the border was generally laid first and tacked down followed by the body, care being taken to match the pattern across the lengths and at each mitre, the pieces were then loosely stitched together, lifted and seamed. No special equipment other than strainers – spiked hand tools used for stretching the widths – was needed.

Chippendale was evidently prepared to design carpets as well as furniture and on

occasions wallpapers. In 1778 he sent Sir Edward Knatchbull 'a design for an Axminster Carpet to Correspond with your Ceiling' and advised him 'The Expense it will be according to their best Price about £100. They will have a painting to make of it at large, and the Colours to dye on purpose'.[4] Many variegated Wilton carpets matching the colour of the rooms in which they were laid feature in Chippendale's bills; he also supplied inexpensive Scotch carpets and painted floor cloths. Luxurious carpets were protected from everyday wear by serge covers: Sir Gilbert Heathcote was charged for 'Thread and piecing out the Serge Carpet in Breakfast Room to fit the floor making eyelet holes in do, and laying down with studs complete £1 2s 0d'.

Chippendale evidently lacked both the expertise and facilities for dyeing cloth; this was a highly specialised trade and he sub-contracted such work to professional dyers of which, according to Robert Campbell there were many: 'some dye only in Wool, others Silk; some confine themselves to particular Colours, such as Scarlet and Blues'.[5] His limitations were cruelly exposed when Sir Rowland Winn consulted him about dyeing a set of crimson silk damask bed hangings, for he took the advice of a local Wakefield firm and, having 'unript' them was forced to confess 'it will not take a garter blue as the Ingenious Mr. Elwick said it would. I trusted to his knowledge for which I am sorely vex'd, it will take dark blue and no other coloure'.[6] Dependence on other tradesmen repeatedly caused unwelcome delays which imposed a severe strain on Chippendale's relations with his patrons.

'Feather's' Sheraton observed in his *Cabinet-Dictionary* 'make a considerable article in commerce' adding that 'Geese are plucked in some parts of Great Britain five times in a year, which in the cold season sometimes proves fatal to them'.[7] Feathers from Somerset, he states, are the best, those from Ireland the worst; eider down was imported from Hudson Bay and swans down brought from Dantzic together with quantities of cock and hen feathers. Chippendale possessed two feather rooms – a large one occupying the whole top floor of a new block built in 1755 with a smaller chamber leading off. The main room contained an 'open cockle' – a special kind of air stove for seasoning plumage. 'A large parcel of fine season'd feathers' was amongst the stock auctioned in 1766 and Chippendale's bills contain numerous references to this commodity.

According to authorities on domestic hygiene 'All sorts of *Beds* especially *Feather Beds* ought to be changed, driven or washed, at least three or four times a year; else it is impossible to keep them sweet and clean, and to prevent the Generation of Vermin'.[8] Many charges in the firm's accounts relate to providing this service. At Harewood their men spent three weeks 'Taking feathers out of beds and drying and beating them'. This work was generally performed at the patron's house. On one occasion Chippendale invoiced 'a large French Feather brush 9/6d' and another specialist need was for ostrich plumes to bedeck the hearse when, as undertaker, he directed and furnished the funerals of respected customers.

Sun blinds were regarded as essential items of equipment by many of Chippendale's patrons. They served to keep direct sunlight from rooms, not merely on account of heat, but to prevent fading and damage to elegant furniture. It was not unknown for tapestry or needlework firescreens to be fitted with such blinds. Spring roller blinds charged by a long worm spring incorporated in a tin barrel were widely popular. The standard colours, irrespective of the decor were green or brown, tammy and holland fabric being deemed suitable, although at Harewood blinds of green silk quality were fitted in the State apartments.

The provision of rich silk tassels and line for bell pulls naturally came within the upholsterer's realm since these trappings generally matched the central pendants of festoon window curtains. Sir William Robinson ordered silk tassels and line for 14 bells and at Harewood where virtually everything was more expensive than at other Chippendale houses 'A neat Blue & Yellow Silk Tassel for Bell' cost 4/6d.

Chippendale's accounts confirm the widely held belief that tapestry and needlework furnishings declined in importance

1. *Design for a 'French Chair' (1759) from Chippendale's* Director, *pl. XXII; clearly intended to be 'covered with Tapestry, or some other sort of Needlework'.*

during George III's reign. Although he recommended that 'French chairs' illustrated in the *Director* 'must be covered with Tapestry or some other sort of Needlework' (Fig. 1), few patrons apparently followed his advice. However, since the only items from his workshops which retain their original upholstery are finished in these materials it is worth discussing this branch. He supplied 'a firescreen of fine French tapestry' to the Duke of Atholl in 1758; this has not survived, but a set of three tapestry polescreens and an overmantel mirror 'richly carv'd & gilt . . . for a Tapestry picture & a Glass under it' commissioned by the Earl of Dumfries in the following year are extant. Two of the gaily coloured screen panels and the one framed beneath the mirror are worked in pile fabric, the third screen supports a Soho tapestry panel portraying an exotic pheasant in a classical landscape;[9] it is the lone survivor from the tapestry lined drawing room at Dumfries House for which Chippendale made a set of two sofas and fourteen tapestry covered armchairs.

It was customary procedure for patrons to buy their own tapestry and turn it over to the cabinet maker for mounting. Chippendale served David Garrick in this capacity for his bill includes charges 'To a man & woman to Hampton Covering 2 sofas & 10 chairs with Tapestry £4. 6.' – a useful reminder that women were regularly employed in upholstery shops.

Chippendale was almost certainly responsible for hanging the splendid Gobelins tapestry room at Newby Hall[10] and the set of twelve armchairs, two sofas (Fig. 2) and a pole screen with which he furnished it are still covered in contemporary tapestry work styled with floral bouquets – obviously a product of the same professional workshop. Only three of the firm's bills mention needlework chair covers, in every case they were assigned to japanned seat furniture. At Harewood two large circular stools and eight splat back chairs intended for the hall are described as 'Covered with your Needlework' and in 1768 Chippendale supplied Sir Gilbert Heathcote with '6 India back and armed chairs Japanned to imitate bamboo to be covered with needlework' together with '6 extraordinary loose cane seats' – an uncommon but practical method of avoiding everyday wear.

The most determined needlewoman with whom Chippendale came into contact was Lady Knatchbull of Mersham le Hatch. A memorandum of 1769 notes that she contemplated covering eight French chairs and either two or four stools with her own needlework. Four years later she demanded embroidery patterns; Chippendale charged 4/6d for 'Cutting out and

Marking patterns for 3 Scroll headed Stools on your Needlework Canvas' and six years on was paid for covering the stools 'with your own needlework'. The full suite comprised ten cabriole chairs, two bergeres and three window stools, but unhappily none of this domestic needlework remains.

According to the *Director*, 'French Chairs with Elbows' have stuffed backs and seats, 'covered with Spanish Leather, or Damask &c and nailed with Brass Nails', and indeed, the majority of elbow chairs, whether 'French' or not, that are mentioned in the accounts were covered in one of these two materials as, for example, the two sets of eight 'mahogany French elbow chairs' supplied to William Robinson in 1760, which were upholstered in 'Supperfine Crimson Silk Damask' costing 14/6 a yard. Silk damask was the best quality; the 'Genoa Damask' used for curtains at Dumfries House cost 13/6 a yard and was a variety of silk damask. Silk and worsted, or 'mixed' damask at around 6/6 a yard (crimson fabrics always cost slightly more than the other colours as the dye was more expensive) was a cheap substitute. Chippendale normally provided furnishing materials but sometimes his clients supplied their own; Sir Lawrence Dundas furnished the damask for two large suites of furniture and Edwin Lascelles also preferred to supply his own.

Leather and haircloth, which was only just becoming popular, were favoured for dining rooms and libraries. The dining room chairs at David Garrick's house were covered in red Morocco leather, those at Mersham in crimson haircloth, while the library at Nostell was furnished with chairs in both black leather and green haircloth.

Few other fabrics appear as chair coverings in the accounts. Morine and harateen, two worsted materials often found in eighteenth century inventories, occur here mainly for window and bed curtains, although blue morine was used on ten armchairs at Nostell and for loose cases at Mersham. Taberay, a silk fabric, occurs just once, in a late entry for chairs in the Saloon at Nostell. Two other unusual fabrics were the 'rattinet' and 'shalloon',

2. *Sofa made by Thomas Chippendale about 1772 for the Tapestry Room at Newby Hall, Yorkshire, the full suite consists of two sofas, twelve armchairs and a firescreen still covered in original tapestry work. Reproduced by courtesy of Robin Compton, Esq.*

both used to back damask-covered chairs at Mersham. Not once is velvet mentioned as a furnishing material.

Where the chairs were covered in damask, the curtains and wall-hangings, if any, were invariably of the same material. Damask curtains required a lining of some sort; those at Dumfries were lined with 'durant' but tammy[11] was more commonly used. Morine curtains were supplied for a bedroom at Newby and the dining parlour at Mersham, while at Nostell, the library had curtains of green 'lustring' (a type of glazed taffeta). The same material was used for the curtains which were hung behind the glazed doors of bookcases. Other window curtains were of printed cotton or chintz lined with tammy or calico, and often trimmed with fringes and tassels.

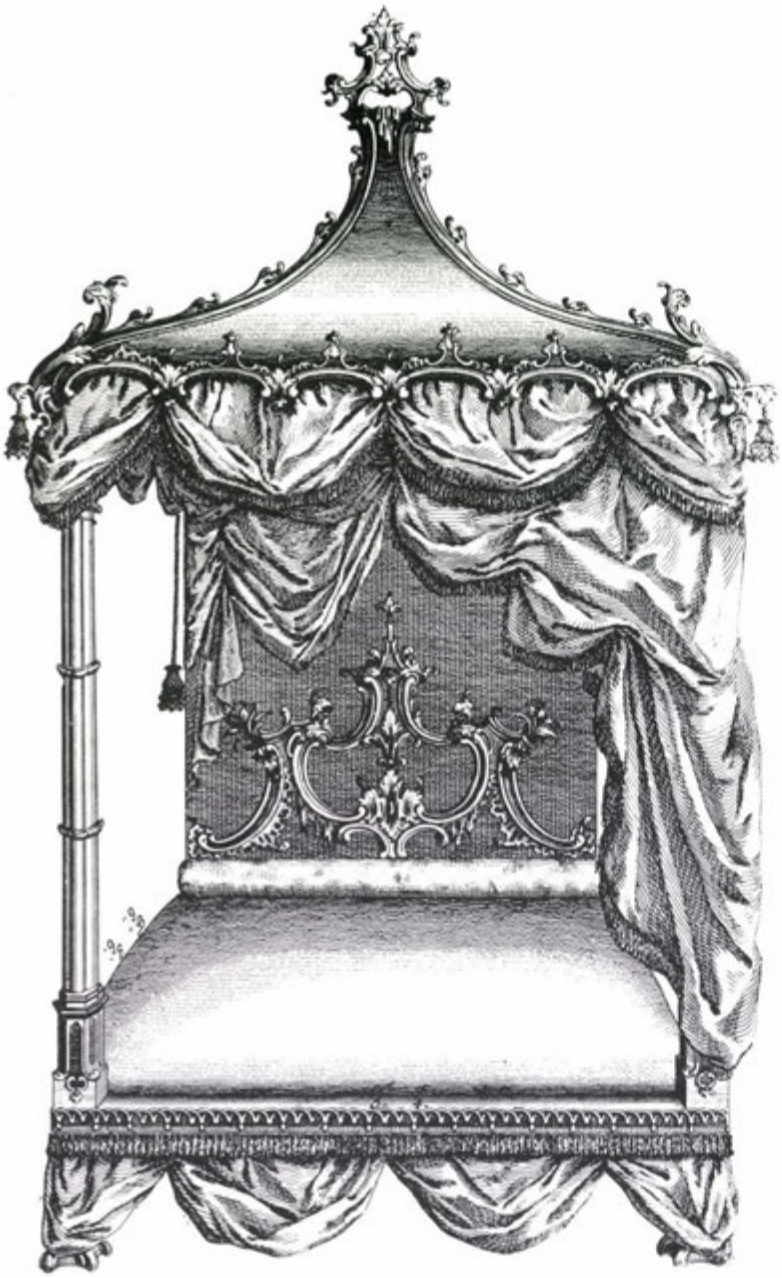
In the accounts, window curtains are described as either 'festoon' or 'drapery'. The two terms are probably synonymous and refer to the arrangement in which the two curtains at each window are drawn diagonally up and across, and fall in a festoon down each side. Only in small, unimportant rooms did the curtains run simply on rods.

While most eighteenth century accounts describe in some detail the covering material of chairs, few give any information on the basic components of the upholstery, such as webbing or stuffings. For the most part, this applies also to the Chippendale accounts but just occasionally they do contain a reference to this obscure, but essential, aspect of the upholsterer's craft. The basis of any seat upholstery was the strips of webbing on which the stuffing rested. Chippendale does not itemise webbing separately, but from other sources we know that the price of 'best girth web' remained constant during the years 1760–80, at 2d a yard. On stuffings he is more helpful; curled horse hair was the best and most used stuffing, and in November 1773 we find Edwin Lascelles being charged for 'best Curled Hair @ 1/–' (a lb.). A year later the price had risen to 1/3. Cushions and bolsters might be filled with down or feathers; at Sir William Robinson's London house the latter cost 2/– a lb and two bolsters required six pounds. From a comparison with prices charged by Gillows of Lancaster, it would seem that Chippendale either used top grade feathers, or else considered himself of sufficient standing to be able to charge top prices.

Webbing and fabric were kept in place by tacks. At Harewood, Chippendale charges for 'tinn'd tacks' at around 1/6 per thousand, but these appear to have been used for hangings. Every upholstered chair requires some sort of trimming to neaten the join between fabric and frame. In the eighteenth century it was usual to finish off upholstery with one or two rows of brass nails. Chippendale states that chair seats 'are most commonly done with Brass Nails, in one or two Rows; and sometimes the Nails are done to imitate Fretwork'.[12] There is no evidence that Chippendale himself ever arranged nails in a decorative design, but Ince and Mayhew (1762) published a selection of nailing patterns. Various grades of nails were used, depending on the type of chair. Eight damask-covered chairs ordered by Sir William Robinson had 'Princes-mettal nails'[13] at around 11/– per thousand while the needlework suite at Mersham was finished with 'fine gilt Nails' at around 21/– per thousand. A chair with upholstered back and seat required, on average, six hundred nails.

Chippendale's accounts provide confirmation of the fact that in the eighteenth century, chairs were invariably supplied with loose covers. These protected the expensive covering material from dirt, light and wear, and although generally made of humble checked or striped cotton, they were often left on when the chair was to appear in a portrait, and seem only to have been removed on very special occasions. In 1745, Mrs. Delany reports:[14] 'Yesterday we were honoured with a visit from our Viceroy and Queen. . . . To work went all my maids, stripping covers off the chairs. . .'.

In general the cases were made of cotton, but in the later accounts serge becomes increasingly popular; Chippendale himself, writing in 1773, states that 'Serge is most commonly us'd'. Occasionally two sets of cases were supplied so that one



3. *Design for a Bed (1753) from Chippendale's* Director, *pl. XLII showing one foot curtain raised by means of two cords and pulleys.*

could always be in use while the other was being washed. The Dundas account for 1765 contains an interesting reference to leather cases lined with flannel. These were for a set of damask-covered chairs and sofas, obviously intended for a state room, and were supplemented by a set of crimson check cases. Unfortunately, we are given no clue as to when one set was used in preference to the other; perhaps it depended on the time of year or on the occasion. Chairs supplied to Dumfries House had both check and paper cases. The latter were probably to protect the chairs in transit. The only types of covering which were not supplied with loose covers were leather and the less stately fabrics such as haircloth and morine.

There was a second type of loose case which was in fact the main covering. In many instances Chippendale supplied chairs simply 'stuff'd in linen'. On one occasion, this was a temporary measure while needlework covers were being made; Chippendale writes to Sir Edward Knatchbull: 'The Chairs & Stools is Stuff'd in Canvas & loose Covers made to do of Green Stripe Cotton, which will be a sort of finish at present & be very necessary when cover'd with needlework'.[15] However this was an exception, and the other examples were intended to be left with their plain linen covers and to have loose cases of printed cotton or, as at Nostell, of chintz lined with calico. The normal method of fastening such cases was by means of hooks and eyes, or by tapes tied underneath, or a combination of the two. Covers were not confined to chairs. The Harewood account includes, 'Green Napt Baize Covers to the large Hall Lanthorn and 6 Gerandoles', and, 'fine Yellow Serge to cover the Glasses &c'.[16]

The beds that appear in the accounts range from a '4 post servants bedstead' which, including furniture (i.e. hangings) and bedding, cost £9 9s., to the State Bed at Harewood which, without bedding, amounted to £340. Damask hangings were confined to the more important beds, although even here, chintz was slowly ousting the traditional silks. For Mersham Chippendale supplied a bed hung with purple and white cotton, trimmed with

green and white and lined with green 'persian' (a silk fabric similar to lustring). Folding field beds had one-piece 'throw-over' furnitures of checked cotton, while servants' beds were hung with blue 'linsey' (a linen/wool mixture). State beds had elaborate cornices and dome tops covered in material and the hangings were drawn back by a system of pulleys. The designs for beds shown in the *Director* illustrate how these draperies were arranged (Fig. 3).

One of the upholsterer's earliest tasks was the making and supply of bedding, and in the eighteenth century, this still made up a large part of his trade. Beds were usually furnished with a hair mattress, one or more feather beds, a feather bolster and pillow, sheets, blankets, a quilt and/or a counterpane. Of these, the upholsterer was responsible for all except the sheets. For a bed at Nostell, Chippendale supplied three mattresses, one filled with flocks, the other two with hair, a feather bed and bolster, two down pillows, three woollen blankets and a quilt. The cost of all this was £26 2s. At the other end of the scale, the bedding for a servant's bed – a feather bed and bolster, three blankets and a coverlet – cost only £6 12s. The difference in price was accounted for partly by quantity, but mainly by quality. The better type of beds were filled with 'best season'd Dantzic feathers' or 'the finest Hudson Bay feathers'. Goose feathers and flocks sufficed for the less fortunate.

Considering the relatively high cost of bedding, it is not surprising that feathers were often reused. This common practice is illustrated by the following entry in the Garrick account: 'A new Bed and Bolster Ticks fill'd with your own feathers ripping 2 old Mattrasses, carding the old Flocks and new making them.'

Chippendale, or his clients, do not appear to have favoured the draped toilet-table which was still popular in the mid-eighteenth century. The first edition of the *Director* contains no reference to them, while those illustrated in the third edition are not typical examples of their time. Only two are mentioned in the accounts; at Nostell we find 'a petty coat for a toylet' made of tammy, and at Paxton, 'A marcela quilted Peticoat & Cover'. (Marseilles quilting was described in 1882 as, 'a description of cotton Quilting or coarse Piqué for making toilet covers . . .').[17] The kidney-shaped rosewood dressing table at Burton Constable which Chippendale invoiced to Miss Constable in 1772 was apparently equipped with a muslin and lace 'toylette' supplied by Paulins and Coats in the following year.[18]

KARIN M. WALTON
CHRISTOPHER GILBERT

Most of the quotations are taken from the *Furniture History Society Journal*, vol. IV (1968) which reprints much Chippendale documentation. Some of the source material is unpublished, but in the interests of economy references are not consistently footnoted. Thanks are due to archivists and owners of relevant papers for access to the records cited.

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2. *Survey of London*, Vol. XX, 1940, p. 120, *repr.*
3. *Public Advertiser*, 17 March 1766.
4. *Furniture History*, IV (1968), p. 88.
5. R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, 1747, p. 261.
6. *Furniture History*, IV (1968), p. 22.
7. T. Sheraton, *The Cabinet Dictionary*, 1803, p. 207.
8. *Furniture History*, I (1965), p. 23.
9. All four panels are reproduced in the *Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1969, pls. 25, 45, 47 and 49.
10. *Country Life*, 10 June 1971, pp. 1446–51.
11. Durant – a woollen fabric used to line both silks and worsteds. Tammy – a fine worsted cloth.
12. *Director* (1762), p. 3.
13. Prince's metal – a type of brass containing 70–85% copper and 30–15% zinc.
14. Lady Llanover (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville*, 1861, 1st series, Vol. II, Letter dated 22 October 1745.
15. *Furniture History*, IV (1968), p. 88.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
17. Caulfield & Saward, *Dictionary of Needlework*, 1882.
18. *William Constable as Patron*, Exh. Cat. Ferens A.G. Hull, 1970, Nos. 1 and 179.

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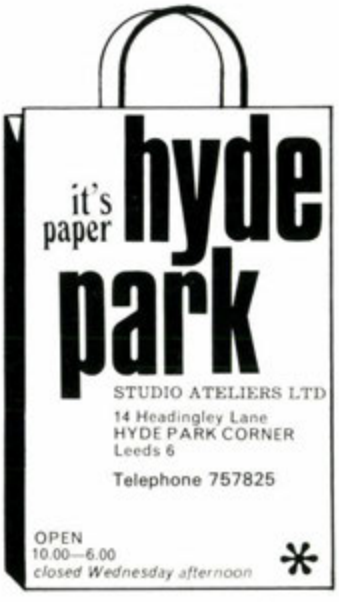

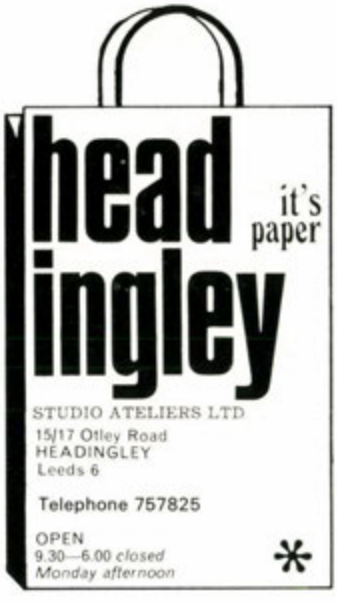

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