

THE SOUTH FRONT OF WILTON HOUSE

By H. M. COLVIN

No English house is more famous than Wilton, and none has been more frequently described. The grandeur of the state apartments and the serene beauty of the south front have always commanded unqualified admiration, and proclaimed themselves to be the work of a great architect. That that architect was Inigo Jones has often been taken for granted, and may indeed be substantially correct. But the precise extent of Jones's share in the design has never been clearly determined, and the chronology of the buildings themselves is in some respects obscure. In the absence of original accounts or correspondence dating from the time of the fourth Earl of Pembroke (1630-1650) much in the architectural history of Wilton has had to be left to conjecture, which in the course of time has hardened into accepted fact. It is the purpose of this paper to review the crucial problem of the south front in the light of all the available evidence, including some which has not previously been known to architectural historians.

Inigo Jones's connection with Wilton was, as Mr. Lees-Milne has pointed out,¹ one of long standing, going back to the time of the third earl and to the reign of James I. In July, 1615, his patron Lord Arundel was at Salisbury and wrote to his wife to say that the king would be dining at Wilton and that Lord Pembroke wished Jones to be there. In what capacity his attendance was required is uncertain, but in a post-script Arundel goes on to refer to some portraits for which Jones had been negotiating in Rome, and there is no reason to suppose that Jones's visit had any architectural significance. In 1620 he was again summoned to Wilton at the King's command in order to carry out the first recorded investigation into the origin of 'the most notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng'. But it was not until the reign of Charles I and the time of the fourth Earl of Pembroke that the Surveyor-General was invited to Wilton to consider the improvement of the house itself.

'King Charles the first', says Aubrey, 'did love Wilton above all places, and came thither every summer. It was he that did put Philip . . . Earle of Pembroke upon making this magnificent garden and grotto, and to new build that side of the house that fronts the garden, with two stately pavilions at each end, all *al Italiano*. His Majesty intended to have it all designed by his own architect, Mr. Inigo Jones, who being at that time, about 1633, engaged in his Majesties buildings at Greenwich, could not attend to it : but he recommended it to an ingenious architect, Monsieur Solomon de Caus, a Gascoigne, who performed it very well ; but not without the advice and approbation of Mr. Jones : for which his Lordship settled a pension on him of, I think, a hundred pounds per

¹ *The Age of Inigo Jones* (1953), p. 96.

annum for his life, and lodgings in the house. He died about 1656; his picture is at Mr. Gauntlet's house at Netherhampton . . .'

'The south side of this stately house' (he goes on) 'that was built by Monsieur de Caus, was burnt ann. 1647 or 1648, by airing of the roomes. In anno 1648 Philip (the first) re-edified it, by the advice of Inigo Jones; but he, being then very old, could not be there in person, but left it to Mr. Webb, who married his niece'.¹

In another passage Aubrey gives a detailed description of the garden, 'a thousand foot long within the inclosure of the wall, and about four hundred in breadth', with its embroidered platts, green arbours, statues of Bacchus and Flora, fountains, grotto and waterworks. It was the waterworks which impressed him most, and he tells how 'Monsieur de Caus had here a contrivance, by the turning of a cock, to shew three rainbowes, the secret whereof he did keep to himself', so that on his death this piece of hydraulic ingenuity was unfortunately lost.²

Now Aubrey's statements 'were based upon his own knowledge of the mansion before the Civil Wars', upon information derived from Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke, the grandson of the 4th Earl, and from conversations with Dr. Caldicot, who had been the family chaplain, and with Mr. Uniades, 'who also held some appointment in the establishment'.³ Their authority is therefore unquestionable, and everything that Aubrey tells us deserves the closest attention. In one particular only does it seem that he was misinformed: for Solomon de Caus was apparently a Norman, not a Gascon, and as he left England in 1613 and died in France in the 1620's he cannot have been employed at Wilton in the 1630's, still less have lived on there as the Earl's pensioner until his alleged death in about 1656.⁴ But Solomon de Caus had a son or nephew, Isaac de Caus, who was certainly associated with Jones, both at the Banqueting House, where he constructed a grotto in the basement, and at Covent Garden, where he appears in the accounts as the 'executant architect' of the houses on the north and west sides.⁵ Further proof of the connection between Jones and Isaac de Caus is afforded by a design in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection for the title-page of an unpublished work on Geometry and Perspective by the latter.⁶ Whether this drawing is by Jones or by de Caus himself, its presence in the main collection of Jones's drawings is evidence of their association. There is, therefore, reason to think that Aubrey confused the two de Caus, and that in reality it was Isaac who was employed at Wilton from the first, who died there in about 1656, and whose portrait Aubrey saw at Netherhampton. Though primarily a contriver of gardens and grottos, he was certainly capable of architectural design, and in 1638 it was in

¹ *The Natural History of Wiltshire*, ed. J. Britton (1847), pp. 83-4.

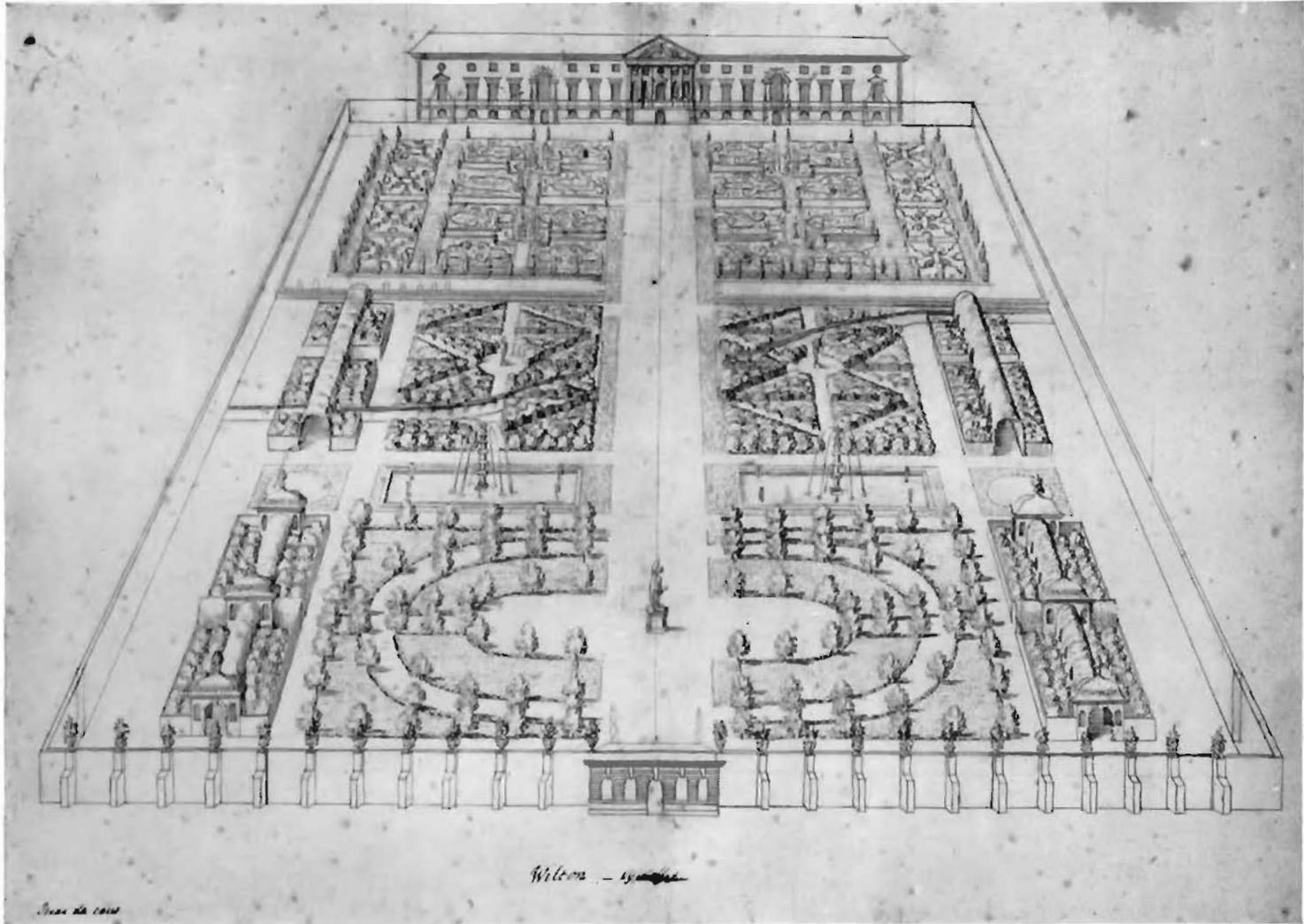
² *Op. cit.*, pp. 86-7.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 82. For Uniades, see correspondence in *Times Literary Supplement*, July 2-9 and Dec. 31, 1954.

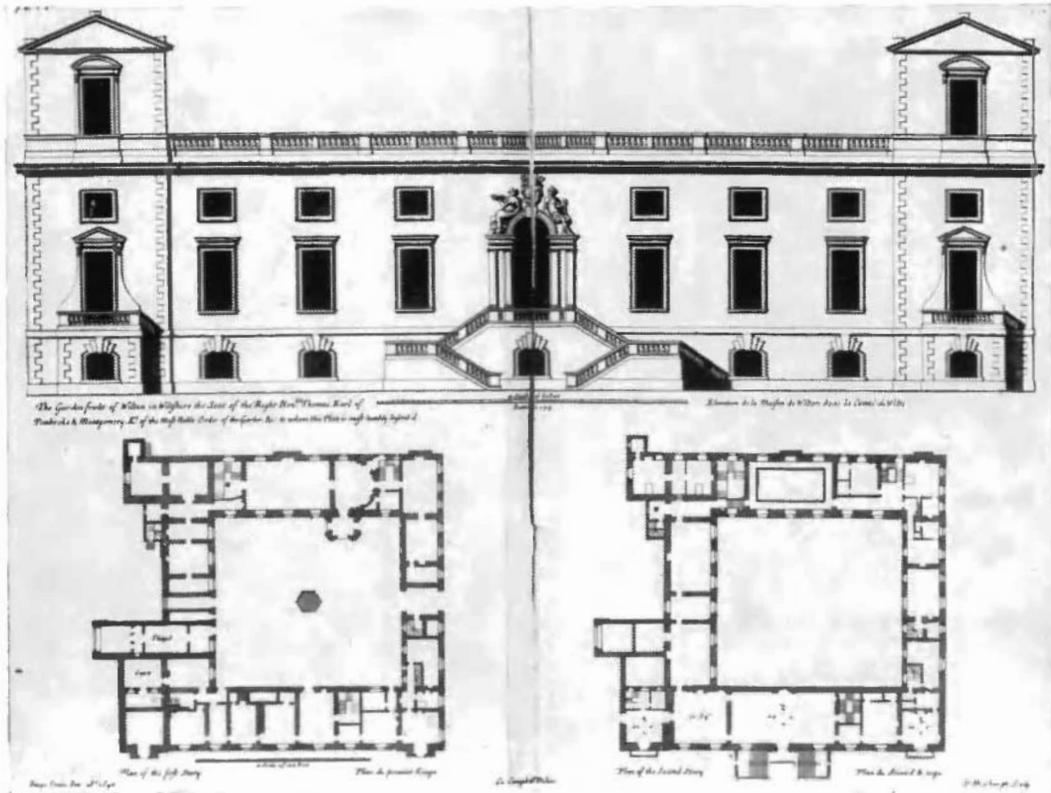
⁴ For Solomon de Caus' career see the article in *D.N.B.*

⁵ J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830* (1953), p. 83.

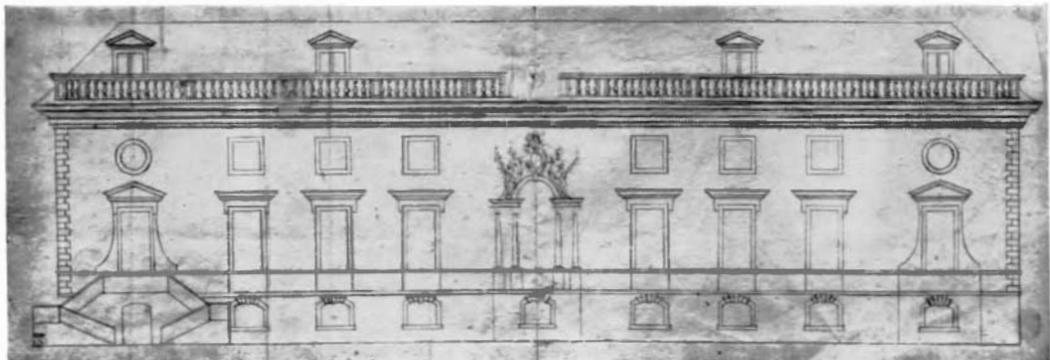
⁶ Drawer v, no. 32.



Wilton House, from a drawing in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford
(Reproduced by permission of Worcester College)



A. Wilton House; Plan and Elevation from *Vitruvius Britannicus*



B. Design for S. Front of Wilton House in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection
 (Reproduced by permission of the Chatsworth Estate, the R.I.B.A., and the Courtauld Institute)

this capacity that the first Earl of Cork gave £5 to 'Mounsier decon (*sic*), the french architect who belongs to my L. chamberleyn (i.e. Pembroke) . . . for drawing me a plott, for contriving my new intended bwylding over the great sellar at Stalbridge', that is Stalbridge Park, Dorset.' Unfortunately nothing remains of the 17th-century house at Stalbridge, but the reference is important as evidence of de Caus' repute as an architect.

With this correction, Aubrey's account may now be summarised as follows: there were two periods of building at Wilton, the first in about 1633, under the direction of Isaac de Caus, 'but not without the advice and approbation of Mr. Jones', the second after a fire in 1647 or 8, under the direction of John Webb, again 'by the advice of' the now aged Jones. The layout of the gardens coincided with the first period of building, and was likewise the work of the ingenious de Caus, who settled at Wilton and supervised the waterworks until his death in about 1656.²

So far as the first period of building is concerned, Aubrey's account is confirmed by two independent sources: the Receiver-General's accounts of Philip, Earl of Pembroke (the only accounts of this period that survive at Wilton), and the account-book of Nicholas Stone. The former contain only two entries relating to the building, but they prove beyond doubt that extensive works were in progress in the 1630's:—

f. 12 ^v 1632-3	Et in denariis . . . solutis Johanni Bowles Ar. (modo imprest) erga constructionem novi gardini apud Wilton per ordines omnium officio- rum	CC ^{li}
f. 9 ^v 1634-5	Et in denariis . . . solutis Antonio Hinton Ar. erga constructionem novi gardini et domus domini Comitis apud Wilton per mandatum domini Comitis	MCCIIII ^{xx} XII ^{li} XV ^s (£1292 15s. 0d.)

How much of this great expenditure was on the garden and how much on the house there is no means of telling, but George Vertue describes the 'Basso rilievo and water stone work' of the grotto as being the work of Nicholas Stone the younger,³ and Charles Stoakes records that Nicholas Stone the elder 'desined and built many curious workes for the Earle of Pembrock at his Hon^s. House att Wilton, near Salsbury and [was] well paide'.⁴ In the elder Stone's account-book

¹ *Lismore Papers*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 1st ser. v (1886), p. 64. I owe this reference to Mr. Lawrence Stone.

² I have been unable to find Isaac de Caus' will, but in October, 1655, the will of Mary de Caus of London, widow, was proved by her son Isaac (P.C.C. 377 Aylett). Isaac de Caus was

granted letters of denization in December, 1634 (W. A. Shaw, *Denizations and Naturalisations*, Huguenot Society, vol. xviii, 1911, p. 53).

³ *Vertue Notebooks* (Walpole Society), i, p. 91.

⁴ *The Note-Book and Account Book of Nicholas Stone*, ed. W. L. Spiers (Walpole Society, vol. vii, 1918-19), p. 137.

there are confirmatory payments recorded in 1637 for work done 'by Mr. Decans appointment', and again in 1639, for delivering a white marble cornice in six pieces 'by apoyntment of Mr. de Caus', in both cases for Lord Pembroke.¹ From these references we may conclude with Mr. Lees-Milne 'that Stone the elder probably built the grotto and other garden ornaments at Wilton, to the design and under the direction of Isaac de Caus'.²

So far as the gardens are concerned, de Caus' work is elaborately illustrated in the book of engravings which he published some time in the 1640's;³ and the accuracy of his plates is vouched for by the contemporary descriptions left by Lieutenant Hammond in 1635,⁴ by Lodewyk Huygens in 1652,⁵ by Celia Fiennes in about 1685,⁶ and by that of Aubrey quoted above. The Lieutenant's account is of especial interest, because he appears to have been shown round by de Caus himself, whom he calls a 'Dutchman' (a designation which might easily be applied to a French Protestant refugee who had come to England *via* the Low Countries). Moreover, as he gives no hint of structural alterations in his account of the house, it may be that the greater part of the Earl's expenditure in 1634-5 was on the gardens, and that the rebuilding of the south front had not yet begun. If so, Vertue (who knew Wilton well) may have been correct in giving 1640 as the date of its completion.⁷

Unfortunately there is no illustration of the house in de Caus' book. But one was prepared for engraving, for the original drawing is preserved in Worcester College Library. Loosely placed in Dr. Clarke's copy of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, it has hitherto escaped notice by those who have examined the remainder of Dr. Clarke's famous collection of architectural drawings, and it is now reproduced for the first time by permission of the Provost and Fellows (Pl. XXVII). In the foreground is the grotto, then come the horticultural conceits already familiar from de Caus' published plates. The façade in the background is recognisable too, but at twice its present length, and with a pedimented feature in the centre. Other divergencies from the existing front are the hipped roof (instead of one concealed behind a balustraded parapet), the absence of the pavilion towers, and the substitution of circular for rectangular attic windows at either end. But more striking than these differences (which proceed logically from the presence of a central portico) is the resemblance of the two flanking elevations to the one which exists at

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 127.

² *The Age of Inigo Jones*, p. 100.

³ *Wilton Garden* is not dated, but the B.M. Catalogue conjectures that it was published in 1645.

⁴ *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties*, ed. L. G. Wickham Legg (Camden Miscellany, vol. xvi, 1936), pp. 66-7.

⁵ His MS. journal is preserved in the library of the Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van

Wetenschappen. For a transcript of the passage relating to Wilton I am indebted to Dr. Margaret Whinney.

⁶ *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, ed. C. Morris (1949), pp. 8-10.

⁷ *Vertue Notebooks* (Walpole Society), ii, p. 32. In the Bodleian Library there is a sketch-plan by Vertue showing the internal arrangement of the principal rooms at Wilton (MS. Gough Drawings a. 1, f. 14).

Wilton to-day, a resemblance which can best be demonstrated by comparing the Worcester drawing with Colin Campbell's elevation in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Pl. XXVIII A). Indeed, if it can be shown that the drawing was made before the fire of 1647/8, the conclusion is inescapable that in its essentials the design of the present front dates not from 1649 but from the 1630's, and that the shell of the de Caus building either survived the fire or was faithfully reproduced by Webb. The reasons for thinking that the drawing was made at the same time as the engraved views of the gardens are threefold :—

- (i) It corresponds exactly in style, scale and content to the published engravings, and is complementary to the one which shows the view of the gardens from the house.
- (ii) It is executed on paper with a watermark of early 17th-century French type.
- (iii) It would have had no point after the south front had assumed its present form in 1648-9.

It should be added that the drawing bears the inscription 'Wilton—by Callot' in an 18th-century hand, but the name 'Callot' has been crossed out, and 'Isaac de Caus' written in the left-hand corner. The former attribution is certainly difficult to accept, for the celebrated French engraver had died in 1635, and there is no evidence that he worked for de Caus.¹ Fortunately the identity of the draughtsman does not affect the value of the drawing as a unique representation of the south front as it was originally intended to be built.

That this great pedimented front, nearly 400 feet in length, was seriously contemplated by the Earl of Pembroke, and was not a mere paper scheme of de Caus, is indicated clearly enough by the way in which the garden was laid out in anticipation of its completion (fig. 1). Such asymmetry in the relationship between the house and this otherwise most symmetrical garden is inexplicable unless it was intended to build the front to its full extent with two suites of state rooms, one on either side of a central feature designed no doubt to contain a great staircase of the sort which formerly existed at Coleshill. Whether it was intended to rebuild the rest of the house to correspond it is impossible to say, but it seems very likely. As it was, the greater part of the Tudor quadrangle was left untouched behind the new wing, and of the new wing itself only the eastern half was actually built. Perhaps it was financial difficulties, perhaps it was the imminence of the Civil War, which induced the Earl to adopt the contracted scheme, and so obliged de Caus to omit this prospect of unattained magnificence from his book. There was one person, however, who did not forget it, for when John Webb drew out his scheme for rebuilding Belvoir Castle after the Civil War, his grand

¹ The figures in the foreground of the view of the garden from the house are, however, somewhat in Callot's style, and it should be

mentioned that what appears to be the original drawing for this is also in the Clarke Collection.

elevation contained obvious reminiscences of the original proposals for Wilton.¹

Closely related to the elevation shown in the Worcester College drawing is one preserved in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection at the R.I.B.A. Library (Pl. XXVIII B). Here the pedimented front has already been abandoned for one of half the length, but all its essential characteristics have been preserved. The great hipped roof is there as in de Caus' drawing, and the fenestration is the same. But in the absence of the portico the Venetian window has become the focal point of the design, and an enlarged achievement of the Herbert arms has been placed over it in order to reinforce its new centrality.²

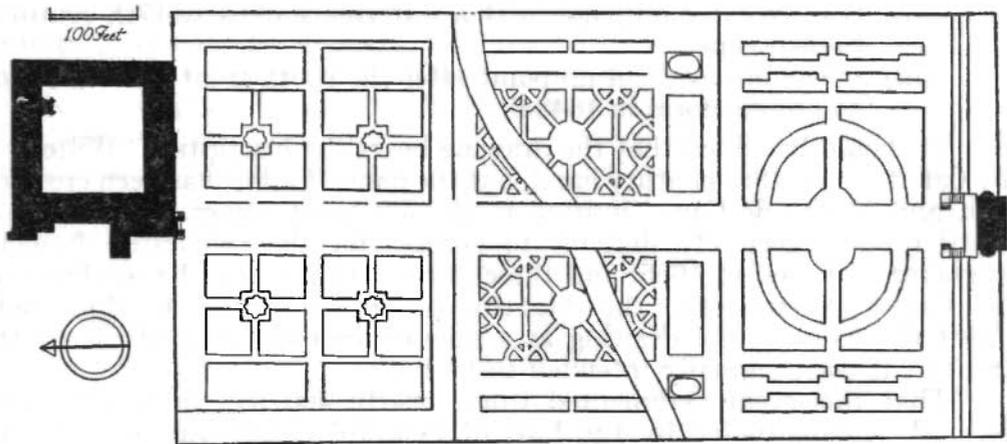


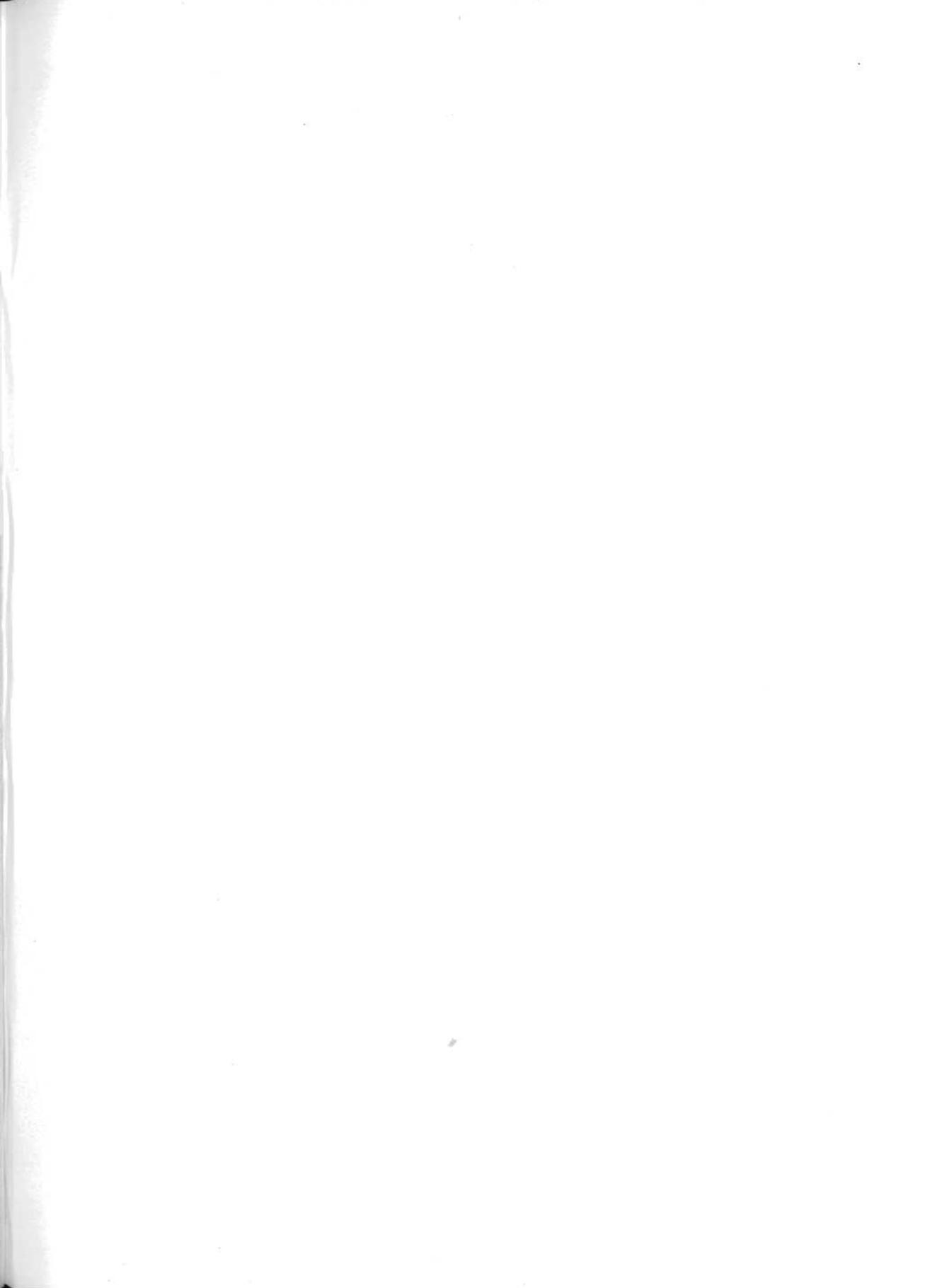
Fig. 1 Wilton House: Sketch-plan showing relationship of House and Garden in the 17th century

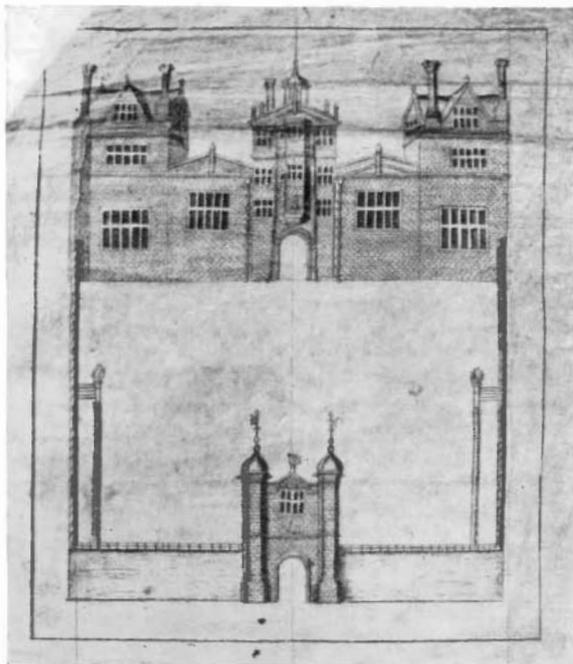
Does this drawing represent the façade as executed before the fire of 1647/8? It is tempting to suggest that it does: but Aubrey's testimony is to the contrary, for he states definitely that the original south front built by de Caus had 'two stately pavilions at each end, all *al Italiano*'. In other words, the pavilion towers which are so important a feature of the existing front were there before 1647. Their function was to give definition to a façade which, designed originally to flank a dominating central feature, had been made instead into an isolated unit which had somehow to be enabled to stand on its own. Their employment would have been suggested—perhaps was even dictated—by those which already flanked the east front of the Tudor house (Pl. XXIX A), and their introduction into the design was authorised

¹ Lees-Milne, *op. cit.*, fig. 59.

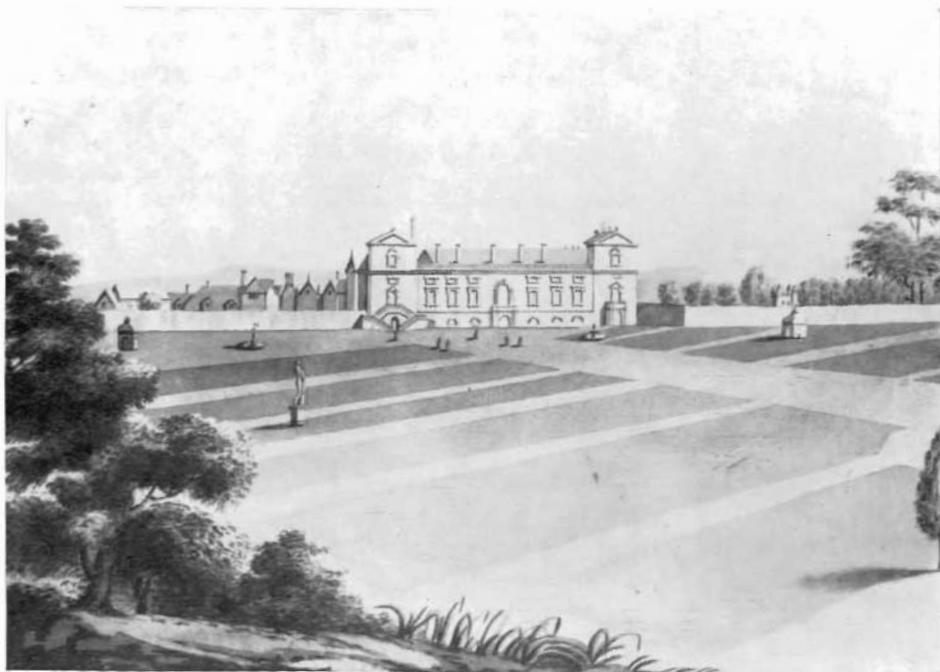
² As executed, the arms are supported by sculptured figures whose markedly French

character has more than once been remarked upon, and may well be regarded as further evidence of de Caus' hand in the design.





A. Wilton House : The E. Front c. 1570, from a Survey at Wilton
(Reproduced by permission of the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Herbert)



B. Wilton House : View from South in 1669 (*Brit. Mus., Add. M.S. 33767B, f. 24*)

both by Scamozzi (fig. 2), and by more than one Palladian villa of the Veneto. By accentuating the ends they compensated for the absence of vertical emphasis which would have been supplied by the missing portico. Without them, as Mr. Summerson has put it, 'the front would be unusually, and rather mournfully, long and low'.¹ But with their aid, this fragment of a greater design was made at once self-sufficient: so self-sufficient, in fact, that it has become one of the classics of English Palladian architecture, the archetype of Holkham, Hagley, Croome, Euston, Kimberley, and other great country houses of the 18th century.



Fig 2. Elevation of a design for a farmyard by Scamozzi (redrawn from *Oeuvres d'Architecture de V. Scamozzi*, 1713, p. 59)

This, however, is to anticipate. For in 1647 or 1648, as Aubrey tells us, 'the south side of this stately house . . . was burnt . . . by airing of the rooms', and in 1648 the Earl of Pembroke 're-edified it, by the advice of Inigo Jones', who 'being then very old, could not be there in person, but left it to Mr. Webb'. And this, as Mr. Lees-Milne has observed, 'is no doubt exactly what did happen'. By now in his seventy-seventh year, Jones was relying more and more on the man whom he had 'brought up in the study of Architecture', and it may be that, as Mr. Lees-Milne suggests,² the former Surveyor of the King's Works did not greatly relish the idea of working 'for a man who in his eyes must have betrayed their master'—for Pembroke had by now become firmly attached to the Parliamentary party. Certainly there is no reference to Jones in the accounts kept by the Earl's executors, recently discovered among the Salisbury papers at Hatfield³ by Mr. Lawrence Stone, to whom I am indebted for the following extracts:—

		£	s.	d.
1650	July. Paid to Mr. Webb, Surveyor, for one quarters fee from Xmas to Lady day			
1650...	10	0	0

¹ *Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830* (1953), p. 90.

² *The Age of Inigo Jones*, p. 101.

³ Private and Estate MSS., Accounts 168/2.

		£	s.	d.
1650	Dec. 26.	Paid to Mr. Decritz upon a bill signed by Mr. Webb for painting at the Cockpitt ¹ in 1642		
		3	2	0
1650		To the London Workmasters in full of there bills for the building at Wilton ...		
		1347	15	6
		To the Country workmen for worke and Materialls concerning the Buildings at Ramesbury & Wilton in part of 1005. 12. 3½ in arrears due there		
		225	19	8
1651	March.	Paid by Mr. Mannings upon severall bills and debenters signed by Mr. Webb the Surveyor due unto severall Country workmen employed about the late build-ings at Wilton, being in full of what is due to them upon the same		
		779	12	7½

But as the executors would be responsible only for the payment of debts due by the Earl at his death in January, 1650, their accounts do not necessarily reveal more than a part of the total expenditure. Nevertheless, they show that Webb was in charge at an annual fee of £40, and that both London and country workmen were employed. For evidence of Jones's 'advice' it is necessary to go to the original drawings, of which several have been preserved.² Among them are some very accomplished designs for ceilings which are of particular importance since two of them are dated 1649. Now it has always been considered by those best qualified to judge that these designs are by Jones himself, and their draughtsmanship is certainly worthy of the master. Though most of them are annotated by Webb, some of them also bear inscriptions in a hand which is certainly Jones's. Their evidence, in short, is in every way consistent with Aubrey's statement that the rebuilding was carried out under Webb's direction, but 'by the advice of Inigo Jones'; and if the reconstruction followed the lines of the earlier work the possibility that some of the original drawings of 1635-40 were made use of a second time should not be forgotten.

This, however, begs an important question. For hitherto it has always been assumed that de Caus' building was totally destroyed by the fire, and that the existing south front was designed *de novo* by Jones

¹ The Earl's residence in Whitehall.

² In the Burlington-Devonshire Collection (Drawer 1, no. 65: 'for ye seeling of ye Cabinett Roome 1649 Wilton'); in the Ashmolean Museum (drawing 'for ye vault of ye Ceelings of ye Roomes East and West end Wilton 1649', reproduced by W. G. Keith in *Burlington Magazine*, xxii, 1912-13, Pl. I); at Worcester College, Oxford (vol. i, nos. 8-14, including a drawing for the Cabinet Room dated 1649); and at Wilton itself, where there are six designs for doors and doorcases, including those in the

Double Cube Room. These last are annotated both by Jones and by Webb. The 'Mr. Kennard' whose name occurs on one of them was probably Thomas Kinward or Kenward, who became Master Joiner to the Crown in 1660. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there are two elevations of the interior of a room which, although attributed to 'Brettingham', are in fact almost certainly by Webb, and might be for one of the destroyed rooms at Wilton (3436-66).

and Webb in 1648-9. But a strongly built stone building is not necessarily shattered by the burning of its interior, and the evidence of the Worcester drawing makes it difficult to believe that de Caus' masonry of 1635-40 was utterly ruined: it seems more likely that the interior was gutted, leaving the façade standing. In support of this conclusion, it has already been noted that Aubrey states that the original front had 'two stately pavilions at each end', and it may be added that he clearly implies that there was a 'double cube' room before the fire, for, after describing the ceiling 'drawn by the hand of Mr. Emanuel De Cretz', he adds a 'Quaere' to ask 'Dr. Caldicot and Mr. Uniades what was the story or picture in the cieling when the house was burnt'. If, moreover, the work of 1648-9 consisted mainly in reconstructing the gutted interior of the south side and fitting up other parts of the house to match (for much fine decoration of this period in the west wing was later destroyed by Wyatt), it would help to explain why designs for ceilings and doorways figure so prominently among the surviving drawings, and why such heavy expenditure on London workmen had been incurred before the Earl's death in January, 1650. By May, 1652, Huygens could already be conducted through the state apartments¹ and admire the ceilings, 'tout peint d'une assez bonne main', which Evelyn was likewise to note with approval two years later.² In an age when a major building operation was apt to extend over many years, such rapid progress would hardly have been possible if the whole front had had to be raised from the foundations, and in view of Huygens' testimony, it is hardly conceivable that this was the case. There are, therefore, grounds for thinking that the existing south front is substantially the work of 1635-40, damaged but not destroyed by the fire of 1647/8 and with its interior rebuilt in all its pristine splendour in 1648-50.³

Only one feature detracted from its perfection—the external stairs at the west end, which gave access to the garden from the *piano nobile*. It was from them that Isaac de Caus had taken his general prospect of the gardens, for of course they were placed on the central axis of his elaborately formal layout. Had the pedimented front been built, access to the garden would have been obtained by means of a basement doorway leading no doubt to a grand staircase centrally placed between the two sets of rooms. But in its absence the entrance had to be contrived rather awkwardly at the west end of an otherwise symmetrical façade. So awkwardly, in fact, that in his plate published in 1717, Colin Campbell

¹ It should be added that Huygens refers to the 'partie qui est vers le jardin' as 'nouvellement bastie a l'Italienne', but this was in contrast to the remainder of the house, which he describes as 'vielle', so that the phrase could equally well have been used of the south front whether it dated from 1635-40 or from 1648-50, and is therefore not significant in

the present context.

² *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. W. Bray (n.d.), p. 202.

³ Mr. Lees-Milne has pointed out to me that the decoration of the Double Cube Room is not wholly symmetrical, and suggests that this may indicate some difficulty in fitting the new interior into the old shell.

has quietly removed it to the central window, where it has deceived many into supposing that such a staircase actually formed part of the original design. But it is quite clear that no such staircase has ever existed at Wilton. In the earliest known view of the house, that made by the artists who accompanied Cosmo, Duke of Tuscany, on his visit to England in 1669 (Pl. XXIXB), the staircase is at the west end, as it is in the Burlington-Devonshire elevation (Pl. XXVIII B); it is there in the late 17th-century view attributed to Knyff which hangs in the upper cloister at Wilton, and in Stukeley's drawing of the 'glorious palace of the great Carvilius' (his Druidic nickname for the 8th Earl) made in 1723.¹ By 1746, however, Roque's engraved view shows that it had been removed to a less conspicuous position on the west side of the south-western pavilion. In 1757 the tenth Earl took up Campbell's hint and actually obtained an estimate from a local mason (William Privett) 'to set up a Flight of Steps (according to a Sketch given in with this Estimate) leading to the center Window of the Salloon Room . . . at Wilton',² but nothing was done, and the stairs remained round the corner at the west end until they were removed by Wyatt in the course of his unfortunate alterations early in the 19th century. The absence of any communication between the upper floor and the garden was, however, found to be inconvenient, and round about 1900 a flight of steps—this time of wood—was once more placed beneath the western window of the south front. There they remained until just before the last war, when they were finally removed by the present Earl.³ Their disappearance is not to be regretted, but their history deserves to be remembered, for their embarrassingly asymmetrical siting can now be seen as a direct consequence of the failure to carry out the great design which for two hundred years has lain hidden in Worcester College Library.

¹ Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 33, f. 19v; cf. *Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley*, ed. W. C. Lukis (Surtees Soc., 1887), iii, p. 251.

² Wilton archives.

³ For information about the recent history of the staircase I am indebted to the present Lord Herbert, by whose kind permission I have also been allowed to make use of the Wilton archives.