



British Art Studies

June 2020

British Art Studies

Issue 16, published 30 June 2020

Cover image: Bill Brandt, Family Supper (recto), 1937, printed circa 1943, photographic print.. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

PDF generated on 15 February 2024

Note: *British Art Studies* is a digital publication and intended to be experienced online and referenced digitally. PDFs are provided for ease of reading offline. Please do not reference the PDF in academic citations: we recommend the use of DOIs (digital object identifiers) provided within the online article. These unique alphanumeric strings identify content and provide a persistent link to a location on the internet. A DOI is guaranteed never to change, so you can use it to link permanently to electronic documents with confidence.

Published by:

Paul Mellon Centre
16 Bedford Square
London, WC1B 3JA
<https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk>

In partnership with:

Yale Center for British Art
1080 Chapel Street
New Haven, Connecticut
<https://britishart.yale.edu>

ISSN: 2058-5462

DOI: 10.17658/issn.2058-5462

URL: <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk>

Editorial team: <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/about/editorial-team>

Advisory board: <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/about/advisory-board>

Produced in the United Kingdom.

A joint publication by



YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART

Contents

Editorial, British Art Studies Editorial Group

Virtual St Stephen's: The Medieval Model and the Art Historian, Tim Ayers

Mapping the Unknown: Using Incomplete Evidence to Craft Digital Three-Dimensional Models of St Stephen's, Anthony Masinton and James Jago

Luxury and Crisis: Redefining the British Decorative Arts, Iris Moon

The Wall Paintings at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace: Recent Imaging and Scientific Analysis of the Fragments in the British Museum, Helen Howard, Lloyd de Beer, David Saunders and Catherine Higgitt

"The Bold Adventure of All": Reconstructing the Place of Portraits in Interregnum England, Helen Pierce

The Social Economics of Artistic Labour: A Technical Case Study of Henry Monro's *Disgrace of Wolsey* (1814), Anna Cooper and Martin Myrone

Bill Brandt: Photography and the Printed Page, Martina Droth, Paul Messier, Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon

New Approaches to St Stephen's Chapel, Palace of Westminster, Tim Ayers and John Cooper



Editorial

British Art Studies Editorial Group

Authors

Cite as

British Art Studies Editorial Group, "Editorial", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16,
<https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/editorial>

At *British Art Studies*, we know from our work to date how thoroughly entangled histories of British art are with the legacies of colonial violence, oppression, slavery, and systemic racism. These histories manifest themselves variously in artworks, art-historical writing, museum displays, and other forms of heritage conservation. Acknowledging the ways that British histories and cultural production have been complicit in anti-Blackness, colonial violence, slavery, and white supremacy is only the first step. Recognising and dismantling the racism that affects and is perpetuated in our institutions today is the essential next step.

The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and the Yale Center for British Art, the co-publishers of *BAS*, have both shared statements of solidarity in response to the killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police on 25 May 2020, and the Black Lives Matter protests throughout the United States, United Kingdom, and around the world.

- From the Director, 5 June 2020, <https://britishart.yale.edu/director>
- Our Commitment to Anti-Racism, 5 June 2020, <https://www.paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk/about/news/our-commitment-to-anti-racism>

We want to echo these statements: as editors, we pledge to actively elevate the voices of Black scholars, curators, and artists, and put in the work required towards dismantling racism in our discipline and its contingent institutions. We will continue to commission and seek content that exposes the relationships between white supremacy and art history in research, writing, museological, and artistic practices in our journal, and collaborate with institutions in Britain and abroad who are committed to doing the same.

This month, we met as a team to re-evaluate the subjects we publish on in *BAS*, and the authors and peer reviewers we commission. In terms of content commissioning, we will plan larger and more sustained projects, with the aim of working collaboratively with institutions to facilitate access to and publish new work on significant, yet underexplored archival and artistic material connected to Black artists' practices in Britain. This summer, we will also introduce language guidelines at the journal for writing about race, colonial history, or slavery, as part of a wider re-evaluation of our own editorial ethic. Our editors will continue to meet monthly to evaluate this progress and set new goals as the work takes shape.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge that while responses by individual cultural gatekeepers—such as journal editors—are crucial, they are not a substitute for the political and legislative changes demanded by Black Lives Matter, and can only be part of a much larger project.



Virtual St Stephen's: The Medieval Model and the Art Historian

Tim Ayers

Abstract

The recent research project on St Stephen's Chapel (2013–2017) included the creation of virtual models of the building at two stages in its history: as a palace chapel in 1360 and as the House of Commons in 1707. The present article considers the modelling of the medieval chapel from the perspective of the art historian. It reflects upon the process methodologically, and presents some research questions about this great lost building and its that we have explored through modelling. It also documents, in an appendix, the sources for the model and decisions that were made about how to use them, including alternative possibilities and open questions.

Authors

Professor in the History of Art at the University of York

Acknowledgements

For their advice and constructive comments, I would like to thank Dr Sethina Watson, the anonymous reviewers of this article, and colleagues at the Centre for Medieval Studies in York, who discussed a draft.

Cite as

Tim Ayers, "Virtual St Stephen's: The Medieval Model and the Art Historian", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/tayers2>

Introduction

In 1831, striking “Illuminated Paintings and Architectural Illustrations” of St Stephen’s Chapel and the Palace of Westminster were put on public exhibition in London’s Pall Mall.¹ They included a coloured view in perspective that imagined Edward III and his family viewing the interior of the recently completed chapel (Fig. 1). The paintings were made by Adam Lee, who had become Labourer in Trust at Whitehall and Westminster in 1806. In this office, he was responsible for repairs on the former chapel, then the House of Commons, so he knew well the brightly coloured remains that had been coming to light in recent years.² These had also been the subject of major antiquarian publications, the first to record a medieval building in such detail, at a key moment in the Gothic Revival.³ Lee described the exhibition as an opportunity not for financial reward, but for the public to learn about these “Remains of Antiquity”.⁴ In its attempt to integrate known features of the chapel into a representation of three-dimensional space, and the dramatic incorporation of colour, Lee’s view has similarities with the visualisations that were created for the recent project “St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster: Visual & Political Culture, 1292–1942” (2013–2017) that we have called “Virtual St Stephen’s”.⁵ In a sense, Lee’s drawings had been the first virtual St Stephen’s.

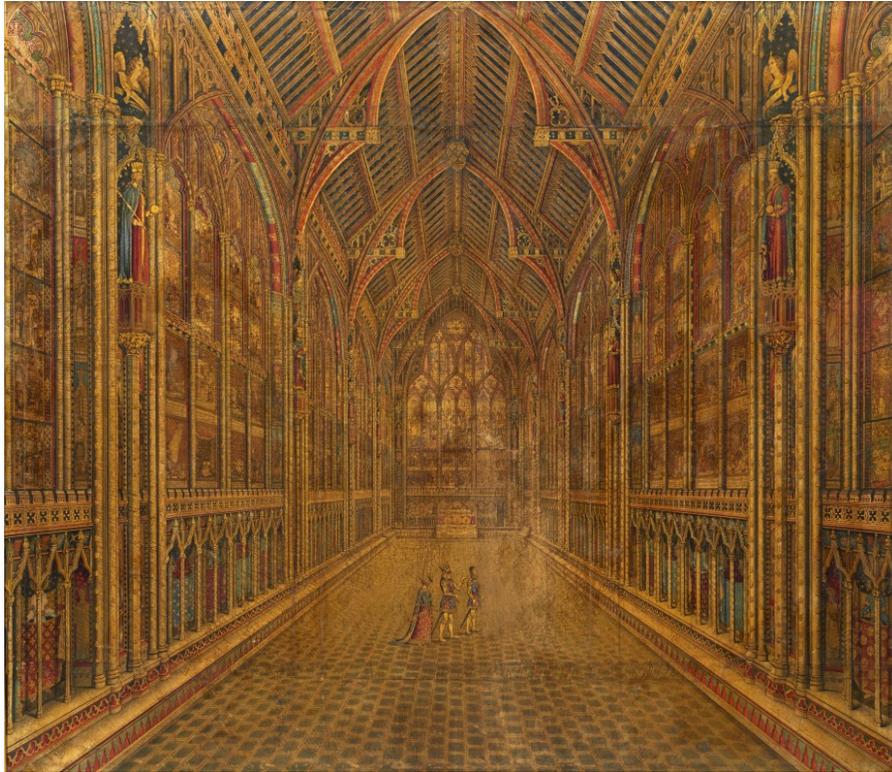


Figure 1.

Adam Lee, Perspective view of the Chapel, as it was finished in the reign of King Edward III, circa 1820s, varnished watercolour, on paper, 111.5 × 128 cm. Collection of Museum of London (A15454). Digital image courtesy of Museum of London (All rights reserved).

We planned to make use of virtual modelling from the beginning (Fig. 2). On one level, we were looking for an engaging way to present a great lost building to the public, to convey its architectural form and significance at different periods, and our research findings. There are similarities here with Lee's ambition. On another level, however, the modelling process was intended to engage with, and be a part of, the research itself, as a way to test out questions. This essay is one of two in this issue of *British Art Studies* that present those processes, from the different perspectives of the art historian, who project managed the visualisation and researched the medieval model, and the modeller, who translated data and ideas into a visual form.⁶ This essay reflects on how we went about visualising the medieval chapel methodologically. The work has run in parallel with a related project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, to publish a critical edition of the extensive fabric accounts for St Stephen's, spanning the entire building period.⁷ These have been important sources for the model, and the task of editing them set up an interesting challenge for the present author. The bald lists of craftspeople, materials, and tasks, within a time-frame, could be

brought into relation with the process of modelling made objects, and therefore with aspects of their original creation. The student of medieval craft was forced to become a maker.



Figure 2.

Visualisation of the interior from the west door, *towards the east*. Digital image courtesy of University of York (All rights reserved).

The development of virtual modelling in three dimensions offers new opportunities to historians of art and architecture, as outlined briefly in the introduction to this special One Object feature.⁸ The present paper explores a number of research questions that modelling has allowed us to ask about this great lost building. First, it was a way to reinterpret a rich but incomplete group of sources, variously interpreted in the past, towards a better understanding of major architectural features. It was also highly effective as a way to investigate the spatial implications of major lost furnishings about which little is known, but which have been central to discussions about the relationship between liturgical and political space, over time. Finally, it invited us to bring together parts of the structure and its decoration that have tended to be studied separately, to ask how they may have been made in dialogue with one another, to provide insights into the creative process for

a great royal chapel in the reign of Edward III.⁹ In each case, accurate reconstruction was impossible. For such exploratory models, the term “visualisation” has been adopted by scholars, rather than “reconstruction”, which suggests the possibility of a fixed retrievable state for what is represented.¹⁰

There remains a fundamental methodological challenge in the way that such visualisations present their evidence, for scholarly purposes. On the one hand, virtual models have the expressive power to convey an overall impression of many aspects, at one moment in time, visually and in three dimensions.¹¹ On the other hand, they are less good at explaining things. A finished model alone does not reveal how it was created, the underlying purposes, the evaluation of sources and the process of interpretation. Indeed, the level of visual finish can convey a misleading authority. (The final product is therefore completely different from our critical edition of the accounts, which presents a set of sources in words, with a commentary, in all their ambiguous complexity.) These issues have been explored by archaeologists, art historians, and heritage professionals, and they are addressed in the so-called London Charter for the Computer-Based Visualisation of Cultural Heritage, reissued in 2012.¹² This sought to establish a process to enable interrogation of the thinking behind a model, by documenting the research questions, sources, hypotheses and choices that informed it, in accompanying paradata.¹³ The present article (with its Appendix), and its companion piece, set out to do that for Virtual St Stephen’s.¹⁴

The Visualisation Project

Collaboration sits at the heart of such visualisation projects because many different skills are required.¹⁵ At the University of York, art historians and historians worked with a team at the Centre for the Study of Christianity & Culture, coordinated in monthly project meetings (2013–2016).¹⁶ Many other art and architectural historians, archaeologists, historians, and curators shared their knowledge in a series of workshops, focusing upon issues as various as sources, liturgical practice, and the medieval paintings. In deciding formats for the online presentation, we were guided by Christianity & Culture, which had worked extensively on visualisations of this kind. For the website and for touchscreens on site at Westminster, in St Stephen’s Hall and the Jewel Tower (in the care of English Heritage), we developed a combination of interactive models and short film sequences.¹⁷ They include visualisations of the upper chapel of St Stephen in the 1360s and the House of Commons in 1707. It was a priority to be able to compare the interior of the same building, from the same viewpoint, in its different functions. The

dates were determined by the surviving evidence. Technical parameters for these models are set out in the companion piece by Anthony Masinton and James Jago, "Mapping the Unknown".

We had to address the challenge of balancing viewing experience with scholarly integrity, and for different audiences. There is a tension potentially between the desire for a compelling visual image for public consumption and more scholarly presentations, visualising levels of doubt, for example.¹⁸ After much discussion, we decided to present the two interiors in a fully modelled way (Fig. 3). In this case, the evidence for the medieval chapel invited an attempt to integrate the surviving evidence as far as possible. As Adam Lee realised for his exhibition in 1831, the interior decoration had been spectacular and we wished to convey the overall effect of this, even if it was only an approximation. On the website, we decided to offer insights into the evidence and decision-making processes, for those who wished to explore them. As visitors navigate the models from fixed viewpoints, they can interrogate features via information panels. A short film titled *How Do We Know* identifies sources. These could never present a full evaluation but they explain the nature of the evidence and, selectively, how we used it.



Figure 3.

Visualisation of the interior from the choir, *towards the east*. Digital image courtesy of University of York (All rights reserved).

Sources and Interpretation

The gathering of primary source materials was a major task, including the scrutiny of the fabric accounts for the building, surviving parts of the structure, and a vast range of antiquarian sources, scattered across more than half a dozen collections. Those for the medieval chapel are set out in the Appendix to this article. Those for the House of Commons are addressed in the accompanying article, “[New Approaches to St Stephen’s Chapel, Palace of Westminster](#)”. For each model, the source materials were different in kind and extent. In both models, however, we found that the process demanded a similar kind of analysis, not only of individual sources but also of many sources together, in reconstructing a partially furnished, three-dimensional space. The decision-making process proved unforgiving. It forced us to confront issues about the relationships between parts that you might avoid in writing. Similarly, in a visual presentation on paper, you can choose what to show and what to conceal. In a navigable model, there are fewer places to hide.

After the initial analysis, the creation of the models was not a linear process but rather involved continuing dialogue with other parts of the visualisation, and a return to the sources or other expert help for alternatives. An initial version of the screen or pulpitum (see below) was rejected, for example. If the resulting visualisation looks finished, it is imperfect in both senses: it was always the result of a series of choices, which could sometimes have been resolved differently. The creation of a virtual model through the resolution of challenges posed by the sources (or lack of them) and by multiple possibilities for interpretation is therefore equivalent to the construction of an argument.¹⁹ Beyond the present case studies, the Appendix documents the choices that were made, alternative possibilities, and open questions for future work.

Conflicting Evidence: The Clerestory

The first case study concerns the architecture of the structure, focusing on the lost upper part of St Stephen's Chapel, its clerestory. It shows how the team evaluated conflicting evidence. As long ago as 1844, the architectural draughtsman Frederick Mackenzie established that the clerestory had been removed in 1692, during Sir Christopher Wren's refurbishment of the House of Commons.²⁰ He found a few possible traces of it at the level of the upper frieze, at the upper limit of the fabric that had been retained.²¹ On top of the frieze and integral with it, towards the interior, he identified traces of a stone wall and stubby shafts, to support a roof or vault. Towards the exterior, he found evidence for a further structure. Between them, he identified a clerestory passage or walkway. Mackenzie was trained in the analysis of buildings, with unique access to the surviving evidence, now lost. He also attempted to interpret and represent the original form of the structure. In large and detailed reconstructions, he suggested an upper storey with two skins of wall, windows on the exterior face, and an open timber roof (Figs 4 and 5). These are the earliest of a number of reconstruction drawings of the clerestory in two dimensions and they have been criticised severely for having, in many respects, no basis in the surviving evidence.²²

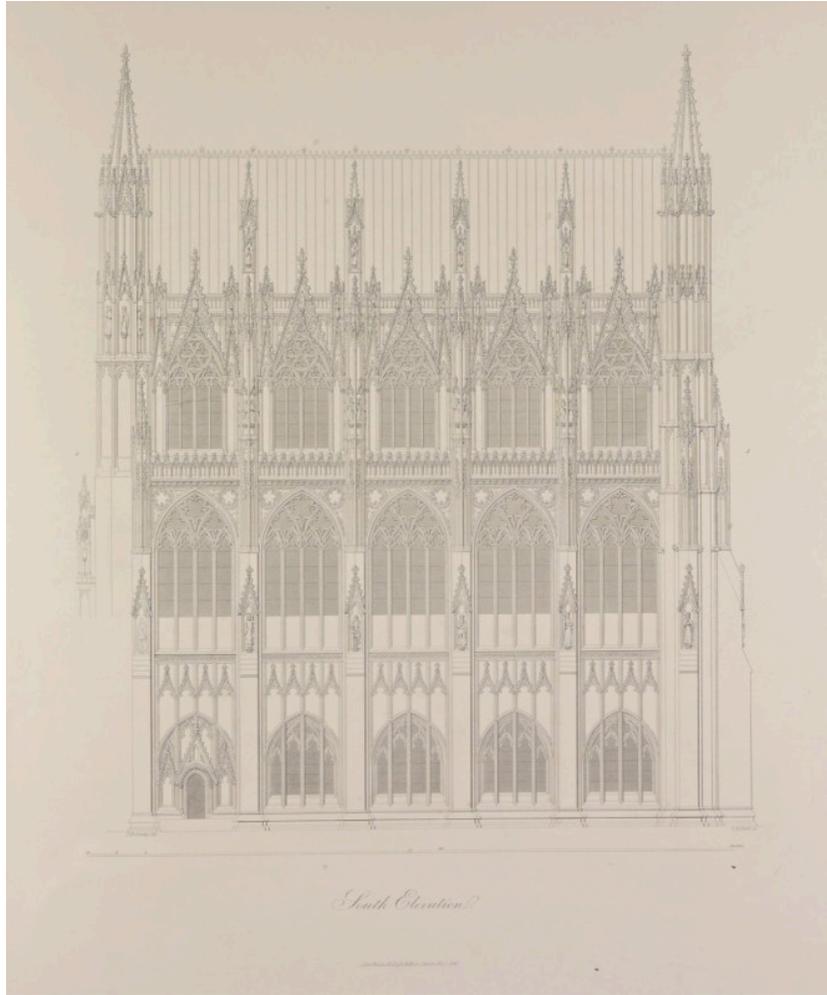


Figure 4.

South Elevation, exterior view of the south side of St Stephen's Chapel, showing the clerestory, from Frederick Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen* (London, 1844), pl 4. Collection of The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. Digital image courtesy of New York Public Library (All rights reserved).

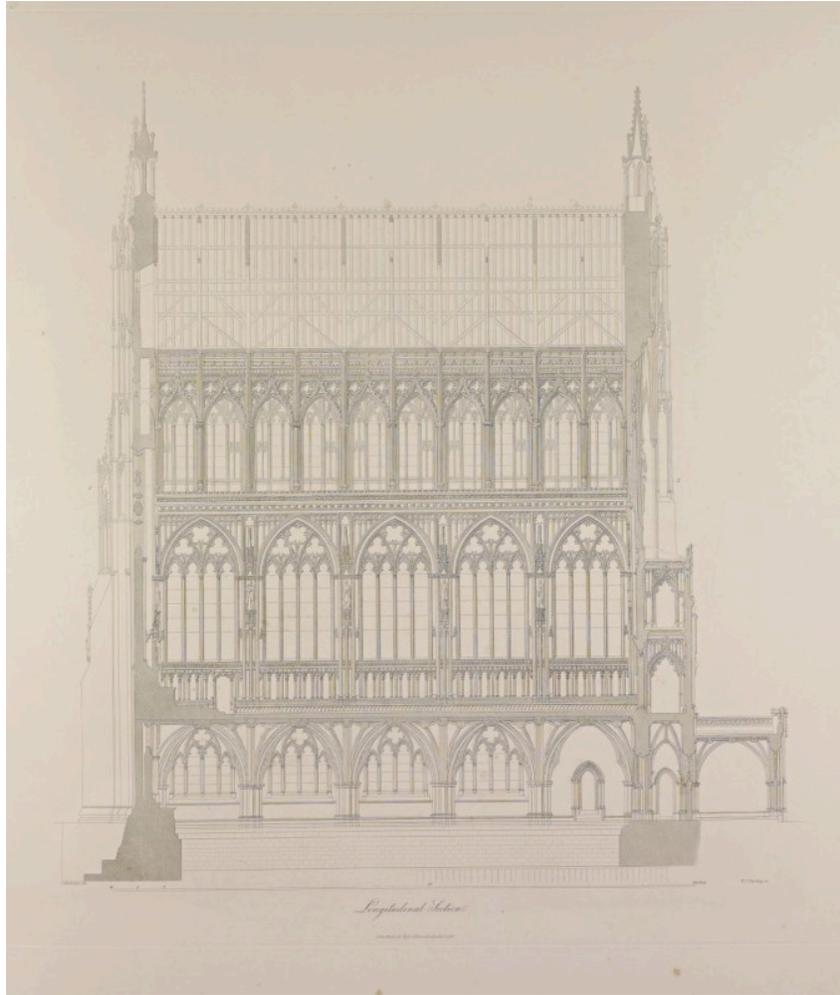


Figure 5.

Longitudinal Section, interior views of the south side of St Stephen's Chapel, showing the clerestory, from Frederick Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen* (London, 1844), pl 7. Collection of The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, The New York Public Library. Digital image courtesy of New York Public Library (All rights reserved).

Other kinds of sources also throw his reconstruction into doubt. The medieval fabric accounts suggest a timber vault, rather than an open roof, including references to a *vosura* and bosses.²³ Another medieval source seems to promise a crucial measurement. In Henry VI's instructions for the building of Eton College Chapel, composed in the mid-fifteenth century, a comparison is made to the height of St Stephen's.²⁴ It specifies an overall height at Eton of 80ft, and states that St Stephen's is less high; it does not say by how much or where the latter measurement was taken. In a recent article on St Stephen's, John Goodall took the measurement of less than 80ft to be an overall height for the exterior of the building.²⁵ He had good reason to do so,

because the measurement for Eton describes the height from the ground to the battlements. He presented this in a new cut-away view of the chapel, on paper (Fig. 6).²⁶ The added clerestory is a low one, as a result.

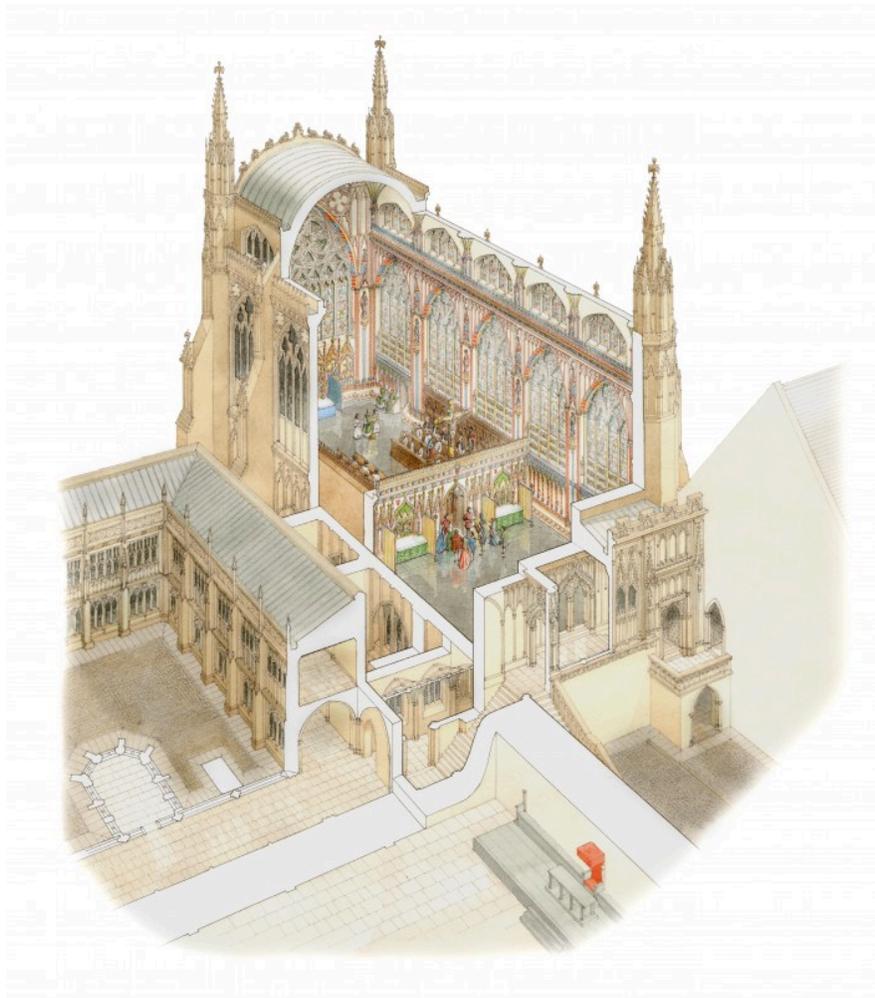


Figure 6.

Stephen Conlin, Reconstruction drawing of St Stephen's Chapel, *circa* 1530. Digital image courtesy of Stephen Conlin 2015, commissioned by Country Life Magazine (All rights reserved).

This contradicts the pictorial evidence for the exterior of the chapel, however. The earliest is a panoramic view of Westminster from the River Thames, in pen and ink, made before the dissolution of the college, about 1530 (Fig. 7).²⁷ The windows of the clerestory are not visible but the drawing shows a taller upper storey, with short flying buttresses, apparently spanning the depth of the substantial buttresses below. Where it can be checked against better recorded or surviving features, this small drawing seems to be carefully observed. Wenceslaus Hollar's well-known panorama, dated 1647, again shows a row of five tall windows at clerestory level (Fig. 8). A third source is the frontispiece to John Nalson's, *An Impartial Collection of the*

Great Affairs of State, published in 1683 (Fig. 9).²⁸ This allegorical print was not setting out to record the building accurately but various details suggest the desire to make it recognisable to contemporaries. This too seems to corroborate the taller clerestory windows. Nevertheless, each of these images represents the building differently.

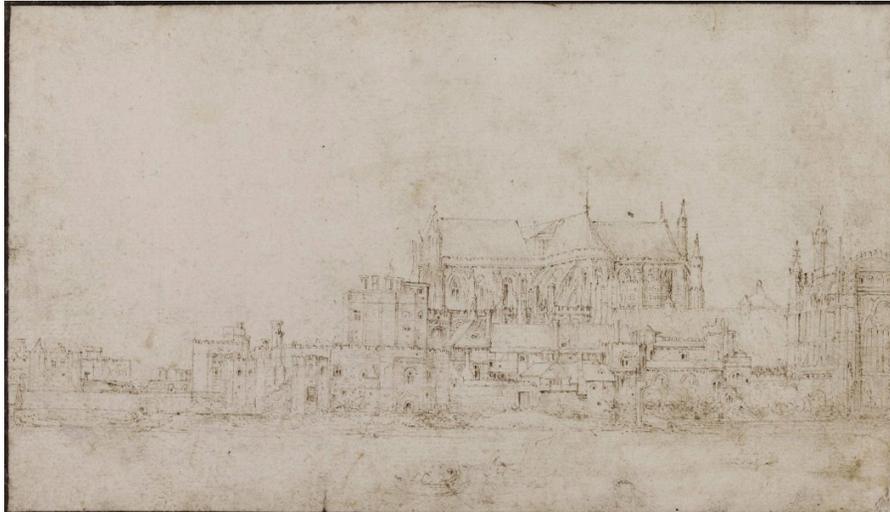


Figure 7.

Westminster Palace and Westminster Abbey from the River Thames, ca. 1530, pen and ink, on paper, 10.1 × 17.4 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E 128-1924). Digital image courtesy of Victoria & Albert Museum, London (All rights reserved).

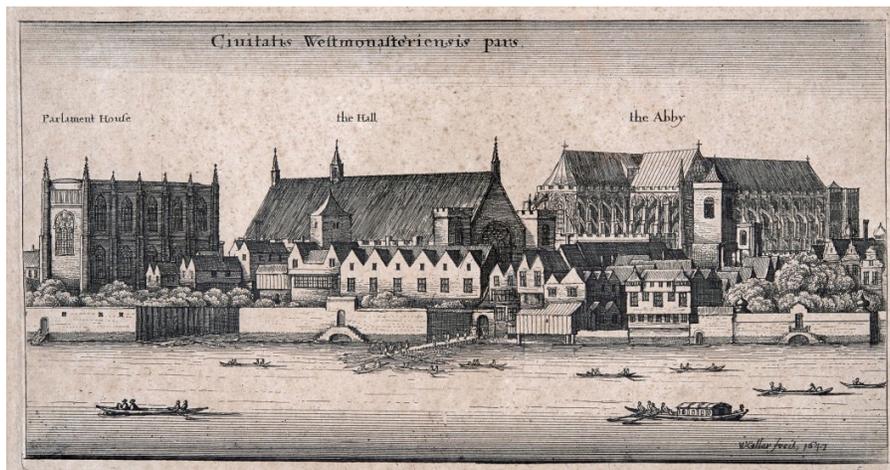


Figure 8.

Wenceslaus Hollar, *Ciuitatis Westmonasteriensis pars*, 1647, etching, 15.2 × 28.6 cm. The "Parliament House" is on the left. Parliamentary Art Collection (WOA 845). Digital image courtesy of Palace of Westminster (All rights reserved).

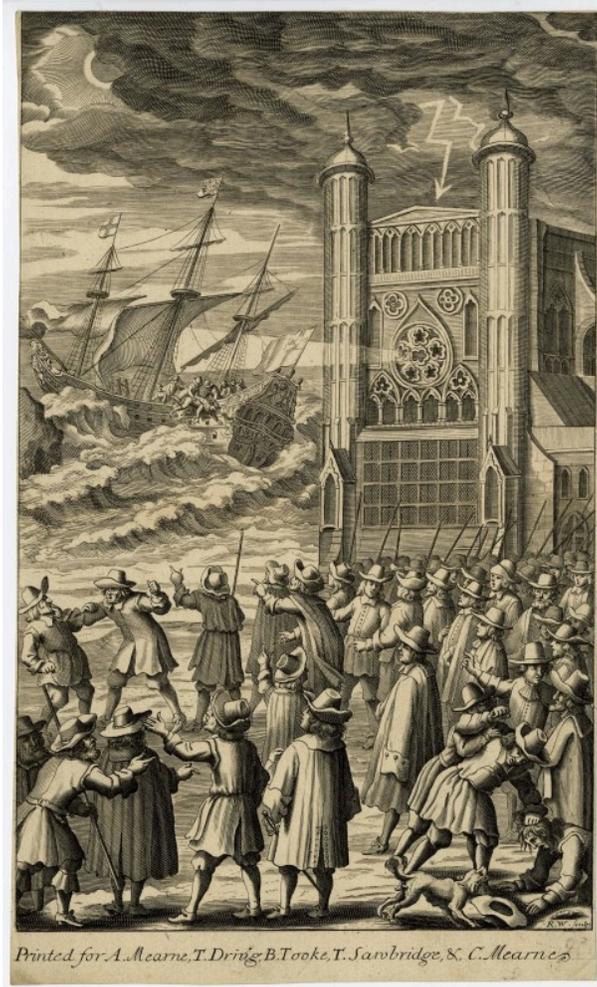


Figure 9.

Frontispiece by Robert White to John Nalson, *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*, Vol. II, London, 1683, engraving, 29.8 × 17.8 cm. Collection of British Museum (1877,0811.1288). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

After assessing these conflicting sources, and previous visualisations, we decided to explore an alternative interpretation, prioritising the sources differently (Fig. 10).²⁹ On our reading, the Eton document could perhaps be referring to the height of the upper chapel, instead of the total height of this two-storey building. We therefore applied this measurement to the upper level, alone. We also decided to experiment with two skins of masonry at clerestory level, separated by a passage, as Mackenzie had done. Instead of placing the windows on the outside, sitting implausibly on the relatively fragile masonry of the openwork parapet, our model leaves them and the main masonry of the clerestory structure on the inside, where the wall below

is thicker.³⁰ This was also fundamental to the appearance of the interior model, determining the visual relationship between the upper windows and the walls. To the outside, we represented an openwork window, in each bay. As a parallel for such a construction, we looked to the eastern bays of the Lady Chapel of York Minster, begun in 1361. It has been argued that the master mason for this was aware of St Stephen's.³¹

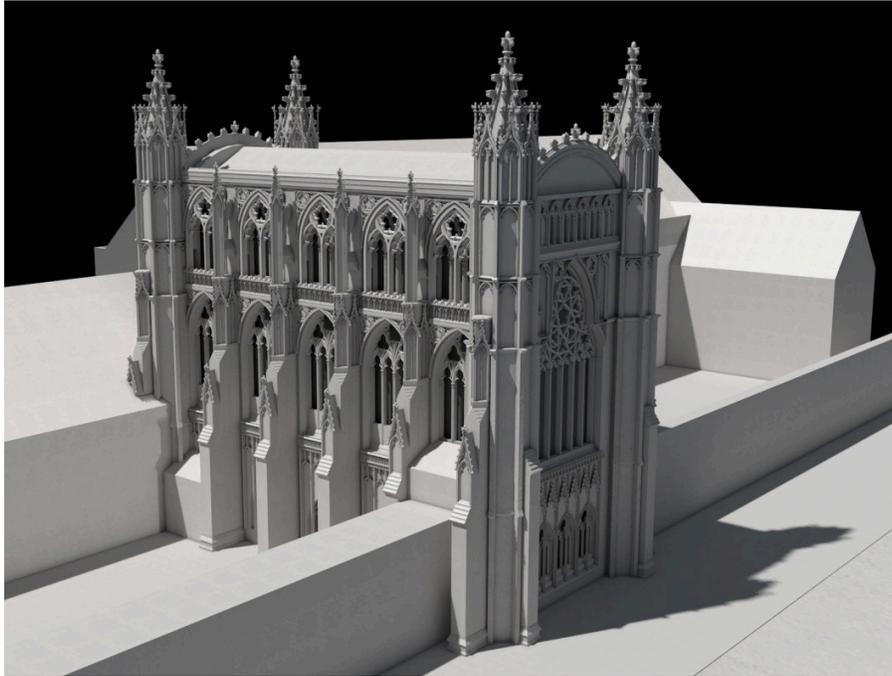


Figure 10.

Visualisation of the exterior of St Stephen's Chapel, from the south-east. Digital image courtesy of University of York (All rights reserved).

The broader point is that the exploration of alternative visualisations for lost structures has value where the evidence is contradictory. Here the process of modelling was itself a kind of research, the development of a hypothesis. Our visualisation is in dialogue with a succession of previous drawings, back to the beginning of the study of the building. The modelling of the outside was beyond our immediate brief, to visualise the interior, and remains a work in progress.³²

Spaces and Gaps in the Evidence: The Chapel Fittings

The second case study concerns the fitting out of the chapel and, for this, the sources posed a different challenge. In materials and labour costs, the fabric accounts leave no doubt about the richness of the sculpture, stained glass, and woodwork that were commissioned in the 1350s.³³ Yet almost nothing survived to be recorded by the antiquaries of the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries, in either words or images. It is hardly surprising that relatively little detailed attention has been paid to them previously. To make plausible simulations for our model, however, we were forced to confront what we did not know. Although the quantity, materials, and value of some fittings were documented, many aspects of their appearance remained mysterious. This need to visualise so many different kinds of objects led naturally to consultation with specialists in different media and across disciplines—historians, art historians of many kinds, buildings archaeologists, and musicologists.³⁴ The integrated character of our virtual model actively encouraged such working together, and proved one of the most interesting and fruitful aspects of the process.

The screen, or pulpitum, serves as an example. Like the screens in other collegiate churches, it will have been important to the practice of worship, and it will have had a fundamental effect on the experience of the chapel for the clerical community and for visitors.³⁵ It has also been the object of speculation about the afterlife of the building, as the home to the House of Commons, namely, that its presence or former presence may have shaped the layout of this, in relation to its lobby.³⁶ For the position of our screen, we therefore ran the hypothesis that its western face was on the line of the later division between lobby and Commons, in the second bay from the west. In attempting to create this structure, we needed to fit it into a pre-existing (virtual) architectural space. In this, we were facing a similar challenge to that confronting Edward III and his agents in the 1350s; they were setting out to provide furniture for the king's new college, in a building that had been begun in the 1290s, as a palace chapel.³⁷ There is no reference to such a screen in the building accounts. We do have a reference to one in a second document about Eton College Chapel, however, in the 1440s.³⁸ This names the stalls and rood loft at Westminster as the model for furnishings there. It also suggests the possibility of a very substantial structure, twelve feet deep, in total.³⁹ There is no further information on it. Nor are there surviving timber examples of fourteenth-century date in England, so we turned to other contemporary and later woodwork, such as the watching loft in St Albans Abbey ([Fig. 11](#)), and to stone pulpita, especially that in Exeter Cathedral ([Fig. 12](#)).⁴⁰



Figure 11.

The north side of the watching loft, overlooking the shrine of St Alban in St Albans Cathedral, Hertfordshire, second half fourteenth century. Digital image courtesy of St Albans Cathedral (All rights reserved).



Figure 12.

West side of the pulpit, Exeter Cathedral, built 1318-1325. Digital image courtesy of J. Hannan-Briggs (CC BY 2.0).

For advice on these matters, and to create a timber structure that would stand up, we worked with art historian Charles Tracy, a specialist in timber structures Hugh Harrison, and the architectural draughtsman Peter Ferguson. In conversation over two months, we developed designs on paper: a plan, section and elevation (Figs 13, 14, and 15). The position of the screen, projecting into the second bay, required us to create a free-standing structure; in this, the great timber frames around which the pulpitum was built (three of them, each running north to south) could have been dismantled in whole, or even in part, after the dissolution of the college. The design process also forced us to consider the screen's functions as determining factors for its form.⁴¹ We made adjustments to facilitate processional movement through it, and experimented with the position of gates and steps up to a rood loft, which will have been used during services. The process helped us to understand how the screen could have been experienced and used in worship, within the chapel.

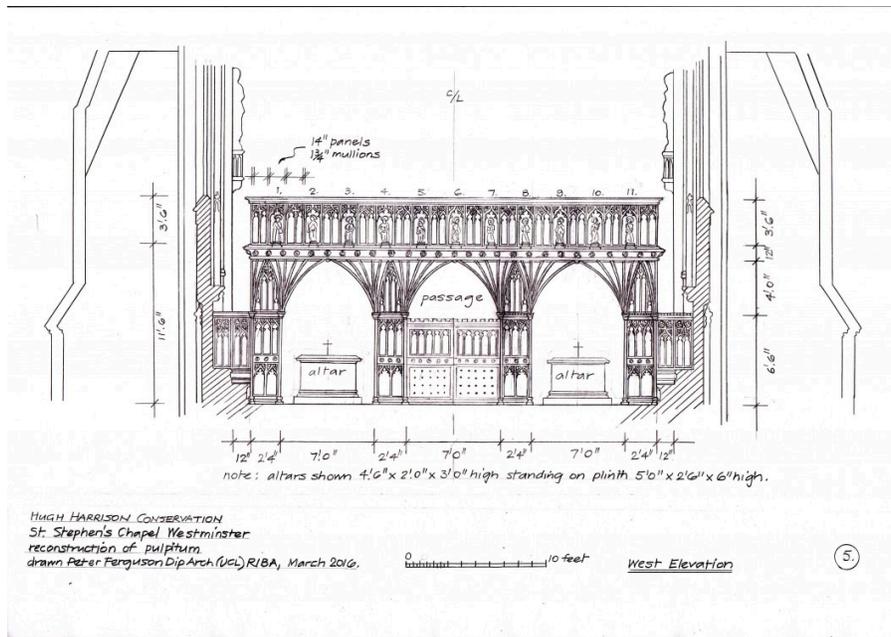


Figure 15.

Peter Ferguson, Elevation of the pulpitum from the west, March 2016.
Digital image courtesy of Peter Ferguson (All rights reserved).

We also had to work out how this substantial structure would have interacted in three dimensions with existing wall arcades and floor levels, and accommodated side altars, within a confined setting.⁴² The depth of the structure suggested that the altars could have been enclosed within it, as at Exeter. In appearance, the height of the loft was adjusted to sight-lines from the west, so that adjacent sculptures would be visible.⁴³ To north and south, it raised questions about the visibility of wall paintings below the windows. We polychromed and decorated the object, deriving both palette and ornament from schemes on later timber screens and other structures.⁴⁴ The finished object is not an accurate representation of the original—it never could be; this is an imaginary structure—but it still matters (Fig. 2).⁴⁵ Leaving it out would have been misleading. The pulpitum was fundamental to the experience of this space for those who worshipped or visited here, constraining and controlling both movement and visibility. It shaped and was shaped by the liturgy, and may have informed the later political life of the building.

The finished model represented the pulpitum in keeping with our aim to communicate the experience and significance of this lost building to the public. Equally, the process of designing it informed our thinking about the liturgy and appearance of the chapel.

Creative Combination: The Stained Glass

The final case study concerns light, colour, and imagery, with reference to the stained-glass windows in the chapel and their role in the wider programme. The antiquarian sources leave no doubt that the wall paintings and polychromy of the upper chapel were astonishing.⁴⁶ The architectural draughtsman Frederick Mackenzie, an eyewitness, wrote that “Every part of the Chapel, except the polished columns and shafts of pedestals, was painted and gilded”.⁴⁷ Another contribution here discusses the paintings.⁴⁸ The evidence for the stained glass is also remarkable, although in a different way. The fabric accounts are among the richest surviving sources for the medium anywhere, for the organisation of labour, glazing processes, and resources—almost everything except what the windows actually looked like.⁴⁹ They also record that the work was done between 1349 and March 1352, at the same time as work on the stalls, sculpture, and wall paintings. What the virtual model has invited, in its nature, is a bringing together again of these things. How could the glass be visible in relation to the height and position of the stalls, for example? Could the better-recorded paintings and sculpture contribute anything to an understanding of possible imagery in the glazing?

The chapel was lit by many large windows (two gable windows, ten lower side windows, and at least another ten above), whose glazing will have determined the illumination, visibility, and experience of the interior. Of this glass, we know only the three plates of fragments published by J.T. Smith in 1807 (Fig. 16).⁵⁰ Discovered during the architect James Wyatt’s interventions in 1800, these fragments are reported to have come from a window or windows in the eastern bay. They reveal that some windows had heraldic borders, containing lions and fleurs-de-lis, deriving from the royal arms of England. These are ubiquitous in English fourteenth-century stained glass, but also highly appropriate in this context, to a moment of triumph in Edward III’s war to claim the French throne.⁵¹ The fragments also suggest the presence of architectural frames, in white glass with silver staining, again of a kind common in contemporary glazing.⁵² Canopies like these would have let in a lot of light, quite different from the saturated colour of the Sainte-Chapelle, in Paris, glazed a century earlier. Such canopies limit the width available for imagery, and often contain single figures, rather than narratives. At St Stephen’s, we know that extensive narratives were painted on the walls.⁵³ The precise extent and arrangement of these features in the glass are now unknowable but the surviving evidence informed our hypothetical reconstruction of a well-lit interior (Fig. 3).⁵⁴



Figure 16.

John Thomas Smith, one of three plates showing stained glass from St Stephen's Chapel, published by John Thomas Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, (London: T. Bensley, 1807), pl. opposite p. 233. Digital image courtesy of Tim Ayers (All rights reserved).

The exercise also invited consideration of the lost glazing within the wider context of the building, including both the architectural setting and the surrounding imagery. Stained glass is always in dialogue with its architectural frame. In relation to the east window, the V&A drawing and Nelson's print suggest that the tracery once included a rose (Figs 7 and 9). Our model for this was a window in Canterbury Cathedral, documented to have been made by one of the master masons at St Stephen's, Thomas of Canterbury, in the same decade (Fig. 17).⁵⁵ Medieval glaziers met the challenge of how to fill these many little openings in a variety of ways but heraldry was a popular solution, and seems plausible here, given its importance elsewhere in the chapel: in the stained glass borders, the painted window heads, and along both upper and lower carved and painted stone cornices.⁵⁶ More specifically,

we turned to the recorded paintings on the lower parts of the east wall, at the foot of the window (Fig. 18). Within the wall arcade knelt the king and five of his sons, bearing their arms on their chests. In the five compartments of the great rose, we therefore arranged five differenced shields around those of the king himself, extending this presentation of the Plantagenet dynasty.



Figure 17.

South window in St Anselm's Chapel, *Canterbury Cathedral*, designed by master mason Thomas of Canterbury, 1336. Digital image courtesy of Immanuel Giel (Public domain).



Figure 18.

Edward III and his sons, *led by St George*, a reconstruction by Richard Smirke, made ca. 1800 of paintings on the east wall of the chapel, made originally in the 1350s, tempera and gold leaf on paper, 83 × 116 cm. Collection of Society of Antiquaries of London. Digital image courtesy of Society of Antiquaries of London (All rights reserved).

We also looked to the paintings on this wall as a way to think about the iconography in the main lights of the east window. Here, the architecture was useful again. The even number of main lights, six, is relatively unusual for an east window; we could rule out any scheme that prioritised a single subject in a central light, such as the Crucifixion, which was popular elsewhere. At the foot of the window, flanking the high altar, the men and women of the royal family pray to images of the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple. Both subjects have a Marian character, which may have been picked up elsewhere in the imagery of the altar region.⁵⁷ We put the Coronation of the Virgin at the top of the east window, therefore, in a position of honour across the two central lights—a representation of heavenly kingship in a royal chapel. For a model, we turned to the greatest surviving ensemble of contemporary English glass, in the east window of Gloucester Cathedral (formerly St Peter's Abbey), where the king's father, Edward II, is buried (Fig. 19).⁵⁸ Here Christ and the Virgin Mary preside over a heavenly hierarchy of saints. We also took from the Gloucester window the distinctive combination of red, blue and white glass, which would become widely popular in late medieval English glazing.

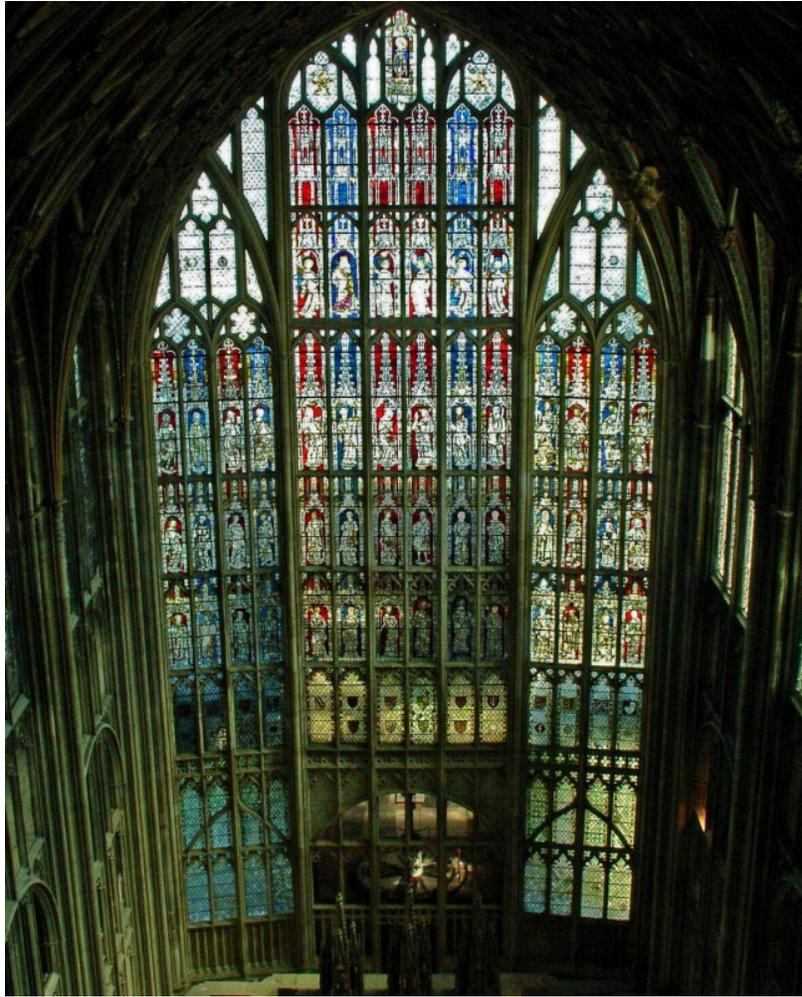


Figure 19.

East window, *Gloucester Cathedral*, third quarter of the fourteenth century. Digital image courtesy of John Jones of Skycell (All rights reserved).

Conclusion

As Adam Lee recognised in the early nineteenth century, the rediscovery of the medieval chapel of St Stephen invited visualisation and presentation to the public; it was a *cause célèbre* in the Gothic Revival. This had been a building of great splendour, at the very heart of national political life, presenting exciting possibilities for interpretation. The source materials were, and remain, abundant and diverse. Virtual modelling now allows new ways to present and interpret the lost chapel in three dimensions. We have seen that none of the features presented in the case studies offers a definitive resolution of the evidence. We have tried hard to avoid being “wrong”, but the evidence may be largely lacking, or contradictory. Rather, the model provides viewers with a new kind of imaginative access to this great

architectural space, the interrelationship of the furnishings within it, and their functions. More generally, it suggests the experience of light and colour in one of the most richly decorated interiors of English medieval architecture.

For researchers on the project, the process forced us on one level to analyse every scrap of evidence and to scrutinise the gaps. On another level, it made us think synthetically. The creation of a furnished, three-dimensional model encouraged us to gather specialists in different fields to pool their knowledge. Working together, we came to understand more about the problems facing the designers of the pulpitum, for example. The challenge of furnishing the chapel also encouraged us to think about ways in which the different parts of the building may have worked together, structurally, liturgically, iconographically and aesthetically. The modelling process made us think holistically about the coordination and interaction of many different craftsmen on a single building site at one time—in fact, about the particular character of the creative process at St Stephen's.

Appendix

Introduction

This section sets out the sources that were used for the modelling of the interior of the medieval chapel. We addressed the architecture, fixed furnishings, and decoration, but omitted moveable liturgical equipment and reading desks. The following explains briefly how the sources were prioritised in making choices, presents some alternative choices, and poses new research questions. As points of reference for the features described below, and as a record of the model, we present a plan, an elevation and a section of the chapel ([Figs 20](#), [21](#), and [22](#)).

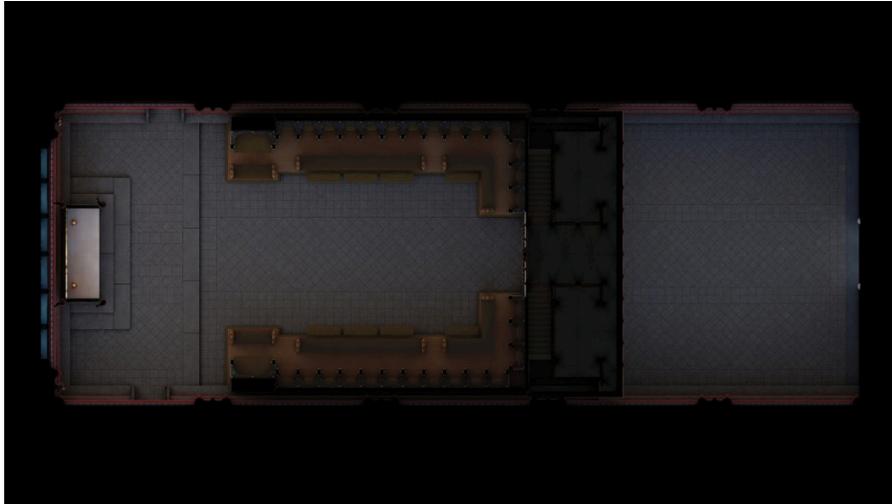


Figure 20.

Anthony Masinton, Reconstruction of the interior of St Stephen's Chapel about 1360: Plan, 2016. Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton.



Figure 21.

Anthony Masinton, Reconstruction of the interior of St Stephen's Chapel about 1360: longitudinal section, looking south, 2016. Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton.



Figure 22.

Anthony Masinton, Reconstruction of the interior of St Stephen's Chapel about 1360: transverse section, looking east, 2016. Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton.

Sources for Architecture

The upper chapel may be lost, but measured plans, elevations, and sections were made before its destruction. The main sources are the records made for the Society of Antiquaries in the 1790s and 1800s, by John Carter and John Dixon, when the building was under threat from an expanding House of Commons;⁵⁹ and those made after the fire in 1834, which led to the destruction of the building.⁶⁰ We gathered these, and as many other antiquarian drawings, watercolours, and prints of the chapel, as possible.⁶¹ A study day was held at the Society of Antiquaries and the Houses of Parliament, to evaluate their collections with curators.⁶² A number of previously unknown images emerged during the project, and it is likely that more will be discovered.

Both Carter and the architectural draughtsman Mackenzie invented parts that were hidden or lost, to different degrees for different audiences, just as we have done. They are not consistent with each other. Carter saw the interior before parts were lost in 1800, but much was then concealed by panelling; access was denied to him during James Wyatt's removal of the panelling and subsequent destruction of parts of the east end, at this time.⁶³ Mackenzie saw the shell of the whole building, with freedom of access. We had to weigh up the evidential value of what they recorded. For the parts that were surviving after 1834, we prioritised Mackenzie's record and measurements, as he had had better access, but Carter was valuable as a control, and for parts that were lost between their respective campaigns of recording.

Lower Elevations.

For the north and south elevations, up to the great frieze running above the main windows, we used the fine drawing and resulting print of the easternmost bay on the north side, made by John Dixon and published in 1811 (Fig. 23).⁶⁴ Mackenzie's plates provided further details. On his evidence, we included pairs of blind arches on the main piers, for example. The accounts record that the tabernacles between the windows were designed and made in the 1320s and 1330s.⁶⁵ We used Mackenzie's speculative reconstruction of their form, because he had better access to the surviving evidence than anyone else; he had seen and drawn the scars that were left by their removal.⁶⁶

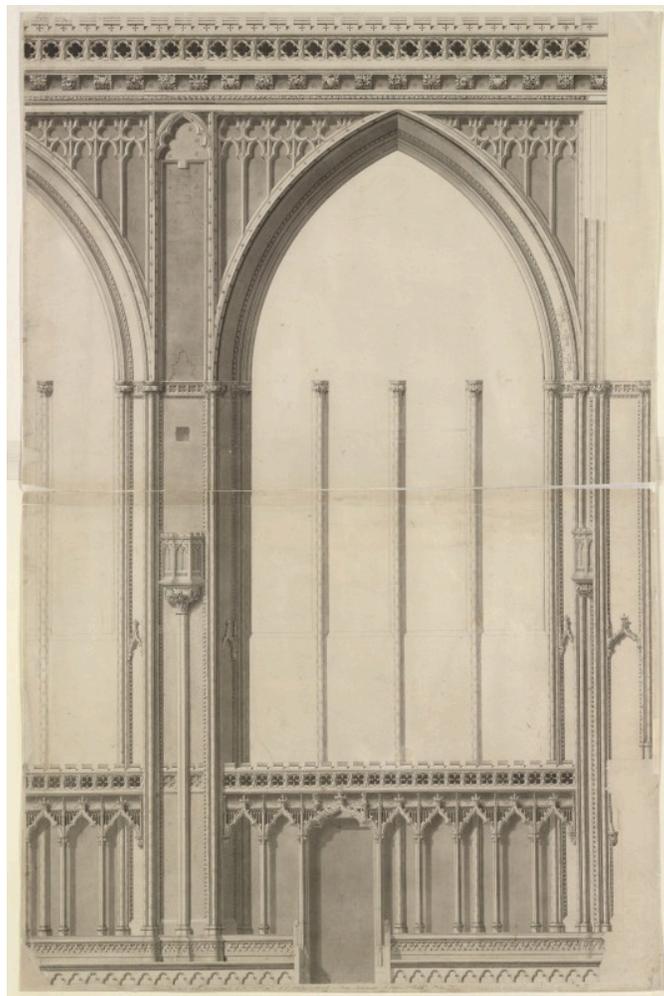


Figure 23.

John Dixon, Eastern bay on the north side of St Stephen's Chapel, 1811, pen and ink, 94.5 × 60.3 cm. Collection of Society of Antiquaries of London (236/E, SSC 15). Digital image courtesy of Society of Antiquaries of London (All rights reserved).

The form of the window tracery is not known; only the mullions, jambs, and arch heads are reliably recorded. We followed Mackenzie's speculation, based on a form that is recorded to have been painted under the wall arcade on the east wall;⁶⁷ the split cusps of this were also consistent with our visualisation of the east window tracery (see below). Other designs have been proposed for both east and side windows.⁶⁸ Carved stones survive from the lower frieze that ran around the chapel, which we were able to "incorporate" into the model.⁶⁹ A number of aspects of the building were confirmed by the medieval building accounts, such as the lavish use of a dark Purbeck marble for "columns around the chapel".⁷⁰

East and West Walls. For parts of the east wall that survived the fire, we prioritised Mackenzie's detailed record of the overall ensemble, as he had seen more than Carter; we used earlier sources for the lowest parts, which were destroyed in 1800.⁷¹ Both Carter and Mackenzie confirm the unusual, hipped form of the east window arch, seen also in earlier views of the exterior, but the tracery is speculative (see above). The west wall of the chapel had been much changed by 1834 and is poorly recorded, so we avoided modelling it in full;⁷² it is wholly or partly concealed from both available points of view. We assumed that the west window tracery was the same as that to the east, as Mackenzie had done, and duplicated other features; flanking tabernacles have been included, making up the total to twelve, appropriate to their recorded occupants (see below). There is evidence for the continuation of the wall arcade on the west wall.⁷³

Clerestory

As discussed previously, an upper tier of five windows is shown in early visual sources for the exterior (Fig. 8), and a clerestory is recorded to have been removed in 1692.⁷⁴ Mackenzie argued that the clerestory had a narrow passage separating two skins of masonry. We concluded that the window plane was on the inner face of the wall, where the weight of wall and window would be better supported. The form of the windows and their tracery is unknown. We reproduced that of the lower windows, to avoid inventing another design. The model does not make full use of the eleven short shafts for corbels, which were recorded by Mackenzie above the upper frieze on the interior, standing both over the tabernacles between the side windows and over the middle of each window.⁷⁵ It would be interesting to explore alternatives for the fenestration and vault.

Vault

The building accounts record that a timber vault was designed by the king's master carpenter William Hurley in the 1320s, and installed over the upper chapel in the 1340s.⁷⁶ The form of it is unknown (although bosses are mentioned), and it is unclear how it was supported on the corbels recorded by Mackenzie. We therefore decided to borrow a roughly contemporary design from the building itself: a lierne vault, based on that recorded in the undercroft chapel by John Carter.⁷⁷ The nineteenth-century restoration has maintained or reproduced this in a simplified form. Our design makes use of alternate corbels (see above), for support. Detailed inventories of the timbers for the original king-post roof survive in the medieval accounts.⁷⁸ Further study of these may provide clues to the form of the vault (*vosura*), which was attached to it, according to the accounts. The master carpenter was probably responsible for the extraordinary octagon vault and lantern at Ely Cathedral, so the design is potentially of great interest.

Sources for Polychromy, Sculpture, and Stained Glass

Antiquaries and artists from the 1790s, and after the fire in 1834, reported that the interior had been a blaze of colour and gilding.⁷⁹ The richness of this decoration is confirmed by fabric accounts for the 1350s, which record the purchase of vast quantities of gold leaf and other materials.⁸⁰ The architectural polychromy had a strongly heraldic character, and both this and the choices of subjects for the narrative and other paintings were informed by the character of this institution as a royal foundation.

It included painted narrative scenes, of which a few survive in the British Museum.⁸¹ These show Old Testament subjects with verse inscriptions and were originally located on masonry inserted into the lower parts of the side windows. They have recently been subjected to a new scientific analysis.⁸² Others were carefully drawn (and in one case painted) by Richard Smirke at the time of their discovery and destruction, in 1800; and published in 1811.⁸³ The making of the model provided an opportunity to see how the surviving and recorded paintings fitted into the architecture. It revealed at once that assumptions based on an illustration published in 1807, showing eight compartments in the southern window of the eastern bay, and a description in 1811, needed revision.⁸⁴ There could have been as many as sixteen scenes, in two rows. The preponderance of evidence for the eastern bay also raised questions about such paintings further west. We were dependent upon descriptions that windows at the other end of the chapel were similarly blocked and decorated.⁸⁵ We also had to consider whether there were paintings in the bays containing the stalls (see below).

Other groups of paintings were also recorded only partially. Going on the brief suggestions of J.T. Smith and Richard Smirke in the 1800s, we duplicated around the western bays the angels that they had recorded standing under the wall arcade in the eastern bay.⁸⁶ The colouring is taken from Ernest William Tristram's full-size, twentieth-century restorations, based upon Smirke's description.⁸⁷ Smith also described two standing saints in armour, which he saw at the foot of the window splays in the second bay from the east on the north side.⁸⁸ We duplicated these around the other windows, following Smith and Smirke. Similarly, Mackenzie described and drew tall figures of angels in the blind panelling that filled the window spandrels.⁸⁹ We have indicated these in the panelling of every spandrel. Given how much had been lost or was still hidden in the 1790s, it is likely that there were more figurative paintings of which we now have no record, so figurative paintings are probably under-represented in the model. The upper gable walls and clerestory are devoid of them.

The architectural polychromy was carried out in the 1350s, as recorded in the accounts. We were guided especially by John Carter's detailed watercolours in the Society of Antiquaries and Frederick Mackenzie's observations, which identified patterns in the use of colour on architectural features, such as mouldings.⁹⁰ For shades of colour, we consulted a wall-painting specialist, Dr Jane Spooner, to help us match the pigments described in the building accounts, and to be found on fragments of painted masonry from the chapel in the British Museum.⁹¹

Again, the partial evidence was a major challenge. Although Carter provides detailed drawings for the upper parts of the walls (below the clerestory), in a rich palette of red, blue, and gold (Fig. 24), there is less evidence for lower parts, and none at all for the lost clerestory and vault. We followed the principles described by the antiquaries in the parts that they saw but blank areas remained. The use of a strong colour for these, often blue in the model, is probably misleading, if they were originally painted with figural subjects, as Mackenzie thought. There are also discrepancies in the antiquarian records. We followed Mackenzie in decorating the arch heads of the side windows with gold fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground, and gold leopards on red, alternately by bay. Other visual sources suggest that they may have alternated within the reveals of each window, a format that we trialled for the east window.⁹²

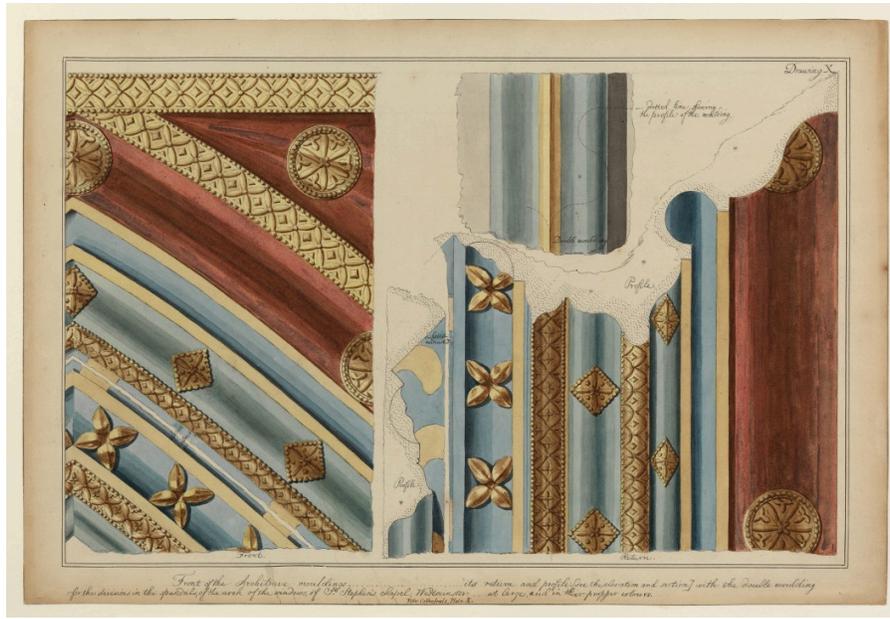


Figure 24.

John Carter, Coloured drawings of architectural features, Plate X, in John Carter, *Plans Sections & Specimens of the Architecture and Ornaments of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster*, 1795, pen and ink, and watercolour, on paper, 54.7 × 37cm. Collection of Society of Antiquaries of London (236/E, SSC 10). Digital image courtesy of Society of Antiquaries of London (All rights reserved).

The building accounts leave no doubt that the interior was inhabited originally by many figure sculptures.⁹³ We were able to represent some of these, but not all. We put the recorded patronal image of St Stephen in the customary position to the north of the high altar, and an image of the Virgin Mary on the south side, as elsewhere.⁹⁴ The latter is modelled on the figure of the Virgin and Child, from Flawford parish church (Nottinghamshire).⁹⁵ It is appropriate in form and subject, but it is of alabaster; there is no record of alabaster in the Westminster chapel. The prominent tabernacles around the walls contained figures of Apostles, according to a seventeenth-century source, and the canopies were originally inhabited by angels, with censers.⁹⁶ No suitable set of Apostle sculptures survives in England from this period. With the help of the department of art history at the University of Cologne, a photogrammetric survey was made of a set on the so-called St Peter Portal of Cologne Cathedral.⁹⁷ These were installed originally in the second half of the fourteenth century, and share some features stylistically with English art of the period. We did not have time to model the angels in the canopies.

The accounts record other figures, without specific locations.⁹⁸ They include a payment to William of Patrington for a group of eleven figures, among other work on the stalls in 1357–1358.⁹⁹ They were presumably in wood, as

he is listed among the carpenters. The odd number is striking. It would be consistent with a sequence of English kings from William I to Edward III, that is, since the Norman Conquest; or perhaps from Edward the Confessor (as this is Westminster) to Edward II, the predecessor of the current king.¹⁰⁰ For this royal chapel, we decided to speculate on how such a set of figures could have been incorporated into the timber furnishings. We placed them on the west face of the pulpitum, equivalent to those in such positions in larger churches, but here on the loft front.¹⁰¹ As models, we took the set of kings that was made three decades later for the south wall of the adjacent Westminster Hall.¹⁰² Other subjects and locations for Patrington's figures are possible.

The accounts record the purchase of materials for the decoration of sculpture, including gold leaf, tin-relief ornaments, and imitation jewels.¹⁰³ A drawing by John Wykeham Archer of a painted fragment, discovered during work on the chapel in the early nineteenth century, confirmed that some draperies were brightly coloured, with borders in relief, and gilded.¹⁰⁴ To give an impression, we coloured the figures, which proved a very time-consuming process.¹⁰⁵ The palette includes paler colours, inspired by those found in the paintings under the windows, to contrast with the powerful heraldic combination of red, blue, and gold on the walls. Our colour scheme is entirely speculative but the process of deciding upon it raised a major issue in the modelling of this polychromed interior, namely, how colours were modulated overall.

The upper chapel was illuminated by many substantial windows, as described above. Fragments of glass survived to be recorded in 1800.¹⁰⁶ Previous writers have pointed to similarities in the style of these with the surviving glazing of the Lady Chapel in Ely Cathedral (under way in 1349).¹⁰⁷ This is true of some fragments, but not all, and it is known from the accounts that the glaziers at St Stephen's came from a very wide variety of places. We decided to incorporate a castellated architecture, becoming popular around mid-century in the windows of a number of churches with close connections to Edward III's comrades in arms and a key administrator for St Stephen's, William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, Treasurer of England: Edington (Wiltshire), Elsing (Norfolk; Sir Hugh Hastings), and Heydour (Lincolnshire; Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham).¹⁰⁸ This fitted the military tenor of other aspects of the chapel's decoration. Some of the fragments suggest that the architecture was inhabited, but we did not have time to populate it.

The figure subjects are also conjectural, but they respond to a number of known features. As discussed above, we followed cues in the recorded wall paintings to include a prominent image of the Virgin Mary, enthroned in heaven, in the east window. This and various universal saints were taken from the hierarchy in the east window at Gloucester Cathedral. The hierarchy was adapted to prioritise saints particular to the chapel and its patron (Saints Edward and Edmund, George and Stephen), including further royal saints in the bottom row (taken from the choir clerestory at Wells Cathedral, and the antechapel at New College, Oxford). The Apostles, sometimes represented in the choir windows of earlier and later college chapels, were represented here in sculpture.¹⁰⁹ We therefore incorporated kings and prophets in the side windows, to represent Old Testament kingship, and the Apostles' precursors. The recorded wall paintings in the eastern bay also represented Old Testament subjects. The figures in the glass are borrowed from the clerestory glazing of Tewkesbury Abbey.¹¹⁰ As in some other college chapels, it has been imagined that the windows to the west of the liturgical choir followed a different site-specific logic, iconographically; perhaps they responded to the dedication of altars there, or represented other saints, as later at Winchester College.¹¹¹ The clerestory windows are largely invisible in the model, so we simply duplicated the canopies and tracery glazing in the side windows.

Sources for the Stalls, Pulpitum, and Liturgical Furniture

Although a pulpitum is mentioned in a fifteenth-century source (see above), suggesting a timber structure and its dimensions, it is not mentioned in the accounts, and no part of the fabric seems to have survived into the eighteenth century. As discussed above, we therefore commissioned Charles Tracy and Hugh Harrison, specialists on medieval timber structures, to create a screen that was structurally sound, in keeping with recorded dimensions, and consistent with the period. The comments of a medieval observer, regarding an iron *clausura* in the chapel, remain unexplained.¹¹²

Equally, although the making of the stalls is recorded in the building accounts, their form is not.¹¹³ As a source for our visualisation, we chose a drawing by John Carter of roughly contemporary stalls in the chapel of another royal foundation nearby, of approximately the same date, the hospital of St Katharine by the Tower of London (Fig. 25).¹¹⁴ The position of the adjoining pulpitum determined their overall location. For their arrangement, adapted for use by the college, we were guided by John Harper.¹¹⁵ The modelling confirmed that a community of this size could be accommodated in the two bays west of the sanctuary bay. In keeping with recorded practice in the previous chapel of St Stephen, we imagined separate seats for the king and queen.¹¹⁶ We put them close to the altar and the door to the privy palace in the sanctuary bay; other positions are

possible. One consequence of our choice of model for the stalls was the concealment of the lower parts of the windows, behind the stall backs. We had to assume, therefore, that these areas were not painted with figure subjects, like the eastern and western bays. For these to be included and visible, we could have chosen stall backs of a lower form, without canopies, such as those in the later fourteenth-century collegiate chapels at Arundel and New College, Oxford. ¹¹⁷

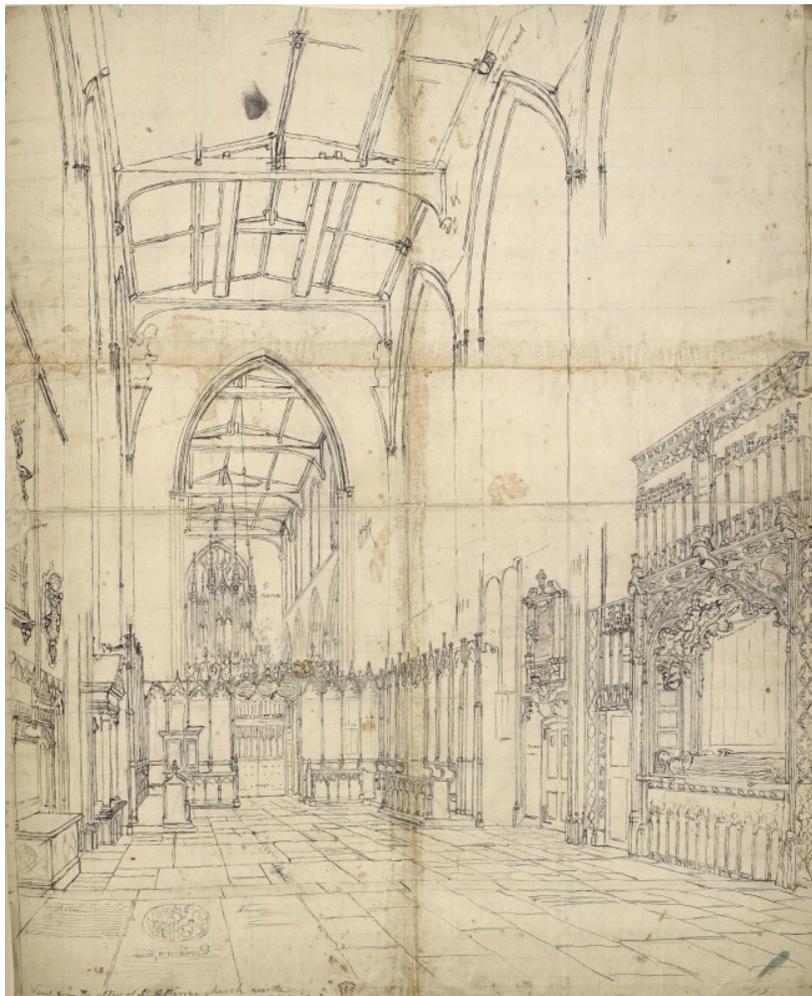


Figure 25.

John Carter, View from the altar of St Katharine's church, near the Tower, 1780, pen and ink, on paper, 59 × 48.5 cm. Collection of British Library (Add. MS 36402, f.44r.). Digital image courtesy of British Library Board (All rights reserved).

The polychromy of these timber structures posed a further challenge. Was there any? The comparative contemporary evidence is slight. We agreed that the pulpitum would probably have been painted, like the earlier stone pulpitum in Exeter Cathedral and later rood screens, but there is little evidence for the painting of English medieval choir stalls. ¹¹⁸ There is rich

polychrome decoration on the sedilia in Westminster Abbey nearby (about 1307), however, and the bishop's throne at Exeter (1313–1324).¹¹⁹ In other respects, too, there is no doubt about the lavishness of the painting and gilding in the chapel. We therefore decided to decorate both the pulpitum and stalls. For a colour palette and designs, we looked to the sedilia and to Exeter, to later rood screens, and decorative patterns in the chapel's wall paintings;¹²⁰ those on the stall backs derive from the chapel's ubiquitous representation of English royal heraldry, and from paintings of textiles under the wall arcade in the sanctuary. The scheme is inevitably entirely hypothetical.

Sources for the Floor and Steps

The floor of the upper chapel was made of Purbeck marble. The fabric accounts record the purchase of 1,200 pieces for it in 1353–1354.¹²¹ After consulting Christopher Norton, a specialist in medieval pavements, it was decided to lay these slabs in carpets, lozenge-wise to the axis of the chapel, framed by strips of slabs set square (Fig. 26). Purbeck floors of this kind are found, for example, in the ambulatory of Canterbury Cathedral. The floor at St Stephen's was probably laid around the timber frames for the stalls, as elsewhere, once these had been installed.¹²² We experimented first with slabs of two-feet square, but the number employed was too few. Our model uses about 1,400 slabs of one-foot square. Minor adjustments to the timber-framed structures, for example, would easily reduce this number, so that this is a feasible match for the figure of 1,200 pieces purchased.

There is no evidence in the longitudinal sections of the upper chapel by Carter or Mackenzie for the presence of steps, across its width.¹²³ It is possible that the evidence had been lost, or that they both missed it, but the height of the continuous wall bench in these sources would make more than one step unlikely. Liturgically, the absence of any steps would be unusual, however, especially the sanctuary step.¹²⁴ We therefore added a single step, to the west of the eastern bay. This well-recorded bay is shown to have had the same floor level along both side walls. Around the high altar, Mackenzie represented a pedestal of steps. There is no known evidence for these, but altar steps were usual in liturgical practice, so we followed him; the height of the wall bench appeared to limit the number to two, although one might expect three, for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, celebrating mass.

Footnotes

- ¹ Mireille Galinou, "Adam Lee's Drawings of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Antiquarianism and Showmanship in early 19th-century London", *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society* 34 (1983): 231–244.
- ² Galinou, "Adam Lee's Drawings of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", 235–236.

- 3 Rosemary Hill, "'Proceeding like Guy Faux': The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, 1790-1837", *Architectural History* 59 (2016): 253-279. For antiquaries and images, see Stephanie Moser, "Making Expert Knowledge through the Image: Connections between Antiquarian and Early Modern Scientific Illustration", *Isis* 105, no. 1 (March 2014): 58-99; Martin Myrone, "The Society of Antiquaries and the Graphic Arts: George Vertue and his Legacy", in Susan Pearce (ed.), *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707-2007* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), 99-122; Sam Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).
- 4 Galinou, "Adam Lee's Drawings of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", 241.
- 5 See <https://www.virtualststephens.org.uk> (accessed 9 February 2018).
- 6 See Anthony Masinton and James Jago, "Mapping the Unknown: Using Incomplete Evidence to Craft Digital Three-Dimensional Models of St Stephen's", *British Art Studies* 16 (2020), [10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/amasinton](https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/amasinton).
- 7 Tim Ayers (ed.) and Maureen Jurkowski (transcriber and translator), *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020).
- 8 Caroline Bruzelius, "Digital Technologies and New Evidence in Architectural History", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 76, no. 4 (Dec. 2017): 436-439; and Elaine Sullivan, Angel David Nieves, and Lisa M. Snyder, "Making the Model: Scholarship and Rhetoric in 3-D Historical Reconstructions", in Jentery Sayers (ed.), *Making Things and Drawing Boundaries: Experiments in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 301-317.
- 9 James Hillson, "Edward III and the Art of Authority: Military Triumph and the Decoration of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1330-1364", in Kate Buchanan and Lucinda H.S. Dean, with Michael Penman (eds), *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 105-123.
- 10 Drew Baker, "Defining Paradata in Heritage Visualization", in Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 163-164.
- 11 Sorin Hermon, "Scientific Method, *chaîne opératoire* and Visualization: 3D Modelling as a Research Tool in Archaeology", in Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 14.
- 12 See <http://www.londoncharter.org> (accessed 9 February 2018). For a commentary, see Hugh Denard, "A New Introduction to the London Charter", in Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 57-71.
- 13 For the implementation of the charter, see Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012). For paradata, see Baker, "Defining Paradata in Heritage Visualization", 163-175.
- 14 For an art-historical case study, see Lisa M. Snyder, "Research, Process, Publication, and Pedagogy: Reconstructing the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893", in Kathryn Baker (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (London: Routledge, 2020), 459-478. For methodology and paradata in archaeological modelling, see Hermon, "Scientific Method, *chaîne opératoire* and Visualization," 13-22.
- 15 For the skills and visual competency required for archaeological visualisations, see Simon James, "Visual Competence in Archaeology: A Problem Hiding in Plain Sight", *Antiquity* 89, no. 347 (October 2015): 1189-1202, at: [doi:10.15184/aq.2015.60](https://doi.org/10.15184/aq.2015.60) (accessed 9 February 2018).
- 16 See <http://www.christianityandculture.org.uk>, with Anthony Masinton, virtual modeller; Patrick Gibbs, web design; Louise Hampson, project manager. The project meetings were chaired by the present author, and the minutes are available on the project website, at: <http://www.virtualststephens.org.uk> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- 17 See <http://www.virtualststephens.org.uk> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- 18 For different audiences and purposes, see Franco Niccolucci, "Setting Standards for 3D Visualization of Cultural Heritage in Europe and Beyond", in Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 23-36.
- 19 Sullivan, Nieves, and Snyder, "Making the Model", 302.
- 20 Frederick Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, The Late House of Commons: Drawn from actual survey and admeasurements made by direction of the commissioners of her majesty's woods and works, &c. accompanied by observations on the original and perfect state of the building, and a description of the plates* (London: John Weale, 1844), ix. For Wren's recommendation, see *Designs by Sir Chr. Wren for Westminster Abbey, The New Dormitory Westminster School, Works at Westminster Palace for the Houses of Parliament, and the House, Library and Garden of Sir John Cotton; also for Sir John Moore's School at Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, and for his School at Appleby in Leicestershire*, Wren Society XI (1934): 47 (report 18 January 1692).
- 21 Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, vii-viii.
- 22 Maurice Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel and its Place in the Development of Perpendicular Style in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 37.
- 23 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, nos 37, m.1 (*vosura*); 38, m.2 (week beginning 15 October 1347, bosses). R. Allen Brown, Howard M. Colvin, and Arnold J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vols I and II, *The Middle Ages* (London: HMSO, 1963), Vol. I, 517.

- 24 Robert Willis and John Willis Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 [1886]), 367: "Item that the walles of the seid Qwere and Churche schull conteyne in heght from the grownde werke unto the Crest of the batilments of the same fote of assise [...] And so the seide Qwere schall be [...] also heyer than the walles of seynt Stephenes Chapell at Westmonstre."
- 25 John Goodall, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", in Warwick Rodwell and Tim Tatton-Brown (eds), *Westminster, The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey and Palace*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 39 (for 2013), 2 parts (2015), Part II, 113.
- 26 Goodall, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", Fig. 1 by Stephen Conlin.
- 27 A drawing in the V&A, showing the privy palace and Westminster Abbey, is the companion to a drawing showing Westminster Hall, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. For the date, see Ann Saunders, "Westminster Hall: A Sixteenth Century Drawing?", *London Survey'd: Essays in Honour of F.H.W. Sheppard, The London Journal* 12, no. 1 (1986): 29-35.
- 28 Frontispiece by Robert White to John Nalson, *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*, Vol. II (London: A. Mearne, T. Dring, B. Tooke, T. Sawbridge, and C. Mearne, 1683).
- 29 These were discussed in two workshops, attended by the project team, Stuart Harrison, Christopher Norton, Norbert Nussbaum, and Lisa Reilly. Christopher Norton's comparisons with York Minster were determining factors for the resulting model (see below).
- 30 In this, see also Goodall, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", 113, Fig. 1.
- 31 Sarah Brown, *"Our Magnificent Fabrick": York Minster, An Architectural History, c1220-1500* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), 156-157.
- 32 See the Appendix.
- 33 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*; and Brown, Colvin, and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. I, 517-522.
- 34 The minutes of our workshops are available on the website, at: <http://www.virtualststephens.org.uk> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- 35 Aymer Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens: Being Great Roods, Screenwork & Rood Lofts in Cathedral, Monastic & Collegiate Churches in England & Wales* (London: Batsford, 1947), Chapter 6, "Some Collegiate Churches".
- 36 Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, 106; and Goodall, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", 118.
- 37 For the transformation of palace chapel into collegiate chapel, see John Harper, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: The Transition from a King's to a Collegiate Chapel", in John Cooper, Caroline Shenton and Tim Ayers (eds), *St Stephen's Chapel and the Palace of Westminster*, forthcoming.
- 38 Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. 1, 354: "Item, in the saide Quere oon either side xxxii stalles and the rode loft there, I wol that they be made in the like maner and fourme as be the stalles and rodeloft in the chapell of saint Stephen atte Westminster, and of the lengthe of fete and in brede clere fete of assise."
- 39 We took this to refer to the total depth, at gallery height. The later "avyse", the third design, specifies a depth of 6ft from the provost's seat, to the choir door, see Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. 1, 366. In our model, the choir door is set directly to the west of the steps up to the loft; enclosed chapels lie beyond, further west.
- 40 Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens*, Chapter 6; and Charles Tracy, *English Gothic Choir-Stalls, 1200-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), Chapters 9-10. For Exeter, see Veronica Sekules, "The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral", in Francis Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, XI (for 1985) (1991), 172-179. We also considered and rejected as evidence a pen-and-ink drawing in the British Library (BL), inscribed in pencil, "?Restoration of Screen in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", attributed to Georg Scharf: BL, Add. MS 36489 A, no. 65. Although some detailing could be of the period, in structure the screen appears to be a fantasy. Anthony Masinton made a photogrammetric survey of the back of the St Albans watching loft.
- 41 The music historian and liturgist John Harper advised on liturgical uses. For the liturgy of St Stephen's College, see Harper, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster".
- 42 For the floor levels, see the Appendix.
- 43 We found that the floor could be set at approximately the height of the committee room above the later lobby of the House of Commons, see Edward Wedlake Brayley and John Britton, *The History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster: Embracing Accounts and Illustrations of St. Stephen's Chapel, and its Cloisters, Westminster Hall, The Court of Requests, the Painted Chamber, &c. &c.* (London: John Weale, 1836), pl. XXV.
- 44 We are grateful to Dr Lucy Wrapson for her help.
- 45 For the value of imagination, see Richard C. Beacham, "Defining our Terms in Heritage Visualization", in Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 11.

- 46 John Thomas Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster: The Old Palace; St. Stephen's Chapel, (Now the House of Commons) &c. &c., Containing Two Hundred and Forty-Six Engravings of Topographical Objects, of which One Hundred and Twenty-Two no Longer Remain* (London: Thomas Bensley, 1807), 152-154, and 155-164. John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster; Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Specimens of the Architecture and Ornaments, of the Remaining Parts of Saint Stephen's Chapel, Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1795); and *Additional Plates*, text by Sir H.C. Englefield (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1811), 8-9, and 12-22. Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 28-29.
- 47 Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 29.
- 48 See the essay in this edition of the journal by Helen Howard, Lloyd de Beer, David Saunders, and Catherine Higgitt, "The Wall Paintings at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace: Recent Imaging and Scientific Analysis of the Fragments in the British Museum", *British Art Studies* 16 (2020), doi:[10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/oneobject](https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/oneobject).
- 49 The relevant entries are in: Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, no. 40. They are calendared in Louis Francis Salzman, "The Glazing of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters* i, no. 4 (1926): 14-16; i, no. 5 (1926): 31-35; ii, no. 1 (1927): 38-41.
- 50 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 232-234, plates between pages 232-233.
- 51 Hillson, "Edward III and the Art of Authority", 105-123. For borders, see Tim Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Wells Cathedral*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain, IV, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Vol. I, 15-16.
- 52 Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1993), 147-148.
- 53 See the Appendix.
- 54 For sources, see the Appendix.
- 55 Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral, The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990), 194.
- 56 For the cornices, see Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 235-242; and Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, 9, pls XII-XIII. For the window heads, see the Appendix.
- 57 Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 183.
- 58 For the architecture, see Wilson, *Gothic Cathedral*, 207-208. For the glass, see Jill Kerr, "The East Window of Gloucester Cathedral", *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, VII for 1981, (1985): 116-129.
- 59 Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*. For the finished drawings, see London, Society of Antiquaries (SAL), 236/E, SSC 2-13, 15. Preliminary drawings: BL, Add. MS 29930, f.99r to f.132r; Add. MS 29943, f.67r to f.71v.
- 60 Brayley and Britton, *The History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament*; and Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*. For Mackenzie's drawings, see TNA, Work 29/763, 766.
- 61 The sources for these include, in London: British Library, British Museum (BM), Museum of London, and the Society of Antiquaries; in Westminster: City Archive, and Parliamentary Art Collection. For others: Howard Colvin, "Views of the Old Palace of Westminster", *Architectural History* 9 (1966): 40-43, Figs 85-100.
- 62 We are grateful to the Houses of Parliament for making high-resolution colour images of items at the Society of Antiquaries.
- 63 On Carter's accuracy, see Sir Henry Englefield, in Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, 11. On his work, see Hill, "'Proceeding like Guy Faux'", 253-279; and J. Mordaunt Crook, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival*, occasional paper 17 (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1995), 36-37.
- 64 Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, pl. XV; and SAL, 236/E, SSC 15.
- 65 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, no. 18, m. 1, week beginning 21 November 1324 (first reference).
- 66 Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 24.
- 67 Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 10.
- 68 For example, Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, 94-99.
- 69 BM, 1814,0312.2. See Helen Howard, Lloyd de Beer, David Saunders, and Catherine Higgitt, "The Wall Paintings at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace: Recent Imaging and Scientific Analysis of the Fragments in the British Museum", *British Art Studies* 16 (2020), doi:[10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/oneobject](https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/oneobject).
- 70 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts*, no. 18, m.12, week beginning 1 April 1325.
- 71 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, pl. opp. p. 153; and Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, pl. VI.
- 72 The fullest account is Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 19. There is a drawing of its state after the fire by Georg Scharf: BM, 1862,0614.660 (west wall, from east).
- 73 Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 24.

- 74 Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, vii-ix; and Brown, Colvin, and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. 1, 523.
- 75 The shafts in the angles of the chapel were not modelled fully.
- 76 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, nos 18, m.11, week beginning 11 March 1325 (Hurley's arrival); 21, rot.41d, m.1d (roof, in store); 37, m.1 (roof, installation).
- 77 SAL, 236E, SSC 2.
- 78 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, no. 21, rot.41d, m.1d. There is no room for such a roof in the reconstruction drawing by Stephen Conlin, see Goodall, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", Fig. 1.
- 79 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 152-154 and 155-164; Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, 8-9 and 12-22; and Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 28-29.
- 80 The fullest source is Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, no. 40, for June 1351 to 25 August 1352. Later rolls reveal that painting continued into the early 1360s.
- 81 BM, 1814,0312.2. For these, see Ernest William Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), 48-58 and 206-219; Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 183-185; Jane Spooner, "The Iconography of the St Stephen's Chapel Painting Fragments", in John Cooper, Caroline Shenton and Tim Ayers (eds), *St Stephen's Chapel and the Palace of Westminster*, forthcoming. We inspected them with curators, wall-painting scholars, and paint specialists.
- 82 See the essay on the paintings, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace", by Howard et al.. A new photographic record has been made by the museum, at a high resolution.
- 83 Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, pls XVI-XXVIII. Drawings: SAL, 236E, SSC 16-28. For the present project, the Houses of Parliament kindly had these photographed in colour.
- 84 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 153-154, 163, pl. opp. p. 153; Sir Henry Englefield, in Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, 17; repeated in Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century*, 49. A more plausible figure was suggested by John Cherry and Neil Stratford, *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace of Westminster*, British Museum, Occasional Paper 115 (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 36.
- 85 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 153-154; and Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, 17.
- 86 Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, 16-17, pl. XVIII; and Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 153 and 163. For Smirke's drawings, see SAL, 236E, SSC 18.1-2.
- 87 Palace of Westminster Collection, WOA 2918, 2919.
- 88 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 160 and 163; and Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, 22, pl. XXVIII.
- 89 Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 28, pl. 14.
- 90 SAL, 236E, SSC 10-13; and Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, 28-29, pl. XIV.
- 91 BM, 1814,0312.2. The most important documentary source was Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, no. 40. We are grateful to Dr Jane Spooner and Lloyd de Beer for their help. For a further discussion of the choices of colour, see Masinton and Jago, "Mapping the Unknown".
- 92 G. Moore records the arrangement of alternating arms in both locations, 1834: Palace of Westminster Collection, WOA 260, 1281.
- 93 The most important are Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, nos 40, esp. m.27d; 45, m.1 (week beginning 10 August 1355); 46, mm.5 (week beginning 2 February 1356), 8 (week beginning 11 April 1356).
- 94 Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), 73-75.
- 95 *Age of Chivalry, Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, exhibition catalogue (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), cat. no. 699. It is in the Nottingham Castle Museum. We are grateful to Revd Gordon Plumb for photographing it.
- 96 University of Minnesota Library, Z 942.062 (diary of Sir Thomas Peyton), f.121; and Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts*, no. 40, m.20 (week beginning 21 May 1352).
- 97 We are grateful to Prof. Norbert Nussbaum and his students for making the survey. The sculptures that they photographed are twentieth-century copies of medieval originals, which are now in the museum.
- 98 There is a summary in Brown, Colvin, and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. I, 521.
- 99 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, no. 47, m.5. They cost eight shillings each.
- 100 For thirteen sculptures of kings, ordered by Richard II for Westminster Hall in 1385, and their identification, see Phillip Lindley, "Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture", in Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline Elam (eds), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London: Harvey Miller, 1997), 74-75.
- 101 Laura Slater, "Visual Reflections on History and Kingship in the Medieval English Great Church", *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 167 (2014): 83-108.

- 102 Cherry and Stratford, *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace of Westminster*, esp. 61–91; and Lindley, “Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture”, 74–83. We are grateful to the Houses of Parliament for commissioning a new photogrammetric survey.
- 103 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396*, no. 46, mm.1 (week beginning 20 October 1355: gold leaf, “prentes”), 3 (week beginning 23 November 1355: “doublettes”, or false jewels).
- 104 BM, inv. no. 1874,0314.187 (c.1834).
- 105 See Masinton and Jago, “Mapping the Unknown”.
- 106 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, plates between pages 232–233.
- 107 Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, 159 and 161.
- 108 Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, 169. For Heydour (Lincolnshire): Penny Hebgin-Barnes, *The Medieval Stained Glass of the County of Lincolnshire*, Corpus Vitrearum Great Britain, Summary Catalogue 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 121 and 125–127.
- 109 Tim Ayers, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Merton College, Oxford*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain, VI (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Vol. 1, no. 89, 44–49.
- 110 Sarah Brown, “The Medieval Stained Glass”, in Richard K. Morris and Ron Shoesmith (eds), *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture* (Almeley: Logaston Press, 2003), 183–196.
- 111 John D. Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester* (Winchester: Warren, 1920), 84–98.
- 112 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D 1066, f.26v; and Brown, Colvin, and Taylor, *The History of the King’s Works*, Vol. 1, 520–521.
- 113 For the final set of stalls, see Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396*, nos 46, 47, and 53.
- 114 BL, Add. MS 36402, f.44r. and Tracy, *English Gothic Choir-Stalls*, Ch. 9, esp. 53 and 55.
- 115 See Harper, “St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster”. Liturgical arrangements were discussed in a workshop attended by the project team, John Harper and Charles Tracy.
- 116 See Harper, “St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster”.
- 117 Tracy, *English Gothic Choir-Stalls*, Ch. 10, esp. 58–59, pls 187–188. For a visualisation of such stalls, see Goodall, “St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster”, Fig. 2. Given the high expenditure on paintings in 1351–1352, it is possible that those beneath the windows had been completed before the second design for the stalls was undertaken (from 1355).
- 118 Tracy, *English Gothic Choir-Stalls*, 3–4, 35–37, and 44.
- 119 Lucy Wrapson, “The Materials and Techniques of the c.1307 Westminster Abbey Sedilia”, in Jilleen Nadolny *et al.* (eds), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Technique, Analysis, Art History. Studies in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Unn Plahter* (London: Archetype, 2006), 114–136; Eddie Sinclair, “The Medieval Polychromy Scheme of the Exeter Cathedral Bishop’s Throne: A Summary”, in Charles Tracy, with Andrew Budge (eds), *Britain’s Medieval Episcopal Thrones: History, Archaeology and Conservation* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2015), 165–170. For later screens, see Lucy Wrapson and Eddie Sinclair, “The Polychromy of Devon Screens: Preliminary Analytical Results”, in Spike Bucklow, Richard Marks, and Lucy Wrapson (eds), *The Art and Science of the Church Screen in Medieval Europe: Making, Meaning, Preserving* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017), 150–175.
- 120 We are grateful to Dr Lucy Wrapson for her advice.
- 121 Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396*, no. 42, m.2.
- 122 It was laid in 1355–1356, see Ayers and Jurkowski, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396*, no. 46, m.1d. Work on the stalls was begun again in the same roll.
- 123 Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*, pl. VII; and Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen*, pls 6–7. Both agree that there were steps up to the entrance.
- 124 We are grateful to John Harper for his advice.

Bibliography

Ayers, Tim (2004) *The Medieval Stained Glass of Wells Cathedral*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain, IV, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ayers, Tim (2013) *The Medieval Stained Glass of Merton College, Oxford*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain, VI, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ayers, Tim (ed.) and Jurkowski, Maureen (transcr. and trans.) (2020) *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Baker, Drew (2012) “Defining Paradata in Heritage Visualization”. In Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, and Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage*. Farnham: Ashgate, 163–75.

Barceló, Juan A., Forte, Maurizio, and Sanders, Donald H. (eds) (2000) *Virtual Reality in Archaeology*, British Archaeological Reports International Series, 843. Oxford: Archeopress.

- Beacham, Richard C. (2012) "Defining our Terms in Heritage Visualization". In Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, and Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage*. Farnham: Ashgate, 7-11.
- Bentkowska-Kafel, Anna, Denard, Hugh and Baker, Drew (eds) (2012) *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Binski, Paul (1995) *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Brayley, Edward Wedlake and Britton, John (1836) *The History of the Ancient Palace and Late Houses of Parliament at Westminster: Embracing Accounts and Illustrations of St. Stephen's Chapel, and its Cloisters, Westminster Hall, The Court of Requests, the Painted Chamber, &c. &c.* London: John Weale.
- Brown, R. Allen, Colvin, Howard M., and Taylor, Arnold J. (1963) *The History of the King's Works, I and II, The Middle Ages*. Howard M. Colvin (ed.). London: HMSO.
- Brown, Sarah (2003) "The Medieval Stained Glass". In Richard K. Morris and Ron Shoesmith (eds), *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture*. Almeley: Logaston Press, 183-196.
- Brown, Sarah (2003) "Our Magnificent Fabrick": *York Minster, An Architectural History, c1220-1500*. Swindon: English Heritage.
- Bruzelius, Caroline (2017) "Digital Technologies and New Evidence in Architectural History". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 76, no. 4 (December): 436-439.
- Cherry, John and Stratford, Neil (1995) *Westminster Kings and the Medieval Palace of Westminster*, British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, Occasional Paper 115. London: British Museum Press.
- Colvin, Howard (1966) "Views of the Old Palace of Westminster". *Architectural History* 9: 21-184.
- Cooper, John, Shenton, Caroline, and Ayers, Tim (eds) (forthcoming) *St Stephen's Chapel and the Palace of Westminster*.
- Crook, J. Mordaunt (1995) *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival*, Occasional Paper 17. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- Crook, J. Mordaunt and Port, Michael H. (1973) *The History of the King's Works, VI, 1782-1851*, Howard M. Colvin (ed.). London: HMSO.
- Denard, Hugh (2012) "A New Introduction to the London Charter". In Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, and Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage*. Farnham: Ashgate, 57-71.
- Galinou, Mireille (1983) "Adam Lee's Drawings of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Antiquarianism and Showmanship in Early 19th-Century London". *Transactions of the London & Middlesex Archaeological Society* 34: 231-244.
- Goodall, John (2015) "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster". In Warwick Rodwell and Tim Tatton-Brown (eds), *Westminster: The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey and Palace*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 39 (for 2013), 2 parts: 111-119.
- Harper, John (forthcoming) "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: The Transition from a King's to a Collegiate Chapel". In John Cooper, Caroline Shenton and Tim Ayers (eds), *St Stephen's Chapel and the Palace of Westminster*.
- Harvey, John H. (1961) "The Origin of the Perpendicular Style". In Edward Martyn Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B.H. St. J. O'Neil*: 134-65. London: Odhams.
- Hastings, Maurice (1955) *St Stephen's Chapel, and its Place in the Development of Perpendicular Style in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hebgin-Barnes, Penny (1996) *The Medieval Stained Glass of the County of Lincolnshire*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Great Britain, Summary Catalogue 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hermon, Sorin (2012) "Scientific Method, *chaîne opératoire* and Visualization: 3D Modelling as a Research Tool in Archaeology." In Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, and Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage*. Farnham: Ashgate, 13-22.
- Hill, Rosemary (2016) "'Proceeding like Guy Faux': The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, 1790-1837". *Architectural History* 59: 253-279.
- Hillson, James (2016) "Edward III and the Art of Authority: Military Triumph and the Decoration of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1330-1364". In Kate Buchanan and Lucinda H.S. Dean, with Michael Penman (eds), *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles*. London: Routledge, 105-123.
- Howard, Helen, de Beer, Lloyd, Saunders, David, and Higgitt, Catherine (2020) "The Wall Paintings at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace: Recent Imaging and Scientific Analysis of the Fragments in the British Museum". *British Art Studies* 16. doi:10.17658/jssn.2058-5462/issue-16/oneobject.
- James, Simon (2015) "Visual Competence in Archaeology: A Problem Hiding in Plain Sight". *Antiquity* 89, no. 347 (October): 1189-1202, at: <https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2015.60> (accessed 9 February 2018).
- Kerr, Jill (1985) "The East Window of Gloucester Cathedral". *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions VII for 1981: 116-129.
- Le Couteur, John D. (1920) *Ancient Glass in Winchester*. Winchester: Warren.
- Lindley, Phillip (1997) "Absolutism and Regal Image in Ricardian Sculpture". In Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas, and Caroline Elam (eds), *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*. London: Harvey Miller, 60-83.
- Mackenzie, Frederick (1844) *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, The Late House of Commons: Drawn from actual survey and admeasurements made by direction of the commissioners of her majesty's woods and works, &c. accompanied by observations on the original and perfect state of the building, and a description of the plates*. London: John Weale.

- Masinton, Anthony and Jago, James (2020) "Mapping the Unknown: Using Incomplete Evidence to Craft Digital Three-Dimensional Models of St Stephen's". *British Art Studies* 16. doi:10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/amasinton.
- Marks, Richard (1993) *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge.
- Marks, Richard (2004) *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*. Stroud: Sutton.
- Morris, Richard K. (1991) "Thomas of Witney at Exeter, Winchester and Wells". In Francis Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XI for 1985: 57-84.
- Moser, Stephanie (2014) "Making Expert Knowledge through the Image: Connections between Antiquarian and Early Modern Scientific Illustration". *Isis* 105, no. 1 (March): 58-99.
- Myrone, Martin (2007) "The Society of Antiquaries and the Graphic Arts: George Vertue and his Legacy". In Susan Pearce (ed.), *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707-2007*. London: Society of Antiquaries, 99-122.
- Nelson, John (1682 and 1683) *An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*. 2 vols. London: A. Mearne, T. Dring, B. Tooke, T. Sawbridge, and C. Mearne.
- Niccolucci, Franco (2012) "Setting Standards for 3D Visualization of Cultural Heritage in Europe and Beyond." In Anna Bentkowska-Kafel, Hugh Denard, and Drew Baker (eds), *Paradata and Transparency in Virtual Heritage*. Farnham: Ashgate, 23-36.
- Royal Academy of Arts (1987) *Age of Chivalry, Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400*, exhibition catalogue. London: Royal Academy of Arts.
- Salzman, Louis Francis (1926-1927) "The Glazing of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster". *Journal of the British Society of Master Glass-Painters i Painters* i, no. 4 (1926): 14-16; i, no. 5 (1926): 31-35; ii, no. 1 (1927): 38-41.
- Saunders, Ann (1986) "Westminster Hall: A Sixteenth Century Drawing?" In *London Survey'd: Essays in Honour of F.H.W. Sheppard*, The London Journal 12, no. 1: 29-35.
- Sekules, Veronica (1991) "The Liturgical Furnishings of the Choir of Exeter Cathedral". In Francis Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association, XI for 1985: 172-179.
- Sinclair, Eddie (2015) "The Medieval Polychromy Scheme of the Exeter Cathedral Bishop's Throne: A Summary". In Charles Tracy, with Andrew Budge, *Britain's Medieval Episcopal Thrones: History, Archaeology and Conservation*. Oxford: Oxbow, 165-170.
- Slater, Laura (2014) "Visual Reflections on History and Kingship in the Medieval English Great Church". *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 167: 83-108.
- Smiles, Sam (1994) *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Smith, John Thomas (1807) *Antiquities of Westminster: The Old Palace; St. Stephen's Chapel, (Now the House of Commons) &c. &c., Containing Two Hundred and Forty-Six Engravings of Topographical Objects, of which One Hundred and Twenty-Two no Longer Remain*. London: Thomas Bensley.
- Snyder, Lisa M. (2000) "Research, Process, Publication, and Pedagogy: Reconstructing the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893". In Kathryn Baker (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History*. London: Routledge, 459-478.
- Spooner, Jane (forthcoming) "The Iconography of the St Stephen's Chapel Painting Fragments". In John Cooper, Caroline Shenton and Tim Ayers (eds), *St Stephen's Chapel and the Palace of Westminster*.
- Sullivan, Elaine, Nieves, Angel David, and Snyder, Lisa M. (2017) "Making the Model: Scholarship and Rhetoric in 3-D Historical Reconstructions". In Jentery Sayers (ed.), *Making Things and Drawing Boundaries: Experiments in the Digital Humanities*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 301-317.
- Topham, John (1795) *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster; Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Specimens of the Architecture and Ornaments, of the Remaining Parts of Saint Stephen's Chapel, Westminster*. London: Society of Antiquaries. *Additional Plates*, text by Sir Henry C. Englefield. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1811.
- Tracy, Charles (1987) *English Gothic Choir-Stalls, 1200-1400*. Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Tristram, Ernest William (1955) *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Willis, Robert and Willis Clark, John (1988 [1886]) *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vallance, Aymer (1947) *Greater English Church Screens: Being Great Roods, Screenwork & Rood Lofts in Cathedral, Monastic & Collegiate Churches in England & Wales*. London: Batsford.
- Wilson, Christopher (1990) *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Wrapson, Lucy (2006) "The Materials and Techniques of the c.1307 Westminster Abbey Sedilia". In Jilleen Nadolny et al., (eds), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Technique, Analysis, Art History. Studies in Commemoration of the 70th Birthday of Unn Plahter*. London: Archetype, 114-136.
- Wrapson, Lucy and Sinclair, Eddie (2017) "The Polychromy of Devon Screens: Preliminary Analytical Results". In Spike Bucklow, Richard Marks, and Lucy Wrapson (eds), *The Art and Science of the Church Screen in Medieval Europe: Making, Meaning, Preserving*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 150-175.
- Wren Society (1934) "Westminster Palace in the Wren Period". In *Designs by Sir Chr. Wren for Westminster Abbey, The New Dormitory Westminster School, Works at Westminster Palace for the Houses of Parliament, and the House, Library and Garden of Sir John Cotton; also for Sir John Moore's School at Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, and for his School at Appleby in Leicestershire*, Wren Society XI: 46-59.

Mapping the Unknown: Using Incomplete Evidence to Craft Digital Three-Dimensional Models of St Stephen's

Anthony Masinton and James Jago

Abstract

Crafting a digital reconstruction of a lost space is a process of rediscovery and exploration. The nature of the evidence determines the form of the reconstruction, providing a sketch of what is known about the space. The process of reconstruction itself, however, reveals a map of what is unknown about the space. How the known and the unknown are negotiated by reconstruction yields insights and new questions about even well-investigated lost spaces such as the Chapel of St Stephen, Palace of Westminster, and its subsequent reincarnation as the Chamber of the House of Commons. This article presents a primer of techniques for computer-based reconstructions and, through case studies from the St Stephen's project, details how evidence and gaps in that evidence work together to create a vision of the past.

Authors

Acknowledgements

James Jago's research, photogrammetry road trips, and erudition were fundamental to the successful completion of visualising St Stephen's transformation into Wren's Chamber. Stephanie Masinton volunteered many hours skilfully hand-painting the digital statuary of the medieval chapel. The chapel's windows and walls are filled with Dominic Andrew's astonishing 2D artistry.

Cite as

Anthony Masinton and James Jago, "Mapping the Unknown: Using Incomplete Evidence to Craft Digital Three-Dimensional Models of St Stephen's", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/amasinton>

Introduction

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 1.

An interactive panoramic view of the St Stephen's model, one view of the 1707 Commons Chamber model; and a view of an early, "in-progress" version of the medieval model with "flat" colours are available to explore. To navigate:

Click and drag to look around the panorama.

Keyboard:

S = "Switch" between viewing the choir and viewing the screen of the medieval chapel

C = "Commons" model—View the Chamber of the House of Commons in 1707

L = "Liturgy"—View the medieval choir during Mass

P = "Previous" version of the medieval chapel—an in-progress earlier view showing "pure" colours applied to the walls.

Digital image courtesy of Reconstruction by MatchstickCathedral courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

The process of crafting three-dimensional digital models of past spaces is always dictated by the evidence upon which those models are based. This paper focuses on how the character of the evidence for the appearance of St Stephen's Chapel impacted the process of crafting models of this space. The models portray St Stephen's as it may have appeared during three periods: after completion in the mid-fourteenth century; during its evolution as the Chamber of the House of Commons between 1550 and 1650; and after its substantial transformation at the hands of Sir Christopher Wren from 1692 (Fig. 1). Interpreting historical and archaeological evidence in a way that can be visualised in three dimensions faces numerous challenges. Tim Ayers' paper explores those challenges in relation to the medieval chapel from an art-historical perspective. This paper explores those challenges from the practical perspective of crafting the models themselves. The viewer must appreciate the technical process of model creation in order to understand the influence models can have over interpretation. Therefore, we provide here a brief introduction to three-dimensional modelling concepts, terms, and processes. How technical matters influenced the interpretation of evidence for the St Stephen's modelling is demonstrated in our work with medieval colour. In this example, the challenge of colour matching across digital and physical media was compounded by human perceptual phenomena when colours in the model were viewed under different conditions and in different contexts. The technical challenge of modelling St Stephen's was dictated by the character and completeness of the evidence, which differed significantly for each period. These differences moulded our approach from the start of the process and led us to make decisions about level-of-detail and visual fidelity, which impacted our work at every step of the process. How we negotiated these differences is illustrated in our experience of modelling the

Commons Chamber based on the impressionistic character of the evidence for that period. By “pulling back the curtain” on our modelling process, we hope to present the model not as an authoritative “last word” on St Stephen’s but rather as a visual argument inviting critical engagement and prompting further research (Fig. 2).



Figure 2.

Composite view of the St Stephen’s model, *showing the space from the same viewpoint across three periods: circa 1360 (left), circa 1650 (centre), and 1707 (right)*. Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

Creating a visualisation of the past is an act of mapping the unknown. Evidence is never complete, only offering tantalising glimpses into a lost world. Sometimes there are enough pieces of a place’s past scattered through documents and pictures, and preserved in its own fabric, for an act of virtual reconstruction to become an interesting possibility. For St Stephen’s Chapel, and its life after the dissolution of the college in 1548, the allure of virtual reconstruction is almost impossible to resist. Indeed, artists’ reconstructions of the chapel have been a part of its historiography for two hundred years.¹ The evidence is rich, the historical, archaeological, and art-historical significance of the building is difficult to overstate, and technology is sufficiently developed that a comprehensive three-dimensional model of the chapel, and its transformation into the Chamber of the House of Commons, *seemed* possible. A proposal to do so formed part of the major AHRC project “St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster: Visual and Political Culture, 1292–1941”. The models would serve to communicate visually the research of this project to the general public, but, they were also intended from the start as part of the research methodology itself. The visualisation process would draw on the expertise of project members across disciplines in a two-way conversation, which would ask questions about St Stephen’s, as well as illustrating the current understanding of the project team.

Three-Dimensional Digital Modelling and St Stephen's: Technical Process and Research Application

While present-day modelling tools are capable of much, they operate within the bounds of their own algorithms, the hardware on which they run, and the experience and skill of the artist who uses them to envisage the past. "Modelling" here refers to the process of crafting a three-dimensional representation of spaces and artefacts, most of which no longer exist, as they may have appeared at specific times in the past based on a broad range of evidence. These are visualisations and as such are inherently problematic, limited by the nature of the evidence upon which they were built. This form of modelling is a largely manual affair guided by artists and scholars.

It is also an iterative process, whereby the artists and the scholars on the project arrive at consensus through a series of negotiations—each refining the others' understanding and vision. For St Stephen's, modelling required us to engage directly with aspects of the building that are very poorly understood. We faced the unknown frequently, questioned our sources, and challenged the interpretations of others, as well as our own. The process demanded strategies for coping with speculation and compromise, as we balanced evidence against the requirements imposed by our choice to express our understanding in three-dimensional virtual space. While the final models appear to be strongly authoritative, it is important that they are understood to be products in support of a particular set of interpretations, derived through a process of scholarly inquiry and debate.

Modelling Concepts, Terms, and Limitations

It is also important to understand the fundamental concepts, terms, and limitations of how three-dimensional digital models are created.² Three-dimensional digital modelling is a broad discipline composed of numerous sub-disciplines with development driven by the needs of the multi-billion-dollar global entertainment industry. While scholars in the Humanities have a long history of using digital three-dimensional modelling in their research, the tools, concepts, and terminology are exclusively industry oriented. There is no functionality which would allow citations of source material, tracking alterations or alternatives over time, or stable archiving of finished outputs.³ In this paper, we will restrict our focus to the sub-discipline known as "Environment Art", which can be thought of as digital theatrical sets and props. The people who create these kinds of models are known as "artists", regardless of whether what they produce might be considered "Art".

However, the term is helpful here because it acknowledges that digital modelling is not “computer generated”. Three-dimensional digital visions of the past are acts of creative expression by human beings.

The standard tools available to three-dimensional digital artists operate on the principle that models are composed of “geometry” and “materials”, which are rendered to-screen using a variety of approaches (Fig. 3).⁴ “Geometry” refers to the mesh of polygons that define the surface of the model. A mesh is a set of vertices whose positions are described by Cartesian coordinates in three dimensions. The vertices define the corners of triangular three-dimensional polygons (“polys”), which together form a mesh in space. “Materials” determine how the mesh interacts with virtual lighting. Materials usually (but not always) rely on sets of two-dimensional pixel-based images (“textures” or “maps”) mapped to the mesh according to a set of texture coordinates (called “UVs”). How geometry and materials are interpreted by the computer and rendered to-screen is governed by small computer programs called “shaders”. Shaders instruct the computer’s graphical processing unit (GPU) in how to rasterise the data they send to it, in order to draw the model pixel-by-pixel in two dimensions on the display device. Each image the GPU draws to-screen is called a “render” or a “frame”. The denser the geometry, the more complex the material, and the more sophisticated the lighting and rendering algorithms, the longer it takes for the computer to draw that model to-screen. Depending on the project goals, it can take anywhere from milliseconds to days for the computer to produce a single render. Having a clearly defined end goal in terms of how the models will be displayed and used is important because this impacts how the models themselves are created. The St Stephen’s project goal was to produce a set of still images and brief movies that are as photorealistic as possible. Therefore, a high-fidelity, high-poly modelling process was required with renders that took hours to days to produce. If the goal had been to create an environment that a user could explore interactively in real-time, a different modelling process would have been chosen, which would have demanded lower fidelity to the evidence in exchange for rendering to-screen at a rate of 30-60 frames per second.



Figure 3.

Repainted model of one of the statues of kings in Westminster Hall, Left: The model's geometry was produced via photogrammetry and the recolouring done by hand. Right: The same model, but with its material removed and the individual polygons of its mesh outlined. Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

There are many ways to build the geometry of a digital three-dimensional model. The St Stephen's project employed several. Construction methods ranged from vertices placed in space, one at a time by the artist, to automatically generated models based on photogrammetric data. Vertex-by-vertex modelling was used for all of the medieval window tracery, for example, as the cusps in the tracery openings were not suitable for more "automatic" modelling techniques. The physical materials of the original buildings also impacted which modelling techniques were used. Masonry structures are composed primarily of sets of two-dimensional moulding profiles swept along two- and three-dimensional paths in space (Fig. 4). Timber structures, however, are more frequently composed of discrete elements joined together and embellished with applied or carved details. Much of the base geometry of the masonry portions of the medieval chapel model was produced using digitised copies of moulding profiles and arch forms published in antiquarian sources. In contrast, the 1707 Chamber interior was mostly constructed of timber. Benches and panelling were built up from sets of virtual cubes, scaled to the dimensions of the original timbers. Moulded edges and carved ornament were cut into the virtual surface or appended to it. Regardless of the period, carved ornament was produced in one of two ways. If an example of the object existed in the real world, a set of photographs was taken from which a mesh was automatically produced using photogrammetry software. For example, the apostle statues in the medieval model were based on a photogrammetric survey of statues from Cologne Cathedral's west portal.⁵ However, if the object no longer

existed, it was sculpted using specialist sculpting software (a kind of “digital clay”). The medieval wall arcade capitals and cornice ornaments as well as the acanthus capitals of the iron columns in the 1707 model, for example, were hand-sculpted using this technique.

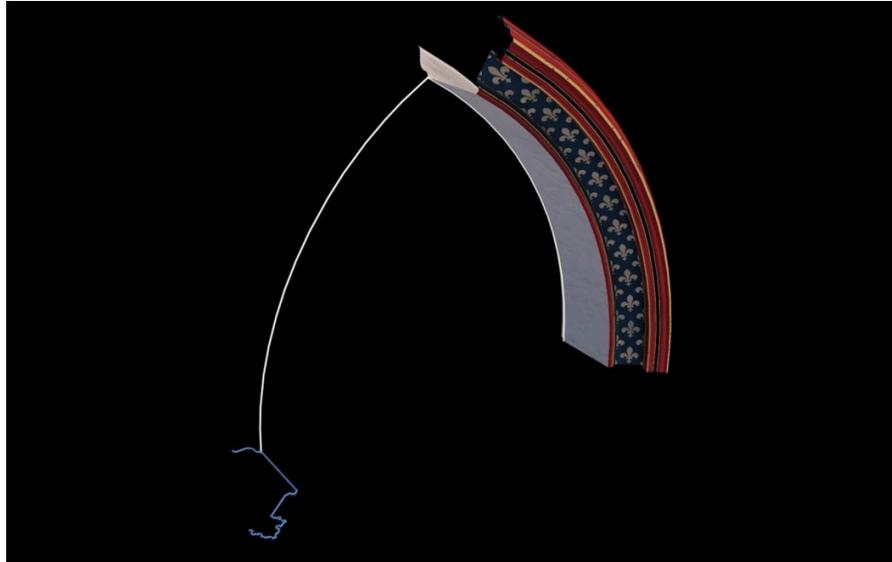


Figure 4.

Extruding a profile (left side,, in blue) along a path (centre, bright white) to produce a three-dimensional mesh of a window head (right). Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

As with geometry, there are numerous ways to create a model’s materials. How a material interacts with virtual light is key to determining which textures, or maps, are required to create a material successfully. A simple material imitates a matte surface and displays a single texture mapped to that surface. Examples of this for St Stephen’s are the materials for the statues. While the materials are simple, the process of producing the colouring was time-consuming. Each of the two-dozen statues was hand-painted using a digital paintbrush on a specialised screen—a process which took over a week of manual labour (Fig. 5).⁶ Other materials were more complex. For example, the medieval glass of the chapel required that the material be semi-transparent, transmit light coloured by the glass it passed through, and display the specific stained-glass design. A “simple” transparent-transmissive material was used which allowed light to pass through the glass, transmitting its colour onto nearby surfaces, but which did not require rigorous photometric data. For each window, however, the glass design itself consisted of a colour, two-dimensional, raster image built up from hand-drawn cartoons based on surviving examples of glass from the period.⁷



Figure 5.

Hand painting one of the Westminster kings, Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

The most complex materials were ones that used a series of specialised images to help decrease the computational load of rendering the model, while retaining visual fidelity to the source material. The material for the capitals of the medieval wall arcading is a good example (Fig. 6). The geometry of these was carved using digital sculpting software. This produced a mesh of over a million polygons. A high-poly mesh such as this demands heavy computation (and long render times). The medieval chapel model required dozens of these. A model that adhered to the same basic shape, but which was composed of less than 1,000 polygons, could be used instead. The low-poly mesh was many times more computationally efficient to render, although it was at the cost of losing all but the most basic surface detail. However, the details of the high-poly mesh were projected on to the low-poly mesh as a set of specialised, two-dimensional images in a process known as “baking”. A specialised material used these baked maps to produce renderings that lost none of the visual fidelity of the high-poly mesh, but were rendered in a fraction of the time. The St Stephen’s arcade capital material had the additional complexity of attempting to mimic partially gilded, polished Purbeck marble. The final capital material made use of a physically based lighting model, which imitated both polished stone and gold. A two-dimensional image was used as a map, defining which portion of the surface should be stone and which should be gold. Both the stone and the gold were given subtle tonal variations by using a computer-generated noise pattern as an underlay.⁸

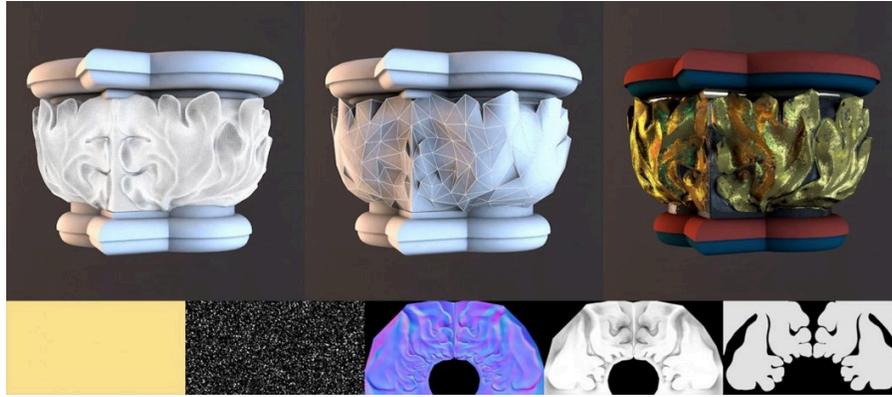


Figure 6.

The medieval wall-arcade capital model, showing geometry and materials development. Top, left to right: High-poly mesh, low-poly mesh, final low-poly model with material applied. Bottom, left to right: Colour map, procedural noise map used for bumps, normal map, ambient occlusion map, mask (light areas render as gold, black as Purbeck marble). Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

The final fundamental element of three-dimensional digital modelling is lighting. Again, the options available to the artist are numerous, but all come with the familiar challenge of balancing complexity and render times. Basic digital lights do not mimic the behaviour of light in the real world. Real-world light “bounces” through space, picking up the colour of one surface and casting it onto nearby surfaces. Simple digital lights do not bounce. Surfaces are fully lit or not at all. It is impossible to light an interior with a single, simple exterior light in the way that the sun lights an interior in the real world. However, these simple, virtual lights render very quickly. Because of this, artists sometimes choose to create sophisticated lighting “rigs” using dozens or hundreds of individually positioned and coloured simple lights to create the effect of bounced light in a space. This is time-consuming and relatively rigid, in that it is difficult to change the lighting. Artists do have the option of using more physically accurate digital lighting solutions, too. These kinds of lights behave much more like real-world lights, especially when coupled with a “global illumination” (or “GI”) rendering algorithm, which bounces light through space in a physically accurate way. Such lighting systems are often more flexible and are capable of producing far more nuanced, even photorealistic renders. They are, however, many times more time-consuming to render, for example, an interior lit with hundreds of simple lights can be rendered in milliseconds, whereas the same interior model, lit by a single exterior light source and a GI algorithm could easily take hours. For St Stephen’s, the project team chose early on to produce photorealistic renderings. Therefore, a GI-rendering solution using a single panoramic high-dynamic range image of the sky as a light source was used. Because of the complexity of the model’s geometry and materials, a single panorama of the final medieval interior took over eight hours to render.

This has been a cursory and simplified introduction to the foundational concepts and processes of creating a digital, three-dimensional model. It is a labour-intensive, time-consuming process. Members of the team with widely varying professional backgrounds must collaborate to produce a vision of the past. It is helpful if the artists involved also have a good grasp of the scholarship on the particular subject being presented. The artists create models based on the research team's interpretation of the evidence and then submit these models back to the research team, who further refine them. This cycle can occur multiple times. At St Stephen's, this relationship between the technical process, research, and iteration can be seen in how we settled on colours for the medieval interior.

Case Study: Colour

Colour was as important to the attempted visualisation of the chapel interior as the shape of the underlying stonework. The chapel was built of colour as much as it was built of stone, glass, and timber. The evidence for the medieval polychromy of St Stephen's is rich. The fabric accounts identify the pigments used, and are clear about the major investment of money and labour they represent. The fragments of painted stonework from the chapel now held in the collections of the British Museum suggest how those pigments were applied. Every exposed face of every fragment was painted. John Carter's original survey sketches of 1790-1802, heavily annotated with colour notes, along with a coloured set of his finished drawings provided further evidence of a richly polychromatic interior, a point confirmed by Frederick Mackenzie, later.⁹ Carter's survey reveals a system of decorative logic dominated by three colours: blue, red, and gold. Blues were generally applied to hollows, reds to rolls, and gold to flat surfaces and as accents along edges. The surviving evidence encouraged the reconstruction of this dazzlingly coloured space, without requiring an unsupportable level of speculation. While not without its problems, as a purely intellectual exercise, reconstructing the polychromy of the chapel is a reasonable endeavour. It is one thing to suggest that the medieval interior was coloured with azurite blues in the hollows, vermilion on the convex surfaces, and gold for accents. It is quite another thing to recreate such a painted interior visually, digitally, and in three-dimensions.

When it comes to virtual pigment, colour is a problem. The challenges we faced at St Stephen's came from three sources. First, while so much physical evidence survives, it is clear that those colours have changed since the fourteenth century. Second, representing and displaying colour across many devices is widely inconsistent. Third, the ability to perceive colour varies from person to person, complicated by the nature of human perceptual psychology, which understands colour contextually. Of these challenges, that of the original colours themselves was the most approachable. The study of

medieval pigments is a well-established field of research and we were fortunate to have Jane Spooner as our guide through this aspect of the reconstruction. Her experience was key to helping us arrive at reasonable values for the pigments detailed in the accounts and surviving on the fragments themselves. Jane provided comparative examples in architecture and manuscript illumination, as well as a standardised colour palette from which to build our visualisation.

Representing St Stephen's colours digitally in a virtual space presented a more intractable problem; digitally, every colour is represented by a set of numeric values, for example, the blue used extensively throughout the chapel is represented as 33, 69, 92 in the common RGB (Red, Green, Blue) colour model. While the numeric values are embedded in the digital model, every device interprets those values differently, depending on the full set of colours, which that device is capable of displaying (its colour space), and every display device has a unique colour space. Camera sensors, LED screens, projectors, and printers all use different colour models to interpret colour and different colour spaces to display colour. Device colour signatures are an unfortunate fact of digital life.

Another fact of life making colour representation difficult is human perceptual psychology. The same colour is not perceived identically by different people. The difference is more pronounced if the observer suffers from colour deficiency. This is not an insignificant issue as, by some measures, as many as one in four males, and one in twenty females have some form of colour deficiency.¹⁰ How a person perceives colour also depends on the context of that colour. The well-known "Checker-Shadow Illusion", created by Edward Adelson, provides an extreme example of this phenomenon (Fig. 7).¹¹ Colours *appear* to change value based on their context and the conditions under which they are experienced.

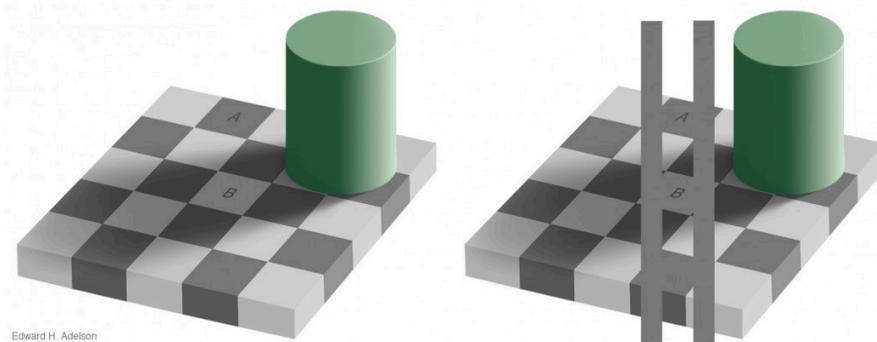


Figure 7.

E.H. Adelson, Adelson's Checker-Shadow Illusion, Squares A and B are identical. Left: The illusion. Right: The proof, in E.H. Adelson, "Perceptual Organization and the Judgment of Brightness", *Science* 262 (1993): 2042-2044, 1995.

These challenges inherent to colour presentation were influential in modelling St Stephen's. Like every aspect of the modelling, this was an iterative process (Fig. 7). For the first attempt, we simply sampled colours from photographs of the surviving fragments. This provided a common starting point for the team to build upon. The research team felt that the colours were too dark and perhaps too "muddy". The next iteration used a palette of Pantone colours provided by Jane Spooner. Pantone is a widely used commercial colour standard with accepted digital values for each swatch in the palette, easing problems in reproducing these colours across display devices. The two most common St Stephen's colours, blue and red, were azurite (Pantone 300 U) and vermillion (Red 032 U). We replaced the photo-based colours with the Pantone-based values. The result was *uncomfortable*. However, Jane felt that, in terms of hue, we were more accurate than the first iteration. She also noted that the colours would appear differently when seen in association with gilding, decoration, and varying lighting. To illustrate this, she directed us to a manuscript illumination of John of Gaunt in a palatial interior, in the *Chronique d'Angleterre*.¹² In that image, flat, base colours underlie dense, gilded decoration. The vermillion here seemed richer, more "alive" than the pure Pantone vermillion. We investigated the image at the level of individual pixels and noticed that the red alone was composed of hundreds of different RGB values within areas appearing to be uniform. Therefore, we averaged a subset of these samples to arrive at a new set of base colours. However, they still appeared "wrong" when applied to the model. The colours on the model were too "pure". Using a non-repeating, greyscale, computational noise pattern as an overlay to the base colour, we attempted to emulate the subtle tonal variations observed in the manuscript illumination. The result was a colour palette with a range of different shades within the same parent colour. The team agreed that this was much closer to the goal but that the overall effect of the colours had drifted. Because of the unreliable nature of digital display devices, Jane circumvented the problem by providing physical Pantone paint chips as foundation colours. Physical paint chips allowed us to match colours by eye rather than relying on digital facsimiles of varying reliability. For this iteration, the fully colour-capable Stephanie Masinton matched our St Stephen's colours to Jane's paint chips, arriving at a "good enough" fit by using two different monitors simultaneously to achieve a rough "average" colour.¹³ When mixed with the greyscale noise pattern, the colours as they appeared in the final model avoided the flatness of digitally pure colour, while remaining true to the original medieval pigments. We had at last found colours that were acceptable to most of the project team.



Figure 8.

Evolution of St Stephen's model colour matching, Left to right: Colours sampled from surviving fragments; colours sampled from digital Pantone swatches; colours sampled from MS illumination, manually matched colours based on physical Pantone swatches. Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

The colouring of the model went through four iterations over several weeks to arrive at the final version (Fig. 8). The modelling process required the team to question the source evidence—even when that evidence included physical remains of the medieval chapel itself. In turn, this evidence had a direct impact on the modelling. The impact of the evidence, and the need to evaluate its character and reliability, were important throughout all areas of the modelling project.

The Character and Nature of the Evidence

Record versus Impression and the “Trap” of Detail

The direct evidence for the appearance of the chapel and the Commons Chamber is abundant. It ranges from physical remains to political cartoons. The comparative evidence is equally rich, helping to contextualise interpretation, and serving as a well from which to draw the details of features otherwise lost. As with any evidence from the past, it is inherently problematic and none of it is comprehensive. There is also a marked difference in character between the evidence for the medieval period and the post-medieval. Whereas the post-medieval evidence is primarily composed of contemporary pictorial works in which St Stephen's serves as a backdrop, the medieval evidence is the product of a concentrated campaign of “rescue archaeology”. Rosemary Hill explores how two opposing philosophies of antiquarianism shaped the formation of the surviving body of evidence for the medieval chapel in her work on the investigations of St Stephen's at the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁴ The conflict between the

medievalist camp, composed of John Carter, Richard Gough, Sir Henry Englefield, and John Thomas Smith against the classicist establishment, represented by James Wyatt, had a direct impact on the nature of the evidence for the medieval chapel.

For St Stephen's, the category of evidence most directly suited to modelling was antiquarian. Its focus is material and its chief product is a visual, often precisely measured, record of physical remains. That any architectural fragments of the chapel survive is because they were important to a small group of medievalist antiquarians who were engaged in a long-running war with their classicist nemeses. St Stephen's was at the heart of that conflict. While the medievalists were successful in preserving a small collection of fragments, now in the British Museum, these are biased towards figural painting rather than architectural form and, as such, were of limited use to modelling the medieval space.¹⁵ Much more useful for modelling was the series of measured drawings that these medievalist antiquarians published over four decades. The drawings are meticulous and highly detailed, with the post-medieval development of the building stripped away. The material of the physical building, sometimes presented in a "completed" medieval state, was the priority for those who salvaged, recorded, and published its remains.

In contrast, the evidence for the post-medieval building is largely unconcerned with the building itself. It received little antiquarian attention and no programme of recording. The material qualities of the post-medieval building, the minute details of its ornament and design, were incidental to the original purpose of the source material. The building stood intact when these sources were produced and there was no concern that it might be substantially altered or lost. For the post-medieval Commons Chamber, what was most important for the artists who depicted it was the *idea* of the Commons. The building was a frame or a useful metonym for the assembly of representatives within and their acts of governance. The fabric of the Commons Chamber is different in each source; its details float, change, and disappear.

The very different characters of the evidence for each period affected the modelling process. The antiquarian sources for the medieval chapel with their focus on materiality were very well suited to computer modelling. Although the antiquarian sources differ in the representation of some details, in general the published drawings are presented as objective records of directly measured "fact". Their authority created a kind of imaginative straitjacket for the medieval models. In contrast, the impressionistic nature of the evidence for the post-medieval periods demanded that we draw extensively from comparative sources, which encouraged more freedom of interpretation. Modelling St Stephen's began with the medieval chapel, in part because the antiquarian evidence was readily accessible and

“complete”. In hindsight, this may not have had an entirely beneficial impact on the modelling as a whole. The antiquarian sources provided an extraordinarily detailed record of the medieval remains, which made reconstruction at a high level of detail seem not only possible, but also desirable. This was encouraged by Carter and Mackenzie’s tendency to show reconstructed contexts. The “trap” of detailed records was well demonstrated when we first mapped the wall paintings on to the chapel model; at that time, it was complete for the north, south, and east walls to the cornice above the main floor window heads. The paintings that Smirke and others had recorded covered a remarkably small proportion of the total wall space. To what extent could they be understood as representative of the decorative scheme in the remaining four bays, or for the half of the chapel above the main windows that had vanished almost without a trace? Modelling based on Carter and Mackenzie’s drawings was like following a recipe or a map. While technically challenging, the path forward was clear. The task became significantly more difficult when we had exhausted what the antiquarians recorded and began to model what had been lost: the clerestory, the east end above the window head, the whole of the west end, the furniture, and the glass. There were scraps of evidence for all of these features—but only scraps. In comparison to the richness of the record for the lower half of the easternmost bay, the rest of the chapel was poorly represented but because we had chosen to begin at a high level-of-detail, we were compelled to fill in the gaps with the same detail. The burden of finding acceptable comparative evidence slowed the modelling process considerably.

By contrast, the post-medieval evidence set expectations lower. It was clear from the start of modelling that reconstruction would be an exercise in collage, in drawing together better-documented and surviving examples from other sites to create an impression. While much of the comparative swiftness of modelling the Chamber was due to its significantly lower level of decorative embellishment, a part of that speed was also due to the built-in lower level of detail that the evidence provided. Two-thirds of the total modelling time was devoted to the medieval period and most of this was spent on modelling missing features (Fig. 9).

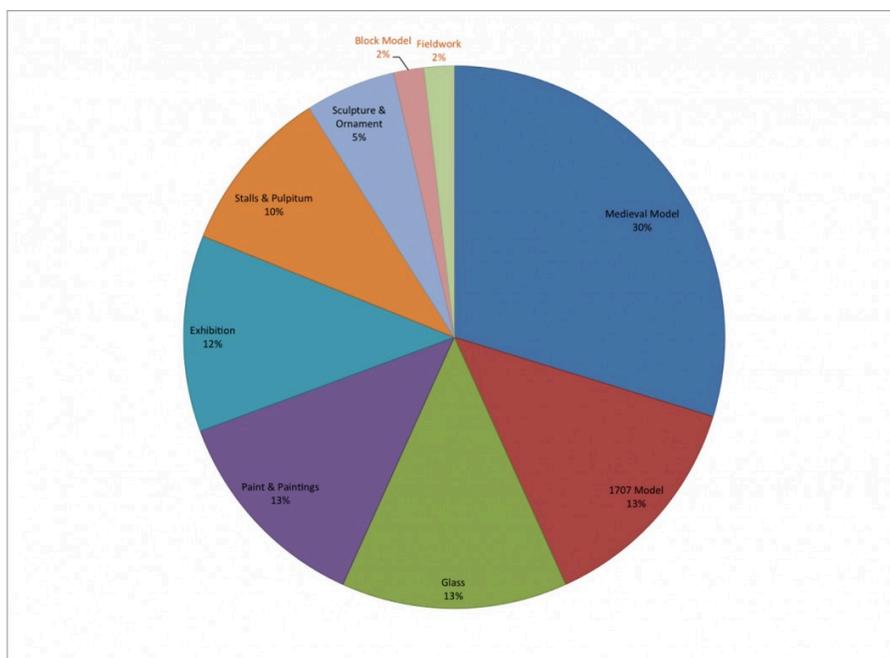


Figure 9.

Time spent creating the St Stephen's models divided by task, Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

How Evidence Informs the Modelling Process

Of first importance for both periods were measured drawings. For the medieval chapel, these were “complete” and highly detailed. The measured drawings for the post-medieval period are less abundant and at lower levels of detail. A section through the Chamber by Nicholas Hawksmoor exists, but it is most likely a drawing of proposed work, rather than a record of the Chamber as it was built (Fig. 10).¹⁶ The Office of Works produced a survey of the Palace of Westminster in 1834, which included a plan and section of the Commons Chamber after James Wyatt’s alterations, begun in 1800.¹⁷ The 1834 drawings are at a scale which is accurate only to within about 5 centimetres; this is insufficient for detailed modelling work but useful for proportions and blocking-out. While not a finished, measured drawing *per se*, James Thornhill’s study of the Speaker’s Chair, with its detail sketches, moulding profiles, and colour notes was helpful for our model of that particularly important feature of the post-medieval Chamber (Fig. 11).¹⁸

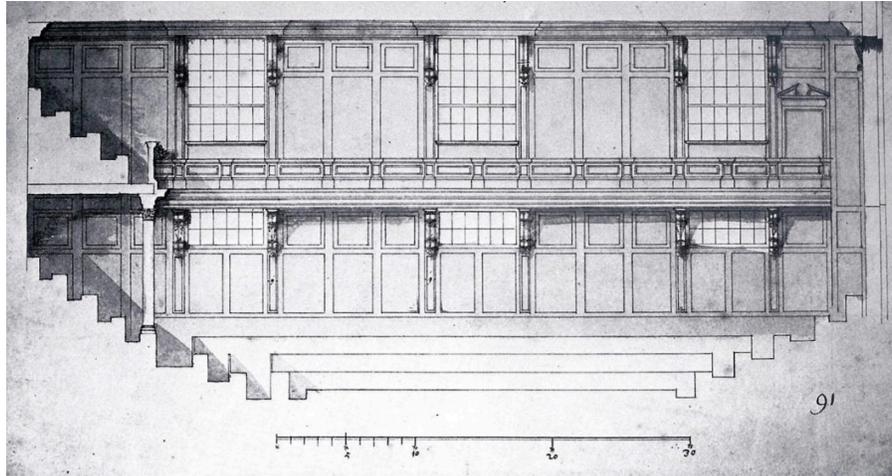


Figure 10.

Nicholas Hawksmoor, Longitudinal section of proposed alterations to the Chamber of the House of Commons, 1692. Collection of All Souls College, University of Oxford (ASIV.91/). Digital image courtesy of All Souls College, University of Oxford (All rights reserved).

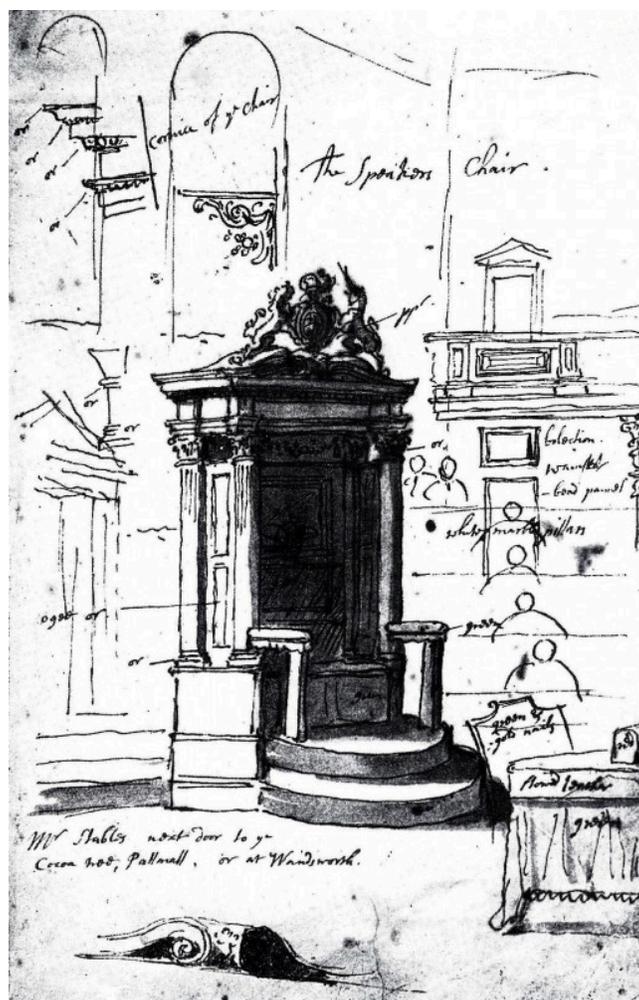


Figure 11.

Sir James Thornhill, Study of the Speaker's Chair, Former Greater London Council, ink on paper, 19 x 31 cm. Collection of London Metropolitan Archives (SC/PZ/WE/01/3805). Digital image courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives (All rights reserved).

After measured drawings, the pictorial evidence was most directly useful for modelling. These sources lacked accuracy in terms of the underlying three-dimensional shape of objects, but did provide details about colour, decoration, surface texture, and function, which were valuable, and directly useful to other stages of the modelling. For the medieval period, this category was lacking. For the interior of the post-medieval St Stephen's, pictorial evidence is virtually the only evidence. The reliability of these views is questionable. Nevertheless, a handful of images were particularly valuable. The best views of the mid-sixteenth-century Chamber are two anonymous early to mid-seventeenth-century engravings.¹⁹ For the Commonwealth period, the view of the Chamber on the 1651 Great Seal of the Commonwealth, by Thomas Simon, is extraordinarily detailed, and likely

based on his own eyewitness experience of the space.²⁰ Views of the interior after Sir Christopher Wren's remodelling, from 1692, are more common. The most reliable of them is also the earliest, after the expansion of the galleries to include the Scottish MPs in 1707: Peter Tillemans' painting of the Commons in session (Fig. 12).²¹ It was produced to commemorate the MPs themselves, but Tillemans also gave unusual attention to the building. For our purposes, his view was supplemented by Karl Anton Hickel's canvas of 1793, as well as James Thornhill and William Hogarth's view of 1730, which shows the Speaker's Chair in detail.²²



Figure 12.

Peter Tillemans, *The Interior of the House of Commons in Session*, 1709–1714, oil on canvas, 137.2 × 123.2 cm. Collection of Parliamentary Art Collection (WOA 2737). Digital image courtesy of Parliamentary Art Collection (All rights reserved).

Physical remains are often more useful than measured drawings or pictorial evidence during the modelling process, provided their provenance is well understood and they are diagnostic in character.²³ Remains from other sites which are similar in date or by the same craftsmen are equally useful. For the medieval chapel, the handful of architectural fragments in the British Museum were not particularly diagnostic in terms of reconstructing the shape of the interior. They were useful in terms of the polychromy and helped us to arrive at an acceptable reproduction of the medieval decorative painting. Where physical evidence for the chapel was lacking, the team used comparanda from other sites. For the post-medieval periods, no material evidence survives. Therefore, contemporary material evidence from other sites, particularly by the same craftsmen working on Wren's renovation of the Commons, for example, was of fundamental importance to the modelling. We relied on details from a number of sites to help us fill in the gaps left by the other sources. The most important comparative sites were St Mary Abchurch, in the city of London, with its woodwork by Grinling Gibbons and William Emmett; the St Paul's Cathedral Library, with its gallery similar in construction and ornament to the Commons gallery; the Double Cube Room at Wilton House (Wiltshire), with its ornamental details by Inigo Jones and John Webb; and the panelling in the Queen's Apartments, Kensington Palace.
24

Finally, documentary evidence, particularly the medieval fabric accounts and the post-medieval accounts from various administrative sources, played an important, if limited role. They often provided the only point of reference for the existence of important features, such as the medieval stalls, the material of the vaults, and the names of craftsmen. However, written sources almost never detailed the building's appearance. Their direct utility for modelling was limited.

How the various streams of evidence are used in creating a three-dimensional reconstruction differs from project to project. The medieval model drew on surviving physical evidence and a copious metric survey of now lost physical material. How the 1707 phase of St Stephen's used the available, and very different, evidence provides an interesting counterpoint.

Modelling the Commons

Modelling the post-medieval, St Stephen's relied on less abundant and more ambiguous source material than its medieval counterpart. While this was frequently problematic, it was not without its benefits. The handful of "good" sources, all of which were incomplete in various ways, invited the team to draw on extensive comparative examples to produce a plausible vision. Also, the post-medieval sources had a considerable advantage over the medieval sources: they were "snapshots" of the complete Chamber at key moments in

time. We recognised that these were not objective records. They presented a number of inherent challenges. If working with the medieval material was like working a jigsaw puzzle with many of the pieces missing, the post-medieval evidence provided us with almost none of the pieces, but did, at least, provide the picture on the box.

James Jago's research was at the heart of the task to visualise the Chamber. While the medieval model progressed, James collated the most useful evidence he could find for the appearance of the post-medieval Chamber, between the conversion of the chapel for use by the Commons in 1550 to Wren's 1692 remodelling, with subsequent alterations to accommodate Scottish peers after the second Act of Union in 1707.²⁵ His research emphasised visual and surviving comparative evidence. His masterful understanding of the history of the Chamber, its craftsmen, and the architectural history of the periods was distilled for each phase of the project into a set of resources complemented by his own thorough, written discussion of each source's provenance and potential utility to the project. As the modelling progressed, he responded to the questions the modelling raised with further research and discussion.

The model of the Commons Chamber in 1707 (Fig. 13) relies heavily on Tillemans' view of 1709–1714 (Fig. 12).²⁶ While this provides a complete view of the Chamber, almost none of the ornamental features are shown in detail sufficient to allow direct modelling.²⁷ For details of mouldings, ornamental carving, and the proportions of panelling, we had to turn to other sources. As mentioned above, a section drawing of the Chamber by Hawksmoor also survives (Fig. 10), and we began the modelling with this, operating under the assumption that this was a drawing of the Chamber *as built*. As a kind of measured drawing, it guided the proportions of the main features of the Chamber, such as the windows, the panelling, the height of the galleries, and the arrangement of the benches. However, as work progressed, it became apparent that this was not a drawing of the Chamber as it was completed, but of the *proposed* Chamber. The finished interior as depicted by Tillemans seems to have differed in significant ways, including the arrangement and construction of the benches, the proportions and distribution of the panelling, and the detailing of the gallery fronts. Ultimately, we deferred to Tillemans for guidance in all of these details.



Figure 13.

The model of the Chamber of the House of Commons, 1707. Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

The most reliably documented feature of the Chamber was the Speaker's Chair. Its importance as well as its position as the focal point of the room appears to have resulted in general agreement about its form and details across artists. We were especially fortunate that Sir James Thornhill and William Hogarth's painting, *Speaker Arthur Onslow, Calling upon Sir Robert Walpole to Speak in the House of Commons*, probably depicting events in 1728, shows the chair in such detail. But, equally valuable was Thornhill's pen and ink study of the chair alone, which includes colour notes, some ornament details, and moulding profiles (Fig. 11).²⁸ However, the models of the prominent garlands draping the back of the chair were based on James' photogrammetric survey of contemporary garlands in the Double Cube Room at Wilton House. The chair survived until the fire of 1834, appearing in the 1834 section. This constitutes the richest body of evidence for any feature of the Chamber, which made it relatively simple to model.

Most of the other features of the Chamber were less well documented, however, Tillemans' painting and the surviving building accounts helped guide us to suitable comparative evidence. Comparative evidence, of course, lacks the authority of evidence sourced directly from the site itself. It must be evaluated within its historical and art-historical contexts, as well as from the perspective of what *is* understood about the site in question. Even when work executed by the same craftsmen exists, and made at the same time as the site in question, there is no guarantee that it is acceptably similar. It can only ever inform a hypothesis of what *may* have existed. However, with these caveats, it was often the best source for "filling the gaps". For the Commons Chamber, James did the on-the-ground research to identify the best surviving comparative examples, and he also carried out the fieldwork, taking photographs for photogrammetry at numerous sites. We relied heavily

on contemporary woodwork by the craftsmen who worked on the Chamber, notably William Emmett and Grinling Gibbons. During the initial phase of modelling work, we borrowed the royal arms and the moulding profile of the panelling from St Mary Abchurch, where Emmett and Gibbons had worked together. However, as noted above, comparative evidence, even by the same craftsmen, can be misleading. The Abchurch panelling is a case in point. It projected further, lacked important details in the fielding, and was too flamboyant for the more restrained panelling depicted by Tillemans and others. It was important to reproduce this as closely as possible, because the panelling in the Chamber was a visually important feature. James continued to work on the panelling problem and much later, near the end of the project, he identified more suitable panelling in the Queen's Apartments, Kensington Palace, which we used in the final model.

Multiple sources of evidence were used to reconstruct the visually important iron columns supporting the galleries. No two depictions of the interior agreed about the form of the capitals and the proportions of the iron columns. The written accounts identified Jean Tijou as the designer. Fortunately, Tijou himself published a design for an iron capital in 1693, the year after Wren's remodelling work began on the Chamber ([Fig. 13](#)). Tijou's drawing was sufficiently detailed to allow us to use it as a base for our model. It also helped us determine the overall proportions of the columns. ²⁹

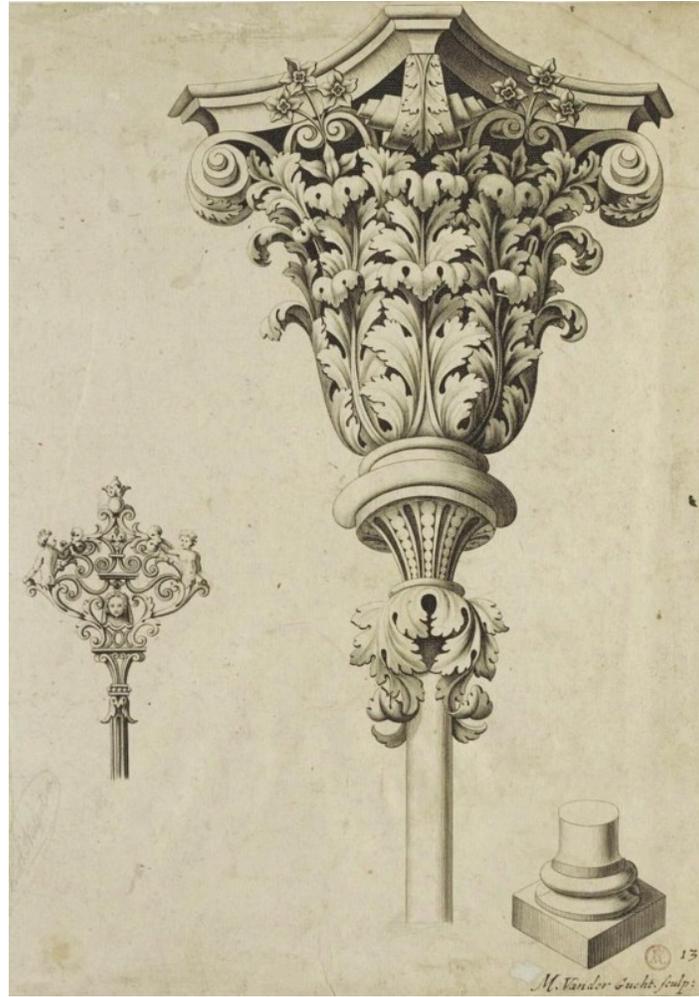


Figure 14.

Jean Tijou, *Nouveau livre de desseins inventé par Jean Tijou*, (London, 1693), pl. XIII (detail), 1693, engraving, 23.9 × 33.8 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (14736: 7). Digital image courtesy of Victoria & Albert Museum, London (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 15.

Reconstructed console supporting the galleries, Digital image courtesy of Anthony Masinton (All rights reserved).

Throughout the modelling process, photogrammetric data provided detailed three-dimensional base models and textures of ornamental features, which would have been difficult for us to model convincingly from scratch. The critically important role of photogrammetry of comparative evidence is best demonstrated by what are perhaps the most enigmatic details of the 1707 Chamber: the unique consoles supporting the galleries (Fig. 15). Their heavy features, dark finish, and shadowed positions encouraged artists merely to suggest their forms. Their exact appearance is, therefore, difficult to understand. Nevertheless, Jago suggested that the consoles supporting the gallery in St Paul's Cathedral Library (which he subsequently recorded photogrammetrically) might be adapted to St Stephen's. On their own, these consoles lacked some important features hinted at in the pictorial evidence. They are slighter in form, and missing subsidiary consoles at their base and a carved ribbon garland draped from the eyes of the volutes of the upper consoles. It was suggested that the subsidiary consoles might be approximated by a Hawksmoor-influenced console from St Mary Woolnoth, in London, while the hanging ribbon might be derived from a feature in the Double Cube Room. James' photogrammetry of all of these features provided the digital building blocks for proposing a reconstruction of the Chamber's gallery consoles, but not without alterations to the source materials. For example, the underside of the St Paul's Library gallery has a raked incline, which necessitates angled supporting consoles. The underside of the gallery in the Chamber is level. To use the St Paul's consoles, the angle must be removed. The photogrammetrically produced mesh of the St Paul's consoles was stretched ("deformed") using tools in our modelling application which removed the angle. We were also able to make the St Paul's consoles heavier by scaling them along their X-axis. Extraneous ornamental details on the ends of the consoles were cut away, and replaced with photogrammetric

mesh data of the St Mary Woolnoth console. Finally, the ribbon garland photogrammetry from Wilton House was bent along a three-dimensional curve that ran from volute to volute of the modified St Paul's console. The photo-based textures differed noticeably in terms of colour for each of these three components. To eliminate this, the textures were desaturated and then overlaid with an oak-brown colour, which was sufficient to blend the separate models together visually. The result was similar enough to the gallery consoles shown in the pictorial evidence to serve in the final 1707 model.

Conclusion

Inviting further research has been one of the long-term goals of our St Stephen's models. We could never present a definitive, authoritative vision of the building's appearance in the past. Rather, we hope that our visualisations will serve as common ground upon which to argue, disagree, and build. The relationship between evidence and modelling is a fluid one, with many factors in play. The technical requirements of producing a three-dimensional digital model, the character of the evidence, and human experience were important to our process. Where our evidence was more impressionistic, we incorporated evidence from other sites, grounding our interpretation in a wider context. The act of placing key sources into their spatial and temporal contexts led us to ask questions about the development and use of that space, as well as about the form and function of lost features that we may not have encountered using another approach. We have not created a comprehensive vision of St Stephen's in the past. Rather, we have produced a model of what we know and, in this paper and in Ayers' contribution to this volume, we have revealed how it is also a model of what we do not know. It is in those gaps, omissions, and uneasy joins that we hope to encourage further engagement and better understanding of this significant and now vanished space.

Footnotes

- 1 John Dixon, in John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of Saint Stephen, Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1795–1811), pl. XV; Adam Lee, *Description of the Cosmorama and Dioramic Delineations of the Ancient Palace of Westminster and St Stephen's Chapel, Now the House of Commons* (London: 1831); Frederick Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster, the Late House of Commons* (London: John Weale, 1844), pls. 3–7; and Stephen Conlin, in John Goodall, "The Cradle of Politics, St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Palace of Westminster, London SW1", *Country Life* 109, no. 14 (April 1, 2015): 62–67.
- 2 Tools and techniques for creating three-dimensional digital models are in a constant state of development. The fundamentals described here applied in 2013–2016, when the St Stephen's models were created.
- 3 For a summary of the history of three-dimensional digital modelling and art-historical/archaeological scholarship, see Anthony Masinton, "A Fortunate Alignment of the Spheres: Overcoming the Problems of Integrating 3d into Daily Practice", *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 6, no. 2 (2017): 48–64, at: <http://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol6/iss2/7/>.
- 4 There are other ways of representing three-dimensional data, such as voxels or signed distance functions, but, at time of writing, the Cartesian-based "polys with materials" approach is by far the most common.
- 5 Many thanks to Prof. Norbert Nussbaum, University of Cologne, and his students, for providing the photographic source-data for these models.
- 6 Many thanks to Stephanie Masinton for painting the statues.

- 7 Many thanks to Dominic Andrews for creating the stained glass cartoons.
- 8 Noise patterns generate non-repeating, random graphical detail. They often resemble television static, landscapes, or wisps of smoke, usually in 2D and greyscale. When blended with conventional textures or materials, these mathematically created abstract textures add variation to otherwise “perfect” digital surfaces.
- 9 British Library, London, Add. MS 29930, fols. 99r–132v; Add. MS 29943, fols. 67r–71v; John Carter’s coloured drawings are at the Society of Antiquaries of London, 236E SSC.6.2, SSC.7–SSC.11; and Frederick Mackenzie, *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen*.
- 10 National Eye Institute, “Facts About Color Blindness”, NEI Office of Science Communications, Public Liaison, and Education, 24 October 2017, at: https://nei.nih.gov/health/color_blindness/facts_about.
- 11 Edward H. Adelson, “Checker-Shadow Illusion”, (1995), at: http://persci.mit.edu/_media/gallery/checkershadow_double_full.jpg.
- 12 Jean of Wavrin, *Chronique d’ Angleterre*, Vol. 3: BL, Royal MS 14 E. IV, fol. 244v, 24 October 2017, at: <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IID=57361>.
- 13 The principal digital artist on the project, Anthony Masinton, has a mild form of deuteranomaly.
- 14 Rosemary Hill, “‘Proceeding like Guy Faux’: The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen’s Chapel Westminster, 1790–1837”, *Architectural History* 59 (2016): 253–279, doi:10.1017/arh.2016.8.
- 15 British Museum, London, 1814, 0312.2; and 1833, 0310.2.
- 16 Oxford, All Souls College, ASIV.91/Geraghty, 344.
- 17 The National Archives, Kew, Works 20/29/3 and 20/29/7.
- 18 London Metropolitan Archives (hereafter LMA), SC/PZ/WE/01/3805.
- 19 British Museum, 1850, 0726.9; and 1885, 1114.124.1–3.
- 20 Thomas Simon, *Second Great Seal of the Commonwealth*, 1651, 24 October 2017, at: <https://ourtwosense.aminus3.com/image/2011-04-12.html>.
- 21 Peter Tillemans, *The House of Commons in Session*, about 1709, oil on canvas, 1372 x 1232 mm. London, Palace of Westminster, Parliamentary Art Collection, WOA 2737.
- 22 Karl Anton Hickel, *The House of Commons*, 1793–1795, oil on canvas, 3226 x 4496 mm, London, The National Portrait Gallery, no. NPG 745; and Sir James Thornhill and William Hogarth, *Speaker Arthur Onslow Calling upon Sir Robert Walpole to Speak in the House of Commons*, about 1730, oil on canvas, 991 x 1270 mm, Clendon Park, Surrey, National Trust Images, 78439.
- 23 “Diagnostic” here means fragments with details that allow a greater portion of the structure to be understood. An example might be a voussoir from which the full curve of an arch can be reconstructed, or fragments of window tracery that allow the complete pattern to be understood, or a vault boss showing the arrangement of vault ribs and the angles at which they meet.
- 24 Howard M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, 4th edn (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 1094.
- 25 Howard M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King’s Works*, Vol. 4, part 1 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1982), 291–292.
- 26 Peter Tillemans, *The House of Commons in Session*, about 1709, oil on canvas, 1372 x 1232 mm, London, Palace of Westminster, Parliamentary Art Collection, WOA 2737.
- 27 Complete except for the west wall. Only the survey drawings of 1834 show any details of this part of the Commons Chamber, and that only in section. See The National Archives, Works 20/29/3, 20/29/7.
- 28 London Metropolitan Archives, SC/PZ/WE/01/3805. Published in Howard M. Colvin (ed.), *The History of the King’s Works*, Vol. 5 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1982), pl. 54.
- 29 Michael van der Gucht, after Jean Tijou, *Nouveau livre de desseins inventé par Jean Tijou* (London: 1693), pl. XIII.

Bibliography

- Adelson, Edward H. (1993) “Perceptual Organization and the Judgment of Brightness”. *Science* 262: 2042–2044.
- Adelson, Edward H. (1995) Checker Shadow Illusion, at: http://persci.mit.edu/_media/gallery/checkershadow_double_full.jpg.
- All Souls College (n.d.) ASIV.91/Geraghty, 344.
- British Library, Add. MS 29930.
- British Library, Add. MS 29943.
- British Museum (1814), 0312.2.
- British Museum (1833), 0310.2.
- British Museum (1850), 0726.0.
- British Museum (1885), 1114.124.1–3.

- Carter, John (n.d.) Society of Antiquaries of London 236E SSC.6.2, SSC.7-SSC.11.
- Colvin, Howard M. (1982) *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. 4. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Colvin, Howard M. (2008) *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, 4th edn. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Goodall, John (2015) "The Cradle of Politics: St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Palace of Westminster, London SW1". *Country Life* 109, no. 14 (1 April): 62-67.
- Hill, Rosemary (2016) "'Proceeding like Guy Faux': The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, 1790-1837". *Architectural History* 59: 253-279. doi: 10.1017/arh.2016.8.
- Lee, Adam (1831) *Description of the Cosmorama and Dioramic Delineations of the Ancient Palace of Westminster and St Stephen's Chapel, Now the House of Commons*. London.
- London Metropolitan Archives (n.d.) SC/PZ/WE/01/3805.
- Mackenzie, Frederick (1844) *The Architectural Antiquities of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster, the Late House of Commons*. London: John Weale.
- Masinton, Anthony (2017) "A Fortunate Alignment of the Spheres: Overcoming the Problems of Integrating 3d Into Daily Practice". *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 6, no. 2: 48-64. <http://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol6/iss2/7/>.
- Jean of Wavrin (n.d.) *Chronique d'Angleterre*, Vol. 3. British Library Royal MS 14 E. IV.
- National Archives Works (n.d.) 20/29/3.
- National Archives Works (n.d.) 20/29/7.
- National Eye Institute (2017) "Facts About Color Blindness". NEI Office of Science Communications, Public Liaison, and Education: 24 October, https://nei.nih.gov/health/color_blindness/facts_about.
- Simon, Thomas (1651) *Second Great Seal of the Commonwealth*, 24 October 2017, at: <https://ourtwosense.aminus3.com/image/2011-04-12.html>.
- Topham, John (1795-1811) *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of Saint Stephen, Westminster*. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- van der Gucht, Michael (1693) *Nouveau livre de desseins inventé par Jean Tijou*. London.

Luxury and Crisis: Redefining the British Decorative Arts

Iris Moon

Authors

Cite as

Iris Moon, "Luxury and Crisis: Redefining the British Decorative Arts", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/coverisation>

Introduction by

Iris Moon, Assistant Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

This conversation piece explores the relationship between luxury and crisis. It asks: what role have objects, that have long been deemed as “superfluous”, played in shaping and negotiating our political, social, and economic needs, wants, and desires, both past and present? Sconces, porcelain, upholstery, and other works of decorative arts are typically thought of as superficial things tied to elite taste, even though these “unnecessary” luxuries have permeated all classes of society. But what if aesthetic choices made in the realm of the everyday had the power to recalibrate needs and signal the urgency of our desires? Respondents have chosen one object that they view as an example of the “British decorative arts”, and written short texts on the topic of luxury and crisis, with the aim of redefining the scope and parameters of the field, one object at a time.

The early impetus for this conversation piece and a forthcoming (Summer 2021) *British Art Studies* special issue on the British decorative arts stemmed from the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s British Galleries, newly opened in February 2020. Their new narrative of “creativity in an entrepreneurial society” sought to explode earlier tendencies in the British decorative arts that had centered on the country house and aristocratic taste. Subsequent conversations held in 2019 with colleagues at the Yale Center for British Art and the Paul Mellon Centre recognised the limitations of the Met’s new narrative, and demonstrated a mutual interest in the need to rethink the British decorative arts. However, what has more immediately shaped my thinking in 2020 around this topic is the language of crisis today. Living in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic, cities have been shut down and movement limited to “necessary” ones. As non-essential sites, museums and cultural institutions, deemed luxuries that we simply cannot risk our lives for, have closed to the public. Beyond the pandemic, the murder of George Floyd on 25 May 2020 and the subsequent protests against racism and police brutality in the United States, the United Kingdom, and beyond have fundamentally shaken the foundations of the museum. These events, which took place after the call for responses to this feature in *British Art Studies*, exposed the bedrock of structural racism upon which so many cultural institutions had been established. Museums are not neutral spaces. At times it takes a crisis to make that apparent.

The word crisis derives from the Greek word *krinein*, meaning to decide. We have a decision to make in understanding this moment. And while it may at first glance seem opportunistic to think of luxury and crisis in the same breath, a cursory look at the objects in the Met’s British galleries proves otherwise. In fact, many of the luxuries in the gallery seem to attend to or be

accompanied by crises, economic, social, political, or artistic. For example, a seventeenth-century silver tankard was used to commemorate the Great Plague of 1665 and Fire of London in 1666 (Fig. 1). Why choose to memorialise such events on a conspicuously luxurious yet inherently unstable medium, one threatened by its easy translation into currency?

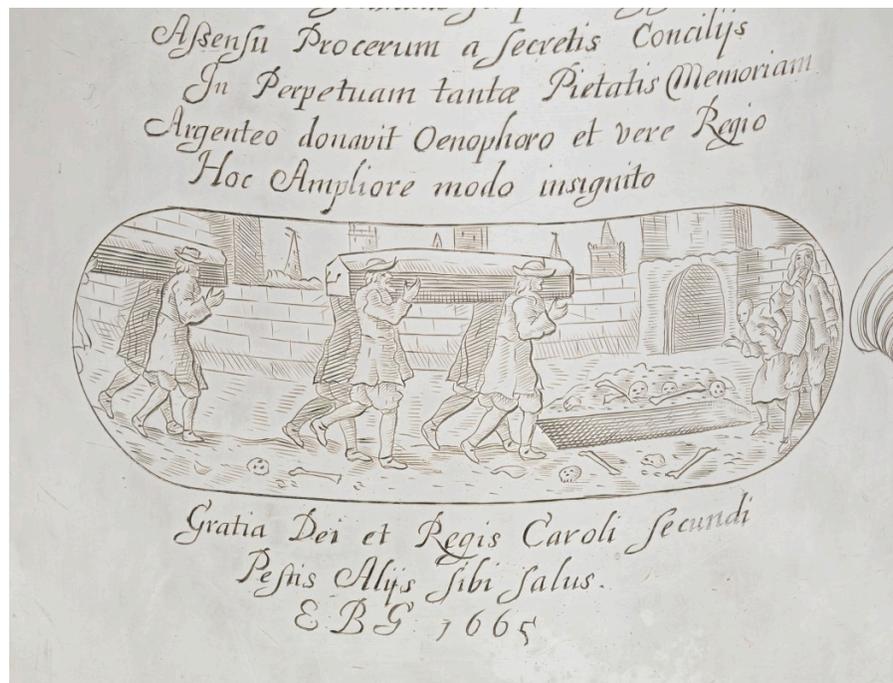


Figure 1.

Tankard engraved with scenes of the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London (detail), 1675-1676, silver, 19.1 × 23.5 × 15.2 cm, 1170.995g. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1987.54). Digital image courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Henry S. Morgan, 1986 (Public domain).

Economic historians have long seen a causative relationship between luxury and crisis. In other words, too much or too little spending has adverse economic effects (depending on the thinker), while Marxist economists see crisis as built into the nature of capitalism itself. Beyond economic system builders, historical crises provided the opportunity to reconceive value systems as a whole. Communal luxury, for example, is the term that was chosen by the Paris Commune of 1871, when communards wrote a new artistic manifesto that recognised that the very idea of value had to be remade from the bottom up. Emancipated from the end goal of making a finished product judged by an aesthetic system or market separate from society, luxury, according to the artist's federation, would come from communal, mutually shared concerns, which formed the prior condition for the possibility of making art, or anything meaningful at all.

This feature invites a community of thinkers to ponder the question of luxury and crisis from a broad, diverse, and at times divisive perspective, and is intended to be open and ongoing. The point is to be as honest as possible about the conditions of crisis now and what it means to ruminate on things at a distance. For example, when you cannot enter spaces, cannot access objects, or books, or people, what kind of thinking emerges? How might such constraints lead to a different and empathetic way of considering, for example, the sorts of challenges faced by French Huguenot refugee designers arriving in seventeenth-century London without their tools, their drawings, or the right language? Alongside the decorative arts' traditional framework of taste, style, and patronage, the theme of luxury and crisis is meant to encourage reflection on thornier issues regarding: production, consumption, exploitation, exclusion, scarcity, extinction, depletion, resource extraction, recession, depression, inflation, labor, automation, protest, dissent, consent, needs, wants, and finally, desires.

Response by

Esther Leslie, Birkbeck, University of London

In a patch of London, shielded by busy roads and three railway termini, social housing was built, in the 1930s, by reforming Christians, who were eradicating the slums and had a belief in beauty for all. “Housing is not enough” was a watchword and this surplus to be added included decorative art—for once, not in wealthy London streets, but its poorest ones. On the Sidney Street Estate in Somers Town, Gilbert Bayes brought art into everyday life. Working with Royal Doulton on new procedures for polychrome salt-glazed ceramic designs, he made geometrical clusters of washing line posts, topped by finials, and illustrative roundels for the spandrels of windows. These drew on themes from Hans Christian Andersen’s fairy tales, nursery rhymes and Biblical stories.

In the centre of the estate is Bayes’ clock surrounded by brightly coloured images representing the seasons ([Fig. 2](#)). It is the democratic counter-clock to Selfridge’s monumental “Queen of Time”, made by Bayes in gilded bronze and polychrome relief, in 1931, for somewhere economically far away. Bayes’ frieze of the seasons suggests that a certain natural order is restored, with the distorting impact of slum life annulled: a rural idyll, an Arcadian ideal, brought into the city, and the rhythms of planting, harvest, feasting, and winter sheltering returned to the folk.



Figure 2.

Gilbert Bayes, Royal Doulton Ceramic clock surrounded by the four seasons and an hourglass, Sidney Street Estate, Chalton Street, Somers Town, Camden, London , early 1930s. Digital image courtesy of Matthew Hollow (All rights reserved).

Time is there, on the clock face, the many minutes and hours of a day that must yet be spent in labouring or home-making. The clock helps standardise it all, in unfading colours. The clock is a harsh master and this one oversaw those who had no such luxury as a watch. Luxury in time for the poor is not to have too much or too little of it on your hands. Time is the measure of human labour, whose energy is extracted by production and compensated for only with the deadness of money.

Nearly everyone carries time with themselves now, in their smartphones, diminutive concentrations of technology and fantasy. These timepieces are glazed as Bayes' works are glazed, but differently, guarded by touchscreen glass. These phones are property for each of us alone, our own time, even if we remain socially calibrated, our taskmaster close to us and in our pockets.

The clock on the Sidney Street Estate has stopped. No one bothers to keep its mechanism going. It has slipped out of time. This is not the result of an explicit revolt against timekeeping—as carried out in 1830 in France, when revolutionaries ended that old history which was ticking on behalf of capital by shooting at tower clocks. This standstill of time is the negative face of

progress, or result of a loss of belief in something more for those who always have less. Social housing must suffer as little maintenance as everywhere else that once rocked lightly secured in the cradle of welfare.

The roundels on the walls, the clock, and its mythic avatars still shine brightly from the walls of the estate. They have stood the test of time—they have lasted, beautifully, even if time-telling was taken from them. Anything else that could be taken—the finials of ships, blackbirds, devils, and dragons, for one—was either smashed up by negligent builders or stolen to be sold in the top London auction houses. The smartphone witnesses that privatised consumption has become a life's work. The glaze of Bayes' works and the smartphone's glassy cover form a casing between humans and things we ourselves have made, but are alienated from when they become commodities, sold back to us. The glaze is a filter, the material sheath of the commodity fetish.

Response by

Marcia Pointon, Professor Emerita in History of Art, University of Manchester

As the coronavirus epidemic is mapped across the world, two words are repeated in different languages but across all media: “crisis” and “essential”. Both are worth pausing over as we think about which objects or images museums might collect as a record of this time. If a crisis is, by definition, a turning point, how does that fit with a diachronic approach to events or an understanding of the time it takes to create an object, let alone introduce it to consumers and audiences? If we must reconsider our actions and recognise (perhaps for the first time) the interdependency and fragility of the social structure, then we are bound also to identify what is essential. Both terms have proven elastic in ways that would have intrigued Adam Smith, whose lectures “The Theory of Moral Sentiments” were published in 1759. Smith draws attention to a human inclination to admire things with disregard for their utility, which is to say their importance to the essentials of life.

Jewellery would surely rank high with modern-day commentators as a luxury with no utility value in a crisis. Many would agree with Georg Simmel (1908) that jewellery creates an extension of the personality. Whatever is recommended by “influencers”, there is little doubt that wearing your diamonds for a Zoom meeting would not create the right impression as it would connote superfluity and a lack of gravitas. Nonetheless, it is true that until very recent times, wealthy Europeans would be dealing with this crisis by wearing amulets made of precious or semi-precious stones to protect against contagion. Ruby, for one, as poet Rémy Belleau explained in 1576, is so celestial that it chases away the terrors of the night and repulses the plague.

Though few in the West now believe a talisman will ward off plague, jewellery is intrinsic to crisis management for two reasons. High economic exchange value can be invested in an object of very small dimensions that may be hidden about the person. As recounted in my book, *Rocks, Ice and Dirty Stones*, a war-time bride was instructed by her serving fiancé that if a German invasion of Britain seemed imminent she should exchange the diamonds in her engagement ring for passage to New York. Jewellery may also register memory of a particular moment and, as we have seen in the pandemic, keeping a personal record has been important.

The object I have chosen to illustrate my proposition did not enable an escape but it enshrines, literally as embodiment and metaphorically as idea, the flight of the Queen of France. In this respect, it demonstrates how “crisis” when applied to anything other than a strictly pathological diagnosis is a *longue durée* fraught with loss, and leaving debris that enters chains of

ownership and material valuation. The epitome of the non-essential, this piece of jewellery, like the crisis whose story it tells, offers no certainties and no closures but rather a series of baffling possibilities.

Heart-shaped and padlocked, the locket can theoretically be opened to access the hair in the front and the inscription dated 1853 in the back (Figs. 3 and 4). A key is provided and hangs from a chain attached to a loop which would allow the owner to wear it. Less an invitation to dismantle this miniature construction, the padlock and key, along with the filigree surround and the heart shape, rather invokes emotional attachment and loyalty. The owner of such a locket becomes thereby a kind of gatekeeper to the blonde hair and a dated declaration of provenance within. We thus learn that this partly plaited and artfully arranged lock came from the head of Marie-Antoinette.



Figure 3.

Heart shaped pendant locket with a lock of hair, set under glass or rock-crystal with an inscribed card and mounted in a gold filigree setting, late eighteenth century, filigree, 4.65 cm wide. Collection of British Museum (1978,1002.1202). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

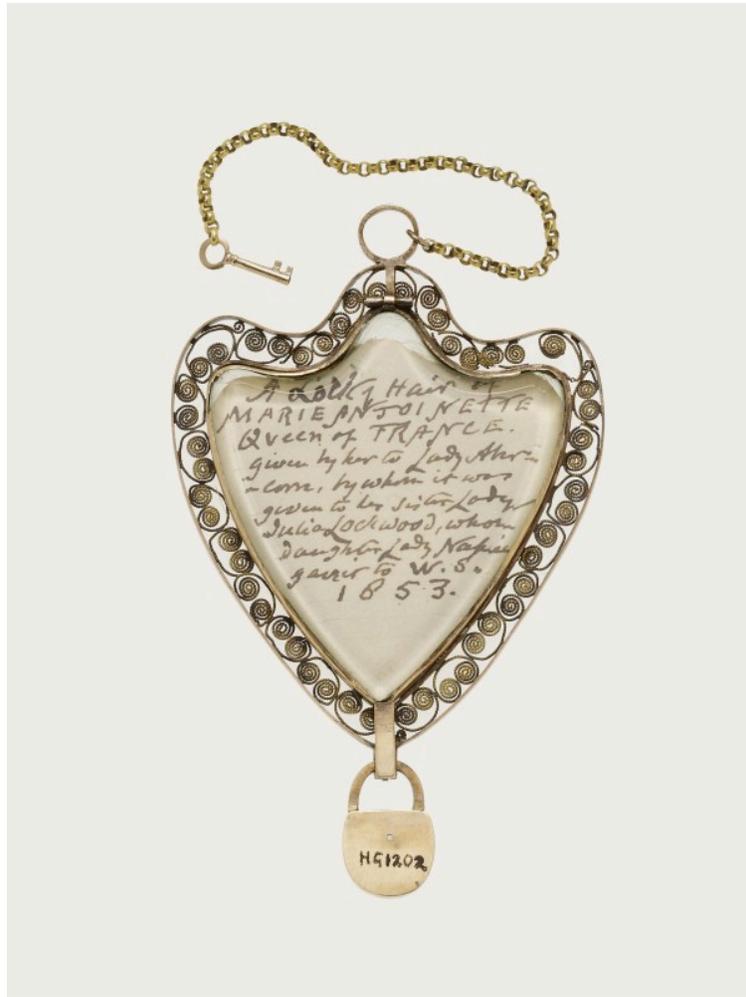


Figure 4.

Heart shaped pendant locket with a lock of hair, set under glass or rock-crystal with an inscribed card and mounted in a gold filigree setting, late eighteenth century, filigree, 4.65 cm wide. Collection of British Museum (1978,1002.1202). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

It has been suggested that if indeed this is the Queen's hair (of which there can be no certainty short of a DNA test), it must have been taken before her apprehension on the 1791 flight to Varennes after which she is known to have turned white overnight. The locket may itself be late eighteenth-century craftsmanship with the inscription added later. Lady Abercorn, who is stated to have been the first owner, would have been wife of the thrice-married Marquess of Abercorn, and was probably the colourful Lady Cecil Hamilton (1770–1819 whom he married in 1792 and divorced in 1799). Since there is no record of her having visited Paris, how she acquired the locket is a mystery.

There is a tendency for each generation to regard its own crises as unprecedented. Historians know better. Albeit from different causes, the French Revolution introduced a “new normal” just as coronavirus is forecast to do. Fear of political contagion spread across Europe, and Edmund Burke spoke for many in lamenting that the age of chivalry was gone. Whether or not the hair is Marie-Antoinette’s is irrelevant. This “trinket”, as Adam Smith would disparagingly have described it, speaks as eloquently to crisis and a claim for what is essential as Burke’s words. Three titled ladies vouchsafe for the authenticity of a relic of defunct royalty, implying bonds of gender and class that supersede generations and frontiers. A little battered and in need of a polish, it was consigned in 1978 to the British Museum where it is inscribed—the original owner might have thought defaced—with an acquisition number, secured for posterity its mysteries unsolved.

Response by

Max Bryant, Fellow, Downing College and Centre for the Study of Classical Architecture, University of Cambridge

Elizabethan hosts of luxurious dining ceremonies enjoyed forcing a test of wit on their guests. At the end of the dessert course, after each piece of fruit or small sugar sculpture had been eaten, the wooden plate, or “trencher” underneath would be turned over to reveal a composition of text and ornament. There was a different version for each diner, who would be expected to speak extempore to the assembly, reciting and discussing what they found. Their companions would then critically judge the guest on the basis of their response. A group of trenchers at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, when seen in the context of the contemporary religious crisis, presented the guest with a particularly acute challenge (Fig. 5).



Figure 5.

Trencher with quotation from “The Governance of Virtue” (1566), (one of a set), seventeenth century, sycamore wood, painted and gilded, 11.6 × 14.4 cm. Collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art (64.101.1580). Digital image courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art (Public domain).

The first hurdle for the reader of these trenchers was to read the tiny script in the tangle of floral ornament. They would soon have seen that the mottoes on these trenchers, unlike the typical humorous verses, were prose quotations in English from the Bible. The guest’s heart must have sunk: not only was the performance a test of theological morality, but now they had

also to navigate the Elizabethan religious settlement. To obtain obedience from conflicting denominations, the Queen's articles of religion of 1571 resisted an explicit statement of theology: silent submission was the best policy. Forcing theological discussion even within the walls of a banqueting house would have been a deliberate precipitation of crisis.

Looking closer, the guest would soon have discovered that, again unlike the typical trencher, further mottoes were written around the sides of the composition. Carefully turning it to read them, an overarching theme was revealed, one that had to be pieced together as dextrously as one turned the fragile piece of sycamore. One theme was about duty to the poor, another greed, another suffering. The tangle of flowers that joined them suggested the different potential connections that might be made by the guest on these general themes.

The guest's progress at this point would have been halted by a realisation: some of these texts were unfamiliar. No matter how well they knew the official Bible of the Church of England, the most diligent subject would almost certainly not recognise some of these phrases. Familiar in sense but alien in text, they came from different sources, some published decades earlier. In particular, the authorised version was juxtaposed with lines translated by Protestant radicals. The recital of the quotations then became especially perilous, because the diner might accidentally speak the words of a translation with which they were more familiar, possibly one that revealed heterodoxy.

This set of trenchers then can be understood to stage a religious conflict in the form of a crisis of social etiquette. Following the neglect of trenchers in the twentieth century, scholars of material culture have returned to what Victoria Yeoman has called these "visually provocative, dynamic objects".¹ The provocation is compounded, as in the case of the Met's trenchers, when the objects actively participate in contemporary conflict. As examples of historical luxury they ask us, like the original diner, to think on two distinct levels at once: that of the codified ceremony of behaviour, and that of a particular moment with an infinite number of potential outcomes.

Response by

Jonathan Michael Square, Lecturer, Harvard University

The “Vassal tankards” constitute Harvard’s ceremonial silver (Fig. 6). They are taken out of Harvard Art Museum storage and displayed only for the most important occasions, most notably presidential inaugurations. Yet, behind this sterling silver finery lies a less-than-shining history steeped in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and chattel slavery. I considered including these tankards in *Slavery in the Hands of Harvard* (2019), an exhibition which I curated that paired archival documents and artefacts from Harvard’s permanent collection related to slavery with the work of contemporary artists whose work grapples with the legacy of slavery in some respect. Though, ultimately, I did not include these tankards, I did include other objects generated by the Vassall estate: a tuition bill paid with casks of sugar and a map of eighteenth-century Jamaica on which Vassall plantations are labelled.



Figure 6.

Joseph Kneeland, The John Vassal Tankard, circa 1729, silver vessel, 17.2 × 11.9 cm. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Loan from Harvard University (873.1927). Digital image courtesy of Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Loan from Harvard University.

John Vassall was a scion of the Vassall family, who counted among their sons many generations of Harvard alumni. In 1759, John Vassall built a grand Georgian-style mansion in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as a statement to the world of his incredible wealth. The Vassalls made their enormous fortune off the backs of enslaved people, who labored on their Jamaican sugar plantations. As the sugar industry was dependent on the labor of chattel bondsmen, so too were the Vassall's displays of conspicuous consumption. In addition to the enslaved workers on his plantations in Jamaica, Vassall also enslaved Africans at his Cambridge estate, now the Longfellow House-Washington's Headquarters National Historic Site.

The Vassall family were major benefactors to Harvard and the university still holds many of the family's heirlooms and papers. Until recently, during past installations of Harvard presidents, two large silver tankards that the Vassalls bequeathed to Harvard were displayed on the dais as a symbol of the transferal of power and wealth from one leader to another. The exhibition of the tankards also reinforced the university's elite position as the nation's oldest institution of higher learning rooted in colonial "pedigree". Yet, this pedigree was constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from wealth acquired through the exploitation of enslaved bondspersons.

Despite Massachusetts' reputation as a stronghold of abolitionism with low rates of slave ownership, it was not unheard of for wealthy Massachusetts' families who had made their wealth in the Caribbean, to bring the tradition of large slaveholding to New England. John Vassall owned seven enslaved people. Isaac Royall, Jr.—another wealthy merchant and Harvard benefactor—brought a whopping 27 enslaved people with him from Antigua, who labored on his Medford estate Ten Hills Farm. Many of Harvard's current assets have their origins in enterprises that were supported by slavery and the Atlantic slave trade. Harvard University's endowment and material gain is rooted first in the displacement and exploitation of native people, but also in the money gained from the labor of enslaved people. From the names of buildings, to the seal of Harvard Law School, to objects in its museums, evidence of the school's connection to slavery abounds. Key to understanding Harvard's connections to slavery is analysing the material culture in the university's permanent collection that has origins in slavery and the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Response by

David Batchelor, Artist and Writer

On the day I begin writing this, I hear on the news that Covid-19 has probably claimed the lives of over 55,000 people in the UK. Everyone has been profoundly affected by the pandemic, whether or not they themselves have become ill. For a great many people, this has meant spending a lot more time alone. Solitude—how we might cope with it and what we might learn from it—has become an urgent topic in the media. I have read and listened to discussions by psychologists and philosophers, writers, religious commentators, educationalists, and therapists. And I have seen many people turn in their solitude to making things. These things might be drawings or paintings, designs or clothes, or music, or gardens. One of the possible by-products of this health crisis that has become an economic and social crisis is that we will emerge to a more decorative world, or at least a more decorated world. And this, it seems to me, raises questions about the purpose of decoration, and about the uses of the apparently useless.

The UK may or may not cultivate a particularly utilitarian mindset; it may or may not have developed a pragmatic culture that really values only that which serves an identifiable social or economic necessity; it may or may not regard all else as a luxury to be tolerated as and when time and money allows. But I don't think it makes sense to call these products of our solitude "luxuries", even if many of them might fit the conventional definitions of the term. Covid-19 has brought with it some vivid reminders of other necessities: those of kindness and compassion, for example. And calmness: an ability to stand apart, if only momentarily, from the turmoil and to reflect. It seems to me that any activity that contributes to this quality of reflective calmness needs to be embraced, as a joyful necessity, rather than tolerated as a dispensable luxury. In this, the decorative arts are no different from fine art, or music, or literature.

We can never know why early homo sapiens and Neanderthals felt compelled to decorate their environments and adorn their objects with abstract shapes and figures, and I am not at all sure we understand what compels us to do it now. But, given we do do it now and always have done it in the past, it is probably safe to assume it answers a need of some kind, and a fairly basic one at that. That need might be pleasure. Pleasure is complex (ask Epicurus or Freud) and I can't begin to address it properly here. But surely the considered pleasures of making things and sharing the results of this making are, at the very least, a necessary counterbalance to the more routine and sometimes stressful necessities of everyday life, Covid-induced or otherwise.

The quilts made by Arrange Whatever Pieces Come Your Way are vibrantly beautiful examples of these pleasures (Figs. 7 and 8). The title given to the project by Sheelagh Boyce and Annabelle Harty says something about the ethos of their quilt making, and it says something about the traditions of quilting from which they draw. For me, these are contemporary versions of a tradition that transcends the academic distinction between the decorative and the fine arts. In being made from pre-existing swatches and bolts of fabric—kimonos, shirts, etc—they also address other pleasures and necessities, and in particular those of reusing, reframing, and revaluing discarded materials of a culture that affords itself the luxury of waste.



Figure 7.

Annabelle Harty and Sheelagh Boyce, Quilt 8, 2018, cotton and bamboo, 115cm × 115cm. Digital image courtesy of Annabelle Harty and Sheelagh Boyce (All rights reserved).



Figure 8.

Annabelle Harty and Sheelagh Boyce, Quilt 8, 2018, cotton and bamboo, 115cm x 115cm. Digital image courtesy of Annabelle Harty and Sheelagh Boyce (All rights reserved).

Response by

William Firebrace, Architect and Writer

I first wore a face mask last week, to visit the local supermarket. The mask was very simple, coloured light blue, and attached by strings to my ears. I felt awkward, absurd, and that everybody must be looking at me. But of course, nobody was looking, most of the other shoppers were also wearing masks and anyway they could not really see me, or at least my features, because I was now hidden behind my mask. I began to feel a kind of power, of being unrecognisable, invisible, not really being there, a feeling that must come to bandits and robbers, to the mysterious man in the iron mask, the masked avenger, but also to building workers and medical personnel. Wearing protective masks is nothing new in west London; over the years, I have noticed increasing numbers of men and women, families with kids, in standard blue masks. At first, I found them strange, slightly worrying, but now I hardly notice them at all. Back at home, and with my mask removed, I read an online piece about Japanese women and face masks, which explained that such masks are worn not just for prevention of disease but also because the wearers feel protected against being chatted up or questioned, or even because they need not feel obliged to put on make-up, they can be their natural selves because they are concealed, the masks are worn from choice, even when there is no danger. So masks become not merely pragmatic but also a form of decoration, rather elegant, diverting the attention from an inner form. People are proud of their masks. My sister sent me a photo of herself and her partner, both wearing hand-made bright pink masks, the two of them had become almost identical; the masks had become the most noticeable thing about them. Then a friend in Germany mailed me a picture of himself in a black mask and a black wool hat, a mixture of terrorist and surgeon, his features reduced to a pair of black spectacles, behind which lay two uncertain eyes. And now in the supermarket I notice numerous shoppers wearing masks with decorative patterns, flowers, animals, birds, cartoons, stripes and coloured squares, slogans, some rather disturbing fake mouths, the mask becoming fanciful, individual, the wearer is doubly concealed, first by the mask and then by the pattern, which alters the form of the mask. Masks become a fashion item, they are worn not just for concealment but for display, and I recall the young Islamic women I used to see in the streets in Marseille who combined face veils with camouflage clothing and brightly coloured high-heeled shoes, a bold blend of religious modesty and sexuality. Fashion houses now produce complex masks in luxurious fabrics, matching the latest outfits, expensive pandemic chic (Fig. 9). An online photo of a bridal-wear shop in Houston shows a bride wearing a complex white mask, beardlike, resembling the stubbly form of the corona itself, the bride as eroticised bisexual virus. But I still wear my simple blue mask for shopping, emboldened, anonymous, becoming a different person, whom nobody has quite recognised.



Figure 9.

Marine Serre: Runway - Paris Fashion Week
Womenswear Fall/Winter 2020/2021, 25 February 2020
in Paris, France. Digital image courtesy of Getty
Images (All rights reserved) | Photo: Victor Virgile /
Gamma-Rapho.

Response by

Peter McNeil, Distinguished Professor of Design History, University of Technology Sydney

No overseas travel, no luxury goods purchased abroad in glamorous stores, constrained sociability and an enforced return to the domestic and familial. Such has been our time in Australia during COVID-19, where a ban on all overseas travel remains enforced, and seated restaurants, cafés, and most stores were shuttered for nearly three months. Hairdressers were closed for the first month and then limited to 30-minute sessions, prompting a right-wing television commentator to successfully lobby the Federal government that it was impossible to maintain one's hair within such strictures. As international borders and local businesses slowly reopen, can we compare our predicament with an earlier eighteenth-century episode, when travel was impossible due to warfare, yet young men strained to experience foreign life, tastes, and fashions?

A Liverpool earthenware ceramic tile, made about 250 years ago, seems to share something of the contemporary mood of risk and peril in travel today, as well as demands on our appearance at times of social change (Fig. 10). It cannot be dated precisely but is copied from *The Englishman in Paris*, a print drawn by James Caldwell, that had been published 10 May 1770 by J. Smith and Robert Sayer, London. The tile, possibly destined for a chimney piece or created as a novelty, depicts a Frenchified "friseur" or male hairdresser directing powder at the hair of an elderly gentlemen using a retractable wooden "powder carrot". The gentleman looks uncomfortable, but passive and obliging. On the floor lies an open book titled *A Six Weeks Tour to Paris*. The gentleman is either preparing for a visit there, or an imagined one, adopting a fashionable style on top of his head. The awkwardness of his pose and the provincial chair on which he sits are in contrast to the agile, balletic pose of the thin stylist, whose breeches have too much "room" in them as was often said of effeminate men at the time.



Figure 10.

Ceramic glazed tile depicting a hairdresser, Liverpool (manufacturer), after the etching and engraving by James Caldwell (printmaker), *The Englishman in Paris*, published 10 May 1770 by J. Smith and Robert Sayer, circa 1775, earthenware, 0.08 x 12.5 x 12.5 cm. Collection of National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, presented by Mr and Mrs F. Hodgkin, 1939(4656.72-D3). Digital image courtesy of National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (All rights reserved).

The tableau is inscribed within a rococo cartouche, re-emphasising its French charge and allusion. The print and tile are contemporary with the well-known macaroni of the 1760s–1770s, young men of cosmopolitan outlook primarily interested in luxury fashion and accessories, noted for their carousing, gambling, effeminate dress, and travel abroad. Their impact was amplified by the great expansion of printed satirical caricatures. Macaroni men embodied a tension in English society between native interests, manufactures, and prerogatives, and a cosmopolitan outlook that privileged travel, urbanity, and access to outside ideas.

Following the conclusion of the Seven Years War (1756–1763), many young well-to-do men rushed to France and Italy to see what was going on with the fashions they had so missed during wartime. Hairstyles were important and fashionable men in the late 1760s and 1770s ceased wearing the small

“scratch-wig” of the older generation, a prosthetic which supplemented natural hair. Instead, a very tall *toupée* rising in front and a thick club of hair behind required extensive dressing with pomade and white powder. These wigs became widespread and were copied by men “up from the country”—barbers and hairdressers were common even in rural areas of England and France. The new fashionable macaroni “queue” of hair was held in a large black satin wig-bag, often trimmed with a rosette, to protect the back of the jacket.

The wig-bag was requisite for attendance at court and therefore became striking when worn in the street and in everyday life; it also carried an added expense (account books indicate that wig-bags had to be replaced at least several times a year). The very high wig was commonly associated with continental affectation, much like the taking of snuff and the wearing of silk and velvet rather than good English broadcloth (woollens). Food also signified nationalism or contagion: satirical prints reiterating Hogarth depicted the robust Briton as consumer of hearty roast beef, whereas the French were scrawny beings who ate grilled cats, frogs, and pasta. Pasta—“macaroni”—did not require mastication and therefore was even more strongly marked as effeminate and unmanly.

Anxieties connecting luxury and foreignness, unease about cultural and racial difference, the rise of “common sense” in right-wing political discourse, these troubling developments in our own time can be glimpsed in this object. The exact function of its visual joke translated to a ceramic body is unclear, raising questions about how contemporary viewers reacted to such topical objects and social stereotypes. As many Australians hope and pray to visit continental Europe again—we are now told at least not until 2021 and possibly later—what luxury goods and experiences do we hope to sample there and how will we prepare for the journey? What objects may in future commemorate our anxieties around that travel, as well as our nationalisms and curiosities about other cultures, places and experiences?

Response by

Patricia F. Ferguson, Project Curator, Department of Britain, Europe and Prehistory, British Museum

Luxury, like so much in our world, may indeed be in crisis. Yet, it is not tone-deaf, it has always adapted and survived. Take this teapot now in the British Museum, made in provincial Worcester around 1768–1769 (Figs. [11](#) and [12](#)). Nothing could be more quintessentially British, or more benign. Tea-drinking and its elegant accoutrements, a one-time preserve of the privileged upper classes, became increasingly democratised throughout the eighteenth century, ultimately becoming ubiquitous. Until the Commutation Act of 1784, however, which critically reduced taxes on tea imported from China from 119 per cent to 12.5 per cent, most of the tea consumed in Britain was contraband. Before then, smugglers—little studied as a consumer group—made their fortunes off the backs of The Honourable East India Company, a predatory multinational corporation with its own army, who held the official monopoly on heavily taxed tea. The Company's reputation for corruption and malpractice came to prominence in 1769–1770 during the Bengal Bubble, which led to a banking collapse, and when a savage famine killed up to ten million people in Bengal. The taxes, incidentally, circumnavigated by these racketeers (the smugglers), financed the empire building of the British government and military.



Figure 11.

Worcester Porcelain Factory, Teapot or punch pot with gold cartouche under spout, inscribed. Also a gold brooch in form of number 45 with legend; celebrates publication of number 45 of the 'North Briton', circa 1763-1770, porcelain and gold, 14.50 cm height. Collection of British Museum (1923,0215.11.CR). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 12.

Worcester Porcelain Factory, Teapot or punch pot with gold cartouche under spout, inscribed. Also a gold brooch in form of number 45 with legend; celebrates publication of number 45 of the 'North Briton', circa 1763-1770, porcelain and gold, 14.50 cm height. Collection of British Museum (1923,0215.11.CR). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The tea industry was symbiotic with advancements in British ceramic material technology, namely, cream-coloured earthenware (creamware) and steatitic soft-paste porcelain. The first was a mass-produced global product aimed at all levels of society, while the second, containing soapstone that could withstand boiling water without cracking, cultivated a pretentious clientele. While teapot design rarely waivered from the Chinese original, fashionability became the watchword in this commodification of culture. The Worcester factory's proprietors unsurprisingly focused on teawares in a limited number of shapes to reduce manufacturing costs, decorated in innumerable patterns; painted designs in the latest fleeting taste was less expensive than making stylish moulds. Their signature underglaze scale-blue

ground, a mechanical imitation of the mottled *bleu lapis* of Vincennes and “Mazarine blue” of Chelsea, resulted in an aspirational luxury brand. The vacant panels, here painted in the Japanese Kakiemon-style, are framed within honey-gilt scrollwork devices disguising areas where the cobalt blue bled into the glaze that added bling, but also doubled the price. Discretely incorporated into these ornate frames is the inscription “No. 45”, under the spout and handle and at the crest of the two largest cartouches.

Since 1763, “45” had become a symbol of the abstract notion of liberty, freedom of the press, universal suffrage, and even a republic. It was a reference to issue number 45 of the *North Briton*, a magazine published by the radical and scandalous Whig politician John Wilkes, which contained an attack on King George III’s speech in Parliament written by Lord Bute. He was immediately thrown in the Tower for seditious libel openly insulting the oppressive government, but was then released under parliamentary privilege and escaped to France. When he returned in 1768, the celebrated outlaw ran for parliament and was mobbed by sympathetic “Wilkites”, artisans, shopkeepers, and journeymen, many illiterate, who latched onto the number 45. The symbol was chalked on doors and carriages on the eve of his election in April and again following his arrest in May, provoking a constitutional crisis, which led to the Massacre of St George’s Fields in south London, when government soldiers opened fire on riotous demonstrators and at least six people were killed, following the reading of the Riot Act.

Staffordshire creamware teapots survive boldly emblazoned with the inscription, “Wilkes and Liberty”, a slogan adapted from a satirical caricature by Hogarth, and “No. 45”, were purchased by middling classes openly dissatisfied with authority and attempts to stifle freedom of speech. Worcester’s proprietors eschewed any such controversy—porcelain is rarely political, there was too much at stake—making this anomaly all the more surprising. Was the teapot originally part of a standard 43-piece tea service ordered by an elite “Wilkite”—countless women were seduced by him—or was it the singular work of a rogue “Wilkite” gilder adding a subversive slogan as a defiant act of political dissent? Luxury and crisis hidden in plain sight.

Response by

Deborah L. Krohn, Bard Graduate Center

The often brutalising expansion of British society over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries engendered the growth of global markets and ensuing access to goods, including plants and foodstuffs, as well as the evolution of taste. Often used as a metaphor for choice in furnishings, clothing, or interior decoration, taste was also, literally, about the sensory perception of food. Stimulated by the acquisition of literacy, especially among women, an increasing number of books appeared that provided guidance on how to source, prepare, and serve food, becoming a way to claim membership in a club that signalled sophistication and promised the ability to “dispose the best of Delicacies to the most eminent persons”.² The cultural prestige of Italy, revered in Renaissance England as it trickled down to the middling sorts, can be seen in a curious pamphlet and accompanying set of playing cards, published in London in 1693. The full title says a lot:

The Genteel House-Keepers Pastime: Or, The Mode of Carving at the Table Represented in a Pack of Playing Cards. By which, together with the Instructions in this Book, any ordinary Capacity may easily learn how to Cut up or Carve in Mode all the most usual Dishes of Flesh, Fish, Fowl, and Baked Meats; and how to make the several Services of the same at the Table; with the Several Sawces and Garnishes proper to each Dish of Meat. Set forth by several of the best Masters in the Faculty of Carving, and Published for publick Use.

By the end of the seventeenth century, carving skills were included in the growing number of cookbooks and related household manuals explicitly addressed to women such as the “genteel house-keeper” named in the title. A short pamphlet published with the cards provided verbal instructions on how to carve and serve meats, including the sauces to offer with them (though without recipes) similar to those found in contemporary cookbooks. This is followed by a set of fifty-three (one is blank) playing cards: the spades are “baked meats”, architecturally shaped pies with fillings such as goose, tongue, potato, or hare (Fig. 13); the hearts are “beasts”, cuts of meats, such as loin of veal or shoulder of mutton (Fig. 14); the diamonds are “fowl” such as goose, woodcock, and duck (Fig. 15); and the clubs are fish such as trout and mackerel (Fig. 16). The images on the cards, diagrams that instruct the viewer where to make the cuts on the meats and fishes, and how to shape the pies, derive ultimately from a pedagogical tradition dating to the late middle ages. Carvers and stewards were highly ranked male servants in

courts and elite households all over Europe, holding more prestige than cooks, who remained in the kitchen. Printed manuals and handbooks detailing their responsibilities proliferated in Italy starting in the sixteenth century.

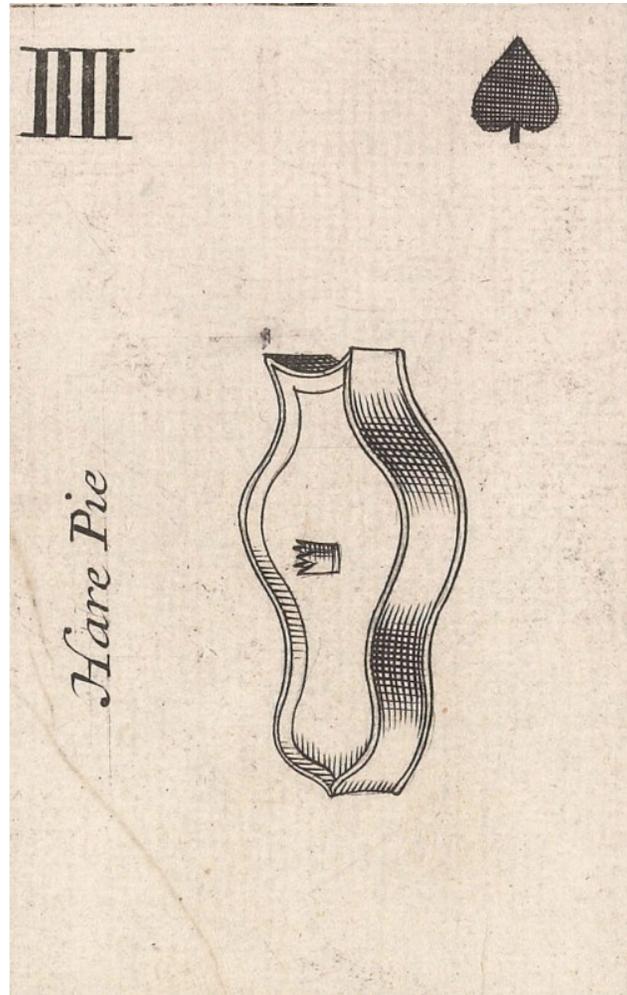


Figure 13.

The Genteel House-Keepers Pastime, Or, The mode of Carving at the Table represented in a pack of playing cards (four of a set), 1693, playing cards, 15 cm. Collection of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (UvL50 693G). Digital image courtesy of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (Public domain).



Figure 14.

The Genteel House-Keepers Pastime, Or, The mode of Carving at the Table represented in a pack of playing cards (four of a set), 1693, playing cards, 15 cm. Collection of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (UvL50 693G). Digital image courtesy of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (Public domain).

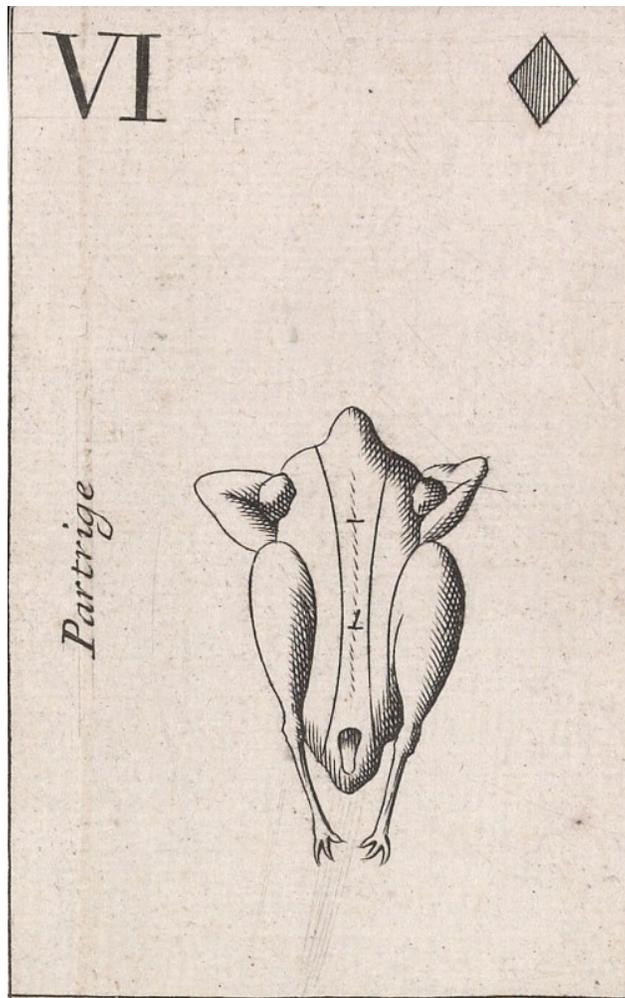


Figure 15.

The Genteel House-Keepers Pastime, Or, The mode of Carving at the Table represented in a pack of playing cards (four of a set), 1693, playing cards, 15 cm. Collection of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (UvL50 693G). Digital image courtesy of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (Public domain).

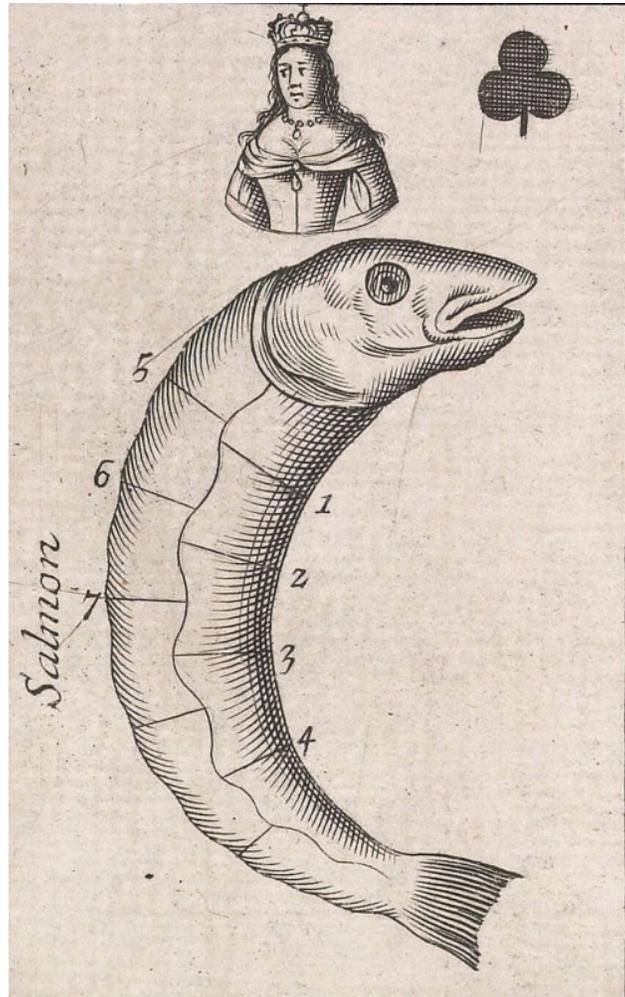


Figure 16.

The Genteel House-Keepers Pastime, Or, *The mode of Carving at the Table* represented in a pack of playing cards (four of a set), 1693, playing cards, 15 cm. Collection of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (UvL50 693G). Digital image courtesy of Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library, Yale University (Public domain).

Illustrations based on Mattia Giegher's *Tre Trattati*, published in Padua in 1629, are found in books printed in Germany, France, Holland, Sweden, and Norway, and probably others, through the eighteenth century. Though the title spells out the audience for the cards, it is not clear exactly how—or if—they would have been used in an instructional capacity. Playing cards were just one of many forms of popular print culture marketed with an appeal to a realm of luxury that was beyond the economic reach of the majority. Published by James Moxon, also a purveyor of globes, maps, scientific and mathematical instruments, books, and other playing cards, including an astronomical and a geographical set, all advertised on the last two pages of the pamphlet, the carving cards appeared on the cusp of what

has been called the “birth of a consumer society”, which witnessed the beginning of spending patterns that privileged desire over need, the very definition of luxury.³ The carving cards are emblematic of this pivotal moment, with their consumption encouraged as a way to emulate “the wisdom of the Grandees of former Ages of great antiquity” but to do so as a way to avoid the “unthrifty wasting” of a dish of good meat.⁴

Response by

Ruth Scurr, Fellow of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge

Luxury and crisis sometimes intersect when decorative objects are designed to tell stories. The Popish Plot was a fictitious crisis that caused real suffering in seventeenth-century England. In 1678 Titus Oates, a renegade Anglican clergyman, and Israel Tonge, an anti-Catholic fanatic, forged evidence of a plot to assassinate King Charles II, so his brother James, a Roman Catholic, would inherit the throne and reverse the effects of the English Reformation. The invented plot induced widespread panic and inspired the broadside ballad, “A True Narrative of the Horrid Hellish Popish Plot.”

These painted tin-glazed tiles (Fig. 17) were made in the workshop of Jan Ariens van Hammes, who left Delft with his family and sixteen workmen to settle in Vauxhall in South London in 1676 and obtained a patent to exercise his “art of makeinge tiles and porcelane and other earthen wares, after the way practised in Holland.”⁵



Figure 17.

Jan Ariens van Hamme (producer) Cophthall pottery (manufacturer), Tile depicting the “Popish Plot”, 1679–1680, tin-glazed earthenware with painted decoration, 0.8 × 12.5 × 12.5 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (414:823/9-1885). Digital image courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (All rights reserved).

The designs for the tiles were copied from a set of engraved playing cards, published circa 1679, based on original drawings by the illustrator and comic book pioneer Francis Barlow. The first tile depicts Pope Innocent XI, three cardinals, and the devil (under the table) hatching the plot. The second shows the would-be assassins, allegedly Jesuit priests, signing their resolve to kill the king. In the next, Titus Oates, who was eventually found guilty of sedition and perjury, is pictured revealing the plot to the king and his counsellors. A close associate of Oates’, the confidence trickster William Bedloe, who gave an account of the feigned plot to a secret committee of the House of Commons, is singled out for a whole tile of his own. Bedloe died in 1680, so did not live to be exposed as a fraud, unlike Oates, who was pilloried and whipped through London streets after James II became king in 1685.

The most gruesome of the tiles shows the Benedictine lay brother, Thomas Pickering, naked, waiting to be hanged, drawn and quartered. He was one of over twenty innocent men arrested and executed because of the fabricated plot, which would not have gained such credence had the country not already been convulsed with fear of a return to Roman Catholicism. Another of the tiles celebrates the burning of “Popish books, Images and relics.”

For Hammes, the Popish Plot was a commercial opportunity. He had only been in England for two years, but the decorative tiles he sold for lining fireplaces, skirting boards or kitchen and scullery walls were already popular. White porcelain was not manufactured in Europe until the eighteenth century, but tin-glazing imitated the white of Chinese imports and was cheaper. Hammes copied more, perhaps all fifty-two, of the playing card images; the British Museum has a tile showing “The Execution of the Five Jesuits”, which is not in the V&A collection. He also used the designs on plates; an example showing the supposed conspirators was sold at Christies in 2010, with a border of tulips (associated with the Netherlands), roses (a Lutheran symbol) and carnations. ⁶

Luxurious artefacts, even those with a practical purpose, are designed to outlast political crises. What did the purchasers of the tiles think five or ten years on, as they watched the flames in their grates illuminate scenes from the Popish Plot? What did their servants think, mopping the floors or washing the dishes, looking at discredited images from an old invented crisis? Pity, perhaps, for the innocent people who died and disdain for the liars, unmasked by history.

Footnotes

- 1 Victoria Yeoman, “Speaking Plates: Text, Performance, and Banqueting Trenchers in Early Modern Europe”, *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 5 (2017): 755-779, at: [doi10.1111/rest.12280](https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12280).
- 2 *The Genteel House-Keepers Pastime: Or, The Mode of Carving at the Table Represented in a Pack of Playing Cards ...* (London: Printed for J. Moxon, and sold at his shop at the Atlas in Warwick-Lane; and at the Three Bells in Ludgate-street, 1693), 4-5.
- 3 See Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982), and many subsequent studies.
- 4 *The Genteel House-Keepers Pastime*, 2.
- 5 Ivor Noël Hume, *Early English Delftware from London and Virginia* (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1977), 23.
- 6 “A London Delft Blue and White Popist Plot Plate: 1679-1680, possibly John Ariens Van Hamme’s Factory, Copthall or Vauxhall”, Syd Levethan: The Longridge Collection, 10-11 June 2010, Christie’s Auction, at: www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-london-delft-blue-and-white-popish-5323620-details.aspx.



The Wall Paintings at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace: Recent Imaging and Scientific Analysis of the Fragments in the British Museum

Helen Howard, Lloyd de Beer, David Saunders and Catherine Higgitt

Abstract

Recent imaging, examination, and analysis of the few surviving fragments of wall painting from St Stephen's Chapel have revealed new data relating to the original technique and aspects of workshop practice in the production of these important mid-fourteenth-century wall paintings. Infrared imaging of the paintings provides clear evidence for the presence of an under-drawing and of extensive modification of the design in situ at an advanced stage of the painting process. There are marked differences in the character of the under-drawing on the various fragments studied, which are likely to relate to different hands and may be indicative of workshop practice. In addition, the presence of an original varnish is strongly suggested, the red dyestuff employed for the red lake pigment has been identified, and the complexity of pigment mixtures and stratigraphy of the paint layers has also been elucidated. This information will be discussed in the context of the documentary sources and of analytical results from the investigation of contemporaneous polychromy.

Authors

Ferguson Curator of Medieval Europe at the British Museum

Cite as

Helen Howard, Lloyd de Beer, David Saunders and Catherine Higgitt, "The Wall Paintings at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace: Recent Imaging and Scientific Analysis of the Fragments in the British Museum", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/oneobject>

Introduction

When the Society of Antiquaries donated the painted and architectural fragments from St Stephen's Chapel to the British Museum in 1814, its collection of medieval antiquities was practically non-existent.¹ There was little desire on the part of the museum to collect and display European medieval material; the acceptance of the donation can be seen to be at odds with the prevailing—or at least developing—institutional *Zeitgeist*.² Why the museum accepted the fragments, and why the society gave them away needs addressing. It is the aim of this short introduction to set out the evidence for the removal of the fragments from St Stephen's after 1800, their donation to the British Museum in 1814, and the context of their first public redisplay in 1852.³

The Department of Antiquities had been set up in 1807 and it was not until 1831, with the purchase of the Lewis Chessmen, that another substantial and important group of medieval objects would be added to the collection. The St Stephen's fragments are therefore the first considerable group of medieval objects to enter the museum. Their collecting history offers a glimpse into the status and perception of the medieval past at the British Museum.

Recording the Fragments at Westminster

John Carter was the first artist to record systematically the medieval interior of St Stephen's Chapel. Between 1790 and 1794, he drew portions of the fabric still partially hidden beneath later architectural iterations.⁴ Further paintings were uncovered on 11 August 1800, but Carter was barred from entering due to a long-running dispute with the architect James Wyatt.⁵ Carter recorded this visit in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, lamenting that he “saw some of the most rare works of art that this or any country ever produced falling beneath the workmen's hammers.”⁶ Following Carter's rejection, J.T. Smith was granted access to the chapel in order to record the paintings for his co-authored publication, with J.S. Hawkins, titled *Antiquities of Westminster*.⁷ Smith's volume contains drawings of the wall paintings at the east end, produced *in situ*, and including the large number of painted and architectural fragments scattered in Cotton Garden. Smith worked at St Stephen's from 14 August until 24 September, after which Richard Smirke—illustrator to the Society of Antiquaries—was granted access in order to produce drawings for an updated version of Carter's 1795 publication.⁸

Prior to the publication of *Antiquities of Westminster*, there was a public disagreement between Hawkins and Smirke, played out across the pages of *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1803. The issue at stake was whether Smirke

had made his drawings *in situ*, or from fragments that had previously been removed from the walls. This mattered because a drawing made *in situ* was thought more likely to be accurate; removal created loss of paint and stone. Clarifying this will help in tracking when the fragments now at the British Museum might have been moved from St Stephen's and taken to the Society of Antiquaries. In his description of 1800, Carter mentions portions of the chapel "falling beneath the workmen's hammers".⁹ Smith gives further evidence for the destruction of the interior in a description of his own working practices. He would begin at first light and work until nine o'clock, when those arriving to work on the renovation would start to remove what he had recorded earlier that morning.¹⁰ Further, Smith's drawing of Cotton Garden shows it as a site filled with fragments from the chapel. It is a document for the removal of substantial fragments from the interior, including "a part of an inscription which was over one of the pictures, and another has on it a painting of two men, one of them in the inside of a gilt bull."¹¹ In a letter promoting his and Smith's publication, then in progress, Hawkins wrote to defend Smith's methods against Smirke's, suggesting that the latter had made his drawings after the fragments were removed from the walls.¹² Smirke refuted this statement and went on to clarify that certain fragments were moved subsequently into the best light, so that he was able to "make corrections, and discover many parts which, but for the removal, could never have been seen."¹³

The Removal of the Fragments to the Society of Antiquaries

Several letters in *The Gentleman's Magazine* provide further evidence that a number of painted fragments had already been removed and taken to the Antiquaries before Smirke began his recording. Hawkins informs us that paintings from the first window "were taken down; some of them were conveyed into Mr. Groves's room, others into Cotton Garden among the rubbish, and others presented to the Antiquarian Society, long before Mr. Smirke was engaged."¹⁴ His account that numerous fragments had already been taken down and transferred to the Antiquaries is corroborated by a letter from R. Wynne, who recalled a visit to Cotton Gardens on 21 October 1802. Wynne provides a description of the condition of the fragments still present in the garden: "This inscription is similar to the fragments in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, which were mostly taken down from the South side of St Stephen's chapel long before Mr. Smirke began his drawings."¹⁵

By 1803, the Society of Antiquaries had possession of at least some of the paintings from St Stephen's Chapel, which it must be assumed are the pieces that were eventually donated to the British Museum. If the letters by

Hawkins, Smith, and Wynne are correct, then the Antiquaries would have received them between 11 August and the 23 September 1800. There is unfortunately no information in their council meeting minutes to confirm this suggestion. The bulk of the antiquarian effort was dedicated towards preserving the paintings via drawing and publication. It would seem that little effort was made to salvage the majority of the fragments remaining in Cotton Garden. It was surely not a question of time, as Wynne's letter makes clear that the Cotton Garden fragments were still there in 1802, and were being taken by members of the public to be reused as building material. A fragment showing Queen Philippa was preserved and drawn by John Carter, but its whereabouts are now unknown.¹⁶ Other architectural fragments do survive, although some in poor condition. Two fragments from a moulded mullion were acquired by the British Museum in 1883;¹⁷ and Sir John Soane's Museum holds four heavily weathered stone architectural fragments and a cast from a heraldic shield.¹⁸

Donation to the British Museum and Redisplay

At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries held on Thursday, 15 February 1814, it was:

Ordered, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Burney, seconded by Mr Carlisle, that the six cases and three fragments of the original paintings brought from St. Stephen's Chapel, and now in the Meeting Room, be presented to the Trustees of the British Museum.¹⁹

On 12 March 1814, the donation book of the British Museum records: "Different Fragments of Paintings from St Stephen's Chapel, from the Society of Antiquaries."²⁰ There is no mention of the donation in the British Museum trustees' minutes, nor is there any record of the fragments having been accepted by the Department of Antiquities in the officers' reports for the same period.²¹ As there was no public or national collection of British antiquities, the Society of Antiquaries was busy intermittently collecting objects—often received as donations from fellows—for a museum of their own.²² It was therefore an exceptional act to give away the St Stephen's Chapel fragments to the British Museum.²³ The most likely reason for this donation was space. The Antiquaries did not move into Burlington House until 1874, and although framed paintings could be hung on its walls, large

stone fragments such as those from St Stephen's were problematic to store and display.²⁴ The growing British Museum might well have seemed the most logical place to deposit the items.

After the fragments were moved from the Antiquaries to Bloomsbury, there is little evidence to track their location within the British Museum. It is highly unlikely they were placed on public display. It was not until 1852 that they were first described in a British Museum guide book, and located within the earliest incarnation of a permanent British and Medieval Gallery: "Cases 98-101. Paintings from St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, of the time of Edward III. They represent scenes from the book of Job and the history of Tobit."²⁵ An image of the fragments on display in this room—albeit in a slightly later incarnation—is recorded in a photograph by Frederick York, taken in 1875 (Fig. 1). There was no chronological or thematic organisational structure. The display was arranged as is stated in the *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, "with regard to the material and workmanship of the objects".²⁶ The redisplay of the fragments from St Stephen's coincided with the appointment of Augustus Wollaston Franks, the first permanent employee of the museum responsible for British antiquities.²⁷ Before 1852, several British and European antiquities were on view in the Ethnographic Room, but the earlier versions of the *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum* make no mention of what types of objects constituted the display.



Figure 1.

Frederick York, Figure 1 The wall painting fragments on display in the British Museum, 1875, photograph. Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The history of these objects illuminates the slow birth of interest in medieval objects at the British Museum. If the paintings at St Stephen's Chapel had been discovered half a century later—at the time of their display in 1852—the story of their preservation would be completely different.²⁸ The history of the acquisition and presentation of the St Stephen's fragments serves as a counterpoint to the presentation of other cultures at the museum.²⁹

Technical Examination and Analysis of the Fragments

Although the British Museum's development of an interest in medieval antiquities was protracted, the work of Carter, Smith, and Smirke was pioneering. This innovation was mirrored in the analytical investigations undertaken on the St Stephen's Chapel fragments by the London doctor John Haslam in 1800.³⁰ His work on the fragments included the first recorded analysis of paint samples ever undertaken, and marked the beginning of an interest in this field by leading scientists in Europe at the turn of the century.
31

Haslam's ground-breaking work provided a remarkably accurate preliminary overview of the pigments and binding medium employed in the scheme of fourteenth-century wall painting. It was another 170 years before further examinations and analysis were carried out, in advance of the conservation and remounting of the surviving fragments at the British Museum in 1973.³² Aside from these instances, a few other minor phases of analysis have been undertaken to answer particular technical queries, and a summary of the previous studies is given in the Appendix below.³³

Following discussions with researchers on the AHRC-funded project 'St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: Visual and Political Culture, 1292-1941' (2013-17), and with other scholars at a seminar hosted at the British Museum, the decision was made in 2015-2016 to undertake a limited phase of further examination.³⁴ In light of more recent research on related material, this set out to resolve a small number of outstanding technical questions and included undertaking technical imaging, some further sampling, and re-examination of the 1973 samples with analytical techniques which were not available at that time. Primary research questions focused on: the evidence for the setting out of the paintings, such as the use of incision or under-drawing; the type of dyestuff used in the preparation of the red lake pigment; evidence for original finishes, including further investigation of the mordant gilding; and whether there are any remains of original varnish.

Constrained by the restricted access afforded by the fixed display of the majority of the fragments in glass-fronted cases, only a limited amount of infrared and ultraviolet imaging, examination, and sampling was possible in 2015. Despite the constraints, much useful new information relating to the painting methodology and workshop practices has been assembled, and these results are detailed below. However, perhaps the single most significant advance, which has been made as part of the recent study, is the production of a new set of high-resolution images of the paintings, undertaken by the British Museum in 2017. These images will make detailed study of the fragments possible for all and thus revolutionise the accessibility of these important fourteenth-century wall paintings by exploiting a system of display appropriate for the twenty-first century.

Infrared Examination

Infrared reflectography (IRR) was undertaken on those fragments accessible in the 2015 examination to investigate the possible presence of under-drawing.³⁵ The resulting infrared images have provided new information relating to the preparatory methods used in setting out the paintings. Although only a portion of the original scheme survives, the few remaining

fragments provide clear evidence that a number of different hands were involved in both the drawing and painting phases of the production of this once-extensive cycle of images.

A scene from the *Book of Job*, reveals an under-drawing in a fluid medium, but rather thickly and stiffly applied (Fig. 2). Both the exterior outline and interior folds of the drapery are indicated, but they are rather awkwardly and crudely drawn, with broad stiff lines.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 2.

The Book of Job (detail), in visible and infrared light, ca. 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2c). The IRR image reveals a rather awkward and stiffly drawn preparatory drawing. Digital image courtesy of Images courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The infrared image from the *Turret Scene* reveals a drawing that is similar, in that all of the folds of the drapery are suggested, but here the drawing is much less stiff, with more confident and flowing brushwork. This can be seen particularly clearly in the fluid freehand drawing of the female figure's hair (Fig. 3), and in the flowing curly interior details of the drapery at the bottom left (Fig. 4). It is also apparent that the lines setting out the architecture have been ruled, as evidenced by the overrun of the line at the bottom of the scene. Ruling against a straight edge would explain this type of overshoot (Fig. 4). The infrared image also shows that the architecture was very carefully planned out in advance of painting, and that the drawing was followed very closely in the subsequently applied paint layers.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 3.

The Book of Job (detail), in visible and infrared light, ca. 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2c). The IRR image shows the turret scene, revealing the confident and fluid freehand drawing of the female figure's hair. Digital image courtesy of Images courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 4.

The Book of Job (detail), in visible and infrared light, ca. 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2c). The IRR image shows that the architecture was very carefully planned out in advance of painting with many of the lines being ruled against a straight edge, the preparatory drawing was followed very closely in the paint layers, ca. 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2c). Digital image courtesy of Images courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

In the *Destruction of Job's Children*, a rather different character of under-drawing is evident, and again this is likely to relate to the various hands present in the workshop (Fig. 5). For the preparatory drawing of this fragment, only the external outlines of the drapery are indicated, none of the internal folds are shown. Further, it is clear that the architecture was drawn in first, and then followed by the horizontal lines of the table. The position of the front of the table was subsequently altered considerably, indicating that the planning of the overall composition was still relatively fluid at this stage, and that certain major compositional changes were made to the drawing on the wall. The drawing of a spoon extends over the first line of the table front, suggesting that at least some of the items of tableware were added after changes in its position were made. However, other objects had already been sketched in at an earlier stage, and so were moved forward at the same time as the table front, such as the platter (just to the left of the glass, in the centre of the image in Figure 5), which was repositioned and refashioned as a dish.

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 5.

The Destruction of Job's Children (detail), ca. 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2a). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

A number of objects are more distinct in the infrared image than in the painted fragments, such as the knife and bread roll on the left side of the table (Fig. 5). Examination of Smirke's drawing of this scene, made in 1800, confirms that a row of three bread rolls was originally positioned along the front of the table, as it was still visible then (Fig. 6). The IRR image also shows that the glass vessel at the centre of the scene was initially drawn in an upright position. It is clear that the repositioning of this object was made at a very advanced stage of the painting process, as the tumbled vessel has been painted over the final flesh paint of the hands of the figures on the right side of the scene (Fig. 7).



Figure 6.

Richard Smirke, *The Destruction of Job's Children*, 1800, watercolour. Collection of Society of Antiquaries of London. Digital image courtesy of Society of Antiquaries of London (All rights reserved).



Figure 7.

The Destruction of Job's Children, (1814,0312.2b detail fragment), circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2a). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

By comparison with the crude and stiff under-drawing of the first fragment described, which may suggest copying, here the drawing has been refined and developed *in situ* and, like the *Turret Scene*, was undertaken in a fluid, confident freehand technique. By contrast, with the *Turret Scene*, this draughtsman did not indicate the inner drapery folds.

Examination of the IRR image of the *Blinding of Tobit* (Fig. 8) reveals a drawing that is different in character to those described above. The features of the bearded figure of Tobit on the right-hand side of the scene have been carefully and skilfully drawn with minute attention to detail. The final flesh painting partially masks the preparatory drawing, but examination of a detail taken at high magnification in normal incident light shows that the preparatory drawing has been undertaken in brown paint, rather than the black fluid material used elsewhere. In the IRR image, we see through the overlying paint, allowing the under-drawing of the face and beard to be easily seen. The final paint layers of this particular fragment have also been exceptionally finely painted. Here, we have a very skilled hand, evident both in the brown under-drawing and in the fine detail of the final paint layers (Figs 9, 10 and 11).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 8.

The Blinding of Tobit (detail), ca. 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Images courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

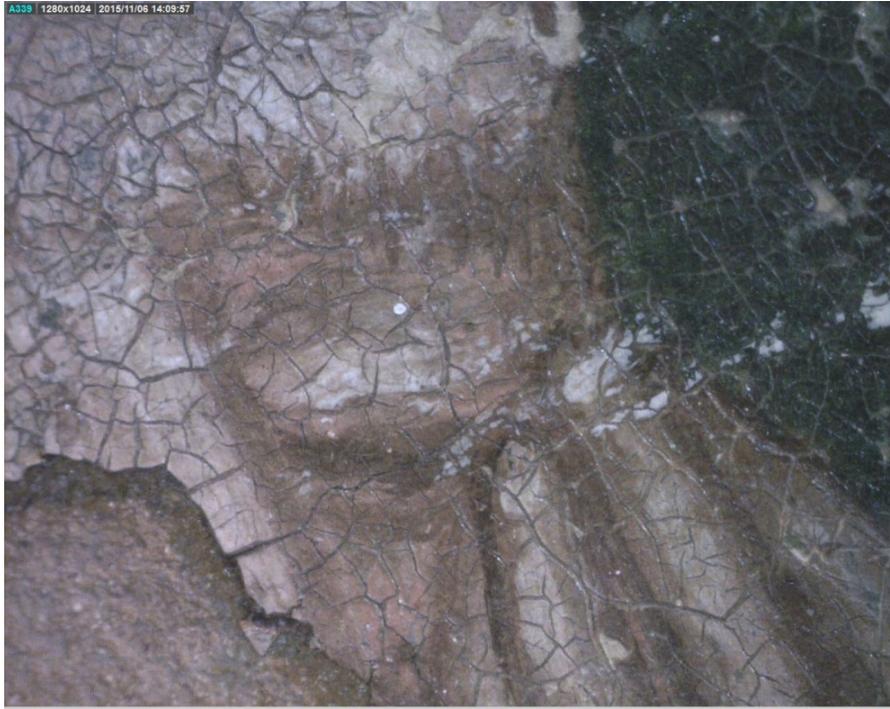


Figure 9.

The Blinding of Tobit, photomicrograph of Tobit's left proper eye and hand, circa 1355-1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).



Figure 10.

The Blinding of Tobit, photomicrograph of Tobit's face, circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).



Figure 11.

The Blinding of Tobit, photomicrograph of Tobit's beard, circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Examination of the *Blinding of Tobit* reveals another significant change in the composition—again undertaken at an advanced stage of the painting process (Fig. 12). Here, a broad vertical architectural feature in the original background goes directly through the body of Tobit's wife. Further, the green paint of the original background is evident beneath the pink of her drapery, and shows through where the pink paint is worn or damaged, indicating that Tobit's wife was painted in her present position after the completion of the green background (Fig. 13). It appears likely that this figure was originally shown emerging from a doorway, or was partially masked behind an architectural feature, but was subsequently moved to a more dominant position in the composition. This new finding has been significant in relation to Jane Spooner's recent interpretation of the iconography of this scene.³⁶

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 12.

The Blinding of Tobit (detail), showing Tobit's wife. IRR image, ca. 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Images courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

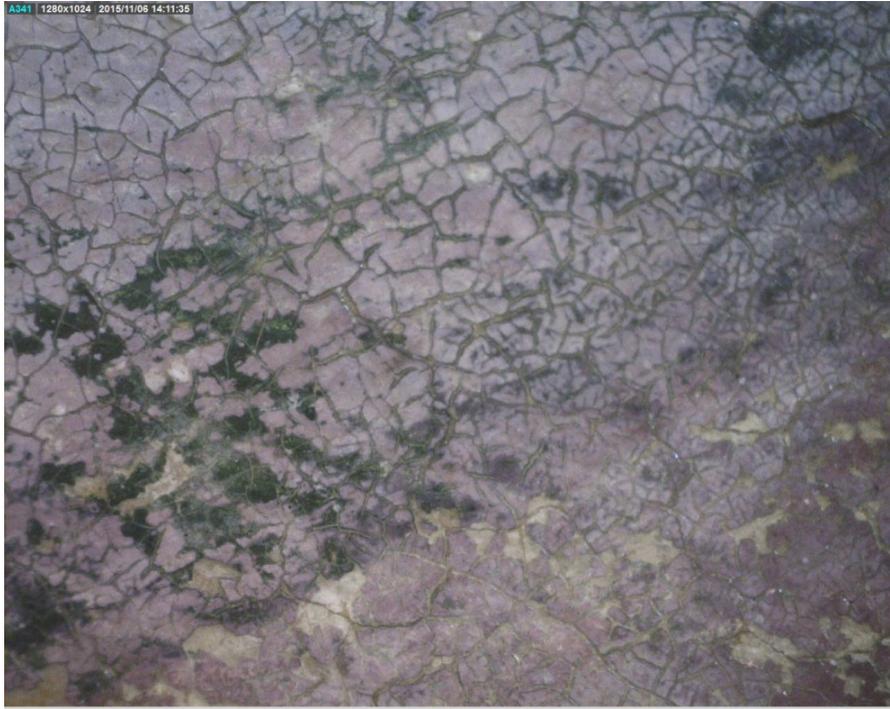


Figure 13.

The Blinding of Tobit, photomicrograph of Tobit's wife's drapery showing that where the pink paint layer is worn or damaged, the underlying green background is visible, circa 1355-1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

The IRR images suggest that a number of painters drew freehand *in situ*, developing their compositions on the wall. This is consistent with the evidence of the fabric accounts.³⁷ They confirm that Master Hugh of St Alban himself was involved in the drawing process, since the entry for the week beginning 27 February 1352 records that he was paid for two days' working, "on the drawing of images in the same chapel".³⁸ The stiffness of some other areas of drawing may suggest that subsidiary artists were copying from models (perhaps on paper), which in all likelihood were also prepared by the master painter, as suggested by an entry in the accounts for the week beginning 30 April 1352, in which Master Hugh of St Alban is paid for "directing the drawings for the said painters".³⁹ The accounts also provide evidence for the purchase of paper, which may have been used for this purpose, in the week beginning 2 January 1352, "To John Lambard for two quires of royal paper bought for the designs of the painters 20 d.". ⁴⁰

In addition to the use of preparatory drawing, lines were finely incised into the lead white paint layer for setting out the inscriptions (Fig. 14). Ruled or snapped vertical and horizontal lines for guidance in the overall setting out are also visible in one case below the white paint layer (Fig. 21).



Figure 14.

The Blinding of Tobit (detail), photomicrograph showing the incised lines used to set out the text on fragment 1814,0312.2b, circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2b). Digital image courtesy of British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Mordant Gilding

Examination of the surviving painting fragments at high magnification revealed that many of the fine linear details, which now appear white, for example, the decorative borders of drapery and the edging of the tablecloths, were once gilded. Remnants of the original gold leaf remain on the surface in the *Blinding of Tobit*, and traces are evident on other fragments, such as the *Destruction of Job's Children* (Figs 15, 16, 17, 31 and 32). The published antiquarian sources confirm that more extensive remains of gold leaf were evident at the end of the eighteenth century. Describing the *Destruction of Job's Children*, it is stated that “the borders and ornaments of all the dresses are gilt”.⁴¹



Figure 15.

The Blinding of Tobit (detail), photomicrograph showing traces of gold leaf on Tobit's wife's veil, circa 1355-1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

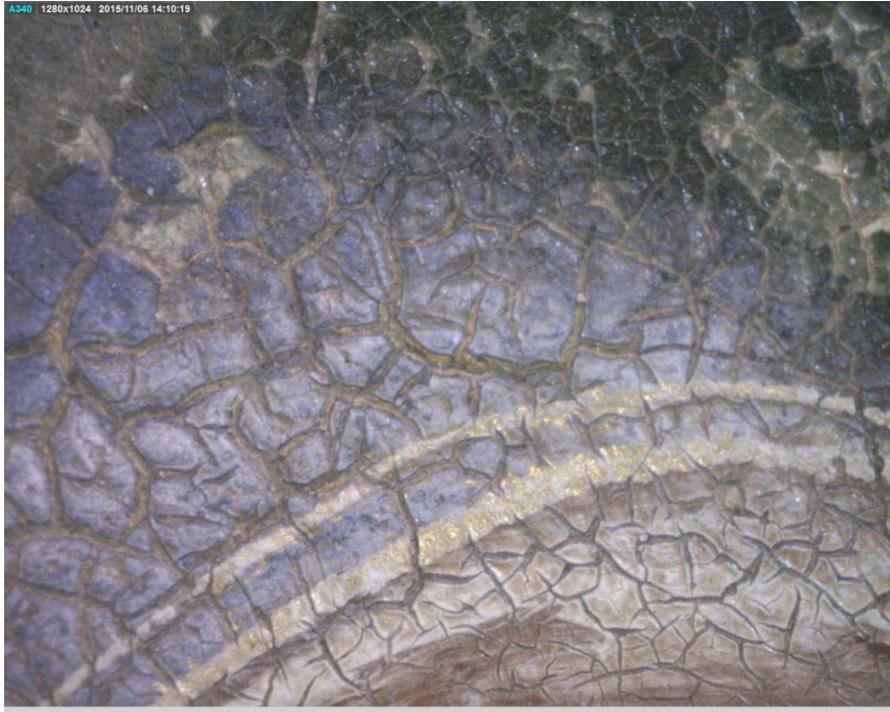


Figure 16.

The Blinding of Tobit (detail), photomicrograph of a detail of Tobit's headdress showing craquelure of the blue paint and linear detailing in white with traces of mordant gilding, circa 1355-1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

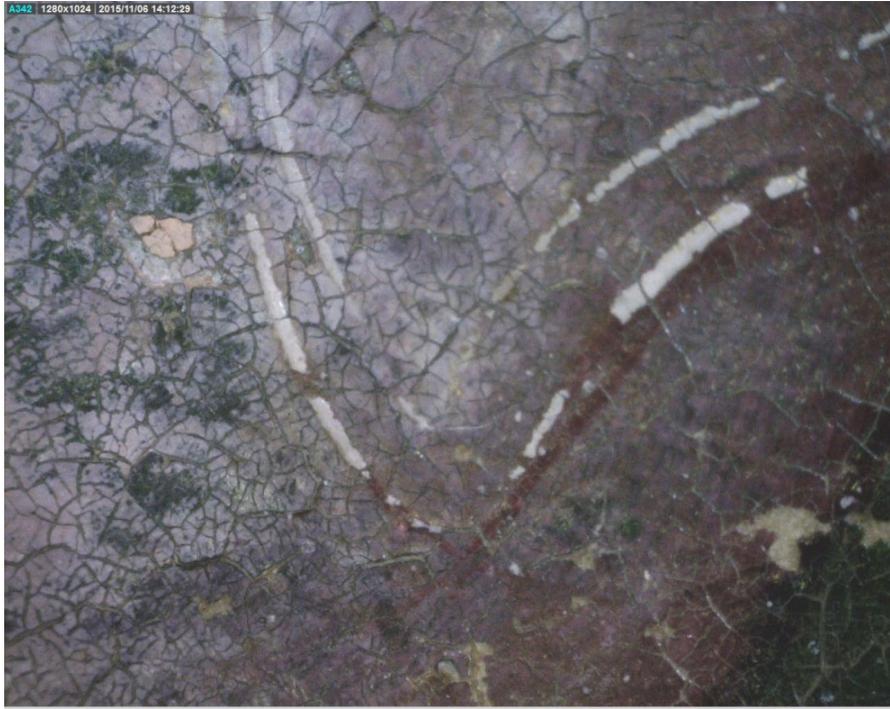


Figure 17.

The Blinding of Tobit (detail), photomicrograph showing the remains of the white mordant for gold leaf on the border of Tobit's wife's gown, circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Although very little of the gold leaf itself now survives, the fine white lines that are the remains of the original white mordant used to adhere the metal leaf to the surface are still apparent. This new finding is significant, since white mordants were generally reserved for the application of silver leaf. The only other roughly contemporary example of a white mordant for gold leaf is that used for the fine linear details on Christ's drapery in the late fourteenth-century *Judgement* scene in the Chapter House of nearby Westminster Abbey (Figs [18](#) and [19](#)).⁴²



Figure 18.

Feast of Job (detail), circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2d). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Figure 19.

The Last Judgement (detail of Christ's brooch showing fine lines of mordant gilding), 1390, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. Digital image courtesy of Courtauld Institute of Art (All rights reserved).

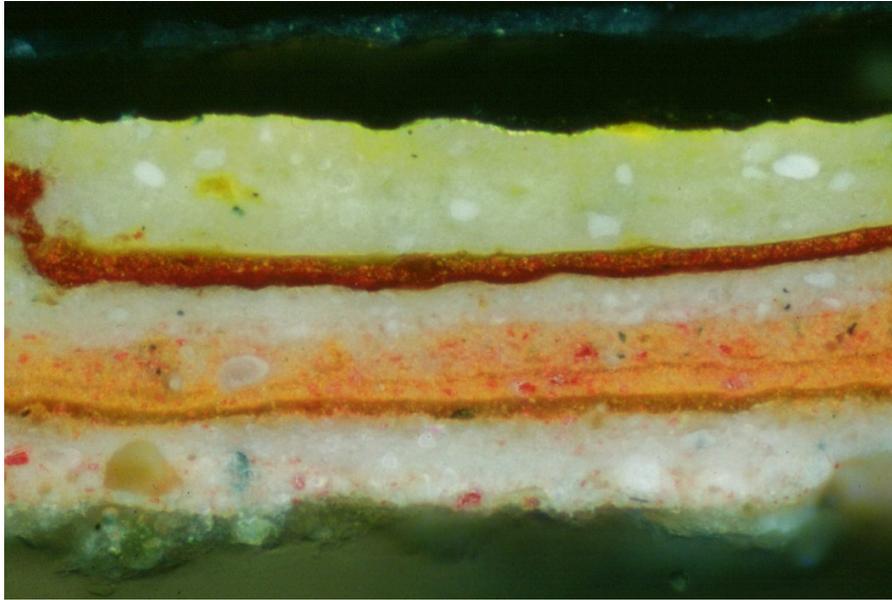


Figure 20.

The Last Judgement, photomicrograph of paint cross-section showing the use of a white mordant for gold leaf, used for the fine linear details, 1390. Collection of Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. Digital image courtesy of Courtauld Institute of Art (All rights reserved).

The use of a warm-coloured mordant to lend a deeper golden tone to the subsequently applied gold leaf is far more common and has been found elsewhere on the St Stephen's fragments, for example, for the borders of text (Fig. 21), and also on the tin-relief (background) decoration, which was mordant gilded after being applied to the surface of the painting (Figs 22 and 23).⁴³ In 1800, Haslam noted the presence of a yellow, ochre-containing oil-based mordant for gold leaf of the greatest purity.⁴⁴ In 1973, scientists from the National Gallery confirmed the presence of a drying oil in samples, which contained yellow mordant for gilding, although they did not isolate this layer for separate analysis.⁴⁵



Figure 21.

St Stephen's Chapel Wall Paintings, photomicrograph of the border for text on fragment 1814,0312.2.f showing the warm yellowish brown mordant for the gold leaf, circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2f). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).



Figure 22.

St Stephen's Chapel Wall Paintings, photomicrograph of the tin-relief decoration on fragment 1814,0312.2.f, showing traces of gilding which remain on the surface and the warm yellowish brown mordant for the gold leaf, circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2f). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

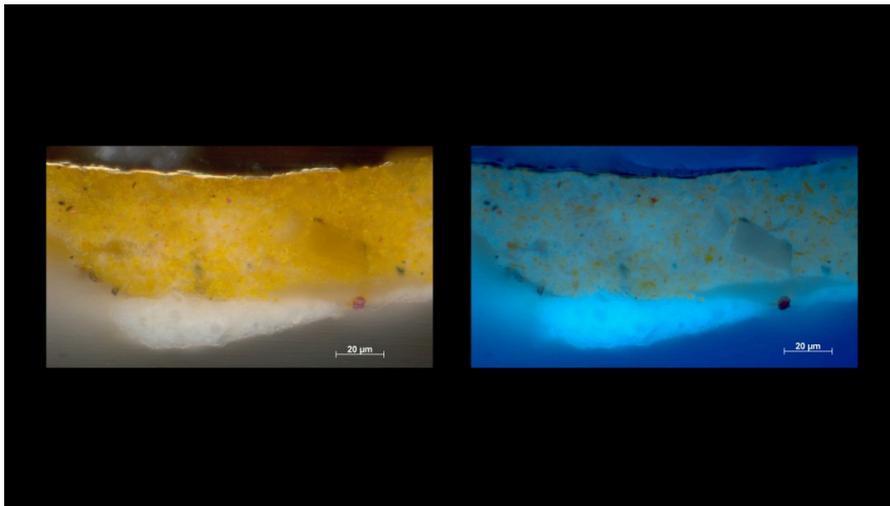


Figure 23.

St Stephen's Chapel Wall Paintings, paint cross-section (in visible and UV light) of the sample taken from the mordant gilding of fragment 1814,0312.2.f shown in Figure 21, circa 1355–1363, photomicrograph. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2f). Digital image courtesy of National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Recent instrumental analysis of the constituents of the yellow-coloured mordant reveal that it comprises a drying oil,⁴⁶ combined with a yellow earth pigment, a lead pigment (lead white or red lead, or both), a few large inclusions of chalk and quartz, and a few particles of a brilliant red earth and vermilion (Fig. 23).⁴⁷ A mordant closely comparable in overall colour and constituents was used in late fourteenth-century wall paintings in the Byward Tower, Tower of London (Fig. 24).⁴⁸ Analysis suggests that the oil did not have much chance to dry before the gold leaf was applied, and this of course is the whole point, that the mordant was sticky enough to hold the metal leaf on the surface.⁴⁹

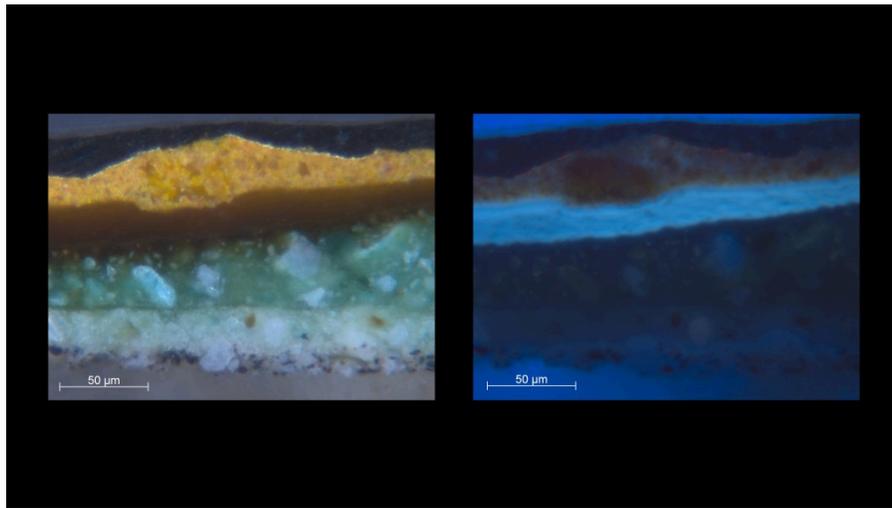


Figure 24.

St Stephen's Chapel Wall Paintings, paint cross-section of a sample (in visible and UV light) taken from the mordant gilding used on the late fourteenth-century wall paintings, fourteenth century, photomicrograph. Collection of Byward Tower, Tower of London. Digital image courtesy of National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

There is little doubt that the two different coloured mordants, white and yellow, were used with the intention of producing distinctive and different optical effects in the subsequently applied gold leaf.

It seems likely that silver leaf itself was employed elsewhere, as it is mentioned in the accounts for the chapel—although entries for it are much less frequent than for gold leaf and tin foil.⁵⁰ Haslam's analysis confirmed that silver leaf was used,

the specimen of painted glass you lately sent me consists of verdigrise prepared with varnish, painted to the glass; immediately over which silver-leaf is laid, and upon that a cement, to fasten it to the niche wherein it was laid. ⁵¹

Examination of the surviving fragments, suggested that silver leaf was used for a number of items of tableware, such as the two goblets, cutlery, and platters in the *Destruction of Job's Children* (Figs 5 and 7). Indeed, they are described as such in the early nineteenth-century accounts. ⁵² Unfortunately, due to limited access, it was not possible to sample any of these areas to confirm the nature of the metal leaf, or to determine the constituents and overall colour of the mordant employed. Though silver leaf would originally have been glazed or varnished to prevent tarnishing, the metal leaf in these areas now appears dark and degraded.

Examination of the surface at high magnification also suggests that silver leaf may have been employed to render the tumbled glass vessel at the centre of this scene. A green glaze seems to have been applied over metal leaf to produce the appearance of liquid in the type of greenish transparent glass that would have been available at the time (Fig. 7). ⁵³

Red Lake Pigment

Two samples of red lake paint were analysed: one from the pink robe of the female figure at the far left side of the *Destruction of Job's Children* (1973/S7; Figs 5, 25 and 26) and the other from the red drapery of the female figure in the *Blinding of Tobit* (Fig. 12). High-performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) analysis in both cases confirmed that the lake pigment was made from dyestuff extracted from the lac insect *Kerria lacca* Kerr. The presence of erythrolaccin, an alkali-soluble dyestuff component suggests that the lake was prepared by alkaline extraction of sticklac. ⁵⁴

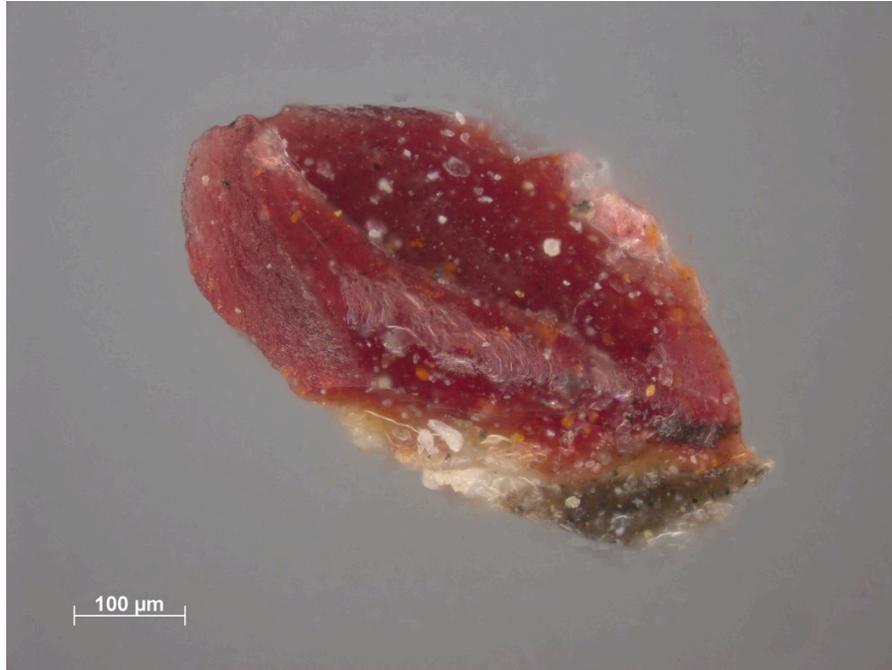


Figure 25.

Destruction of Job's Children, unmounted fragment of the sample taken from the pink robe of the female figure at the far left side, circa 1355-1363, photomicrograph. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

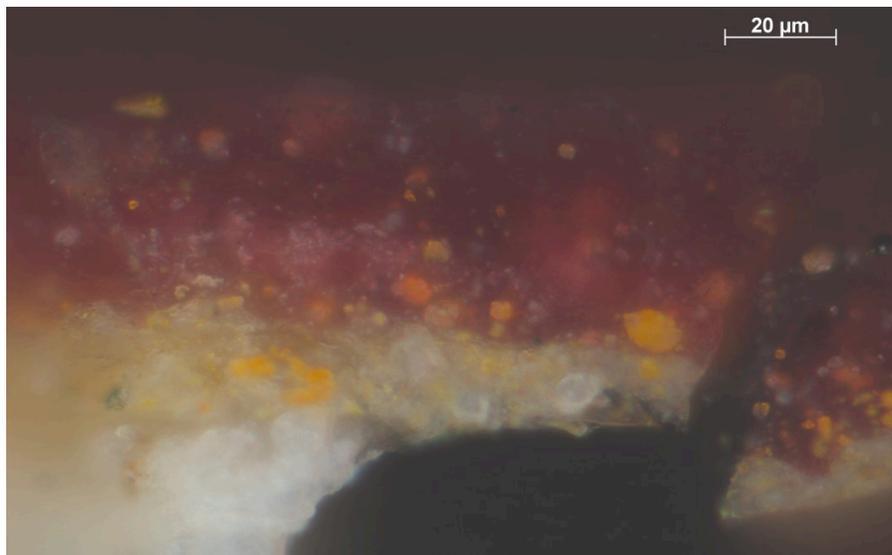


Figure 26.

Destruction of Job's Children, paint cross-section of a sample taken from the pink robe of the female figure at the far left side, circa 1355-1363, photomicrograph. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Gas chromatography-mass spectrometry (GC-MS) analysis of the sample taken from the *Destruction of Job's Children* (1973/S7) suggests that the dry lake pigment was combined with a heat-bodied drying oil, likely to be linseed or walnut oil, a mixture of the two, or indeed different oils in the different layers. ⁵⁵

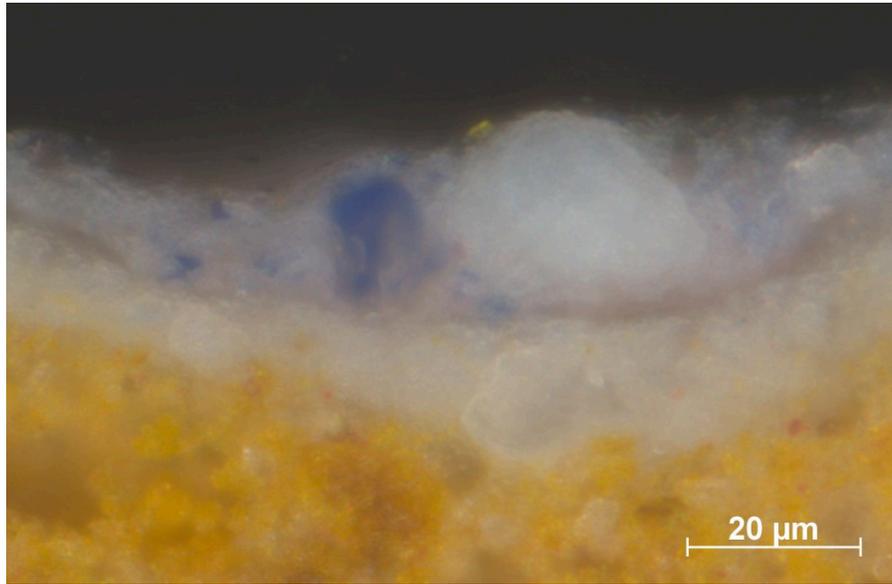


Figure 27.

The Blinding of Tobit, paint cross-section of a sample taken from the drapery below Tobit's wife's veil, showing where the red lake pigment has faded and is only visible at the very base of the once purple paint layer, circa 1355-1363, photomicrograph. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

The paint cross-section prepared from this sample shows that the red lake pigment was applied in two layers over an underpaint of lead white combined with red lead, yellow earth, and a few black particles (Fig. 26). The lower of the two red lake-containing layers contains particles of red lead and lead white, which would not only have increased the opacity of the layer, but would also have aided drying. Over this, a translucent red lake glaze layer has been applied to model the drapery. This layer additionally contains a few particles of red lead and lead white, probably incorporated to function as driers.

In other areas, the red lake pigment was combined with ultramarine to produce a purple colour, as shown in the sample taken from the drapery below Tobit's wife's veil in the *Blinding of Tobit* (Figs 12 and 27). Here the red lake pigment has partially faded; it is now clearly visible only at the base of the paint layer. ⁵⁶

Lake pigments were expensive. Indeed, records of the purchase of pigments for the chapel indicate that red lakes were among the most expensive materials a painter could buy.⁵⁷ The accounts for 1351–1352 include an entry for 1 lb *cynople* for 30s., while 2 lbs of vermilion—the most costly of all the other red pigments—was 3s. 4d., or about one-twentieth of the cost.⁵⁸

The documentary evidence suggests that several different types of red lake pigment may have been purchased for the St Stephen's Chapel scheme. One *cynople* was priced at 17s. 3d. for 1½ lb, another *cynople* 20s. for 1 lb, while 2 lbs *cynopre* of Montpellier (de Monte Pessalono) cost 16s.⁵⁹ This price differential, with one of the lakes at twice the price of the others, must be due to a substantial difference in the quality, or to the lake having been prepared using a more expensive variety of dyestuff (such as lac or kermes lake, as opposed to madder, which would have been cheaper).⁶⁰ However, in the two samples taken, only lac lake has been identified. Indeed, recent analyses of lake pigments from Westminster of about this period have indicated that lac lake is the *only* red organic colorant employed in these high-quality commissions.⁶¹ It seems likely that it was the only high-quality lake pigment available (though at a high price) until the last quarter of the fourteenth century, when the use of kermes lake (extracted from the insect *Kermes vermilio* Planchon) is confirmed in paintings for the first time.⁶²

Perhaps the earliest example of the use of kermes lake is in a sample taken from the frame of the tester over the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral (d. 1376). Here, both kermes and lac have been identified in the same paint sample, along with a tiny trace of madder.⁶³ Among the other early identifications of kermes lake in England are the *Apocalypse* and *Old Testament* cycles (1375–1404) in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, as well as the portrait of Richard II, also in Westminster Abbey (dated to the last decade of the fourteenth century). On this, it was used in a mixture with a small amount of madder as a glaze over vermilion for the king's robe.⁶⁴

Original Varnish

A final question of this phase of analysis concerned the presence of original varnish. The documentary sources suggest that varnish was used in the original painting scheme, since the accounts for the decoration of the chapel mention the purchase of both red and white varnishes. For instance, between 15 August 1351 and 13 February 1352 white varnish is supplied three times and in much larger quantities than the red, which was supplied only once.⁶⁵

While the purchase of varnish is documented, the manner in which it was employed is less certain, although the sources again provide some information. Haslam's report begins with a description of the separation of the varnish layer and the media (that is, paint layers). It states:

In order to examine these colours, I was obliged, after having carefully scraped them from the stone, to employ a quantity of impure aether (spiritus aetheris vitriolici of the London Pharmacopeia), to dissolve the varnish which had been laid over them, and also to separate the oil with which the colours had been prepared. ⁶⁶

He went on to separate out the "oleaginous" matter, and noted that it, "had the peculiar smell of varnish and adhered as such to the sides of the phial. What the composition of this varnish may be, I can not precisely determine". ⁶⁷

Haslam clearly describes a layer of varnish "laid over" the colours. However, it is not possible to be absolutely certain that the varnish he removed from the surface of the paintings was original. It could, for example, have been applied to protect the surface of the paintings before they were lost from view, some time before 1651. ⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the notion of a later overall varnish layer seems unlikely in the light of Haslam's observation of two different types of varnish on the paintings. He states that the gold leaf was, "covered with a white or transparent varnish" and goes on to note that, "in some instances a brilliant lacker had been employed, the lustre of which is undiminished in the specimens before me". In an appendix to his analysis, Haslam also mentions the presence of verdigris in varnish over silver leaf. ⁶⁹ The use of a translucent layer to modify the appearance of the surface in particular areas is supported by Smirke (1800), in his account of *The Adoration of the Magi; St George, and Edward III with his sons*, he describes what is likely to have been a varnish or a glaze for the purpose of making the floor recede: "it is glazed with transparent brown, which increases in strength as the floor approaches the diaper work" (Fig. 28). ⁷⁰



Figure 28.

Richard Smirke, *The Adoration of the Magi, St George and Edward III with his sons* (copy), 1800–1802, tempera and gold leaf on paper, 82.5 × 116.5 cm. Collection of Society of Antiquaries of London. Digital image courtesy of Society of Antiquaries of London (All rights reserved).

The accumulated documentary evidence certainly seems to confirm the presence of a translucent layer, which varied in colour from area to area, and which functioned to modify the appearance of the surface. This layer may have been a varnish or a glaze layer, or potentially both. While a glaze is generally a translucent (usually) oil-based layer containing pigment (often a lake pigment), an oil-based medieval varnish would also have contained a resinous component.⁷¹ The type of resin employed may have contributed to the overall colour of the varnish.⁷²

Broadly speaking, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century recipes for oil-based varnishes are of two types. In the first, the resin constituent(s) are heated together with the oil. In the second, the oil and resin are heated separately, and the resin is melted before the hot oil is added (for less easily soluble resins, this is a far more efficient method).⁷³ Whichever method was chosen for manufacture, analysis of their constituent components can be extremely challenging.

Examination of one of the paint samples taken in 2015 at high magnification suggested the presence of an original varnish or glaze layer on the surface of the green paint (Fig. 29). This yellowish translucent layer is approximately 20 microns thick and exhibits strong fluorescence when viewed in ultraviolet light. There are drying cracks that go through both the green paint and the

translucent layer on the surface, suggesting that they are likely to be coeval; if the uppermost layer had been applied later, it would be present within the drying cracks.

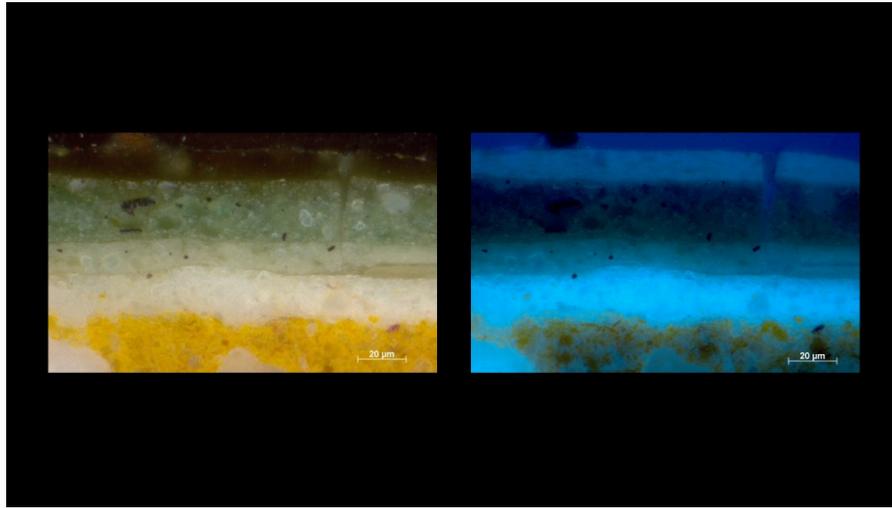


Figure 29.

St Stephen's Chapel Wall Paintings, paint cross-section (in visible and UV light) of a sample taken from the green painting on fragment 1814,0312.2.f (the yellowish translucent layer on the surface exhibits strong fluorescence when viewed in ultraviolet light), circa 1355–1363, photomicrograph. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2f). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

The translucent upper layer was carefully separated out and analysed by GC-MS analysis, which confirmed the presence of a drying oil, but no resinous components could be detected. In case a polymerised resin, such as sandarac or amber had been used in the varnish, pyrolysis GC-MS was also performed. The analysis of the resinous components of original varnishes has generally proved extremely challenging, and it was not possible to detect any resin in this case.⁷⁴ This may be due to the fact that the proportion of resin dissolved in the oil to make these early varnishes was always rather low, but it may also reflect the changes undergone by these materials, both during the preparation of the varnish and in its subsequent ageing.

Though the layer is mainly composed of organic material, analysis in the scanning electron microscope with energy-dispersive X-ray analysis (SEM/EDX) did confirm the presence of a few calcium-rich and silicon-rich particles (likely to be chalk and quartz), a little lead (likely to have been originally added as lead white, to function as a dryer), and a trace of copper. Copper salts are very mobile within oil-based paint layers and the small quantity present here is likely to have originated from the verdigris-based paint layer below. There is certainly insufficient evidence to suggest that this was a copper green glaze. Attenuated total reflectance-Fourier transform infrared

spectroscopy (ATR-FTIR) analysis was also undertaken, which confirmed the presence of metal oxalate and carboxylate salts, suggestive of a reaction between the lead and copper salts and the oil in the layer. ⁷⁵

Re-examination and analysis of one of the samples taken in 1973, taken from an area of blue drapery in the *Destruction of Job's Children*, suggests the presence of a varnish layer over the ultramarine paint layer, although it was not possible to confirm the presence of a resinous component (Fig. 30). ⁷⁶

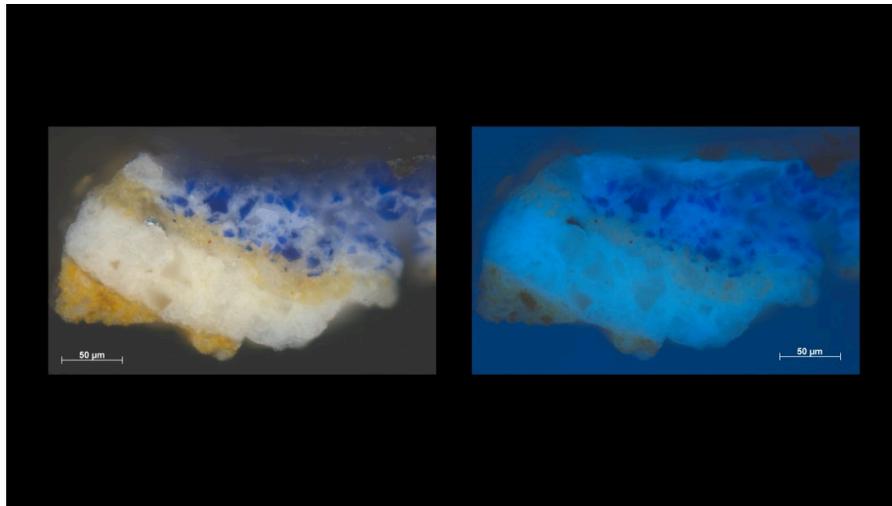


Figure 30.

Destruction of Tobit's Children, paint cross-section (in visible and UV light) of a sample taken in 1973 from an area of blue drapery (the analysis suggests the presence of a varnish layer over the ultramarine paint layer), circa 1355–1363, photomicrograph. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

In addition, the sample taken from Tobit's wife's veil in the *Blinding of Tobit* also seems to provide evidence of an original varnish, here used as an intermediary layer before the application of fine surface details. [Figure 31](#) shows the fine linear details of the veil in white mordant, with a few tiny traces of the original gilding remaining on the surface. The paint cross-section shows the white mordant on the surface ([Fig. 32](#)). In UV light, the layer below the white mordant fluoresces. Although it was not possible to undertake analysis on this extremely thin intermediate layer, it seems likely that it is a varnish which was applied over the pale purple of the drapery before the fine linear details of mordant gilding were added on the surface. A varnish layer such as this would have provided a smooth and evenly absorbent surface on which to paint the final delicate details. ⁷⁷



Figure 31.

The Blinding of Tobit (detail), photomicrograph of Tobit's wife's veil showing the fine white linear details which were once gilded, circa 1355–1363, a secco wall painting on stone. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2e). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

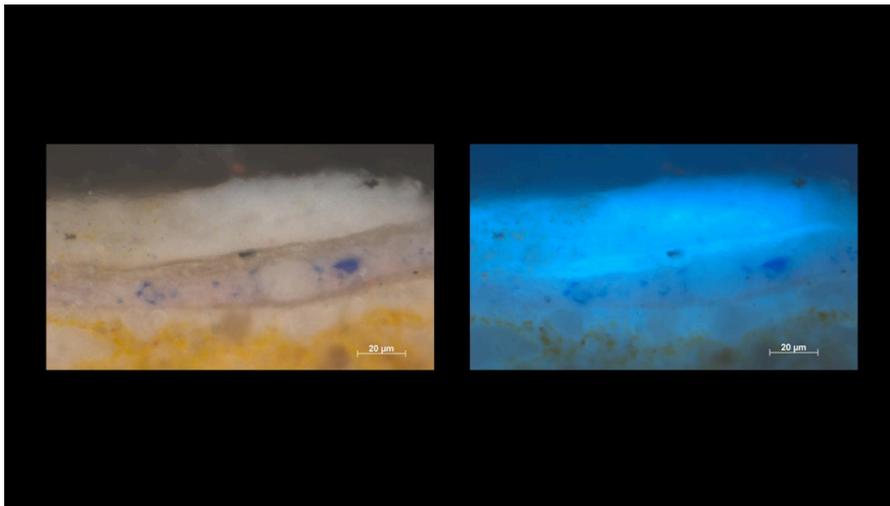


Figure 32.

The Blinding of Tobit, paint cross-section (in visible and UV light) of a sample taken from the fine linear detail in white mordant of Tobit's wife's veil, circa 1355–1363, photomicrograph. Collection of British Museum (1814,0312.2). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum and the National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Varnishes that are considered to have belonged to the original paint schemes have already been identified at Westminster Abbey: on the Retable; on the Crouchback tomb; on the south transept figure of St Christopher; and possibly also on the sedilia. The type of resin incorporated in an original varnish has been characterised in only two cases in medieval English polychromy: an amber-containing varnish has been identified on the late fourteenth-century wall paintings in the Byward Tower, Tower of London; and a sandarac varnish has been detected on a mid-thirteenth-century engaged column with a stiff-leaf capital from Wells. ⁷⁸

Both contemporary financial accounts and later descriptions of two differently coloured “varnishes” on the surface suggest the presence of an original varnish layer. The material evidence, when considered together (for instance, the drying crack that passes through both the paint and the translucent surface layer, the fluorescence of the surface layer, and its thickness and colour), all points to the presence of an original varnish on the St Stephen’s Chapel wall paintings (Fig. 29). The fact that we have not been able definitively to confirm the presence of the resin here is likely to be a function of the difficulty of identifying the resinous component of such an aged material in the tiny sample available for analysis.

Conclusion

The red lake pigment has now been characterised as lac lake and a white mordant for gold leaf has been identified. In addition, the presence of an original varnish is strongly suggested.

Infrared imaging of the paintings has provided clear evidence for the presence of an under-drawing and of extensive modification of the design *in situ* at an advanced stage of the painting process. There are marked differences in the character of the under-drawing on the various fragments studied, which are likely to relate to different hands and may be indicative of workshop practice. The exceptionally high quality of a precious few sections of the under-drawing have been made visible for the first time. By revealing the quality of the drawing hidden underneath the paint layers, we have gained new insights into the delicacy and care with which this scheme was created, from the initial preparatory stages all the way through to the final paint layers, which points towards the overall quality of the scheme.

The present, damaged appearance of the many areas of the paint surface merely reflects their violent physical history. Perhaps the most significant outcome of this study is that the new high-resolution images will make the surviving fragments of one of the finest schemes of English medieval wall painting accessible to all.

Footnotes

- 1 For a synopsis of Sir Hans Sloane's collecting of medieval objects, see John Cherry, "Medieval and Later Antiquities, Sir Hans Sloane and the Collecting of History", in Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 198-221.
- 2 For the most up-to-date survey, see David M. Wilson, *The British Museum: A History* (London: British Museum Press, 2002), 58-93.
- 3 A small architectural fragment was retained by the Society of Antiquaries and is still held there (SOA cat.). It is recorded in Beatrice de Cardi's inventory as "Fragment of wall plaster showing paint and gilding, c. 1349-60, from St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, rescued by the Soc. of Antiquaries; the rest in the British Museum".
- 4 John Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1795). For an overview of Carter's life, see Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival* (London: W.S. Maney & Son, in association with the Society of Antiquaries, 1995). Rosemary Hill, "'Proceeding like Guy Faux': The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, 1790-1837", *Architectural History* 59 (2016): 253-279.
- 5 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 73 (1803), I: 31-32.
- 6 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 70 (1800), II: 736.
- 7 John T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster; The Old Palace; St. Stephen's Chapel, (Now the House of Commons) &c. &c., Containing Two Hundred and Forty-Six Engravings of Topographical Objects, of which One Hundred and Twenty-Two no Longer Remain* (London: T. Bensley, 1807).
- 8 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 73 (1803), I: 31-32.
- 9 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, vi.
- 10 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, vi.
- 11 Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 252.
- 12 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 73 (1803), I: 31-32: "the drawings for the Society were not begun till after the 24th of September, as I am well informed; at which time the originals had been removed from their first station; so that the artist never saw them as they stood placed in the House of Commons, but was obliged to copy them as so many detached subjects".
- 13 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 73 (1803), I: 204.
- 14 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 73 (1803), I: 423-426.
- 15 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 73 (1803), I: 317-318.
- 16 John Cherry and Neil Stratford, *Westminster Kings, and the Medieval Palace of Westminster*, British Museum, Occasional Papers, 115 (London: Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum, 1995), 48. The drawing is P&D G,3.259.
- 17 British Museum, inventory numbers: 1883,0310.1, 1883,0310.2. These fragments were donated by Charles Baker King, but had been previously in the possession of Sir George Gilbert Scott.
- 18 Sir John Soane's Museum, inventory numbers: MY44, MY45, MY46, M652, MP182.
- 19 Society of Antiquaries, Council Minutes 15 February 1814, IV/269.
- 20 British Museum, Central Archive: Book of Donations, 17 July 1766 to 11 January 1823.
- 21 These reports are usually very informative and report on the monthly work undertaken in the departments. This includes acquisitions, displays, and publications.
- 22 Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1956), 218-219.
- 23 Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, 218-219.
- 24 Bernard Nurse, "Collecting for Britain", in David Gaimster, Sarah McCarthy, and Bernard Nurse (eds), *Making History: Antiquaries in Britain 1707-2007* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2007), 70.
- 25 *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum* (London: G. Woodfall and Son: 1852), 229.
- 26 *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, 229.
- 27 See Marjorie Caygill and John Cherry, *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 1997).
- 28 *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum* (London: Woodfall and Kinder, 1850).
- 29 See Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800-1939* (London: British Museum Press, 1992).
- 30 John Haslam, "To Mr. John Thomas Smith, Engraver of the Antiquities of London", in John T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster; The Old Palace; St. Stephen's Chapel, (Now the House of Commons) &c. &c., Containing Two Hundred and Forty-Six Engravings of Topographical Objects., of which One Hundred and Twenty-Two no Longer Remain* (London: T. Bensley, 1807), 223- 226.

- 31 Haslam's work was followed by that of Jean Chapel (1809) and Sir Humphry Davy (1814), who analysed pigment samples from excavations in Rome and Pompeii. See Stephen G. Rees-Jones, "Early Experiments in Pigment Analysis", *Studies in Conservation* 35 (1990): 93–101, esp. 95–97.
- 32 Peter C. van Geersdaele and Lesley J. Goldsworthy, "The Restoration of Wall Painting Fragments from St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", *The Conservator* 2 (1978): 9–12.
- 33 Catherine Higgitt, Marika Spring, and David Saunders, "Pigment-Medium Interactions in Oil-Paint Films Containing Red Lead or Lead-Tin Yellow", *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 24 (2003): 75–95, esp. 82; and Marika Spring and Catherine Higgitt, "Analyses Reconsidered: The Importance of the Pigment Content of Paint in the Interpretation of the Results of Examination of Binding Media", in J. Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Techniques, Analysis, Art History* (London: Archetype Publications, 2006), 223–229.
- 34 The results of much of the recent research are discussed by Helen Howard and Marie-Louise Sauerberg, "The Polychromy at Westminster Abbey, 1250–1350", in Warwick Rodwell and Tim Tatton-Brown (eds), *Westminster: The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 39, Part I (2015), 205–261; Marie-Louise Sauerberg, Helen Howard, Jo Kirby, Rachel Morrison, and David Pegg, "The Final Touches: Evidence from the Study of Varnishes on Medieval Polychromy in England", postprints of the symposium, *Let the Material Talk: The Technology of Late Medieval Painting in Cologne from the Master of Saint Veronica to Stefan Lochner*, Cologne, November 2011, in *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 26 (2012/1): 241–258.
- 35 Infrared radiation passes through the paint until either it reaches something that absorbs it, or it is reflected back to the camera. Carbon black is highly absorbing and so if an artist has begun a painting by drawing the design in black on a white ground, an infrared image can often show this under-drawing. IRR to examine under-drawing and pentimenti was carried out using an OSIRIS infrared camera, based on an InGaAs sensor that is sensitive to radiation in the range circa 800–1700 nm. The panels were illuminated with standard tungsten-halogen photographic lamps positioned at circa 45 degrees to the focal axis of the camera; see David Saunders, Rachel Billinge, John Cupitt, Nicholas Atkinson, and Heida Liang, "A New Camera for High-Resolution Infrared Imaging of Works of Art", *Studies in Conservation* 51 (2006): 277–290.
- 36 See Jane Spooner, "The Iconography of the St Stephen's Chapel Painting Fragments" in John Cooper, Caroline Shenton and Tim Ayers (eds), *St Stephen's Chapel and the Palace of Westminster*, forthcoming.
- 37 See Tim Ayers (ed.), *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396*, transcribed and translated by Maureen Jurkowski (Woodbridge: Boydell, forthcoming).
- 38 Ayers, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel*, no. 40, m. 15: "To Hugh of St Albans, painter, working there on Monday and Wednesday on the drawing of images in the same chapel, taking per day, as above: 2s." ("Hugoni de Sancto Albano pictori operanti ibidem per dies lune et mercurij super protractacionem ymaginum in eadem capella capienti per diem ut supra ijs.").
- 39 Ayers, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel*, no. 40, m. 19: "To Master Hugh of St Albans, painter, directing the drawings for the said painters for one day within the same period, taking per day, as above: 12d." ("Magistro Hugoni de Sancto Albano pictori ordinanti protractaturas pro dictis pictoribus per j diem infra idem tempus capienti per diem ut supra: xijd.").
- 40 Ayers, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel*, no. 40, m. 12 ("Johanni Lambard pro ij quaterniis papiri regalis emptis pro patronis pictorum xxd.").
- 41 John Topham, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Specimens of the Architecture and Ornaments of [...] St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, London*; with added plates by R. Smirke and text by H. Englefield (London: Society of Antiquaries, first published 1795, 1811), pl. XIX.
- 42 The cross-section shows the white mordant used to adhere the fine linear detailing in gold leaf over the rich red of the drapery in the *Judgement* scene, in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey (Fig. 20). The style of the brooch visible at the left side of Figure 19 is also closely comparable to that in a *Scene from the Book of Job* (BM 1814.0312.2d; Fig. 18), though in the Chapter House painting the brooch is rendered in high relief. For the technique of the Chapter House paintings, see Paul Binski and Helen Howard, "Wall Paintings of the Chapter House", in Warwick Rodwell and Richard Mortimer (eds), *Westminster Abbey Chapter House: The History, Art and Architecture of "a Chapter House Beyond Compare"* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 2010), 184–208. A white mordant was also used beneath the gold leaf of the faux enamels in the earlier polychromy (circa 1300) on the tomb of Edmund Crouchback, and beneath gold leaf glazed with red lake on the late thirteenth-century tomb of Aveline de Forz, Crouchback's wife. See Helen Howard, "Edmund Crouchback: Technique of the Tomb of a Crusader", in Paul Binski and Ann Massing (eds), *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation* (Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute, and London: Harvey Miller, 2009), 319–340; and Sarah Houlbrooke, "A Study of the Materials and Techniques of 13th Century Tomb of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, in Westminster Abbey", *The Conservator* 29 (2005–2006): 105–116, esp. 115.
- 43 Both white and yellow mordants for gold leaf were employed in the Westminster Chapter House paintings, see note 41.
- 44 "A coat of ochre with oil was laid on [the stone] over which the gold leaf was placed", Haslam, "To Mr. John Thomas Smith, Engraver of the Antiquities of London", 224.
- 45 Joyce Plesters and John Mills, "Preliminary Report on the Examination of a Part of the Wall-Paintings from St Stephen's Chapel, now in the British Museum", unpublished report, Scientific Department, National Gallery, London, October 1973. These results were published (unacknowledged) as, "The Structure, Pigments and Medium of some Samples from the St Stephen's Chapel Wall Paintings in the British Museum", Appendix I, in van Geersdaele and Goldsworthy, *Restoration of Wall Painting Fragments*, 11–12.

- 46 Analysis was undertaken using GC-MS (conventional and following low temperature pyrolysis using a thermal separation probe) and FTIR spectroscopy (transmission and ATR-FTIR imaging), see Catherine Higgitt, "Organic Analyses, St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace", unpublished report, Scientific Department, National Gallery, London, 2017.
- 47 SEM/EDX analysis confirms the presence of lead (Pb) within the mordant and FTIR analysis indicates the presence of lead carboxylates (lead soaps) within the sample. However, the nature of the lead-based pigment, which may have been added as a drier to the oil or mordant, cannot be determined.
- 48 Jane Spooner, "Royal Wall Paintings in England in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century", unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2016-2017; Jane Spooner, "An Admonitory Wall Painting at the Tower of London", *Burlington Magazine* 158 (2016): 940-949.
- 49 The sample examined was small but these results are suggestive of a rather lean oil-based mordant, with a high inorganic content, in which the oxidative drying processes were retarded by application of the gold, and in which metal-soap formation has occurred, see Higgitt, "Organic Analyses".
- 50 For example, on 22 April 1352, to John Lyghgrave and William Allemand, 400 leaves of silver for painting of the same chapel, at 8d. per hundred; Ayers, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel*, no. 40, m. 18 (w/b 23 April 1352). It is also possible that part-gold (a composite metal leaf, in which gold and silver are beaten together) or tin foil are present here. Unfortunately it was not possible to sample this area of the painting, but future non-invasive XRF investigation may help to elucidate the elemental components of the metal leaf.
- 51 Haslam, "To Mr. John Thomas Smith, Engraver of the Antiquities of London", 226. An engraving by Smith of the section of painted glass (described separately from stained glass), showing a male head in profile set against a green background, is illustrated between pages 156 and 157. This information confirms that faux enamels of the type found elsewhere at Westminster around this time were also present in the chapel, see Howard and Sauerberg, "The Polychromy at Westminster Abbey", 234-237. Also, accounts to John Lightgrave for 300 leaves of silver for the painting a certain window to counterfeit glass, at 8s. per hundred, in Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster*, 220.
- 52 "The cups and spoons on the table are silver", Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster*, pl. XIX.
- 53 This type of glass, known as "forest" or potash glass, due to the use of wood ash as the source of alkali in its manufacture, was typical of north-western European production from around the tenth century. See the analysis by Ian Freestone, published by Sandra Davison, "Glass Elements on the Westminster Retable", in Paul Binski and Ann Massing (eds), *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation* (Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute, and London: Harvey Miller, 2009), 260-269.
- 54 Sticklac consists of the hard brownish substance secreted by and completely enclosing the lac insects. In most recipes for lac lake pigments, the entire raw material was ground and extracted with alkali. Alum, generally potash alum, potassium aluminium sulphate $\text{Al}_2\text{K}(\text{SO}_4)_2 \cdot 12\text{H}_2\text{O}$ was then added to precipitate the lake pigment. SEM/EDX analysis of the substrate of the lake in this sample detected: Al, S (Pb), O, P, Ca, K (trace Cl, Na), suggesting an alum substrate. For the technology of lake pigments, see Jo Kirby, Marika Spring, and Catherine Higgitt, "The Technology of Red Lake Pigment Manufacture: Study of the Dyestuff Substrate", *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 26 (2005): 71-88.
- 55 GC-MS of the binding medium of this sample provided a palmitate/stearate (P/S) ratio of 2.0. This is a little hard to interpret and could imply the use of linseed oil or walnut oil, a mixture of the two, or indeed the use of different oil in the different red lake-containing layers. It also seems likely that the oil was heat-bodied to promote drying. See Higgitt, "Organic Analyses"; David Pegg and Catherine Higgitt, "Analysis of Lake Pigment, St Stephen's Chapel, Palace of Westminster", unpublished reports Scientific Department, National Gallery, London, 2016.
- 56 For the fading of lake pigments, see David Saunders and Jo Kirby, "Light-Induced Colour Changes in Red and Yellow Lake Pigments", *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 15 (1994): 79-97.
- 57 English accounts refer to red lake pigments as *cinople*, *cynopre*, and *synopre* (lake). For example, in Westminster accounts of the late thirteenth century, referring to St Stephen's Chapel and the great chamber, we find *sinopre* (1289), *synopre* at 2½d. (1292), and *synoplio* at 9d. (also 1292?), J. Gage Rokewode, "A Memoir on the Painted Chamber in the Palace of Westminster", *Vetusta Monumenta* 6 (1885): 11. At Exeter, in 1321-1322, an altar account specifies ¼ lb of *cinople* at 3s. 6d., see Audrey M. Erskine, *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral, Part I: 1279-1326* (Torquay: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 24, 1981).
- 58 Louis F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540, a Documentary History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 168-169.
- 59 Ayers, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel*, no. 40, mm. 4 (w/b 8 August 1351), 9 (w/b 14 November 1351), 10 (w/b 21 November 1351).
- 60 Research comparing fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pharmacy price lists in Germany has established that madder lake was considerably cheaper than lake pigments prepared from scale insects. For example, entries for 1505 suggest that madder was 40 times cheaper than *grana*, see Andreas Burmester and Christoph Krekel, "The Relationship between Albrecht Durer's Palette and Fifteenth/Sixteenth-Century Pharmacy Price List", in Ashok Roy and Perry Smith (eds), *Painting Techniques: History, Materials and Studio Practice*, pre-prints of the International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (IIC) International Congress, Dublin, 1998 (London: IIC, 1998), 101-105, esp. 102, Table 2.
- 61 At Westminster Abbey, lac lake has been identified on the Retable (circa 1260-1270); on the tomb of Aveline de Forz, wife of Edmund Crouchback (dated to circa 1295); on the tomb of Edmund Crouchback (circa 1300); in wall paintings in the south transept (circa 1260-1270), and in St Faith's Chapel (circa 1300); and on the painted sedilia (circa 1307), see Howard and Sauerberg, "The Polychromy at Westminster Abbey", 222-223.

- 62 Lac lake has been found to be the most commonly used colouring matter for lake pigments employed in English and Norwegian panel painting, wall-painting, and sculptural polychromy from the mid-thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries, see Raymond White and Jo Kirby, "Some Observations on the Binder and Dyestuff Composition of Glaze Paints in Early European Panel Painting", in J. Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Techniques, Analysis, Art History* (London: Archetype Publications, 2006), 215-222, esp. 218. Other red lake pigments have also been identified at this period. For example, brazilwood lake has also been detected on the magnificent choir-screen paintings of 1332-1349 at Cologne Cathedral, where it was applied over gold leaf and also over layers of opaque underpaint, see Elizabeth Jägers and Christa Schulze-Senger, "Zur Maltechnik der Chorschrankenmalereien im Kölner Dom", *Kölner Domblatt* 54 (1989): 187-198.
- 63 Analysis by high-performance liquid chromatography (HPLC) by Jo Kirby, National Gallery Scientific Department, unpublished analytical report, August 2009. Marie-Louise Sauerberg, Ray Marchant, and Lucy Wrapson, "The Tester over the Tomb of Edward, the Black Prince: The Splendour of Late-Medieval Polychromy in England", in Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk (eds), *Monumental Industry: The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the London Fourteenth Century* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), 161-186.
- 64 In one of the samples from Westminster Chapter House, a minute quantity of brazilwood lake was also identified but this is probably a residue from manufacturing the kermes lake in a dye bath of cloth clippings; see White and Kirby, "Some Observations on Binder and Dyestuff Composition", 218.
- 65 Ayers, *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel*, no. 40: Lowyn de Bruges, for six and an half of white varnish, for the painting of the chapel, price per lb 9d.; Master Hugh of St Albans, 52 lbs of white varnish for painting, at 8d. per lb; John Lighgrave, 136 lbs of white varnish for painting the chapel, at 4½d. per lb; John Lighgrave, 18 lbs of red varnish, at 4d. a lb. The specific use or uses of the two types of varnish are unclear, and whether the terms "red" and "white" may refer to the particular resin or ingredient in the varnish is uncertain. However, this distinction is made quite widely, for example, white varnish is mentioned a number of times in the accounts for work undertaken in the 1380s for Philip the Bold in Dijon. See Sauerberg *et al.*, "The Final Touches", 241-258.
- 66 Haslam, "To Mr. John Thomas Smith, Engraver of the Antiquities of London", 224.
- 67 Haslam, "To Mr. John Thomas Smith, Engraver of the Antiquities of London", 224.
- 68 See James Hillson, "War, Politics and Architecture: Iterative Design at St Stephen's Chapel, 1292-1348", in John Cooper, Caroline Shenton and Tim Ayers (eds), *St Stephen's Chapel and the Palace of Westminster*, forthcoming. The paintings were not uncovered from beneath panelling and interior walls until 1800, during James Wyatt's remodelling of the east end.
- 69 Haslam, "To Mr. John Thomas Smith, Engraver of the Antiquities of London", 224 and 226.
- 70 See Topham, *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster*, pl. XVI.
- 71 Spirit varnishes, in which the resin constituents are dissolved in a volatile solvent, were unknown before the very end of the fifteenth century or the early sixteenth century.
- 72 Certainly, in a later fourteenth-century example where amber resin was employed, the varnish has a rather strong orange/yellow colour, see Sauerberg *et al.*, "The Final Touches", 269-270.
- 73 Recipes for making varnish, pigments, or other craft-related preparations are commonly found within quite heterogeneous compilations, frequently including medical or alchemical recipes and other material. An example of the second type of recipe (where the oil and resin are heated separately) exists in a popular compilation known as the *Secretum Philosophum*, probably compiled in England in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The fifteenth-century *Bolognese Manuscript* frequently mentions *vernice liquida*, and gives three recipes for making it from oil and sandarac resin. For a detailed discussion of these recipes and trade in the constituent materials, see discussion by Jo Kirby in Sauerberg *et al.*, "The Final Touches", 241-258.
- 74 See Higgitt, "Organic Analyses".
- 75 See Higgitt, "Organic Analyses".
- 76 See Higgitt, "Organic Analyses".
- 77 Intermediate varnishes used in connection with glazes and fine detailing have been identified in a number of other cases, such as The Westminster Retable and Tomb of Edmund Crouchback, see Sauerberg *et al.*, "The Final Touches", 271.
- 78 Analysis by R. Morrison, using pyrolysis GC-MS, see Sauerberg *et al.*, "The Final Touches", 250-255.

Bibliography

Ayers, Tim (ed.) (forthcoming) *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292-1396*, transcribed and translated by Maureen Jurkowski. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Binski, Paul and Howard, Helen (2010) "Wall Paintings of the Chapter House". In Warwick Rodwell and Richard Mortimer (eds), *Westminster Abbey Chapter House: The History, Art and Architecture of "a Chapter House beyond Compare"*. London: The Society of Antiquaries, 184-208.

British Museum (1852) *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*. London: G. Woodfall and Son.

Burmester, Andreas and Krekel, Christoph (1998) "The Relationship between Albrecht Durer's Palette and Fifteenth/Sixteenth-Century Pharmacy Price List". In Ashok Roy and Perry Smith (eds), *Painting Techniques: History, Materials and Studio Practice*. London: IIC, 101-105.

- Caygill, Marjorie and Cherry, John (1997) *A.W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press.
- Cherry, John (1994) "Medieval and Later Antiquities, Sir Hans Sloane and the Collecting of History". In Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary, Founding Father of the British Museum*. London: British Museum Press, 198–221.
- Cherry, John and Stratford, Neil (1995) *Westminster Kings, and the Medieval Palace of Westminster*. British Museum, Occasional Papers, 115. London: Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum.
- Crook, Joseph Mordaunt (1995) *John Carter and the Mind of the Gothic Revival*. London: W.S. Maney & Son, in association with the Society of Antiquaries.
- Davison, Sandra (2009) "Glass Elements on the Westminster Retable". In Paul Binski and Ann Massing (eds), *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation*. Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute, and London: Harvey Miller, 260–269.
- Erskine, Audrey M. (1981) *The Accounts of the Fabric of Exeter Cathedral: Part I: 1279–1326*. Torquay: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 24.
- Evans, Joan (1956) *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*. London: The Society of Antiquaries.
- Haslam, John (1807) "To Mr. John Thomas Smith, Engraver of the Antiquities of London". In John T. Smith, *Antiquities of Westminster; The Old Palace; St. Stephen's Chapel, (Now the House of Commons) &c. &c., Containing Two Hundred and Forty-Six Engravings of Topographical Objects., of which One Hundred and Twenty-Two no Longer Remain*. London: T. Bensley.
- Higgitt, Catherine (2017) "Organic Analyses, St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Palace", unpublished report Scientific Department, National Gallery, London.
- Higgitt, Catherine, Spring, Marika, and Saunders, David (2003) "Pigment-Medium Interactions in Oil-Paint Films Containing Red Lead or Lead-Tin Yellow". *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 24, 75–95.
- Hill, Rosemary (2016) "'Proceeding like Guy Faux': The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, 1790–1837". *Architectural History* 59: 253–279.
- Houlbrooke, Sarah (2005–2006) "A Study of the Materials and Techniques of 13th Century Tomb of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, in Westminster Abbey". *The Conservator* 29: 105–116.
- Howard, Helen (2009) "Edmund Crouchback: Technique of the Tomb of a Crusader". In Paul Binski and Ann Massing (eds), *The Westminster Retable: History, Technique, Conservation*. Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute, and London: Harvey Miller, 319–340.
- Howard, Helen, Higgitt, Catherine, Saunders, David, and de Beer, Lloyd (2016) "Recent Imaging and Scientific Analysis of the Wall Painting Fragments". Presentation at Conference: "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: Visual and Political Culture 1292–1941", Portcullis House, Westminster, 19–20 September.
- Howard, Helen and Sauerberg, Marie-Louise (2015) "The Polychromy at Westminster Abbey, 1250–1350". In Warwick Rodwell and Tim Tatton-Brown (eds), *Westminster: The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey*. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 39, Part I, 205–261.
- Jägers, Elizabeth and Schulze-Senger, Christa (1989) "Zur Maltechnik der Chorschrankenmalereien im Kölner Dom". *Kölner Domblatt* 54: 187–198.
- Jenkins, Ian (1992) *Archaeologists and Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum 1800–1939*. London: British Museum Press.
- Kirby, Jo, Spring, Marika, and Higgitt, Catherine (2005) "The Technology of Red Lake Pigment Manufacture: Study of the Dyestuff Substrate". *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 26: 71–88.
- Nadolny, Jilleen M. (2000) "The Techniques and Use of Gilded Relief Decoration by Northern European Painters, c.1200–1500". 2 vols, unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, June.
- Nurse, Bernard (2007) "Collecting for Britain". In David Gaimster, Sarah McCarthy, and Bernard Nurse (eds), *Making History: Antiquaries in Britain 1707–2007*. London: Royal Academy of Arts.
- Peggie, David and Higgitt, Catherine (2016) "Analysis of Lake Pigment, St Stephen's Chapel, Palace of Westminster". Unpublished reports Scientific Department, National Gallery, London.
- Plesters, Joyce and Mills, John (1973) "Preliminary Report on the Examination of a Part of the Wall-Paintings from St Stephen's Chapel, now in the British Museum". Unpublished report, Scientific Department, National Gallery, London, October.
- Rees-Jones, Stephen G. (1990) "Early Experiments in Pigment Analysis". *Studies in Conservation* 35: 93–101.
- Rokewode, J. Gage (1885) "A Memoir on the Painted Chamber in the Palace of Westminster". *Vetusta Monumenta* 6.
- Salzman, Louis F. (1952) *Building in England down to 1540, a Documentary History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sauerberg, Marie-Louise, Howard, Helen, Kirby, Jo, Morrison, Rachel and Peggie, David (2012) "The Final Touches: Evidence from the Study of Varnishes on Medieval Polychromy in England". Postprints of the symposium, *Let the Material Talk: The Technology of Late Medieval Painting in Cologne from the Master of Saint Veronica to Stefan Lochner*, Cologne, November 2011, in *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 26, no. 1: 241–258.
- Sauerberg, Marie-Louise, Marchant, Ray, and Wrapson, Lucy (2010) "The Tester over the Tomb of Edward, the Black Prince: the Splendour of Late-Medieval Polychromy in England". In Sally Badham and Sophie Oosterwijk (eds), *Monumental Industry. The Production of Tomb Monuments in England and Wales in the London Fourteenth Century*. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 161–186.
- Saunders, David, Billinge, Rachel, Cupitt, John, Atkinson, Nicholas, and Liang, Heida (2006) "A New Camera for High-Resolution Infrared Imaging of Works of Art". *Studies in Conservation* 51: 277–290.
- Saunders, David and Kirby, Jo (1994) "Light-Induced Colour Changes in Red and Yellow lake Pigments". *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 15: 79–97.

- Spooner, Jane (2016) "An Admonitory Wall Painting at the Tower of London". *Burlington Magazine* 158, 940-949.
- Spooner, Jane (2016-2017) "Royal Wall Paintings in England in the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century". Unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London.
- Spooner, Jane (forthcoming) "The Iconography of the St Stephens Chapel Painting Fragments". In John Cooper and Tim Ayers (eds), *St Stephen's Chapel Westminster: Visual and Political Culture, 1292-1941*. York: University of York.
- Spring, Marika and Higgitt, Catherine (2006) "Analyses Reconsidered: The Importance of the Pigment Content of Paint in the Interpretation of the Results of Examination of Binding Media". In J. Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Techniques, Analysis, Art History*. London: Archetype Publications, 223-229.
- Smith, John, T. (1807) *Antiquities of Westminster; The Old Palace; St. Stephen's Chapel, (Now the House of Commons) &c. &c., Containing Two Hundred and Forty-Six Engravings of Topographical Objects., of which One Hundred and Twenty-Two no Longer Remain*. London: T. Bensley.
- Topham, John (1795) *Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster*. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- Topham, John (1811) *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Specimens of the Architecture and Ornaments of [...] St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster*. London, 1795, with added plates by R. Smirke and text by H. Englefield. London: Society of Antiquaries.
- Van Geersdaele Peter C. and Goldsworthy, Lesley J. (1978) "The Restoration of Wall Painting Fragments from St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster". *The Conservator* 2: 9- 12.
- White, Raymond and Kirby, Jo (2006) "Some Observations on the Binder and Dyestuff Composition of Glaze Paints in Early European Panel Painting". In J. Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Techniques, Analysis, Art History*. London: Archetype Publications, 215-222.
- Wilson, David M. (2002) *The British Museum: A History*. London: British Museum Press.



“The Bold Adventure of All”: Reconstructing the Place of Portraits in Interregnum England

Helen Pierce

Abstract

In terms of art production and patronage, a long-held line of thought established at the Restoration cast the 1650s as the dull decade of seventeenth-century England, with a glittering Caroline court replaced by the austere rule of Oliver Cromwell and his Puritan-dominated government. This turn of authority was enough to lay the visual arts, in the words of John Evelyn published in 1662, firmly “in the dust”, and this sentiment threaded persistently through the subsequent historiography of the period. But were the 1650s really such a creative low point for artists, patrons, and audiences? This article contributes to recent and emerging research into the art of the Interregnum, which challenges that perspective, through an examination of the prevalent genre of portraiture during this decade. Taking the observations of James Fraser, a Scottish visitor to London, as its starting point, it considers a series of encounters with printed, painted, and sculpted portraits by a range of viewers with different political and religious inclinations. The broader cultural contexts into which these artworks were placed, both in London and beyond, are acknowledged, with artists and writers shaping the ways in which pictorial likenesses were encountered and understood. Far from incidental, portraits continued to play an important role as markers of identity and status, and as objects of aesthetic interest and appeal, during the 1650s.

Authors

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, and the School of Divinity, History and Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen, for providing funding which enabled my initial research for this article. Many thanks must also go to the audiences at research papers delivered at the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, for their constructive feedback on earlier versions of this article, and suggestions on all things Interregnum.

Cite as

Helen Pierce, "'The Bold Adventure of All': Reconstructing the Place of Portraits in Interregnum England", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/hpierce>

The Pictorial in Interregnum London

On 1 July 1657, James Fraser of Kirkhill, near Inverness, arrived in London for the first time. Fraser was en route to mainland Europe, and to a circuitous pilgrimage of self-improvement and cultural engagement, which would take him three years to complete. A decade later, as he began to carefully construct a three-volume journal of what he termed his *Triennial Travels*, Fraser considered his initial experience of London to have been a beneficial and necessary one:

he who would see these present times their greatest glorie, could not find a better Scene then London, Cromwels Court and army, it being clearely the greatest Concourse of mankind in these times and perhaps that hath beene in our age. ¹

Fraser's detailed journal entries for July 1657 provide a rare insight into the daily life, rituals, and spectacles of Interregnum London from the perspective of a curious outsider. The city is alive with activity, from the multiple languages heard at the Royal Exchange, to the commerce of the numerous booksellers set up in St Paul's Churchyard, and the various entertainments encompassing sports and performances held periodically at the Inns of Court. ² The cultural diversions of lawyers and their students are not the only unexpected observations which emerge from Fraser's description of a city under Puritan governance. At its political heart in Westminster Hall, the site of the recent treason trial of King Charles I, a balance is implied between judicial process and commercial frivolity:

this house is seldom or ever shut; & in ye voids and sides all creamrie ware is sold. all curious rarities, pictures, cuts, boxes, bables, & what yow can desire, and women sitting as thick as in a faire or market selling all necessaries. ³

Perhaps it was in Westminster Hall that Fraser acquired a small, engraved portrait of Oliver Cromwell, which he subsequently pasted into his journal (Fig. 1). Certainly, the Scotsman was struck by the ubiquity of the Protector's likeness:

his picture in tortisheal caskets, In talliduce, in Colloures, nay in silver, and gold, meddalls: nor was he in fassion yn that had not the Protectors picture one way or other in his Company, to satisfie

the reader I have set a compendious one of them here in the margin. & truly it is lively enough in so small a Circle it suffices to content the Curious in after-ages and what were his pictures but to paint out his power. ⁴

Fraser's observations appear unaffected by pro-Cromwellian bias; conversely, much of his description of London is informed by royalist sympathies, which, at their strongest, are expressed in highly emotive terms. Visiting the Royal Exchange, he notes that a statue of Charles I had been destroyed on official orders, to be replaced by an inscription in gold letters: "Exit Tyrannus Regum Ultimus". It is a sight which openly brings him to tears. ⁵

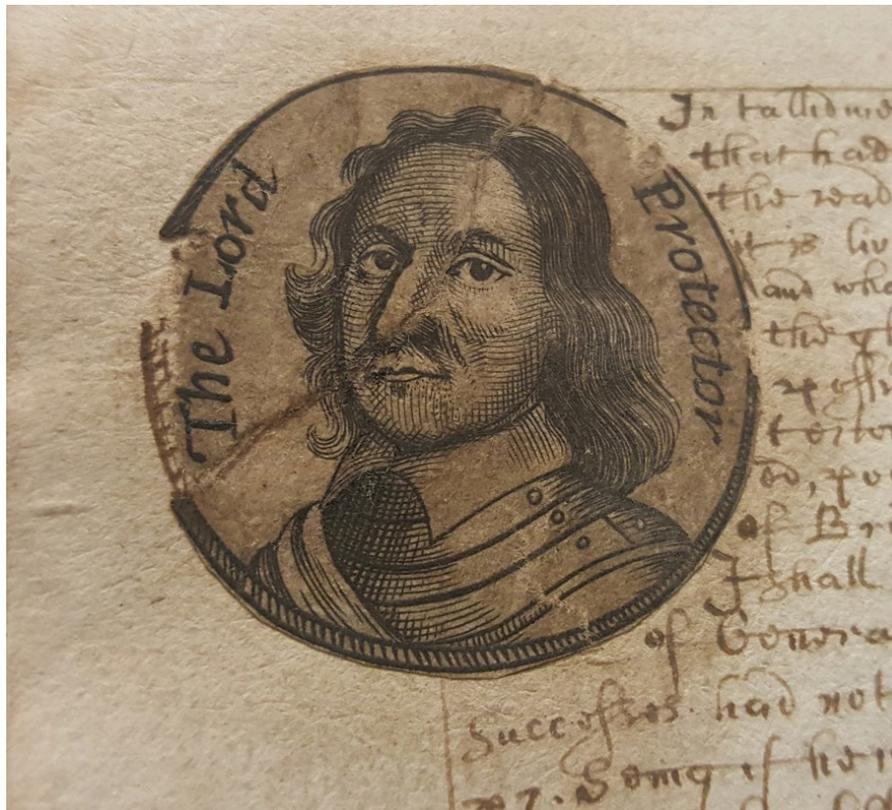


Figure 1.

Oliver Cromwell, circa 1658, engraving. Collection of University of Aberdeen, Library and Special Collections (Ms. 2538, fol. 34v). Digital image courtesy of University of Aberdeen, Library and Special Collections (All rights reserved).

The specific nature of Oliver Cromwell's public image, and its relationship with Charles I's enduring *eikon*, has been addressed in a number of studies, most notably in terms of contesting and complementary iconographies of

leadership and rule.⁶ Yet Fraser's words also speak more broadly to the presence of the pictorial within the Interregnum capital, constructing a London of viewers and consumers investing thought and intention, as well as money, in visual images: a bustling Westminster Hall filled with pictures and baubles; an engraved portrait of the Lord Protector which was as fashionable and commercial as it was conventionally powerful; emotive responses being provoked by defaced likenesses of the old order of rule.

As well as the images themselves, ideas about images and especially portraiture, that most acceptable genre of art in post-Reformation England, informed both contemporary discussion and action. In a pamphlet of 1645, one Leonard Lee addresses the mayor and aldermen of London, highlighting the then-miserable circumstances of the poor in both the capital and beyond during this period of civil war and unrest. His opening statement presents an interesting analogy: "The Character set upon our English Nation by Strangers is, to have excellent Lawes, but no execution; like Pictures curiously drawne, well faced, and limn'd, but want life, and motion."⁷ Such a comparison would resonate strongly with a readership aware of the often close relationship between an individual and their likeness as set down on panel, canvas, paper, or in stone. Similarly, in the later decades of the seventeenth century, Brian Fairfax set down a curious story of a portrait hanging at Denton Hall in Yorkshire, of his kinsman Captain William Fairfax, who had died at the siege of Frankenthal during the 1620s in defence of the Elector Palatine. Upon commandeering Denton during his march to York in 1644, Prince Rupert saw the portrait, and ordered that the house should not be damaged by his troops.⁸ These examples of the mimetic qualities of a drawn or painted likeness as encountered during the 1640s reinforce James Fraser's subsequent consideration of the impact of Cromwell's printed portrait and its capacity to engage with the viewer.

In what follows, this article will examine the ways in which visual images were understood, employed, and interpreted in England between the late 1640s and 1660. Fraser's observations resonate with the findings of recent scholarship, which continues to unpick a once-accepted version of England during the Interregnum as artistically indifferent, purged of both practitioners and patrons in the aftermath of the Civil Wars (1642-1651).⁹ The "picture" which emerges has proved to be far more complex, as this article will demonstrate in its consideration of the work of professional and amateur artists, of different formats for pictorial likenesses, and of the reception of portraiture by a socially and politically diverse audience.

Barbarous Rebels and Unhappy Differences Reconsidered

Horace Walpole, writing a century on from the Restoration, opined that “the arts were in a manner expelled with the Royal Family from Britain” during the 1640s, stressing what he perceived to be the subsequent incompatibility between religion and a rich visual culture:

What the fury of Henry VIII had spared [at the Reformation], was condemned by the Puritans: Ruin was their harvest, and they gleaned after the Reformers. Had they countenanced any of the softer arts, what could those arts have represented? How picturesque was the figure of an Anabaptist? ¹⁰

In Walpole’s view, the Puritans of the mid-seventeenth century were insensitive iconoclasts with no interest in what he termed “ostensible enjoyments”. However, it is now evident that multiple levels of non-conformist belief, including early modern Puritanism, must be acknowledged when considering responses to English art of the period. As Nathan Flis has observed,

by the late 1650s, although there were still concerns about “idolatry” among fanatics, it is more accurate to say that most members of the new government were in fact interested in preserving and patronising the art of painting, and, in Oliver Cromwell’s case, using it to promote his cause. ¹¹

David Farr’s research into the cultural interests of John Lambert has revealed a key participant in the establishment of the Protectorate, who was both a keen collector of art and an amateur painter, guided in these respects by the Flemish artist Jan Baptist Gaspars, who had arrived in England from Antwerp during the early 1640s. ¹² Although Lambert’s personal religious beliefs have been summarised by Farr as “obscure”, many within Oliver Cromwell’s circle were, like their leader, members of the godly elite. ¹³ The Puritan convictions of the parliamentarian officer and regicide John Hutchinson are well established. Described by his wife and biographer Lucy as a man whose “whole life was the rule of temperance”, Hutchinson was also lauded by her for his interest in the visual arts and apparent skills in connoisseurship and aesthetic appraisal:

He had great judgement in paintings, engraving, sculpture, and all excellent arts, wherein he was much delighted and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as with the art of the work. ¹⁴

These observations do not sit comfortably with an acceptance of Interregnum indifference towards the visual arts, which gained traction at the Restoration. Horace Walpole may have been writing at some historical distance from his subject, but his sentiments echo and reinforce earlier perspectives. William Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues*, published in 1686, describes the simple, linear process of a splendid, court-based visual culture flourishing, then stalling, in the shift from monarchical to parliamentary rule:

[King Charles I] had once Enrich'd our Island with the noblest Collection that any Prince outside of Italy could boast of: but those Barbarous Rebels, whose Quarrel was as much to Politeness and the Liberal Arts, as to Monarchy and Prelacy, dissipated and destroyed the best part of it. ¹⁵

Aglionby's sentiments recall John Evelyn's earlier assertions in *Sculptura*, his 1662 treatise on printmaking:

we may not yet boast of such multitudes [of engravers] by reason of the late unhappy differences, which have disturb'd the whole Nation, endeavouring to level *Princes*, and lay the *Mecænas's* of *This*, and all other *Arts* in the dust. ¹⁶

Evelyn's words are based around a wholly royalist perspective, and his decision to consign a decade of republican rule to the cultural scrapheap is understandable: all the better to emphasise the positive impact of a Restoration court on the visual arts, and Evelyn's own virtuoso presence within that environment. The same may be said of Aglionby, several decades later. However, there is a subtle irony present in the fact of Evelyn's own periods of self-imposed exile from, and return to, Civil War and Interregnum England (1643–1647 and 1649–1652). His activities mirror the subsequent path of many contemporary artists, drawn away from Continental Europe and finding work in the English capital, during the 1650s.

The Edinburgh-trained painter John Michael Wright returned to London, his city of birth, in 1656, following over a decade of overseas work and study. In May 1655, Wright had been issued a passport, signed by the governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Archduke Leopold William, granting him permission to travel to England to purchase art and antiquities; less than a year later, he had settled in the capital and began to establish himself as a portraitist.¹⁷ The London-based miniaturist David Des Granges followed King Charles II to Scotland in the early 1650s but was back in the English capital by July 1658, with his services advertised in a charmingly disparaging manner, as the practitioner of “the Art of Miniature or Limning, by the Life or Copying, approved to be none of the worst, if not answerable in some measure to be the best.”¹⁸ Printmakers Wenceslaus Hollar and William Faithorne departed London for the Continent during the 1640s, the former appearing to be motivated by diminishing patronage in England, the latter banished following his support of the Crown and involvement in the siege of Basing House; however, both men had returned to the city by 1652 to continue their trades.¹⁹

Other artists saw commercial potential in England for the first time during the Interregnum, such as the French engraver Pierre Lombart, who signed his plates with a London imprint from 1651 until his departure back to Paris in 1663.²⁰ Peter Lely’s arrival from Haarlem in around 1643, into a country locked in internecine conflict, and the “unhappy differences” of John Evelyn’s memory, is all the more surprising given the success he encountered long before his Restoration appointment as Charles II’s Principal Painter in Ordinary. During the 1650s, Lely’s work for English patrons ranged from conventional portraiture and genre scenes to idyllic pastoral landscapes with erotic overtones.²¹ Lely’s name also appears alongside the painter George Geldorp, and the artist and art dealer Balthazar Gerbier, on a proposal delivered to Parliament in 1651, in which the trio offered their services to produce a series of history paintings to be displayed in the main rooms and galleries at Whitehall. Although such a project, “Concerning the representing, in Oil, Pictures of all the memorable Atchievements since the PARLAMENT’S first sitting,”²² did not come to fruition, it demonstrates the clear ambition of Geldorp, Gerbier and Lely to familiarise English audiences at an elite level to a genre of painting increasingly recognised as pre-eminent in Continental cultural circles. It also highlights the purported availability of artists both willing and proficiently able to work across a range of specialisms, in order to undertake this commission, “All which may bee most compleatly performed by choice Artists, expert both in the representing of Personages, Battails and Land-skips.”²³

Cultural Capital: The London Market for Reproductions

The diary and notes of Richard Symonds provide further evidence of contemporary artists active in London during the early 1650s. Symonds fought for the royalists during the 1640s, before undertaking a period of self-imposed exile in France and Italy between early 1649 and December 1651. Subsequently returning to England, he spent time in London pursuing interests already established in Rome: visiting artists' studios, pressing those artists for information on their materials and techniques, and committing the details to several notebooks today preserved in the British Library.²⁴ Symonds also carefully recorded the presence of a remarkable range of contemporary and Old Master artworks in various studios, warehouses, and private residences across the capital. This was a consequence of the recent dispersal of much of the royal collection by the Interregnum government, some items were provided as payment for debts incurred by the late king's household, others were auctioned off to dealers and collectors in England and beyond.²⁵

Within this novel environment, Symonds found London's artists busy, working not only on original compositions but also engaging in the production of copies after paintings previously displayed in courtly contexts. He notes the presence of "Divers Ritrattos coppyes" at a merchant's house in St Swithin's Lane, and further "Abundance of cotypes of Ritrattos of Van Dyke etc." at George Geldorp's residence in Archer Street.²⁶ Artists identified by Symonds as working on such reproductions included the recently deceased Jan van Belcamp, a native of Antwerp "who kept the Kings picture a p[e]rson or paynter good at copying", and Mrs Boardman, an otherwise unidentified female professional artist with premises near Gray's Inn, who painted a version of Titian's *Venus Putting on her Smock*, the original then being in the possession of the portraitist Robert Walker.²⁷

Walker himself sought to profit from the demand for reproductions of visually engaging artworks; in Symonds' words, "he demands 50ts for ye copy of Titians woman naked & a man playing on the organs. Hutchinson has the original."²⁸ Titian's erotic *Venus and Music* was initially purchased by John Hutchinson following the regicide, and represents an unusual acquisition for a man of strong and committed godly beliefs; perhaps his motivation was for profit as well as pleasure, as hinted at by the recollections of Hutchinson's wife:

he laid out about £2,000 in the choicest pieces of painting then set to sale, most of which were bought out of the King's goods, which were given to his servants to pay their wages; and to them

the Colonel gave ready money for them, of whom he bought so good pennyworths that they were valued much more worth than they cost. ²⁹

This particular “choicest” painting did not remain in Hutchinson’s possession for long; although he had taken his purchases from the royal sale “down into the country, intending a very neat cabinet for them”, by the end of 1651, *Venus and Music* had passed through the hands of several Spanish ambassadors and ministers, into the collection of Philip IV, with significant profits for Hutchinson. ³⁰

With transactions originating with the sale of Charles I’s collection by the Interregnum government, high-quality artworks were being used as collateral to pay off debts; however, the production of so many copies also highlights these reproductions’ own complementary status as desired commercial objects, being produced for a local market keen to acquire such items. This demand is further underlined by the wider dissemination of reproductions of these artworks in printed form. Following its sale to Hutchinson, and before its departure for Spain, Francis Barlow was given access to *Venus and Music*, and copied the composition into a now-lost drawing. This design was then worked up into a printing plate by Barlow’s frequent collaborator, Richard Gaywood, with the subsequent etching pairing Titian’s composition with a lengthy dedication to John Evelyn in a flowing, calligraphic script (Fig. 2). Responding to Barlow and Gaywood’s creative endeavours in a letter of encouraging words (but no financial acknowledgement), Evelyn self-deprecatingly noted “the honour which you have conferred upon me ... which might better have become some great and eminent Maecenas to patronise, than a person so incompetent as you have made choice of.” ³¹ Evelyn’s suggestion that Barlow and Gaywood turn their attentions to alternative, and albeit nameless patrons and collectors of art, for support and promotion, alludes further to a London-based market for sophisticated visual culture, in original and reproduced formats.



Figure 2.

Richard Gaywood after Titian, *Venus with the Organist*, 1656, etching, 27.2 x 38.7 cm. Collection of British Museum (1877,0811.792). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Texts and Images

Richard Symonds' observations of the early 1650s imply that, during the initial years of the Interregnum, there was an active demand for "art" focused upon and emanating from London; however, was this simply an anomaly, which could be credited to the sale and dispersal of the royal collection? One printed source that suggests otherwise is William Sanderson's *Graphice, or the Most Excellent Art of Painting*, published in 1658, the year of Oliver Cromwell's death. Part handbook on art appreciation, including a section on the display of paintings in a domestic context, and part technical manual, Sanderson's book is addressed "to Lovers of this Art, not to Masters."³² Sanderson, like Richard Symonds and John Evelyn, was a man of strictly royalist sympathies, but unlike Evelyn, Sanderson writes enthusiastically about the possibilities of engaging with art during the Interregnum. He also directs his work to an audience whom he anticipates are familiar with and interested in the visual arts but who are lacking in the theoretical and intellectual understanding to appreciate what they see. Within *Graphice*, Sanderson guides his readers by listing key artists, historical and current, across a range of genres; when considering contemporary art, his claims contrast sharply with the subsequent critiques of Evelyn and Aglionby:

These [artists] 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 [are] comparable with any now beyond Seas.³³

A notable focus is also placed in Sanderson's text upon portraiture. Three engraved portraits are bound into the volume, all by William Faithorne, who by November 1652 had returned to London from France following a brief period of exile; he now operated as both printmaker and seller near Temple Bar, dealing in his own work, and that of Wenceslaus Hollar, as well as a "great store of Italian, French [and] Flemish prints."³⁴ Reflecting both Sanderson and Faithorne's royalist sensibilities, these illustrations consist of the likenesses of Charles I, and of Anthony van Dyck's wife, Maria Ruthven, after a painting by her husband, the king's Principal Painter in Ordinary (to which Sanderson dedicates several pages of frothy praise as an ideal template for female portraiture), together with a portrait of Sanderson himself after Gilbert Soest. The assertion is also made that, by the late 1650s, the practice of reproducing faces and likenesses surpassed all other genres of painting in England:

For Life, *Titian, Holben, Antonio More*; but now it becomes the bold adventure of all, as the ordinary practice that most men apprehend, of common Use and Sale. In which *Vandik* was excellent; and now in *England* the most *Painters* profess it.³⁵

Sanderson also reveals that he had harboured ambitions to enhance his book with further illustrations, but fine prints for this purpose, imported from overseas, were plundered by pirates when he was en route to London; to compensate, the reader is instead directed in the first instance to Faithorne's shop, to be "furnished ... with such cuts and prints as may serve his own private use for this whole Book."³⁶ Whether Sanderson's tale of high-seas robbery represents the truth, or a more cynical attempt to promote Faithorne's business, the reader is made aware of a range of readily available visual material to aid their personal development as connoisseurs of art. Additional evidence of access to printed portraiture in Interregnum London is found in the rare survival of an advertisement, which can be dated to 1654, detailing stock published and sold by Peter Stent, at the White Horse in Guiltspur Street.³⁷ Portraits dominated Stent's extensive holdings, with a section dedicated to "Sir Anthony Vandyke's", listing engraved likenesses including ones of the late king, the Earl of Arundel and Prince Rupert, after paintings by Charles I's court painter. The depth and range of pictorial

material available from Stent's shop was testament to his common practice of buying up the plates of rival printsellers following their deaths; now republished with his own imprint, an array of images that had been in circulation over several decades, including high art reproductions, continued to reach broader audiences during the 1650s and beyond.

“To Express the Life with the Pencil”

As well as advising its readers on the appreciation of art, William Sanderson's *Graphice* also provides practical instruction; presented as a work in two volumes, the second, shorter volume consists of a treatise on “The Most Excellent Art of Limning”, that is, detailed guidance on painting in watercolour. This section heavily plagiarises Edward Norgate's *Miniatura*, offering detailed instructions on miniature painting which were originally written between 1627 and 1628, and subsequently circulated in manuscript format across the seventeenth century.³⁸ Sanderson's pirated publication of Norgate's text was its first appearance in print. Limning, the name given to the technique of producing small-scale paintings, on vellum or paper using pigments suspended in water, was lauded as a gentlemanly pursuit, this method setting the practitioner apart from professional painter-stainers, who commonly worked in oils on panel, canvas, or linen. During the mid-1650s, the engraver Daniel King produced a presentation copy of *Miniatura*, for which he claimed authorial credit, and dedicated the work to Mary Fairfax, daughter of the former commander of the English army, Thomas Fairfax, intimating the status of limning as an appropriate pastime for the Interregnum elite of either sex.³⁹

The studious limner is directed in *Graphice*, via Norgate's *Miniatura*, to focus upon portraiture and landscapes, since “You shall rarely see *History* in *Limning* to be done in any largeness”, and is given detailed instructions on preparing and modelling their portrait from the life.⁴⁰ Through a number of sittings, the face, costume, drapery, and background will emerge, and the amateur artist may feel satisfied that “with ordinary diligence and practice, you may likewise attain to express the *Life* with the *Pencil*.”⁴¹ Despite Sanderson's assertion that portraiture was now “the ordinary practice that most men apprehend”, there is, however, a clear demarcation in the two parts of *Graphice*, between commercial and private artistic endeavours.

A more exploratory approach to portrait painting, in terms of materials and techniques, was adopted by the poet George Daniel. A manuscript volume of Daniel's writings, assembled between the mid-1640s and his death in 1657, is notable for its focus on Daniel's interest in the sense of his own identity; this focus is enhanced by the inclusion of a number of self-portraits, painted in oils on paper and interleaved with Daniel's text. This is not the

gentlemanly limning in watercolour promoted by William Sanderson and takes something of a philosophical as well as representational approach to the artist and author's likeness. An early poem within Daniel's manuscript is accompanied by a head-and-shoulders self-portrait of the author in an elaborate cartouche frame, surmounted by a heraldic shield (Fig. 3). Two complementary markers of societal identity—one representational, one symbolic—are accompanied by verses which dwell on the difficulty of being entirely honest when constructing that identity, in both words and images:

...only Men
Can draw their inward selves, with their owne Pen:
But our Pens flatter; and wee stranglie raise
False beauties, in the mind; as in the face
The mercinarie Hand; and sometime put
A gracefull mole, for a dull morphew'd Spot...
...Thus wee deluded are: yet, let me say:
If wee know not, our selves; none other may.

The irony exposed by Daniel is to suggest that although only you can paint (or write) an entirely honest picture of yourself, it is human nature to flatter and disguise your imperfections.



Figure 3.

George Daniel, Self-Portrait, 1646, oils on paper.
Collection of British Library (Add. MS 19255, fol. 6).
Digital image courtesy of British Library Board (All rights reserved).

Further images interspersed in this volume of poetry see Daniel adopting and exploring different guises. He presents himself as an Arcadian poet composing his work in an idealised landscape, and as a stoic griever of Charles I, with compositional echoes of Van Dyck's portrait of circa 1633 of Sir Kenelm Digby in mourning, which Daniel may have known through its engraved reproduction by Robert van Voerst for Van Dyck's *Icones Principum Virorum* series.⁴² Throughout the volume, Daniel develops his understanding of himself and his identity through both poetry and painting, and this is an idea most touchingly evident in the double portrait of the author-artist and his brother Thomas, an officer in the royalist army (Fig. 4). Once again, Daniel references the compositional tropes of royalist paintings, in particular the friendship portraits which were developed into a distinctive sub-genre in England by Anthony van Dyck, and later William Dobson. According to the

accompanying poem, he hopes that this image of a filial bond will last as a memorial to them both, long after they have died: “perhaps, these figures, may/Us, to a Time unheard of yet, convey.” George Daniel’s appreciation of the portrait’s potential to act as a substitute for the real person, both now, and in the future when they are gone, is clear.



Figure 4.

George Daniel, Self-Portrait with Thomas Daniel, 1647, oils on paper. Collection of British Library (Add. MS 19255, fol. 6). Digital image courtesy of British Library Board (All rights reserved).

This idea resonates with the observations made by James Fraser about the modest likeness of Oliver Cromwell pasted into his journal, which “is lively enough in so small a circle it suffices to content the curious in after-ages.”⁴³ It also anticipates the sentiments of the poet Thomas Flatman, who in 1658 provided a dedicatory poem, “On the Noble Art of Painting”, to preface Sanderson’s *Graphice*, noting how “The *Pensill’s* Amulets forbid to die, And vest us with a fair Eternity.”⁴⁴ Four years later, Flatman would similarly

compose verses to introduce William Faithorne's practical manual on printmaking techniques, *The Art of Graveing and Etching*. Flatman's words praise Faithorne's work, and the power of an engraved frontispiece portrait to posthumously preserve the presence and reputation of the individual:

For my part I prefer (to guard the dead)
A copper-plate beyond a sheet of lead...
A Faithorne sculpsit is a charm can save
From dull oblivion, and a gaping grave. ⁴⁵

The purpose and potential of a portrait to preserve both a likeness and a reputation, and to persuade the viewer as to an individual's character, status, and achievements, could work in both positive and negative ways. In May 1653, London's Royal Exchange, the site at which James Fraser had wept as he observed the remains of Charles I's statue, hosted an unusual, temporary art installation. As described in a number of contemporary letters and reports, a full-length portrait of Oliver Cromwell was deposited in the open courtyard of the Exchange by a mysterious "grave and well-habited Gentleman", who then swiftly departed the scene. Both text and image were incorporated in this display: "over the head of the Picture were three Crownes, and above them these words written:

It is I

And underneath these verses:

Ascende three Thrones Great Captaine, and Divine,
By th'will of God (ô Lyon) they are thine,
Come Priests of God, bring oyle, bring robes, bring gold,
Bring Crownes and Scepters, tis high time t'unfold
Your cloystered baggs, you State Cheat's, least the rodd
Of steele and iron, of this King, of God,
Pay you in's wrath with interest; kneele and pray
To Oliver, that Torch of Syon, Starr of day.
Shoute Merchants Cittizens and Gentry singe,
And all bare-headed cry: God save the King.

the fower last word in Capitall gold letters; after it had been gazed at for a long time it was taken downe and brought to the Mayor..." ⁴⁶

Between 1649 and 1653, a series of ineffective parliaments had operated in England, yet this experiment in republicanism, with no clear singular ruler (as per the established model of monarchy) was failing; in December 1653, after some resistance, Oliver Cromwell was given the title of “Lord Protector”, and assumed many of the powers he and his fellow parliamentarians had sought to curb in King Charles. This action appeared to appease a public demand for a figurehead ruler, as represented in the Royal Exchange portrait some seven months earlier, which calls upon the middling and affluent population of London to support a divinely appointed leader possessing the accoutrements, if not the dynastic pedigree, of a king. The picture disappeared without a trace, but the wide reporting of this episode suggests that its brief presence was of public interest, a novelty, perhaps, but also a catalyst for the positive development of Cromwell’s monarchical persona.

Curious Portraits

Yet the very act of placing the image of an authority figure on open and accessible view could invite negative responses. In April 1655, John Evelyn and his brother viewed the warship *Naseby*, several days before it was launched from Woolwich Dockyard. Affirmative news reports praised its size and naval prowess, being “a most glorious Vessel, framed purposely for war”, and highlighted its apparent superiority to Charles I’s great ship, the *Sovereign of the Seas*, now in republican hands, with *Naseby* wanting “little of her strength”.⁴⁷ The transom carvings on the stern of the *Sovereign of the Seas* were dominated by an effigy of the English King Edgar, whose tenth-century maritime prowess had provided Charles with a historic exemplar of a monarch as *rex marium*, fulfilling this ship’s name, and reflecting Charles’ own aspirations.⁴⁸ Evelyn, however, was not impressed by the comparison provoked by the elaborate carved figurehead placed at the prow of *Naseby*: “Oliver on horseback trampling six nations under foot, a Scot, Irishman, Dutch, French, Spaniard and English as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; the word God with us.”⁴⁹ Perhaps Evelyn was unaware of the physical response which Cromwell’s effigy had incited during *Naseby*’s construction, as the newsbook *The Faithfull Scout* had recounted months earlier, in January 1655: the statue “was in the night time exceedingly defaced, by having the Nose of this rich and glorious structure cut off; which is now again carved out, and very curiously p[r]efixed upon the face”.⁵⁰

The implied speed and nature of the response to the effigy’s damage, with the removed nose promptly restored, albeit “curiously”, points to the symbolic importance of Cromwell’s unsullied face as part of a wholly outward-looking image of both maritime and martial power. The very action

of cutting off the Lord Protector's nose at one level represents the simple mutilation of a vulnerable part of a wooden sculpture; however, this damage to the likeness of an authority figure can also be interpreted in highly symbolic terms. Just as certain reports on the destruction of Charles I's statue at the Royal Exchange claimed that the figure had been decapitated, so too the treatment of Cromwell's nose reflected more than basic vandalism.⁵¹ Garthine Walker has noted how, as a form of sanctioned punishment in early modern England, "Noses, like ears, were cut off or slit as avenging acts upon those who had unworthily assumed authority", and for critics of the man recently elevated from general to king in all but name, this response would be entirely fitting.⁵² The prominence of Cromwell's actual nose already presented satirists with an easy target. James Fraser observed in his journal the prevalence of "Satyres that raled and flouted him [Cromwell] these comming out daylie in print", and his physical appearance, based around a prominent proboscis, provoked a critical commentary in newsbooks, pamphlets, and manuscript verses.⁵³

During the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1654, satirical engravings published in Amsterdam soon reached London, manipulating Cromwell's body into physically ridiculous circumstances: as a curious hybrid of man and beast with a scaly tail covered in coins; vomiting crowns and coins as his tail, now that of a fox, is pulled; and cavorting and entertaining crowds as an acrobatic rope-dancer.⁵⁴ Nor was print the only medium through which such critiques circulated. A Dutch medal, struck in both gold and silver in 1655, depicts on one side a conventional portrait in profile of the Lord Protector, in armour with laurel wreath; on the reverse, however, Cromwell kneels with his head in the lap of Britannia, as the French and Spanish ambassadors jostle to kiss his exposed buttocks, a sharp comment from the United Provinces as to the efforts of France and Spain to court English favour (Fig. 5).⁵⁵



Figure 5.

Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)., Oliver Cromwell and Britannia, 1655, gold medal, diameter: 4.6 cm. Collection of British Museum (M.7379).

A further medal struck in the Dutch Republic shows on the obverse a crude profile portrait of Cromwell, and on the reverse Sir Thomas Fairfax, who in June 1650 resigned from his long-standing position as commander-in-chief of the New Model Army, to be succeeded immediately by Cromwell (Fig. 6). With either side of the medal turned 180 degrees, a different face appears in profile: Cromwell assumes the identity of a devil, Fairfax that of a fool, the implication here being that through his actions, Fairfax has gullibly assigned further power to Cromwell, possibly through the latter's persuasion.⁵⁶ A clear measure of insulting humour is tied up in these dual identities, but there is also a deeper meditation upon the duplicity of the individual depicted, and the potentially deceptive nature of the portrait, which casts further aspersions on both men. Pictures with the capacity to trick the eye were a novelty of the early modern period, with the manner of their viewing connected to discussions around natural philosophy and scientific pursuits. In 1649, the educationalist Samuel Hartlib noted in his diary an exchange between two of his close friends, Walter Charleton and Theodore Haak: "Dr Charleton showed Mr Haack a very curious Picture on the outside nothing but Charities and Vertues were seene. But looking upon the said Picture through a little glasse King Charles face appeared."⁵⁷ By the following year, Hartlib had identified a London-based artist engaged in the production of such anamorphic images, possibly the creator of the aforementioned portrait of the late king, who was about to broaden his oeuvre:

May-huy one of the best Limners or Painters about the Towne a french-man living in Morefields, who is the same also for making of the Conical sections in Looking-glasses or burning-glasses. Hee promised to shew feates when the sun is hotter. Hee doth also in Perspective and hath done yet but the King's Picture and no body's else. But hee is about to doe my Lord Groves etc. the Lord General Fairfax and Dr Gurdain. Hee is full of all manner of Ingenuities etc. ⁵⁸



Figure 6.

The Devil Cromwell and the Fool Fairfax, 1650, silver medal, diameter: 3.2 cm. Collection of British Museum (1879,1107.1). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

The distortion and blurring of Charles I's portrait within royalist visual propaganda of the 1650s is known through painted and printed examples. ⁵⁹ These anamorphic images appealed to the royalists on several levels; they reinforced the idea of a continuing monarchy hidden in plain sight, accessible only to those who were invested in its secrets. Furthermore, the correct use of the perspective glass enabled the viewer to set the portrait and, by extension, the image of monarchical authority "right". However, Hartlib's suggestion that an artist was also about to produce "ingenious" anamorphic likenesses of Thomas Fairfax, and of Dr Aaron Guerden, appointed master of the Commonwealth Mint in 1649, points to broader interests in perception and viewing, of the nature of sight and the agency of the viewer, framed around portraits of prominent sitters.

“Heads Chiefly of the Famous Warriors”

By the early 1650s, perhaps reflecting the nature of these hidden, and potentially duplicitous images, Thomas Fairfax’s reputation as one of Oliver Cromwell’s chief allies was becoming far less clear-cut. Following the regicide, which he had been notably in opposition to, Fairfax refused to lead a proposed invasion of Scotland in summer 1650, and subsequently resigned from his command of the army. He withdrew from public life, spending time chiefly at Nun Appleton, his country estate south of York, engaging in breeding horses and writing poetry, employing Andrew Marvell as tutor to his daughter Mary.

The former commander of the English army also assembled a personal collection of portrait engravings, coins, and medals. At Fairfax’s death in 1671, these items were acquired by John Thoresby of Leeds, a merchant who had formerly served in Fairfax’s regiment, and were subsequently inherited by Thoresby’s son Ralph, forming the nucleus of his own extensive cabinet of curiosities. In 1715, a list of the contents of the so-called “Musaeum Thoresbyanum” were included in Ralph Thoresby’s topographical survey of Leeds, the *Ducatus Leodiensis*; here, the portrait prints are described as “a Volume collected by the Lord Fairfax, containing about 150 Heads chiefly of the famous Warriors in foreign Parts that were his Contemporaries at large”.

⁶⁰ Further details on these portraits is frustratingly scarce. In 1764, the contents of Thoresby’s collection were sold at auction in London. Horace Walpole, who upon the publication a year earlier of the third volume of his *Anecdotes of Painting*, had been notably disparaging of the art of the civil wars and Interregnum, made a successful bid for Lot 66: “A Parcel of Prints, Drawings, &c. and sundry odd things.” ⁶¹ It must be assumed that Fairfax’s volume of portraits of his martial contemporaries formed part of this lot, and was subsequently dispersed among Walpole’s own collection of works on paper at Strawberry Hill.



Figure 7.

Pierre Bordier, The Fairfax Jewel, circa 1645, enamel set in gilt metal (later frame), 15 × 20 cm. Collection of Seaton Delaval Hall, National Trust. Digital image courtesy of National Trust Images and John Hammond (All rights reserved).

This interest in “heads” has certain parallels in Fairfax’s earlier practice of rewarding members of his army for excellent service through the provision of a medal bearing his own profile.⁶² Fairfax’s role in the decisive victory over the royalists at the Battle of Naseby in June 1645, which subsequently gave Cromwell the name for his exceptional warship, was also acknowledged through pictorial means. He was presented with a gift commissioned by the House of Commons, who provided £800 for the creation of an elaborate “jewel” containing two enamel roundels painted by Pierre Bordier, set in a locket by Francis Allen, then a member of the House, but previously a liveryman of the Goldsmiths’ Company.⁶³ One of the enamels depicts the House of Commons in session; the other, two sided, represents the Parliamentary victory at Naseby on its reverse, and on its obverse an equestrian portrait of Fairfax which lauds his military prowess (Fig. 7). Clearly based upon Van Dyck’s triumphal painting of *Charles I with M. de St Antoine*, this element of the Fairfax Jewel both mirrors, and develops, the visual language of authority established by Charles, now personalised to a new ruling elite.

Following his victory at Naseby, Fairfax was also painted in military garb on several occasions by the English artist Edward Bower, with a large, jewelled locket prominently placed upon his breastplate, continuing this dialogue between martial authority, portraiture, and display.⁶⁴ His equestrian portrait by Bower was reproduced in engraved format by William Marshall, and was further circulated through the engraving's use as an illustration within Joshua Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, published in 1647. Among other printed versions of Fairfax's likeness is a half-length portrait of circa 1646, engraved by William Faithorne after a painting by Robert Walker (Fig. 8). This was one of four portrait engravings initially published in London by Thomas Rowlett, together with the Prince of Wales, Prince Rupert, and Endymion Porter, after paintings by William Dobson. With Faithorne imprisoned in London, following his arrest at Basing House, it has been suggested that the engraver's production of this print, unusual in its parliamentary rather than royalist focus, would appeal to its subject from the perspective of a print collector, and that it was through Fairfax's intervention that Faithorne's incarceration was commuted to what would become a temporary banishment.⁶⁵



Figure 8.

William Faithorne after Robert Walker, Thomas Fairfax, 3rd Lord Fairfax of Cameron, circa 1646, engraving, 28.5 x 20 cm. Collection of National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D27093). Digital image courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Thomas Fairfax was a man of strong godly convictions; however, in common with John Hutchinson, his beliefs do not appear to have precluded his appreciation of visual imagery, much of it highly encoded with symbolic meaning, within his immediate environment. Following the siege of York in 1644, in which Fairfax played a prominent role, he took particular care to protect the city's churches from damage, iconoclastic or otherwise, by the victorious Parliamentary forces. As Ian Gentles has observed,

For Fairfax there was no contradiction in protecting the Bodleian Library and intervening to save the largest collection of medieval stained glass in England at York Minster on the one hand, while on the other holding that the appetite for material things was one of the devil's snares. ⁶⁶



Figure 9.

William Lodge, *The Ancient and Loyall City of York*, 1673–83, etching, 18.4 × 47.4 cm. Collection of York Museums Trust (YORAG: R1988). Digital image courtesy of York Museums Trust (Public Domain).

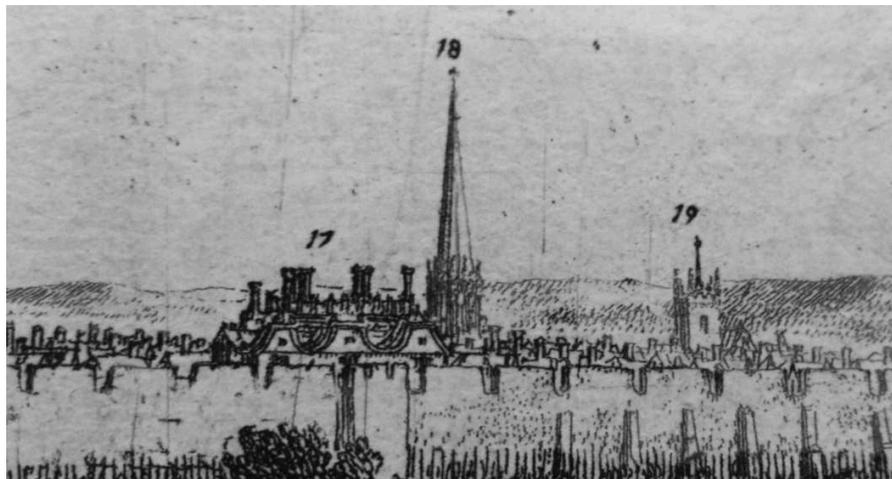


Figure 10.

William Lodge, *The Ancient and Loyall City of York* (detail showing Buckingham House labelled '17'), 1673–83, etching, 18.4 × 47.4 cm. Collection of York Museums Trust (YORAG: R1988). Digital image courtesy of York Museums Trust (Public Domain).

One major project to which Fairfax directed his time during the 1650s was the building of a residence at York. His chosen architect for this townhouse was Edward Carter, who had served as an assistant to Inigo Jones, and succeeded Jones as surveyor-general in 1643. Built upon land in the

Bishophill area of the city, it fell into disrepair following the death of Fairfax's daughter and son-in-law George Villiers, from which its familiar name of Buckingham House was derived; described by Francis Drake in 1736 as "the skeleton of a large mansion house", it was subsequently demolished.⁶⁷ Upon its completion by the 1660s, however, this was a significant structure boasting twenty-nine hearths—an immense number for a private, urban residence.⁶⁸ *The Ancient and Loyall City of York*, an etched panoramic view of York of 1678 by William Lodge, depicts the "Dk of Bucks Pallais" as a prominent building within the city walls, with an impressive number of chimneys, again reflecting the status of its original patron (Figs 9–10).⁶⁹ Letters of February 1651 sent by Fairfax to his London-based cousin, James Chaloner, suggest a proactive patron for this venture, highly involved in the development of plans for his townhouse, commenting on models of the proposed building and regretful of his own perceived lack of architectural understanding and vocabulary: "I have writ to Mr Carter though I have not skil enough to express my selfe so fully as I should..."⁷⁰ Fairfax's financial temperance is also revealed, in contrast to Carter's ambition: "I perceave his model is for a larger & a costlyer house than I intende though I shal be wiling to doe somthing to make it faire as wel as convenient..."⁷¹ One particular point of consideration was the appeal, although not the necessity, of a gallery in this townhouse:

I like a Gallery in a house ... though it takes up lodging roome yett in a citty they may best be spared I would not bestow above £2000 more may make a statly house but this as convenient & hansome.⁷²

With his collection of printed portrait heads bound up in a volume, one can only wonder at the artworks which might have been displayed in this putative space, had it been realized rather than resisted for reasons of cost and practicality. It is tantalising to conjecture whether Fairfax might have taken guidance from the royalist William Sanderson's observations in *Graphice*, concerning the appropriate environment for different genres of paintings: "*Graver* stories; *Histories* your best figures, and rarest worke becomes Galleries; here you Walk, Judge, Examine, Censure."⁷³ Speculation aside, histories and figures were neatly brought together at Fairfax's York townhouse, in the form of antique sculptures. Ralph Thoresby acquired for the *Musaeum Thoresbyanum* a piece which he described as "The Head of Seneca in Plaister; it is very large, a Yard within six Inches round, seems to be ancient and very agreeable to his Statue at Rome: This was amongst the Lord Fairfax's Curiosities."⁷⁴ Furthermore, "two Roman figures" were originally set in the walls of the building's courtyard, reportedly placed there

by Fairfax himself.⁷⁵ These details of a now-lost residence, housing a now-lost collection of antiquities and, potentially, contemporary art, again challenge long-standing perceptions casting the godly elite of Interregnum England as indifferent to the appeal and enjoyment of visual culture.

Conclusion

In January 1658, John Campbell, son of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, in the Scottish Highlands, wrote to his father from London. Having married in the previous month, Campbell sent greetings from his English wife, Mary Rich, who had yet to meet her new father-in-law; his words reveal sentiments which could be described as both timeless and universal in terms of the function and significance of a pictorial likeness, and its potential to influence:

my wyf taiks it for a great complement that your honour should demand hir picture. The season is so extream cold with frosts & great snowes that it puts ladyes in ane ill mode to be drawn houever shee promises to send it with all convenience, but shee is thairby feared to be dislyked befor shee be seen houever she determine to leave this to judgment of the censurer.⁷⁶

This temporary and fragmentary window into Rich's concerns reveals nothing about the Laird of Glenorchy's eventual appraisal of his daughter-in-law. However, as this article has demonstrated, the responsibility placed upon Sir John Campbell to use his judgement in assessing an individual, essentially a stranger, through their portrait was a familiar one. Both the request and its anticipated response gesture once again to the ways in which Interregnum artists, patrons, and viewers were all engaged in using pictorial likenesses to further their understanding of their place in the world. It was a world into which professional artists had arrived, or returned, in notable numbers, following the political and cultural uncertainties which the regicide had provoked for many. Guidance was also available to those amateurs who were moved to explore their own identities in self-painted or limned format. Portraits acted as surrogates which might appease or incite the viewer, and physical responses to pictorial likenesses in two and three dimensions were not unknown. Portraits were constructed to inform and instruct future audiences; they might reveal or conceal something of the sitter's character through ingenious methods of representation, requiring the viewer to look more closely. Whether as political polemic, or for remembrance, a record of status and achievement, or sheer aesthetic pleasure, William Sanderson's confident assertion of 1658 that portraiture was now "the bold adventure of all" is now gaining sustained recognition and re-evaluation.

Footnotes

- 1 James Fraser, *Triennial Travels, containing a succinct and briefe narration of the journey and voyage of Master James Fraser through Scotland, England, all France, part of Spain, and over the Savoyan Alps to Italy* (1667–1670), Aberdeen, University of Aberdeen, Library and Special Collections Ms. 2538, fol. 2. On Fraser's manuscript, see Peter Davidson and Carol Morley, "James Fraser's *Triennial Travels*", in Iain Beavan, Peter Davidson, and Jane Stevenson (eds), *The Library and Archive Collections of the University of Aberdeen: An Introduction and Description* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 206–211; and Joad Raymond, "An Eyewitness to King Cromwell", *History Today* 47, no. 7 (1997): 35–41.
- 2 Fraser, *Triennial Travels*, fol. 22.
- 3 Fraser, *Triennial Travels*, fol. 21; "creamrie ware" refers to cramery, a general word in early modern Scots for "merchandise such as is sold by a stall-holder or pedlar": "Cramery", *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, <http://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/cramery> (accessed 7 February 2019).
- 4 Fraser, *Triennial Travels*, fol. 34–34v; "talliduce" is an approximation of *taille-douce*, a French term for metal plate engraving.
- 5 Fraser, *Triennial Travels*, fol. 18v.
- 6 Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Kevin Sharpe, "An Image Doting Rabble: The Failure of Republican Culture in Seventeenth-Century England", in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 25–56; Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645–1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Helen Pierce, "Artful Ambivalence? Picturing Charles I During the Interregnum", in Jason McElligott and David L. Smith (eds), *Royalists and Royalism During the Interregnum* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 67–87.
- 7 Leonard Lee, *A Remonstrance Humbly Presented to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament: Touching the Insupportable Miseries of the Poore of the Land* (London: E.G. for John Rothwell, 1645), sig. A3.
- 8 British Library, London, Ms. Egerton 2146, fol. 27.
- 9 Key examples of this new research discuss Interregnum artists and patrons both at home and in exile, see Emily Burns, *Painting, Patronage and Collecting in England During the Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1640–1660*, (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2018); 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; and Karen Hearn, "William Cavendish and the Fine Arts: Patronage Before Exile", in Ben van Beneden and Nora de Poorter (eds), *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648–1660* (Schoten: BAI Publishers, 2006), 90–94. Their focus on the activities of the elite builds upon the work of Linda Levy Peck, most fully realized in her *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- 10 Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with Some Account of the Principal Artists* (1762–1780), 4 vols, III, 1–2.
- 11 Nathan Flis, *From the Life: the Art of Francis Barlow (c.1626–1704)* (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2012), 2 vols, Vol. 1, 39.
- 12 D.N. Farr, "John Lambert and the Roots of an Early Modern Art Collection", *Cromwelliana: The Journal of the Cromwell Association* (2002), 46–55.
- 13 D.N. Farr, "Lambert [Lambart], John", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, latest version 8 January 2015, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/15939](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15939).
- 14 Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, edited by N.H. Keeble (London: J.M. Dent, 1995), 30 and 19.
- 15 William Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* (London: John Gain/Walter Kettilby and Jacob Tonson, 1686), Preface.
- 16 John Evelyn, *Sculptura: or the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper* (London: G. Beedle and T. Collins, 1662), 98.
- 17 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Rawlinson, Series A, vol.26, fol. 101.
- 18 *Mercurius Politicus*, 22–29 July 1658, 701.
- 19 Antony Griffiths and Gabriela Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Prints and Drawings* (London: British Museum Publications, 1983), 43; and British Library, London, Ms. Additional 19027, fols. 47r–47v.
- 20 For example, Lombart's engraved frontispiece to William Cartwright, *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, With Other Poems* (London: Humphrey Moseley, 1651).
- 21 On Lely's early career in England, see Caroline Campbell (ed.), *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012).
- 22 British Library, London, Ms. Stowe 184, fol. 283.
- 23 British Library Ms. Stowe 184, fol. 283.

- 24 British Library, London, Ms. Egerton 1635-36; transcriptions from these notebooks can be found in Mary Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and their Relevance to Seventeenth-Century Painting Techniques* (New York: Garland, 1984).
- 25 This episode is thoroughly covered in Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage in the Light of the Commonwealth Sales Inventories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with Alistair McAlpine, 1989); Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and his Art Collection* (London: Macmillan, 2006); and Francis Haskell, *The King's Pictures: The Formation and Dispersal of the Collections of Charles I and his Courtiers* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).
- 26 Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 309 and 303.
- 27 Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 309 and 307. Together with Boardman's presence in Symonds' notebook, further evidence of female professional artists in Interregnum London is found in William Sanderson's *Graphice, or the Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts* (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, 1658), in which Joan Carlile, Mary Beale, and the unidentified Mrs Brooman (perhaps a misnomer for Boardman), and Mrs Weimes are acknowledged by Sanderson as proficient painters in oils.
- 28 Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds*, 307.
- 29 Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 254-255.
- 30 Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 255; and Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 86.
- 31 John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1862), 4 volumes, Vol. 3, 82.
- 32 William Sanderson, *Graphice*, Preface. On Sanderson, see Caroline Good, "A Royal Subject: William Sanderson's Guide to Painting on the Eve of the Restoration", in Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn, and Martin Myrone (eds), *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660-1735*, Studies in British Art 24 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 457-476.
- 33 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 20.
- 34 British Library, London, Ms. Additional 19027, fol. 47v.
- 35 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 19.
- 36 Sanderson, *Graphice*, "Reader".
- 37 Reproduced in Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller, Circa 1642-1665* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985). On the dating of this broadside, see Anthony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 17, n. 20.
- 38 See Edward Norgate, *Miniatura, or, the Art of Limning*, edited by Jeffrey M. Muller and Jim Murrell (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).
- 39 British Library, London, Ms. Additional 12461; for the dating of this manuscript, see Norgate, *Miniatura*, 217.
- 40 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 73.
- 41 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 62.
- 42 On Digby's portrait, see Susan J. Barnes, Noora De Poorter, Oliver Millar, and Horst Vey, *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 505.
- 43 Fraser, *Triennial Travels*, fol. 34v.
- 44 Thomas Flatman, "On the Noble Art of Painting", in William Sanderson, *Graphice, or the Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts* (London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane, 1658).
- 45 Thomas Flatman, "To my ingenious Friend Mr. Faithorne on his Book", in William Faithorne, *The Art of Graveing and Etching Wherein is Express the True Way of Engraveing in Copper* (London: William Faithorne, 1662), sig. A3.
- 46 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Clarendon 45, fols. 398v-399; see also Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Tanner 52, fol. 13; British Library Thomason Tracts E.697[17]; Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell*, 66-67; and Pierce, "Artful Ambivalence?", 82-83.
- 47 *Mercurius Politicus*, 5-12 April 1655, 5260; *Perfect Proceedings of State-Affaires in England, Scotland and Ireland*, 5-12 April 1655, 4589.
- 48 Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution 1648-1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 5, n. 17.
- 49 Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 323.
- 50 *The Faithfull Scout*, 12-19 January 1655, 1668.
- 51 Pierce, "Artful Ambivalence?", 67.
- 52 Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 92.
- 53 Laura Lunger Knoppers, "Noll's Nose or Body Politics in Cromwellian England", in Amy Boesky and Mary Thomas Crane (eds), *Form and Reform in Renaissance England: Essays in Honor of Barbara Kiefer Lewalski* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 21-44.

- 54 Elizabeth Staffell, "The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch Wars", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000), 169–186.
- 55 There are examples of this medal in the collections of the British Museum and the Museum of London. One found its way into Horace Walpole's possession: "A satirical silver medal struck in Holland. On the obverse, the head of Oliver Cromwell laureated in armour. On the reverse he is kneeling in the lap of Britannia, with his breeches down; the French and Spanish ambassadors are contending which shall kiss first: the former says to the latter *Retire toy, l'honneur appartient au Roi mon maitre Louis le Grand*. Very scarce; from Lord Oxford's collection." from *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole* (Strawberry Hill, 1774), 52.
- 56 Philip Attwood and Felicity Powell, *Medals of Dishonour* (London: British Museum Press, 2009), 43.
- 57 M. Greengrass, M. Leslie, and M. Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers* (Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, University of Sheffield, 2013), <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/hartlib/>.
- 58 The Hartlib Papers. I have been unable to identify the artist "May-huy" any further.
- 59 Laura Lunger Knoppers, "Imagining the Death of the King: Milton, Charles I, and Anamorphic Art", in Elizabeth Jane Bellany, Patrick Cheney, and Michael Schoenfeldt (eds), *Imagining Death in Spenser and Milton* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 151–170.
- 60 Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis, or, the Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes* (London: Printed for Maurice Atkins, and sold by Edward Nutt, 1715), 496.
- 61 *Musaeum Thoresbyanum: A Catalogue of the Genuine and Valuable Collection of that Well Known Antiquarian the Late Ralph Thoresby, Gent. FRS* (London, 1764). An annotated copy of this sales catalogue in York Minster Library, shelfmark Y/017.2 THO, Copy 2, details the successful bidders for each lot.
- 62 See, for example, the medal and accompanying letter awarded in August 1647 by Fairfax to John Sharpe, "in remembrance of his faithfull service under my Command, in the Year 1645", British Museum inventory number 2005.0309.1.
- 63 *Journals of the House of Commons*, Volume 4 (London, 1803), 320; and *National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual 2010* (London: Apollo Publishing, 2011), 38–39.
- 64 See, for example, Bower's three-quarter-length portrait of Fairfax, signed and dated 1646, which was sold at Christies London, 8 December 2017, Lot 141.
- 65 Antony Griffiths, "Faithorne, William", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, latest version 3 January 2008, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/9102.
- 66 Ian J. Gentles, "Fairfax, Thomas, Third Lord Fairfax of Cameron", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, latest version 3 January 2008, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/9092.
- 67 Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or, the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London: W. Bowyer for the Author, 1736), 269.
- 68 Andrew Hopper, "*Black Tom*": *Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 126, n. 41.
- 69 This building is given the number 17 in the panorama's key.
- 70 British Library, London, Ms. Additional 71448, fol. 5.
- 71 British Library Ms. Additional 71448, fol. 3.
- 72 British Library Ms. Additional 71448, fol. 5.
- 73 Sanderson, *Graphice*, 27.
- 74 Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 487.
- 75 Stukeley Family, *The Family Memoirs of the Reverend William Stukeley, MD* (Durham: Andrews & Co for the Surtees Society, 1882–1887), 3 vols, Vol. 3, 283–284.
- 76 National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, Ms. GD112/39/103/2.

Bibliography

A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole (1774) Strawberry Hill.

Aglionby, William (1686) *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues*. London: John Gain/Walter Kettilby and Jacob Tonson.

Attwood, Philip and Powell, Felicity (2009) *Medals of Dishonour*. London: British Museum Press.

Barnes, Susan J., De Poorter, Noora, Millar, Oliver, and Vey, Horst (2004) *Van Dyck: A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Beal, Mary (1984) *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and their Relevance to Seventeenth-Century Painting Techniques*. New York: Garland.

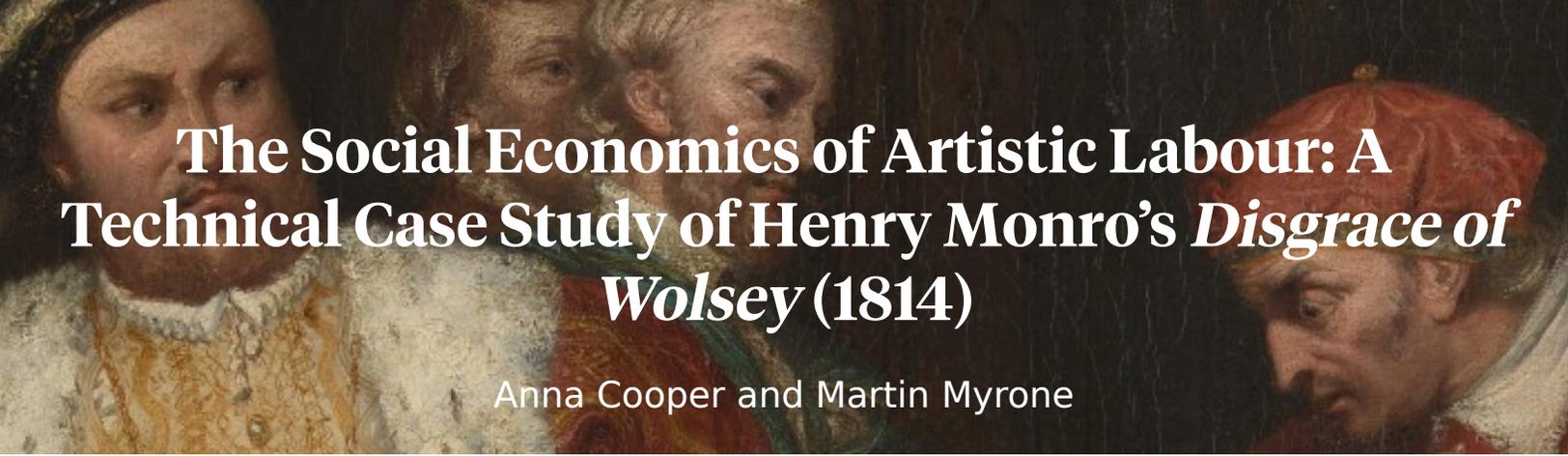
Bodleian Library (n.d.) Ms. Clarendon 45. Oxford.

Bodleian Library (n.d.) Ms. Rawlinson, Series A, Vol. 26. Oxford.

Bodleian Library (n.d.) Ms. Tanner 52, fol. 13. Oxford.

- British Library (n.d.) Ms. Additional 12461. London.
- British Library (n.d.) Ms. Additional 19027. London.
- British Library (n.d.) Ms. Additional 71448. London.
- British Library (n.d.) Ms. Egerton 1635–36. London.
- British Library (n.d.) Ms. Egerton 2146. London.
- British Library (n.d.) Ms. Stowe 184. London.
- British Library (n.d.) Thomason Tracts E.697[17]. London.
- Brotton, Jerry (2006) *The Sale of the Late King's Goods: Charles I and his Art Collection*. London: Macmillan.
- Brown, Jonathan (1995) *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Burns, Emily (2018) *Painting, Patronage and Collecting in England During the Civil Wars and Interregnum, 1640–1660*. PhD diss., University of Nottingham.
- Campbell, Caroline (ed.) (2012) *Peter Lely: A Lyrical Vision*. London: Paul Holberton Publishing.
- Capp, Bernard (1989) *Cromwell's Navy: The Fleet and the English Revolution 1648–1660*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cartwright, William (1651) *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, With Other Poems*. London: Humphrey Moseley.
- Davidson, Peter and Morley, Carol (2011) "James Fraser's *Triennial Travels*". In Iain Beavan, Peter Davidson, and Jane Stevenson (eds), *The Library and Archive Collections of the University of Aberdeen: An Introduction and Description*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Dictionary of the Scots Language (n.d.) "Cramery", <http://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/cramery> (accessed 7 February 2019).
- Drake, Francis (1736) *Eboracum, or, the History and Antiquities of the City of York*. London: W. Bowyer for the Author.
- Evelyn, John (1662) *Sculptura: or the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper*. London: G. Beedle and T. Collins.
- Evelyn, John (1862) *Diary and Correspondence*. London: Henry G. Bohn.
- The Faithfull Scout (1655) 12–19 January.
- Faithorne, William (1662) *The Art of Graveing and Etching Wherein is Express the True Way of Engraveing in Copper*. London: William Faithorne.
- Farr, David N. (2002) "John Lambert and the Roots of an Early Modern Art Collection." *Cromwelliana: The Journal of the Cromwell Association*: 46–55.
- Farr, David N. (2015) "Lambert [Lambart], John". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, latest version 8 January, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/15939](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15939).
- Flatman, Thomas (1657) "On the Noble Art of Painting". In William Sanderson, *Graphice, or the Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts*. London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane.
- Flatman, Thomas (1662) "To my Ingenious Friend Mr. Faithorne on his Book". In William Faithorne, *The Art of Graveing and Etching Wherein is Express the True Way of Engraveing in Copper*. London: William Faithorne, sig. A3.
- Flis, Nathan (2012) *From the Life: the Art of Francis Barlow (c.1626–1704)*. DPhil diss., University of Oxford.
- Fraser, James (1667–1670) *Triennial Travels, containing a succinct and briefe narration of the journey and voyage of Master James Fraser through Scotland, England, all France, part of Spain, and over the Savoyan Alps to Italy*. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, Library and Special Collections Ms. 2538.
- Gentles, Ian J. (2008) "Fairfax, Thomas, Third Lord Fairfax of Cameron". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, latest version 3 January, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/9092](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9092).
- Globe, Alexander (1985) *Peter Stent, London Printseller, Circa 1642–1665*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Good, Caroline (2016) "A Royal Subject: William Sanderson's Guide to Painting on the Eve of the Restoration". In Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn, and Martin Myrone (eds), *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660–1735*, Studies in British Art 24. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Greengrass, M., Leslie, M., and Hannon, M. (2013) *The Hartlib Papers*, Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, University of Sheffield, <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/hartlib/>.
- Griffiths, Anthony (1998) *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*. London: British Museum Press.
- Griffiths, Antony (2008) "Faithorne, William". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, latest version 3 January, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/9102](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9102).
- Griffiths, Antony and Kesnerová, Gabriela (1983) *Wenceslaus Hollar: Prints and Drawings*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Haldane, Angus (2016) "The Face of Civil War: Robert Walker (1599–1658): His Life and Portraits". *The British Art Journal* 17, no. 2: 20–29.
- Haskell, Francis (2013) *The King's Pictures: The Formation and Dispersal of the Collections of Charles I and his Courtiers*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hearn, Karen (2006) "William Cavendish and the Fine Arts: Patronage Before Exile". In Ben van Beneden and Nora de Poorter (eds), *Royalist Refugees: William and Margaret Cavendish in the Rubens House, 1648–1660*. Schoten: BAI Publishers.

- Hopper, Andrew (2007) *"Black Tom": Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Revolution*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Hutchinson, Lucy (1995) *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, edited by N.H. Keeble. London: J.M. Dent.
- Journals of the House of Commons (1803) Volume 4. London.
- Knoppers, Laura Lunger (2000) *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print, 1645–1661*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knoppers, Laura Lunger (2000) "Noll's Nose or Body Politics in Cromwellian England". In Amy Boesky and Mary Thomas Crane (eds), *Form and Reform in Renaissance England: Essays in Honor of Barbara Kiefer Lewalski*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press.
- Knoppers, Laura Lunger (2003) "Imagining the Death of the King: Milton, Charles I, and Anamorphic Art". In Elizabeth Jane Bellany, Patrick Cheney, and Michael Schoenfeldt (eds), *Imagining Death in Spenser and Milton*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lee, Leonard (1645) *A Remonstrance Humbly Presented to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament: Touching the Insupportable Miseries of the Poore of the Land*. London: E.G. for John Rothwell.
- MacGregor, Arthur (ed.) (1989) *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage in the Light of the Commonwealth Sales Inventories*. Oxford: Oxford University Press in association with Alistair McAlpine.
- Mercurius Politicus (1655) 5–12 April.
- Mercurius Politicus (1658) 22–29 July.
- Musaeum Thoresbyanum (1764) *Musaeum Thoresbyanum: A Catalogue of the Genuine and Valuable Collection of that Well Known Antiquarian the Late Ralph Thoresby, Gent. FRS*. London.
- National Records of Scotland (n.d.) Ms. GD112/39/103/2. Edinburgh.
- National Trust (2011) *National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual 2010*. London: Apollo Publishing.
- Norgate, Edward (1997) *Miniatura, or, the Art of Limning*, edited by Jeffrey M. Muller and Jim Murrell. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Peck, Linda Levy (2005) *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perfect Proceedings of State-Affaires in England, Scotland and Ireland* (1655) 5–12 April.
- Pierce, Helen (2010) "Artful Ambivalence? Picturing Charles I During the Interregnum". In Jason McElligott and David L. Smith (eds), *Royalists and Royalism During the Interregnum*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Raymond, Joad (1997) "An Eyewitness to King Cromwell". *History Today* 47, no. 7: 35–41.
- Sanderson, William (1658) *Graphice, or the Most Excellent Art of Painting: In Two Parts*. London: Printed for Robert Crofts, at the signe of the Crown in Chancery-Lane.
- Sharpe, Kevin (1998) "An Image Doting Rabble: The Failure of Republican Culture in Seventeenth-Century England". In Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Refiguring Revolutions: Aesthetics and Politics from the English Revolution to the Romantic Revolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Sharpe, Kevin (2010) *Image Wars: Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Staffell, Elizabeth (2000) "The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch Wars". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63: 169–186.
- Stukeley Family (1882–1887) *The Family Memoirs of the Reverend William Stukeley, MD*. Durham: Andrews & Co for the Surtees Society.
- Thoresby, Ralph (1715) *Ducatus Leodiensis, or, the Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes*. London: Printed for Maurice Atkins, and sold by Edward Nutt.
- Walker, Garthine (2008) *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walpole, Horace (1762–1780) *Anecdotes of Painting in England; with Some Account of the Principal Artists*. Strawberry Hill.



The Social Economics of Artistic Labour: A Technical Case Study of Henry Monro's *Disgrace of Wolsey* (1814)

Anna Cooper and Martin Myrone

Abstract

This essay explores the material production of a single work of art, The Disgrace of Wolsey by Henry Monro (1791–1814), in the collection of Tate, in order to provide an historical perspective on the issues of artistic labour and art-educational access, which have been at the fore of contemporary cultural debates. It combines art history, sociology, and technical analysis to provide a case study in the social economics of artistic labour. Although he died young, Monro has a well-established biography and many of his works and associated documentation have been preserved. Most remarkably, there is a detailed work diary, which provides, among other things, a daily record of the production of The Disgrace of Wolsey. From this diary, we can deduce with some precision the people and materials, the time and the locations involved in the making of this painting. In its level of chronological detail, the work diary provides an exceptional insight into the working methods of a young artist in the early nineteenth century. The essay considers the social and economic factors involved, and provides a detailed commentary checking the textual record of the diary against the physical evidence of the painting itself. Technical analysis including X-radiograph, cross-sections, and surface examination are compared to technical painting treatises of the period. The essay concentrates on the compositional areas worked each day, recording a chronological account of activities. It gives insight into how the composition was built, developed, revisited, and adjusted, and suggests some of the wider lessons to be drawn from this unique documentary record about the practice of art in the early nineteenth century.

Authors

Martin Myrone is an art historian and curator based in London, and is currently convenor of the British Art Network based at the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Rebecca Hellen, Joyce Townsend, Alastair Johnson, Mark Heathcote, Joe Humphrys, and Rod Tidnam, and the two anonymous readers for *British Art Studies* for their helpful input and advice.

Cite as

Anna Cooper and Martin Myrone, "The Social Economics of Artistic Labour: A Technical Case Study of Henry Monro's *Disgrace of Wolsey* (1814)", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/coopermyrone>

Who can Afford to be an Art Student?

The economics of artistic labour is a major theme in contemporary cultural debate. The operations of the creative and cultural industries have been accorded exemplary status in relation to broader societal change, embodying—depending on what perspective is taken—the bold new freedoms, or the oppressive delusions and deceptions, of late capitalism.¹ Many people are drawn into situations where “the conceptual opposition between work and non-work, activity, employment and their contrary” are muddled in ways which have clear provenance in the notions of an artistic, creative lifestyle which have prevailed at least since the end of the eighteenth century.² The experience of precarity and zero-hours contracts, immaterial labour, and the apparent economy have started to inflect formal discussion of art practices and institutions, heightening our sense of “a *classed* artistic subject”, and bringing home the deceptively obvious point that “access to an infrastructure of production (funding to buy materials and labour power, time to access knowledge, new trends in theory and so on) is not equally distributed to all labouring subjects that self-identify as artists”.³ There are blunt questions which have taken on a new urgency in the present context: who can afford to be an artist? Who can afford to be an art student?

This essay offers a case study of the production of a single work of art, in an attempt to provide an historical perspective on these issues. Contemporary discussions of artistic labour rarely have a foundation in any great depth of historical understanding, their authors finding it sufficient instead to refer to broad-brush concepts such as the transition from artisan to artist in the Renaissance and the emergence of the “Romantic” artist, and often taking as a structural given that the modern artist is poor and his (or less often, her) lifestyle precarious.⁴ In doing so, this essay seeks to combine social-historical—more precisely, *dispositionalist* art history of the sort outlined by Pierre Bourdieu—and technical analysis and observation.⁵ Bourdieu challenges as a universalistic illusion the idea that time is a neutral category, exterior to social experience: “Different ways of temporalizing oneself”—how time is experienced, whether with a sense of expectation or dread, hurriedly or with forbearance—need instead to be related “to their economic and social conditions of possibility”.⁶ The work of painting is, arguably, fruitful ground for pursuing such an enquiry: whether an artist works quickly or slowly, whether they can experiment or feel compelled to be decisive, how they may apply or scrape away layers of paint, work impatiently or with measured restraint, provides evidence of such socially determined experiences. Such fundamental elements in painterly technique as the use of glazes or painting wet-in-wet, painting big bold forms in simple colours, intricate details or repetitive shapes, give expression to different temporalities and to choices which may appear spontaneous or burdened by

indecision and anxiety. The further dimension to consider is the degree to which these dispositions are manifested in self-conscious or instinctive ways, either as, in the terms set forward by Bourdieu, channelling Edmund Husserl, “a conscious aiming at the future”, or “protention, a prereflexive aiming at the forth-coming”.⁷ “Protention” can be illustrated simply by the example of the competent tennis player, who is able to position themselves on the court in anticipation of the appearance of the ball even before their opponent has struck it. It is in attending to the evidence of the varied temporalities of artistic labour, and the material and symbolic investments whether conscious or pre-reflexive, these expose, which we hope may help secure a more thoroughgoing integration of technical and social art history, and of the internal and ostensibly autonomous and personal, and the external and ostensibly impersonally social, dimensions of the work of art.

We are able to do so on this occasion because of an extraordinary documentary record relating to a single work of art from the early nineteenth century: *The Disgrace of Wolsey* by Henry Monro (1791–1814). Although he died young and never developed into a figure with real art-historical impact, Monro has a well-established biography and a surprising number of his works and the associated documentation have been preserved. Most remarkably, there is the survival of a detailed work diary which provides a daily record of, among other things, the production of this extant painting.⁸ From this diary, we can deduce with some precision the people and materials, the time and the locations involved in the making of this painting. In its level of chronological detail, if not necessarily transparent technical information, the work diary provides an exceptional and possibly unique insight into the working methods of a young artist in the early nineteenth century, and the foundation for a micrological analysis of artistic labour (Fig. 1).

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 1.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 x 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0) | Storiies viewer from Cogapp

The Artist and his World

Henry Monro was the second son of Dr Thomas Monro (1759–1833), physician, and his wife Hannah Elizabeth, was the daughter of the Rev. Edward Woodcock LLD, vicar of Watford (Fig. 2).⁹ Thomas Monro specialised in mental health care, taking on from his father Dr John Monro the management of a private asylum, Brooke House in Hackney, and in 1792 the role of Principal Physician to Bethlem Hospital. John Monro had inherited the role at Bethlem from his own father, James Monro, a Scottish physician who

had moved to London in 1728. Although embroiled in considerable controversy about his methods of care, Dr Thomas Monro enjoyed a prestigious career and, besides his public role at Bethlem, was one of the doctors responsible for the treatment of George III during his bouts of mental ill health.



Figure 2.

Henry Monro, Dr Thomas Monro, circa 1810, drawing, 34.3 × 26.7 cm. Collection of National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 3117). Digital image courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

The eldest son, Edward Thomas, went to Harrow and Oxford, where he graduated as Doctor of Medicine in 1814. He took over his father's role at Bethlem in 1816. Henry Monro's course through life was less predictable. After dinner with the Monro family in January 1807, the landscape painter, diarist, and friend of the family Joseph Farington recorded "Dr Monros 2d son, a youth 15 years of age, now attends the Royal Academy regularly.— It had been his father's intention to educate him for the *Navy*, but the inclination of

the Son prevailed".¹⁰ He had apparently spent two years at Harrow, "not exhibiting very great desire for the attainment of the Greek and Latin languages."¹¹ And he had, indeed, tried out the navy, spending a few days as a midshipman moored at Portsmouth before finding that a life at sea was not for him and being bailed out by his father. Although he later contemplated joining the army, at a time when a romance led him to think about a more settled income and had a civil service appointment lined up for him, he persisted with his art studies. All this with the indulgence and sometimes active encouragement of his father, notwithstanding his original intentions for his son.



Figure 3.

V. Davis, The Adelphi Terrace viewed from the river, circa 1810, photograph. Collection of Museum of London (61.39/13). Digital image courtesy of Museum of London (All rights reserved).

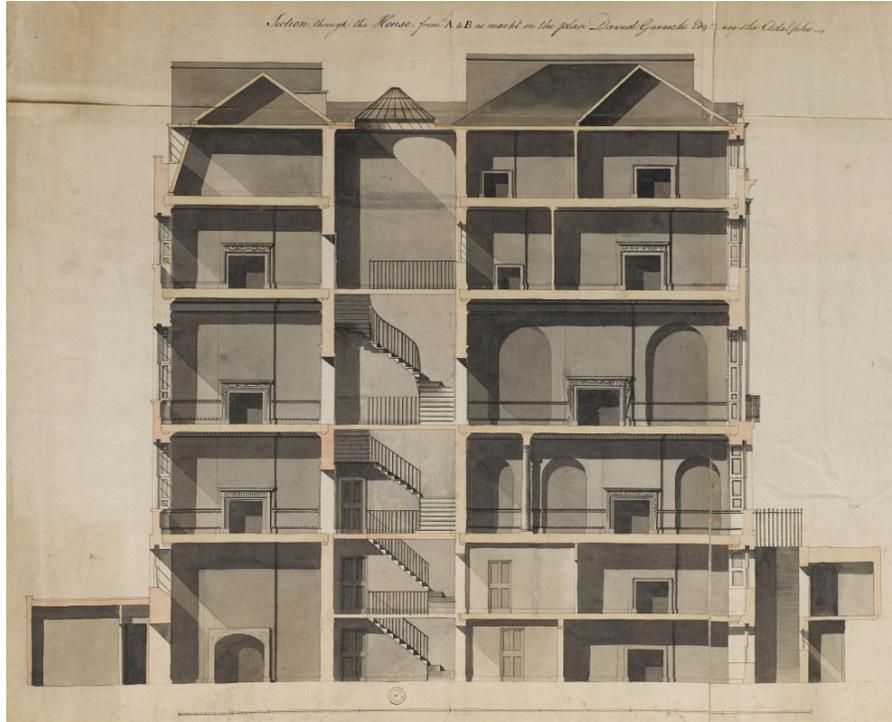


Figure 4.

Robert and James Adam, Adam office, finished drawing for the section through David Garrick's house, no. 5 Adelphi Terrace (no. 8 was built on the same plan), circa 1768-1770, Pen, pencil, wash, and pink and yellow wash within a single ruled border on laid paper, 78.6 x 60.7 cm. Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum (SM Adam volume 42/61). Digital image courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum (All rights reserved).



Figure 5.

The drawing room of no. 8 Adelphi Terrace, once the room of Dr. Thomas Munro, topographical photograph mounted on card, 26.7 × 33.1 cm. Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1398-1917). Digital image courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, London (All rights reserved).

The Munro family's London home from 1794 was no. 8 Adelphi Terrace (Fig. 3). This row of large houses facing onto the Thames was part of the prestigious Adelphi complex, built by the Adam brothers in the 1760s and 1770s as a commercial speculation. The project failed as a business, almost bankrupting the Adams and leading to a lottery of properties (including no. 8) in order to balance the books in 1773. But it transformed the view of the Thames and provided high-end houses with commodious rooms, decorated with elaborate ceilings and fireplaces. After the Munro family finally moved out in 1820, no. 8 was advertised as a:

Superior Family Residence ... admirably adapted for a family of the first respectability, many years in the occupation of Dr Munro ... containing seven pleasant bed chambers, and a laundry, very noble large front drawing rooms, 30 feet by 20 feet; back ditto, 20 feet by 16 feet; capital large dining parlour, 30 feet by 15, and library 20 feet by 16, the offices are most abundant, and consist

of kitchen, servants' hall, housekeeper's and butler's rooms, with bed chambers to each, store rooms, larders, pantry, scullery, capital cellaring, &c. ¹² (Figs 4 and 5).

The neighbours in Adelphi Terrace included other successful doctors, lawyers, MPs, wealthy merchants, and the widow of the celebrated actor David Garrick (Fig. 6). Individual houses were valued at over £3,000 in the Adelphi lottery; no. 8 had been valued at £3,600. Judging from their income tax paid when this was introduced in 1799, Mrs Garrick at no. 5 had a healthy annual income over £1,200, and Sir John Mitford at no. 1 had a massive £10,500 a year. ¹³ John Thomas Batt at no. 6 was one of Britain's wealthiest men. ¹⁴ The amateur artist and collector John Henderson was reported to have £1,600 a year when he married Georgiana Keate, also an artist, and moved into Adelphi Terrace. ¹⁵ This was very much the cream of London's professional and commercial world, with a dash of celebrity and a portion of enthusiasm for the arts. If not a community as such, there was certainly social interaction within the terrace. The physician Sir John Turton was professionally linked with Monro; Henderson lent drawings to Monro; Georgiana Henderson called on Turton and Mrs Garrick; the former mariner Sir Brook Watson who took on no. 4 when the Hendersons left was a family friend of theirs (this was the Brook Watson who had famously lost a leg in the shark attack painted by John Singleton Copley). ¹⁶

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 6.

The residents of Adelphi Terrace, ca. 1800, detail of Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining Shewing every house*, 1799. Collection of the London Metropolitan Archives. Digital image courtesy of Digital image courtesy of the London Picture Archive (All rights reserved).

As everywhere in elite Georgian society, behind this façade, there were darker stories. Physically below the Adelphi Terrace there was Adelphi Wharf, with its dark archways: heavy industry and the labouring classes were quite literally under the feet of the residents of Adelphi Terrace, though largely out of sight. The Hendersons drew in rents worth £700 a year from their extensive estates of substandard housing in the East End of London. ¹⁷ Dr Thomas Monro became notorious for the harsh restraints applied to patients in his care at Bedlam. Put under official scrutiny, Monro admitted that the chains and straitjackets in use there (but not among the private patients at Brooke House) were "fit only for Pauper lunatics: if a gentleman was put in irons he would not like it." ¹⁸ Threaded through many of these wealthy households are the investments in and exploitation of distant imperial

territories. Batt's wife inherited West Indian plantations. Edward Hyde East at no. 10 was born in Jamaica, where his family were major slave plantation owners; he came to England where he became a lawyer and after a political and legal career in England became chief justice of Bengal.¹⁹ Sir John William Anderson at no. 9 was the owner of a slave factory in Africa.²⁰



Figure 7.

John Monro, Merry Hill, Dr Thomas Monro's Cottage at Bushey, watercolour on paper, 20.5 × 29.5 cm. Collection of Bushey Museum and Art Gallery (BUSMT 2002.23). Digital image courtesy of Bushey Museum and Art Gallery (All rights reserved).

As well as the London home, Thomas Monro maintained houses in rural settings just outside London, first at Fetcham, Surrey and then from 1805 in Bushey, Hertfordshire, which he and his family habituated generally during the summers (Fig. 7). All these residences were notable for the presence of art and artists. Farington recorded of no. 8 Adelphi Terrace in 1797: "Dr Monro's house is full of drawings. In the dining parlour 90 drawings framed and glazed are hung up and in the drawing room 120. They consist of drawings of Hearne, Barret, Smith, Laporte, Turner, Wheatley, Girtin."²¹ When the collection was broken up by sale in 1833, after Thomas Monro's death, the auction took five days (and this did not include the works poignantly singled out in his will, "executed by my deceased son Henry which I desire may be divided amongst my children").²² Besides collecting, Thomas Monro was an amateur artist himself, and was unusually prominent as a patron and self-appointed mentor of artists. Monro famously organised drawing sessions in the evenings at the Adelphi, with painters regularly engaged in copying landscape watercolours and drawings owned by him or borrowed from his neighbour John Henderson. The nature of the young

artists' labours at the Monro "Academy" remains moot. Monro was not having these works manufactured for commercial sale (he hardly needed the money), but neither is it clear that there was a genuine pedagogical purpose in play, notwithstanding the anecdotal evidence of instruction by the physician and sketching trips. This was not the kind of self-motivated artistic brotherhood that were beginning to be formed in various European contexts at this date.²³ Nor was Monro, a physician, credibly qualified to serve as the "master" of a workshop on the Renaissance model, charged with carefully cultivating among his pupils the stringent technical skills which he possessed in abundance. The various drawings of artists at work in the Academy suggest a degree of studied laboriousness to their labours: heads down, Turner and Girtin and Hearne work away with what might be interpreted as servile dedication, certainly when compared to many of these individual artists' self-images, or indeed Henry Monro's self-portraits (Figs 8 and 9).



Figure 8.

Thomas Monro, J.M.W. Turner at a Drawing Table, circa 1795, pencil on off-white laid paper, 18.1 × 15.59 cm. Collection of Indianapolis Museum of Art (1996.155). Digital image courtesy of Indianapolis Museum of Art (All rights reserved).



Figure 9.

Thomas Monro, Thomas Hearne Sketching at a Table, undated, graphite on medium, slightly textured, cream laid paper, 19.5 x 15.6 cm. Collection of Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (B1975.4.852). Digital image courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection (Public domain).

If the working relationship between the young artists associated with the Royal Academy at the Adelphi and Thomas Monro was unclear, there should be no doubt about the social distance separating them. Thomas Girtin was the son of a brush-maker; J.M.W. Turner was the son of a barber; Henry Edridge was the son of a butcher who died while he was an infant; Thomas Hearne's father had also died young; John Linnell's father was a carver and gilder, albeit one with strong connections with the art world; and William Henry Hunt's father was a tinplate worker. These were not young men obviously destined for a life in art, and their route into the art world was often considered notable by early commentators, and described in terms of chance encounters and accidents rather than social destiny.

As a student at the Royal Academy from 1807, Henry Monro encountered and befriended several young artists who were already known to the family, including John Constable (who continued as a student though he had registered in 1799), David Wilkie, and Benjamin Robert Haydon. He was well connected with a wider circle of students, including George Lukin, Lascelles Hoppner (son of the Academician John Hoppner), Charles Lock Eastlake, and Martin Cregan. Monro was marked out even in this company of serious-minded young men as an unusually dedicated student, and a central figure in one of those basically polite and well-behaved break-out groups of Academy students, which pop up in its early history.²⁴ Having initially set up a studio in the attic space at Adelphi Terrace (presumably at the rear of the house, with the north light clearly indicated in the Adams' section of no. 5, whose floor plan corresponds with no. 8)—where his labours were supported by local boys he termed “ays de camp”²⁵, a term which might suggest they served as assistants as well perhaps as models—in October 1810, he noted he had moved into rooms “at Vinsons”. This was accommodation at 16 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, above the shop of the frame-maker William Vinson, an extended property with workshops.²⁶ At this time, he also returned to study at the Academy having lapsed in his studies. By 1811, he had moved to the end of the same street, 1 Henrietta Street (Fig. 10). The occupier was Thomas Wetherfield or Weatherfield, a fruiterer. From contemporary views, the ground floor appears to be in commercial use, presumably as a fruit shop.²⁷ Here, the accommodation was located on the favoured first floor and it seems, especially adapted to, or at least convenient for, artists' use. After Monro's untimely death, the lease was advertised: “To Artists—To be Lett, a First-floor, with extra light, late Henry Monro, Esq, deceased—No.1, Henrietta Street, Covent-Garden”.²⁸ From contemporary views, the added advantages of this address for an artist are clear. This was a property on the corner of Henrietta Street and Southampton Street, facing out onto the open Piazza (the site was cleared for the Southampton Street Hotel in the 1880s and is now occupied by the Ivy Market Grill).



Figure 10.

Pugin and Rowlandson, A bird's eye view of Covent Garden Market, 1811. Collection of The British Library (Maps K.Top.22.28-c). Digital image courtesy of The British Library and Alamy Stock Photo (All rights reserved).

There were multiple commercial premises on Henrietta Street and several public houses; but there were also bankers and lawyers (Fig. 11). The Henry Thomas Austen at no. 10 was a recently widowed banker and the brother of the novelist Jane Austen, who had moved into an apartment above his bank's headquarters on Henrietta Street.²⁹ The novelist's letters record her often visiting him there while she was in London. Of his accommodation, she noted in September 1813:

No. 10 is made very comfortable with Cleaning & Painting ... The front room upstairs is an excellent Dining & common sitting parlour—& the smaller one behind will sufficiently answer his purpose as a Drawg room.—He has no intention of giving large parties of any kind.—His plans are all for the comfort of his Friends & himself.³⁰

This was, on the evidence of Horwood's plan and the estate plan, a wider and deeper property than no. 1 or even no. 16, but Austen considered it appropriate only for private gatherings rather than entertaining. Henrietta Street served, on this evidence, as proper if not long-term accommodation

for the younger sons of genteel clergymen or physicians, rising in their professional life. ³¹ As the literary historian E.J. Clery notes, if not disreputable, it was “bracing ... a noisy, lively precinct with linen drapers and mercers as neighbours, and just a stone’s throw from the pubs and coffee houses of Covent Garden piazza.” ³²

[View this illustration online](#)

Figure 11.

Residents of Henrietta Street, ca. 1810, detail of Richard Horwood, *Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster the Borough of Southwark and parts adjoining Shewing every house*, 1799. Collection of the London Metropolitan Archives. Digital image courtesy of Digital image courtesy of the London Picture Archive (All rights reserved).

In 1812, Monro exhibited at the Royal Academy a life-sized self-portrait in oils, stated by him in the diary to be the “first as large as life I ever did” (Fig. 12). It is an image brimming with self-confidence and a sense of destiny, showing the young artist in an anachronistic costume, with a cloak and wide white collar, and wide-brimmed hat, evoking, surely, the well-known self-images by Rubens showing the Flemish artist as a dashing courtier in similar head-gear (held in the Royal Collection), and the more immediate example of Reynolds’ academically robed self-portraits (such as that presented by him to the Royal Academy in 1780). At the Henrietta Street address, he developed a series of historical compositions, exhibiting a Shakespearean subject, *Othello, Desdemona and Iago* at the Royal Academy in 1813 (Fig. 13). This was well received in the press, with the American art student Samuel F.B. Morse noting that his large canvas of the *Dying Hercules* had been paired with Monro’s in the press as signs of two rising geniuses in the art (Fig. 14).

³³ Over the summer of 1813, Monro was trying out ideas for subject paintings: “Hamlet in the play scene” sketched 20–23 May, with a self-portrait study for the composition (20 June) but apparently taken no further, as on 3 July he had the “First thought of painting King John 3rd act 3rd scene. Hubert Arthur and Elinor”, which he took as far as an oil sketch and portrait head study over the next couple of weeks, before embarking on the subject of *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, which was to occupy him for several months and secured him posthumous celebrity.



Figure 12.

Henry Monro, Self-Portrait, exhibited 1812, oil on canvas, 85 × 70 cm. Private Collection. Digital image courtesy of Paul Mellon Centre Photographic Archive (PA-F03236-0013) (CC BY-NC 4.0).



Figure 13.

Henry Monro, Othello, Desdemona and Iago, exhibited 1813, oil on canvas, 125 × 100 cm. Private Collection. Digital image courtesy of Sotheby's (All rights reserved).

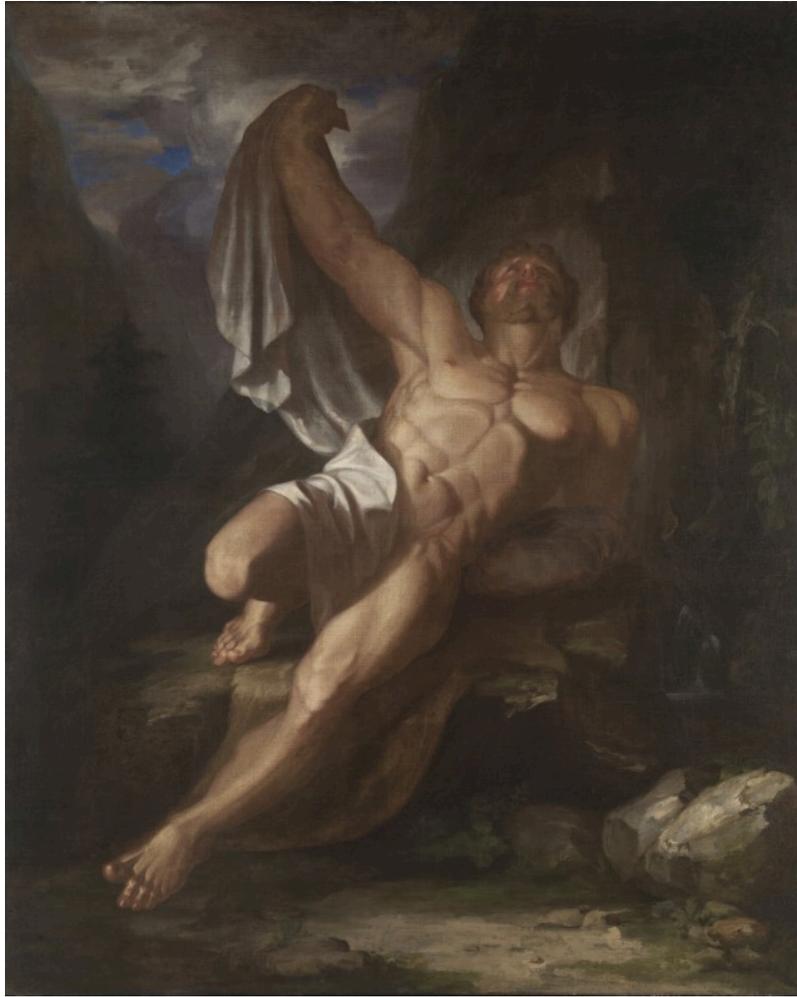


Figure 14.

Samuel F.B. Morse, *Dying Hercules*, 1812, oil on canvas, 244.5 × 198.4 cm. Collection of Yale University Art Gallery (1866.3). Digital image courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery (Public domain).

This was an auspicious moment for history painting. Monro had met Benjamin Robert Haydon in 1808, before that slightly older painter achieved sudden critical success with the exhibition in 1809 of his *Dentatus*, which seemed to herald the arrival not just of a major new talent but also a renaissance for the grand style. In 1812, when we know Monro visited to copy paintings, the Gallery of the British Institution was dominated by Benjamin West's vast canvas of *Christ Healing the Sick* (now in the Tate). This had been commissioned for the Philadelphia Hospital, but effectively "export stopped" by the Directors of the British Institution. As a patriotic act—war between Britain and America had broken out in 1812—the Directors paid West a massive 3,000 guineas so that the painting would remain in the country. The artist was thereafter able to produce a replica for the Hospital, so effectively sold this large painting twice. Given the long history of public and commercial indifference towards history painting, these developments

seemed to signal that there might now be support for such hitherto unmarketable paintings. This was the context in which Monro, in summer 1813, embarked on what proved to be his final monument: *The Disgrace of Wolsey*.

The Disgrace of Wolsey

The subject is historical, with Henry VIII presenting Cardinal Wolsey with the papers that precipitated his fall from power (and clearing the way for the king's divorce from Catherine of Aragon), but as stated when the painting was exhibited in 1814, the source was literary, in the form of Shakespeare's play. Although little performed today, Shakespeare's *King Henry VIII* was in regular performance in the early nineteenth century. A production featuring Kemble as Wolsey opened in the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in February 1814, as the painting went on display at the British Institution.³⁴ Although Kemble's performance was reportedly a bit underpowered, and the audience disruptive, the scene of Henry passing the letters to Wolsey was picked out as "one of the most interesting spectacles we ever witnessed".³⁵ "Cardinal Wolsey's Downfall" was excerpted from the play and performed in composite performances, including by Kemble.³⁶ The play's popularity rested upon the opportunities it afforded for eye-catching pageantry, rather than for its strictly literary qualities. Monro was, we know from the diary, a theatregoer, but also not a great reader, so the profile of the play may have especially suited him. There was also a more immediate prompt in the publication in 1812 of John Galt's "Life of Wolsey", though there is no evidence that Monro used that text. While the attention to the details of costume and props may strike something of a new note—pointing to the sort of antiquarian history painting which was to flourish in France and Britain in the coming years—the narrative content and the picture's fundamental ambitions can be related to a half-century of ambitious British history and literary painting. It bears some comparison to the scene painted by Richard Westall for John Boydell's famous Shakespeare Gallery, and that artist also produced a drawing matching Monro's conception more closely, at least in its compositional elements (Fig. 15). But in its pictorial effect, Monro is self-evidently aspiring to a kind of Venetian glitter and richness, with dominant golds, and reds, and flesh tones contrasting with punctuating flashes of silvery blue. The upright composition, and the overall grouping of figures within the vaulting architectural arena, are ostentatiously indebted to Venetian examples, and quite specifically to the Veronese painting that he recorded in his diary as copying at the British Institution in October 1812 (Fig. 16). A further important point of reference was Reynolds' portrait of Master Crewe in the guise of Holbein's *Henry VIII*, originally exhibited in 1776 but also included in

the British Institution's retrospective show of his works in 1813, an exhibition attended by many artists and students including Monro, who noted going to a special viewing "by lamp light" (Fig. 17).³⁷



Figure 15.

Richard Westall, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, 1795, oil on canvas, 80.6 × 54.4 cm. Collection of Folger Shakespeare Library. Digital image courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library (CC BY-SA 2.0).



Figure 16.

Paolo Veronese, *The Consecration of Saint Nicholas*, 1562, oil on canvas, 286.5 × 175.3 cm. Collection of National Gallery, London (NG26). Digital image courtesy of National Gallery, London (All rights reserved).



Figure 17.

Joshua Reynolds, Master Crewe as Henry VIII, circa 1775, exhibited British Institution 1813, oil on canvas, 139 x 111 cm. Collection of Tate, on loan from a Private Collection (L02925). Digital image courtesy of Tate (All rights reserved).

The positioning and stance of Henry VIII in Monro's picture mirrors that seen in George Vertue's print of a lost Holbein painting of King Henry VIII, a characteristic stance that has been regularly repeated (Fig. 18). For the background detail of the portrait of Catherine of Aragon, Monro seems similarly to have relied on a graphic source, in this case, the Houbraken print after Holbein's portrait of Louise de Savoie, then identified as of Catherine (Fig. 19).



Figure 19.

Jacobus Houbraken, published by John and Paul Knapton, after Hans Holbein the Younger, Louise of Savoy, formerly known as Katherine of Aragon, 1744, line engraving, 37.2 × 23.1 cm. Collection of National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D24170). Digital image courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

Monro continued such research, drawing and producing studies in oil, before turning to make a “large study of my intended picture from Harry the VIII in pen chalk etc.”³⁸ The scaling-up (the methodology of which is not stated) is followed by a “careful sketch of my picture”, indicating refinement after establishing scale.³⁹ After this, studies were worked in oil paint, both created with focus on particular elements and to explore the whole of the composition, highlighting a period of development, experimentation, and modification, which led Monro to conclude at the end of the month, “Began a 2nd sketch of the scene in Henry 8th. I intend to paint in oil.”⁴⁰ For the next few weeks, with a concept and design in progress, Monro met individual

models who sat for him as he practised different figures within the composition, using the same models several times and noting their sitting number thus implying a period of reflection, developing or honing likeness, expression, positioning, as well as an opportunity to experiment with painting technique, handling or colour choice. Life studies dominated the first half of September until: "September 14th: Tom sat 1/2 a head of profile. Sam sat for Wolsey and I began upon the canvass." ⁴¹

The "Tom" here is his brother, Edward Thomas Monro. The "Sam" was the professional model Samuel Strowger, a former soldier who was a porter at the Royal Academy. The diary records Charles Cranmer, the other main model and porter at the Academy, being hired to sit at least eight times. At other times, he records engaging the models named "Ben" and James Geddes, noted as from "the workhouse", who presumably received some small fee. The latter can be identified as a 51-year-old "pauper", who was entered into the St Martin's Workhouse on 10 September 1813 and died there a year later. ⁴² It does seem likely that Monro's Wolsey is a likeness of Ben as his notes suggest: his Cardinal has rather harder features and is noticeably slimmer than the figure characteristically circulated in print and paintings (Fig. 20). The figure in armour on the far left is identifiable on purely visual terms as the coachman, who sat for Monro for the figure in his *Othello and Desdemona* (Fig. 13). Whether household servants like this were paid a fee, or simply felt obliged to comply with the requests of their employer's young son is not known; and the friends and family who sat for other figures presumably did so freely.



Figure 20.

Jacobus Houbraken, published by John and Paul Knapton, Cardinal Wolsey, 1738, line engraving, 36.7 × 22.8 cm. Collection of National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D24254). Digital image courtesy of National Portrait Gallery, London (All rights reserved).

From mid-September until the end of December, Monro's journal recorded working almost exclusively on *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, while continuing to attend the Academy in the evenings, a programme interrupted by days of leisured inactivity rather than anything more productive (or, indeed, materially profitable). The text concentrates on the compositional areas worked each day, recording a chronological account of activities without much in the way of comment or reflection. It gives insight into how the composition was built, developed, revisited, and adjusted. Most entries are clear but there are ambiguities for which a degree of interpretation is required.

The Support and Preparation

Monro's diary maps his progress from idea, to concept, to physical realisation, but with scant reference to materials and techniques employed beyond generic expressions of medium choice and supports. The only reference in the diary to the chosen support was the vague statement on 14 September 1813: "I began upon the canvass", with no discussion of the canvas' preparatory stages prior to painting.⁴³ *The Disgrace of Wolsey* is executed on a plain weave linen canvas, it is unlined and remains stretched over its original stretcher (Fig. 21). The overall dimensions of the painting are 1910 x 1225 mm. However, Monro did not use the entire area available for the composition, instead choosing to leave two bands of exposed ground at the top and bottom.⁴⁴ They are not equal in size, measuring approximately 90 mm and 58 mm high at the top and bottom respectively, reducing the size of the painted image to 1750 x 1225 mm (Fig. 22). The canvas is not of a standard size available at the beginning of the nineteenth century in England, with no evidence as to the source of the support.⁴⁵ It is not clear whether Monro actively decided on this size and format before executing the painting and purchased it as such, or whether it was a large support made available to him by other means.

The canvas is sized with proteinaceous material, likely glue size, before the application of an off-white ground across the entire surface extending to the tacking margins. The commercially applied ground has a thick lower layer of chalk bound in oil over which a thin layer of lead white was applied within the smaller dimensions noted, this later layer possibly by the artist.⁴⁶ It has a pronounced granular and uneven texture retaining the brush marks from application (Fig. 23).⁴⁷ A thin brown imprimatura is present across the painted image, absent from the top and bottom strips, functioning as a mid-tone and base layer for darker paint in the background.⁴⁸



Figure 21.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: reverse image, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0).

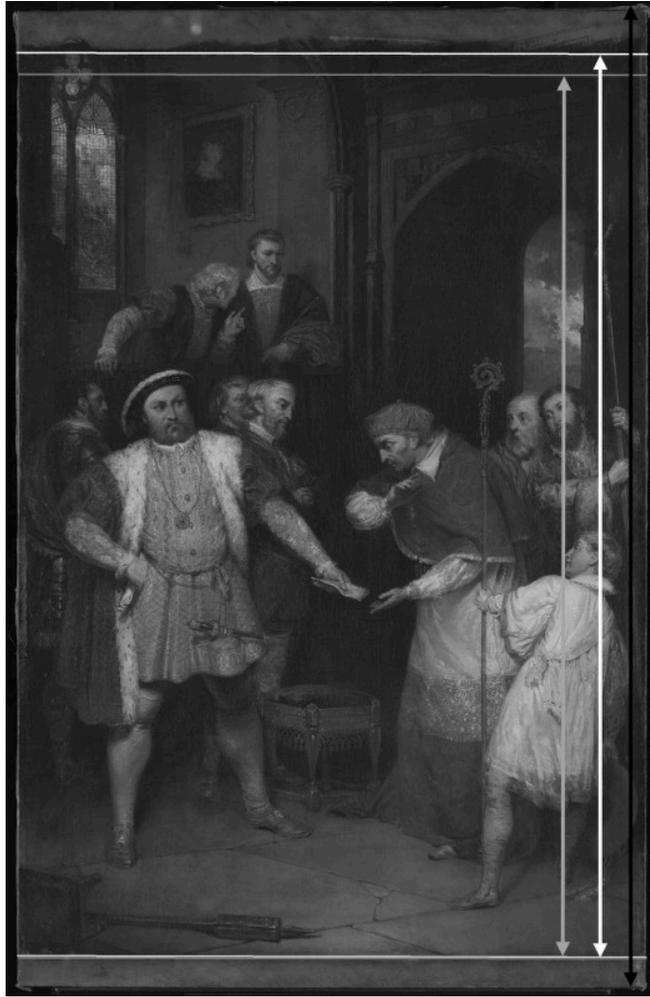


Figure 22.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, diagram of different size schematics of, dimensions of the stretcher (height denoted with a black arrow) 191 × 122.5 cm; dimensions of the final painted image (height denoted with a white arrow) 175 × 122.5 cm; dimensions of the smaller area with areas of lead-white containing ground, as seen in X-radiograph (height denoted with grey arrow) 170 × 122.5 cm, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC-BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 23a.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey*: detail of ground texture in normal light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Figure 23b.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Cardinal Wolsey*: detail of ground texture in raking light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

There is little written in the diary and insufficient technical evidence to establish precisely how the composition was marked on the canvas. A range of drawing materials recommended in technical painting treatises of the period are referenced elsewhere by Monro, including pencil, pen, ink, chalk, watercolour, and oil paint.⁴⁹ Having worked on painting the central figures for a few weeks, the background was constructed:

September 28th: Completed the rubbing in of my picture.
September 29th: Having discovered the new vanishing point, crost my picture in all directions.

September 30th: Nearly completed drawing the architecture of background the Academy opened and I went.

October 1st: Completed chalking the perspective of my picture.
Acad.

[...]

October 4th: Outlined in paint the architecture of my picture.⁵⁰

Infrared images did not reveal any carbon-containing underdrawing that is not already visible in normal light, such as the black diagonal lines noted in Catherine of Aragon's face, thought to be pentimenti relating to the stone structure (Figs 24 and 25). This does not mean underdrawing is not present but rather the materials used may not be detectable using this technique. Many technical sources prior to the 1840s advocated the use of "white chalk"

or “pipe clay” for first sketching in a composition onto a coloured ground, to which the “chalking” mentioned could relate.⁵¹ It is also possible the design was painted directly with dilute oil, as seen along the top edge where brown painted lines extend into the unpainted strips (Fig. 26).⁵² The separation of these entries on 1 October and 4 October may support Monro’s division of the drawing stage and painted outlines as two distinct phases, as recommended in the technical painting treatises. The brown paint varies in width of line, thickness of paint, and accumulates in the troughs of the ground texture and bears material resemblance to the brown wash over the ground (Fig 27).⁵³ It could be, as would be more typical for the period, dead-colouring, applied with thick brushes to work up the composition while moderating light and dark, building form without precise detail.⁵⁴ On top of the warm brown imprimatura, there is an additional cool grey layer painted for the stone walls and floor; this is not present in the archway, picture of Catherine of Aragon, figures in the foreground, and is clearly absent from the unpainted top and bottom strips (Figs 28 and 29).⁵⁵ This application likely corresponds to the initial architectural painting Monro carries out after first laying-in and drawing the design, which at this stage does not incorporate the window change and therefore does not extend further upwards into the unpainted strip (noted with grey arrows on Fig. 22).



Figure 24.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: infrared photograph, detail with white arrows to denote black lines, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 x 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 25.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrograph of the black lines visible in the Catherine of Aragon portrait, *seen beneath her eye at 0.8x magnification*, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 26.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of upper right corner, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

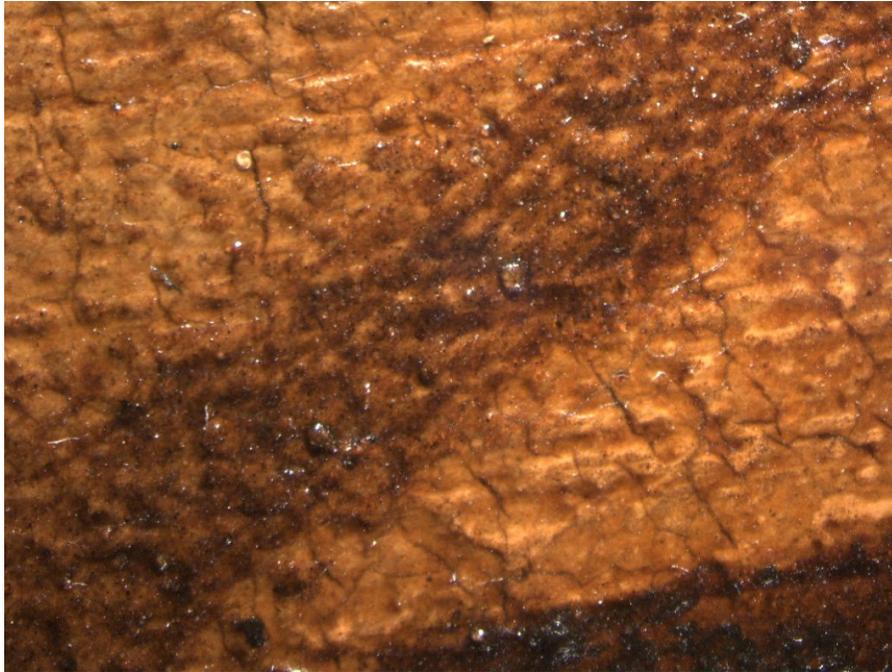


Figure 27.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrograph of painted drawing lines at 0.8x magnification, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 28.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: X-radiograph, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 29.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: transmitted light photograph, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 x 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Painting and Composition

The Disgrace of Wolsey is executed in a swift, direct manner, capturing forms with single, discrete brushstrokes and blending multiple colours wet-in-wet directly on the canvas, combining opacity and transparent glazes. In the background, thin brown toning layers sit adjacent to bodied impasto on figures, costume highlights, and furniture ornamentation.⁵⁶ Overall, the detailing is crude and lacks refinement, effective from a distance but without precision on closer inspection. The detailing of windowpanes or embroidery is applied over modelled sky or drapery, yet forgoes the same modelling, instead executed in singular, flat colours. The palette used is typical of the period; bound in oil, pigments include earths, vermilion, mars orange, Naples yellow, a bright yellow ochre, Van Dyke Brown, Prussian blue, lead white,

carbon black, and lamp black.⁵⁷ A range of drying phenomena are visible across the painting, most prominently soft-edged, wide drying cracks revealing a variety of paint colours beneath, as well as wrinkling and exudates of lower paint layers penetrating up between cracks. This could indicate insufficient time between the applications of layers to allow the lower ones to dry, working lean over fat, or the inclusion of resin, megilps, or slow-drying materials.⁵⁸ Many artists were experimenting with materials and their effects in this period, and with some reference in contemporary manuals as to the effects of pigment choice, paint thickness, and positioning within the layer structure affecting drying times, as well as tips for trying to accelerate drying.⁵⁹ That Monro worked across the picture in different areas could imply equally that he was participating in this experimental culture and, more simply, that he lacked experience in the practicalities. And we could also consider that both—experimentation and inexperience—could be in play in the making of this picture.

The order of painting, according to the diary, concentrated first on the main figures: Wolsey followed by Henry VIII. The boy holding the crozier was added, with the two cross-bearers introduced prior to the construction of the background. Monro then returned to the King and worked on the foreground before turning to the lords. He recounted working on smaller sections sporadically throughout the process. After considering the painting finished and applying glazes, Monro altered the lower left corner. Diary entries and compositional areas were compared to determine how closely the written text corresponds to technical and observational findings and in general many parallels and consistencies were found, including major revisions specified in the text also observed on the painting. Monro uses the term “painted” to describe general activity and making, with “altered” often preceding changes. The repositioning of the cross-bearer to incorporate another figure is alluded to, alterations to the costume of boy holding the crozier gleaned through technical imaging, showing the change from a nipped, tighter dress robe into an A-line hem with a billowing sleeve. Very few observational changes can be seen in the central figures, Wolsey and Henry being carefully constructed ahead of painting but repeatedly mentioned in the diary, including the occasional reference to reworkings that are not visible using the technical methods used. Monro bounces around the painting throughout the diary, and while working on the background alters the structure of the pictorial space moving the window into a recessed position by reangling the window ledge and elevating the quatrefoil. Perhaps the most specific change in the diary and well defined in X-ray is the omitted dog, drapery, and staff from the lower left corner, introduced at an early stage of development and removed from the picture after Monro had already considered it “finished”. That a number of alterations are covered in the text perhaps illustrates a student reflecting on his composition, while working on sketches and studies alongside the picture and influencing his change of

mind. Though Monro uses phraseology such as “rubbed it out again”, observations show little indication of rubbing out or scraping back, instead, the alterations appear to be painted directly over existing passages.⁶⁰ In some technical painting treatises of the period, the practice of painting over passages is termed “retouching”,⁶¹ but Monro only uses this term once at the end of the work diary.⁶² Perhaps this distinction in his terminology indicates that he perceived “painting” to be the general process, “altered” to highlight an active decision to change the composition structure, and “retouching” to signify amendments after finishing.

The Elements of the Composition in Detail

Cardinal Wolsey

As the first figure Monro placed upon the canvas and the eponymous character of the picture, there is little variation noted between Wolsey and the diary accounts. Surface observation indicates Wolsey’s choir dress robes were painted in sections: the upper red pellegrina initially created with modulated red tones, providing shape and form before being overlaid with a decorative floral design. In the diary, Monro documented painting the upper half of Wolsey’s dress and returned to the lower half on the next day, then approximately a month later “painted the Cardinal’s cloak afresh”.⁶³ Technical evidence does not suggest any major revisions to the shape or structure, instead, this entry could refer to painting the decorative elements or applying further paint layers or glazes. White detailing finishes the edge of the cape, a small detail Monro decides to record sometime later on 21 November; this is the last entry specific to Wolsey and white is the uppermost paint layer observed here.⁶⁴

Beneath the biretta, Wolsey’s head was painted in full, inclusive of an ear and locks of hair. This is clear from the drying phenomena in the red cap showing the dark brown background and varying shades of grey hair beneath (Figs 30, 31, 32). Monro first mentioned painting the head of Wolsey on 14 September and two days later wrote “A 2nd time on Wolsey’s head in picture”,⁶⁵ before returning on 22 October to “[paint the] hands of Cardinal Wolsey and the cap.”⁶⁶ In the painting, the boy holds a second hat for Wolsey, a much larger wide-brimmed galero, which is mentioned on 31 October notably after the addition of the biretta. The form is constructed around the boy’s legs and later drapery revisions. It is unclear whether Monro modelled Wolsey’s head fully following the earlier studies he made of models to depict Wolsey, or whether the hat shape could have played a part.



Figure 30.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 31.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrographs of the Cardinal's red cap showing the brown background beneath, *at 0.8x magnification*, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 32.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrograph of the Cardinal's red cap showing varying grey tones, at *0.8x magnification*, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 33.

Cardinal Wolsey's hat, on display at Strawberry Hill, sixteenth century, felt and silk, diameter 47 cm. Collection of Christ Church, Oxford University. Digital image courtesy of Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford University (All rights reserved).

The Crozier-Bearer

The boy holding the crozier and the dark-haired cross-bearer are mentioned in the early stages of painting:

September 16th: ... slightly sketched the boy holding crozier and man holding cross from Tom.

[...]

September 21st: Sketched croziers at the Museum from Wickliffe

of New Coll. Oxon. Made some studies of an old print of a crozier among some prints said to have belonged to my grandfather, now at the museum...

September 22nd: Made a study and painted the drapery on Cross-bearer. Ed. Smith sitting for it.

September 23rd: ... Tom sat for Cross-bearer 2nd time & I nearly completed it. ⁶⁷

The reference to “Wickliffe of New Coll. Oxon.” is an error, although whether Monro’s or his transcriber’s is uncertain. For the founder of New College was William of Wykeham. His crozier was preserved (at New College, Oxford), and indeed engraved, but does not resemble the item in Monro’s painting. As the British Museum did not at this date have croziers, it may be that the first reference is also to prints; the “old print” more explicitly referred to cannot now be identified, though it is the case that his grandfather, John Monro, had been a donor of prints to the Museum. ⁶⁸ There is a range of antiquarian prints of croziers which he might have referred to, and also early prints of saints and bishops including croziers, but a more precise point of reference is not clear at present. It is also worth noting that Cardinal Wolsey’s hat did survive, in the collection of Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, where it remained until the sale of that collection in 1842 (it is now in the collection of Christ Church, Oxford; [Fig. 33](#)). The colour and form of the hat though were well known through readily available visual images.

Monro specifically remarks returning to paint the drapery for the boy holding the crozier on separate occasions, writing:

September 19th: ... painted shirt of boy holding crozier.

[...]

October 29th: Painted white shirt and blue stockings of boy. Acad.

October 30th: Painted the sash on Crosier-bearer. Acad. ⁶⁹

The X-radiograph shows differences in density in the boy’s costume; the skirt was changed, falling in the opposite diagonal and gaining length. The arm holding the crozier was first painted as a solid, thin limb and altered to a

softer, billowing sleeve (Fig. 34). The extension of the drapery away from the nipped waist to a straighter A-line results in differences in appearance on the painting's surface: those painted over the initial lay-in of the drapery appear brighter and textured with a fine wrinkled surface, with the later extension over the dark background providing a cooler tonality to the white (Fig. 35). Furthermore, there are variations in the design of the sash: a dark reserve in X-ray echoes the curved waist not seen in the final image. It is not possible to conclude whether these alterations correspond to the diary entries because their details are not explicitly written. The golden crozier was the last addition to this figure, consistent with the diary account on 12 November.⁷⁰



Figure 34a.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of crozier bearers in normal light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Figure 34b.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail X-radiograph with annotations illustrating variations to the costume, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 35.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrographs of the boy's costume showing a brighter white surface where it is painted over white, at 0.8x magnification, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

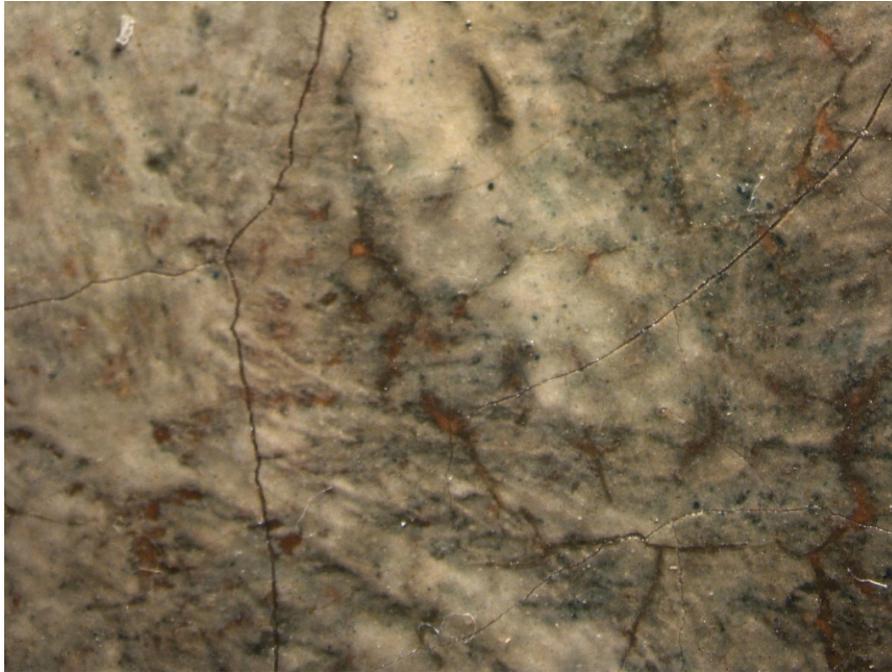


Figure 36.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrographs of the boy's costume showing overall darker tonality where the upper white layers extend over a dark background, at *0.8x magnification*, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Cross-Bearers

The two cross-bearers are positioned closely together; the older man is turned in semi-profile towards the scene and the younger tilts his head upwards. The X-ray reveals the first cross-bearer (the one on the right) was originally arranged lower in position (Fig. 37). The text states Monro added the second cross-bearer at a later stage, specifically mentioning the first cross-bearer was near completion two days prior to the addition of a second figure.⁷¹ They have the same arrangement in both versions but the inclusion of the latter and his placement likely prompted revision to the first cross-bearer. Monro returned to both figures a few weeks later:

October 12th: Painted the head of the Cross-bearer from Sam immediately behind the Cardinal...

October 13th: Painted ... Tom as one of the Cross-bearers.

October 14th: Painted blue drapery of Cross-bearer.⁷²

The shift is clear in X-ray and photomicrographs of the surface show flesh paint of the earlier head was not fully dry before the upper blue drapery was added, with skin tones visible exuding through drying cracks (Fig. 38). Monro recorded that three different models sat for the cross-bearers, which may have also had a bearing on the changes observed. It is a few weeks later in November that Monro mentioned Edward Smith (his cousin) sat for him again, though this time to concentrate on hands.⁷³ The repositioning of the cross-bearer is not specifically mentioned in the diary, perhaps surprising in the context of the alterations Monro chose to pen.



Figure 37a.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of cross bearers in normal light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 37b.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of cross bearers in X-radiograph with annotations illustrating the repositioning of the right figure, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 38.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrograph of flesh paint beneath the blue drapery and exuding up through drying cracks in the cross bearer, at 0.8x magnification, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 x 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Architecture and Background

In much of the architectural setting, the paint is thinly and economically applied; earth pigments bound in oil capture the deepest flat shadows of the arch using the brown imprimatura, while the stone walls have modulated additions of lead white and black pigments, with black outlines to depict stone edges. Monro mentioned in the diary a specific amendment to the background: the change of pictorial space behind the gallery from a flat, continuous wall to one with a recessed window on the perpendicular plane. According to the diary, the lords and gallery had not been painted when the change was made on 22 October.⁷⁴ Visible in X-ray is the change of the angle to the window ledge, in the first version.

It is visible as it rises on the right, following the same plane as the picture of Catherine, but is later revised to rise on the left, perpendicular with the back wall (Fig. 39). Photomicrographs also show variation in the surface texture here, the pale grey clouds penetrating through cracks where the dark ledge is extended (Fig. 40). In altering the window, the quatrefoil moves higher and the peaks of the pointed arches beneath shift, it then extends over the top

strip with the absence of the lead-containing material in the preparatory layers. This change could be the cause of the compositional increase in size by 50mm (Fig. 22).



Figure 39a.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of window in normal light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Figure 39b.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of window in X-radiograph with annotations illustrating the change in position to the quatrefoil and window ledge, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 40.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrograph of the window ledge showing the paler drying cracks in the ledge extension, at 1.0x magnification, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Henry VIII

King Henry VIII dominates the left side of the composition, his powerful figure leaning back while his left arm extends to deliver Wolsey's fate. Henry's regal, fur-lined, red cloak and a tunic embellished with gold have been applied in a fluid and relaxed manner, bordering on crude in its execution as the forms, shadows, and modelling—to give volume to his body in the lower paint layers—are not mirrored in the flat, hurriedly applied gold detailing. More than for any other figure in the diary, Monro noted the time spent and areas worked on with Henry.⁷⁵ Very few changes are visible except for a slight enlargement to the width of Henry's calves and a refinement of the papers in his hand seen in X-ray. Early in construction, Monro stated he "arranged Harry anew on the canvass" likely to mirror the stance seen in Vertue's print.⁷⁶ An earlier posture is not visible with the technical methods used here; furthermore, the context and date of this entry suggests the change likely corresponds to preliminary drawing stages with the position fixed once Monro started to paint.

The Lords

Surrounding King Henry VIII are the lords. The diary recorded Sir Thomas Lovel was first introduced on Henry's left,⁷⁷ followed by Lord Chamberlain on the balcony,⁷⁸ then the man in armour,⁷⁹ and lastly, the man leaning on the gallery talking to Lord Chamberlain.⁸⁰ Of note due to his absence in the text is the man in profile behind Sir Thomas Lovel, who is the only figure in the painting not specifically identified or mentioned by Monro's diary (Fig. 41).



Figure 41.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of figure not included in diary entries, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Dog, Footstall, and Staff

The lower left corner of the composition bookends the work diary, where in the early stages of construction Monro included a dog, drapery, and a staff which he revisits after considering the painting "finished":⁸¹ "September 20th: Did not paint but completely settled the left corner of my picture instead. To put a dog and a staff I saw in the Tower of Henry VIII."⁸²



Figure 42.

Henry VII's walking staff (combination mace and gun), 1501-1530. Collection of Royal Armouries (XIV.1). Digital image courtesy of Royal Armouries (All rights reserved).

The staff mentioned here seems to be King Henry VII's walking staff which served as a mace and incorporated hidden firearms, and which was on display at the Tower of London as a notable curiosity (Fig. 42).⁸³

Almost two months later, Monro first mentions painting the area: "November 17th: Dog sat to me two hours—painted dog, drapery, and staff on floor. Acad. November 18th: Painted drapery round staff 2nd time & gilding to stool. Acad."⁸⁴ It is not until after the supposed completion of *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, that Monro pens: "December 4th: ... & altered the corner of my picture. Acad. [...] December 6th: Having put out dog from my picture I painted in a staff and footstool in the left corner. Acad."⁸⁵

The staff and toppled footstool can clearly be seen in *The Disgrace of Wolsey*. Surface variations including the extension of a dark shadow relating to a lower paint layer and a variety of drying phenomena alluded to the mystery of forms beneath the surface. Diary entries are corroborated by the X-ray where a dog, drapery, and alternative staff can undoubtedly be seen clearly (Figs. 43 and 44). The dog's head is bowed, its back arching and holding the drapery in its pointed snout, as the fabric wraps around a longer staff. It is not clear how finished these elements were prior to painting out, though diary accounts, forms, and brushwork seen in the X-ray, as well as the range of colours visible between drying cracks, could imply they were highly worked or fully formed.⁸⁶ Once one is aware of its presence, the ghostly shape of the dog's back is just noticeable in normal viewing conditions due to the dark underlayer and variations in surface texture. Additionally, where the

drapery had been executed, the upper paint surface is smoother with fewer drying cracks, also drawing some attention to its form (Figs. 45, 46 and 47). In revising this area, Monro repainted a large portion of the stone floor. The X-radiograph and transmitted light image show a density not comparable with the surrounding more thinly painted area, but this is not discernible in normal viewing conditions as the colours and tones are consistent with the neighbouring stone (Figs 26 and 27). No evidence of scraping back or rubbing out can be seen, implying the corner was altered directly over the existing composition. Though this significant change recorded in the diary is supported by technical evidence, Monro does not discuss the reasoning nor impetus behind it.

In the final stages, Monro writes the painting was “glazed”, likely referring to the application of transparent pigments in a medium to modify the surface.⁸⁷ It is mentioned as a general, overall action to the painting rather than to specific areas, bar Henry’s head, and entries capture applying layers daily and in quick succession without leaving the advised two to three days between applications recommended by contemporary sources, implying an energy to Monro’s activity in the final stages, and perhaps a “dry” enough surface on which to work:⁸⁸

November 26th: Glazed right side of my picture, Wolsey etc.
Acad.

November 27th: Glazed nearly all my picture but Harry’s head.
Acad.

November 29th: Painted and glazed Harry’s head and retouched
all the picture.

November 30th: Glazed part of my picture.

December 1st: Painted and glazed part of my picture but
considered it as finished today. Acad.⁸⁹

Based on contemporary artists working in this period, it is unlikely these entries refer to the act of varnishing and there is no diary entry explicitly related to this.⁹⁰ Varnishing in this period often occurred after some time had passed, and if the painting was exhibited, it may have occurred on the wall of the gallery as per the well-documented “varnishing days” at the Royal Academy and the British Institution.⁹¹ Physical evidence of varnish is difficult to assess due to the unknown conservation history of *The Disgrace of Wolsey* prior to entering Tate’s collection.⁹² The painting currently has at least three

separate layers of discoloured natural resin varnish; not all layers extend onto the unpainted strips top and bottom. Without access to the original surface, it is not possible to speculate on Monro's varnishing practices but only to suggest that, based on contemporary material, it was likely to have been varnished some time after the painting was deemed finished, whether it was applied by Monro or posthumously at the British Institution is not clear.

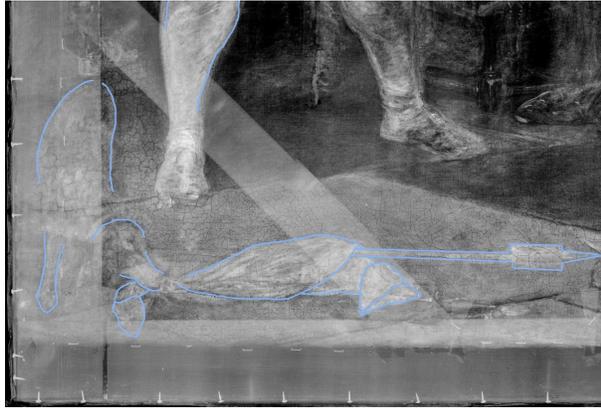


Figure 43a.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of lower left corner in X-radiograph with annotations illustrating the dog, drapery, and staff, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 43b.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of lower left corner in normal light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 44a.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of lower left corner in transmitted light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 44b.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: detail of lower left corner in normal light, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 45.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrographs of the surface which is painted over the drapery, at 1.0x magnification, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 46.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrographs of the surface which is painted over the over the dog, *at 1.0x magnification*, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



Figure 47.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*: photomicrographs of the surface which is painted over the existing background with no further variations in the X-radiograph, at 1.0x magnification, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Framing and Legacy

Monro wrote a solitary diary entry in relation to a frame: “November 10th: Frame home.”⁹³ In an earlier entry, Monro stated he was “finishing my figure for the medal”, which highlighted his intention to enter the picture for consideration in the prize offered for history painting by the British Institution.⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that this occurred after the alteration to the window and the possible extension of painting along the top edge but before the frame arrived.⁹⁵ It is clear he was constructing this work as an object to exhibit.

The painting is displayed in an ornate gilded frame with moulded and pressed decoration, and punched gesso background (Fig. 48). Though unusual in its design, the style is consistent with the early nineteenth century and is likely contemporary with the painting.⁹⁶ Its dimensions, 222 x 165 cm, correspond closely to the framed dimensions stated in the original catalogue when the painting was exhibited at the British Institution in 1814, of 7'3" x 5'6" (221 x 167 cm). The frame is made from a single plank of softwood with a tampered chamfer to the sight edge. The applied decoration to the large scotia is water-gilded and burnished, which is unusual among

English frames of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, some of the decorative elements do not follow English recipes for composition.⁹⁷ The styling has elements of contemporary French frame design, which suggests that the maker and/or place of manufacture was French. These continental features are intriguing, for it seems likely that the framer above whom Monro had first lodged in Henrietta Street, Vinson, was French, although we know little of his practice.⁹⁸ The remainder of the surface is entirely water-gilded, bar two compositional strips at the back and sight edge which are oil gilded. It has standard right-angle corners, which would have been a practical choice for display at the British Institution among its tightly packed walls. There is no evidence to indicate the frame was reduced or enlarged, and it accommodates the unpainted strips at the top and bottom with large, deep rebates.⁹⁹



Figure 48.

Henry Monro, *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, painting and frame, exhibited 1814, oil on canvas, 191 × 122.5 cm. Collection of Tate (T06485). Digital image courtesy of Tate (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

Conclusions

The final diary entries for *The Disgrace of Wolsey* are made in late December: “December 24th: Made drawing for my etching of picture. December 25th: Xmas Day. Etched my picture.” ¹⁰⁰

Several impressions of this etching survive (Fig. 49). They are a mirror image of the painting, like for like in detail with the final version of the painting, albeit with a tighter crop along the top edge. The etchings are signed in the lower left corner, “Monro fecit 1813”, though the painting is not.



Figure 49.

Henry Monro, Henry VII, 1813, etching, 23.9 × 16.7 cm. Collection of British Museum (1852,0214.145). Digital image courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

At the beginning of 1814, Monro fell gravely ill, suffering from what was probably pneumonia and perhaps originating from the illness which had struck him badly in 1811 after a fall from his horse when on a trip to Scotland. On 3 March, Farington heard from Edward Thomas Monro that “His Brother Henry Monro the Artist, was then confined in bed and had been in much danger from an inflammation of the windpipe or Lungs caused by a Cold.” ¹⁰¹ He died, at the age of 23, on 5 March 1814. There were brief notices in the press. ¹⁰² Still a student himself, he was held up as a model for others. At the annual dinner of the Artists Benevolent Society Fund on 1 April, the wealthy brewer and patron of artists Samuel Whitbread:

noticed the professional merit of Henry Monro, a young man under 23 years of age, who died on the 5th of March having at that early age acquired posthumous fame. This instance He held up as an example to excite emulation in those youths who had devoted themselves to the study of the Arts. ¹⁰³

So, who could afford to be an art student?

Monro’s diary relays the production of his final painting as a complex, labour-intensive set of parallel activities: drawing from the model at the Academy, sketching figures and faces at home, studying in the Academy library, sketching, painting, revising. If nothing else, this indicates the time-consuming nature of history painting pursued on this method, with the preparation of every element studied from printed, living, or sculptural models. History painting, as Haydon was to set out, was a high-risk venture compared to other kinds of art-making:

No Architect builds a house, no Sculptor makes a monument, no Portrait Painter paints a Portrait unless they are positively ordered, unless half the price of what they are to be paid is given them to defray the necessary expenses of their respective works. Thus their minds are at ease, & their bodies in comfort, & they work in security & delight. Whereas the English Historical Painter has no positive, certain demand; he risks his existence & reputation on great works, begun without the desire of others & continued without applause. ¹⁰⁴

In 1812, John Bryant Lane—an artist who enjoyed the support and patronage from Lord Dunstanville—outlined the issue to Farington:

so great have been His expences to enable Him to proceed in His practise that He has been obliged to live most penuriously in other respects. "I have lived," sd. He, "three months successively upon tea & bread & butter only, at my own expense, never having eat animal food but occasionally when invited by some friend to His table". Such are the difficulties of Young Artists who have no established support. ¹⁰⁵

On another occasion, Lane had reported to Farington that Haydon "expended near £300 in paying men to sit to him as Models & in purchasing plaister figures &c." ¹⁰⁶

Haydon was notorious for his extravagance in this regard, but the cost of raw materials alone were an expense than any student had to face. In general, art supplies seem to have cost students something over £10 a year, although it could be much more where big pictures and frames were involved. The Scottish student Andrew Robertson reckoned art supplies ("painting things, etc and perhaps masters") at 5s. a week (£13 a year) and his costs overall a guinea a week. ¹⁰⁷ William Drury Shaw, a Royal Academy student from 1809, who came from a materially well-placed background, claimed he:

lived as frugally & economically as possible, upon my income, & what I have laid out upon my profession is very trifling: I have calculated & find that it lays me in about £10 or £11 p Ann for every thing whatever appertaining thereto. ¹⁰⁸

Samuel Morse in painting his *Dying Hercules*, comparable to Monro's *The Disgrace of Wolsey* as a student history painting but one-quarter taller and one-third wider, spent £20 on the frame alone:

My greatest expense, next to living, is for canvas, frames, colors, etc., and visiting galleries. The frame of my large picture, which I have just finished, cost nearly twenty pounds, besides the canvas and colors, which cost nearly eight pounds more, and the frame was the cheapest I could possibly get. ¹⁰⁹

Monro had ready access to models, being able to hire privately the Academy's models, Samuel Strowger and Cranmer, and using family members and servants as well. He called into service Ben and James Geddes from the workhouse, the kind of men who his father might otherwise be

clapping into chains at Bedlam (and who could never afford to go to the private asylum at Brooke House, where they might be better treated). Paint and paper and canvas cost money. Monroe did not hesitate; his diary indicates that he drew incessantly. He had a range of materials at his disposal: pencil, charcoal, coloured chalks, stained papers and sheets of various sizes, oil paints, and canvas, and eventually a large and elaborate frame. Assuming the costs were strictly scalable, the material cost of painting and framing *The Disgrace of Wolsey* must have been about £20, compared to Morse's *Dying Hercules* (and probably much more, given the quality of his frame). Not a fortune, but such a sum equates to what a good portion of the annual household income of a labourer and perhaps twice what a domestic servant could expect to earn in a year. ¹¹⁰ There is the striking diary entry on 21 September, as he was gathering the historical reference materials: at the British Museum, he "Made some studies of an old print of a crozier among some prints said to have belonged to my grandfather." His grandfather, Dr John Monroe, was like his father a prominent physician and art collector; he had given prints to the British Museum, and it was these that Monroe seems to have studied on his visit. ¹¹¹ The Keeper of prints and drawings at the Museum was William Alexander, a friend of his father and a member of the Academy. It was Alexander who had admitted Monroe to the Museum "to make drawings" in January 1809, and who provided the necessary reference for him to draw from the antique there. ¹¹² He had the same level of access to the collections as any other student of the Academy; but what does it mean that the thing he went to see was once a family possession? How different the sense of connection, the sense of proprietorial right?

In all, Monroe recorded dedicating ninety-six days to working on the picture over a period of five months, so over half the available time (he did paint on Sundays), with the remainder generally being "idle" or at Bushey. If he could go home to the Adelphi regularly for meals, and the transport out to Bushey and back was courtesy of the family coach, there was rent and clothes, regular meals and bills, let alone theatre tickets and exhibitions to visit. The cost of living was a simple factor, of course, Morse split the rent of £65 a year for rooms in Great Titchfield Street with another American art student, Charles Robert Leslie, the latter recording:

We have two large rooms, a chamber and a painting room, very well furnished, for which we pay 25 shillings per week, that is 12s & 6d each. We breakfast and sup in our painting room, making tea [and] or coffee ourselves; we dine at a chop house where we can get a very good dinner, consisting of a plate of <hot>meat & vegetables, a plate of pie, & a pint of porter, for about eighteen pence. ¹¹³

Thus, eating out would have cost each of them a bit under £28, if they stuck to that routine. Leslie noted, though, “there are all grades of eating houses in this great place. We once dined at one which was frequented by porters, coalheavers, &c where our dinner cost us sixpence.”¹¹⁴ Morse noted to his mother that, as Leslie also indicated, they “make our own coffee (which, by the way, is very cheap here)”.¹¹⁵ In 1800, another American art student, John Blake White, initially paid 10s. a week for rooms on the “third floor” (so £26 a year), then 14s. a week for rooms on the “second floor” (over £36 8s.). He seemed to have breakfast and tea made for him by the landlady but would eat out at an unnamed “Coffee House”. White, too, noted his frugality.¹¹⁶ The move physically down the house floor-by-floor seems to be a reliable indicator of status: when Haydon seemed in 1809 to be becoming established as an artist Fuseli counselled him that “you may vainture now upon a first floor”.¹¹⁷ Robertson looked at “a garret room” near to Somerset House in 1801 that was only 6s. a week (£14 12s.), noting “First and second floors are extravagant” but necessary to entertain clients; he secured two rooms on the first floor of a house in Surrey Street, off the Strand for 10s 6d. a week (£27 7s. a year) with dinner provided by the landlady.¹¹⁸ He then moved to shared rooms in Cecil Street, splitting the rent of 60 guineas a year.¹¹⁹ In 1807, another student, Samuel Lane, investigated renting “two rooms” in Leicester Square previously occupied by the successful portrait painter Thomas Phillips that cost £100 or £150 a year, before settling on lodgings at 41 Charing Cross costing about £80 per annum.¹²⁰ He then moved to “Lodgings in Greek Street at 90 gns a yr including the use of a servant.”¹²¹ On the same date, Farington noted an artist hiring a painting room only in Bond Street for £70 a year.¹²² Location clearly made a big difference.

Thus, renting rooms which could be used for painting in would cost at least £25 per year; while more extensive lodgings, which could be used as studio space and accommodation would be £80–100. General costs for student living in London could be reckoned as adding up to at least £50 a year but seems in many cases to have been more like £100–200 a year. Taking all this into account, *The Disgrace of Wolsey* would have cost Monro well over £100 in materials, models, and living costs—a sum that a journeyman or small-scale shopkeeper would expect to earn in a year. These were sums quite simply out of the reach of the vast majority of families. London households with over £200 annual income were in a small minority, 2–3 per cent, the middle-ranking with incomes between £80 and £130 were 16–21 per cent, and the “working population” formed 75 per cent, and their annual income was perhaps more like £50.¹²³ By the reckoning of the social statistician, Patrick Colquhoun, in 1814, a physician, as Monro’s father and older brother were, could earn £300; the careers that Monro considered, as a naval officer

or an army officer, would bring in £250 or £200 a year, respectively; if he had taken up the civil service role that was available to him, he might have earned £300. ¹²⁴

Yet, Monro's progress was not especially purposeful over the five months that he worked on *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, a picture which demanded resources only readily available to the top echelon of London society. As the technical description undertaken with the work diary in hand makes clear, the painting was a testament to indecision. It seems that while he had some notion of the overall composition, the figures were painted in before setting the architectural context in place. The number of figures varied, as did their positions. The overall dimensions of the composition is unclear; the bare strips of canvas at top and bottom, accommodated by the frame, reflect a degree of uncertainty. There are figures and passages of the highest accomplishment, such as the head of the boy to the right. "There are," as the distinguished art historian and curator Andrew Wilton noted when the picture was exhibited in 1976, "passages ... that show a feeling for paint more nervously alive than that of most of the artist's contemporaries." ¹²⁵ But then there are passages which are crude and mishandled. Within the single figure of Henry, we have a stock caricature taken from graphic sources, treated like a sort of signboard, and the single element of invention, in the changed position of the left arm, results in a distinctly wooden and disconnected appendage. Some of the figures are finely resolved, others are merely cardboard cut-outs: there is not the pictorial space to accommodate the Lords. On 26 September, he had admitted to himself in the work diary, "at a loss about the arrangement of the lords". Monro wrote that he worked "for the last time" on the background on 5 October, but resumed work on that area later on. Henry's head was painted, rubbed out, and repainted. He spent hours painting the dog, then discarded that feature. On 1 December, Monro noted of *The Disgrace of Wolsey*, that he "considered it as finished today". But on 12 December, he "Touched my picture here and there", and again on 15 December.

The point is not to expose certain limitations in Monro's abilities. He was still only 22 years old, and although a student of the Academy for seven years, had not received an extensive practical training. The Academy provided facilities for drawing from plasters and from the life, but almost no practical guidance for its students, and certainly no lessons in painting techniques. Painting in the Schools was only formally permitted from 1816. So how had he learned to paint in oils? Almost certainly not at home, for all that was a hive of artistic production. His father only drew, and scarcely dabbled even in watercolours. The copyists at the Adelphi Academy worked in drawing materials and in watercolour. There were oil paintings in the family collection, and Henry Monro himself sat to have his portrait taken in oils by John Opie, and would doubtless have witnessed other paintings in the medium being

made. But the work diary is in part a record of his tackling new media, pastels, and only latterly oil painting: he didn't work on a larger scale in oils until 1812. Monro was not apprenticed to any painter, or sent into a pupillage, or even as far as we know, sent to have lessons in oil painting. As Monro's early biographer noted, the "very limited education afforded by that incorporated body" had to be supplemented by the "excellent school of colour, so liberally afforded by the Directors of the British Institution." ¹²⁶ And that meant, in effect, teaching oneself, looking intently at old paintings and imitating them on canvas or paper. There were older artists around at the painting school and these doubtless offered advice as well as providing examples in their own activities, but they were not there to teach. On which the contemporary sociologist of the economics of art Pierre-Michel Menger observes: "The artist is, in fact, an autodidact who learns through the intermediary of a master ... When it comes to transmitting rules and technique, teachers are readily interchangeable ... and play a limited role." ¹²⁷ The student could only ever become an artist in an endlessly contestable form, living, experiencing, embodying the durable indeterminacy which defines art as such in the modern era.

At the same time that Monro renewed his studies at the Academy, William Collins, the son of a picture dealer and restorer (and therefore with his own social advantages in the world of art) was contemplating producing his own history painting for the British Institution, but worried that the investment of five months' work when he had only recently "been able to maintain himself" would be wasted. ¹²⁸ Behind Monro's painting, and Collins' unrealised project, there was a universe of expressed and tacit investments, expectations, and choices. While it may be that students from relatively less-privileged backgrounds invested deeply in the idea of history painting, that should not distract from an understanding of the social determination involved:

Although this is something that is generally forgotten, those who must produce their market (i.e. create a market that does not exist as yet) must be able to carry on being productive for a certain period of time in the absence of a market. ¹²⁹

The young artist embarking on the complex and time-consuming work of producing a history painting would need either patronage or to have access to earned or inherited capital, or produce consciously commercial works: as prominent a figure as the history painter Henry Fuseli noted in 1791 his plans "for painting Small pictures to make the Large ones go on". ¹³⁰ The alternative would be to live in poverty. If Monro's ambitious pictorial enterprises are a testimonial to the special freedom he enjoyed in being able

to endure the absence of the market, it is also the case that they speak too of the domestication and privatisation of history painting, for it was the resources of his family and his family position which were of paramount importance in putting these pictures together.

For all his advantages, Monro died in debt, probably propelled as much by his predilection for expensively fashionable clothes as his dedication to the art.

¹³¹ Farington heard from the landscape painter, Thomas Christopher Hoffland, who had secured a premium from the British Institution in that year as well,

that Dr Monro had allowed both the pictures by His late son, Henry Monro, which were now exhibiting at the British Institution ... to be sold, and Purchasers were a Gentleman who resides somewhere in the Country, and a Merchant who has a House at Walworth.—Hoffland sd. it was considered very extraordinary that Dr Monro should have let them do out of His family, as they did so much honour to His Son's memory, & were the best of His productions. ¹³²

This was not the case: it appears that Monro had agreed the sale before exhibition, and the family bought the painting back after a few years. But it is the case that Monro, or Morse, who could spend a year working on a new submission for the Gold Medal at the Royal Academy after spending months working on the *Dying Hercules*, or the American painter Washington Allston, whose family were plantation owners in America, and who claimed the first premium for history painting ahead of Monro at the British Institution in 1814, could afford to spend time, without the loss of income that Collins feared. Another artist, less well disposed materially, might undertake the same task, but with greater personal suffering. Haydon spent extravagantly, struggled mentally and emotionally, and ended up in prison. John Bryant Lane complained, but had the backing of a reliable patron. Collins simply averred.

Could we even start to sketch out some possible alignments between pictorial choices and technical preferences, and social origins, considered not as an absolute determination but as a determining force in the production of dispositions and the “conditions of possibility”? ¹³³ The hyper-productivity and virtuosity of, say, Turner, in a hurry to make a mark in every sense and enjoying a rapid ascent through the Academic hierarchy might then be compared with Constable, anxiously plodding away and waiting for years to get his Academic rewards, noting that the one was the son of a Covent Garden barber, the other of an affluent Suffolk merchant and miller.



Figure 50.

William Henry Hunt, Bushey Churchyard, with the tombs of Henry Edridge, Thomas Hearne and Henry Monro, circa 1822, pen and brown ink with watercolour, 32 × 41.4 cm. Collection of the British Museum (1921,0714.14). Digital image courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Monro's final diary entry reads: "A very bad cough. Did not paint, made a study of a bulldog. Went to the British Gallery. Slept and dined at home, left Gower Street." He was buried in Bushey, alongside Thomas Hearne and Henry Edridge. A watercolour by another of Thomas Monro's protégés, William Henry Hunt, puts the three memorials centre stage, children to the left examining the inscriptions in a dilatory fashion, Monro himself on horseback to the right (Fig. 50). This is contrived as a scene of melancholic reflection. There is, too, a kind of "social neutralism" effected here, which "cancels out the differences constitutive of the social space by treating uniformly all positions as *professions*, at the cost of a constant shift from the definitional point of view (titles and qualifications, nature of the activity, etc.)." ¹³⁴ The three buried men are gathered under the elder Monro's gaze in some sort of equality as artists. We, in naming these three men as "artists" in our historical accounts, catalogue records, and exhibitions, equalise them as well. And what might be lost then, among other things, is the sense of their differentiated temporalities, the attrition or ease which

accompanied their passage through the world, their labours at their art. And this involves not only the story of their individual lives, but the potent forces that might accumulate or dissipate over generations. As Bourdieu writes:

The social world is not a game of chance, a discontinuous series of perfectly independent events, like the spin of a roulette wheel ... Without being, strictly speaking, rigged, the competition resembles a handicap race that has lasted for generations or games in which the player has the positive or negative score of all those who preceded him, that is, the cumulated scores of all his ancestors. ¹³⁵

The survival of such a quantity of drawings and paintings—and, indeed, a distinctly prosaic work diary—by such a short-lived and in many regards obscure artist may seem remarkable. But that situation arises because of the same social energies and material resources that secured the Monro family’s monopoly over mental health care at the Bethlem Hospital over four generations.

Footnotes

- 1 The touchstone analyses from the dawn of the present century are the starkly contrasting commentaries by Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class, Revisited* (New York: Basic Books, 2012 [2002]) and Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2018 [1999]). See also David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 4th edn (London: SAGE Publications, 2018 [2002]); Angela McRobbie, *Be Creative: Making a Living in the New Culture Industries* (Cambridge: Polity, 2016); Mark Banks, *Creative Justice: Cultural Industries, Work and Inequality* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017); and Oli Mould, *Against Creativity* (London: Verso, 2018).
- 2 Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge 2006), 101.
- 3 Angela Dimitrakaki and Kirsten Lloyd, “Introduction: ‘The Last Instance’—The Apparent Economy, Social Struggles and Art in Global Capitalism”, in Angela Dimitrakaki and Kirsten Lloyd (eds), *Economy: Art, Production and the Subject in the Twenty-First Century* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 27.
- 4 The interplay between gender inequality and patterns of social opportunity is a major topic in its own right, and the gendering of creative labour is itself a topic within recent feminist criticism. For some suggestive starting points, see Robin Truth Goodman, *Feminist Theory in Pursuit of the Public: Women and the “Re-Privatization” of Labor* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- 5 This is set out most fully across the lecture series published posthumously as Pierre Bourdieu, *Manet: A Symbolic Revolution*, trans. Pierre Collier and Margaret Rigaud-Drayton (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017).
- 6 Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), 224.
- 7 Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, 207.
- 8 F.J.G. Jefferiss, typescript records and biographies of the Monro family (ca. 1976) National Art Library, V&A London, 508.F.231 (Hereafter Jefferiss). Quotes from the diary are taken from this transcription, which Jefferiss took from a typescript version produced in 1922. The original diary has not been traced.
- 9 On the Monro family, see F.J.G. Jefferiss, *Dr. Thomas Monro (1759–1833) and the Monro Academy*, exhibition catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints and Drawings Gallery, February–May 1976; Jonathan Andrews, “Monro, Thomas (1759–1833), Physician and Patron of Art”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 7 January 2010, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/18981](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18981) (accessed 24 July 2019); W.C. Monkhouse and John-Paul Stonard, “Monro, Henry (1791–1814), Portrait and Subject Painter”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 23 September 2004, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/18973](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18973) (accessed 3 January 2020); Mora Abell, *Doctor Thomas Monro 1759–1833: Physician, Patron and Painter* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2009).
- 10 Kenneth Garlick, Angus Macintyre, and Kathryn Cave (eds), *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 16 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978–1984) (hereafter *Farington Diary*), Vol. 8, 2945.

- 11 *Annals of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 1 (1817), 343.
- 12 *Morning Chronicle*, 25 July 1820.
- 13 Tim Hitchcock, Robert Shoemaker, Sharon Howard and Jamie McLaughlin, et al., *London Lives, 1690-1800*, www.londonlives.org (hereafter LL), LL ref: ahdstp_18_1799; and LL ref: ahdstp_24_2429.
- 14 W.D. Rubinstein, *Who were the Rich? A Biographical Directory of British Wealth-Holders*, Vol. 1, 1809-1839 (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2009-), 333, reference 1831/5.
- 15 Susan Bennett, *"I awleis admired your talent": The Artistic Life of Georgiana Jane Henderson (nee Keate) (1771-1850)* (Berlin: VDM Verlag Dr Müller, 2008), 87.
- 16 For this network of connections, see Bennett, *"I awleis admired your talent"*.
- 17 *Survey of London: Volume 27, Spitalfields and Mile End New Town* (London: London County Council, 1957), 245-251, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol27/pp245-251#anchor60>.
- 18 *First Report: Minutes of Evidence: Taken before The Select Committee appointed to consider a Provision being made for the better Regulation of Madhouses, in England* (London: ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 1815), 95.
- 19 "Sir Edward Hyde East 1st Bart.", *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database*, UCL Department of History, 2020, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16601>.
- 20 Nick Draper, "The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800", *Economic History Review* 61, no. 2 (2008): 432-466.
- 21 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 3, 822.
- 22 The National Archives, Kew, PROB 11/1819/121.
- 23 See Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 190-242; Keith Andrews, *The Nazarenes: A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); George Levitine, *The Dawn of Bohemianism: The Barbu Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978); and Laura Morowitz and William Vaughan (eds), *Artistic Brotherhoods in the Nineteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
- 24 In March 1809, Eastlake reported that: "On Friday night, Monro, Dr Monro's son—a great friend of mine—proposed to me to have a model in the vacation so many times per week to draw from. This spreading about, sixteen students agreed to subscribe, and we all left the Academy and repaired to the Hall; and after a great deal of speechifying, clapping, &c, Monro and another were appointed to find out some convenient room for the students and model to sit in and draw." Lady Eastlake Elizabeth, "Memoir of Sir Charles Eastlake", in *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts. Second Series* (London: John Murray, 1870), 14.
- 25 Quoted in Abell, *Doctor Thomas Monro 1759-1833*, 52.
- 26 Insured in 1809 under the name of William Vinson, "Picture Frame Maker & Turner" for the significant sum of £2,000 described as "Dwelling House & Workshops communicating Brick", see London Metropolitan Archives, London (hereafter LMA) CLC/B/192/F/001/MS11936/448/836334. The property was redeveloped in a block with no. 15 Henrietta Street and 28-29 Maiden Lane in 1887, see LMA, E/BER/CG/E5/5/18).
- 27 LL ref: t18090111-50; LL ref: ratebook_558-55824; LMA, MS 11936/453/844435; and LMA, MS 11936/528/1123498.
- 28 The advertisement was presumably for the remains of a lease, being offered to help cover the young artist's debts, for which see below.
- 29 See Clive Caplan, "Jane Austen's Banker Brother: Henry Thomas Austen of Austen & Co, 1801-1816", *Persuasions* no. 20 (1998): 69-90; and E.J. Clery, *Jane Austen: The Banker's Sister* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2017), esp. 201-203.
- 30 Deirdre le Faye (ed.), *Jane Austen's Letters*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 230.
- 31 Both Austen and Monro were younger sons, and as such could not expect to inherit as substantially as the eldest son or even at all. The particular position of such young men in the social world of the early nineteenth-century genteel classes has been scrutinised closely, and with special reference to Henry Thomas Austen, by Rory Muir, *Gentlemen of Uncertain Fortune: How Younger Sons made their way in Jane Austen's England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019). Muir considers the church, law, the military, and commerce as the main options for younger sons needing to seek an independent source of income. He does not consider the profession of art. However, his research suggests the increasingly perilous position of younger sons brought about with the long wars with France and economic decline, and we can begin to suggest that the increasing gentility of the artistic profession after 1800 can be related to this new situation. The social composition of the population of London art students in this period is considered at length by Martin Myrone, *Making the Modern Artist: Culture, Class and Art-Educational Opportunity in Romantic Britain* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, forthcoming).
- 32 Clery, *Jane Austen*, 202.
- 33 *The Globe*, 14 May 1813, quoted in Edward Lind Morse (ed.), *Samuel F.B. Morse, his Letters and Journals*, 2 vols (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1914), Vol.1, 106.
- 34 *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 6 February 1814.
- 35 *Morning Post*, 8 February 1814.
- 36 *Leeds Mercury*, 30 December 1815.
- 37 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 12, 4375.

- 38 Jefferiss, 140 (4 August). A chalk drawing showing the composition quite resolved was with the Sabin Gallery in the 1960s (photographic record at the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art). Henry Monro's drawings descended through the family and do surface on the art market, and it seems likely that there are further surviving studies related to *The Disgrace of Wolsey*.
- 39 Jefferiss, 140 (5 August).
- 40 Jefferiss, 141 (31 August).
- 41 Jefferiss, 142.
- 42 LL ref. smdswhr_678_67902.
- 43 Jefferiss, 142.
- 44 The strips currently appear yellowish-brown due to the presence of discoloured varnish layers on top of the off-white priming, the number and thickness of which varies across the strips.
- 45 Jacob Simon, "'Three-Quarters, Kit-Cats and Half-Lengths': British Portrait Painters and their Canvas Sizes, 1625-1850", April 2013, <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/artists-their-materials-and-suppliers/three-quarters-kit-cats-and-half-lengths-british-portrait-painters-and-their-canvas-sizes-1625-1850/> (accessed 4 January 2019); and Leslie Carlyle, *The Artist's Assistant: Oil Painting Instruction Manuals and Handbooks in Britain 1800-1900 with Reference to Selected Eighteenth-century Sources* (London: Archetype Publications, 2001) (hereafter Carlyle), 447. The painting is too small for a full length, too large for a half-length, and not of a standard width.
- 46 J.H. Townsend, "Technical Analysis Report 2018", Conservation Record, Tate. Unpublished, 2018. Cross-sections were taken to examine the layer structure showing differences in the ground structure within the body of the image and the top and bottom strips.
- 47 The textures of commercially applied grounds are not specified in handbooks of the period, as discussed in Carlyle, 178.
- 48 In the early nineteenth century, artists worked on a range of coloured grounds including warm buff, red, blue, and grey, while some preferred the luminosity of white, particularly favoured in the latter half of the century. Monro's choice of a warm brown imprimatura or wash as a first stage relates to oil colour toning, an example of which materials used in literary sources is "burnt umber and drying oil"; Carlyle, 201. This ordering corresponds to the style of separating out functions and stages of painting typical in the early nineteenth century.
- 49 Carlyle, 207.
- 50 Jefferiss, 143. The "new vanishing point" mentioned cannot be corroborated, with no clear changes seen on the painting or with the technical imaging used.
- 51 Carlyle, 207.
- 52 Carlyle, 209. Underdrawing in paint, either using oil thinned in turpentine or watercolours (with a vegetable gum binder) were also referenced in technical painting treatises, without the requirement to sketch in chalk or charcoal first. Some contemporary sources recommended that after the completion of an initial drawing in chalk, it should be corrected with pencil or watercolour before being fixed with dilute oil; see Carlyle, 208-209; and Jefferiss, *Dr Thomas Monro (1759-1833) and the Monro Academy*, 5.
- 53 The brown paint comprises of lead white and natural brown earths bound in oil.
- 54 Carlyle, 200. Carlyle quotes John Samuel Templeton and his reprinted 1846 publication *The Guide to Oil Painting* as a clear description of the dead-colouring process.
- 55 This can be seen from the variations in density noted in the X-radiograph and transmitted light photography, as well as the cross-sections.
- 56 Nineteenth-century treatises detail the second application of colour after dead-colouring is used to create greater detail, light, shade, and depth. For some effects, the dead-colouring would be sufficient and therefore left; Carlyle, 201.
- 57 Townsend, "Technical Analysis Report 2018".
- 58 Townsend, "Technical Analysis Report 2018". Cross-sections revealed considerable formation of lead soap aggregates throughout the paint and ground layers, indicating the possible inclusion of lead driers in the paint.
- 59 Carlyle, 201 and 213. Carlyle notes technical treatises only occasionally referred to painting "fat over lean" and this was often in passing and without emphasis on sound practice.
- 60 Jefferiss, 143 (21 October).
- 61 Carlyle, 145.
- 62 Jefferiss, 145 (29 November).
- 63 Jefferiss, 143: "October 13th: Painted the Cardinal's cloak afresh & Tom as one of the Cross-bearers."
- 64 Jefferiss, 145: "November 21st: painted white border to Cardinal Wolsey's cloak."
- 65 Jefferiss, 142.
- 66 Jefferiss, 144.
- 67 Jefferiss, 142.

- 68 Thank you to Naomi Speakman of The British Museum for advice on this point. The reference to visiting the "Museum" might possibly mean the collection at the Society of Antiquaries, or the Tower of London.
- 69 Jefferiss, 142-144.
- 70 Jefferiss, 144: "November 12th: Ben sat & I finished all the figures in my Henry 8th picture. Acad. I put the Cross and crosier in slightly."
- 71 Jefferiss, 142: "September 25th: Introduced a 2nd cross-bearer twixt Wolsey & the first."
- 72 Jefferiss, 143.
- 73 Jefferiss, 144: "November 3rd: Ed. Smith sat for hands of Cross-bearer."
- 74 Jefferiss, 144: "October 22nd: ... Altered the window marking it a recess."
- 75 Jefferiss, 143-144.
- 76 Jefferiss, 142: "September 19th: Arranged Harry anew on canvass taking a hint from Vertue's print of him with Henry VII and their Queens."
- 77 Jefferiss, 144: "November 4th: Painted Sir Thomas Lovel's head. George sat for the part of head..."
- 78 Jefferiss, 144: "November 6th: Painted Lrd. chamberlain".
- 79 Jefferiss, 144: "November 7th: Coachman sat for man in armour behind the king. Acad. November 8th: Painted man in armour behind the king. Acad."
- 80 Jefferiss, 144: "November 11th: Major Johnston sat for man holding up his finger to the Ld. Chamberlain ... Ben sat for figure of Ld. Chamberlain."
- 81 Jefferiss, 145.
- 82 Jefferiss, 142.
- 83 The staff is described in innumerable guidebooks of the era, for example, B. Lambert, *The History and Survey of London and Its Environs*, 4 vols (London: Dewick and Clarke London Hughes, 1806), Vol. 4, 101. For a description and modern literature, see <https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-3295.html>.
- 84 Jefferiss, 145.
- 85 Jefferiss, 145.
- 86 Cross-sections were also taken to compare the layer structures in this area.
- 87 Jefferiss, 218.
- 88 Carlyle, 219.
- 89 Jefferiss, 145.
- 90 Carlyle, 233; and Rebecca Hellen, "'Three Days or more ...': Turner's Varnishing Day Practice and the Physical Evidence", *The British Art Journal* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2014-2015): 47-53. Varnish was also used as a protective coating.
- 91 Hellen, "'Three Days or more...'"
- 92 The restoration history of the painting is unknown prior to its gift to the collection in 1991.
- 93 Jefferiss, 144.
- 94 Jefferiss, 144. This occurred on 27 October.
- 95 The relationship between the frame size and canvas size are unclear, and the three different possible composition sizes complicate this further.
- 96 A. Johnson and S. Pascoal, "Frame Conservation Record", Tate, London. Unpublished, 2005.
- 97 Johnson and Pascoal, "Frame Conservation Record".
- 98 Vinson or Venson is noted by the *Dictionary of Furniture Makers* as at 16 Henrietta Street carver, gilder, and frame maker (1803-37); see British and Irish Furniture Makers Online, <https://bifmo.history.ac.uk/>. He was a client of the composition ornament maker and glue supplier George Jackson of Rathbone Place, as noted by Jacob Simon (qv. George Jackson in <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/>). He appears in the rate books for Henrietta Street from 1800 until 1838, but is otherwise obscure.
- 99 Johnson and Pascoal, "Frame Conservation Record". The rebates measure: right 11mm; left 17mm; top 135mm; bottom 55mm.
- 100 Jefferiss, 146.
- 101 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 13, 4460.
- 102 *The Morning Post*, 8 March 1814.
- 103 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 13, 4478.
- 104 William Bissell Pope (ed.), *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, 5 vols (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1960-1963), Vol. 1, 345.
- 105 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 12, 4157.

- 106 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 11, 4150.
- 107 Emily Robertson (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson MA* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), 45.
- 108 University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Dr C 22/76. See also Bourdieu, *Manet*, 304.
- 109 Morse, *Samuel F.B. Morse, his Letters and Journals*, Vol. 1, 108. Morse, the son of a clergyman and geographer, was not actually obliged to be as penny-pinching as his letters sometimes suggest. Like other American art students in London, the pose of the struggling artist was adopted, at least in part, as a means of signalling creative authenticity and to help validate the pursuit of a career whose merits were much in question at home; see Erika Schneider, *The Representation of the Struggling Artist in America, 1800–1865* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2015).
- 110 The interpretation of the historical evidence for household income is a complicated business, but from a variety of sources, it can be reckoned that a labourer in the building trades could earn £40–50 a year. The testimonials of domestic servants driven to pauperism indicate that they earned £7–10 a year, although with their lodgings provided by their employer. For incomes and their interpretation, see Leonard D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialization: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 161–178. For examples of domestic servants stating their yearly income, see LL ref: WCCDEP358230110 and LL ref: WCCDEP358230118. Patrick Colquhoun estimated, in 1814, that “labouring people” would have household incomes (including wives’ earnings) of £45 a year. “Artisans” could expect £48. See the tables in his *Treatise on the wealth, power, and resources, of the British Empire, in every quarter of the world, including the East Indies* (London: Joseph Mawman, 1815), 124–125.
- 111 Antony Griffiths, “The Department of Prints and Drawings during the First Century of the British Museum”, *The Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1097 (1994): 531–544.
- 112 See Martin Myrone, “Drawing after the Antique at the British Museum, 1809–1817: ‘Free’ Art Education and the Advent of the Liberal State”, *British Art Studies*, Issue 5 (2017), doi:10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-05/mmyrone.
- 113 Leslie to Thomas Leslie, 2 February 1812, letter at Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven, MSS 15 Series III.
- 114 Leslie to Thomas Leslie, 2 February 1812, letter at Yale Centre for British Art, New Haven, MSS 15 Series III.
- 115 Morse, *Samuel F.B. Morse, his Letters and Journals*, Vol. 1, 75.
- 116 Paul R. Weidner, “The Journal of John Blake White”, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 42, no. 2 (April 1941), 64–65.
- 117 Tom Taylor (ed.), *The Autobiography and Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon* (London: Peter Davies, 1926), 64.
- 118 Robertson, *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson MA*, 43.
- 119 Robertson, *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson MA*, 54.
- 120 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 8, 2959, 2961, 2966, 3056, and 3121.
- 121 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 8, 3121.
- 122 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 8, 3007.
- 123 See Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialization*, 57.
- 124 Colquhoun, *Treatise on the wealth, power, and resources*, 124. For a more finely detailed account of incomes in these professions, see also Muir, *Gentlemen of Uncertain Fortune*. These largely conform to Colquhoun’s estimates, though the modern historian is also able to elaborate the divergent opportunities for pay progression, bonuses, and other allowances among these different careers, as well as the different risks involved (including, of course, loss of life for those in the military). The costs of setting up in these different occupations, and the age at which a son could be expected to start working varied as well. Starting pay for clerks was £100 but could rise steeply with seniority; doctors could expect £400–500 but it could be much higher for a few fashionable or well-placed practitioners (as were the Monros). Naval officers would generally get £300 while on active service, and at least half that amount when on half-pay but could make fortunes through prize money (from the capture of enemy ships). Army officers would have an income of £100–300. Military service in the East India Company was not especially well paid, but there was the opportunity for valuable allowances. There were though extreme risks to health and well-being associated with life in India. See Muir, *Gentlemen of Uncertain Fortune*, 48–49, 85–86, 177–178, 233–236, 258–260, 297–299, and 305–306.
- 125 Andrew Wilton, “Dr Thomas Monro and the Monro Academy”, *The Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 878 (May 1976), 332 and 335.
- 126 *Annals of the Fine Arts*, Vol. 1 (1817), 344.
- 127 Pierre-Michel Menger, *The Economics of Creativity: Art and Achievement under Uncertainty*, trans. Steven Rendall et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 147.
- 128 *Farington Diary*, Vol. 11, 3921. Collins’ son, speaking of the same period, cast his father as a studious and risk-averse student: “He neither cultivated a mustachio, displayed his neck, or trained his hair over his coat-collar into the true Raphael flow”; W. Wilkie Collins, *Memoirs of the Life of William Collins, Esq.*, RA, 2 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1848), Vol. 1, 32–33. Wilkie Collins’ image of his father contrasts intriguingly with Monro’s self-presentation in drawings and paintings as a raffish courtier or wild-eyed banditti.
- 129 Bourdieu, *Manet*, 304.
- 130 Quoted in Martin Myrone, *Henry Fuseli* (London: Tate Publishing, 2001), 43.

- 131** This does seem to be a weakness among materially advantaged students. See also the detailed accounts of William Drury Shaw, a contemporary of Monro at the RA schools, sent to his uncle, who funded him through his studies (Shaw's father, a landowner, has died, but the bequest was held up by a Chancery case): University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Dr C 22/1-79, notably Dr C 22/38 "Robert Shaw's Account of Wm Shaw's Debts May 1814", which notes £45 owed to "Hawes Taylor Lambs Conduit Street 45" and £35.15 to "Shawes & Le Blanc".
- 132** *Farington Diary*, Vol. 13, 4479-4480.
- 133** Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, 224.
- 134** Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson (Cambridge: Polity, 1991), 290, n. 10.
- 135** Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, 214-215.

Bibliography

- Abell, Mora (2009) *Doctor Thomas Monro 1759-1833: Physician, Patron and Painter*. Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing.
- Andrews, Keith (1964) *The Nazarenes: A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Andrews, Jonathan (2010) "Monro, Thomas (1759-1833), Physician and Patron of Art". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 7 January. Oxford University Press, doi:[10.1093/ref:odnb/18981](https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18981) (accessed 24 July 2019).
- Banks, Mark (2017) *Creative Justice: Cultural Industries, Work and Inequality*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bennett, Susan (2008) "*I awleis admired your talent*": *The Artistic Life of Georgiana Jane Henderson (nee Keate) (1771-1850)*. Berlin: VDM Verlag Dr Müller.
- Boltanski, Luc and Chiapello, Ève (2018 [1999]) *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott. London: Verso.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2000) *Pascalian Meditations*, trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2017) *Manet: A Symbolic Revolution*, trans. Pierre Collier and Margaret Rigaud-Drayton. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Caplan, Clive (1998) "Jane Austen's Banker Brother: Henry Thomas Austen of Austen & Co, 1801-1816". *Persuasions* no. 20: 69-90.
- Carlyle, Leslie (2001) *The Artist's Assistant: Oil Painting Instruction Manuals and Handbooks in Britain 1800-1900 with Reference to Selected Eighteenth-century Sources*. London: Archetype Publications.
- Clery, E.J. (2017) *Jane Austen: The Banker's Sister*. London: Biteback Publishing.
- Collins, W. Wilkie (1848) *Memoirs of the Life of William Collins, Esq, RA*, 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman.
- Colquhoun, Patrick (1815) *Treatise on the wealth, power, and resources, of the British Empire, in every quarter of the world, including the East Indies*. London: Joseph Mawman.
- Derrida, Jacques (2006) *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf. New York: Routledge.
- Dimitrakaki, Angela and Lloyd, Kirsten (2015) "Introduction: 'The Last Instance'—The Apparent Economy, Social Struggles and Art in Global Capitalism". In Angela Dimitrakaki and Kirsten Lloyd (eds), *Economy: Art, Production and the Subject in the Twenty-First Century*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1-30.
- Draper, Nick (2008) "The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800". *Economic History Review* 61, no. 2: 432-466.
- Eastlake, Lady Elizabeth (1870) "Memoir of Sir Charles Eastlake". In *Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts. Second Series*. London: John Murray.
- Florida, Richard (2012 [2002]) *The Rise of the Creative Class, Revisited*. New York: Basic Books.
- Garlick, Kenneth, Macintyre, Angus, and Cave, Kathryn (eds) (1978-1984) *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 16 vols. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. [Abbreviated: *Farington Diary*]
- Goodman, Robin Truth (2010) *Feminist Theory in Pursuit of the Public: Women and the "Re-Privatization" of Labor*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Griffiths, Antony (1994) "The Department of Prints and Drawings during the First Century of the British Museum". *The Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1097: 531-544.
- Hellen, Rebecca (2014-2015) "'Three Days or more ...': Turner's Varnishing Day Practice and the Physical Evidence". *The British Art Journal* 15, no. 2 (Winter): 47-53.
- Hesmondhalgh, David (2018 [2002]) *The Cultural Industries*, 4th edn. London: SAGE Publications.
- House of Commons (1815) *First Report: Minutes of Evidence: Taken before The Select Committee appointed to consider a Provision being made for the better Regulation of Madhouses, in England*. London: ordered to be printed by the House of Commons.
- Hitchcock, Tim, Shoemaker, Robert, Howard, Sharon and McLaughlin, Jamie *et al.*, *London Lives, 1690-1800*, www.londonlives.org [Abbreviated: LL]
- Jefferiss, F.J.G. (1976) *Dr. Thomas Monro (1759-1833) and the Monro Academy*, exhibition catalogue, Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints and Drawings Gallery, February-May.

- Johnson, A. and Pascoal, S. (2005) "Frame Conservation Record", Tate, London. Unpublished.
- Lambert, B. (1806) *The History and Survey of London and Its Environs*, 4 vols. London: Dewick and Clarke London Hughes.
- Le Faye, Deirdre (ed.) (1997) *Jane Austen's Letters*, 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Levitine, George (1978) *The Dawn of Bohemianism: The Barbu Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- McRobbie, Angela (2016) *Be Creative: Making a Living in the New Culture Industries*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Menger, Pierre-Michel (2014) *The Economics of Creativity: Art and Achievement under Uncertainty*, trans. Steven Rendall et al. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Monkhouse, W.C. and Stonard, John-Paul (2004) "Monro, Henry (1791-1814), Portrait and Subject Painter". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September. Oxford University Press, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/18973 (accessed 3 January 2020).
- Morowitz, Laura and Vaughan, William (eds) (2000) *Artistic Brotherhoods in the Nineteenth Century*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Morse, Edward Lind (ed.) (1914) *Samuel F.B. Morse, his Letters and Journals*, 2 vols. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co.
- Mould, Oli (2018) *Against Creativity*. London: Verso.
- Muir, Rory (2019) *Gentlemen of Uncertain Fortune: How Younger Sons made their way in Jane Austen's England*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Myrone, Martin (2001) *Henry Fuseli*. London: Tate Publishing.
- Myrone, Martin (2017) "Drawing after the Antique at the British Museum, 1809-1817: 'Free' Art Education and the Advent of the Liberal State". *British Art Studies*, Issue 5, doi:10.17658/jssn.2058-5462/issue-05/mmyrone (accessed 17 April 2020).
- Myrone, Martin (forthcoming) *Making the Modern Artist*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus (1940) *Academies of Art Past and Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pope, William Bissell (ed.) (1960-1963) *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, 5 vols. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Robertson, Emily (ed.) (1895) *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson MA*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.
- Rubinstein, W.D. (2009-) *Who were the Rich? A Biographical Directory of British Wealth-Holders*, Vol. 1, 1809-1839. London: Social Affairs Unit, reference 1831/5.
- Schneider, Erika (2015) *The Representation of the Struggling Artist in America, 1800-1865*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press.
- Schwarz, Leonard D. (1992) *London in the Age of Industrialization: Entrepreneurs, Labour Force and Living Conditions, 1700-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Simon, Jacob (2013) "'Three-Quarters, Kit-Cats and Half-Lengths': British Portrait Painters and their Canvas Sizes, 1625-1850". April, <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/artists-their-materials-and-suppliers/three-quarters-kit-cats-and-half-lengths-british-portrait-painters-and-their-canvas-sizes-1625-1850/> (accessed 4 January 2019).
- Survey of London (1957) *Spitalfields and Mile End New Town, Volume 27*. London: London County Council, 245-251. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol27/pp245-251#anchorn60> (accessed 17 April 2020).
- Taylor, Tom (ed.) (1926) *The Autobiography and Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon*. London: Peter Davies.
- Townsend, J.H. (2018) "Technical Analysis Report 2018". Conservation Record, Tate, London.
- UCL Department of History (2020) "Sir Edward Hyde East 1st Bart.". *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database*. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16601> (accessed 17 April 2020).
- Weidner, Paul R. (1941) "The Journal of John Blake White". *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 42, no. 2 (April): 55-71.
- Wilton, Andrew (1976) "Dr Thomas Monro and the Monro Academy". *The Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 878 (May).

Bill Brandt: Photography and the Printed Page

Martina Droth, Paul Messier, Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon

Authors

Deputy Director and Chief Curator at the Yale Center for British Art

Senior Photographer for the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the Bill Brandt Estate for support of this research and for permission to reproduce these photographs.

Cite as

Martina Droth, Paul Messier, Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon, "Bill Brandt: Photography and the Printed Page", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/cover>

Introduction

This cover collaboration explores the photography of Bill Brandt (1904–1983) from the perspective of the physical print, drawing attention to its material qualities and practical functions. The small sampling presented here captures some of Brandt’s major visual themes, beginning with his socio-political images of wartime Britain through to his more subjective engagement with landscape and art in the post-war decades. This shift is often seen in terms of Brandt’s career path—from photojournalist in the 1930s and 1940s, to art world photographer in the post-war era. Brandt’s stature as an artist came onto assured footing in the 1960s, with exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1961 and 1969, and commercial representation by Marlborough Gallery in the 1970s.¹ While Brandt began to print to meet these new expectations, he did not abandon the long-standing practices and interests of his early career: his commitment to the reproduction of photographs on the printed page. Newsprint illustrations and bookplates remained his primary expressive channels. Between 1936 and the year of his death, Brandt published at least one photo-book per decade, as well as contributing dozens of photo-essays and hundreds of individual photographs to illustrated magazines.

To understand Brandt fully as an artist—to understand what motivated his pictures, why they look the way they do, and how they were seen at the time—we need to look closely at their substance. Brandt printed for specific occasions: for magazines, his own books, and later for the market and for exhibitions. When it came to pre-press preparations, Brandt’s process was typical of photographic practices and focused on providing prints he knew would carry his aesthetic vision when rendered as ink on paper. Although Brandt occasionally lent his negatives (for example, to the *Family of Man* exhibition at MoMA in 1955), his standard practice was to retain these “masters” as his raw material, reusing and reinterpreting them until his death.² These camera originals are devoid of the layers of interpretation—modified contrast, lightening, darkening, and cropping—that Brandt applied in the darkroom and on the prints themselves. Brandt habitually made extensive adjustments with a brush and media, or a pencil—not only to compensate for obvious image defects (dust on the negative, for example) but, in some cases, to dramatically alter the composition by enhancing forms, contours, and key details. While these were common practices, Brandt was in a class by himself in terms of the level to which he reworked the surfaces of his prints, even when there was no chance of print publication.

With recto next to verso, the selection presented here gets us closer to Brandt’s expressive intentions and darkroom practices. The remarkable variety of verso markings, such as caption inscriptions, stamps, editorial

adjustments, and printer's annotations, all provide an immediacy of connection to Brandt as a working photographer. In each case, Brandt demonstrates his process where the print, generally, was the means to a particular end: reproduction and dissemination as ink on paper.

This essay comes out of research undertaken for the book and the exhibition *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*, organised by the Yale Center for British Art and touring from 2020 through 2021.³ Martina Droth and Paul Messier are the co-editors of the book that accompanies the exhibition, which is published by the Yale Center for British Art and distributed by Yale University Press. Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon, in collaboration with Paul Messier, undertook the photography of Bill Brandt's prints for the book and for this article.

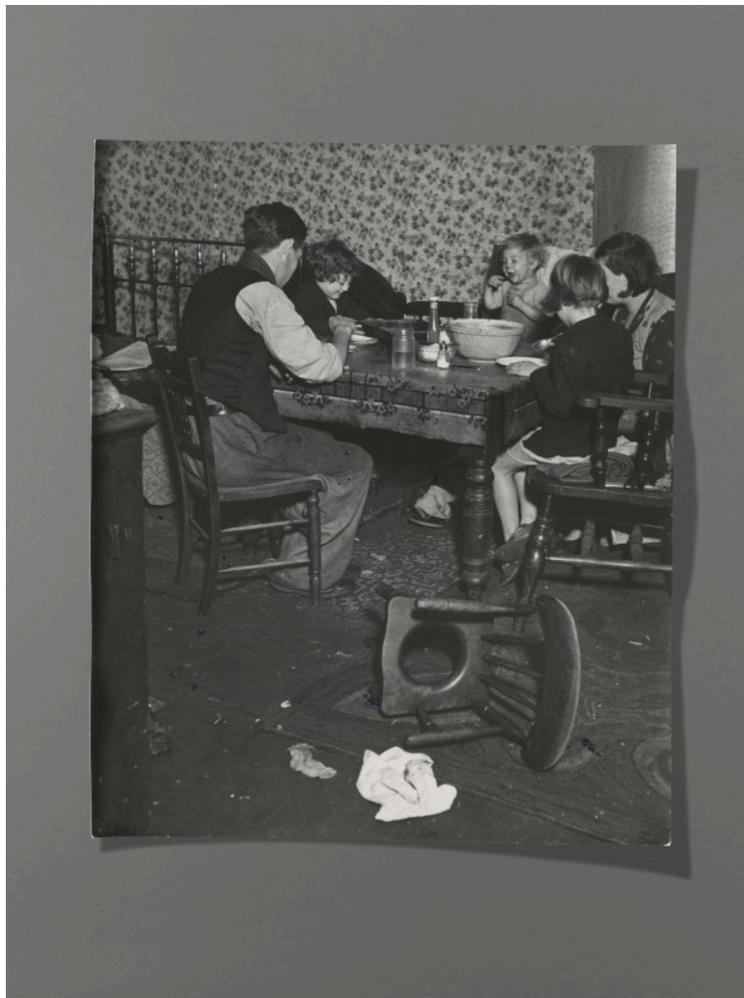


Figure 1.

Bill Brandt, *Family Supper (recto)*, 1937, printed circa 1943, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

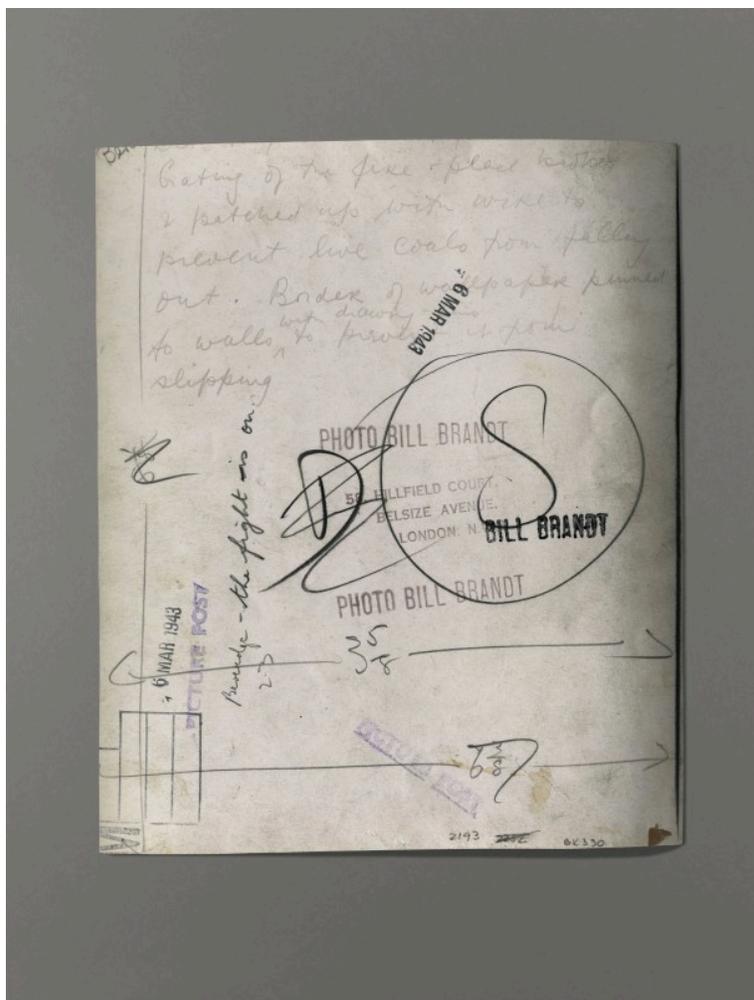


Figure 2.

Bill Brandt, Family Supper (verso), 1937, printed circa 1943, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

This photograph was taken in Jarrow, a Tyneside town that had suffered mass unemployment after the closure of its shipbuilding yard (Fig. 1).⁴ It is among a group of photographs Brandt took on a trip in 1937 to communities supported by heavy industry and coal mining in the north. The photographs were not published at the time, perhaps providing too bleak a commentary on the living conditions of the working poor and the unemployed. This image found its first news outlet in a 1943 *Picture Post* article advocating for the welfare recommendations of the Beveridge Report. It was captioned as one of the “signs of want with which we were all too familiar in the years between the wars”.⁵

The publishing and printing history of the photograph is recorded on the verso: directions are provided to the magazine's printer for cropping and dimensions, and the *Picture Post* stamp records the publishing date (Fig. 2). At the lower left corner is a box with lines and the letter M (for "Modern"), the classification stamp with which *Picture Post* indexed photographs in its collection—here left empty as the photograph was returned to Brandt's possession rather than remaining with the publisher.⁶ Less perfunctory is the pencil inscription on the back (perhaps added to suggest a caption for the images), in Brandt's hand, which reads: "Grating of the fire-place has been broken and patched up with wire to prevent live coals from falling out. Border of the wallpaper pinned to walls with drawing pins to prevent it from slipping." Not visible in the image, these details at once focus on the family's precarious condition and its fragile, humanising assertion of middle-class refinement expressed through wallpaper. The empathy conveyed in these observed details is in stark contrast to the exploitative and intrusive nature of this shocking image of squalor. As the family later recalled, Brandt himself had staged the scene by arranging the furniture and the people to suit his purpose.⁷



Figure 3.
Bill Brandt, A Group of Coal Searchers near Heworth, Tyneside, Pithead Train in the Distance (recto), 1937, printed circa 1966, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

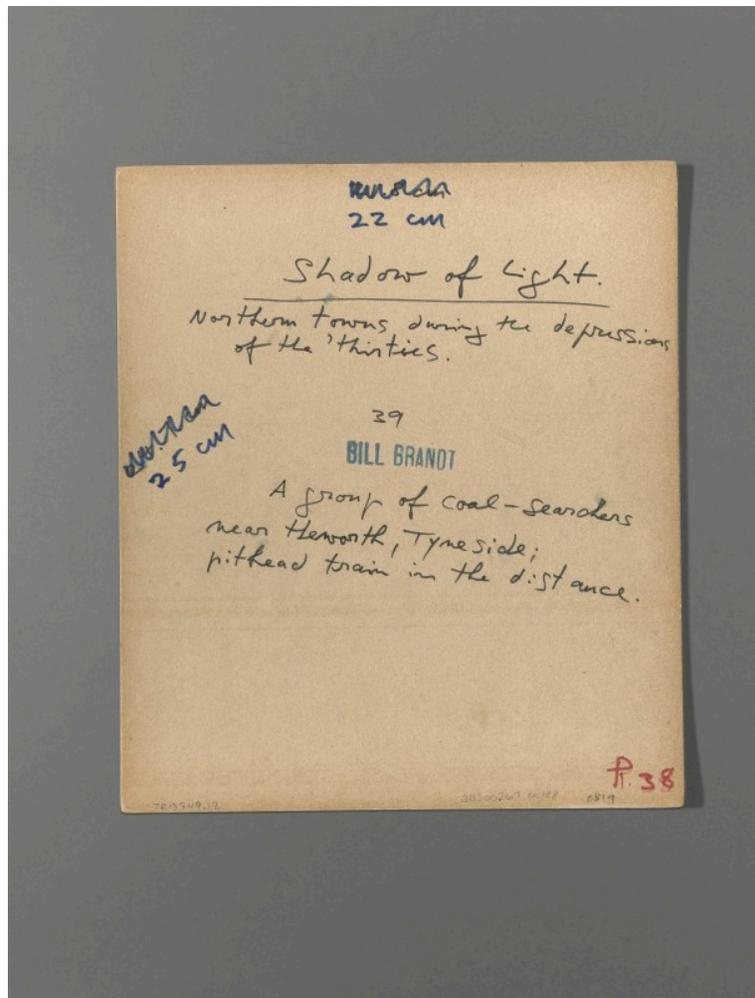


Figure 4.

Bill Brandt, A Group of Coal Searchers near Heworth, Tyneside, Pithead Train in the Distance (verso), 1937, printed circa 1966, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

Taken during the same journey north as *Family Supper*, this photograph shows two men and a boy on the incline of a slag heap, wearily picking through the rubble for usable coal (Fig. 3). In the lower distance behind them, a train carries full carts of coal from the mine. The carts, and the fence below, have been sharpened and accentuated with pencil lines drawn on the surface of the print. The outbound train, so as not to be overlooked, is further emphasised by the title. The coal, extracted in vast quantities, is for the enrichment of others and inaccessible to the men and boys digging for scraps.

The verso indicates that this print was made almost three decades later, specifically for inclusion in Brandt's seminal photo-book of 1966, *Shadow of Light* (Fig. 4). It appears as plate 39, page 39, in Chapter 2, titled "Northern

Towns during the Depression of the Thirties". The information on the back of the print almost exactly matches that in the book. The discoloured paperboard to which the print is mounted serves to keep the print perfectly flat for pre-press reproduction. During our research, we came across several prints mounted in the same way, with *Shadow of Light* inscriptions. This was Brandt's sixth book and marks a period during which he sealed his reputation as an artist through retrospective printing and publication of his most significant works. The print shows a subtle range of contrast and greyscale, which it shares with reproductions made for the first edition of *Shadow of Light*.



Figure 5.

Bill Brandt, *On the Platform of an Underground Station* (recto), 1940, printed circa 1948, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

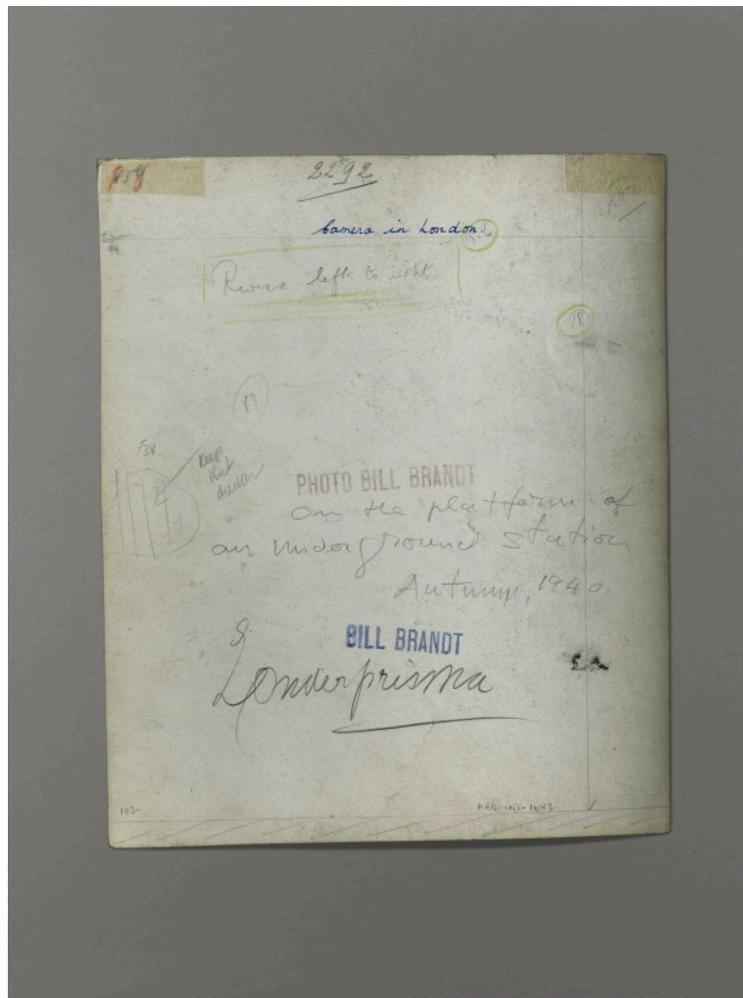


Figure 6.

Bill Brandt, *On the Platform of an Underground Station* (recto), 1940, printed circa 1948, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

Among Brandt's most iconic images are his photographs of civilians sheltering in the London Underground during the Blitz. Taken on 11 September 1940, this print shows men and women sleeping closely together on the platform of Elephant & Castle station (Fig. 5). Like his other wartime pictures, the photograph was made under the auspices of the Ministry of Information, the British government's enabler and censor of photography, which controlled materials and printing permissions.

Brandt nevertheless printed his own work. A scan from the original negative, deposited with the [Imperial War Museum](#), provides a glimpse of Brandt's raw material: a light-flooded image with perspectival details, and an empty space next to the sleepers—a walkway for passengers as this station served both as a shelter and a working transport system. The intensity and atmosphere

of the final print were fastidiously created in the darkroom; moreover, details of light, shade, and pattern were emphasised in afterwork on the print itself, which Brandt often carried to an obsessive level of detail, as can be seen here. The reverse of the print, inscribed with references to publication in Brandt's 1948 book *Camera in London*, includes a remarkable instruction, written in pencil near the centre left side: "keep that checker" (Fig. 6).⁸ An arrow points to a drawing of a shape with stripes. When we turn the print over, the meaning becomes clear: the printed image in the book must preserve the "checker" (actually more striped) pattern in the sleeping man's shirt. This area of the print is heavily retouched to reduce contrast and emphasise the striped pattern both with what appears to be airbrushed pigment and brushed on dyes. Details like these matter when translating a photograph to the printed page because contrast tends to increase and detail can be lost in both dark and light passages.

A further instruction is to reverse the image left to right which, in fact, is how the image appears in the book—a decision based on rhyming the print with its opposite on the double-page spread, which points to the care Brandt took with his books to ensure his images formed relationships and continuities across pages.



Figure 7.

Bill Brandt, Stonehenge (recto), 1946, photographic print.
Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt
Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert
Hixon.

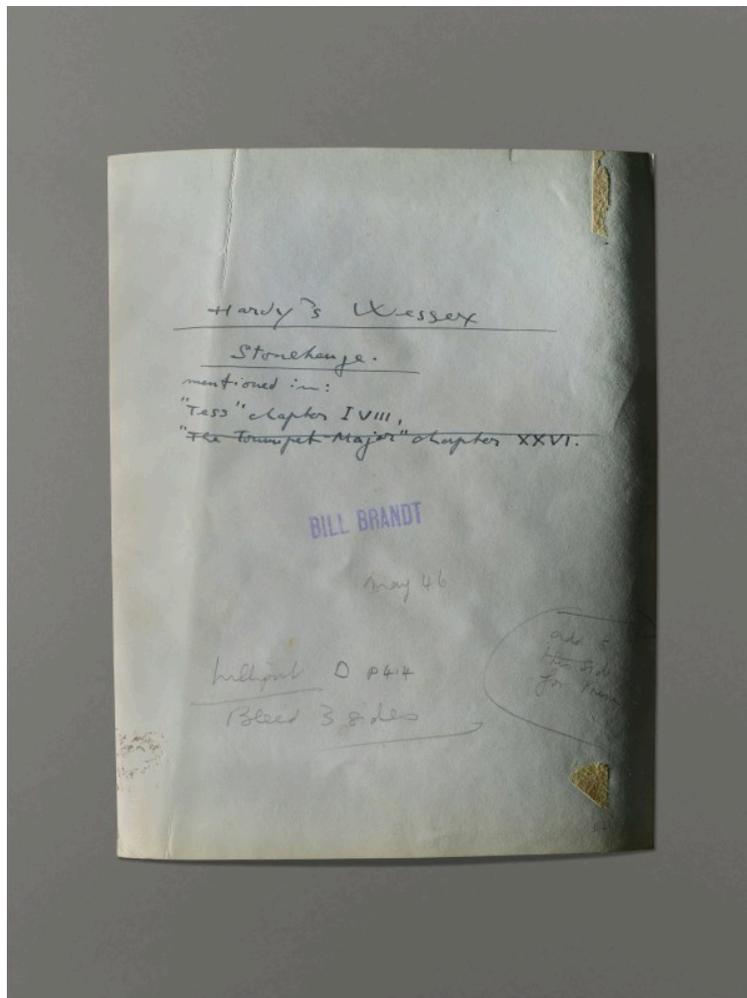


Figure 8.

Bill Brandt, Stonehenge (verso), 1946, photographic print.
Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt
Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert
Hixon.

The great prehistoric sites of Britain had become popular destinations for tourists and artists in the first half of the twentieth century. At the end of the Second World War, they were recast as timeless symbols of British sovereignty. In 1946, this image of Stonehenge appeared in two photo-essays: in the February issue of *Harper's Bazaar* under the title "The Hardy County", and in the May issue of *Lilliput* as "Thomas Hardy's Wessex" (Figs 7 and 8).⁹ The verso confirms this print was destined for the latter. The inscription, in Brandt's hand, "Hardy's Wessex", refers to Hardy's name for the south-west region of England where he set his major novels *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (1891) and *The Trumpet-Major* (1880). Brandt cites the chapter references for both, but strikes through the latter, presumably because he and his publisher concluded that the tragic romance of *Tess* provided the more evocative reference point. In the same hand as the date, the printer is

instructed to “Bleed 3 sides” and at right: “add to this side for trim”. “Bleed”, in printer parlance, refers to edges of the image that can be cropped flush to the page. Typically, bleed allows for slight misalignments of the paper as it goes through the press. In this instance, the three-side bleed would be left, right, and top where Brandt provides no unprinted border.

Brandt’s preparations for the printer are also visible on the photograph itself. Black paint exaggerates the crevice of the deeply shadowed horizontal stone that demarcates the bottom of the composition; the left edge of the standing stone at the right of the image is sharpened by a black painted line; and the shadows of the largest stone are similarly deepened with paint. Once noticed, the paintwork becomes obvious, even crude, but that is to miss the point—Brandt was thinking a step ahead to the contrasts of newsprint in which these augmentations would blend into a coherent whole. His chief concern was to produce a brooding image of the sculptural vitality of these enigmatic stones.



Figure 9.

Bill Brandt, *Stonehenge Under Snow (recto)*, 1947, printed later, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

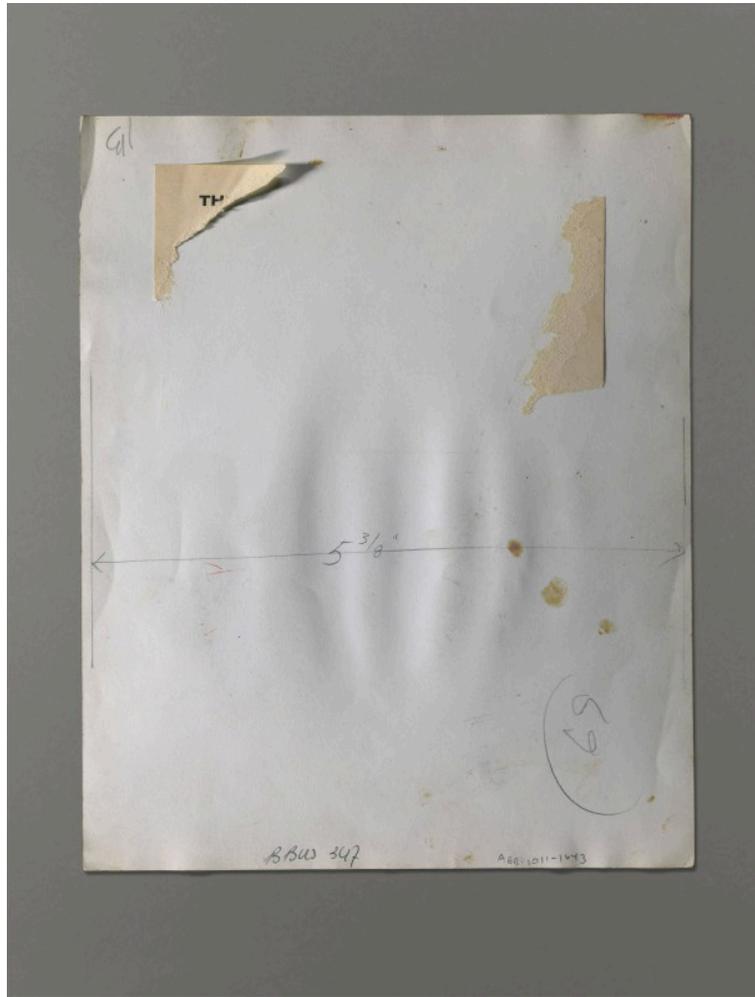


Figure 10.

Bill Brandt, *Stonehenge Under Snow (verso)*, 1947, printed later, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

This now-iconic photograph of Stonehenge in the snow was originally commissioned for the cover of *Picture Post's* special issue on the deadly winter crisis of 1947 (Fig. 9). The ancient stones are rendered as black silhouettes on the horizon line between the moody sky dominating the top half of the composition and the expanse of snow of the bottom half. At the time, the snow anchored the photograph to the contemporary moment and Stonehenge appeared as a stoical symbol of survival and resilience. This print was made many years later, and today audiences would more readily interpret the image as a timeless and romantic winter scene, unmoored from the socio-political symbolism that Stonehenge held in 1947. We chose this print for the cover of our book, *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*, as it is indicative of many aspects of Brandt's practice—his repeated return to and reinvention of earlier works, and the elastic meanings they accrued over time.

This print is undated. The torn-off label showing only the letters “TH” is similar to the all-uppercase blocky typeface used by the Museum of Modern Art until the mid-1960s (Fig. 10). Indeed, Brandt exhibited a larger version of *Stonehenge* at MoMA in his first major solo show, curated by John Szarkowski in 1969.¹⁰ Perhaps originally intended for exhibition, the print was certainly designated for print publication as notes on the verso indicate an image dimension of 5³/₈ inches and instructions for cropping the left and right sides so as to eliminate the white margin and presumably produce a full bleed across the page.

The cracks visible on the front of the print are indicative of the hard glossy surface of a ferrotyped print. Ferrotyping was a means for a photographer to increase print gloss, which served to saturate the blacks and thus increase the contrast and the range from black to white. Augmenting these qualities anticipates reproduction in print, which tends to compress tonal range. Particularly apparent on the reverse are distinct ripples near the centre of the print, likely owing to drying against a ferrotyping plate.

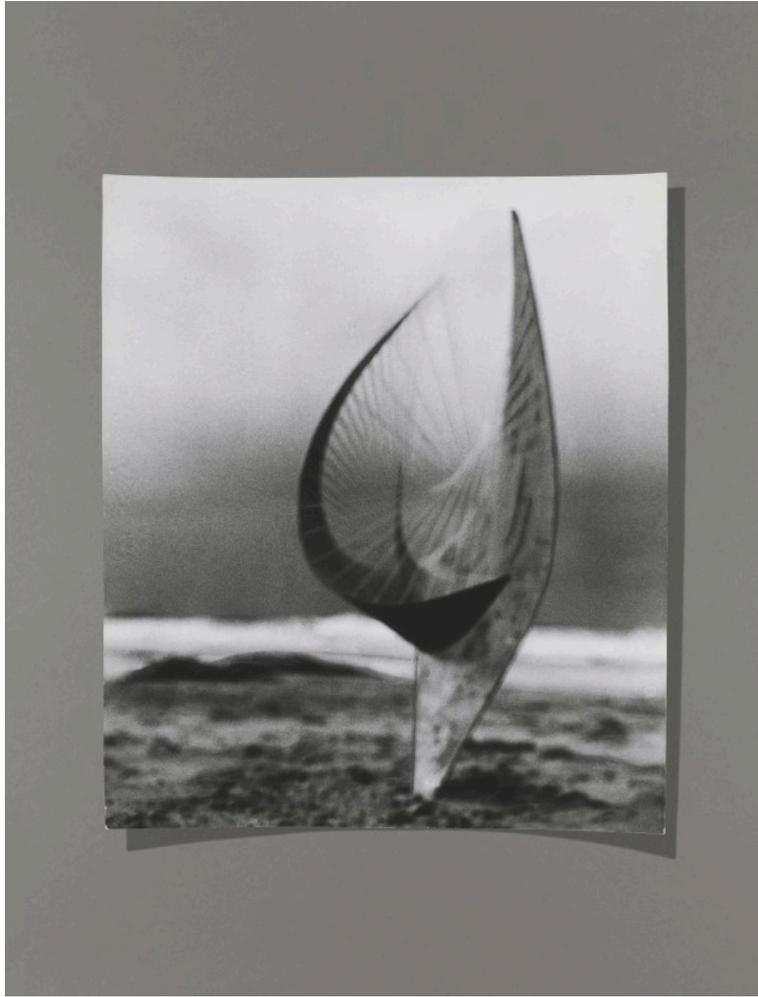


Figure 11.

Bill Brandt, "Stringed Figure" sculpture by Barbara Hepworth (recto), printed ca 1956, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

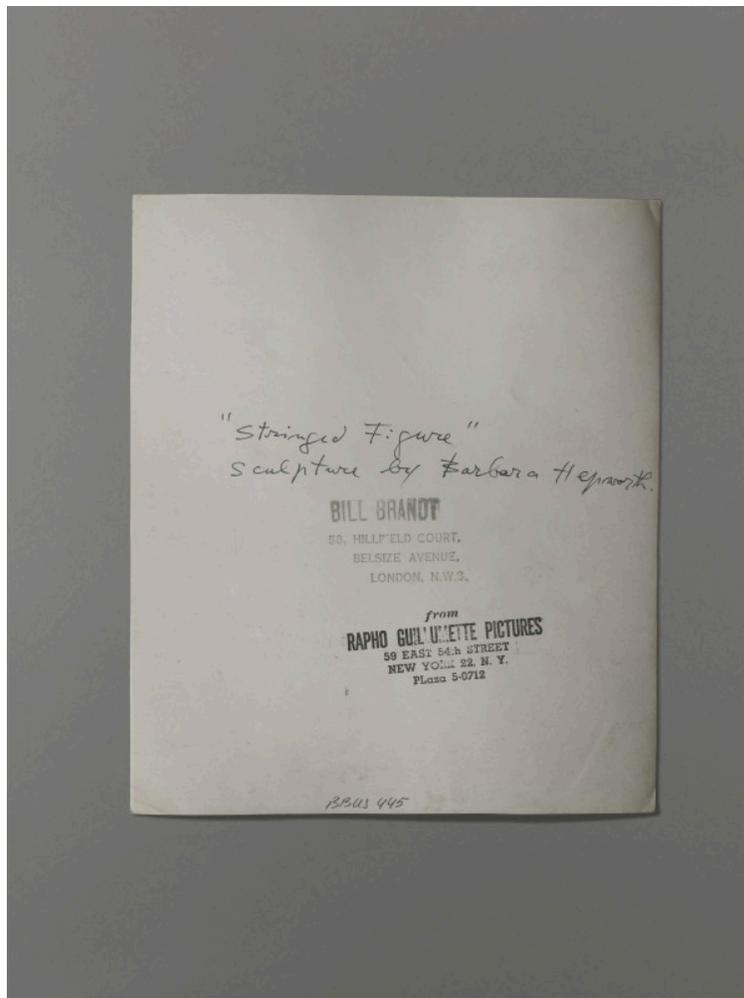


Figure 12.

Bill Brandt, "Stringed Figure" sculpture by Barbara Hepworth (verso), printed ca 1956, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

This is one of a series of photographs Brandt took on a visit to Barbara Hepworth's studio in St Ives in around 1956 (Fig. 11). As well as taking the sculptor's portrait in the studio, Brandt photographed at least four of her works on the beach.¹¹ Each was carefully set up against the empty shoreline, the base buried in the sand to create the impression of a monolithic form risen from the sea—modern parables for the ancient standing stones that Brandt had photographed years earlier.

Brandt seems to be trying to salvage this poorly focused photograph, understandably given the trouble of moving the sculpture to the seaside. The image is heavily retouched with a pencil and a blade, sharpening the blurry contours, the strings, and the lines on the inner surface of the form. There is further retouching on the background. As seen elsewhere, Brandt often took

a heavy hand when it came to retouching his prints, adding media with a brush and scraping out blemishes with a knife. He knew, of course, that these alterations would be invisible when the image was translated to the printed page and certainly he must have been satisfied with the result as he sent the finished product out for publication.

Indeed, the Rapho-Guillemette stamp on the reverse helps confirm that this print was intended for distribution and illustration as a printed reproduction for audiences in the United States (Fig. 12). Rapho was an early picture distribution agency founded in Paris in 1933. The agency moved to New York in 1940, where it remained in business until 1975. It represented many notable photographers including Brandt. The role of photograph distribution agencies was to represent photographers and market their images, and Rapho-Guillemette became a major supplier of pictures for magazines, books, and advertising. In the mid-1950s, Barbara Hepworth was promoting her work actively in the United States, which increased the prospect of Brandt earning licensing fees on this particular image from American publications.

The verso also bears a stamp for 58, Hillfield Court in London, the address at which Brandt resided from 1935 to the end of the 1940s. The stamp, therefore, considerably pre-dates the photograph, as we know that Brandt visited Hepworth in around 1956, the year that she made all the sculptures he depicted.

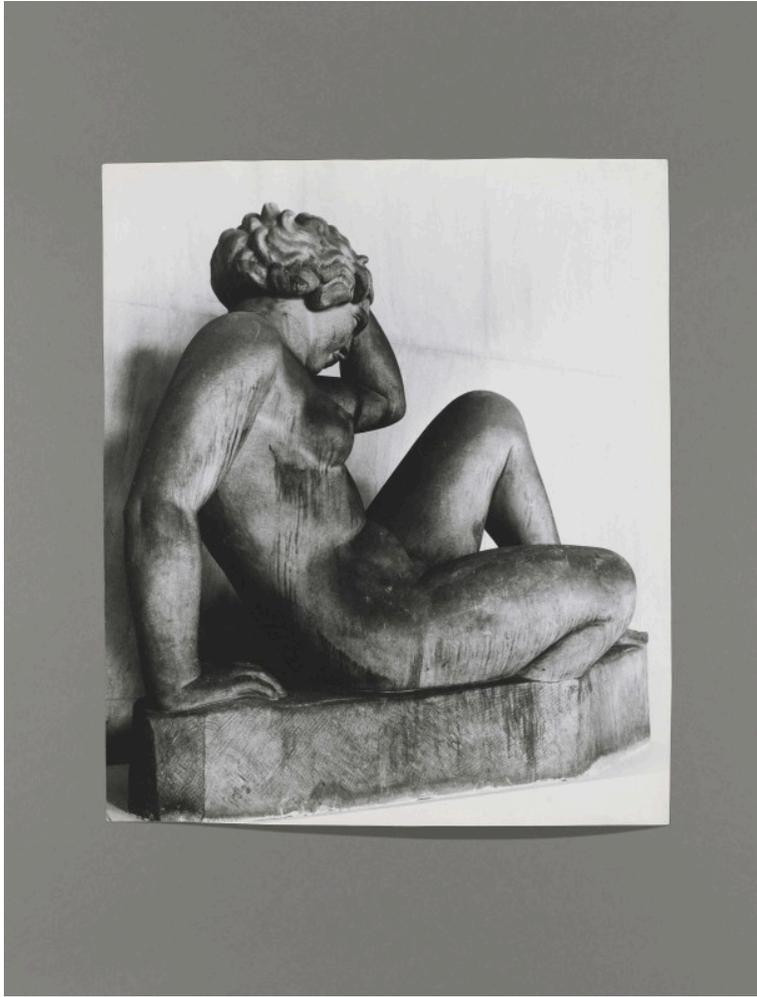


Figure 13.

Bill Brandt, Maillol, "La Montagne" (1937) (recto), printed circa 1961, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

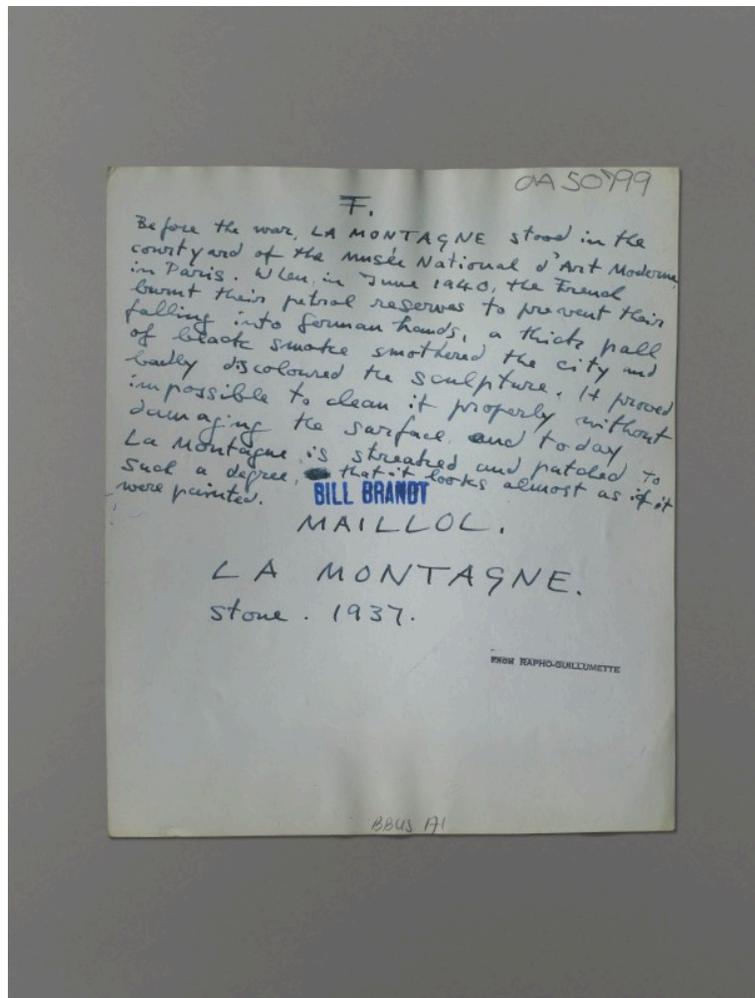


Figure 14.

Bill Brandt, Maillol, "La Montagne" (1937) (verso), printed circa 1961, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

Brandt photographed a number of sculptures by the French artist Aristide Maillol (1861-1944) around the time of the publication of his photo-book *Perspective of Nudes* (1961). In the preface, Lawrence Durrell wrote that Brandt "is to photography what a sculptor is to a block of marble".¹² This was no random comparison but one that Brandt himself encouraged. In 1961, he published an article in *Life* magazine to coincide both with his book and Maillol's centenary exhibition in Paris. In it, a selection of his nudes were juxtaposed with his images of Maillol's statues, provoking an intentional comparison of the human body with modern sculpture. The living bodies, notes the caption, are even "more unreal than the inanimate stone".¹³

In this picture, the accretions of soot on the surface of the stone create a kind of chiaroscuro that amplifies the sense of weight and volume (Fig. 13). A lengthy note on the verso in Brandt's hand reveals that the statue acquired its blackened surface during the war:

Before the war, La Montagne stood in the courtyard of the Musée National d'art Moderne in Paris. When in June 1940, the French burnt their own petrol reserves to prevent their falling into German hands, a thick pall of black smoke smothered the city and badly discolored the sculpture. It proved impossible to clean it properly without damaging the surface and today La Montagne is streaked and patched to such a degree that it looks almost as if it were painted (Fig. 14).

The letter "F" places this picture last in a sequence beginning with "A" showing different details from the same statue. All prints in the sequence carry a variant of the Rapho-Guillemette stamp on the back, indicating they were intended for distribution. Perhaps in a clever move to bring modest royalties to Brandt, the photo-agency capitalised upon the combined newsworthiness of *Perspective of Nudes* and Maillol's centenary.

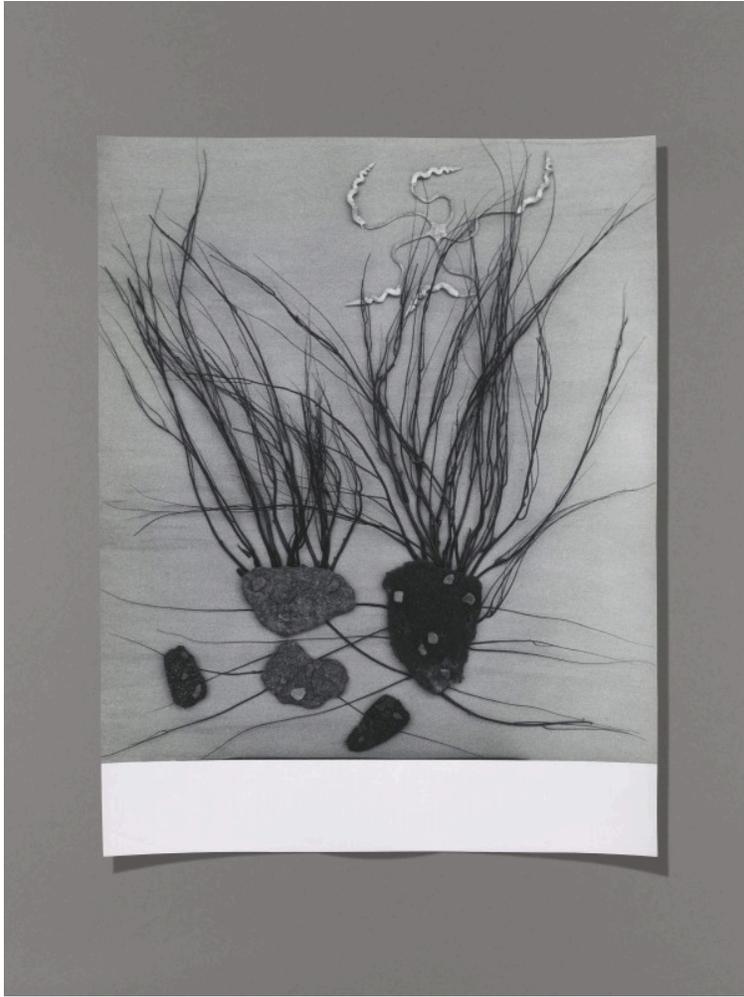


Figure 15.

Bill Brandt, *Monsoon Drive (Five) (recto)*, 1969, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

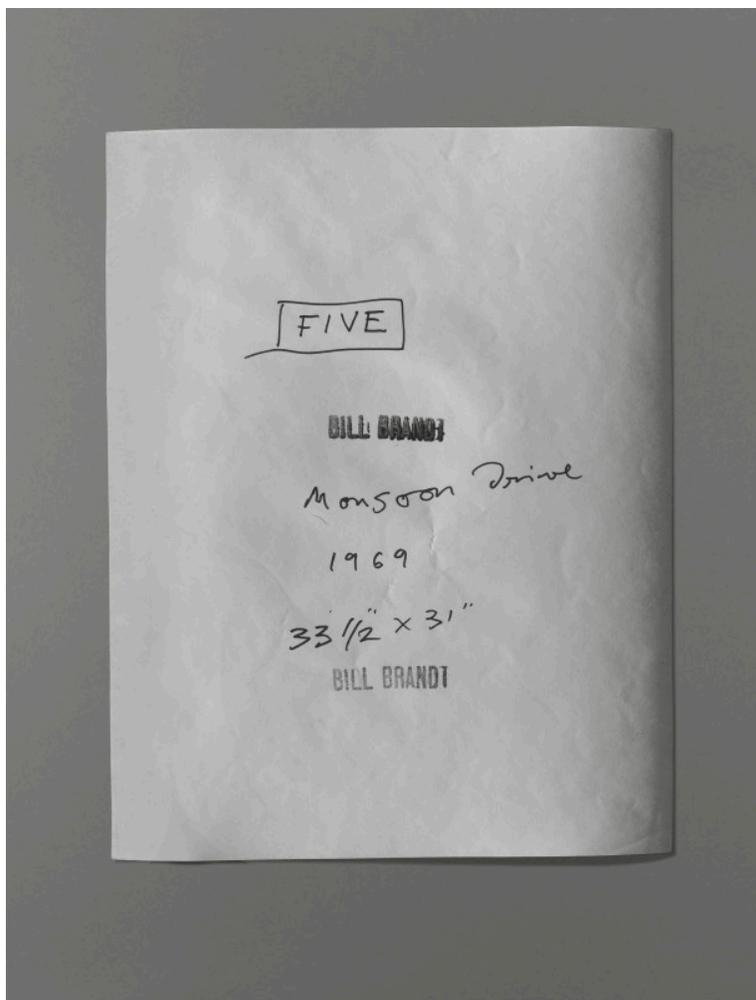


Figure 16.

Bill Brandt, *Monsoon Drive (Five) (verso)*, 1969, photographic print. Digital image courtesy of Bill Brandt and the Bill Brandt Archive Ltd. Photography by Richard Caspole and Robert Hixon.

In the late 1960s, Brandt began to create collages with found materials and natural objects, often assembled from marine flora and fauna gleaned on frequent visits to beaches, where he also photographed many of his nudes. Brandt arranged the found objects on boards painted in marine colours. Some were set up temporarily as still lifes for the camera. Others, including *Monsoon Drive*, were fixed in place and framed in plexiglas boxes as works of art to be hung on the wall. A colour transparency of *Monsoon Drive* preserved in the Bill Brandt Archive indicates that the board was painted in a blue hue, suggestive of an underwater scene. Brandt also photographed these colourful sculptural compositions using traditional black and white film, to create monochromatic prints such as the one shown here (Fig. 15). The collages and the photographs thus represent two distinct, if related, bodies of work.

Brandt exhibited his sculptural collages in London at Kinsmans Gallery in 1974 and at Marlborough Gallery in 1976, in both cases alongside photographs of more typical subjects, such as his portraits and nudes.¹⁴ In 1993, a number of the collages were published in *Bill Brandt: The Assemblages*, which juxtaposed posthumous colour photographs alongside Brandt's own black and white prints.¹⁵ These occasions aside, the collages are little known, as they have been routinely overlooked and omitted from assessments of Brandt's work. Yet, they represent a substantive part of Brandt's late oeuvre. In *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*, we were able to draw renewed attention to them. As we sought to show, it is not a far leap from the photographs of nudes and natural sculptures on the beach to the marine collages that transmit Brandt's sculptural interests in three dimensions.

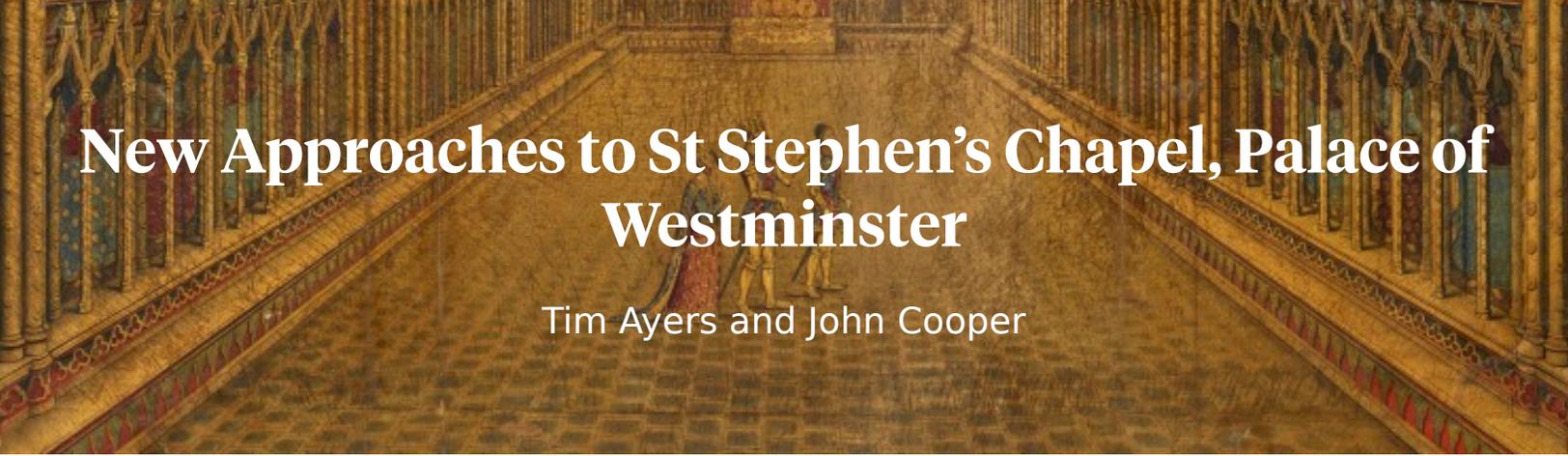
The title on the verso is accompanied by the word "FIVE" emphatically picked out in a box (Fig. 16). As with we have seen with other versos here, Brandt is indicating an order. Arranging plates in a sequence for essays and books was a consistent part of Brandt's practice. Many of the prints made for reproduction show evidence of Brandt working out and revising images in sequence. Whether or not Brandt had a serious intention to make a book, *Monsoon Drive* shows that his reflexive consideration of how his images would appear on the printed page persisted to the end.

Footnotes

- 1 The Museum of Modern Art exhibitions were *Diogenes with a Camera V: Bill Brandt, Lucien Clergue, Yasuhiro Ishimoto* (25 September–12 November, 1961) and *Bill Brandt* (15 September–30 November, 1969).
- 2 This is confirmed by correspondence in 1956 between Brandt and Edward Steichen, then director of MoMA's Department of Photography, preserved in the MoMA archive (Collections: MoMA Exhibitions. Folder: 569.5).
- 3 The exhibition venues are [The Hepworth Wakefield](#) (February–November 2020), the [Sainsbury Centre](#), Norwich (November 2020–February 2021), and the [Yale Center for British Art](#), New Haven (April–July 2021).
- 4 See John Tagg, "A Strange Country: Bill Brandt in Jarrow, 1937", in Martina Droth and Paul Messier (eds), *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore* (New Haven, CT: Yale Center for British Art and Yale University Press), 146–149.
- 5 "Beveridge: The Fight is On", *Picture Post*, 6 March 1943, 8. See also Droth and Messier, *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*, 20.
- 6 C.H. Gibbs-Smith, "The Hulton Picture Post Library", *The Journal of Documentation* 6 (1950), 15.
- 7 See Tagg, "A Strange Country", 149.
- 8 Bill Brandt, *Camera in London* (London: Focal Press, 1948).
- 9 "The Hardy Country: Photographed by Bill Brandt", *Harper's Bazaar*, March 1946, 154–155; and "Thomas Hardy's Wessex", *Lilliput*, May 1946, 411–418. See also Droth and Messier, *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*, 25–29.
- 10 The photograph can be seen in this installation shot from the MoMA archives: https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3511?installation_image_index=13.
- 11 See Droth and Messier, *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*, 28–29 and 165–167.
- 12 See Lawrence Durrell's preface in Bill Brandt, *Perspective of Nudes* (London: Bodley Head; New York: Amphoto, 1961).
- 13 "Nudes are Back", *Life*, 6 October 1961, 149–151.
- 14 For the Kinsman exhibition, see Mark Haworth Booth, "Bill Brandt Collages", *Connoisseur* 187, no. 751, September 1974, 74; and for the Marlborough exhibition, see William Feaver, "Changing mood of Bill Brandt", *Observer*, 19 December 1976, 21.
- 15 *Bill Brandt: The Assemblages*, compiled by Zeldia Cheatle and Adam Lowe (London: Kyoto Shoin, 1993).

Bibliography

- Brandt, Bill (1948) *Camera in London*. London: Focal Press.
- Brandt, Bill (1993) *Bill Brandt: The Assemblages*, compiled by Zeldia Cheatile and Adam Lowe. London: Kyoto Shoin.
- Brandt, Bill and Steichen, Edward (1956) Correspondence. Department of Photography, MoMA archive. Collections: MoMA Exhibitions. Folder: 569.5.
- Droth, Martina and Messier, Paul (eds) (2020) *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*. New Haven, CT: Yale Center for British Art and Yale University Press.
- Durrell, Lawrence (1961) "Preface". In Bill Brandt, *Perspective of Nudes*. London: Bodley Head; New York: Amphoto.
- Feaver, William (1976) "Changing mood of Bill Brandt". *Observer*, 19 December, 21.
- Gibbs-Smith, C.H. (1950) "The Hulton Picture Post Library". *The Journal of Documentation* 6, 15.
- Harper's Bazaar (1946) "The Hardy Country: Photographed by Bill Brandt". *Harper's Bazaar*, March, 154-155.
- Haworth Booth, Mark (1974) "Bill Brandt Collages". *Connoisseur* 187, no. 751 (September), 74.
- Life (1961) "Nudes are Back". *Life*, 6 October, 149-151.
- Lilliput (1946) "Thomas Hardy's Wessex". *Lilliput*, May, 411-418.
- Museum of Modern Art (1961) *Diogenes with a Camera V: Bill Brandt, Lucien Clergue, Yasuhiro Ishimoto* exhibition (25 September-12 November)
- Museum of Modern Art (1969) *Bill Brandt* exhibition curated by John Szarkowski (15 September-30 November).
- Picture Post (1943) "Beveridge: The Fight is On". *Picture Post*, 6 March, 8.
- Tagg, John (2020) "A Strange Country: Bill Brandt in Jarrow, 1937". In Martina Droth and Paul Messier (eds), *Bill Brandt | Henry Moore*. New Haven, CT: Yale Center for British Art and Yale University Press, 146-149.



New Approaches to St Stephen's Chapel, Palace of Westminster

Tim Ayers and John Cooper

Authors

Professor in the History of Art at the University of York

Cite as

Tim Ayers and John Cooper, "New Approaches to St Stephen's Chapel, Palace of Westminster", *British Art Studies*, Issue 16, <https://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-16/tayers>

Back in 2011, a meeting between an art historian and a historian at the University of York led to the investigation from two disciplinary angles of one of the great lost buildings of England, St Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster. At the heart of royal government, the medieval chapel was the most important place of worship in the palace, and a central site for the liturgical and visual commemoration of the Plantagenet kings. It has often been regarded as a key building for the development of English medieval architecture.¹ The sculpture, painted decoration, and glazing were also magnificent; by good fortune, they are very well documented in the surviving fabric rolls for the building. The rolls record that the chapel was rebuilt from 1292, at the command of Edward I, and completed some sixty years later, under his grandson Edward III. The medieval building has been discussed often by historians of British art and architecture, but the last monograph appeared as long ago as 1955.² St Stephen's and its college therefore promised rich rewards for researchers into medieval kingship, the king's works, the art and architecture of the building, and the crafts employed at this major site.

In an extraordinary transformation, from the mid-sixteenth century, St Stephen's Chapel became the first permanent meeting place for the House of Commons (Fig. 1).³ This was the physical setting for the development of representative government in early modern Britain, through three centuries of debates and legislation, before it was swept away by fire in 1834. The current House of Commons owes much to it, both in layout and parliamentary practice.⁴ There was also a suggestion, which was lent authority by the "Living Heritage" pages of the UK Parliament website, that the liturgical layout of the preceding medieval building had shaped the Commons chamber and its operations.⁵ We therefore planned a study of the lost building, looking at the relationship between liturgical and political spaces across a long period—a collaborative initiative that would open up the building both to scholars and the general public, throwing new light on Parliament in Britain. Our conversation led to the major AHRC-funded research project "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: Visual and Political Culture, 1292-1941" (2013-2017), and a separate project for the publication of the fabric accounts for the medieval building and college. Central to our work was the visualisation of the medieval and early modern building, which we called "Virtual St Stephen's".⁶ A subsequent AHRC-funded project "Listening to the Commons" (2018-2019) explored the acoustics of the pre-1834 chamber and the experience of debates in the House of Commons, especially as they may have been heard by women.⁷ A critical edition of the accounts, a major book on St Stephen's College, and numerous articles have already appeared; a monograph on St Stephen's across this time-span is in preparation.⁸ Further work on St Stephen's cloister, and other buildings formerly belonging to the medieval college, is ongoing.

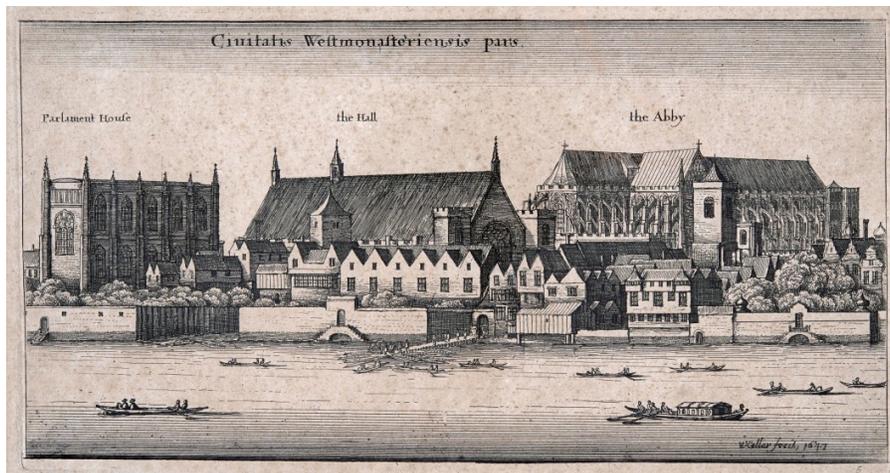


Figure 1.

Wenceslaus Hollar, *Ciuitatis Westmonasteriensis pars*, 1647, etching, 15.2 x 28.6 cm. The “Parliament House” is on the left. Parliamentary Art Collection (WOA 845). Digital image courtesy of Palace of Westminster (All rights reserved).

The three papers presented here are the fruit of the application of new technologies to an understanding of St Stephen’s. The first two are a pair, about the virtual models that we made of the chapel and the House of Commons. Virtual modelling is part of the fast-moving field of digital art history.⁹ Architectural historians have used such models to explore the spatial character of buildings and their environments, in the present and the past, and towards the telling of new stories about them, using the diverse potentials of the medium.¹⁰ Some have focused upon lost monuments, such as the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 (from 1997).¹¹ By contrast, “Visualizing Venice” has set out to understand the city, its territories and lagoon, and how they changed through time (begun 2009).¹² For an exhibition at the National Gallery in London, the lost church of San Pier Maggiore in Florence was modelled, as the original context for display of paintings in their collection (2015–2016), reintegrating scattered parts to imagine lost wholes.¹³ Our project also made use of the particular qualities that visualisation offers, to imagine and explore a lost building, an interior space that changed through time, and the reintegration of parts. We worked with the Centre for the Study of Christianity & Culture at the University of York, which is experienced in the making of such virtual models.¹⁴

The first piece, “Virtual St Stephen’s: The Medieval Model and the Art Historian”, is a discussion of the model of the medieval chapel from the perspective of an art historian, about the research that brought what had been lost into being. The second article, “Mapping the Unknown: Using Incomplete Evidence to Craft Digital Three-Dimensional Models of St Stephen’s” is a reflection upon the processes of the modeller, with a

discussion of how the model of the House of Commons was created technically. They consider the value of such visualisations both for research purposes within the project and for the communication of our findings about this building to the general public. For all visualisations of a scholarly kind, it is necessary to record the processes involved in creating them, as the models themselves do not document their own making and technologies change. These two essays are also therefore a way of putting our project on record. The authors explain how decisions were made, so that the models can be part of continuing conversations.¹⁵ It is likely that the medieval chapel, for example, will continue to be central to debates about royal patronage of art and architecture in late medieval England, the transmission of artistic ideas, the coordination of crafts in such projects, and the effects of the Black Death upon art. In throwing light upon how the interiors of these building were created originally and received, we aim to give the visualisations a continuing value, for researchers and for pedagogical purposes.¹⁶

During the course of the project, further exciting opportunities grew out of encounters with specialists in other fields of research.¹⁷ The third article here, “The Wall Paintings at St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster Palace”, records the results of new analyses that were carried out on paintings that survive from the medieval chapel. Kept today in the British Museum, the paintings were discovered and removed when the architect James Wyatt undertook to install new seats for Irish MPs in the House of Commons, after the Acts of Union in 1800–1801. Both iconographically and technically, the paintings are of outstanding interest, as many have recognised.¹⁸ They include lively narrative scenes from the stories of the Old Testament figures Job and Tobit, with inscriptions, but also brightly painted fragments of masonry. Together, they are important material evidence for what the highly decorated interior of St Stephen's once looked like. Indeed, it was part of the visualisation process to put these paintings back into the building from which they had been removed. The paintings can also be cross-referenced to documentary evidence for the painting, gilding, and decoration of the chapel in the 1350s; the fabric rolls set out the materials that were bought and their costs, and a wealth of evidence for the painting processes.

Taking up an invitation from curators Lloyd de Beer and Naomi Speakman, project researchers made their way in May 2014 to look at the paintings in the museum, along with interested parties from the National Gallery, and many others. We inspected a group of panels in store, and the best preserved pieces, now on display in the main galleries. These paintings had been subjected to analysis in the 1970s, when some preliminary discoveries were made but the potential of such analysis has increased vastly.¹⁹ Thanks to the interest and generosity of staff at the British Museum (Lloyd de Beer

and David Saunders), and at the National Gallery in London (Helen Howard and Catherine Higgitt), it was agreed to carry out new analyses in 2015–2016. These looked especially at underdrawings (infra-red reflectography), the very expensive red lake pigment (high-performance liquid chromatography), and original finishes. The flexibility of the journal's online format has allowed us usefully to include a large number of the resulting images at a high resolution, often within a slider tool for comparison. The exciting findings of this research team are published here for the first time, revealing much about the sophisticated painting techniques and lavish materials employed in a project at the very highest level of royal patronage in fourteenth-century England. They also suggest that there is much more to be discovered.

Footnotes

- 1 Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral, The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130–1530* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1990), 192–196, 204–206.
- 2 Maurice Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel and its Place in the Development of Perpendicular Style in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955). For subsequent discussion, in print, see John H. Harvey, "The Origin of the Perpendicular Style", in Edward Martyn Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B.H. St. J. O'Neil* (London: Odhams, 1961): 134–165; R. Allen Brown, Howard M. Colvin and Arnold J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. I, *The Middle Ages* (London: HMSO, 1963), 510–525; Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral*, 192–196, 204–206; Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 175–185; Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style, 1290–1350* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014), 122–123; John Goodall, "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", in Warwick Rodwell and Tim Tatton-Brown (eds), *Westminster, The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey and Palace*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 39 (for 2013), 2 parts (2015), Part II, 111–119.
- 3 J.P.D. Cooper, "The Elizabethan House of Commons and St Stephen's Chapel Westminster", *Parliamentary History* 38, no. 1 (2019): 34–59.
- 4 J.P.D. Cooper and Richard A. Gaunt, "Architecture and Politics in the Palace of Westminster, 1399 to the Present", *Parliamentary History* 38, no. 1 (2019): 1–16.
- 5 Hastings, *St Stephen's Chapel*, 106. The relevant "Living Heritage" pages were subsequently rewritten by the St Stephen's project team; see <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/ststephenschapel/> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- 6 See <https://www.virtualststephens.org.uk> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- 7 Catriona Cooper, "The Sound of Debate in Georgian England: Auralising the House of Commons", *Parliamentary History* 38, no. 1 (2019): 60–73.
- 8 Tim Ayers (ed.) and Maureen Jurkowski (transcriber and translator), *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020); and Elizabeth Biggs, *Westminster—a Royal Chapel and English Kingship, 1348–1548* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020). The articles include: Rosemary Hill, "'Proceeding like Guy Faux': The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, 1790–1837", *Architectural History* 59 (2016): 253–279; a special issue of *Parliamentary History* (2019); and J.P.D. Cooper and James Jago, "The Great Seal of the Commonwealth and the House of Commons" (in preparation).
- 9 For a recent survey, see Kathryn Brown (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (London: Routledge, 2020).
- 10 Caroline Bruzelius, "Digital Technologies and New Evidence in Architectural History", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 76, no. 4 (December 2017): 436–439. For the potentials, see Elaine Sullivan, Angel David Nieves, and Lisa M. Snyder, "Making the Model: Scholarship and Rhetoric in 3-D Historical Reconstructions", in Jentery Sayers (ed.), *Making Things and Drawing Boundaries: Experiments in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 301–316. Virtual models have been distinguished from "reality-based" models. For a discussion of these, see Amy Jeffs, "Digital 3D Modeling for the History of Art", in Kathryn Brown (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (London: Routledge, 2020), 313–325.
- 11 Lisa M. Snyder, "Research, Process, Publication, and Pedagogy, Reconstructing the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893", in Kathryn Brown (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History* (London: Routledge, 2020), 459–478.
- 12 See <http://www.visualizingvenice.org/> (accessed 18 June 2020). It is one of many collaborative projects at *Wired!*, the Lab for Digital Art History & Visual Culture at Duke University, at: <http://dukewired.org/> (accessed 18 June 2020).

- 13 See National Gallery, <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/exhibitions/past/visions-of-paradise-botticinis-palmieri-altarpiece/> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- 14 See <https://www.christianityandculture.org.uk/research> (accessed 18 June 2020).
- 15 For the decision-making process, see Sullivan, Nieves, and Snyder, "Making the Model: Scholarship and Rhetoric in 3-D Historical Reconstructions", 301–316.
- 16 For the pedagogical uses of virtual models and modelling, see Snyder, "Research, Process, Publication, and Pedagogy", 473; and Caroline Bruzelius, "Teaching with Visualization Technologies: How Does Information Become Knowledge", *Material Religion* 9 (2013): 246–253.
- 17 This also included staff at the Museum of London Archaeology Unit, which houses human bones that were excavated from the undercroft of St Stephen's Chapel in 1992. In response to the project, these bones have been analysed at the University of Bradford Stable Isotope Laboratory, leading to discoveries about the origins, diet, and life histories of those buried there: Julia Beaumont, Jelena Bekvalac, Sam Harris, and Cathy Batt, "Identifying cohorts using isotope mass spectrometry: the potential of temporal resolution and dietary profiles", *Archaeometry*, forthcoming.
- 18 Ernest William Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), 48–58, 206–219; and Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 183–185.
- 19 Peter C. van Geersdaele and Lesley J. Goldsworthy, "The Restoration of Wall Painting Fragments from St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster", *The Conservator* 2 (1978): 9–12.

Bibliography

- Ayers, Tim (ed.) and Jurkowski, Maureen (transcriber and translator) (2020) *The Fabric Accounts of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1292–1396*. Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Beaumont, Julia, Bekvalac, Jelena, Harris, Sam, and Batt, Cathy. "Identifying cohorts using isotope mass spectrometry: the potential of temporal resolution and dietary profiles". *Archaeometry*.
- Biggs, Elizabeth (2020) *Westminster—a Royal Chapel and English Kingship, 1348–1548*. Woodbridge: Boydell.
- Binski, Paul (1995) *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200–1400*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Binski, Paul (2014) *Gothic Wonder: Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style, 1290–1350*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Brown, Kathryn (ed.) (2020) *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History*. London: Routledge.
- Brown, R. Allen, Colvin, Howard M., and Taylor, Arnold J. (1963) *The History of the King's Works*, Vols. I and II, *The Middle Ages*. London: HMSO.
- Bruzelius, Caroline (2013) "Teaching with Visualization Technologies: How Does Information Become Knowledge". *Material Religion* 9: 246–253.
- Bruzelius, Caroline (2017) "Digital Technologies and New Evidence in Architectural History". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 76, no. 4 (December): 436–439.
- Cooper, Catriona (2019) "The Sound of Debate in Georgian England: Auralising the House of Commons". *Parliamentary History* 38, no. 1: 60–73.
- Cooper, J.P.D. (2019) "The Elizabethan House of Commons and St Stephen's Chapel Westminster". *Parliamentary History* 38, no. 1: 34–59.
- Cooper, J.P.D. and Gaunt, Richard A. (2019) "Architecture and Politics in the Palace of Westminster, 1399 to the Present". *Parliamentary History* 38, no. 1: 1–16.
- Cooper, J.P.D. and Jago, James (forthcoming) "The Great Seal of the Commonwealth and the House of Commons".
- Goodall, John (2015) "St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster". In Warwick Rodwell and Tim Tatton-Brown (eds), *Westminster, The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey and Palace*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 39 (for 2013), 2 parts, Part II, 111–119.
- Harvey, John H. (1961) "The Origin of the Perpendicular Style". In Edward Martyn Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B. H. St. J. O'Neil*. London: Odhams, 134–165.
- Hastings, Maurice (1955) *St Stephen's Chapel and its Place in the Development of Perpendicular Style in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, Rosemary (2016) "'Proceeding like Guy Faux': The Antiquarian Investigation of St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, 1790–1837". *Architectural History* 59: 253–279.
- Snyder, Lisa M. (2020) "Research, Process, Publication, and Pedagogy, Reconstructing the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893". In Kathryn Brown (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History*. London: Routledge, 459–478.
- Sullivan, Elaine, Nieves, Angel David, and Snyder, Lisa M. (2017) "Making the Model: Scholarship and Rhetoric in 3-D Historical Reconstructions". In Jentery Sayers (ed.), *Making Things and Drawing Boundaries: Experiments in the Digital Humanities*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 301–316.
- Tristram, Ernest William (1955) *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- van Geersdaele, Peter C., and Goldsworthy, Lesley J. (1978) "The Restoration of Wall Painting Fragments from St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster". *The Conservator* 2: 9–12.

Wilson, Christopher (1990) *The Gothic Cathedral, The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Licensing

The Publishers of *British Art Studies* are committed to supporting scholarship on British art and architecture of all periods. This publication is made available free of charge at <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk>. We ask users to identify the use of materials made available through this website and to provide an appropriate credit to the author and the publication, so that others may find and use our resources.

Except where otherwise noted, this work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 2.0 UK: England & Wales Licence (CC BY-NC 2.0 UK). To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/uk/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

The Publishers fully support the protection of intellectual property and are committed to complying with, and strictly adhering to, all applicable copyright law. In many cases, copyright or other proprietary rights may be held by individuals or entities other than, or in addition to, the Publishers. If a work or a photographic image is still protected by copyright, you must cite the relevant copyright information when using the image and comply with all other terms or restrictions that may be applicable to that material.

In some cases, exceptions to copyright that permit limited use of protected works without the permission of the copyright owner may have been applied. We are confident that we have carried out due diligence in our use of copyrighted material as required, but we apologise for any inadvertent infringement of rights.

Digital copies of resources are made accessible for research for one of the following reasons:

- they are in the public domain;
- the rights are owned by the Publishers;
- we make them accessible under an exception or limitation to UK copyright law, as outlined in the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended);
- we have permission to make them accessible;
- or, there are no known restrictions on use.

If you believe that we have made a mistake and wish for your material to be removed from our site, please contact us at copyright@paul-mellon-centre.ac.uk.

Please include the following information with your request:

- Name and contact information, including email address and phone number.
- Identification of the resource for consideration of removal. Providing URLs in your communication will help us locate content quickly.
- The reason for the request.

The Publishers respond promptly, normally within 21 business days. We may remove the resource from our site while we assess the validity of the request. Upon completion of the assessment, we will take appropriate action and communicate that action to you.