

TUDOR DOMESTIC WALL-PAINTINGS

By FRANCIS W. READER

PART I

In the earlier of two papers on Tudor domestic wall-paintings which have recently appeared in this Journal¹ I described a single house in as full detail as possible, in order to show how richly the painter-stainer of the sixteenth century decorated the interior of the more modest dwellings, carrying the ornament, not only over the walls, but also over the timbers and ceilings. Conditions for recording this example were exceptionally favourable. Although similar characteristics have been noted by others, most published records of such discoveries are too meagre and incomplete to convey any adequate impression of the extent to which this decoration was carried. Frequently the remains found are fragmentary or so obscured by whitewash and wall-papers that the full scheme of decoration can only be recovered by a sacrifice of time and patience that few have seemed willing to incur.

The second paper was an account of the numerous examples that had been discovered in the lesser houses of the county of Buckingham. The type of house in which they occurred was in many cases illustrated in order to show the range of environment. There may, however, be little real purpose in classifying these works under counties, for, although many of them were executed by local men, others were by men sent from the towns, probably from adjoining or even distant counties. This classification was therefore mostly adopted for convenience; though it has the incidental merit of stimulating local interest and observation.

A more comprehensive review of the subject is

¹ *Arch. Journ.* LXXXVII (1930), 71, and LXXXIX (1932), 116.

now necessary and has been rendered more possible by recent discoveries, and by the altered attitude of mind with which they have come to be regarded.

In a few instances some of these domestic wall-paintings have always remained open to view, but the greater number were revealed by the re-building of old houses and the removal of oak panelling that took place so extensively in the nineteenth century. Many of these were in excellent condition, having suffered little further damage than was caused by fastening the panelling or the framework for canvas often put up as an even surface to carry wall paper when it became fashionable. Few of these discoveries were recorded, but several of them have been opened up or re-discovered in recent years.

The indifference with which they were treated by the good people of the nineteenth century arose from a variety of causes. There existed at that time indeed a genuine enthusiasm for art, but it was limited mainly to the easel-picture of high finish, trivial thought, and sickly sentiment. There were many collectors of pictures and generally, even in the humblest houses, the walls were thickly hung with framed pictures of some description. The names and works of many prominent painters were familiar to people of all classes, while so great was the popularity of some, that such works as 'Derby Day,' and 'The Railway Station,' by Frith, had to be specially protected by an iron rail when exhibited at the Royal Academy. The picture was thus no longer a part of a scheme of decoration; it was an entity in itself, a piece of furniture which the walls were found to be a convenient place to accommodate. All sense of decorative art had vanished so far as patrons and the public were concerned, and the term artist had come to mean exclusively the painter of easel-pictures. That, under these circumstances, people were quite incapable of appreciating these sixteenth-century wall-paintings, and denounced them as crude and unworthy of notice, should therefore hardly cause surprise, much as it is to be deplored.

Most of the writers on art have taken the same

standpoint, and although they recognise the excellence of other forms of art (carving, gold and silver work, engraving, textiles, etc.) produced in the sixteenth century, they conclude that there was a hiatus in pictorial art, in spite of the fact that the Painter Stainers formed large and powerful guilds in London and elsewhere.

Lionel Cust evades this difficulty by supposing that 'a native school of painters began to develop itself in divers parts of England. Their productions, being usually of ephemeral and little more than local importance and at their best but imitations of the works of the more highly trained artists of the Netherlands, have survived in few and inconsiderable examples.'¹ An ingenious but unfounded supposition.

Painting throughout the Middle Ages was essentially decorative. Even altar-pieces and panels of screens, although often of high quality, were in reality ornament suited to their architectural setting. It was the only form of painting known in this country, when the power of the Church was broken. Save for portraits of royalty and the nobility, the easel-picture was as yet unknown. The general public demand was for the decoration of the home, and there is now evidence that this was a very extensive and general practice, and comprised the bulk of the paintings of the period.

There were two methods of domestic decoration: one was stained or painted cloth, a hanging used as a substitute for tapestry; the other was painting directly on the plaster and timbers of the walls.

Owing to the perishable nature of the painted cloths, no examples have survived sufficiently to allow any adequate judgment of their quality. Their essential character of level surface and capability of execution in the artist's studio combine to make it practically certain that the painted cloth would be the superior method, and that artists of greater ability would have been employed on them. The great esteem in which they were popularly held is shown by the frequent literary allusions to them. I have already

¹ *Shakespeare's England*, ii, 2.

quoted several from Shakespeare.¹ Malone gives many others,² one of which from 'As you like it,' Act iii, Sc. 2, is specially interesting as showing how these works influenced and entered into the life of the people :

Jaq. : You are full of pretty answers. 'Have you not been acquainted with goldsmiths' wives and conn'd them out of rings ?'

Orl. : Not so ; but I answer you right painted cloth, from whence you have studied your questions.

This is similar to our baser 'speaking Billingsgate.' Orlando's answer shows that texts and moral precepts were a feature of painted cloths as they are of wall paintings.

This is also shown by the lines in Lucrece :

'Who fears a sentence or an old man's saw
Shall by a painted cloth be kept in awe.'

Shakespeare mentions painted cloths much more often than the painted wall, and the frequent allusion to them also by other writers of the period serves to show that it was by far the most popular form of pictorial art. In wills and inventories 'stayned' or 'paynted' cloths appear frequently, and often the subjects depicted are mentioned, Classical Myths, Biblical Scenes, Battles, Sports, etc.

We have the independent testimony both as to the quality of these works, and the extent of their use, from the personal observation of Estienne Perlin, who visited England in 1558. 'Les Anglais se servent fort des tapisseries, des tailles pinctes qui sont bien faictes, ausquelles y a force magnifiques roses couronnées, ou il y a des fleurs de Liz & Lions car au peu de maisons vous pouves entrer que vous ne trouviez ces tapisseries.'³

¹ *Arch. Journal* LXXXIX, 124-5.

² *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, Ed. Malone, Lond., 1821.

³ *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Écosse Composée, par Estienne Perlin, Paris, 1558. Reprint, Bowyer & Nichols, Lond., 1775, p. 11.*

The painted cloth seems to have been the form of art practised by amateurs, as we are told: 'Mayster Thomas More in hys youth devysed in hys father's house in London a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nine pageauntes and verses over every of those pageaunts: which verses expressed and declared what the ymages in those pageaunts represented; and also in those pageauntes were paynted those thynges that the verses over them dyd (in effect) declare.'¹

The material of the fabric used varied from fine linen to coarse canvas, and the painting seems to have been tempera of size and water.

An example of coarse canvas painted with conventional landscape, including houses, hunting incidents, etc., of seventeenth-century date, is to be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and one of similar nature is in Anne of Cleve's House at Lewes. A few pieces have been exhibited at Society meetings.²

None of these seem to be typical of what is described in the literary allusions. These imply something closely resembling tapestries in design, such as is given in *A Dialogue both pleasaunt and pitifull*, by Dr. William Bulleyne, 1564:

'This is a comelie parlour—and faire clothes with pleasaunte borders about the same with many wise sayings paynted upon them.'

In England painted cloths appear to have been extensively produced long before loom-tapestry was introduced. The practice was widespread in Europe, and lasted in Sweden until as late as the eighteenth century.³

Painting directly on the wall differs in many respects from the more popular and highly esteemed hangings, whether woven or painted.

The humbler position occupied by wall-painting is shown by its less extensive use in the larger houses, and then usually in rooms of minor importance. In the smaller houses the principal rooms were the most

¹ The Works of Sir Thomas More. Pastall, London 1557.

² *Trans. Glasgow Arch. Soc.*, n.s., iv (1903), 86-94.

³ *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, xxiii, 255; *Arch. Journ.* xx, 184.

elaborately painted, the upper rooms more simply, or even left without decoration.

In most cases wall-paintings consist of floral or conventional ornament, but there are also many figure-subjects. The designs seldom seem to have been derived from tapestry, as is often suggested. Painted cloths resembled tapestry in being complete works in themselves, and were usually framed in an ornamented border, while they could be moved at will from one place to another, not necessarily being designed for any particular position. The wall-painter worked on quite different lines. His design was made to suit each particular position and was adapted and modified according to the openings and irregularities of the wall-surface. The schemes on which he worked are fairly constant, and were clearly derived from Italian sources, as can be seen from the valuable models of Italian interiors in the Victoria and Albert Museum which were acquired in or about 1883 through the initiative of the Director, Thomas Armstrong.

The most usual method, particularly when the decoration was purely ornamental, was to divide the wall into frieze, filling and dado, or skirting. Any pictorial subjects were kept in conformity with the general scheme, and pictorial panels were often enclosed in an architectural framework of painted columns, arches, etc.

Another method when a series of pictorial subjects was represented, was to make them the important feature, reducing the frieze to a mere cornice, and having a severe dado which was frequently of wainscot. This scheme follows such Italian examples as the 'Paradiso' of Isabella d'Este, in the Ducal Palace, Mantua.¹

In all cases the decoration is a complete and permanent one, and was never intended to be like our modern wall paper, a mere background for framed pictures.

Literature sheds no light on the subject and nothing but the bare mention of it has been discovered.

¹ *Italian Wall Decorations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Vict. and Albert Museum Handbook, 1901.

Even Harrison,¹ who has described the method of house-building in Elizabeth's time in minute detail, the materials used in the construction of the daub and wattle walls, and how the surface of the interior of the rooms was finished with fine white plaster, omits any mention of this surface being painted. He tells us : 'The wals of our houses on the inner sides be either hanged with tapesterie, arras worke or painted cloths, wherein either diverse histories or hearbes, beasts, knots and such like are stained.'

This omission is extraordinary in an account so detailed, but it is one that can be paralleled in several instances in literature, notably Shakespeare's omission of any reference to the use of tobacco. Harrison's omission, however, has led some to the false conclusion that wall-painting could not have become general until after 1587.² It can now be shown, not only that this conclusion is erroneous, but that the painting, both on the wall and on cloth, was apparently declining at this time ; as indeed Stow emphatically states in 1598, 'now that workmanship of staining is departed out of use in England.'³ It may be that Stow was referring more particularly to the stained cloth, as, by dated examples and other evidences, wall-painting continued into the first quarter of the seventeenth century, in the country districts at least ; but the records of the Guild show that by 1603, the Painter Stainers had lit on evil days.⁴ It is also clear that wainscot and plain wash came in with the growth of Puritanism. Ironically a greater number of sixteenth-century wall-paintings have been found in Essex, the county where Harrison lived, than in any other.

Some information as to the working of the craft is to be obtained from the Records of the Painter-Stainers' Company of the City of London.⁵ Although their regulations were limited to a radius of four miles round the city, it is probable that similar rules governed

¹ Description of England prefix to Holinshead Chronicles, first ed. 1577, second ed. 1587. Reprint by the new Shakespeare Soc., ed. F. J. Furnivall, 1877.

² *Essex Arch. Trans.*, n.s., xvii. 224.

³ *Survey of London*, under 'Painter-stainers Hall.'

⁴ *Arch. Journ.* LXXXIX, 123.

⁵ W. A. D. Englefield, *History of the Painter-Stainers' Company of London* (1923).

other centres, to which their influence, no doubt, spread, and were largely observed in remote districts.

From these records it seems clear that the stainers were distinguished by working in distemper, their principal work being the production of stained cloths, although they also, at times, worked direct on the plaster.

Mention is made of a stainer as early as 1267, when a pardon was granted to John, son of Alexander the Stainere (Calendar of Patent Rolls, Hen. III). The stainers, however, seem to have been, for a long time, a smaller and less prominent body than the painters, but rose to more importance in the fifteenth century, when the rising prosperity of commerce led merchants, traders, etc., to live in greater luxury, and increased the demand for stained cloths.

The relative importance of the painters and the stainers in 1469 is indicated by the fact that the former contributed 20 men and the latter 14 men to the City Watch.

For a long period the painters and stainers were separate bodies, who in spite of the similarity of their trades seem to have worked harmoniously, which is the more noteworthy as the painters were constantly in conflict with many other trades. Although the two crafts were distinct, it appears that a painter could work in distemper and was not restricted to oil paint, as in 1433, Richard Davy, of county Gloucester, a painter who had been admitted a freeman in 1416, applied to be admitted into the freedom of the Art of the Steynours, on the ground 'that he had long used and was using the mistery of Steynours.'

In 1502, a joint petition of the painters and the stainers was presented to the Lord Mayor for their union into one craft on terms of equality, which may be an indication of the extensive growth of the production of stained cloths. From this time the Company was known as the 'Painter-Stainers,' and they seem to have flourished, so that in 1532 they were able to acquire a common hall.

In 1581, they were granted a full charter in which they are described as: 'The freemen and citizens of

the City of London of the art or mystery of the Painters of the said city, commonly called in English, "Painter-Stainers." "

In later records reference to the Stainers dies out, and this agrees with the decline in popularity of the stained cloth, and bears out the statement by Stow quoted above.

Before dealing with the numerous discoveries of recent years, it may be instructive to review briefly some of the early notices of these works.

As early as 1814 the paintings at Eastbury House, Barking, were described by Elizabeth Ogden,¹ who reproduced some military figures from the decoration of one room.

In 1834, these were more fully described and illustrated by T. H. Clarke and W. H. Black.² The sides of two rooms are given as plates in colour. Both schemes are very architectural, the surface being divided by classic columns and arches forming panels, which in one case are filled with seascapes with boats, and are fancifully described as representing the Miraculous Draught of Fishes. The second is a similar setting, but having military figures in the panels. The costume is of the time of James I.

An interesting series of paintings at Grove House, Woodford, is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1833, at the time of the demolition of the house. In an upper room, known as the Ball Room, were twelve compartments or panels, each containing some scene of rural life. Six of these remained tolerably perfect, while the others exhibited only a few traces of their former existence or were obliterated by a coat of whitewash, with which the whole in modern days had been covered, owing to this spacious gallery having served as a dormitory of a school and the scholars said to have been disturbed and unable to sleep owing to these figures on the wall.

The subjects of those recovered from the white-wash are given: Haymaking, Farm Yard with Sheep-

¹ *History of Essex, Manor of Eastbury*, p. 48.

² *Eastbur Illustrated*, pl. 15 and 16.

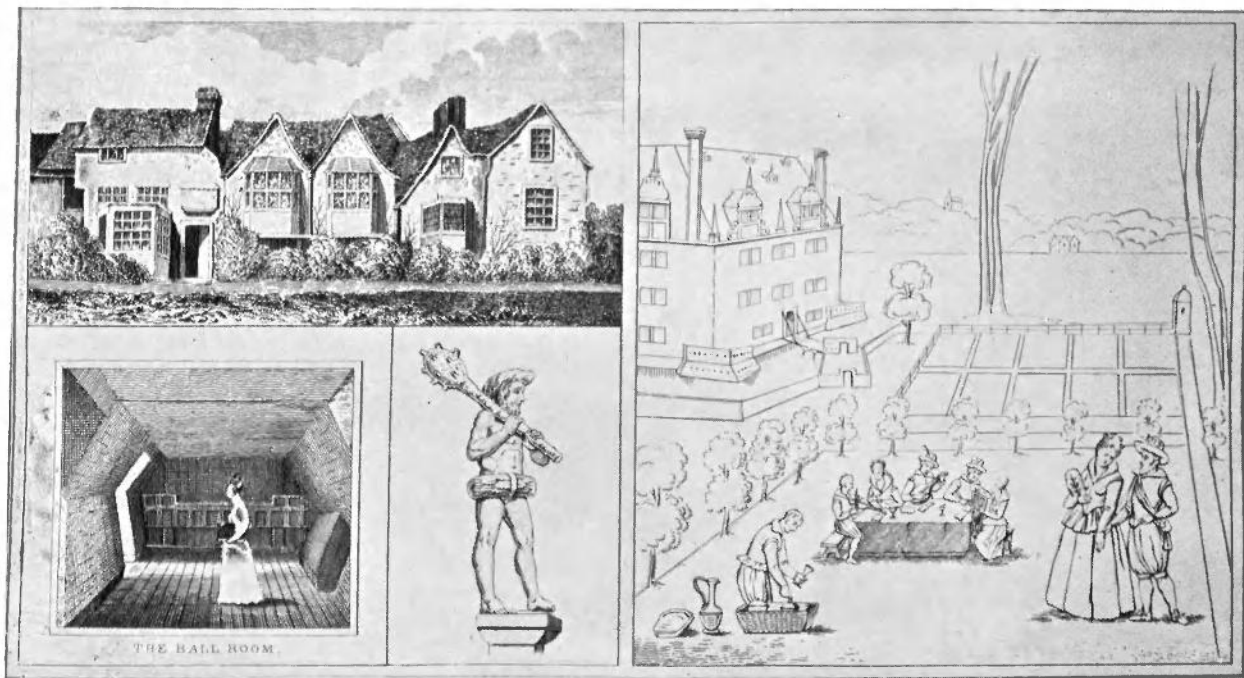
shearing, Reaping Corn, Gathering Apples, Tree Felling, *Conservazione Campestre*. This last, a garden scene with figures in early seventeenth-century costume, is reproduced on a plate, together with a view of Grove House, and the interior of the room in which the paintings occurred 'Pl. i'. The scene which is engraved is from a drawing by a lady who was a pupil of Stothard and who made drawings of the whole series. Unfortunately these copies have so far not been found, although diligent search has been made for them. It is much to be hoped that so interesting a series of drawings, which are possibly in some private collection, may yet come to light.

The City of London would doubtless have afforded many good examples but for the ravages of the Great Fire, and the increased liability to alteration and re-building in a great centre. One example only is known to have survived. The Carpenters' Hall escaped the fire but was rebuilt in 1876. Under canvas, with which it had been covered for many years, a wall was discovered in 1845, which had been painted with four subjects having reference to the craft of carpentry, and divided by painted columns. These were described and illustrated by plates from drawings by F. W. Fairholt in 1846,¹ and again in 1848.² The subjects were: (1) The Building of the Ark (Fig. 1), (2) King Josiah ordering the repair of the Temple (Pl. ii), (3) The Holy Family in the Carpenter's Shop, (4) Christ in His youth teaching in the Synagogue (Pl. iii). Two portions of the plaster were removed to the new Hall, where they remained until 1933, when I saw them and pointed out that they were in need of treatment, and by bringing them to the notice of Dr. Mortimer Wheeler, I was happily instrumental in their being placed on loan in the London Museum. They have now been treated by Professor E. W. Tristram.

On the portions preserved are subject 2 on the first, and subject 3 and a portion of 4 on the second. Artistically they are of considerable merit, apart from

¹ *Journ. British Arch. Assoc.*, 1846. *Company of Carpenters*, by Ed. Basil Jupp.

² *Hist. Account of the Worshipful*



THE BALL ROOM.

GROVE HOUSE, WOODFORD, ESSEX, WITH WALL-PAINTING, ETC.

(From *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1833)



WALL-PAINTING, CARPENTERS' HALL, LONDON. PANEL 2: KING JOSIAH ORDERING THE REPAIR
OF THE TEMPLE

(Now in the London Museum)

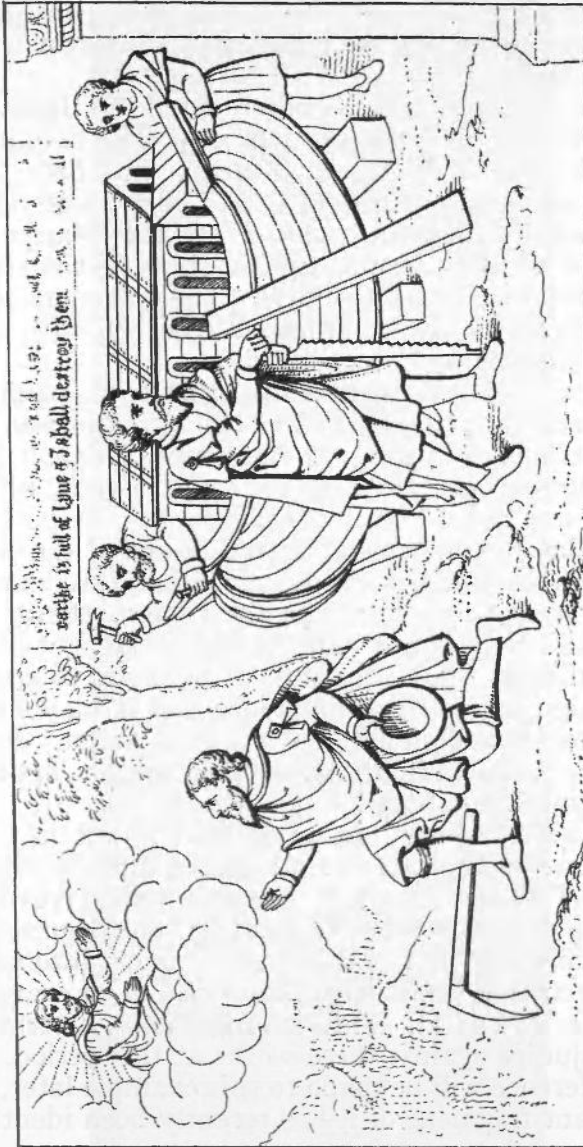


FIG. I. WALL-PAINTING, CARPENTERS' HALL, LONDON. PANEL (DESTROYED); NOAH BUILDING THE ARK.

their special interest as belonging to the City of London. Their date is of the time of Henry VIII.

There was little building outside the City until after the Great Fire, by which time wall-painting was no longer in general favour, and had ceased to be a special craft.

One example has, however, come to light from Lincoln's Inn, and two portions of it were acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1886. They consist of narrow panels of rather coarse and debased renaissance ornament painted on the plaster as a series of pilasters framed by the timbers, the studs of which are set closely together. The ornament is very freely drawn in black outline and relieved with colour, principally red and green (Pl. iv).

Some excellent renaissance ornament, painted so that the design is left white on a blackground, was found at Westminster in 1883, at the house of Canon Barry, formerly the Cellarers' building; an account, with two plates, was published in *Archaeologia*.¹ A portion of the Tudor Royal Arms appeared in one of the designs and from this and what is described as its Holbeinesque character, it was referred to the time of Henry VIII. While this date is not improbable, in the light of more recent discoveries, there seems little reason to attribute the design to Holbein's influence and it may perhaps with greater probability be of a later reign. Further painting in this building (discovered 1924) is figured by the Royal Commission.²

An extraordinary example was found in an old farmhouse at Huckster's End, Herts, in 1880, the only record of which is by J. E. Cussans,³ who gives a small drawing of one portion containing some figures, with this apology: 'Although of no historical interest and of little artistic merit it is interesting as an example of costume' (Pl. xi A). This comment is characteristic of the prejudice against these works at this period. Further reference will be made to this example later, as an important fragment of it has recently been identified.

¹ *Archaeologia* xlvii, 471.

² Royal Com. Hist. Mnts., *Westminster*, pl. 175.

³ *History of Herts, Great Berkhamstead*, vol. iii, 55.



WALL-PAINTING, CARPENTERS' HALL, LONDON. PANEL 3: THE HOLY FAMILY IN THE CARPENTER'S SHOP.
PORTION OF PANEL A: CHRIST IN HIS YOUTH TEACHING IN THE SYNAGOGUE

(Now in the London Museum)



WALL-PAINTING FROM LINCOLN'S INN, LONDON
(Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)

A little later was discovered the fine example (now in the London Museum) which is a representation of 'Jonah and the Whale' (Pl. v). A photograph of this spirited composition, which is of great decorative quality, was exhibited at a meeting of the Essex Archaeological Society in 1893,¹ with no further comment than that it had come from an old house at Waltham Abbey, and had been removed to London.

Again in the same year it was exhibited at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, held at the Drapers' Hall, but the report relating to it was not published until 1913,² when it was accompanied by a photographic reproduction.

Mr. Charles Welch then gave the following particulars: 'The painting was discovered last autumn (1892) during the demolition of a group of five small gabled houses of one storey, on the south side of High Bridge Street, Waltham Abbey, and about 500 or 600 yards west of the Abbey Church. All traces of the buildings had long disappeared when the painting came under my notice, but from careful enquiries I made, it was ascertained that two of the houses were larger than the rest and may possibly have formed originally a single building. The painting was discovered in the house farthest to the west, which was one of the two larger than the others. A partition between two apartments on the upper floor was found to be panelled with oak of late sixteenth century or the Jacobean period, which on being removed the painting was disclosed in perfect condition. . . . It was cut away from the timbers, above and below, and with it was an inscription in a floriated border on its left side, which was destroyed, and was seen only by the workmen.'

Messrs. Charles Keyser and J. G. Waller also spoke, and it was agreed that the painting was of mid sixteenth-century date, but the discussion mainly serves to show how little the subject of these domestic wall-paintings was understood at that time by these

¹ *Essex Arch. Trans.*, n.s., iv, 300.

² *Lond. and Middlx. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, n.s., ii, 111.

authorities on ecclesiastical art. They could only conceive some religious significance and speculated as to whether the demolished houses might have formed a part of the monastic buildings. Mr. Keyser remarked 'that it was curious that the subject was one that occurred only in very early and very late times.' That the late example may have had a secular origin from so base a source as the drama does not seem to have come into their vision. This, however, is most probable, as is the case with such scriptural subjects as: The Prodigal Son, Tobit and the Angel, Dives and Lazarus, etc., which were popular as plays in Elizabethan times. Jonah and the Whale is introduced by Robert Green in his play 'A Looking Glass for London and England.'¹

The painting was evidently one of a series of subjects of a similar nature, as a portion of the adjoining one remains on the right-hand side (Pl. v).

This painting possesses many striking qualities, the imposing shape and fine details of the classic boat, the powerful swirl of the waves combined with the lines of the whale, round off the composition admirably, while the story is very dramatically and tersely portrayed.

Objection may be taken by realists to the lack of scale in the diminutively drawn minor actors and the fearsome and fanciful monster that is depicted as the whale. The former was no doubt deliberate and may be regarded as decorative licence, the latter was perhaps lack of knowledge combined with the extraordinary belief in monsters prevailing at this period.² This weird beast is distinctly more effective, artistically, and shows the superiority of imagination over fact in the treatment of a fanciful or allegorical theme.

It is enclosed in a painted frame of a simple and severe nature, while the scheme to which it belonged appears to be that of the 'Paradiso' of Isabella d'Este. With its harmonious colour, in which blue, orange and crimson predominate, it must have made a particularly rich decoration.

There would be little purpose in attempting to

¹ *Works of Robert Green*, Mermaid Series, 77.

² *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus Olao Magno*, Antwerp, 1562.



WALL-PAINTING OF JONAH AND THE WHALE, FROM AN OLD HOUSE AT WALTHAM HOLY CROSS

(Now in the London Museum)

(From a drawing by Francis W. Reader)

exhaust the list of these discoveries during the nineteenth century. Such records as were made are few and scanty, but those above reviewed are perhaps sufficient to show the general indifference with which they were regarded. Throughout this period the greater number passed unnoticed and were destroyed, or again covered up. In the early part of the nineteenth century the few examples appear more by some accident to have aroused the interest of the 'curious antiquary' who had neither seen nor heard of others, and were consequently described as the rare but crude efforts of some German artist, this idea being based on Shakespeare's mention of 'The German hunting,' which, however, is merely the reference to the subject of some probably imported painted cloth.

Later in the century the natural inability of an easel-picture-fed public to appreciate boldly conceived and executed decorative work was intensified by the thunder of Ruskin against 'pestilent renaissance' and by the Gothic revivalists, part of whose faith was to denounce all work of Reformation times. Church wall-paintings were being actively uncovered and their beauties and interest warmly extolled. This enthusiasm was more religious than artistic, and consequently biassed and devoid of discrimination.

The well-known 'Keyser's List' of English mural paintings¹ contains some thousands of ecclesiastical but less than a dozen domestic examples. This indicates pretty accurately the lack of interest in domestic work at this time.

In the early 1900's we find more frequent records of discoveries and more care taken in their preservation. This movement was most apparent among the ordinary public, hotels and the press than among archaeologists, who for the most part were still scornful and aloof; and those who had the temerity to display any interest in such matters were often careful to show that their interest was qualified with the full knowledge of all the iniquities of the sixteenth century.

The important painting in the Old Flushing Inn

¹ *A list of Buildings in England the middle of the sixteenth century, having Mural Decorations previous to* Science and Art Dept. 1883.

at Rye was discovered in 1905 and was well recorded in an excellent drawing by Miss Elizabeth Drake, a general description by Mr. Philip Johnston, its heraldry ably treated by Everard Green and an account of the building by Harold Sands. Undoubtedly no sixteenth-century wall-painting had previously been afforded such elaborate attention, but Mr. Johnston finds it necessary to compare the work with that of the thirteenth century to the disadvantage of the sixteenth-century painters in these words :—¹

‘ But then one is fain to confess that, apart from this, thirteenth-century art, *qua art*, stands on a far higher plane than that of the Reformation period of the sixteenth century, when ideals had become lowered, the moral standard degraded and Art, even the truthful expression of Life, had grown to be coarse, extravagant, grotesque and earthbound. Masonry, woodwork and painting had ceased to be the function of the religious guilds and were exploited by a travelling craftsman whose chief thought was payment for his task.’

If this comparison had been between thirteenth and fifteenth-century work, it would have had greater justification. Not only medieval art, but the Church itself had degenerated and outlived its purpose and usefulness ; while so far as working for payment is concerned, the secular artists of the sixteenth century, as we can see from their work, compare very favourably with what we know of the avarice of the Church in its later stages. The idea that all domestic paintings were the work of travelling craftsmen is a mere popular superstition, and one that dies with difficulty. Even the church craftsman, on occasion, had to travel to where his services were required, precisely as did—and does—his secular successor. No more unfortunate example could have been selected on which to express regret at the loss of the religious guilds.

The date of the painting is convincingly shown by the heraldry to be 1547, the year of the accession of Edward VI. The religious guilds although somewhat despoiled, were not until this year suppressed.

¹ *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, 1, 116–124.



WALL-PAINTING AT THE OLD FLUSHING INN, RYE, SUSSEX
(From a drawing by Francis W. Reader)

Apart from any other consideration this example is of special importance as, so far as I have found, it is the only one that shows the transition from the medieval to the classic styles. I have formerly remarked on the distinct break that appears to characterise this change,¹ judging from the examples. This, however, may be more apparent than real, as examples of this early date are particularly rare owing to the few substantial houses possessed by the ordinary citizen until the time of Elizabeth. With the great increase of improved building, the practice of wall-painting also became much more general and by this time the Renaissance style, in ornament at least, had become fully established in this country.

The painting was found beneath panelling on a wall about 17 ft. wide and 8 ft. high, the design being the simple division of frieze and filling (Pl. vi). The frieze is about 1 ft. 3 in. deep and a band 3 in. deep representing a moulding with a rope-pattern between two fillets separates the two divisions. The whole surface of the 'filling' which originally appears to have reached to the floor-line, a depth of about 6 ft. 6 in., is intersected by three broad diagonal bands, on each of which are the words, *Soli Deo Honor et [Gloria]*. This last word, it is supposed, may have appeared on the band if it had been returned along the floor line. This portion having met with destruction it is now covered with a modern skirting board.

The whole of the intervening portion is a rich and elaborate arrangement of birds, beasts and flowers, entwined in foliage, and is distinctly gothic in character. The craftsman who executed this was a master within the limitations of his art. It is drawn with great decision, not with much knowledge of form, although many of the animals are sufficiently near to Nature to indicate their species, but some of them are mere monsters, while they all suggest an origin in the conventions of some monkish Bestiary. It is the work of a man who has reached the end of his capacity, who has probably grown old in its pursuit and has no

¹ *Arch. Journ.* LXXXIX, 119.

further ambition. There is no reason to doubt that he was a product of the Religious Guild.

When we come to the frieze, very different conditions are at once apparent; the architectural panels with volutes and consoles supported by amorini are distinctly classic. The drawing is faltering and undecided, and evidently the work of a man whose training is as yet imperfect, but who is striving to represent natural forms with knowledge and refinement, instead of being content with rude conventional symbols. The effect of the whole work is very rich and harmonious, and it is probably a simulation of tapestry before wall-painting had become an independent craft and had developed on its own lines.

An important event was the meeting of the St. Albans and Herts Archaeological Society on March 13, 1902, when three discoveries of domestic wall-paintings in the county were reported, at the White Hart Inn, St. Albans, Rothamsted House, and in an old house at Royston.¹

That at the White Hart Inn had been previously found about 1880, but not recorded, and it was again covered up with canvas and wallpaper. At its rediscovery it came under the notice of F. G. Kitton, who as an artist was much impressed with the bold brushwork of its execution.

It is debased renaissance of an exaggerated nature, but vigorous and interesting as an instance of design with a central ornament of built-up forms, flanked with supporting monsters and scrolls, in which balance is roughly kept, but the detail varied; the variation being carried to an extreme limit.

Some of the fragments have been preserved in the house but compressed to fit a frame without regard to their original position.

The Rothamsted House paintings described by N. T. Hodgson are remarkable and possess one of the few military subjects represented in these works. This forms the frieze, which is supported on a well-drawn architectural setting of arches and columns.

¹ *St. Albans and Herts Arch. Soc. Trans. I, part iv, n.s., 376-386.*

Within the arches are shell-headed coved niches containing animals. The whole rests on a pedestal forming the dado. A previous description of this example was also given by C. E. Keyser to the Society of Antiquaries.¹

The house at Royston was described by F. W. Kinneir Tarte, who tells us that he 'was much struck with the amount of decorative painting on the ceilings of various rooms, and in all sorts of odd places, even in the rooms in the roof.' Only one illustration is given (Fig. 2), but this is specially interesting, being on the upper part of a disused staircase in which narrow panels of freely-drawn renaissance ornament alternate with narrower strips (probably studs) which are covered with a continuous strap-work pattern in stencil. This is the sole instance known to me of the use of the stencil in domestic wall-painting. Many decorations are so described, but in all cases that it has been possible to confirm, the term has been wrongly applied to a repeat-pattern drawn freehand.² As shown in the illustration, this is undoubtedly stencil-work, and is very similar to the stencilled framework of texts painted in Little Missenden Church (Pl. viii A), which are of about the same period. The freehand panels drawn in black outline on a white ground are elaborate compilations of various forms, including fruit, birds and ribbons, and surmounted by a limbless male figure bearing on his head a load of fruit. It is well drawn although a little heavy, as is characteristic of late work, and forms an excellent example of the skill of the sixteenth-century artist in adapting his design to suit variations in the size and shape of his spaces.

The plethora of material at this meeting raised considerable enthusiasm, in the heat of which proposals were made to copy 'the numbers of interesting paintings still existing,' and suggestions made as to

¹ *Proc. Soc. of Ants.* (2nd series), xix, 51, 59.

² So far as concerns London, the records of the Painter-Stainers' Company show that the use of the stencil was regarded with great disapproval, and is described as 'a false

and deceitful work and destructive of the art of painting, being a great hinderer of ingenuity and a cherisher of idleness and laziness in all beginners in the said art.' W. A. D. Englefield, *History of the Painter-Stainers' Company of London*, pp. 95-96.

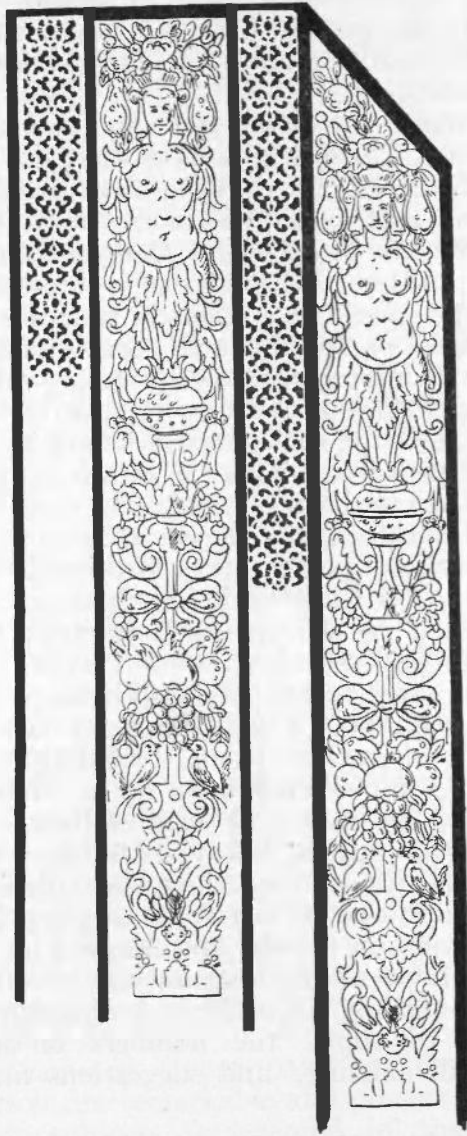


FIG. 2. WALL-PAINTING, ROYSTON, HERTS.

From a drawing by F. W. Kinneir Tarte. By permission of the St. Albans and Herts Arch. Soc.

the dates and artists of these paintings. Little further, however, seems to have been done. An event which did more to arouse public attention to these works was the publication in 1911 of a paper by Miller Christy and Guy Maynard on 'Some early Domestic Wall Paintings recently found in Essex.'¹ This paper was well illustrated, two plates being in colour, and contained a general review of the subject and of all the Essex examples known to the writers at that time. It was far more comprehensive than anything that had previously appeared, and not only enlisted sympathisers, but aroused the rancour of the more extreme medievalists whose views were, a little later, crystallized by J. Chas. Wall.² Mr. Wall mainly selected these Essex examples as a pretext on which to pour scorn and obloquy on the changed style. He tells us:—

'In the sixteenth century painting was divorced from architecture with the debasement of religion, and domestic decoration, which continued after that revolutionary treatment, increased in flamboyancy and florid colours and was totally independent of architectural forms.'

The Carpenters' Hall paintings he describes as 'the latest examples of dignified treatment extant . . . and are a relic of the days when trade guilds were formed on religious principles. . . . The medieval age to which we intended to limit this subject is now past, but it is perhaps as well to trace mural painting to its most degraded depths. Killed by the Reformation, unbridled by lofty thought or aspiration, reverting to paganism which should have ended when the Anglo-Saxons turned from their false gods to a pure creed. . . . Art, however, had not only declined, it had perished.'

If such an impassioned exaggeration means anything, it is merely that in the opinion of the writer, art exists only when combined with religion, and the particular faith which he professes.

After the great war such narrow and distorted

¹ *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.* n.s, xii, 23-37.

² J. Chas. Wall, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, The Antiquaries Primers. 1914.

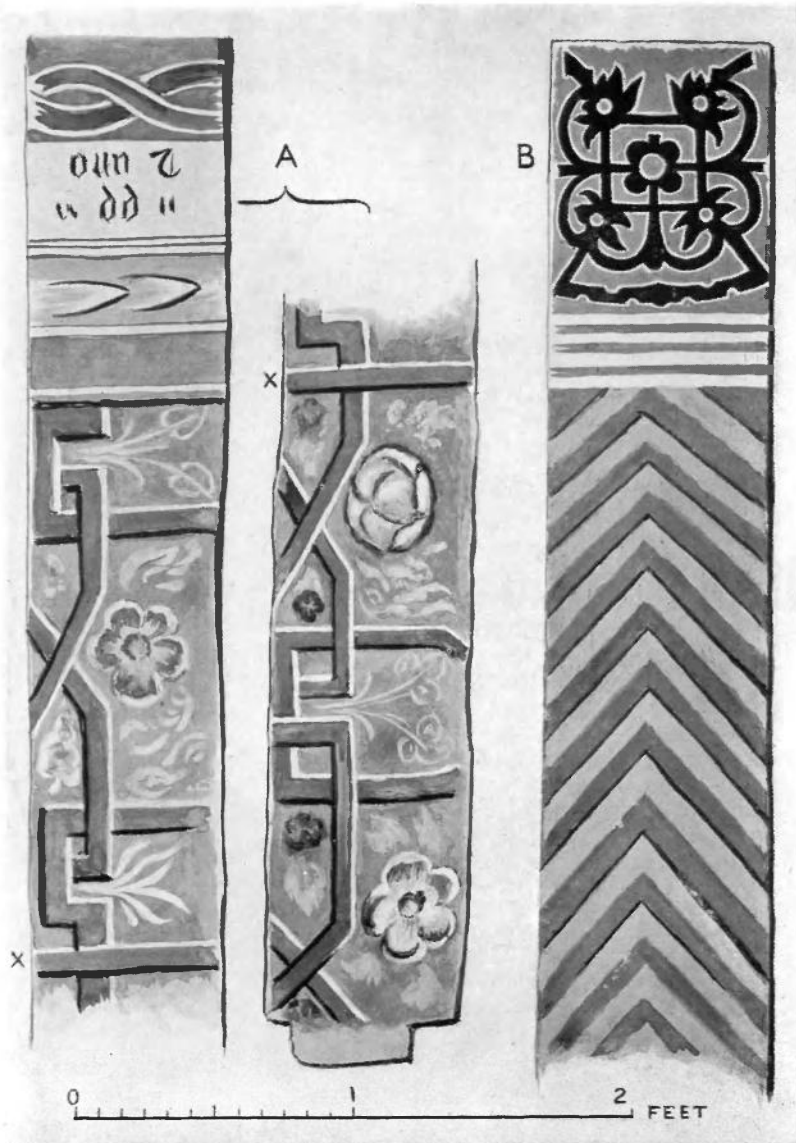
views were no longer intelligible. Classic art loses none of its beauty and refinement because it is called pagan, just as medieval art remains what it is, in spite of apathy or religious zeal. Taste in such matters is now quite unfettered by creeds and dogma. Thus we find at the present time that some of the best authorities on the painting of the Middle ages are also prominent for their interest in domestic wall-paintings. This changed outlook, in the last few years, has had remarkable results. From probably less than twenty recorded examples before 1900, the number has now grown to hundreds. I have been able to list nearly 200 in less than twenty counties, and my search has been for the most part quite cursory.

Our museums have acquired many specimens of the actual paintings, while the Print Room of the Victoria and Albert Museum has been enriched with a number of valuable records in the form of coloured drawings, mainly the work of Mr. Martin Hardie and Professor E. W. Tristram. To both of these gentlemen I am indebted for much encouragement and assistance in my endeavour to collect examples, and for kindness in freely giving me permission to use their drawings.

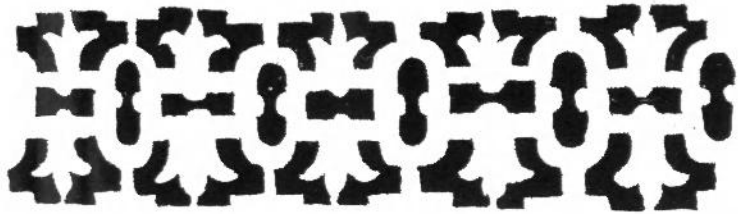
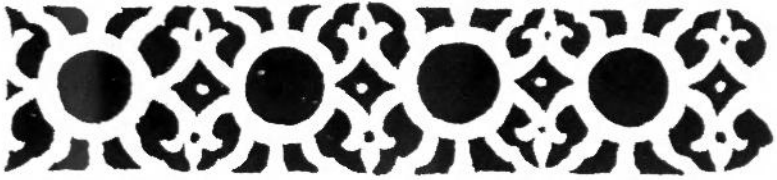
In many parts of the country observers have been active and many records have recently appeared in archaeological societies' transactions and other journals.

Owing to the activities of the Rev. Montagu Benton, who has been supported by Messrs. A. B. Bamford, E. T. Bond, Hubert Collar, W. Gurney Benham and others, the number of examples in Essex has been increased from eight in Christy and Maynard's list in 1911, to nearly sixty. My list, which will be found in an appendix, has been kindly checked and amplified by the Rev. Montagu Benton and is probably more complete than those for the other counties.

The numerous discoveries in some counties as compared with others appears to be rather the result of their having possessed a larger number of observers than of their actual possession of a greater number of these works. In this way Sussex stands well, through



TWO PAINTED STUDS, GREAT PEDNOR, BUCKS.
(Block lent by The Bucks Archaeological Soc.)



A. STENCIL BORDERS TO TEXTS. LATE SIXTEENTH- OR EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY, LITTLE MISSENDEN CHURCH, BUCKS.

(Drawings by E. Clive Rouse)



B. PAINTED FRIEZE ON CEILING-BEAM, THOMPSON'S FARM, LONG CRENDON, BUCKS.

(Block lent by The Bucks Archaeological Soc.)

the good fortune of having the interest of workers like Mr. W. H. Godfrey, Mr. P. M. Johnston and others.

Discoveries continue to be made and five more have occurred in Bucks since my report was published in 1933.¹ Most of these examples are fragmentary but instructive.

The old Manor House, at Great Pednor,² must have had the walls of many of the rooms painted, but after the recent alteration all that remains is a number of painted studs brought from different parts of the house and re-erected in a ground floor room, some of them having been placed upside down. Various schemes of decoration are represented, some with friezes having inscriptions in black letter.

One of the best preserved is shown, on A, Pl. vii. This has an intricate arrangement of strap-work dividing the 'filling' into a number of irregular panels containing floral ornament. The colour is mainly of delicate, low-toned shades of pink and green.

Only in one instance is there a 'stud' in its original position, this is at the side of the kitchen fireplace B, Pl. vii). In this case the 'studs' appear to have received special treatment so as to convert them into pilasters dividing the intervening spaces. The head of the stud has a striking and complete ornament of strap-work, in black outlined in white, on a bright red ground, below which are four plain bands of white, dividing it from the lower portion which is filled with chevrons of cream colour outlined with black on a red ground. As the walls of this room were not interfered with in the recent alterations, the full scheme may at some future time be disclosed.

The second example was at Thompson's Farm, Long Crendon,³ where all that was found was a frieze on a ceiling beam of about 10 inches in depth. The ornament consisted of conventional forms in light pink, or cream, alternated, and surrounded with foliage in green on the plain background of the timber (Pl. viii B).

No traces of ornament were found below this frieze,

¹ *Arch. Journ.* LXXXIX, 115.

² *Records of Bucks*, xiii, 42.

³ *Records of Bucks*, xiii, 148.

so it is probable that the walls below were covered with hangings of some description, as similar instances have occurred elsewhere.

Other examples have recently been discovered at Aston Clinton, Stony Stratford and Buckingham. These are under examination.

The researches of the Royal Commission and the Victoria History have also been a means of making known many that would otherwise have remained unnoticed. Imposing as the figures may now appear, many of the records are imperfect and serve only to show the wide extent of the practice. The number of examples affording a basis for classification is still rather limited, but there are sufficient to provide material from which to draw certain tentative conclusions which can be corrected or modified as further evidence is obtained. Lists of the discoveries in counties are added as an appendix.

In this consideration it should be borne in mind that the practice, as a craft, extended over a century, employing men of varied ability and training, who had to satisfy the tastes and requirements of an even larger and more varied class of patrons. Under these circumstances, it is natural that the greatest unevenness in quality, and diversity of design resulted, and that this differed in various localities and at different times, making any clear-cut classification a matter of difficulty. Certain broad divisions can, however, be recognised, and it may be well to begin with the worst. J. C. Wall selected the example from the attic of Shelly Hall, Ongar (Pl. ix A), as typical of the degradation to which mural painting had succumbed in the sixteenth century. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for him that this specimen should have been among the very limited number known to him. In all the more recent accessions, only two of similar barbarity have been disclosed: the Adam and Eve from a farmhouse at Meadle, Bucks,¹ and that from a small cottage at North Warnborough, Hants, recorded by Mr. Martin Hardie, who describes it as 'extremely crude, probably done by a village workman (Pl. ix B). There is no definite repeat: the drawing

¹ *Arch. Journ.* LXXXIX, pl. xxiii.



A. WALL-PAINTING IN ATTIC, SHELLY HALL, ONGAR, ESSEX
(Photo by F. W. Reader)



B. WALL-PAINTING, NORTH WARN-
BOROUGH, HANTS.
(From a drawing by Martin Hardie, R.I.)

To face page 266.

PLATE IX



A. PORTION OF PAINTED WIND-BRACE FROM HUCKSTER'S END,
HERTS.

(Photo by permission of St. Albans Museum)



B. ILLUSTRATION OF THE
WALL-PAINTING AT HUCK-
STER'S END

(From Cussans' *History of Herts*)

is weak : and the free brushwork uncertain. What is of special interest is the exotic feeling in the design—the apparently feathered head-dresses of the horse-men, and the tropical trees.' Mr. Hardie suggests : 'the paintings probably represent the journey of the Magi to Bethlehem.'¹

There is little need to attempt a defence of these specimens ; they are quite exceptional, and, while not without interest, may be passed over, as are similar elementary examples in all other periods.

It may be instructive to examine some exceptional instances of a different description.

On enquiry at the St. Albans Museum, in 1933, I was taken to the store-room to see what sixteenth-century wall-paintings were in the collection, and was specially delighted to find two timber wind-braces, one of which was in good condition and bore a portion of some very remarkable work. At the top end were two male heads with frilled collars which were drawn with surprising power and knowledge, and much in advance of anything I have yet seen in these works. At the extreme end, beyond the heads, was a portion of a Corinthian capital and a spirally fluted column. On the lower side of the heads was a portion of a third figure, after which the composition seems to be doubtful, but one handle and the base of a large vase is showing. The lower end of the brace has freely-drawn ornament of conventional foliage which appears to have formed the dado. It is painted in low tone, harmonious colours, and must have formed part of a highly skilful piece of work (Pls. x and xi).

The only particulars I could obtain were that these braces were sent by the late Lord Brownlow, when Ashridge was given to the nation, and that they must have come from some house on the estate. Later, on looking through Cussans' *History*, I recognised that this brace with the heads must have been a portion of the subject represented in the slight sketch given of the painting at the farm-house at Huckster's End (Pl. x B), his remarks on which have been quoted above.

¹ Vict. and Albert Museum Accessions, 1924.

The figures no doubt represent serving-men as Cussans states. The costume is of about 1570-1580. They appear to have formed the side of some central composition probably relating to Elizabeth during her

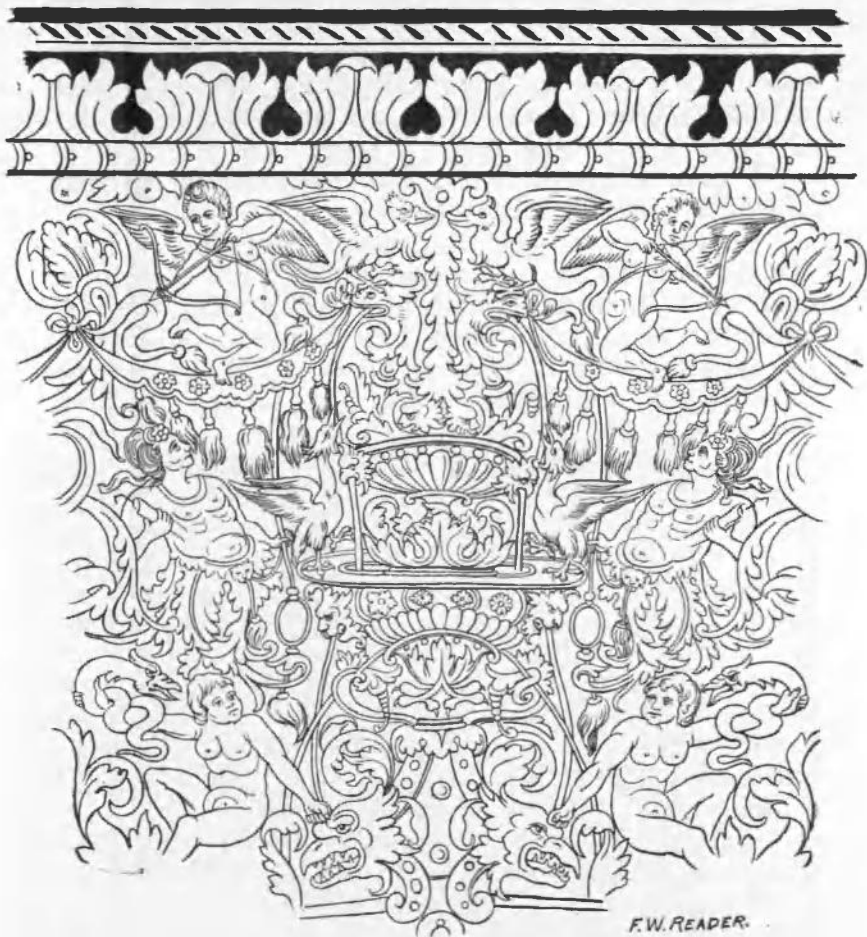


FIG. 3. WALL-PAINTING ON WALL AND SLOPE CEILING OF ATTIC, SHIRE HALL, WILMINGTON, KENT

stay at Ashridge. On the other brace is a portion of the Royal Arms, but much of the work on this is indefinite.

It is much to be regretted that no better record



PAINTED WIND-BRACE FROM HUCKSTER'S END, HERTS.

(Now in the Herts. County Museum, St. Albans)

(Drawing by Francis W. Reader)

has been made of so fine a work, but sufficient remains to show that, subordinate as this craft may have been, there were among those employed in it artists of considerable ability who had made enormous advance since their emergence from the thralldom of the religious guilds, although they had to be content with working in modest farm- and dwelling-houses.

Another striking example is that from an attic of Shire Hall, Wilmington, Kent. An account of this, with photographs, has already appeared in the *Journal*.¹ Photographs, although useful, are frequently insufficient in themselves as satisfactory records of such works, and need to be supplemented with drawings. Few people, probably, apart from those well acquainted with ornament, realized from the illustration, what a rich, elaborate design was here depicted. My friend, Mr. Yates, was kind enough to let me have this and several other photographs he had fortunately taken before the house was destroyed, as he relates, and from these I have been able to make out much of the design which covered the side and the slope roof (Fig. 3). Most interesting is the manner in which the end of the room, round the fireplace, has been decorated and the design adapted to the broken spaces (Fig. 4).

Mr. Yates has suggested 1591 as the date of the building because this date is carved on a chimney-beam in another part of the house. The building, however, has undergone several alterations, as is clearly shown in a photograph of the exterior, and the style of the ornament on this beam is evidently later than that of the Tudor fireplace in the attic, which is probably of the early part of the century. The painting appears to be of the latter part of the century, and probably about the time that the chimney beam was carved. The painting shows good drawing, knowledge of form, and an excellent play of line and fancy. It certainly cannot be said of this craftsman that his 'chief thought was payment for his task.'

¹ *Arch. Journ.* LXXXVI, III.

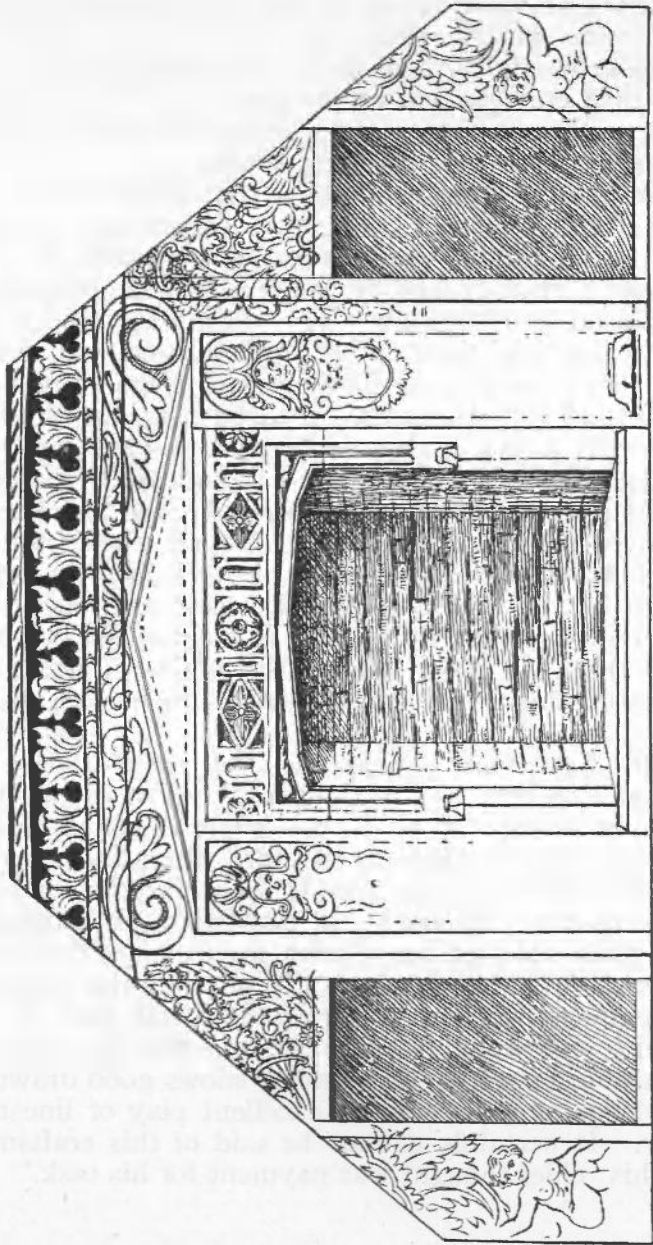


FIG. 4. FIREPLACE AND END OF ATTIC WITH PAINTED DECORATION, SHIRE HALL, WILMINGTON, KENT

WALL-PAINTINGS AT MILDENHALL MANOR HOUSE

A notable discovery was made in 1934 at the Manor House, Mildenhall, Suffolk. In one of the rooms on the ground-floor a piece of painted ornament had been disclosed some years ago, which the owner, the late Sir Henry Bunbury, fortunately preserved. It is a horizontal panel, about 5 ft. wide by 2 ft. 6 in. high, containing very graceful and well-drawn renaissance ornament painted in black, white and grey (Pl. xii). On the right is a fantastical winged creature having the head and body of a boy, from whose hands is suspended a swag and pendant. Two limbs of a beast with paws grow from the lower portion of the body, which tapers into a sheath of foliage, terminating with a scroll of cusps, flowers and foliage. From the centre of this springs a cornucopia of fruit. Beyond this on the left is a lion rampant, one of whose hind legs is being bitten by a fanciful reptile of the basilisk order. This end of the panel has been damaged by the insertion of a door, but the design appears to have finished at this point, as there are indications of the border which encloses the other sides. It is a specially interesting piece of classic design, subtly constructed so as to conceal its geometric basis of diagonals and division into three nearly equal sections by two vertical lines.

On the right are the remains of an adjoining panel, which had been cut away, apparently in the eighteenth century, for the formation of an alcove 7 ft. 6 in. wide and about a foot in depth.

When it was decided to demolish the house last year, the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green brought this painting to the notice of the authorities of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Its removal was a matter of considerable difficulty, as it was on the face of a chalk-rubble wall and had to be sawn away in sections and subsequently joined. This has been skilfully done and it is now exhibited in Gallery 56, where I first saw it. A little later, the Rev. Montagu Benton was good enough to inform me of further discoveries that had been made during the demolition of the house, a note

on which he had already published.² He also kindly put me into communication with the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green, whose interest in the matter fortunately led him to take photographs of the remains, and, but for his efforts and observation, this fine example would have shared the fate of most of these works and been flung into the rubbish cart unknown and unheeded.

These later discoveries consisted of three further panels on the portion of the same wall which extended beyond the alcove. For some reason I am unable to ascertain, this portion of the wall had at some later time been hidden by a facing of brick, so that any further painting was quite unsuspected, and the whole wall was partly destroyed from the top before they were recognised (Pl. xiii).

The Rev. Tyrrell Green has not only given me the free use of his negatives, but has kindly supplied me with information and measurements by which I have been enabled to construct a diagram (Fig. 5) showing a plan and elevation of the wall, with the relative position of the paintings so as to recover approximately the general scheme of decoration.

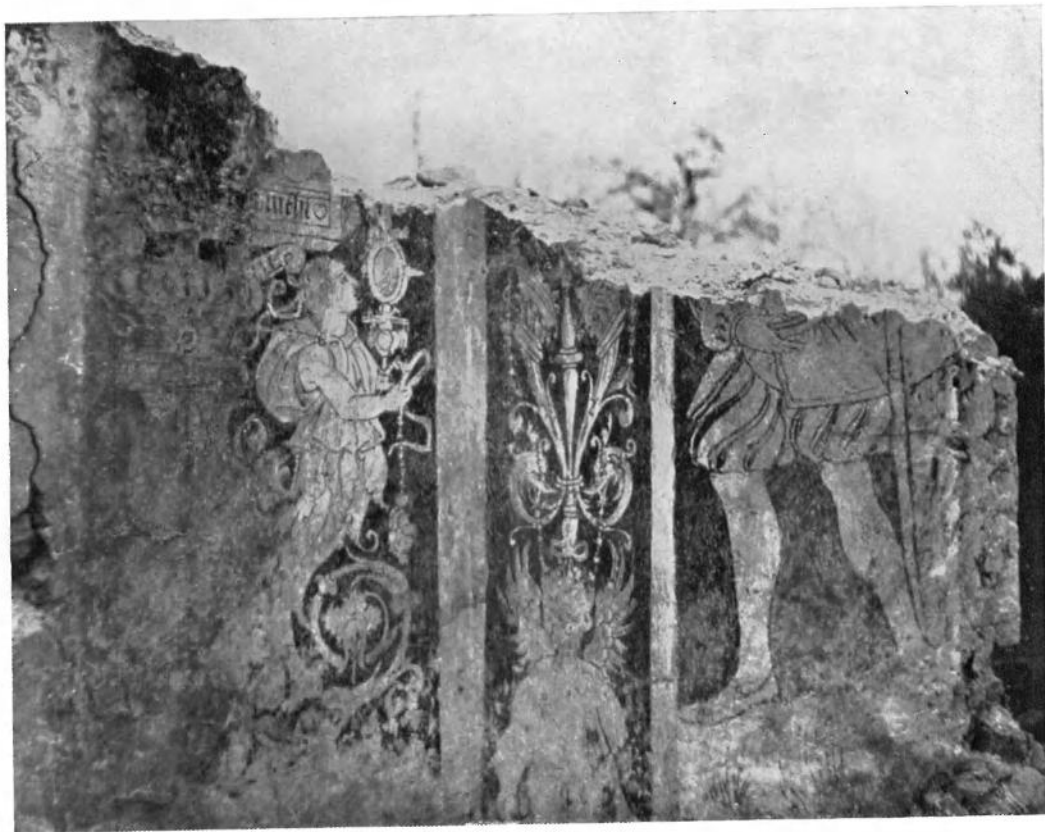
The first of the later discovered panels (B) was on the right of the alcove, in the formation of which about a foot of the left side of this panel had been cut away and a further portion obliterated. From what remains it is clear that it was a large panel 6 ft. 6 in. wide, and filled the entire space from floor to ceiling.

Its centre was occupied by a bold baluster-form with acanthus-foliage and other ornament, on either side of which was a fanciful figure, the upper part being that of a draped woman whose nether extremities tapered off into a sheath of foliage like a mermaid's tail and ultimately ended in scrolls of flowers and foliage. Only the right-hand figure remains with any clearness, but the nature of the design requires a figure of equal balance, and some details can be seen, such as the ribbons from the back of the head, the loose drapery at the back, etc., which show that this was the case. The remaining figure holds a mirror in her left hand,

¹ *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch. and Nat. Hist.* xxiii (1934).



WALL-PAINTING FROM MILDENHALL MANOR HOUSE, SUFFOLK. PANEL A
(Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)
(From a photograph by the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green retouched by F.W.R.)



WALL-PAINTING, MILDENHALL MANOR HOUSE, SUFFOLK. PANELS B, C AND D ON PLAN, FIG. 5

(From a photograph by the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green)

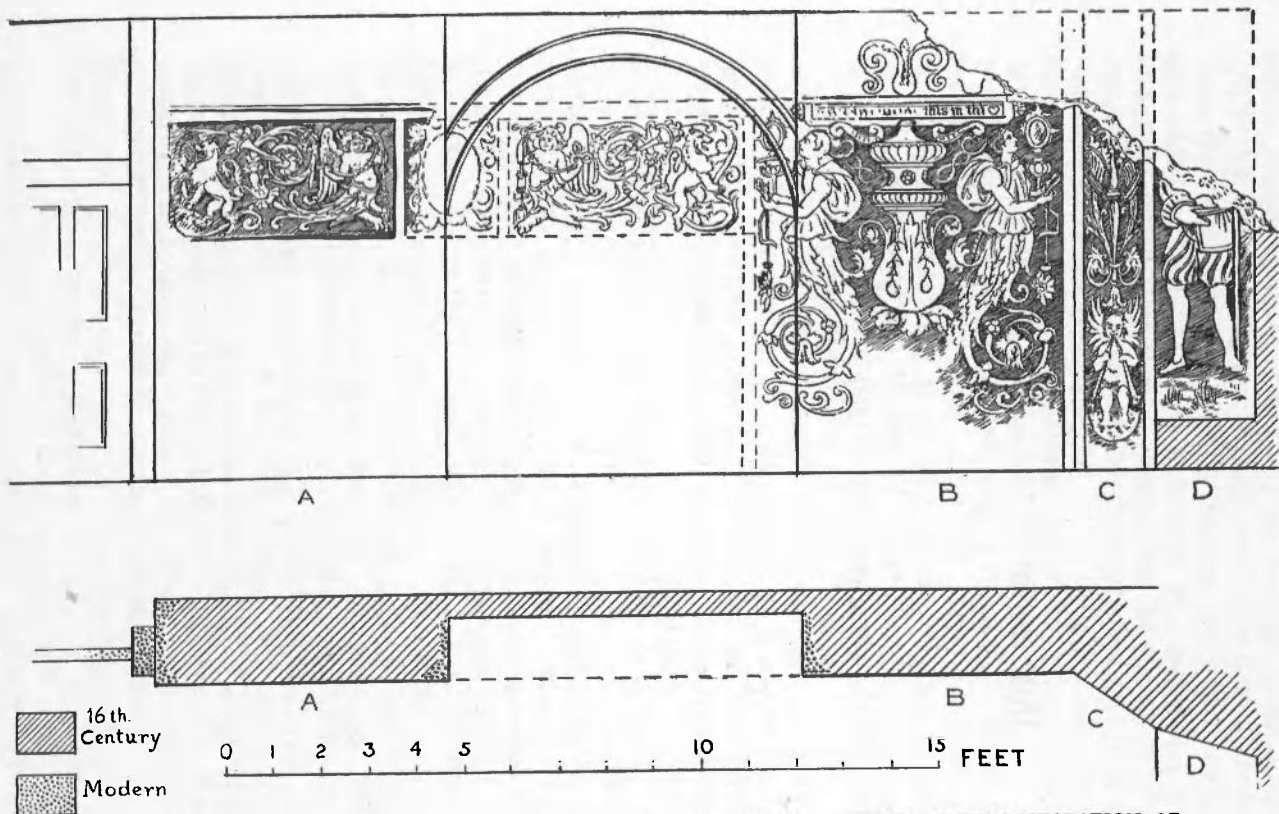


FIG. 5. PLAN AND ELEVATION OF PAINTED WALL, MILDENHALL, SUFFOLK, WITH RESTORATION OF DECORATIVE SCHEME

probably of some symbolical significance. Such details may have differed in the corresponding figure. The lower portion of the design has suffered decay either from damp or possibly from lack of protection such as a skirting. A narrow tablet extends above the top of the heads of the figures and is supported from the top of the baluster by two consoles, giving the appearance of a capital. On the tablet is an inscription in black letter of which only the end is decipherable . . . **this in thi ♥**. The space above of nearly 2 ft. in depth was also ornamented, and no doubt formed the frieze, but only traces of this have survived over panel B. It will be seen that the tablet aligns with the top of panel A, and that originally the frieze extended throughout the length of the wall.

Panel A is evidently a flanking design and if a reversed corresponding panel is measured from panel B, it leaves a space about 2 ft. wide which may have contained some heraldic device, framed with strap work or mantling such as the fragmentary remains suggest (Fig. 5).

Panels C and D occupied the double splay of a window, C being a narrow strip of ornament of a pilaster nature, at the base of which is a winged figure with a satyr-like head, blowing two pipes or trumpets. This lower portion is much decayed and damaged, but the figure appears to be seated on a low stool of semi-circular form. From the head of the figure rises a central delicately turned baluster flanked by graceful cornucopiae, the lower ends of which terminate in dolphins' heads. The ornament was outlined in black on a dark grey background and relieved with red.

Panel D contained the figure of a man about life-size, but the upper portion above the waist was destroyed. What remains is a portion of the right arm with hand and full slashed puff at the wrist resting on the belt, into which is tucked the thumb, and below the belt are the stiff skirts of the tunic, the slashed trunk hose, cod-piece, stockinged legs and shoes. At his left side hangs a sword; the hilt, on which his left hand probably rested, is missing.

The remains of this figure are valuable as affording

evidence of the date of this important painting. The costume is of the time of Henry VIII, and corresponds with the figure of King Josiah's courtiers in the painting from the Carpenters' Hall (Pl. ii). The ornament also has characteristics of the early renaissance, which reached this country by way of France. The free use of balusters and volutes treated in a plastic manner, shaded to give relief, indicate an origin in the style of François Premier. The somewhat simple and restrained ornament, which stands out boldly from a dark background, appears also to indicate the earlier half of the sixteenth century. Although this example stands almost alone in its excellent drawing and design it may best be compared with the painted ceiling from Winchester College referred to later.

The general scheme of decoration as shown on Fig. 5 may seem very unusual, owing to the stretch of narrow panels (A) with the deep bare space below. This was probably caused by some fixture of furniture, and the scheme generally was the simple frieze and filling, as B, which appears to have been most usual in the earlier stage of this craft.

This early date of the paintings sheds some light on the age of the house, as the generally accepted view has been that it was built by Sir Henry North. W. A. Copinger says :¹ ' In 1614 the site and grange of the manor with free warren of conies there were purchased by Sir Henry North and the grant was made to him and his heirs. Sir Henry was the second son of Roger, Lord North. He erected the present manor house

Augustus Pye² states more cautiously : ' Sir Henry North settled in Mildenhall. He acquired by successive purchases a fair estate in the parish and (it is probable but not certain) built the Mansion House which is still standing in the town of Mildenhall.' The truth would seem to be that, like most such houses, it was altered and added to at different times and that portions of the earlier house had been incorporated in the later rebuilding.

These last three examples have been selected not

¹ *The Manors of Suffolk*, iv (1909), 178.

² *History of the County of Suffolk* (1847), pp. 841-846.

only to show the great excellence that decorative art attained in the sixteenth century, but also as typical instances of the difficulty that attends the recognition or preservation of such works.

THE DATING OF SIXTEENTH- AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WALL-PAINTINGS

Only in seven instances, so far as I have found, have wall-paintings been inscribed with the year in which they were executed, and these are all of late date. It might be rash, on so few examples, to base any conclusion, but it may be noted that in buildings of this period the practice of putting dates on the structure became more general in later times.¹

The dated examples are :

- 1580. Pittleworth Manor, Hants. Photographs Print Room, Victoria and Albert Museum.
- 1597. Scarlett's Mill, Cowden, Kent. Not figured.²
- 1603. Paramour Grange, Kent. Drawing by Martin Hardie, Victoria and Albert Museum.
- 1606. Denham, Bucks. The Savoy R.C.H.M. ii, 118.
- 160[6]. Dedham, Essex. Under examination.
- 1615. West Hanningfield, Essex. *Essex Arch. Trans.* xviii, p. 11, fig. 5.
- 1617. Grove House, Woodford, Essex. *Gent's Mag.*, 1833, p. 183.

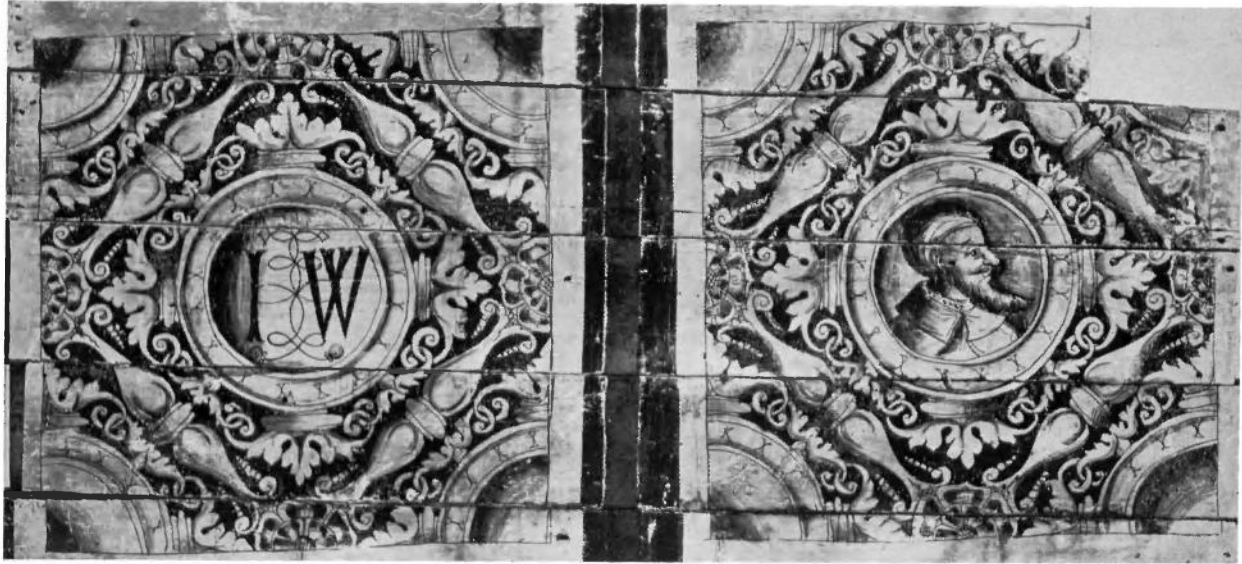
Figure-subjects usually afford a guide to the period, and other examples can be approximately dated by internal evidence. In the greater number of cases, the date is largely speculative, and in a general way the majority may be placed in the latter half of the sixteenth century and early part of the seventeenth century, as the practice became more widespread with the improved building of the houses of the ordinary citizen. Moreover, later examples had by their lateness a greater chance of surviving the ravages of time and change.

Among the examples of the first half of the sixteenth century are those of renaissance ornament

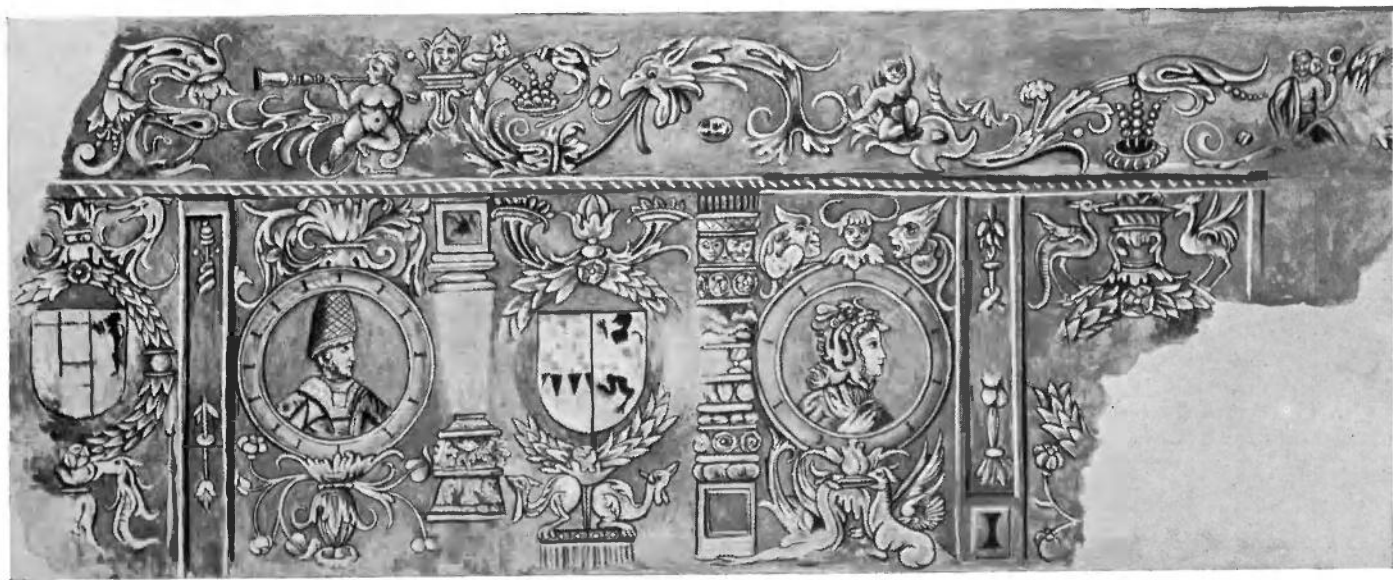
¹ *St. Albans and Herts Arch. Soc. Trans.* i, 363.

² *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxxvii (1927). Mr. Martin Hardie reports :— 'Paint-

ing recorded in 1927, but the present owners who were there at that time know nothing of it.'



PAINTED CEILING, WINCHESTER COLLEGE
(Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)



WALL-PAINTING, GILLING CASTLE, YORKS.

(Drawn by F. W. Reader from a photograph by Mrs. J. H. Dent, Brocklehurst)

ERRATUM

p. 277, line 7, read Abbot's Parlour
instead of Mayor's Parlour.

having the characteristic feature of roundels containing decorative heads of deities, warriors, etc., in panels with ornament made up of fanciful monsters, balusters, etc., of the nature already described in the example from Mildenhall. The designs with roundels are more familiar to us in wood-carving such as the panelling in the Mayor's Parlour, Thame.¹ Some such designs occur also in paintings, a good example being the ceiling from Winchester College, now on loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The repeated initials of I.W. refer to John White, who was appointed headmaster of the College in 1535,² and in 1541, became Warden, and under Mary, Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester (Pl. xiv).

The motto 'Vive le Roy,' and again in the form of 'Vive le Roe,' no doubt refers to Henry VIII.

Another good example is that at Gilling Castle, Yorks. My drawing of this (Pl. xv) is from a photograph taken by Mrs. J. H. Dent Brocklehurst, at the request of my friend Mr. W. H. Godfrey. It has many curious and interesting details and appears to be the work of several artists. The frieze has much originality, graceful lines and bold contrasts. In its delicacy of design, it recalls the work of Benvenuto Cellini. The lower panels and pilasters are of very varying merit, one pilaster being as coarse and clumsy as anything achieved in Jacobean times.

A few cases of superimposed paintings have occurred, one of the most interesting being that of Pittleworth Manor, Hants, where in the first half of the century a room had been decorated with ornament of a brocade-pattern of pomegranates and foliage with inscriptions, as: 'Thus lyving all waye dred wee death and diing life wee doughte.' Two sides of the room still retained this decoration (Pl. xvi), but one had been re-painted with scenes from the story of Lazarus, the Tudor Arms and the date 1580 (Pl. xvii). In places, the painting of about forty years earlier could be seen owing to the flaking away of the later painting. The execution of these paintings displays no great

¹ *Arch. Journ.* LXXXVI, 59-68.

² Arthur F. Leach, *Hist. of Winchester College* (1899), p. 242, etc.

artistic merit, but an effect of richness is given by the bold black outlines relieved in places by colour, the earlier being an imitation of textile hangings. The scenes of Lazarus and Dives are crude but quaint. The figures are stiff and poorly drawn but the costumes are interesting. It will be seen that in the scene of 'Dives Feasting,' the attendant ladies are wearing hats. In 1575, Van Meteren, writing on England states:¹ 'The women are beautiful, fair, well-dressed and modest, which is seen there more than elsewhere, as they go about the streets without any covering either of huke or mantle, hood, veil or the like. Married women only, wear a hat both in the street and in the house; those unmarried go without a hat, although ladies of distinction have lately learnt to cover their faces with silken masks or vizards, and feathers—for indeed they change very easily and that every year to the astonishment of many.'

There is a motif in this later painting at Pittleworth which may be some guide in dating other examples. It consists of diagonal bands and lines forming a succession of diamond-shaped spaces which are filled with rayed flowers, or as mostly, in this case, the half of such an ornament. Although a device of such simplicity may well have been used over an extended period, it occurs, so far as I have found, only on two other examples, one of which is certainly about this date and the other a probability on general features. Fashion, which ruled so arbitrarily, in many ways, during the sixteenth century, may have extended to decorative art. In the absence of other evidence, therefore, this motif may be of assistance.

The former of these examples referred to is a remarkably well-drawn representation of an overmantel with classic columns and entablature, with excellent renaissance ornament, discovered in Vernon House, Farnham, Surrey.² It contains the arms of Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester 1561-1580. On what is intended for the under-part of the entablature appears the motif under discussion.

¹ *Shakespeare's England: Costume*,
by Percy Macquoid, ii, 96.

² *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxxvii (1927).



EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY WALL-PAINTING, PITTLEWORTH MANOR, HANTS.

(From a photograph in the Victoria and Albert Museum)



WALL-PAINTING : DIVES AND LAZARUS, 1580, PITTLEWORTH MANOR, HANTS.
 (From a coloured photograph by J. F. Flanagan. By permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum)

This beautiful work is painted in black, relieved in red and yellow, a large photograph of which, coloured by Professor Tristram, is in the Print Room of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and is here, by permission, reproduced (Pl. xviii).

The other example, at Loughton Manor House, Bucks, is an interesting survival of the early roundel and panel-design above described (Pl. xix). Its somewhat later date is clearly shown by the more flamboyant nature of the ornament, and its tendency to flatness in treatment. Although some indication of shading still remains, the ornament no longer stands out boldly from the background, but has not yet reached the still later development when the background becomes almost obliterated by the ornament, a good instance of which is that of Wilmington, Kent (Figs. 3 and 4.)

Dividing the panels of the Loughton design are vertical strips of the rather incongruous zig-zag pattern which may enable us to conclude this painting to be about 1570-1580.

APPENDIX

SECULAR WALL-PAINTINGS OF THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

*County Lists (first instalment)*¹

ABBREVIATIONS:—

- Arch. Journ.* *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute.*
J.B.A.A. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association.*
 R.C.H.M. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).
 L.S.C. London Survey Committee.
 Keyser's List A List of Buildings in England having Mural or other Painted Decorations. Issued by the
 Science and Art Department, 1883.
 V. & A. Victoria and Albert Museum.
Ex.A.S.T. *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions.*
Ex. Rev. *Essex Review.*
Ant. Journ. *The Antiquaries Journal.*

MIDDLESEX AND LONDON

NO.	SITE	RECORD	DATE DISCOVERED OR RECORDED	PERIOD
1	Carpenters' Hall. Preserved in London Museum.	<i>Hist. Carpenters' Co.</i> Ed. Basil Jupp, 1848. <i>J.B.A.A.</i> , 1846.	1845.	16th cent.
2	Lincoln's Inn.	V. & A.	1886.	16th cent.
3	Westminster, Cellarer's Building.	<i>Archaeologia</i> xlvii, 471.	1882.	E. 16th cent.
4	" " "	R.C.H.M. Lond. i, 89.	1924.	M. 16th cent.
5	Heston, Andeman's House.	V. & A.	1931.	E. 17th cent.
6	Parson's Green.	V. & A.	1927.	L. 16th cent.
7	Monken Hadley. Buckskin Hall or Dacre Lodge.	Keyser's List.	1883.	E. 17th cent.

¹ Further county lists will be appended to a subsequent portion of this paper. Any information that will help to make these lists more complete will be gratefully received by the compiler.



WALL-PAINTING, VERNON HOUSE, FARNHAM, SURREY.
 (From a photograph in the Victoria and Albert Museum)



WALL-PAINTING, MANOR HOUSE, LOUGHTON, BUCKS.
(From a photograph in Aylesbury Museum)

LIST OF DOMESTIC MURAL PAINTINGS
ESSEX

NO.	SITE	RECORD	DATE DISCOVERED OR RECORDED	PERIOD
1	Arkesden. Framed panel, locality ?	R.C.H.M. i, Monument 3.	1916.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
2	Ashdon, Rose & Crown.	" Monument 12.	1916.	E. 17th cent.
3	Aveley, Belhus.	" iv. Monument 6.	1924.	16th cent.
4	Barking, Eastbury House.	Ogbourne's, Essex.	1814.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
	" " "	Black & Clarke, Eastbury, Illustrated.	1834.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
	" " "	L.S.C., Eastbury.	1917.	" "
	" " "	R.C.H.M. ii. Monument 4.	1921.	" "
5	Bocking, Wentworth House.	" i. Monument 25.	1916.	16th cent.
6	" Bradford Street.	" i. Monument 34.	1916.	" "
	" " "	Cunnington & Warner, Braintree & Bocking.	1906.	" "
	" " "	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> , n.s., xvii, 221.	1925.	L. 16th cent.
7	" 80 yds. SSW. of 34.	R.C.H.M. i. Monument 36.	1916.	17th cent.
8	Braintree, Bank Street, W. Side.	" ii. Monument 37.	1921.	L. 16th cent.
9	Braxted, Great.	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xviii, 290.	circ. 1870.	? E. 17th cent.
10	" Little.	Communicated by the Rev. Montagu Benton.	1929.	16th cent.
11	Chelmsford, Duke Street.	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xii, 36.	1910.	? 17th cent.
12	Chipping Ongar, Shelly Hall.	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xii, 27.	1909.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
13	Clavering.	R.C.H.M. i, Monument 10.	1916.	E. 17th cent.
14	Colchester, Hill House.	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xii, 33.	1910.	16th cent.
15	" Durlston House.	" xviii, 96.	1925.	E. 16th cent.
16	" 13-15, North Hill.	R.C.H.M. iii, Monument 65.	1922.	L. 16th cent.
17	" Red Lion Hotel.	" , Monument 30.	1922.	?

ESSEX—*continued.*

NO.	SITE	RECORD	DATE DISCOVERED OR RECORDED	PERIOD
18	Earls Colne, Castle Inn.	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xii, 35.	1880.	L. 16th or E. 17th
19	Elmstead, Castle Inn.	R.C.H.M. iii, Monument 5.	1922.	cent.
20	Epping, Coopersale House.	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xxi, 340.	1934.	L. 16th cent.
21	" Hill Hall.	Door in Vic. & A. Mus.	1923.	L. 16th cent.
22	" Upland Takeleys.	Comd. by Mr. Clifford Smith.	1933.	16th cent.
23	Felstead, Queens Square.	R.C.H.M. ii, Monument 5.	1921.	E. 17th cent.
		<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xxi, 94.	1932.	L. 16th or E. 17th
24	Fordham, The Hall.	" xii, 26.	1911.	L. 16th cent.
25	Gestingthorpe Parke, Farm.	" xix, 193.	1927.	"
26	Hanningfield East, Willis Farm.	" xviii, 7.	1924.	"
27	" West, Clovile Hall.	" 11.	1924.	Dated 1615.
		R.C.H.M. iv, Monument 2.	1923.	"
28	Halstead, 18, High Street. "	<i>Ex.A.S.T.</i> xxi, 89.	1932.	E. 16th cent.
29	" 2, High Street.	" 92.	1928.	16th cent.
30	Hatfield Broad Oak.	R.C.H.M. ii, Monument 15.	1921.	
31	Harkesley, Great.	Comd. by Miss Cruso.	1934.	
32	" Little.	R.C.H.M. iii, Monument 3.	1922.	L. 16th or E. 17th
33	Kelvedon, Feering Hall.	<i>Ex. Rev.</i> xxxviii, 10.	1928.	cent.
34	Maldon St. Peters, Beeleigh Abbey.	R.C.H.M. ii, Monument 3.	1921.	L. 16th or E. 17th
		<i>Ex. Rev.</i> xxxii, 29.		cent.
35	Newport, The Priory.	R.C.H.M. iv, 11.	1923.	L. 16th cent.
36	Quendon, The Hall.	<i>Ex. A.S.T.</i> xviii, 290.	1908.	L. 16th cent.
37	Roxwell.	R.C.H.M. ii, Monument 9.	1921.	

ESSEX—continued.

NO.	SITE	RECORD	DATE DISCOVERED OR RECORDED	PERIOD
	Saffron Walden:—			
38	High Street, W. side.	R.C.H.M. i, Monument 49.	1916.	? Reported.
39	The Sun Inn.	<i>Ex. A.S.T.</i> xii, 25.	1911.	" "
40	House adj. do.	R.C.H.M. i, Monument 93.	1916.	E. 17th cent.
41	The Gables.	" i, Monument 53.	1916.	Tracing in Saffron Waldon Museum.
42	Castle Street.	" i, Monument 62.	1916.	" "
43	Market Street.	<i>Ex. A.S.T.</i> xvii, 266.	1925.	16th cent.
44	The Close.	" xxi, 382.	1934.	" "
45	Campions, Siward's End.	" xii, 28.	1909.	" "
46	South Weald, Weald Hall.	R.C.H.M. ii, Monument 2.	1921.	" "
47	Steeple Bumpstead, Latchleys Manor House.	" i, Monument 7.	1916.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
48	Thaxted, Horham Hall.	" i, Monument 6.	1916.	L. 16th cent.
49	Tolleshunt Major	" iii, Monument 3.	1922.	Exterior 16th cent.
50	Toppesfield Bradfield.	" i, Monument 6.	1916.	16th cent.
	"	<i>Homes & Gardens</i> , Feb.	1934.	"
51	Waltham, Great, Brook Farm.	<i>Ex. A.S.T.</i> xviii, 290.	1932.	"
52	" Holy Cross.	<i>Lond. & Middlesex Trans.</i> , n.s. ii, 111.		"
	"	<i>Ex. A.S.T.</i> iv, 300.	1892.	M. 16th cent.
53	Waltham, Holy Cross, Welsh Harp Inn.	R.C.H.M. ii, Monument 4.	1921.	E. 17th cent.
54	Wichen Bonhunt, Brick House	<i>Ex. Rev.</i> xxxii, 39.	1921.	"
55	Woodford Grove House.	<i>Gent's Mag.</i> ciii, 393.	1833.	Dated 1617.
56	Dedham, under examination.	<i>Rev. Montague Benton.</i>	1936.	Dated 160[6].
57	Coggershall, Little "	" "	1936.	E. 16th cent.
58	Horham Hall.	Drawings in Saffron Walden Museum.		16th cent.

BUCKS

NO.	SITE	RECORD	DATE DISCOVERED OR RECORDED	PERIOD
1	Amersham, Crown Hotel.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> lxxxix, 131.	1932.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
2	„ Old Grammar School.	„ „ „ 127.	1932.	E. 17th cent.
3	„ 47, High Street.	„ „ „ 148.	1932.	M. 16th cent.
4	„ 61, High Street.	„ „ „ 134.	1932.	„
5	Aylesbury, Crown Hotel.	„ „ „ 155.	1932.	E. 17th cent., 1603.
6	„ King's Head.	„ „ „ 165.	1932.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
7	„ White Horse.	„ „ „ 166.	1932.	16th cent.
8	Baconsfield, Old Rectory.	<i>Records of Bucks</i> xii, 397.	1932.	„
9	Burnham Abbey.	R.C.H.M. Bucks i, 74.	1912.	„
10	Chalfont St. Giles, Dean Farm, Jordans.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> lxxxix, 171.	1933.	L. 16th cent.
11	„ St. Peters.	<i>Records of Bucks</i> xii, 47.	1927.	Dated 1606.
12	Denham, The Savoy.	R.C.H.M. ii, 118.		2nd half, 16th cent.
13	Fenny Stratford	<i>Records of Bucks</i> xii, 6-23.	1927.	„
14	Granborough Rookery Farm.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> lxxxix, 169.	1933.	16th cent.
15	Great Missenden.	„ „ „ 116.	1933.	„
16	Great Pednor.	<i>Records of Bucks</i> xiii, 42.	1934.	M. 16th cent.
17	Hulcott Manor House.	<i>Vict. Hist. Bucks</i> ii, 342.		E. 17th cent.
18	Long Crendon, Thompson's Farm.	<i>Records of Bucks</i> xiii, 147.	1935.	L. 16th cent.
19	Loughton, Manor House.	R.C.H.M. Bucks ii, 183.	1913.	„
20	Meadle, The Spring.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> lxxxix, 170.	1932.	16th cent.
21	Nash Cottage.	R.C.H.M. Bucks ii, 207.	1913.	E. 17th cent.
22	Stoke Poges, Manor Ho.	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> lxxxix, 172.	1932.	M. 16th cent.
23	Wendover, Bosworth House.	„ „ lxxxvii, 72.	1930.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
		<i>Records of Bucks</i> xii, 225.	1930.	„
		V. & A., Room 54.		„
24	Aston Clinton.	Under examination.	1936.	16th cent.
25	Stony Stratford.	„ „	1936.	„
26	Buckingham, Market Hill.	„ „	1936.	„

HERTS

NO.	SITE	RECORD	DATE DISCOVERED OR RECORDED	PERIOD
1	St. Albans, White Hart Hotel.	<i>St. Albans & Herts Arch. Soc. Trans.</i> , n.s. i, 376.	1902.	L. 16th cent.
2	„ Holywell Hill, Ryders.	Presented St. Albans Museum.	1929.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
3	„ George Street, Mialls Corner.		1934.	L. 16th cent.
4	Bishops Hatfield.	R.C.H.M., 62.	1911.	16th cent.
5	Berkhampsted, Hucksters End.	St. Albans Museum. <i>Cussan's Hist. of Herts</i> , vol. iii, 55.	1879-1881.	2nd half 16th cent.
6	Gorhambury.	Aubrey's description.		L. 16th cent.
7	Hormead, Lily End Farm.	V. & A. Print Room, Drawing Martin Hardie.		L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
8	Little Gaddesdon Manor House.	<i>Cussan's Hist. of Herts</i> . R.C.H.M. 144.	1881. 1911.	M. 16th cent.
9	Radlett.	Communicated.	1933.	16th cent.
10	Rickmansworth, Batchworth House.	Keyser's List.	1883.	„
11	„ The Bury.		1883.	„
12	Rothampstead House.	<i>St. Albans & Herts Trans.</i> , n.s. i, 378.	1902.	M. 16th cent.
13	Royston.	„ „ „ 385.	1902.	„
14	South Mimms, Knightsland Farm.	<i>The Times</i> , August 6th and 29th.	1935.	„
15	Tewin, Queen Hoo Hall.	<i>E. Herts Arch. Soc. Trans.</i> ii, 178-183. R.C.H.M. 217.	1903. 1911.	2nd half 16th cent.

SUFFOLK

NO.	SITE	RECORD	DATE DISCOVERED OR RECORDED	PERIOD
1	Higham Barham, Manor House.	<i>Antiq. Jour.</i> x, 256.	1930.	circ. 1600.
	" "	Collected Drawings Prof. Tristram. Print Room V. & A. <i>The Times</i> , July 15th.	1931.	
	Ipswich :—		1930.	
2	Monastery House.	V. & A., Room 52.	1913.	16th cent.
3	Fore Street.	Christchurch Museum.		
4	Turret Lane.			
5	Mildenhall Manor House.	Panel V. & A., Room 52. Rev. Montague Benton in <i>Proc. Suffolk Institute</i> , vol. xxii.	1934.	E. or M. 16th cent.
6	Sproughton Red House.	Christchurch Museum.	1929.	M. 16th cent.
7	Stratford, St. "Mary," Brook Farm.	V. & A., Room 52. Rev. Montague Benton, <i>E. Anglian Daily Times</i> , February 4th, 1936. <i>Arch. Journ.</i> xvi, 214.	1936.	L. 16th or E. 17 cent.
8	West Stowe, Manor House.	<i>J.B.A.A.</i> , P. M. Johnson, xxvii, 77. W. H. Godfrey, <i>The Story of Architecture in England</i> .	1931.	L. 16th cent.
9	Raydon, Spider Hall.	Communicated by the Rev. Montagu Benton.	1932.	E. 17th cent.
10	Sudbury, 53, Gainsborough Street.	" " " "	1936.	L. 16th or E. 17th cent.
11	Long Melford, Little St. Mary's.	" " " "	1931.	E. 17th cent.
SUPPLIED BY MR. GUY MAYNARD, IPSWICH MUSEUM.				
12	Higham House.	Hunting Scene under Arcade. Communicated by Mr. E. Gribble.	?	E. 17th cent.
	Ipswich :—			
13	Cumberland House, St. Helen's, demolished.	Preserved in Christchurch Mansion.	1930.	E. 17th cent.
14	St. Margaret's Green.	Black and White. Unrecorded	?	"
15	Otley, The Hall.	" "	?	"
16	Polstead, The Hall.	Black and White. Communicated by Mr. E. Gribble.	?	"
17	Woodbridge, The Old Clockhouse.	Copy at Christchurch Mansion.	?	L. 16th cent.