

Huguenot artists designers and craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland. 1680-1760.

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HUGUENOT ARTISTS
DESIGNERS AND CRAFTSMEN
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1680-1760

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The names of over five hundred and seventy French artists and craftsmen have been extracted from the records of the Huguenot churches in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-1760. This thesis covers their contribution in the fields of metalwork, decorative painting, the teaching of art, sculpture, architecture, engineering, woodwork and porcelain.

Of those whose origins are recorded, approximately one sixth came from Paris; the remainder from the provinces. The former had enjoyed royal patronage in the 'Galleries' of the Louvre or the Gobelins; the latter belonged to Guilds. As the refugee artists and craftsmen tended to live and work together, the refugee communities provided the Parisians with a similar environment to what they had known in Paris, and gave the provincial craftsmen the opportunity to pursue crafts outside their own, which had not been possible within the rigid French Guilds.

This thesis illustrates the relationship between these different art forms, and emphasizes the importance of pattern books of ornament. Some designers show an awareness of the latest developments in French taste; whereas others tend to rely on time-honoured patterns, and the same ornamental vocabulary appears on some Huguenot artefacts of the 1680's and the 1750's.

During this period, French taste was paramount in Europe. Refugee craftsmen enjoyed a more extensive patronage abroad, than France, preoccupied with war, could provide. The records of the royal family and country house archives reveal the nature of their patronage in Britain.

As the French artists had acquired professional status over a hundred years before the British, the high standard of the Huguenot artistic contribution was influential, and raised the standard of the British artistic achievement to the extent that by the 1750's some artistic products were exported to France.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of a grant from Central Research Fund, University of London, without which I would have been unable to carry out the field work necessary to complete this research. I would also like to thank the Governors of Sir John Cass's Foundation for the award of a bursary to assist with the costs of photography, thus enabling me to illustrate this thesis more fully.

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. David Bindman, for encouragement and helpful criticism; Miss Scouloudi, the Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Marmoy, the Hon. Librarian of the Huguenot Society of London; the staff of the British Library, the National Art Library, the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum and at the Victoria and Albert Museum for their help in answering my enquiries.

Amongst those who have helped to further my research, I would like to thank in particular; Brian Allen of the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art; Dr. Charles Avery; Malcolm Baker of the Department of Sculpture, Victoria and Albert Museum; Howard Blackmore of the Armouries, Tower of London; Elaine Barr; Dr. Terry Friedman of Temple Newsam House, Leeds; Dr. Mark Girouard; Arthur Grimwade; John Hardy of the Department of Furniture and Woodwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum; Miss Susan Hare, Librarian at the Goldsmiths' Company; Gervase Jackson-Stops of the National Trust; John Kerslake and Miss Wimbush at the National Portrait Gallery; Dr. Rosalind Marshall of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery; John Mallet of the Department of Ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum; Patrick Noon at the Yale Center for British Art; Dr. Robert Raines; Dr. Michael Snodin of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Victoria and Albert Museum; Dr. William Vaughan, Department of History of Art, University College, London; and Christian Theuerkauff of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

I would also like to mention the helpful response that I have received from private owners, in particular His Grace, the Duke of Buccleuch.

Lastly, I would like to thank my colleagues, Dr. Celina Fox and Mrs. Rosemary Weinstein for their patience and encouragement.

INTRODUCTION

It used to be thought that the third wave of Huguenot emigration to Britain occurred after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Recent research has revealed that although 1685 was an exceptional year, many refugees, including artists and craftsmen, had settled in this country before that date.

Persecution of members of the Religion Protestante Reformée was renewed as early as 1661, when the Edict of Nantes, signed in May, 1598, for the benefit of the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, was reinterpreted in a series of proclamations with a strong Catholic bias. In 1661, Cardinal Mazarin, who had acknowledged the loyalty and good services of the Huguenots, and had acted as their protector in France, died. By 1669, Louis XIV had declared that Protestant preaching was to be confined to a single locality in each place. Ten years later, Mme. de Maintenon wrote, 'the King is thinking seriously of the conversion of the heretics and will soon set to work at it earnestly.' Between 1679 and 1685 about one hundred and twenty five documents curtailed Huguenot liberties; they were excluded from public posts, and mixed marriages were forbidden. By 1680, in particular areas such as Poitou, soldiers were billeted on the Protestant population, and encouraged to ill-treat their hosts.¹

Meanwhile, advantages accrued for converts. They were excluded from billeting, relieved for three years from payment of debt, and children of seven years old were free to declare themselves Catholic and to demand a reasonable pension from their parents. In one opinion, 'it was the fear of losing their children if they remained in France that decided the greater number to emigrate'. As the Rev. David Agnew aptly wrote, 'the Revocation was merely the destruction of the surviving sealing wax, ink and parchment of 1598.'²

On July 28th, 1681, Charles II issued a proclamation in which England offered itself as a place of refuge. The refugees would receive letters patent of denization under the Great Seal, free of expense, and their possessions and stock-in-trade were to be landed duty-free. Despite this encouragement, many refugees fled to Holland instead. Amsterdam was particularly charitable. One contemporary reported that the city authorities lent sums of money without interest for the refugees to buy tools and materials for their work. By contrast, it was thought that in England, that the refugees were persecuted, the Bank at London was broke, that aliens

could not purchase land, and that the English were restless and quarrel some - contriving and plotting against their lawful sovereign and the government.³ It is probable that these rumours were the result of the ambivalence of James II's attitude towards the Huguenots, and that with William III's ascendancy to the English throne such rumours were dispelled.⁴

Why were the Huguenots encouraged to settle in Great Britain? A useful source for the reasoning behind these decisions is the motion 'for the naturalizing French Protestants', which was proposed by Edward Wortley Montagu in the House of Commons on February 23rd, 1708/9.⁵ Abel Boyer reported that Montagu 'shew'd the Advantages that would accrue to the Nation by such an Act Alledging amongst other particulars the example of the King of Prussia, who had not only invited, but furnished Abundance of French Refugees with Means to settle in his Dominions, where by he had fertilized an almost barren country, improved Trade and vastly increased his Revenue and added that if foreigners were induced to settle under a Despotick Government, where they found Protection and Encouragement they would undoubtedly be the more inclined to bring their effects, and (at least) their Industry into Great Britain, where they would share the Priveleges of a Free Nation'.⁶

The Huguenots established a reputation for their industry and hard work. This was the result of their Calvinistic ethic which assigned a high value to work, regarding it as 'the practical exercise of a calling appointed by God', and therefore as divine worship.⁷ Work was an appropriate method of self-discipline, and a means of averting temptation. The distinctive feature of Calvin's creed was the belief in election by grace after eternal pre-mundane decree. This belief dictated an absolute duty to consider oneself chosen and to combat all doubts as temptations, in order to continue in God's grace. Another distinctive feature of the Huguenot way of life, was the democratic organization of their church; all churches and pastors were considered equal, and preachers were chosen by ballot. Huguenot social life was organized in much the same way; the individual responsibility to fulfil the daily task, was used to achieve a rational organization of their social environment. Ultimately the Huguenot was responsible for working out his own salvation, and this individual responsibility, common to large groups of refugees, produced the Huguenot traits of reverence, chastity, sobriety, frugality, industry and honesty.

The direction in which this ethic had evolved was determined to a large extent by the conditions which governed the practical situation in Geneva. It was thanks to Calvin that the manufacture of cloth and velvet was introduced into Geneva as a home industry in order to give work to the poor and unemployed.⁸ When this had to be abandoned as a result of the competition of Lyons, it was substituted by the manufacture of watches.

The Huguenot creed inevitably dictated the nature of their artistic contribution. As Professor Harkness pointed out, 'There was an imaginative practicality about Calvinism which was hostile to the spirit of the Renaissance. It was too ascetic to permit the elevation of artistic feeling into a philosophy of life, as Catholicism did with its wider emotional appeal.'⁹ The major Huguenot artistic contribution in Great Britain and Ireland lay within the decorative and applied arts; art that was functional. This is not only characteristic of the period covered by this thesis, but also of the earlier period both in this country and in France. Earlier Huguenot artists and craftsmen include Bernard Palissy, the potter, (c.1510-c.1590), and the designer and engraver Etienne de Laune (c.1518 -1583), both of whom worked in France; Theodore de Bry (1528-1588), engraver, Jaques le Moyne de Morgues (1533-1588), painter of flowers and fruit, Salomon de Caus (1576-1626) and his son Isaac, gardeners and engineers, Isaac Oliver (1565-1617) and Jean Petitot (1607-91) both miniaturists and the sculptor Hubert Le Sueur (1595-1650), all of whom trained in France and worked in England. All these artists maintained a considerable standard of craftsmanship, but the emphasis lay on the application of beauty to objects that had a practical use. Thus a talent for portraiture was channelled into the miniature that could be used to decorate watchcases or snuffboxes, as opposed to the large scale portrait which could be interpreted as the product of vanity. Another typical Huguenot product is the book of designs or patterns that extended its usefulness to other artists.

As a persecuted minority, the Huguenots had been forced out of public life and official positions in the state, and were thus obliged to go into business. It is probable that many craftsmen whose forbears had served in an official capacity, were attracted to particular crafts, such as the Goldsmiths' by the possibilities for combining the craft with banking. On the other hand, many French artisans had embraced the Religion Protestante Reformée in its early stages, as, with its emphasis on individualism, it enabled them 'to trust the dictates of their own hearts as their standard of conduct', and it gave them a sense of status, self-

respect and self-confidence'¹¹, which enabled them to thrive in France, despite the appalling conditions of persecution, and wherever they settled as refugees.

Of those who came to Great Britain, the majority settled initially in London, although a strong Huguenot community in Ireland grew up as a result of William III's Irish campaigns, in which nine Huguenot regiments played a vital part. The Irish community was primarily of a military character, and artistic achievements were of minor importance and largely dictated by the peculiar needs of the community.

In London the refugees settled initially on the perimeters of the 'city', the main areas were Spitalfields and Soho, and choice of area depended largely on the distinction between conformist and non-conformist worship. All the churches in Spitalfields were non-conformist, whereas by 1700, seven of the fourteen churches in Soho area were conformist.¹²

The first conformist congregation met at the Savoy Chapel, which had been granted to the refugee community in 1661 by Charles II, on condition that a French translation of the Anglican liturgy was used. Samuel Pepys records a visit to the chapel on September 28th, 1662, 'There they have the Common Prayer-Book read in French. And, which I never saw before, the Minister doth preach with (his) hat off, I suppose in further conformity with our church.'¹³

As a result of the continued increase in the refugee population by 1685, the ministers, churchwardens and congregation of the Savoy presented the following petition,

'that their chapell in the Savoy is much too little for the congregacion and that intending to inlarge the same they have obtained the Consent of the Master of the Savoy, and the approbation of our Surveyor Generall of our Works, who hath reported unto us that hee hath viewed the Ground proposed for the inlargement of the said Church or Chapell and finds it is with the allowance of the Master of the Savoy and that it wilbe no Detriment to the House, or his Successors nor of any inconvenience to our Service there, but that it is a charitable & pious Designe which Wee bring therefore graciously willing to give all fitting Incouragement unto.'

The petition accompanies a plan for the extension, which was designed by the Surveyor General, Sir Christoph Wren (Pl.1.)¹⁴ It was built at the cost of £1,500 and survived until 1771.¹⁵

In 1685, the only other conformist congregation in Soho met in the Eglise des Grècs, in Hog Lane, now part of Charing Cross Road. The building appears in the background of Hogarth's painting 'Noon', which was published as an engraving in 1738.¹⁶ It contrasts the disorderly natives on the other side of the gutter with the soberly dressed members of the Huguenot community emerging from their worship. The image (Pl.2) emphasizes the distinctive character of the Huguenot community sixty years after the first refugees of the third wave of emigration had settled in London. The elaborately dressed group in the immediate foreground are probably English fops, identifying with the Huguenot community in their eagerness to pursue the French taste. Hogarth's image aptly illustrates a revealing passage published by Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield in Common Sense, November, 1738, in which Chesterfield comments on the search for 'The French Taste',

'I could point out to these itinerate spirits a much shorter, less expensive and more effectual method of travelling and frenchifying themselves, which is if they would but travel to Old Soho and stay two or three months in le quartier des Grecs.

Lodgings & legumes are very cheap there, and the people very civil to strangers. There too, they might possibly get acquainted with some French people which they never do at Paris, and it may be learn a little French which they never do in France neither, and I appeal to any one who has seen these venerable persons of both sexes, of the refugees, if they are not infinitely more genteel, easier, and better dressed in the French manner, than any of their modern English mimics.'¹⁷

Apart from the Savoy extension, the Eglise Neuve, Fournier Street, Spitalfields, is the only other church which is recorded as having been built to the requirements of the refugee community. It still stands, having since catered for the changing refugee community in that area, in the capacity of a synagogue, and now as a mosque. In 1742, the ministers, elders and deacons of the Threadneedle Street Church petitioned the King for a licence to erect a church and school on the site, and the purchase money was provided by the second generation Huguenot merchants, David and Charles Bosanquet.¹⁸ Ironically, the craftsmen employed were English, but it is interesting to compare the plan of the Eglise Neuve with Wren's design for the Savoy, and with Salomon de Brosse's design for the Huguenot Temple at Charenton, on the outskirts of Paris, which was destroyed

in 1685. All three buildings were rectangular, with galleries on three sides, including the East, and open staircases in the angles. The pulpit was raised above the enclosure containing the communion table (Pl.3). From the exterior the buildings are remarkably secular in appearance, and the Eglise Neuve blends harmoniously with the residential housing in Fournier Street (Pl.4).

Although the Huguenot contribution to architecture in this country was considerable, there are no connections between Huguenot architects and the building of Huguenot places of worship. However, initially, the refugee community did not have funds to devote to the building of Temples, and was prepared to use any available building for worship. This conformed with the Huguenot ethic which discouraged the distinction of Temples from other secular buildings. No religious paintings or sculpture are recorded in the Huguenot Temples, although, on several occasions, Huguenot silversmiths made plate for the use of Huguenot congregations. The distinction lies between the purely decorative, which was vainglorious, and therefore unacceptable, and the decorative, yet functional. In 1717, Louis Cuny made a silver cup and paten for the Savoy Chapel, and in the same year another Huguenot silversmith, Jacob Margas, from Rouen, made four silver communion cups for the 'Diacres de l'Eglise Francoise de Londres dans Threadneedle Street'. These are now in the possession of the French Protestant Church in Soho Square.¹⁹

The ban on religious imagery in the Huguenot Temples did not prevent Huguenot artists and craftsmen from using religious imagery on their own work. The Huguenot sculptor in ivory, David Le Marchand (1674-1726) signed a fine crucifix (Pl.5), a relief of the Miracle of the Man with a Withered Hand, a Madonna and Child, and an Adoration. It would be interesting to know more about the patron for whom the Huguenot craftsman François Asselin produced the fine bracket clock, c.1695, now in the Time Museum, Rockford, Illinois. (Pl.6). Surmounted by a figure of the risen Christ, flanked by four kneeling Apostles, the superstructure supports chased scenes of the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, and the Entombment, while chased borders on the sides of the wooden clock case contain figures of the Virgin and Child. The Altar-dish, made by the Huguenot silversmith Isaac Liger, from Saumur, in 1706, for the Chapel at Dunham Massey, the seat of George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington, was engraved by the Huguenot Simon Gribelin, with the Deposition after Annibale Carracci.

It has already been emphasized that Huguenot artists and craftsmen came to Britain in large numbers during the 1680's and during the 1690's with encouragement from William III. It has not, however, been fully realised, that persecution of the Huguenots in France continued well into the late eighteenth century. It was only with the event of the French Revolution in 1789 that the Huguenots were able to enjoy freedom of worship again in France. It is therefore of interest to note, that when the engraver Andrew Lawrence, who was, incidentally, of Huguenot descent, died in Paris in 1747, he was buried at midnight in a timberyard outside the Porte Sainte Antoine, 'the usual burial place of Hereticks'. Thomas Major, a friend and colleague, reported that 'Lawrence's body was conducted in a Hackney Coach, guarded by order of the Commissaire du Quartier by four soldiers, armed to protect them from the insolence and rage of the Populace, who otherwise might have torn them in pieces, so strong are the prejudices of the common people which are continually fomented by the Romish Clergy against the Protestants'.²⁰ The situation in France was evidently ambiguous, as some Huguenots managed to return to live there in the first half of the eighteenth century, although the extent to which they compromised their faith is not known.

Huguenot artists and designers continued to leave France for Britain in the eighteenth century, and Roubiliac's arrival in the 1730's should be seen against this background. Other artists, whose families had settled in Geneva, Berlin or Holland, probably came to Britain in search of work, tempted by the additional attraction of a fully established Huguenot community, which meant not only freedom of worship, but established connections with the British aristocracy, and therefore patronage. The appropriate Huguenot roles of private chaplain and tutor to noble families played a vital part in the patronage of Huguenot artists and craftsmen. Monsieur Huet, a Huguenot minister, was acting as steward to the 1st Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, where many of the craftsmen employed in the rebuilding at that time were Huguenots. An interesting letter, preserved at Chatsworth, from M.Huet to Mr.James Whildon, dated February 8th, 1699/1700, reveals Mr Huet's predicament as a minister. 'I am mightily obliged to you for your advice about the living, but I am not in a condition to make use of it, the want of the Anglish tongue hinders me of such things and I am now to old to learne well enough to be understood by the people and to serve a parish by a proxy I never liked for fear to be saved by proxy too - So I have said nothing of it to his grace.' This is not the only example of a Huguenot minister being

offered or taking up an English living. Huguenot 'conformist' belief was compatible with Anglican liturgy, the main difference lay in the organization of the two churches.

Many of the nobility and gentry employed Huguenot tutors for their children. William Blathwayt appointed P. de Blainville as tutor to his sons William and John by 1703.²¹ In 1693, Paul Rapin de Thoyras was appointed tutor to Lord Woodstock,²² the Earl of Portland's eldest son, and Sir John Chardin, Jeweller to Charles II, accompanied Lord Tavistock to Utrecht, Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden, and Nuremberg in 1697-8.²³ Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, was educated by Monsieur Jouneau, minister of the Huguenot church in Berwick Street, Soho.²⁴ It is no coincidence that William Blathwayt, the 2nd Duke of Bedford, the 2nd Duke of Portland and Lord Chesterfield all patronized Huguenot craftsmen.

The occurrence of the names of many prominent members of the nobility and gentry as godparents in the registers of the Huguenot churches, reveals the extent to which these patrons became involved with the Huguenot community. From this point of view, the registers of the churches of the Savoy, Spring Gardens and the Eglise des Gr̃ecs, are the most significant, and the phenomenon recurs well into the late eighteenth century. The names include William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, 1709; Henry, Earl of Grantham and the Countess of Arlington, who stood godparents to the daughter of M. Ducros, Minister of the Savoy Chapel in 1710; Charles, Lord Baltimore, 1715; Horace Walpole, 1719.²⁵ As late as 1759, Lord Chesterfield stood godfather to the son of Jacques Parent, minister of the Huguenot church in Hammersmith.²⁶ It is of particular interest to note that in 1740, John, Lord Ashburnham, and Lady Mary de Grey, stood godparents to Marie Jemima, daughter of the painter Mark Anthony Hauduroy, at the Huguenot church in Berwick Street, Soho.²⁷ Mark Anthony's marriage to Charlotte Coulon, in 1738, is recorded in the registers of Silsoe, the parish church nearest to Wrest Park, the home of Lady Mary de Grey, which had been partially decorated by a member of the Hauduroy family.²⁸

It is highly probable that many of these aristocrats made a habit of attending the Huguenot churches, if only to improve their French. Samuel Marc, the Huguenot locksmith, who worked for Ralph, Duke of Montagu at Boughton House, Northamptonshire, charged in December 1697, 8d for ' a button to the lock at the Pew in the French church'²⁹ which implies that Lord Montagu had his own pew, and although the identity of the church has

not been established, it was probably the Eglise des Gr̃ecs.

On the other hand, not every Frenchman in Britain during this period was a Huguenot refugee, and many Frenchmen traded on the good reputation of the Huguenots. Among the papers of Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State to William III, is a report dated April 1692, which states that one hundred and fifty French Officers, supporters of James II, had succeeded in landing on the West coast by pretending they were French refugees. Furthermore the report also states that 20,000 of James' supporters, were in London, 'ready to take arms', that most of them were Frenchmen, and that 'there were severall thousands of the French who passe here for Protestants and goe to the French Protestant Churches who indeed are good Catholicks and would shew themselves to be soe upon K.J.'s landing.'³⁰

In about 1750, Peter Parisot, a naturalized Frenchman, set up a carpet weaving manufacture in Westminster with two workmen from the Chaillot factory. Parisot later moved to Fulham, and expanded to include tapestry weaving based on the Gobelins, and the manufacture of dyes, and managed to secure the patronage of the Duke of Cumberland. Parisot even published 'An Account of the new manufactory of Tapestry after the manner of that of the Gobelins and of Carpets, after the manner of that at Chaillot'. However, some fascinating documents published in the Bulletin de la Soci  t   de l'Art Francais, reveal that M.Parisot was an anti-jesuit Capucin priest, Pierre Nobert, who had been allowed to visit England by Pope Benoit XIV on condition that he became a missionary. He had managed to attract a subscription of ten thousand pounds, and to persuade his employees to entice members of their families away from the French manufactories. A letter from a certain M. Grignon, dated 30th August, 1752, who is evidently one of Parisot's hundred employees, is addressed to his father, and tries to persuade him that his brother Estienne should learn the manufacture of the Savonnerie for two and a half years, and having learnt the trade in the best place, should come to Fulham and work for Parisot, where 'il ne sera pas regard   comme un jeune apprentif, mais comme un homme en remplissant son devoir avec les ouvriers avec qui il travaillera.' The French authorities were fully aware of Parisot's status, and managed to put an end to Parisot's supply of French trained workmen, by intercepting correspondance of this type. It is not surprising to find, that by 1755, all of Parisot's stock was up for sale.³¹

The letters of Giuseppi Baretti, who was in England by 1751, comment that Monsieur Parisot disappeared, and that most of his tools were bought by 'un certain monsieur Passavant', 'Suisse de nation et fabricant de serges à Exeter'.³² He may be identified with the Claude Passavant who received a grant from the Society of the Arts in 1758. Ironically, it was left to a Huguenot to salvage the Parisot manufactory, and it seems that Passavant succeeded. Baretti notes that Passavant also took on 'quelques malheureux déserteurs des Gobelins, qui etaient venus servir monsieur Parisot après avoir risqué la potence s'ils avaient été pris pendant qu'ils se sauvaient de France.' Furthermore, their predicament was enhanced by the fact that 'ils ne savoient d'autre métier que le leur, ignoraient entièrement la langue et ne pouvaient retourner en France ou ils auraient été pendus pour leur désertion. M. Passavant ramassa dans les rues de Londres le petit nombre de ceux que le faim et la misère avaient encore épargnés et les fit conduire à Exeter ou il se fait un petit revenu de leurs travaux'. Baretti adds, 'Comme monsieur Passavant est un négociant très-habile, il a trouvé le moyen, sans aide de prince, de duc, ni de seigneur, de gagner quelque chose avec ses tapisseries.'³³

Parisot was no doubt trading on the trust the Huguenots had established with their patrons, and it is significant that it was a Huguenot who turned Parisot's fraud to good effect.

The Huguenot refugees arrived in Britain at a time when the French Taste was paramount; it had been dictated by the British Monarch since the Restoration. Arthur Bryant noted that Charles II 'achieved a change in English taste far greater than any transient turn of fashion. For it effected everything: our architecture, our dress, food and manners, our books, our whole attitude to life.'³⁴ Charles II's patronage of Huguenot artists and craftsmen is insignificant, with the exception of the appointment of Sir John Chardin as his jeweller in 1681.³⁵ It was with the arrival of William III in England in 1689 that patronage of Huguenot artists and craftsmen began in earnest, with the eager spate of rebuilding that the new monarch's presence inspired.

It is significant that William III was personally instructed in drawing by Abraham Raguineau, a Huguenot, born in London in 1623, who became a citizen of the Hague in 1645, and Keeper of the Prince's Pictures in 1666. This post was taken over by the painter Robert Du Val (1644-1732), also a Huguenot, who came to England in order to purchase and commission paintings to refurnish the King's country houses in the Netherlands.³⁶

Queen Mary also took an active interest in art, and her involvement with the rebuilding at Hampton Court is described in Wren's *Parentalia*, 'The Queen, upon observing the pleasant Situation of the Palace, proposed a proper Improvement with Building and Gardening, and pleased herself from time to time, in examining and surveying the Drawings, Contrivances, and whole Progress of the Works, and to give thereon her own Judgement, which was exquisite; for there were few Arts, or Sciences, in which her Majesty had not only an elegant Taste, but a knowledge much superior to any of her Sex.'³⁷

After the Queen's death in 1694, the patronage of Huguenot craftsmen at court was largely thanks to Ralph Montagu, who had resumed his office as Master of the Wardrobe in 1689, after a period of voluntary exile. William III probably maintained personal contact with Daniel Marot, who called himself 'Architect to the King', and supervised the decoration at Het Loo, King William's country palace in the Netherlands. Daniel Marot designed a monument to William III which was intended for Westminster Abbey, but was never executed, and survives in the form of an engraving. The King reclines in armour on a sarcophagus which is decorated with a scene of the monarch in battle, possibly the Battle of the Boyne, in relief. Behind the Netherlands and Britannia stand in respect, while the lion and unicorn at his feet, turn to gaze at their master. Above Fame blows two trumpets and below, the monument is flanked by winged female figures in the process of recording William III's achievements. (Pl.7)

It was twenty-six years before the Huguenot artists and craftsmen again received vigorous royal patronage in the form of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who arrived in England in 1728. On 6th February, 1729, Frederick appointed Philip Mercier as his 'Principal Painter', and in 1730, Mercier became his Library Keeper.³⁸ Mercier's duties included the purchase of paintings and literature for the Prince, and a list of the French literature acquired in this way throws interesting light on Frederick's intellectual taste. The books include, *Oeuvres de Crebillon*, *Rapin's History* (Rapin was another first generation Huguenot refugee), *Monuments de la Monarchie Francaise*, *Morey's Dictionary*, and *Du Thou's Historre de son Temps*.³⁹ The Prince also patronized the Huguenot jewellers and toy shops, Peter Dutens, Isaac Lacam, Paul Bertrand, and Mrs. Chenevix;⁴⁰ and the Huguenot carvers and frame-makers, Paul Petit, Joseph Duffour, Jacob Gosset, and James Riorteau.⁴¹ Huguenot craftsmen also found favour with members of Frederick's household, most notably, Charles, 5th Earl of Baltimore.⁴² (Pl.8)

Intriguingly some families made a point of patronizing Huguenot craftsmen continuously from the 1680's to the 1750's. John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, who succeeded his father in 1709, continued to patronize Huguenot craftsmen, and from 1727 to 1746, made an annual contribution to the Soupe, the Huguenot charity in Spitalfields.⁴³ The Booths, Earls of Warrington, made a particular collection of Huguenot plate, commissioning new pieces throughout the period.⁴⁴ The Russells, Dukes of Bedford, whose ancestor, Lord William Russell, executed in 1683, married Rachel Wriothesley, daughter of Thomas, 4th Earl of Southampton and the Huguenot Rachel de Ruvigny in 1669, not only patronized Huguenot silversmiths, craftsmen and tradesmen throughout this period, but they also gave financial assistance to Huguenots in need.⁴⁵

Another patron, whose life span covers the period, is Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753), Master of the Mint, 1727-1753, vice-chamberlain to Queen Caroline, who evidently used his position at court to the advantage of the Huguenot refugees. In 1704, the first generation Huguenot engraver Simon Gribelin, inscribed a copy of the revised edition of his 1682 book of designs with the following note to Sir Andrew Fountaine, 'combien vous avez pour Agreable mes Foibles Efforts, par l'honneur que vous m'y faites donc j'en auray (comme de tous les Autres) une Eternelle Reconnaissance..⁴⁶ Over thirty years later, the London Daily Post and General Advertiser, for Thursday November 16th, reported, 'Mr. Roubillac the Statuary is carving a curious figure of a Ldy for Sir Andrew Fountaine Knt, which we hear, will cost 300L.'⁴⁷ Despite the fact that this commission closely followed Roubiliac's statue of Handel at Vauxhall Gardens, Fountaine's patronage helped to establish Roubiliac's newly acquired reputation. It is probable that many of the great households of the time patronized the Huguenot craftsmen, because of the high quality and good value of their work.

The aristocratic Huguenots also patronized their own kind. Frederick, Duke of Schomberg hired furniture for his house in St. James in 1689 from the Huguenot upholsterer Francis Lapierre, and his son had the walls painted with murals by the Huguenot painter Pierre Berchet.⁴⁸ In 1735, the La Touche family commissioned the plaster ceiling of the family bank in Castle Street, Dublin, which represents Venus wounded by Love and is based on an engraving by Antoine Watteau. The identity of the craftsman employed is not known, but he may well have been of Huguenot descent.⁴⁹ (Pl.9). Mercier, Roubiliac, and David Le Marchand

produced portraits of eminent Huguenots. The only example known to date of a commission by a fellow Huguenot craftsman, is the tea equipage made by Paul de Lamerie as a wedding gift for the daughter of the Huguenot Jeweller Jacques Louis Berchere, Suzanne Judith, who married Jean Daniel Boissier at St. Peter le Poor in April 1735. It consists of two tea caddies, a matching sugar caddy, a cream jug, twelve tea spoons, a mote spoon, two knives, and a pair of sugar nippers contained in a mahogany box lined with red velvet and embellished with silver mounts (Pl.10). The silver bears the arms of Boissier impaling Berchere, and the hall marks, 1735-6.⁵⁰

Whereas no English craftsmen are recorded as patronizing Huguenot craftsmen, with the exception of taking Huguenot apprentices, it is interesting to note that the Huguenots did also patronize English craftsmen. Thus Frederick, Prince of Wales' Huguenot dancing master, Monsieur Desnoyer, Jacob Bouverie and Charles Dartiquenave are recorded as clients of the goldsmith George Wickes.⁵¹

Although the Huguenot craftsmen were appreciated by the nobility and gentry, the native craftsmen reacted strongly against the intrusion. When in 1678, Parliament was considering a bill to enable foreign protestant craftsmen to exercise their trades in certain places and to enter on a normal seven year apprenticeship, it was the court of the Goldsmiths' Company who passed a resolution to oppose the bill. Again, in 1711, fifty-three London goldsmiths signed a petition against the intrusion of foreigners,

'that by admittance of necessitous strangers whose desperate fortunes obliged them to work at miserable rates, the representing members have been forced to bestow much more time and labour in working up their plate, than hath been the practice of former times.'⁵²

In 1733, a similar complaint was taken up by Andrew Fullbottom in the Gentleman's Magazine, 'Is it not a cruel case that a Tradesman shall not be employed merely because he is an Englishman.'⁵³ By 1745, the Anti-Gallican Society was formed to 'promote the British Manufactures to extend the Commerce of England, and discourage the introducing of French modes and impose the importation of French commodities.'⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that many of those involved in the Anti-Gallican

2 Society actually employed second generation Huguenot craftsmen. Stephen Theodore Janssen employed the goldsmith Delamain, of Huguenot descent, in the production of Battersea enamels. Likewise Hogarth, while deeply committed to a campaign against the French taste, willingly associated

with the French artists Roubiliac and Gravelot at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, and employed French engravers in order to achieve the appropriate elegance for subjects such as 'Marriage-a-la-Mode'.

The native craftsman's antagonism towards the Huguenots was partially cooled by the realization of the advantages to be gained by taking a Huguenot apprentice, or by placing one's son with a Huguenot master. Although this trend varied from trade to trade, for example, of the fifty-six Huguenot apprentices recorded by Grimwade from the archives of the Goldsmiths' Company during the period 1680-1740, only twelve were apprenticed to English masters. The apprentice lists of the Upholders' Company for the period 1704-1760 record that fifteen Huguenot apprentices were placed with Huguenot masters, and sixteen Huguenot apprentices were placed with English masters.⁵⁵ However, whereas the names referred to in the apprentice lists of the Goldsmiths' Company are of definite Huguenot origin, many of the names in the Upholders' Company list are Huguenot names with an origin such as Spitalfields, Norwich, or Southampton, which lends authenticity to the claim. For entirely accurate statistics, the names listed in Appendix A are taken from the records of the Huguenot churches. Unfortunately not all occupations are recorded, and so these lists cannot claim to be complete. However, artists and craftsmen whose names occur in the records, but without a note of their profession, which is known from other sources, have been included in the text where there is sufficient evidence to prove their identity.

Moreover, it must be borne in mind, that as a result of extreme persecution, the refugees fled where they could, and different members of the same family were forced to settle temporarily in different countries. The registers record a movement to and from Berlin, Geneva, the Hague, Ireland and America. The Huguenot artistic contribution must be seen as part of the international network which the refugees established, and which was itself to boost their progress in many different fields.

The great majority of the Huguenot artists and craftsmen settled in London, where a total of 530 different names are recorded in the Huguenot records for the period 1680-1760, whereas, by comparison, the Dublin registers have yielded only twenty-four names for the same period. However, a glance at the records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, reveals that over a hundred goldsmiths of Huguenot origin were registered with the Company over this period, so this survey must remain the basis of future research.

In order to become a member of a Huguenot church, a refugee had to bring with him a *temoignage* or witness from the Huguenot community at which he had previously worshipped. He was then accepted as a member of the refugee community, his children could be baptized, and he could become an elder of the congregation. Thus, with the exception of godparents, the professions given in the Huguenot records relate to members of the refugee churches.

443 of the names gleaned from the Huguenot records can be described as first generation Huguenots; 87 are probably second generation. In contrast only thirty of the names included in this thesis whose professions are not given in the Huguenot records can be described as first generation, and forty-eight are second generation. Many of the latter came to England of their own accord from the countries in which their refugee parents had settled, in search of work, not in search of freedom of worship, although such freedom was part of the attraction of coming to England. By the 1740's many of the artists and craftsmen under discussion can be described as second generation Huguenots, although it is difficult to assess whether these second generation Huguenots, no longer refugees, really qualify as such. Ideally their names should occur in the Huguenot registers, however, this is not always the case, and may be due to the fact that not all the registers survive. Therefore whenever parentage can conclusively be proved to have been Huguenot, the artist has been included in this thesis.

Of the 530 professions recorded in London, 322 are craftsmen in metal; sculpture and allied crafts account for 101 names, and other artistic occupations are represented by 10 painters and designers, 11 tapestry workers, and 7 fanmakers. Of these, approximately half have recorded addresses, and it is therefore possible to reconstruct the distribution of the craftsmen in London. However, it must be emphasized that many of these craftsmen did not own their own accommodation, and moved frequently. This difficulty has been overcome by representing the areas occupied during two specific moments in time, 1700-1710, and 1745-1755, using John Rocque's 1746 Survey of London (Pls. 11 and 12).

The professions of the craftsmen whose addresses are known for the period 1700-1710 in Spitalfields are mainly clockmakers and ivory turners. Although the clockmakers tended to congregate in Petticoat Lane, professions were, for the most part, evenly distributed. For example, Old Artillery Ground (now Artillery Lane), which housed the Huguenot church of the

Artillery, which closed in 1695, included amongst its inhabitants, a goldsmith, a painter, a sculptor, a watchmaker and an ivory turner. However, no Huguenot craftsmen (in the fields covered by this thesis) are recorded in the Huguenot records as being resident in Spitalfields during the later period 1745-1755. Despite the fact that Spitalfields also housed likely patrons such as Lord Bolingbroke, who lived in Spital Square, Soho had become the heart of the new fashionable residential quarter, and as a result, many of the Huguenot craftsmen who settled in the area, specialized in luxury crafts. Long Acre remained a popular area with Huguenot craftsmen throughout the period under review. Between 1700-1710, it housed at least one gunmaker, five cabinet-makers, two engravers, two goldsmiths and a watchmaker. In the later period, 1745-1755, thanks to the survival of a 1755 survey of the tenants of the Mercers' Company and the records of the Bedford Estate, it is possible to establish a fairly complete picture.⁵⁶ The occupants included the carvers Charles Angier and James Dubourg, the cabinet-makers Umfreville, Benjamin Parran and Isaac Russel, the upholster Thomas Bonnell the gunmaker Henry Delany, Joseph Cartony's china shop, a statue shop belonging to Joseph and Hannah Costance, Matthew Burchell, Cutler and Toyman, and the fanmakers, Mrs. Despeigne and Honor Chassereau. Although craftsmen of the same profession tended to congregate in the same streets, six Huguenot goldsmiths are recorded in Rider's Court, 1700-1710, and Newport Street was a favourite haunt of print-sellers, on the whole the distribution was fairly even.

If as has been suggested, four fifths of these craftsmen came from the provinces in France (Plate 13), where the emphasis would undoubtedly have been on local specialities, the effect of working in a metropolis, surrounded by craftsmen of many different professions, must have provided a stimulus not only for artistic inspiration, but opportunities, which, with the exception of those artists and craftsmen who had enjoyed royal patronage in France, were denied to craftsmen working in the provinces whose activity was restricted by the rigid guild system.

Just how rigid the guild system was can be gauged by glancing at 'La coporation des peintres, sculpteurs et verriers de Lyons'. The archives of this institution record that 'Chacun des trois métiers composant la coporation sera desormais distinct des deux autres et un maitre ne pouvait exercées que l'un de ces métiers'. This is further

specified to the effect that it is forbidden 'aux menuisiers, maçons et d'autres de faire des ouvrages de sculpteur, aux selliers de peindre les carosses, aux vitriers de peindre autrement que sur verre.' Furthermore, before becoming a master of the profession it was forbidden to set up shop, and a craftsman could only work 'chez les maitres de leur métier', moreover, it was also specified that 'il est interdit de vendre à Lyon des oeuvres fait en dehors de la ville.'⁵⁷

Taking this important background knowledge into account, it is not surprising that the Huguenot sculptor from Lyons, L.F.Roubiliac, was keen to seek permanent work in England, where apart from enjoying wider patronage, freedom of worship, he was able to practise as an architect, try his hand at painting, produce medaillion portraits, and to design bronze figures to surmount clocks, in addition to his work as a sculptor. The opportunity and freedom that Great Britain provided enabled jewellers and goldsmiths to open porcelain manufactories, a watchmaker to design machinery for building Westminster Bridge and a goldsmith to make dentures.

THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO METALWORK: ENGRAVING

The most significant Huguenot contribution to the decorative arts in Great Britain lay in the field of metalwork. It has been shown that at least three hundred and twenty-two Huguenot craftsmen in metal settled in London. Much has been written on the Huguenot contribution to silver, wrought iron, gunmaking and watchmaking. This contribution is summarized here briefly, before examining the Huguenot contribution to engraving, an area which has not been adequately assessed, and which is closely connected with many different art forms of the period.

Huguenot gold and metal smiths were attracted to Britain, not only as a result of persecution, but for economic reasons. In 1686, Louis XIV, in an attempt to finance his wars with Holland, ordered the melting down of all plate in France, and forbade the further employment of any goldsmiths.¹ In contrast, the late seventeenth century saw a vast increase in iron production in Britain.²

The Huguenot smiths arrived in Britain at a time when the taste for Dutch embossed silver was being replaced by French cast work. They brought with them a mastery of the techniques required for the new fashion in plate, which native silversmiths had not yet had the opportunity to acquire. They also brought a vocabulary of French ornament based on the published designs of Jean Lepautre (1618-1682), Paul Ducerceau (c.1630-1713), Jean Berain (1637-1711), M.P. Mouton of Lyons and Masson of Paris.³ They brought new forms, and new vessels; the helmet-shaped ewer (Plate 14) and basin, the pilgrim bottle, the eceulle, soup tureen and sauce boat.⁴ Through their mastery of technique, they introduced a purity of form, proportion, and dignity of ornament, that had not been seen in silver produced in this country before.

They developed already existing native vessels. The chocolate pot changed in their hands, from the straight sided descendant of the tankard, into a more elegant pear-shaped vessel. The two-handled cup and cover was raised on a small foot and acquired a finial, becoming more graceful.⁵ The native silversmiths found it hard to compete with this technical mastery and elegance of form, and reacted strongly against the Huguenot craftsmen. The Goldsmiths' Company received petitions from their members against admitting aliens to the freedom in 1682, 1694, 1711 and 1716. 1682 marks the date of the admission of the first Huguenot goldsmith, Pierre Harache to the freedom of the company. Yet thirty-five years later

native goldsmiths were still protesting at the impact which the Huguenot craftsmen had made on working conditions in London. Francis and George Garthorne, both petitioners to the Goldsmiths' Company against the work of aliens, deliberately imitated the Huguenot style. Arthur Grimwade has suggested that the native silversmith Benjamin Pyne, who was working c. 1700, may have employed Huguenot journeymen, or even re-marked Huguenot silver in order to maintain his clients.⁶ Huguenot silversmiths preserved their own identity by using in England marks of a type similar to those they had employed in France, incorporating a fleur de lys or crown.⁷

Jean Tijou (fl.1687-1716) is one of the Huguenot craftsmen in metal who has attracted most attention, although his Huguenot connections have recently been held in question. His name does not appear in any of the registers of the Huguenot or Anglican churches, and his daughter Eleanor married the French painter Laguerre, a Jesuit, who underwent an initial training for the priesthood.⁸ Whilst compiling a calendar of the manuscripts in the Huguenot Library, University College, London, Irving Grey came across a petition (c.1780-85) to the Governors of the Huguenot Charity School at Westminster from Thomas Tijou, on behalf of his granddaughters, Elizabeth and Henrietta Green. Thomas' father was none other than John Tijou, 'of St. Germans (sic) in France, a refugee to England and was employed by King William to furnish his Palace at Hampton Court with the whole of the Ironworks, which not being finished until the reign of Queen Anne, only part was paid for.' Thomas claimed that he himself worked as a small worker in gold, but 'is now near 80 with failing sight'.⁹

Like the Huguenot silversmiths, Jean Tijou brought with him a great technical mastery, and a reliance on somewhat outdated French pattern books. Gervase Jackson-Stops has related Tijou's designs to those published by Jean de Mortin, c.1640, Mathurin Jousse, c.1625, and Hugues Brisville. Despite his direct borrowings, Tijou published his own 'New Booke of Drawings' in 1693, which was largely responsible for exerting his influence on contemporary English Smiths.¹⁰ (Plate 15). William Edney (d.1725) of Bristol, used Tijou's Plate 19 for the design of a gate screen at Elmore Court, Gloucestershire, while Robert Bakewell and the Davies brothers used elements of Tijou's repertoire of cast ornament, the mask, the eagle head, the acanthus and bay leaf, although the overall effect was cluttered, lacking the harmony of the overall design to be found in Tijou's work.¹¹

Jean Montigny is another French smith working in England in the first half of the eighteenth century, who is most probably of Huguenot origin. A John Remy de Montigny was naturalized on April 4th, 1700.¹² Edward Saunders of Derby, who is currently producing a book on English Smiths, has suggested that Jean Montigny came to England to work for Tijou. Montigny was certainly connected, as Jean Tijou's sons, Thomas and Michael are mentioned in Jean Montigny's will of 1756.¹³ Montigny is recorded as working for James Bridges, Duke of Chandos, at Cannons, Edgeware in 1721, and produced the elaborate staircase balustrade, which was acquired by Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, for his London House, on the destruction of Cannons, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.¹⁴

Tijou's work at St. Paul's, Hampton Court (Plate 16) and Kensington Palace is well known, and has been fully documented in the volumes of the Wren Society.¹⁵ Tijou also worked at many of the great country houses of the period, at Chatsworth, where his French assistants Chalet and Raget are mentioned¹⁶, at Drayton, Kiveton, and Wimpole. More recently it has been noted that the building accounts at Cholmondeley record that Tijou supplied gates from his smithy at Hampton Court.¹⁷ It has been presumed that Tijou returned to France in 1712, but Tijou's name has recently come to light in the accounts of the Earl of Kent, at Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, where he is mentioned in the building account of Cain Hill House, c. 1716, 'Mr. Tishue Iron gates etc £64'.¹⁸

The work of these Huguenot silver and metal smiths embodies a strong plastic sense. It is significant that both excelled at producing more elaborate items. The wine fountain made by Peter Archambo for George Booth, Earl of Warrington, in 1728, now belonging to the Goldsmiths' Company, makes use of the supporters of the patrons crest, in the bold 'boar' handles, and is surmounted by a three dimensional rendering of an earl's coronet.¹⁹ This sculptural quality was evidently appreciated by contemporary patrons, and it is significant that when Celia Fiennes visited Burleigh she used the word carving to describe Tijou's work. 'the door on top of the Stepps is of iron carv'd, the finest I ever saw, all sorts of leaves, flowers, figures, birds, beasts, wheat in the Carving.'²⁰

The work of only five of the seventeen craftsmen who are recorded as 'graveur' in the Huguenot registers, is known today. The term 'graveur' is ambiguous, and should be interpreted with care, as of these five craftsmen, one Gedeon du Chesne, c. 1681, practised as a sculptor and plasterer, another Jean Obrisset, worked exclusively in horn and

tortoiseshell, 1703-1728, and yet another, Rene Pelletier, c.1691 was a member of the family of cabinet-makers employed by William III and Ralph Montagu, and probably specialized in marquetry. Abraham Martin c. 1709, worked as an engraver of watches and clocks, and Simon Gribelin, (1661-1733) is described as 'graveur en taille douce'.

Other names occur in the registers which coincide with the names of well known engravers, although their professions are not mentioned. These include the Basire family, who produced four generations of engravers; James Basire, (1730-1802) of the third generation is best known for taking William Blake as an apprentice in 1772; François Vivares (1709-80), Paul Fourdrinier (fl.1720-1750), Louis du Guernier, (1687-1716) and John Rocque (d.1762).

Engraved pattern books were used to establish the reputation of some of the better-known Huguenot craftsmen. Thus the Huguenot engravers looked to architects, painters and publishers for patronage. The painter William Hogarth patronized the Huguenot engravers James Basire and Charles Grignion (1717-1810). William Kent used Paul Fourdrinier to engrave pictorial designs for book illustration, as well as architectural designs, for which Fourdrinier's talent as an engraver was best suited. (Plate 17). The architect, Sir Christopher Wren had noted the quality of French pattern books when in Paris in 1665, and wrote, 'I have purchased a great deal of Taille douce that I might give our countrymen examples of ornaments & grotesks, in which the Italians themselves confess the French to excel'.²¹

It is significant that Simon Gribelin included amongst his topographical work, an engraving of the interior and exterior of St. Paul's Cathedral, which is inscribed, 'Ex Autographo Architecti, 1702', indicating thus that it was based on Wren's drawings. St. Paul's was not completed until 1710, but it is probable that Gribelin was anticipating a growing market for the prints, as the cathedral neared completion. There was evidently still a demand for a view of the cathedral forty years later, as the Guildhall Library preserves a 'South East Prospect of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul', which was published April 28, 1742 by Paul Fourdrinier. Gribelin also produced a view of the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, which includes Wren's additions, completed in 1705, but may well be based on the architect's revised drawings of 1699.

Other topographical prints by Gribelin include the Trinity Almshouses at Deptford and Mile End. An inscription on the latter

explains that they were built by the corporation of Trinity House in 1696 for '28 decayed masters of Ship & Pylots or the widows of such.' The prints were an advertisement for the good works of Trinity House. Gribelin also produced a plan of Lincoln's Inn Fields as laid out according to Mr. Cavendish Weldon.²² Fourdrinier's engravings of London topography included the rejected design for the Temple Bar by Inigo Jones; 'The North West Prospect of Westminster Abby with the Spire as design'd by Sir Christopher Wren'; 'The West Front & Steeple of St. George's church in Southwark'; the section of St. Giles Church; 'His Majesty's New Building near White-hall Intended for the Treasury etc. As design'd by W.Kent 1734'; 'Her Majesty's Library in St.James Park Finish'd Oct 29th, 1737', designed by the same architect, and a 'Design for the Mansion House of the Rt. Honble the Ld Mayor by I.Ware, 1737.'

Fourdrinier also worked for the Huguenot engineer Charles Labelye (1705-1781) producing prints of Labelye's designs for the first Westminster Bridge. Fourdrinier's prints record the gradual progress of the bridge. The earliest, the design of the Timber Superstructure of the Bridge, was published by James King in 1738. This was followed by 'A Plan of Part of the Ancient city of WESTMINSTER from College Street to Whitehall and from the Thames to St. James' Park in which are delineated the New Streets laid down and intended to be built by order of the Right Honorable..the COMMISSIONERS for BUILDING a BRIDGE at WESTMINSTER' published in 1740. In 1743 Fourdrinier engraved 'One of the five Ribs of the Center on which the Middle Arch of Westminster Bridge was turned extending 76 feet Designed and Executed by James King.' This was followed in 1751 by 'The Geometrical Elevation of the North Front of Westminster Bridge', which included a plan of the foundations and a plan of the superstructure, now of stone.(Plate 18).

Both Fourdrinier and Gribelin produced engravings of contemporary events. Gribelin produced an engraving of the Mausoleum, erected in Westminster Abbey to Wren's designs for the funeral obsequies of Queen Mary, March 5th, 1694/5. Fourdrinier engraved the 'triumphal Arch Erected and Painted on the West end of Westminster Hall for the Coronation of his Majesty King George the Second and Queen Caroline, October 11th, 1727 With the Ceremonie of the King's Champion attended by the Lord High Constable and Earl Marshall'. The arch was designed by William Kent. Even John Rocque advertised in 1749 the publication of 'the fireworks made at Paris, an account of the late peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, and . . . having just received from Paris a plan of the same, with the platform, which having the proper references will make the whole very plain. It

will be published in a few days the price of the elevation being one shilling the plan will be sixpence. The plan exhibits at one view the disposition of all the severall parts of the fireworks as they were laid out.'

Another fascinating print is dedicated to 'The Glory of the Rt. Honble Sr Robert Walpole' (who is represented as Hercules crushing a Hydra. It is dated June 11th, 1730 and contains an explanatory inscription in the form of an address to Caleb d'Anvers. 'The Authors of this beautiful piece are Messieurs Faget, Dumouchel, and Fourdrinier (three loyal Frenchmen) who having observed with equal resentment and concern, the licentious manner in which several restless scribblers have bespattered the great Man on account of his close conjunction with France very generously club'd their Wits together and have defeated his Adversaries in so Masterly a Manner that I think they deserve the Thanks of every good Englishman, who hath any regard for that illustrious family... I am glad to hear that it hath already met with the Approbation and Encouragement of a very great Family, and I hope shortly to see it displayed in the richest Colours upon Fans, and wrought into Screens and Hangings for the use and ornament of the Palace of N-R.'²³

Fourdrinier and Gribelin were able craftsmen who supplied reliable work, albeit of a plodding nature, which could arguably have been equally well executed by native engravers. It was initiative and foresight that was characteristic of Huguenot achievement that prompted John Rocque, who also worked as an engraver, to embark on an elaborate project to produce maps of the expanding English capital. Rocque described himself as 'Chorographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' (later George III). There were other French surveyors in London, who may have been of Huguenot origin; the Sieur Bourguinion who surveyed Thorndon Hall, Essex for Lord Petre in 1733,²⁴ and the Monsieur Chassereau, Architect at the Golden Head, the upper end of Berwick Street, near Soho Square, who advertised in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1741, 'LAND Survey'd and MAPS of the same neatly drawn, designs for Building made, and perspective views or Prospects of Gentlemen's Seats, or other Buildings taken. Estimates calculated for Building, or Repairs. Artificers work inspected and measured, levels taken; and all other Affairs relating to Building, carefully managed.' Chassereau's surviving works include a plan of 'St. James' park shewing the division of parishes between St. Margaret's Westminster and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields', dated 1741.

Rocque's earliest surviving work consists of surveys of gentlemen's estates, and includes Wrest Park for the Duke of Kent in 1735, the Royal Estates at Hampton Court and Kensington Palace in 1736, Wanstead for the Earl of Tilney in 1737, and Claremont for the Duke of Newcastle in 1738.

Rocque's surveys were characterized by the inclusion of 'Watteauesque' views of his clients houses in the margins. Hugh Phillips complained that Rocque 'gets into serious difficulties with perspective, and his figures are lamentably out of drawing'²⁵ It was possibly to improve this defect that Rocque used the services of his friend the engraver François Vivares. The two men were intimate friends for in June, 1743, Jean Rocque stood godfather to François' son Jean, at the Huguenot church of the Savoy.²⁶

Rocque's main claim to fame is his Survey of London, which was apparently George Vertue's idea. William Oldys records in his diary for March 3rd, 1738,

'Went to Leicester Square with Mr. Ames, and saw Mr. Vertue there, and had some discourse about his grand design of an ichnographical survey, or map of London, and all the suburbs, but Mr. Rocque and he are not yet come to an agreement.'²⁷ The Survey was in fact carried out under the auspices of Mr. Pine, and appeared between 1741 and 1745 in 16 sheets. It was updated by 1759 and appeared in 'A LIST of the WORKS of JOHN ROCQUE', where it is described as 'An exact Survey of the City of London and 10 Miles round in 16 Sheets, containing all the New Roads, Buildings, etc. to the Year 1759'.

Rocque also produced maps of Bristol, York, St. Edmund's Bury, Exeter, and Surveys of the Counties of Berks, Oxford, Buckingham, Middlesex, and Shropshire. He brought to English map making the continental method of differentiating between heath and arable land, pasture, parks and gardens by different methods of stippling. Rocque's knowledge of continental practice evidently facilitated production of continental maps and inspired such comparative studies as 'A PLAN of LONDON on the Same Scale as that of PARIS', which was dedicated to John, 3rd Duke of Montague, in 1762. The plan showed 'the beautiful situation of these two Rivals, their Extent, and by how much London exceeds Paris in Acres.'

It is probable that Rocque's output was to some extent influenced by the demands of his fellow Huguenots. A series of maps of French ports may have been produced for that market, although it is probable that they had a wider appeal. They included Dunkirk, with its fortifications, a 'Plan of St. Malo's, with a Map of the Coast'; 'Plan of Brest with all the Fortifications, Bay, Harbour, Soundings etc', 'Port l'Orient and Port Louis'; 'St. Martin's in the Island of Rhe'; Rochfort, the Island of Aix, the Bay; Toulon and its Environs, and Calais. Cities inland included Montpellier, Nismes, and Thionville, and other continental cities with Huguenot associations, Dresden and Geneva.

Rocque also produced maps for the Irish market, as the list of his w rks describes John Rocque as of Old Round Court in the Strand, and on the Batchelors-Walk, Dublin.²⁸ It is probable that Rocque had his own shop or at least an agent in Dublin, and the presence of his brother-in-law, Bernard Scalé, in that city from at least 1756 is significant.²⁹ Rocque produced an 'Exact Survey of the City and Suburbs of Dublin' in four sheets, 'in which every house is expressed.'; 'A plan of the City of Cork; of Kilkenny, of the Camp at Turles in Ireland, 1757, and a survey of the Counties of Dublin and Armagh. Bernard Scalé pursued the same profession as his brother-in-law, and published five plates of the Houses of Parliament, Dublin, in 1767, and 'An Hibernian Atlas or general description of the Kingdom of Ireland' in 1776.

Another Huguenot contributor to the production of Irish maps was Daniel Pomarede, (fl.1744-1761), who was described as a goldsmith, but also worked as an engraver on silver. In 1746, he engraved a map of Waterford, for the History of that town published in the same year by Charles Smith. Pomarede also engraved a map of the county of Kildare which was published by John Noble and James Keenan. It includes a scene of 'The Great Match Run on the Curragh of Kildare Sept 5th, 1751 for a 1000 Guineas by Black and all Black the property of Sir Ralph Gore Bart. & Bajazet ye property of the Rt.Honble ye Earl of March, won with ease by ye former.'³⁰ The same scene appears on a large punch bowl by the silversmith William Williams, made in Dublin in 1751, which was recently sold at Christie's and is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Art.³¹

There was obviously a market for specific views of London, and the popular venues such as Vauxhall Gardens, St. James' Park, and Ranelagh Gardens, were etched and engraved by Jean Baptiste Claude Chatelain, Charles Grignion, Jean Maurer and François Vivares. John Rocque is known to have published such prints by Chatelain and Grignion. A particularly interesting frontispiece, designed by Gravelot, engraved by Grignion, and dedicated to the Right Hon. William Pulteney Esq. is inscribed by John Rocque 'Views of Adjacent Villages in the County of Middx'. It has not yet been possible to identify the series to which the frontispiece was attached, but it must predate Gravelot's departure from England in 1745, and it is likely that the six plates were views drawn by Gravelot and engraved by Grignion, who is known to have studied drawing under Gravelot. (Plate 19) Grignion also produced topographical prints for other publishers. His engraving of 'A View of the Canal, Chinese Building, Rotundo, etc., in Ranelagh Gardens, with the Masquerade', published by Henry Overton in 1752, was based on a drawing by Caneletto.

An original impression of this print is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, although it would seem that the print was later pirated by Henry Bowles (plate 20).³²

Chatelain's main role was the production of topographical drawings for English engravers. His series of drawings of the London churches was etched by J. Roberts and published in 1750. A view of the Mall in St. James' Park was engraved by W.H. Toms in 1757. His 'South view of the Cliffs called St. Vincent's Rock & part of the River Avon near Bristol' was engraved by P. Angier, an engraver who was probably of Huguenot origin.³³ Chatelain also etched his own drawings, 'Six Views of the River Thames', were sold by T. Major at the Golden Head in West Street in 1750, and were etched with the assistance of François Vivares. Chatelain combined with Ravenet, Canot, Grignion, Muller and Mason to engrave a series of eight views of the lake district after William Bellars; this may be the earliest topographical rendering of a subject which was later popularized by the Rev. William Gilpin. (There is no evidence that either Ravenet or Canot were of Huguenot origin, although they were both born and trained in France).³⁴ William Bellars advertised the series in the London Evening Post in 1757.

Chatelain evidently travelled around Britain producing drawings and watercolours of country houses and provincial cities. The Yale Center for British Art possesses a watercolour of Melton Constable, Norfolk, and two views of the Grotto and Rotunda at Stowe. Chatelain's surviving drawings in other collections record visits to Shropshire, Worcester and Yorkshire. The panoramic view of Ripon, in pencil and black chalk, sold at Christie's in 1975 (plate 21) had remained in the collection of the Earl of Swinton. This suggests that Chatelain was employed by noblemen on his travels.

François Vivares also produced original work. The Yale Center for British Art has a fine watercolour of 'Ships by a Rocky Shore', which delicately captures the effects of the sea breeze on the waves and foliage of the central tree (plate 22). Another watercolour by Vivares in the same collection represents an Italian landscape.

It is also interesting and constructive to compare Chatelain's drawings of English topography enlivened by cheerful figures, with the work of the rather curious draughtsman François Gassel in some sixty years earlier. A collection of drawings by Gassel representing villages in the neighbourhood of Paris, 1678-1690, are at Chatsworth, and were published by Anthony Blunt, who suggested that Gassel must have been

a French artist who visited England only briefly.³⁵ Blunt reinforced this suggestion with the fact that a student of the same name attended the Paris Academy in 1708, 1712, and 1713. However, a François Gasselin appears in the Huguenot registers, and stands as godfather to Corneille François, son of the 'ebeniste' Corneille Gole in 1701.³⁶ It seems highly probable judging from the way in which the Huguenot artists and craftsmen were interconnected, that this refers to the topographical draughtsman, particularly as Gole was probably known to the same patrons as Gasselin. The collection of his work at Chatsworth includes a sketch in pen and ink and grey wash of the Banqueting House and Whitehall Palace and a view of Kensington Palace dated 7 October 1693. Other London views by Gasselin include the Old Manor of Marylebone, signed and dated 1700 (Marylebone Public Library); St. James Palace and Montagu House (British Museum) and a view of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea (Yale Center for British Art). There is also an intriguing view of a country house in a park at Yale which may be identified with Boughton House, Northamptonshire, as it shows a new wing built in the French style, adjacent to a Tudor hall, which was eventually masked by the continuation of the new facade (plate 23). A view of the Binnenhof at the Hague, signed and dated June 1692 (plate 24) suggests that Gasselin may have come to England via the Hague with the court of William III. Most of the Parisian drawings date from before 1685, and although one drawing entitled 'riviere de Saine' is dated March 1690, it is probable that Gasselin's return to Paris in that year was in the retinue of the Dutch or English Ambassador. However, as far as is known, Gasselin's drawings were never engraved, and were probably undertaken as a personal memento of the places with which he was familiar.

Another major role played by the Huguenot engravers was the reproduction of paintings, for which there seems to have been a great demand. This could take the form of a book; such as 'The Tent of Darius explained or the Queen of Persia at the feet of Alexander', translated from the French of Felibien by Colonel Parsons, with the 'Print of the Tent Engraven by Mr. Gribelin', based on Le Brun's painting of the same subject. Gribelin also produced a series of separate prints after well known paintings in England. His first attempt of this nature, was a series of prints of the Raphael Cartoons, then at Hampton Court, which he published in 1707. Walpole commented that their success was very great, having never been completely engraved before, but that they were in too small a volume.³⁷ Vertue noted, 'vast numbers of them sold'.³⁸ It is significant that Lord Shaftesbury requested to see one of Gribelin's engravings from this set when deciding

whether to employ him to engrave the illustrations to the second edition of Characteristics ³⁹Gribelin had set a trend, which was taken up by Nicholas Dorigny, a French Catholic, who came to England specially to make larger plates of the Cartoons in 1711. ⁴⁰

Gribelin also produced 'Six of her Majesty's Pictures Drawn and Engraved from the originals of Paulo Veronese, Jac. Tintoretto, Old Palma, Jul. Romano, and Andr. Shiavone in the Royal Palace of Windsor and Kensington' in 1712, and he used Annibale Caracci's Deposition as a source for the engraving of that subject on an altar dish made by Gribelin's fellow Huguenot Isaac Liger in 1706 for William Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington's chapel at Dunham Massey, where the plate remains today. Gribelin's final contribution to reproductive engraving, was the series of prints of Rubens' ceiling in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, which were available in 1721 (Plate 25). When the panels were repositioned in 1951, the arrangement was based on Gribelin's engravings, which were taken to be the earliest and most authoritative rendering of the ceiling. However, Gribelin lined up the longitudinal pictures on the same axis, as engravings, unlike a ceiling, cannot be viewed from four different angles, and his work only served to confuse the issue. ⁴²

Walpole complained of Gribelin, 'that none of his plates gave any idea of the style of the masters they copied'. ⁴³ Gribelin should be given credit, however, for the initiative with which he undertook schemes that had not been attempted before.

Chatelain and Vivares also contributed to the history of the reproductive print, working after the Old Masters; Gaspar Poussin, Rembrandt, Claude, Patel, as well as their contemporaries John Wootton, Zoffany, George Smith, Gainsborough, Joseph Goupy and Dominic Serres. The inscriptions on these prints throw interesting light on the patronage of the period, and indicate which private collections were available for the artist to study. It is significant that a Vivares print after Platel is dedicated to the Huguenot Jacob Bouverie, Earl of Radnor, and that Peter Delmé, the son of the Huguenot fishmonger, who became Lord Mayor of London (whose monument in St. Margaret Pattens was executed by Michael Rysbrack in 1738), emerges as a substantial collector of Old Masters.

The engraver often advertised and sold his stock from his own workshop, but some engravers had their own print shop where they supplied work by other engravers as well. Others kept print shops, but are not recorded as working engravers.

Simon Gribelin and Paul Van Somer fall into the first category. Paul Van Somer had a shop in Newport Street, near Leicester Fields in about 1690, and Gribelin's work was sold from his premises at the Corner House. Banbury Court, Longacre.⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that in 1738 Gribelin's engravings of the Raphael Cartoons, the ceiling of the Banqueting House, and a 'Book of Ornament of Twelve Leaves, invented and engraved by him: useful to all learners and lovers of Drawings' were still to be had at Mr. Pascall, Picture-Frame-Maker, at the Golden Head over against Hanover Street in Longacre.⁴⁵

James Regnier can be included in the category of engravers who also kept a print shop. A trade card in the Heal Collection at the British Museum is worth quoting in full.

'Regnier at the Golden Ball in Newport Street next Long Acre, London.. sells all sorts of the most curious Prints, Italian, French, English, Dutch, & others from the best Masters, Great choice of Scripture pieces & others of all Sizes. All sorts of fine Portraits of Gentlemen, Ladys & Hunting Pieces, Battles, Landskips, Shippings, Fishes, Flowers, Gardens, Fountains, Statues, Vases, Antique and Modern Academy Figures, Drawing Books, All Sorts of Birds and Beasts, All sorts of Ornaments as Compartments, Mask Faces, Trophies, Ceilings, Chimneys, patterns of Altars, Organs, Pulpits, Clocks, Looking Glass Frames, Sconces, Tables etc. All sorts of the finest Water Colours in Shells, ye Best Crayons & Straining Frames for Painting, the best Lead pencils, Black, White & red chalk, French and Dutch Drawing Paper, Portcrayons and Portfolios of all Sizes, Gold and Silver shells, India Ink, All sorts of Coloured prints and varnish for Japanning.'⁴⁶

The trade card is undated, but an entry in the cash book of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu for December 22nd, 1727 reads 'To Jaqs Regnier, fr. Print deliver to Lady Mary, as pr Bill £1.05;⁴⁷ and a James Regnier, print seller advertised at the same address in the Daily Courant, 22nd April, 1730. James Regnier may well be related to the Mr. Regnier who advertised as a Seal engraver in the Daily Courant, 13 March, 1712, and even more probably to the Mr. Regnier, who according to Thomas Major, taught Andrew Lawrence drawing⁴⁸

It would appear that the shop remained in the family until well into the 1760's, when it was run by the sculptor Louis François Roubiliac's fourth wife, Nicole Celeste Regnier. An account in the

Petworth Archives, headed 'Bill of Celeste Regnier for Prints' is dated October 26th, 1763 and reads ⁴⁹

'71 Prints of Giacomo Freij at the prices mark'd £15.17.0.

Single Mezzotinto portraits

Augustus Keppel	£ 0.7.0.
Admiral Saunders	£ 0.7.0.
Lord Edgecombe	£ 0.7.0.
Lord Ligonier	£ 0.12.0.
Lord Albemarle	£ 0.2.0.
Lord Hardwicke	£ 0.6.0.
Mr. Legge	£ 0.5.0.
Mr. Pelham	£ 0.6.0.
Garrick with Tragedy & Comedy	£ 0.10.6.

The Regnier trade card emphasizes that the shop also supplied artists materials and stationary. Another such shop was that kept by Mr. Fourdrinier at the corner of Craggs Court, Charing Cross, who described himself as 'Engraver & Copper Plate Printer'. Fourdrinier's trade card was designed by William Kent and advertised 'all sorts of Prints, Mapps and Stationary Wares'. ⁵⁰ Between 1734 and 1749 Fourdrinier's name occurs in this capacity in the accounts of the 9th Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House. The earliest payment of £1.9.6. on March 28th, 1734 is for 'bookbinding' ⁵¹

Delacour was another practising artist who owned a shop in Coventry Street, Haymarket, St. James. An advertisement in the Daily Advertiser, 1745, claimed that he 'continues to sell most beautiful crayons of a particular composition, and also cloths prepared, he uses himself, better than anything yet found. Watercolours, the best sort, warranted never to fade, and in general everything useful in Water Colour and Crayon Paintin. He likewise had choice of flowers in Water Colours, Landskips and Single Trees, wash'd in Indian Ink; all fit for Gentlemen and Ladies who learn to draw, and a large choice of old Prints and Drawings.' ⁵²

Delacour can be identified with the artist of the same name who produced a series of eight books of ornament between 1741 and 1748. Only the first and eighth book are known today, but it is significant that they were produced with the aid of the Huguenot engravers François Vivares and Bonneau. The first book is one of the earliest rococo pattern books to appear on the English market, although another

Huguenot contribution of this nature was Chatelain's 'A Book of ornaments from the drawings of Messrs, Germain, Meissonnier, Sign. Laterrells etc.'⁵³ Judging by Delacour's advertisement it is probable that he would have sold Chatelain's 'A New Book of Landscips Pleasant & useful for to learn to Draw without a master' which was published by J. Rocque in 1737.⁵⁴ His had an artistic vocabulary of ruins, peasants, dead trees, and people sketching in the landscapes, which was largely Dutch in origin but anticipates the cult of the picturesque later in the century. It is significant that this little manual was published by Rocque, as he too, is known to have opened a print shop. A notice in the General Advertiser, November 9th, 1750, describes Rocque as 'a draughtsman and printseller, next door to the Rummer Tavern, Charing Cross,' only a few doors away from his fello Huguenot Fourdrinier.^{54 55}

The Huguenot connection with the print trade continued, and it is interesting to note that after Philip Mercier's death, his widow Dorothy Mercier set up as a Printseller and Stationer at the Golden Ball, in Windmill Street, facing Silver Street, Golden Square, where she sold 'all sorts of Italian, French and Flemish Prints,... Flower Pieces in Water Colours, Painted by herself from the life, and Fanns for Ladies, in a New and Elegant manner.'⁵⁶

Judging by the mention of a⁺ least six craftsmen of this nature¹ in the Huguenot registers, their contribution to fan-making was significant. The British Museum has five designs for fans published in 1745 by Francois Chassereau, who may be related to the Surveyor of the same name.⁵⁷ They betray a strong oriental flavour, which is also in evidence in Delacour's first book of ornament, and brings to mind the fact that the Huguenots were influential in instilling the taste for Chinoiserie in Britain. The tradesmens' bills for the Countess of Exeter preserved in the Northampton County Record Office include the accounts of Phillip Margas, 'at ye Golden Fan in Bucklersbury near Stock Market' who supplied her ladyship with fans from 1748-50. These varied in price from £1.11.6. to £6.6.0. for an 'Ivory Fan'.⁵⁸

By the mid-eighteenth century, printsellers were selling pattern books for the new amateur artist, as well as for the professionals. Before 1700 the craftsman who published his own designs was often responsible for selling them himself. Simon Gribelin seems to have established himself as an engraver within two years of his arrival in

this country with the publication of 'A Book of Severall Ornaments' in 1682, which was reissued in 1700 with the extended title 'A Book of ornaments useful to all Artists' and again in 1704 when it was incorporated into 'A New book of Cyphers, with the coronets of England by Allowance of the Earl Marshall', by Colonel Parsons, the translator of Felibien's Tent of Darius, for which Gribelin had provided an engraving. In 1697, Simon Gribelin issued another pattern book aimed particularly at Jewellers and watchmakers, entitled, 'A Book of ornaments useful to Jewellers, Watchmakers and all other artists'. In this context, it is significant that Gribelin came from a family of watchmakers established in Blois; his grandfather, Abraham Gribelin, was 'Horloger du Roi' to Louis XIII, and a fine example of his work, a shell shaped watch is in the Horological Students Room at the British Museum. The same collection has an example of the work of Gribelin's uncle Nicholas who was established as a maker in Paris by 1683 (Plate 26). It is not surprising that despite his activity as an engraver Gribelin became free of the Clockmakers' Company in 1686.

Compared to the work of his Parisian contemporaries Jean Berain and Charles Le Brun, Gribelin's pattern books are surprisingly outdated in style, although this does not detract from the amazing finesse and delicacy of their execution. The 1682 'Book of Several Ornaments' shows the influence of Jean Le Pautre's designs with its bold acanthus scroll work (Plate 27). The incorporation of small miniature tablets representing paintings is a feature to be found in the designs of Paul Androuet Ducerceau, another near contemporary of Gribelin's in Paris, but may also be traced back to the engravings of decorative schemes by the painter Simon Vouet, particularly the Cabinet des Bains d'Anne d'Autriche in the Palais Royal, which was engraved by Michel Dorigny in 1647.

Gribelin's 1697 pattern book (plates 28 and 29) contains designs on a minute scale, which do not, perhaps, allow much scope for originality. Dolphins and rayed heads formed part of the accepted ornamental vocabulary of the French Court, but the animal and flower forms which act as symmetrical points of interest encased in elaborate scroll work are strongly reminiscent of the designs of the Blois-based Vauquier family. A Jacques or Jean Vauquier of the third generation produced 'Livre des Fleurs propres pour orfevres et graveurs' which was published in Blois and Paris c.1680. Plates 10 and

12 of this book are extremely close to Plates 2 and 5 of Gribelin's 1697 pattern book. The fine silhouette engraving common to both designers was ideally suited to the filagree work to be found on the pair-cases of the period. It has not yet been possible to relate Gribelin's designs for watches directly to the work of his contemporaries, although the silver pair-case watches by Etienne Hubert and Henry Massy in the British Museum are engraved with similar motives, and both makers were members of the Huguenot community. Engraved decoration was not limited to the watch case, and both the dial and the back of the movement were often similarly engraved.

Decoration of this type is also to be found on the dials of long case clocks. Such work was usually executed by an engraver who specialized in engraving watches, like Abraham Martin.⁶¹ Thus the fine bracket clock in the Time Museum, Rockford, Illinois, by Francois Asselin, has a back plate which was probably engraved by the maker or a member of his family (Plate 30). Francois Asselin is mentioned in the Court Minutes of the Clockmakers' Company as an engraver.⁶² For special clocks, however, an engraver of higher quality might be employed. The spring clock made for William III by Tompion between 1695 and 1700 has a beautifully engraved front plate, (Plate 31). R.W.Symonds described the work as 'so fine that it must have been executed by an engraver employed by goldsmiths'. The style of the engraving is closest to a silver table top engraved by Blaise Gentot in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth, which was executed before 1710, (Plate 32). Gentot also practised as an engraver on paper as his name appears on Plate 20 of Jean Tijou's 'A new Booke of Drawings', 1693, which represents the Fountain Screen at Hampton Court. Like Tijou, Gentot is a mysterious but highly gifted French craftsman, who worked in England, and then returned to Paris. There is yet no firm evidence that Gentot came to this country as a result of religious persecution.⁶³

The identification of engravers who worked on plate at this period is a problem. Charles Oman has attributed the engraving on a set of four hexagonal waiters with the maker's mark of Benjamin Pyne to Gribelin, although the engraving is closer to Gentot's known work.⁶⁴ The engraving on an oval silver plate, made by the Huguenot goldsmith Pierre Harache, now at Luton Hoo, was attributed to Gribelin by John Hayward,⁶⁵ but Charles Oman

has reattributed this, with the engraving on the lid of a comb box, also made by Harache to 'the Master of George Vertue',⁶⁶ but the engraving on these objects is not of a sufficient standard to support the suggestion that 'the Master of George Vertue' can be identified with Blaise Gentot.⁶⁷ In conclusion, it is indisputable that there were more engravers working on silver at this period than has hitherto been recognized. For example, Abraham Arache was described in 1689 as 'marchand, graveur',⁶⁸ so it is highly likely that the comb box and oval silver-gilt dish were engraved by a member of the Harache family; furthermore, Pierre Harrache II stood godfather to the son of a certain Josias Mauger, engraver, at the Savoy Church in 1710.⁶⁹ Moreover, it is probable that most of Gribelin's important work is included in his large presentation volume in the British Museum, as he evidently took a pride in his achievement.⁷⁰ It is therefore with extreme caution that unsigned engraving on plate should be attributed to Simon Gribelin, who remains at present, the best known engraver on plate of the period.

Gribelin's most important contribution to the engraving of plate, is the series of seal salvers made for Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, Chancellor of the Exchequer 1694-1701, and Henry Boyle, his successor, 1701-8. Holders of certain offices of state were permitted to melt down their official seal when it was rendered obsolete. This was caused in the above cases by the death of Queen Mary, 1694; the death of King William, 1702; and the Union with Scotland, 1707.

The 1702 salver is signed S.G. and remains in the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth (Plate 33). Curiously, the salver does not bear a maker's mark, although the Montagu seal salver was made by Benjamin Bathurst. The two seal salvers incorporating the arms of Sir Robert Lyre, made by Edward Vincent in 1728 bear engraving which is close in decorative format to the design of the Boyle seal salvers, and have plausibly been attributed to Samuel Gribelin, Simon's son, by Charles Oman.⁷¹

The best known of the seal salvers, is that belonging to Sir Robert Walpole which was made by Paul de Lamerie in 1728, with engraving that has been securely attributed to William Hogarth (Plate 34). The engravings of the Great Seal are supported by a figure of Hercules, set against a panoramic view of the City of London, with London Bridge in the foreground.

Engraving was evidently an accepted adjunct to the goldsmith's trade, and it is significant that one of the few surviving contemporary engravings of a silversmith, shows Louis Roupert of Metz and Paris holding a sheet of engraved ornament and standing beside a table on which are displayed the tools of his trade (Plate 35). The engraving is dated 1668.

It has been claimed that Gribelin's 'only inventive faculty was for ornamental engraving', but careful research into Gribelin's oeuvre has revealed that he also produced engravings from his own illustrations to contemporary literature.⁷² Gribelin's earliest recorded commission for book illustration are three delightful plates engraved for The Gentleman's Recreation, published by Richard Blome, 1686 (Plate 36). The British Museum also owns Gribelin's original drawing in red chalk for the frontispiece to the second edition of Charles Du Fresnoy's De Arte Graphica translated by John Dryden, and published by Bernard Lintot in 1716. It shows the daughter of Dibutades drawing her lover's outline from his shadow on the wall (Plate 37). The subject, a legend from Pliny, was used in academic circles to illustrate the origin of drawing.

For the same publisher, Gribelin produced illustrations to John Gay's Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London, 1716, and a series of plates to illustrate the first collected edition of Alexander Pope's works, which was published by Bernard Lintot in 1717. The most significant artistic contribution are the ten headpieces. Designed in the same format, they consist of a central cartouche, supported by varying mythological characters, which contains a vignette illustrating the subject matter of the poem. The whole is set against a brick patterned ground, which has previously been noted as one of the hallmarks of Gribelin's style, but it also occurs in the work of contemporaries. The headpiece to the Rape of the Lock (Plate 38) shows 'unnumber' Spirits' in the form of winged putti sporting on the lawn before Hampton Court. The headpiece to the Wife of Bath's Prologue, shows a naked lady admiring herself in the mirror, and being watched by leering satyrs; it can be seen as a parody of the biblical subject Susanna and the Elders. Although based on his own designs, the compositions indicate the extent to which Gribelin owed his inspiration to his decorative training. Gribelin made a collection of smaller designs which would be suitable for goldsmiths and jewellers, and the central vignettes for these illustrations to Pope's works were included in Gribelin's smaller scrapbook, now in the library of St. Mary's College, Twickenham, which formerly belonged to Horace Walpole.⁷³

The Huguenot contributions to silver, wrought iron, watchmaking and gunmaking in this country are often studied in isolation, but rarely seen in the context of the Huguenot contribution as a whole. The pair of pistols, in the Tower of London, which are thought to have ⁷⁴ been made for William III by the Huguenot Pierre Monlong, are elaborately decorated. The carved walnut stocks are inlaid with cut and engraved silver sheet; the barrels are decorated with chiselled steel and gold damascening. The decoration chosen was most appropriate, and these particular pistols display a variety of wildlife presided over by the goddess Diana. (Plates 39 and 40).

Unfortunately few examples of the work of the Huguenot gunmakers survive in this country, although the Devonshire Collection possesses two fowling pieces by Isaac de Seret and Landreville, c.1690, which have fine decorative engraving on the stocks and barrels ⁷⁴ Such fine arms called for a number of different skills. Dr. Hayward suggested that 'in the manufacture of so exceptionally splendid a pair of pistols, Monlong would have needed to call in the aid of a wood carver and perhaps of an engraver as well.' ⁷⁵

It has already been noted that the clockmakers' trade employed engravers; the same applied to the jewellers' trade which was closely linked with the former. The Huguenot registers reveal that the jewellers' trade was subdivided into specialized areas exemplified by the titles 'lapidaire', 'diamantaire', 'graveur en pierre', and 'metteur en oeuvre'. Delacour's eighth pattern book mentioned above consisted of designs for jewellery, snuff-boxes, and watchcases. The Huguenot jeweller Peter Dutens, of Leicester Fields supplied Frederick, Prince of Wales with a clock for £61 2s in 1736. The account is worth quoting in full, as it reveals the close connections between the two trades ⁷⁶

'For a Clock Case bought at Paris	£11.11.0.
Charges coming over with comission	£ 2. 2.0.
The Dial Plate Enamel'd White & Blue	
with the Days & Months & Signs of the Zodiack	£21. 0.0.
Paid Mr. Charles Clay Vizt.	
For a Drawing for a Clock Dial Plate	£ 1. 5.0.
For a Gold Sun chased	£ 4. 4.0.
For making side Frizes to the Case & Glass	£ 2. 2.0.
For an Eight day Clock that goes with a Chain	
to shew the signs of the Zodiack with Rising	
of the Sun etc	£18.18.0.

The full significance of the connections between watchmaking and jewellery as practised by the Huguenot refugees is seen in the patent taken out by the Huguenot watchmakers Peter and James Debaufre in 1704 for ' a Certain new Art or Invention or working & Figuring precious or more common stones & certain other matters different from Mettalls so that they may be Employed and made use of in Clockwork or watchwork and many other Engines; not for ornament only, but as Internall and useful part of the Work or Engine it self in such manner as have not here to fore been used, and very much conducing to the greater perfection of Watches and Clocks.'⁷⁷

The close community in which the Huguenot craftsmen lived and worked, enabled them to exchange talents to an extent which was unprecedented in native craftsmanship. Thus engravers, who were designers in their own right, embellished plate, watches and guns, combining with silversmiths, watchmakers and gunmakers to produce work of a standard not known before in Great Britain and Ireland.

The Huguenot engravers, like their fellow craftsmen in silver and wrought iron, brought to their craft a technical mastery not yet attained by native engravers. The engravers, such as Gribelin, who produced pattern books tended to rely, like the first generation silversmiths and gatesmiths, on outdated sources of designs. It was only with the development of native patronage, which came to expect the latest developments in French taste, that the second generation craftsmen, like the great silversmith, Paul de Lamerie, incorporated the latest styles into their work. The Huguenot contribution to engraving is so varied, that it is not possible to define a style as such. The engravers, like the other craftsmen in metal, brought to this country a knowledge of the French tradition in their respective fields, combined with a technical mastery, and a willingness to undertake whatever contemporary patronage expected from them.

THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO DECORATIVE PAINTING

Decorative painting as a permanent feature of the furnishings of secular buildings was known in England before the Restoration of Charles II, but it is only after 1660 that it became the favoured means of decorating wall surfaces. Medieval wall painting survives in religious establishments, but rarely in secular buildings, for which tapestries provided a much more effective screen from draughts, and although expensive, could be moved from place to place as the owner required. In effect, the rise in popularity of decorative painting in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, was partly due to its suitability as a substitute for tapestries. Despite the damp English climate, judging from contemporary accounts, it had the advantage of requiring less frequent alteration or restoration. However, whereas earlier decorative schemes, such as the Rubens ceiling of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, were painted on canvas abroad, and then positioned, decorative painting was often applied directly onto the plasterwork, which meant that the artist had to work in situ. Although Huguenot decorative painters also worked on panel, on canvas and on cloth. The availability of Huguenot artists who were already trained in this branch of their profession, coincided with the demand.

For the first forty years of the period covered by this thesis, James Thornhill is the only decorative painter of importance who was born in England. The competition held for one of the most important commissions of this nature; the scenes from the Acts of the Apostles for the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, held in 1709, is indicative of this state of affairs. The competition attracted designs from five artists, four of whom were foreigners. They were Pierre Berchet (1659-1720) and Louis Chéron (1660-1725) both described as painters in the Huguenot registers; Antonio Pellegrini and Giovanni Battista Catenaro, from Venice and Naples respectively, and James Thornhill, who won the competition largely because of his nationality.¹

Antonio Verrio (1639-1707) was the earliest foreigner to settle in England with this purpose in mind; a French-trained Italian, he came over in the retinue of the French ambassador, Ralph Montagu, in 1672. In 1677, he was joined by the Dutch Lanscraon; in 1682, Pierre Berchet came to England with his assistant Rambour, and in 1684 Louis Laguerre arrived with his assistant, the architectural painter, Ricard. It is not known whether Rambour, Laguerre and Ricard practised as protestants

in this country. Laguerre was brought up as a jesuit, but married the daughter of the Huguenot smith Jean Tijou. Between 1689 and 1691, Charles de la Fosse (1636-1716), a catholic, who later returned to France, and the Huguenot Jacques Rousseau (1630-1693) came over to work at Montagu House, and were joined in 1693 by Louis Chéron.² By 1716, two more Italians, Sebastiano Ricci and Antonio Bellucci were working as decorative painters in England. James Parmentier, another Huguenot artist, settled in England after having worked under Daniel Marot on the decoration of Het Loo, William III's country palace in the 1680's and 1690's.³

Apart from the famous commission for the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, religious subject matter rarely formed the content of these decorative schemes. Ideally decorative painting required recent plaster work, which in turn presupposed a new architectural setting. By 1690, many of the Wren City Churches were complete, with painted ceilings by Isaac Fuller or Robert Streeter (Pierre Berchet is alledged to have executed some decoration for a City church⁴). Pierre Berchet's painting of the 'Ascension' on the ceiling of Trinity College Chapel, Oxford, between 1691 and 1694, falls into this category. The only other religious scheme recorded by a Huguenot artist in this country was painted by James Parmentier for St. Peter's Church, Leeds. Vertue records that Parmentier, 'desirous to express his gratitude for the Encouragement he had met with in his employment bestowed upon the church a specimen of his art by painting Moses giving the Law the thunder & lightning rending the Clouds are expressed in fresco upon the roof in Suitable Terror but qualified by the lovely aspects of a choir of Angels & cherubs with Moses & Aaron etc represented & the Decalogue Creed & Lords prayer'.⁵

As the circumstances in which many of these decorative painters came to this country, in the retinues, or at the request of noblemen, would indicate, the majority of commissions of this nature were for the noblemen's town or country houses. The themes were based on a classical or literary source, and chosen for a particular relevance to the patron in question.

Louis Chéron is not known to have executed any scheme of a religious nature in this country, although in France he was responsible for painting a 'Visitation' for the Cloître des Jacobins in the Rue St. Jacques; and his reputation in Paris was established by the two 'Mays' presented to Notre Dame by the Paris Goldsmiths' Company in 1687

and 1690. However, Louis Chéron had also executed a decorative scheme of a religious and secular nature for his sister, the artist and poet, Elizabeth Sophie Chéron. The drawing room of her house at 33, Rue de Grenelle, contained over the mantelpiece, 'Moses striking the Rock', and the history of 'Angelica and Medoro' on the walls, and an 'Apotheosis of Hercules' on the ceiling.⁶ It is possible that Ralph Montagu saw this scheme in Paris, and persuaded Louis Chéron to work for him in England as a result. In Montagu House, however, Chéron was only given the ceilings of '2 rooms below stairs', probably because the other decorative schemes had already been executed. Vertue claimed that Chéron's 'manner of Colouring being not so agreeable...another misfortune happen'd that in the same house are many noble workes of Rousseau, Baptist & Lafosse whose fine manner of Designing & agreeable colouring so much outshone Cheron's works that quite discouraged everyone to imploy him in that way' Baptist is Jean Baptiste Monnoyer, who was buried in St. James', Piccadilly in 1699; French, Protestant, so strictly speaking 'Huguenot', although it is not known whether he came to England as a result of persecution, or whether he was simply looking for work. Vertue describes the decorative scheme at Montagu House in more detail, 'of this Noble house the Staircase painted the Ceiling by Lafosse the Architecture Landskips by Rousseau, the bass reliefs by Parmentiere...the AntiChamber Ceilg by Lafosse - the Salon, a Noble Room the most beautifull & richly adorn'd painted by Lafosse where he has shown all his Art & Skill.'⁷

Dezallier d'Argenville commented that Lafosse was responsible for two ceilings representing the 'Apotheosis of Isis' and the 'Assembly of the Gods'; but although d'Argenville had visited Montagu House by 1745, he does not comment on the subjects of the other ceilings, although he does dwell on the quality of the work. Referring to the combination of Jacques Rousseau, Charles de la Fosse and Jean Baptiste Monnoyer, d'Argenville wrote,

'Ces trois peintres Francois arrachent aux Anglois l'aveu sincère qu'on ne peut aller plus loin en fait de peinture. On y trouve l'effet des grandes ordonnances, soutenues d'un grand coloris, d'une belle touche, & accompagnées d'ornemens, d'architecture et de fleurs ravissantes.'⁸

The Montagu House scheme was evidently acclaimed by contemporaries, for when Thornhill complained that he was not being sufficiently well paid for his work at Greenwich, he cited the fact that Lafosse was paid £2,500 for his work at Montagu House.⁹ The scheme even attracted the attention of the King, 'Le Roy Guillaume III, les vint voir, les

admira et fit proposer à la Fosse de rester en Angleterre', but Lafosse was called back to Paris by Mansart in order to decorate the dome of Les Invalides.¹⁰ William III evidently admired the work of the Huguenot Jacques Rousseau, and the diary of Constantin Huyghens contains a note to the effect that the King had told him to see the paintings by Rousseau at Montagu House, and two overdoors at Hampton Court today, testify to the fact that William III did at least employ Rousseau.¹¹

It is not yet possible to reconstruct the decorative scheme at Montagu House, or to assert whether a theme was used to unify the decoration in the different rooms. Montagu House was demolished to make way for Robert Smirke's new premises for the British Museum, and what was salvaged was removed to Boughton House in Northamptonshire.

The decorative scheme at Boughton survives, as the house remained closed throughout the nineteenth century. The paintings on the staircase and in seven of the state rooms, were long attributed to Verrio, but were attributed by Edward Croft Murray to Louis Chéron, whose name appears in the accounts.

On entering the main door, the visitor finds himself in the staircase hall, with a painted ceiling representing 'Discord throwing an Apple amongst the Gods'; the staircase walls are decorated with grisaille panels representing Roman soldiers and busts of Roman Emperors in niches. The first state room, at the top of the stairs, has a painted ceiling representing 'Venus protesting to Jupiter at the Banquet of the Gods' the second state room is decorated with 'the Muses casting down Tyranny', the third, which was probably used as the state bedroom, 'Mars and Venus caught in their net by Vulcan', the fourth, which was probably used as a dressing room, 'Jupiter restraining Arcus from shooting the Bear Callisto', and the ceiling of the fifth state room represents a triumphant 'Apollo in his Chariot'. Descending the stairs the visitor enters the little hall, in which the ceiling is decorated with 'The Triumph of Flora', this in turn leads into the great hall, which has a ceiling resplendently painted with the 'Marriage of Hercules and Hebe'. Beyond the Egyptian Hall is decorated with the 'Triumph of Bacchus'.

In his articles on Boughton House in Country Life, John Cornforth suggested that the appearance of Hercules in the ceiling of the great hall was an allusion to William III, and that it seemed likely that the

whole series complemented the use of the rooms, as it does at Hampton Court. Mr. Edward Croft Murray has identified the subjects of the Boughton ceilings, but their significance has not yet been determined.¹²

During the reign of James II, Ralph Montagu was out of favour and spent the years 1685 to 1689 in voluntary exile in France. It is probable that the decorative scheme at Boughton refers to the Glorious Revolution, the overthrow of James II, and the triumph of William III, as King of Great Britain. The figure of Hercules would be a fitting allusion to William III, and indeed there is plenty of evidence that it was so used at that time. A pamphlet published in 1691 which was entitled, 'An Accurate Description of the United Netherlands' included an 'Exact Relation of the Entertainment of his most sacred majesty King William III at the Hague', with an account of William III's public entry into that city on January 26th, 1691-2. The Triumphal Arch in the Outward Court bore the inscriptions 'Crossing the Seas he delivered Britain where being Honoured with Scepters of large extended power, He is received again into his own country with Publick Joy', and 'He was happily joyned in Wedlock to a Princess descended from an Antient Race of Kings' with a lion and a unicorn symbolizing the marriage. A nearby arch was painted with the histories of Hercules, Theseus, Phaethon, Perseus, and Andromeda, and the arms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.

In addition, a display of fireworks which began at 6.30 p.m., was set against a structure which included in the centre the King's cypher, . surmounted by a crown and sceptre, on either side two high pyramids, a lion, a Hercules and a sun. Furthermore, when the firework display began, Hercules 'Arms were Expanded, firing with Eight several pauses to denote his Labours which were,

1. The Establishment of Religion and Victory.
2. The securing the tranquility of Europe.
3. The settlement of the Government upon a right bottom.
4. The Preservation of Unity amongst the Neighbouring Princes.
5. The Preservation of the common interests of the people.

6. The clearing of the sea.
7. The advancement of the Glory of this state
8. The concluding of a firm and lasting peace.¹³

This description has been quoted extensively as it seems probable that such an interpretation was intended for the decorative scheme at Boughton. The house was doubtless lavishly built and decorated in the hopes that it would (as Montagu House had done) receive a visit from the Sovereign. William III did in fact dine at Boughton¹⁴ in the autumn of 1695 while on a visit to Lord Sunderland at Althorp. It is not known whether the decorative painting was complete by that date, it is unlikely in view of the fact that Chéron's presence in this country is first recorded in October 1693, although the scheme had probably been considered. 'Discord throwing an Apple amongst the Gods' may be a reference to the gradual disintegration of James II's reign, and it may even refer to Ralph Montagu's part in the exclusion bill which resulted in his temporary exile. 'Venus protesting to Jupiter' and the 'Muses casting down Tyranny' may refer to the downfall of James II, 'Mars and Venus caught in their net', to his capture, and 'Jupiter restraining Arcus from shooting at the Bear Callisto', to his escape.

The fifth state room (Plate 41) represents 'Apollo triumphant in his Chariot' a probable reference to the triumph of William III, to which the Triumph of Flora, the Marriage of Hercules and Hebe (a happy reference to William III's marriage to Mary, daughter of James II, thus securing his right to the British throne) and the Triumph of Bacchus all suitably follow. William III is thus seen in the roles of Jupiter, Vulcan, Apollo and Hercules, an appropriate tribute to a visiting monarch. In 1698, the Huguenot poet Thomas D'Urfey exclaimed in his poem 'Albion's Blessing',

'Thus did Great William all our ills redress
Caesar Apollo, Caesar Hercules'. (Plate 42)

However appropriate and carefully planned these decorative schemes might be, it is probable that for the next generation their significance had waned. The spirit in which they were likely to be appreciated is captured in the following letter from John, 2nd Duke of Montagu to the antiquary William Stukeley, written from Ditton Park, January 4th, 1744-5, where the flowery banks inspire an image of Hebe, the Goddess of Youth crowned with flowers.

'You remember her figure is in the ceiling of my hall at Boughton, which figure some philosophers imagine was formed there by the steams of your toasts daily repeated here, and ascending from the table towards the heavens; which if they had not been stopped by the ceiling, would have formed a better or finer constellation than that of Andromeda; but not being able to make their way through the roof of the Hall they condensed themselves into the figure of Hebe in the ceiling'.¹⁵

Far from being formed by condensation, Louis Chéron obviously took a great deal of trouble in preparing the designs for this scheme. The British Museum has four studies in grey wash over black chalk, touched with white on grey paper. 'Cupid and Psyche before the assembled Gods' must be an early study for the first state room, or possibly for the little hall. 'Discord throwing an Apple amongst the Gods' is a study for the staircase ceiling, 'Jupiter restraining Arcas', a study for the fourth state room, and 'Vulcan catching Mars and Venus in their net' for the third state room. An oil sketch for the ceiling of the Great Hall was in the collection of Mr. David Griffiths in 1957, and an oil sketch for the ceiling of the third state room was with the Old Master Galleries in 1950, and was acquired by the Tate Gallery in 1963.

The dramatic contrast between the curtain of night drawn back to reveal the brilliance of daylight brought by Apollo and his Chariot, in the ceiling of the great hall, is a device derived from Le Brun's ceiling of the Gallery in the Louvre. The design for the third state room is of greater interest in that both a drawing and an oil sketch survive. Interest is added to the subject by showing Vulcan in the act of drawing the net over Mars and Venus, whilst above a selection of gods and goddesses survey the scene from their seats of cloud. The only major difference between the drawing and the oil sketch is the disposition of the figure of Mercury above. In the drawing, he is flying downwards towards the bottom left hand corner, whereas in the oil sketch (Plate 43) he assumes a more horizontal pose, the caduceus in his left hand as opposed to his right is pointed towards the top right hand corner of the composition, thus maintaining an interest in the top half of the design.

It is perhaps surprising that Chéron did not enjoy more success as a decorative painter. In Rome he had the opportunity to study and

copy the Raphael ceilings in the loggia of the Vatican (of which five drawings in his hand survive), in the Farnesina (of which nine drawings survive), and Chéron also studied Annibale Caracci's ceiling in the Gallery of the Palazzo Farnese (five drawings of this are also in the British Museum). Drawing and composition were no problem, but Chéron's rather harsh unimaginative blues, reds and yellows, inherited from Le Brun, Vouet and the Bourdon tradition, let him down. Vertue put it kindly, 'his manner of colouring being not so agreeable, and as at Rome that is not thought so valuable or estimable as designing (so he had not sufficiently studied that part).'¹⁶ At Boughton, Chéron's work had the advantage of not being directly comparable with the work of decorative painters of greater talent. Chatsworth, the only other country house in which Chéron's work survives, and is clearly identifiable, also contains the work of Verrio, Laguerre and Thornhill.

Louis Chéron evidently spent the summer of 1700 working at Chatsworth, for on June 18th, he was paid twenty-five pounds for 'Painting the six Panells in the Gallery',¹⁷ Of these, four are to be seen today on the ceiling of the theatre. They represent scenes from Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, the earliest edition was published in Venice in 1590, but by 1700 it had been translated into French, and Louis Chéron was probably familiar with one of these French editions (1676 and 1686). Set in Arcadia, the plot evolves around the loves of the descendants of the gods and the simple local inhabitants. It was an ideal subject with which to decorate the gallery of a country house. Coincidentally, five drawings signed by Louis Chéron, in the same circular format as these panels, which vary slightly in style, are evidently closely related to the subjects of these six panels.¹⁸ A careful identification of the subjects of these signed drawings, relates them to the surviving panels, and proves the attribution of these panels to Chéron. The drawings also assist in the identification of the two panels that are no longer to be found at Chatsworth. (Plate 44).

The ceiling of the Chatsworth theatre contains a total of seventeen panels, which, Francis Thompson suggested, were all painted by Chéron, citing the evidence in a notebook in the sixth Duke's hand to the effect that Chéron also painted panels in the wainscoat of the dining room.¹⁹ However, the only other mention of Chéron in the accounts, is the payment on August 23rd, 1700 of £40 for painting, 't e ceiling of the little dineing roome', and on September 14th, of the same year £30 for painting the ceiling of the Bowling Green House. Neither of these ceilings survive today.¹⁷ Thompson also mentions that the other panels in the theatre came originally from the library and the billiard room,

and that the panels from the latter were positioned over the gallery of the theatre.

One of the panels over the gallery represents the West Front of Chatsworth, although it reveals some differences from the facade as executed. Edward Croft Murray suggested that this too was painted by Louis Chéron,²⁰ but the small figure of Venus in a chariot pulled by putti in the foreground of the composition lacks the convincing draughtsmanship which is typical of Chéron's work. Furthermore, in 1698-9, a Mr. Bisket, or Birchet, was paid a total of £45 for a 'perspective'.²¹ It seems more plausible that Pierre Berchet painted this panel, although £45 seems an inordinate amount for comparatively little work, it is possible that Berchet also executed some of the capriccios which also feature on the theatre ceiling, and which could equally be described as 'perspectives'. The panels representing the story of Andromeda and the landscapes have been attributed to Thornhill.²²

Another Huguenot artist whose presence is recorded at Chatsworth is the painter Heude, who was given the sum of £20 on March 22nd, 1689 'for worke to be done at Chatsworth', and he may well be the artist for whom the house-keeper was given 15s 'for the french Painters diet when he came to take the Prospect of Chatsworth House'.²³ (although it is tempting to relate this entry to the panel in the theatre gallery, a new West Front was not thought of in 1689, and was only begun in 1700) According to Dussieux, a Nicholas Heude was excluded from the French Academy in 1673 'pour s'etre établi en Angleterre sans le permission du Roi'.²⁴ Vertue claims that Heude was 'said to be an assistant of Verrio, and describes the staircase of Lord Tyrconnel's house in Arlington Street, 'painted History ornaments Ceiling etc by N.Heude', 'said to be done in the reign of K.Will'. Vertue also describes the decorative painting at Bulstrode, Lord Portland's seat, where the chapel was painted by Sebastiano Ricci and 'other paintings on Ceilings done before at the Ld Chancellors by N.Heude Fecit his own picture painted on one corner'. Vertue includes a thumb nail copy of 'the head of the Painter with his Palet in his hand', this was in the painted Drawing Room which Heude had decorated with 'the inhabitants of the four parts of the World Indians East & West - Asians - Africans Europeans'.²⁵ The Lord Chancellor in question, Lord Jefferies, died in 1689, so Heude's work was probably completed before that date. Nicholas Heude was later working in Scotland for the 1st Duke of Queensberry, at Drumlanrig,

where two paintings by him survive.

Pierre Berchet, who painted the 'perspective' at Chatsworth, had, according to Vertue, who had the information from his widow, studied under De la Fosse in Paris, 'he came to England 1681 to work for Signor Verrio with him he stayd a Year then return'd to France & work't again at the King's works at Marly, where he staid about as long. came over again was imployed by some Nobleman in the West Country, painted that piece at Oxford & many others, afterwards when King William built his palace at Loo. in Holland Mr. Berchett was sent over. there & was imploy'd for about 15 months return'd to England again.'²⁷

It has already been mentioned that James Parmentier, who also trained under La Fosse, 'went over in 1694 painted for King W. at Loo.' According to Vertue 'Monsr Marot was Surveyor to the King & director of the workes of building, painting etc was in great favour & esteem with that Prince but Parmentiere thought himself above the direction of Marot and differd with him came to England again so lost an opportunity of being well imployd & perhaps of Making his fortune. haveing had some notice taken of him by the King, but Parmentiers high spirit rather always made him more enemys than Friends to this very day being passionate & sacarstical.' Parmentier was replaced at Het Loo by a Mr. Huet, who had apparently already worked for Verrio at Hampton Court.

Parmentier evidently found secure employment in Yorkshire, on his return. It has already been noted that he decorated St. Peter's Church Leeds, in gratitude to the encouragement he had received. A payment for £40 14s is recorded in the accounts of the 8th Duke of Shrewsbury, at Worksop Manor, for 1709-10.²⁹ This must have been for painting the staircase which Vertue described as 'his best'.³⁰

Daniel Marot's chief role was that of designer. The collection of his engravings published in Holland in 1712 includes designs for decorative panels (Plate 46). Gervase Jackson-Stops has recently discovered a drawing for two such panels in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is annotated in Marot's own hand, and relates directly to five panels which survive at Boughton House, and which were probably originally intended for Montagu House.³¹ They are executed in oil on canvas and are framed in heavy bolection mouldings which preserve their original stone colour. The inscriptions on the drawing indicate the colours to be used, and despite a few differences, the painters of the Boughton panels appear to have observed these directions very faithfully. The central vignettes in the Marot drawing show two different

versions of the same story, Apollo and Daphne. The mythological scenes in the other panels represent Diana and Endymion, Diana Bathing, Venus and Adonis, Jupiter and Io and the Triumph of Galatea. The choice of subject, pairs of lovers, suggests that the panels were originally intended for the walls of a dressing room or closet. The variable, but generally high quality of the painting, suggests that, like most of the painted decoration at Montagu House, they were a team effort. The baskets of fruit would have been painted by Monnoyer, the mythological scenes by La Fosse, and the tromp l'oeil picture frames would have been Rousseau's province. It seems probable that the panels were at least begun before La Fosse returned to France at the end of 1691.

A second series of panels, fifteen in number, also at Boughton, are painted in gold on a dark green background, and can be closely related to the engravings in Daniel Marot's first and second Livre d'Ornements. The arms of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu and his wife Mary, the youngest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, have been substituted for those of William III in the original designs. Gervase Jackson-Stops has attributed this second series to another Huguenot, Mark Anthony Hauduroy, on stylistic grounds, although no mention of his name has yet turned up in the accounts.

Mark Anthony Hauduroy belonged to a family of architects and painters, which included the architect Samuel Haudurpy (who designed the garden front of Dyrham Park, Avon) and the painter Louis Hauduroy. A Mr. Hauduroy also worked at Dyrham in the capacity of decorative painter, and his very interesting account for painting the rooms survives.³² Headed 'An Account of ye measure of Mr. Hauduroy's Painting & ye Prices agreed for ye doing of it', the only item which is even recognisable today is 'The Balcony Room', which was repainted in the nineteenth century.³³ Hauduroy charged £33.15.04 for '225 yards & 1 foot marble Colour at 3s 4 yard, and £19.18.00 for 'laying 199 Bookes of Gold at 2s ye Booke'. The Balcony Room looks out over the garden, and forms (Pl. 46) part of the additions to the old house made by Samuel Hauduroy. The document also lists the colours used for the servants' quarters and the nursery, which were to be painted 'umber'. The 'Pavillion, family parlour, slope room, the Great Parlour, the Great Stayres, the Slope Chamber and closet, and the chamber over ye Servants Parlour' were to be painted 'Walnutt colour'; 'Wainscott colour' was applied to passages,

the Parlour closet, the hall and pavilion doors; Cedar colour was used in the Great Hall, the slope closet, the church rooms, the stairs and passage leading to the church, the dining room and closet, and the lobby. The lobby leading to the old parlour was painted cream, and the summer house was painted marble colour. One bedroom was painted the colour of Princes Wood.

Just as walls painted with history subjects were a cheaper substitute for tapestry; employing a skilled decorative house painter meant that the different textures of wood and stone could be simulated in paint. This was cheaper and much easier to organize; it saved the cost of buying and transporting wood and marble, and the joiner's expence in making panelling. It is also interesting to note that Mr. Hauduroy was responsible for supplying and applying the gold leaf himself, unlike the history painters he did not employ a Mr. Cousin or a Signor Vitti to do so for him.

The enigmatic Mr. Hauduroy appears again in the accounts of the Duke of Kent at Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, which are dated c.1717. Mr. Hauduroy was paid £24 'for painting ye figures in the niches at 30s³⁴ each and for gilding all ye sashes of ye windows' for Cain Hill House. The painted figures in niches can be seen in John Rocque's 'PLAN & VIEW of the BUILDINGS & GARDEN AT REST the seat of his Grace the DUKE of KENT in Bedfordshire'³⁵ of 1735 which includes a plan and the 'West Prospect' of Hill House. Mr. Hauduroy was paid another £110 for painting the 'Great Room' of the Banqueting House designed by Thomas Archer, and in this case an additional house painter was also employed. Cain Hill House no longer stands, but the Banqueting House remains intact and the paintings in the Great Room survive although they have been much restored. (Pls. 47 and 48). Inscriptions survive above the doors inside the Great Room, and on the door in the third bay to the left on entering the building, the letters 'HAUDROY PINXIT 1712' can be deciphered. The next door to the right is inscribed 'BERTRAND ITHRUM 1845 RESTAURAVIT' and the next door is inscribed 'H. WHACEY RESTAURAVIT 191(?)'. The painted decoration is executed in brown, white and gold, and consists of a coffered dome, beneath which six round windows alternate with six painted windows. These are separated by figures of terms and female figures flanking vases in niches (pl. 47). Below cornice level, putti flanking the Kent coat of arms, directly above

round headed window and door openings, alternate with six classical busts painted in grisaille within gold frames. Edward Croft Murray suggested Louis Hauduroy as the author of this scheme. However, the registers for the Huguenot church in Berwick Street, Soho, show that the Kent family were intimately connected with the painter Mark Anthony Hauduroy; Jean Lord Ashburnham and Lady Marie de Grey stood godparents to Mark Anthony's daughter Marie Jemima in 1740.³⁶ The Duke of Kent had four daughters, the second Jemima, married Lord Ashburnham in 1731, and Mary was his youngest daughter. Mark Anthony Hauduroy's daughter was named after two of his patron's daughters, some twenty years after the completion of the Banqueting House and Hill House, at Wrest Park.

An account for work at Knole in Mark Anthony Hauduroy's own handwriting is dated June 1724. It reads,

'for ten panells of ornements	£12.12.0,
for 3 long panells too by the Chimny an(d) on by ye window	£7.10.0.
for mending of a grate panell betwin the windows on under the window	
and three little ons	£2.5.0.
for gildin mendin and cleneng of ye carvin and other things	£2.10.0.
	totall £24.17.0.
for twice coming downe	£ 2.2.0.
for mendin ye pictures	£ 2.2.0.
	£29.1.0.

Hauduroy had evidently been working at Knole for the best part of a year, as another document, which is signed by him (and which makes the identification of his handwriting possible) is dated 17 June 1723 and reads 'Recd of the Duke of Dorset six Guineas in full for copying his picture'.³⁷ Hauduroy's work at Knole included the walls and soffits of the back staircase (Plate 49) which are painted in grisaille with trophies and weapons and the arms and cypher of the 1st Duke of Dorset. The Colonnade Room at the foot of these stairs is painted with a series of niches containing urns, basically an enlargement of the device used in the Banqueting House at Wrest. It is probable that the 1724 account quoted above, refers to Hauduroy's work for the King's Room, in which the painted dado panelling and window reveals are still to be seen.

Decorative painting could also be based on cloth, and then attached to the appropriate area. Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, evidently

originally intended to use this method to decorate the staircase at Burley-on-the-Hill. A note in his hand reads, 'The painting upn cloth at my Ld James Russel's in Lincoln's Inn Fields contains between 150 and 160 yards, was painted by Messrs Hodderly for £100 and found cloth was at my Lord's charges.'³⁸ Burley-on-the-Hill was built at the same time as Dyrham, and Messrs Hodderly would imply the same team that are known to have worked for William Blathwayt. It seems plausible that the Mark Anthony Hauduroy who is specified in the accounts at Knole and in the registers of the Berwick Street Church in 1736 can be identified with the Mr. Hauduroy who worked at Wrest Park. It seems fairly certain that Mark Anthony was of a younger generation than the architect, and it is possible that until his marriage he had worked in England on a temporary basis only, as his reconnaissance is dated 12 Avril, 1739, in which he promises 'de demeurer à l'avenir fidellement attaché aux principes de la religion reformée qu'il a succez avec le lait, et a été admis à la participation de la Ste Cene.'³⁹

Because of war with France, the 1740's saw little new building in this country, and as a result, demand for decorative painting fell. Moreover, those buildings which were erected during this decade were executed in the Palladian style, which, with its more rigid classical rules, could only accommodate decorative painting in the more limited form of a series of panels. It is significant that, eighty years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the artist who produced one of the most pleasing decorative schemes of the late 1750's, was of Huguenot descent. William Delacour , probably came over from Ireland, as a Huguenot family of that name are known to have settled in Cork. He was certainly in London by 1740, when he was responsible for creating the stage designs for G.B.Pescetti's opera, *Busiri*, at the King's Theatre.⁴⁰ By 1757, Delacour was designing stage scenery in Edinburgh. He painted a 'new wood scene' for John Home's play 'Douglas', and the Edinburgh Evening Courant described the production of Voltaire's *Orphan of China*, on January 18th, 1759, 'The whole appearance of the stage will be entirely new, the scenery, dresses and decorations designed and painted for the occasion by Mons. De La Cour'.

In 1758, John Adam employed Delacour to decorate a room in Lord Milton's house in Canongate, Edinburgh. On October 5th, De La Cour sent Adam an estimate for 'painting a large room of his Lordship's house in Canongate, in arabesques agreeable to a sketch'. This entailed 193¹/₂

yards of panelling with the 'finest green' and white paint in nut oil, 'enriching in gold 1,660 feet of moulding in Cornishes, freezes, Architraves and frets and pannels of the doors windows, Bates and Surbates, small and large'. He claimed that his price £120 18s 10d was 'moderate' at such low prices he could 'only paint for fame and therefore hopes they wont be established as any precedent'. Presumably as a result of completing this commission successfully - it was even admired by Allan Ramsay - Robert Adam employed Delacour to decorate the Ballroom at Yester. Eight panels are filled with paintings in oil on canvas of landscapes in imitation of tapestry (Plate 50).⁴⁰

Tapestry and decorative painting are closely allied, and it is therefore not surprising to find that Verrio was originally brought over to design for the Mortlake Tapestry Factory;⁴¹ that Laguerre made 'some small paintings on Cloth by order from Queen Anne designs for Tapestry to be made wherein was represented the Queen & ministers of state 7 several persons of quality concerned in the Union of Scotland'.⁴² One of the most prestigious decorative schemes, the Escalier des Ambassadeurs at Versailles designed by Le Brun and painted by Van der Meulen in 1679-80 around central scenes of Louis XIV's campaigns were painted as a series of 'fausse tapisseries'.⁴³ Furthermore decorative painting was often accompanied by tapestry. The Inventory of Boughton House dated 1718, describes 'three pieces of fine tapestry hangings.. history of the Apostles in the State Bedchamber, these would have hung on the walls beneath Chéron's ceiling which depicted Vulcan catching Venus and Mars in their net'.⁴⁴ The only other furniture in the room was the bed upholstered in crimson damask, and two white damask window curtains.

These particular tapestries were made at Mortlake, as in 1674 Ralph Montagu had taken over the factory from the Earl of Sunderland; although by 1691 he had abandoned his interest. However Ralph Montagu also held the office of Master of the Wardrobe and the accounts of the Royal Wardrobe include payments to 'arras workers' amongst whom is one Demay. By 1689 John Vandrebanc appears as chief arras maker, and the works had moved from the dilapidated buildings at Mortlake, to Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.⁴⁵ John Vandrebanc is thought to have come from Belgium, and may be related to Peter Vandrebanc the engraver of portraits, who came to England in 1674 with the painter Henri Gascar; this John Vandrebanc should not be confused with the painter John Vanderbank, who was only born in 1694. John Vandrebanc

also features in Ralph Montagu's private accounts as a supplier and repairer of tapestry. Between 1695 and 1700, Montagu paid Vandrebanc £328 for restoring and making new tapestries. By 1705, Vandrebanc had received a further £448.05.00 from Ralph Montagu. John Vandrebanc does not appear in the accounts after 1727, when his son or nephew, Moses Vanderbank and John Ellis succeeded him.⁴⁶

By 1700 a certain Stephen Demay, possibly the same or connected with the Demay who had worked at Mortlake during the 1670's had established his own manufactory in London. The Huguenot Registers describe Demay as 'Tapestry maker at the corner house of Spring Gardens over against ye French Chapel'.⁴⁷ A letter from Demay to Daniel Finch, Lord Nottingham, dated September 7th, 1701, requests the 'Dimensions of the Months for I have several men that play for wanting of work which is a charge to me.' Another letter refers to the additions to the Apostle hangings, and requests payment of £142. 14s 'wich I begg ye favour of Your Lordship to be so kind as to send it to mee I being in soe great want of it that I am forced to send mans away for wanting of money therefore I hope your Lordship will have pittty of me'. The total bill 'for ten pieces of the Apostle hangings' came to £758.⁴⁸ In 1707-8, Mr. Demay received a further £130 for supplying hangings of Hero and Leander. The Mr. Demay who supplied '3 peaces of new hangings for the Queen of Scotts Chamber' at Chatsworth was no doubt the same.⁴⁹

Probably as a result of the competition of decorative painting, and the new architectural settings provided by the Palladian and Neo-Classical movements, the situation of the tapestry manufactures in Britain remained a trying one, despite the very heavy duty imposed on tapestries woven abroad. The latter was very unpopular with patrons, and the Earl of Devonshire petitioned for a reduction of tariff on imported tapestries.⁵⁰ In 1723, the Huguenot John Christopher Le Blon, who is better known for his book on coloured printing processes, 'Coloritto', attempted to apply the same principles to tapestry weaving, but in 1732, his new company had to face a disastrous bankruptcy, and he somehow managed to return to Paris, possibly by concealing his true faith.⁵¹

Huguenot decorative painters were mainly responsible for bringing to England the contemporary French style of mural decoration. They introduced the idea of working as a member of a team of painters under the supervision of a designer or architect. The team might consist of a

specialist architectural and landscape painter, a flower painter, a figure painter and gilder. The Huguenot contribution to decorative painting in this country can be divided into the purely ornamental as exemplified by the work of the Hauduroy family, on the one hand, who worked in the decorative tradition derived from Italy via the Ecole de Fontainebleau, and on the other hand, the representational work, which can be classed as 'History' painting as exemplified by the decorative painting of Louis Cheron, working in the tradition of Charles Le Brun.

By comparison with the Huguenot contribution to metalwork, the contribution to the field of decorative painting is limited. The Huguenot artists whose work has been examined in this chapter had all benefitted from a formal artistic training in France. Such a training was not available in England until 1711. As decorative painting was the main outlet for history painters during this period, 1680-1760, a formal academic training made these Huguenot artists uniquely qualified for the work they undertook. However, the enormous scale of decorative painting, and its heavy demands on the artist, or team of artists involved, meant that these artists did not devote themselves entirely to decorative painting, but turned to book illustration and teaching for light relief and further employment. Thus the Huguenot contribution to decorative painting should be seen in the context of these artists' achievements in other fields, information which is contained in other chapters of this thesis.

THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO ART EDUCATION, LOUIS CHERON, L.F.ROUBILIACAND THE ST. MARTIN'S LANE ACADEMY

It has already been noted that Huguenot refugees were considered reliable tutors for the children of the British nobility and gentry.¹ The Huguenots were evidently motivated by a sense of responsibility to communicate their knowledge and experience to the next generation, and it is worth considering the role that the Huguenots played in education in this country, when examining their contribution to art education in detail.

One of the earliest Huguenot academies was run by Abraham Meure, a refugee, who was naturalized in 1687. His academy was certainly well established by 1692 when access was made from the academy building to the French church in Hog Lane.² Although the academy was primarily for French protestants, by 1704, it included a son of Ralph Montagu; a kinsman of the Earl of Egmont, and two sons of Governor Thomas Pitt, one of whom later became the 1st Earl of Londonderry. The academy was esteemed the best in England, and was one of the first schools to include drawing in its curriculum.³

Perhaps it was the same son of Ralph Montagu who received lessons from 'Mr. Pelletier, designeing master', in 1706-7. Mr. Pelletier was probably a member of the Huguenot family of cabinet-makers, who worked for Ralph Montagu at Montagu House, in London, and at Boughton House, Northamptonshire. The same account book contains payments to 'Mr. de Moivre teaching my Lord Montagu', presumably the famous Huguenot mathematician, Abraham de Moivre (1657-1764) later a member of the Royal Society, and to 'Mr. Hen. Foubert' for teaching.⁴ Henry Foubert opened a Riding Academy in Kingly Street, St. James' in 1696. His father Solomon Foubert was the proprietor of a Riding Academy in the Faubourg St. Germain in Paris, which he had been forced to close as a result of persecution. In 1680, Solomon Foubert established a Riding Academy in London, just south of present day Regent Street, recorded in the name Foubert's Place.⁵

Many Huguenot artists boosted their income by teaching as a side line. Jean Baptist Claude Chatelain (1710-1771) and William de La Cour (d.1767) have both been mentioned as having produced drawing manuals for the amateur.⁶ Jacob Bonneau (d.1786) was a fashionable drawing master of Huguenot descent, who also exhibited at the Royal Academy.⁷ François Toronde (1742-1812), better known as a silhouettist,

practised as a drawing master in Bath, and then in London.⁸ Daniel Fournier (d.1766), trained as a chaser, became an engraver, draughtsman and wax modeller, and also taught drawing. In 1761, he published 'A Treatise of the Theory and Practice of Perspective Wherein the Principles of that most Useful Art are laid down by Dr. Brook Taylor, are fully and clearly Explained by means of Moveable Schemes properly Adapted for the purpose.'⁹

It is against Huguenot achievements in Education in the broader sense that the achievements of two Huguenot artists, the painter, Louis Chéron (1660-1725) and the sculptor, Louis François Roubiliac (1702-1762) should be seen. Louis Chéron's entry into the Huguenot congregation of the Savoy Chapel is recorded in 1693; the baptism of Roubiliac's daughter Sophie is recorded in the registers of the Huguenot Chapel at Spring Gardens in 1744.¹⁰

Louis Chéron attended the first official art academy in Britain, which opened in Sir Godfrey Kneller's house in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, in October 1711. William Hogarth later claimed that this first academy 'was begun by some gentlemen-painters of the first rank who, in their general forms imitated the plan of that in France, but conducted their business with less fuss and solemnity'.¹¹ The evidence that Louis Chéron was involved is based on George Vertue's account that 'when the Academy (1711) was sett up he (Theron) came there & soon distinguishd his talent in delineing, being very assiduous, he was much imitated by the Young people & indeed on that account by all lovers of Art much esteem'd & from thence rais'd his reputation'.¹²

The most obvious prototype for this Academy, as Hogarth pointed out, was the Royal Academy for Painting and Sculpture, which opened in Paris in 1648, and had had besides the advantage of Royal patronage, the experience of sixty years existence. Sir Godfrey Kneller would no doubt have turned to the French Jesuit, Louis Laguerre, one of his own directors, for advice and information on how the French Academy was run. The son of Louis XIV's 'Maitre of the Menagerie of Foreign Fowles & Animals', Louis Laguerre was the King's godson. He abandoned his education for the priesthood at a Jesuit college, as he suffered from a speech impediment, and having shown an inclination for drawing 'with the opportunity of the Kings Royal Academy, he soon distinguish'd himself amongst his competitors & he afterwards studied under Monr Le Brun'.¹³

At this stage in the English Academy, Cheron was not involved with the administration, but his own experience of the French Academy,

would have stood him in good stead. Born in Paris in 1660, the son of the Huguenot miniature painter, Henri Chéron, and the younger brother of the artist and poet, Elizabeth Sophie Chéron, a Catholic convert. In 1676 Louis won the first Prix de Rome, with a 'Banissement du Paradis terrestre', this was followed in 1678 by the same prize for a curiously similar title, 'Punition d'Adam & Eve'.¹⁴ Having triumphed at the Paris Academy, Louis Chéron was given the opportunity to spend some eighteen years, according to contemporary accounts, in Italy, studying at the French Academy in Rome. D'Argenville records that Chéron's sister Elizabeth Sophie 'l'a entretenu pendant dix-huit ans en Italie..pour faciliter ses progres dans la peinture & il a repondu à ses grands soins.'¹⁵ (Plate 51)

Vertue describes a collection of Chéron's drawings, which were sold before the artist's death, as consisting of 'most of his fine drawings he did in Italy after Raphael'. These were bought by Lord Derby, for which it was reported 'that Noble Peer paid him at once 500 pounds'.¹⁶ These can be identified with an album, formerly in Lord Derby's collection at Knowsley, which was acquired by the British Museum in 1953. This contains thirty-seven drawings, which can safely be dated to Chéron's Roman period. It is worth examining these drawings in detail, as they would have been most useful for teaching purposes.

They consist of six after Raphael's frescoes in the Vatican Stanze, these include details of the Head of Michelangelo; the bearded philosopher reading in the left foreground of the School of Athens; and details of the warriors in the Meeting of Leo I and Attila. Five drawings are taken from Raphael's ceilings in the Vatican Loggie, and consist of Noah's Sacrifice; Jacob and Rachel; Moses with the Tables of the Law, and Joshua staying the Sun. The album also contains nine drawings from Raphael's cycle of Cupid and Psyche, on the ceiling of the Farnesina, and Chéron also copied Annibale Caracci's ceiling in the Palazzo Farnese, of which five drawings are also included in this album. Apart from the drawing of Pan offering the Fleece to Silene, Chéron's studies are of the slaves, and a reclining satyr with a goat. These drawings are all executed in red chalk on buff paper, with white heightening, which would suggest that they were done in connection with the French Academy at Rome, as this is the technique used by other artists during their period at the French Academy. Two drawings have recently appeared on the market, which are thought to date from Chéron's Roman period. One represents the

Triumph of Galatea, and is based on Raphael's version of the same subject in the Farnesina. It was sold at Sotheby's, 24 February, 1972; is pricked for transfer, and inscribed 'Ludovicus Cheron Delineavit Roma'. The other, Apollo and Daphne, in a Private Collection, Paris, is inscribed on the verso in ink 'Primatice J'ai recu du Commissaire Du gouvernement a Rome le superbe Dessein de Primatice en Payment De fournitures à L'armee', with the signature of the Commissaire Avery and Napoleon's stamp. This drawing, which can safely be attributed to Chéron on stylistic grounds, was used in payment as a Primaticcio. Chéron would be flattered no doubt, but it indicates that Chéron's drawings were still in circulation in Rome in the early nineteenth century, and may even now be attributed to the wrong artists.

Although Chéron's long period of study in Rome is well known, it has not been generally realized, that Chéron also visited Venice, and his painting of the Pool of Bethesda, in the church of St. Pantaleone, still survives.¹⁷

On his return to Paris, Chéron was commissioned to paint two altarpieces by the Goldsmiths' Guild, for presentation to the Cathedral of Notre Dame on May 1st, 1687 and 1689. M. Auzas, who has attempted to reassemble the sixty or so 'Mays', originally presented in this way to Notre Dame, but dispersed during the Revolution, has explained the circumstances of such a commission.

'Chaque année deux orfèvres, les 'princes' du may verdoyant qui étaient chargés de choisir le peintre qui exécuterait le may de lui indiquer le sujet pris dans les Actes des Apotres, de surveiller l'exécution de son travail et de le payer de leurs propres deniers. Il semble normal que ces orfèvres aient souhaité juger par une esquisse de la façon dont le peintre envisageait de traiter le sujet qu'ils lui avaient proposé'.¹⁸ Recently, the sketch for Louis Chéron's first altarpiece, representing 'Le Prophète Agabus prédisant la Captivité de St. Paul' has come to light. It is executed in oil on white paper, prepared with a brown ground. The figures are outlined in black, and the oil has been loosely applied, so the black outlines are still visible. The colours, ochre, scarlet, green and blue, are extraordinarily well preserved, in contrast to the finished version, which until recently in the stacks of the Louvre, has now been restored, and can be seen in the third chapel of the North side aisle of Notre Dame.

The difference between the sketch (Plate 52) and the finished work (Plate 53) are minimal, but the finished work portrays a greater sense of unity; the elderly man, background right, is younger, and is now turned inwards, listening and reacting to the prophet. The background landscape is given more depth by the presence of an Ionic temple in the middle ground which was not present in the sketch. There is also a greater sense of space in the foreground, which is partly caused by the fact that the figures are further removed from the spectator, and by the fact that the paving on which they stand, is clearly delineated, giving a sense of measured space.

This commission has been examined in detail as it stresses the close relationship between the artist and contemporary craftsmen, which is often not acknowledged. It is interesting too that this commission should have gone to a Huguenot artist, some two years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It is possible that the Goldsmiths' Guild in Paris had strong Huguenot sympathies, judging by the number of goldsmiths who settled in Great Britain and Ireland.

Although there is no reason to suspect that Louis Chéron came to Britain for reasons other than his religion, if as seems likely, his own experience of the French Academy, had brought out in him the desire to teach, by 1681, Chéron would have been excluded from such a profession. On October 10th, 1681, Colbert wrote to Le Brun, 'The King having been informed that the Sieurs Tételin, Secretary of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, Michelin, Assistant Professor, Ferdinand, Besnard, Rousseau (Jacques Rousseau who also took refuge in England) Conseillers of the Academy, and Espagnandelle and Ferdinand, Academicians are all of the so called reformed religion, His Majesty commands me to inform Monsieur Le Brun that he wishes them to be deprived of these functions and that the Academy should elect others in their place who are Catholics. His Majesty also wishes that no pupil be admitted into the Academy who is not a Catholic.¹⁹

Chéron was not the only member of Kneller's Academy to have had the privileged opportunity to study at the French Academy in Rome. The French Catholic, Nicholas Dorigny, had like Laguerre, embarked on another career, but developed deafness, and so determined to follow his elder brother in the study of painting. At the age of thirty he went to Rome, where he abandoned the pursuit of painting for engraving, and

later executed a series of plates after Raphael's 'Gallery of Cupid and Psyche'. Vertue also mentions 'two plates in Ovals after Albani, the draughts of which he brought with him in England'.²⁰ Dorigny must have spent twenty-four years in Italy, when 'Gentlemen, Noblemen travelling.. Invited & Encourag'd him to come to England to Engrave the Cartons of Raphael.' Dorigny's arrival in this country in 1711 is important, because it marks the beginning of a closer connection between the French and English schools of engraving. Dorigny had begun work engraving the cartoons by Easter, 1712, and had sent to Paris for two assistants, Claude Dupuis and Claude Dubosc (neither of whom are known to have Huguenot connections, they just came to England for the work). It is just possible that the Titlepage for the seven cartoons of Raphael, engraved by N.Tardieu after a design by Louis Chéron, was intended as a frontispiece to Dorigny's engravings, and designed at this time for both the French and English markets.²¹

Kneller's Academy was not lacking in experience of its immediate prototypes, but it is important to assess the extent to which this smaller English establishment differed from its foreign counterparts. Possibly, the most important distinction, is that the French Academy was founded as an Academy of Painting and Sculpture; separate Academies for Science and Architecture had been founded in 1666 and 1671 respectively; whereas Kneller's Academy was attended by men of many different disciplines. Vertue describes the attendance from 1711-1713 as follows; one architect, James Gibbs (1711); two history painters, James Thornhill and Antonio Pellegrini (1711); six portrait painters, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Dahl, Mr. Hysing, Mr. Borman, Mr. Closterman, Mr. Gouge (1711); Two limners, Mr. B. Lens and Mr. Mortiz (1711); three landscape painters, Mr. Boul (Bowles?), Mr. Tillemans, (1711) and Mr. Nesbit (1713); one painter of huntings, Mr. Wootton (1711); five artists who are simply described as painters, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Byng, Mr. Vanderbank, Mr. Weedman and Mr. Swartz (the last two are described as assistants to Kneller three painters in watercolour, Mr 'Goupee senr', and Mr. 'Jo. Goupee Junr' (Goupy), and Mr. Bodin (1711); an artist in crayons, Mr. Lutterel (1711); a statuary, Mr. Bird (1711) an ivory carver, Mr. Dubberman (1711); one seal engraver, Mr. Christian (1711) seven engravers, Mr. N. Dorigny, Mr. Vertue Mr. Duguernier (1711), Mr. Simpson Senr (1712), Mr. G. Vandergucht Junr (1713), Mr. Carwitham, (1713), and a mezzotinter, Mr. Simon (1711); a surgeon, Mr. Geikie, and a banker, Colonel Seymour; Mr. Swiney, a player, was presumably Owen McSwiney, the actor.²² There is no evidence that the Goupys were Huguenots, but Mr.

Duguernier and Mr. Simon certainly were, judging by the frequency with which their names occur in the Huguenot registers. Mr. Bodin and Mr. Chauvin may well have had Huguenot connections but none have yet come to light.

The first set of names are predictable, although it is interesting to note the presence of the architect James Gibbs, who later worked in conjunction with the statuary Bird, on the monument to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle in Westminster Abbey (1723). The presence of Owen McSwinnery is also of interest, as he was then the manager of the Haymarket and Drury Lane Theatres; attending an Academy of this sort was evidently a suitable way of spotting the appropriate talent for scene painting, and it is not surprising to learn from Vertue that in 1724 'Mr. Tillemans & Mr. Jos Goupee both joyntly imploy'd to paint/make a Sett of Scenes for the Opera house in the Haymarkett which were much approv'd of'.²³ The presence of a surgeon in Mr. Geikie, is of interest, as it creates a precedent for the close association of artists with the medical profession, which was ultimately to lead to the appointment of Dr. John Hunter as lecturer in anatomy at the newly founded Royal Academy Schools in 1769.

One of the aims of the academy was likely to be the encouragement of patronage. Vertue explains that Colonel Seymour's 'great age gave him an early opportunity and acquaintance with artists long ago dead as Mr. Faithorne, Sir P. Lely, Mr. Simons modeller, Quellin, Sir Chris. Wren', and apart from being an artist himself, 'was an excellent pen man, and drew and limed very ingeniouslv', was also a collector, 'had an infinite number of curious pictures, drawings, prints of all kinds past thro' his hands', and 'he well understood jewells' and was 'conversant with practitioners of mechanical works of Arts'. With the exception of Mr. Maurer, by whose name Vertue noted 'silver works', and Mr. Christian, the seal engraver, Vertue makes no mention of jewellers, clockmakers or silversmiths in the lists of his attendants of Kneller's Academy. However, Mr. Simpson Senr, is known to have worked as an engraver of silver, and Mr. Marlow, who joined the academy in 1711, may well be the jeweller of Lombard Street, mentioned elsewhere by Vertue.²⁴

Vertue explains that the Academy remained in the same place until 1718, although by 1716, Thornhill had succeeded Sir Godfrey as governor. Vertue describes the situation 'there began some 'fractions encouraged by

Sir James Thornhill - Mr. Cheron which at last broke it up and afterwards Thornhill got it under his management - for some two or three years then parties rose against him. then he drew them to his own house in Common Garden in a large room - gratis .. growing tired with this end Mr. Cheron and Mr. Vanderbank undertook to keep on they began in St. Martin's Lane in a Great Room'.

Considering the split in the old Academy, it is not surprising to find that the new academy set up by Chéron and Vanderbank had an initial attendance of just over half the Kneller academy in 1711. Eight founder members of the first academy attended Cheron's and Vanderbank's substitute these were, the history painter Laguerre, the painters Edward Pickering, and Edw. Slaughter, Hans Hyssing, Bartholomew Dandridge, Louis Goupy, James Seymour, the landscape painter 'Alix Nisbit' and the engraver Joseph Sympson Senr. Of the new members, the most interesting are John Harvey, described as 'Arch.pict', which suggests, that like Jacques Rousseau, he specialized in painted architecture, although Vertue describes him elsewhere as both an architect and a painter.²⁶ John Harvey came from Poitou, in France, and although his name does not occur in the Huguenot registers, Poitou was a Huguenot centre, afflicted by severe persecution in the early 1680's, and it is likely that John Harvey was a Huguenot as other refugees by the name of Hervé are recorded in this country. Alex Gamble, the enameller, can be identified with Ellis Gamble, to whom Hogarth was apprenticed in 1712. The Chéron academy continues the connection, albeit small, with the decorative arts. It is interesting to find that the medical profession is also represented by the anatomist William Cheselden (Plate 54) who was to retain his connections with the St.Martin's Lane artistic set for at least the next twenty years.

It is interesting that William Kent, who had just returned from Italy, also attended Chéron's academy, particularly as he was just about to win from Thornhill the important commission for decorative painting at Kensington Palace. At this stage in his career Kent concentrated on painting, perhaps the least of his talents, but like Gravelot, he was to play a more important part as a designer in all fields of the arts, including architecture and landscape gardening.

The younger generation included two new engravers, Jos. Simpson Junr, and Mr. Dupuis, who was probably Nicholas, younger brother of Claude, who had been invited over here by Dorigny, and therefore a French Catholic); Samuel Barker, flower painter, a cousin of Vanderbank's, John Ellys and Moses Vanderbank, both of interest for their later association with the Soho tapestry manufactory; Giuseppi Grisoni, born in France of Italian parents, who had, like Kent, the Italian experience to offer. George Schrider was a Swiss portrait painter, but unfortunately

the other names given by Vertue have yet to be identified. They were Leonard Simson, Hen. Welden, Nash Jeames, Jean Charpin, Norris Jeamison, George Hay Gart, Jacob Smith and Wm. Cooper. Of these, Jean Charpin may well have been of Huguenot origin.

Having listed Chéron's colleagues at the Kneller Academy, and described his students at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, the task of trying to determine the teaching methods that Chéron used still remains. It is important to realize that the Academy did not interfere in any way with the guild system, sessions were held during the winter months in the evening by lamplight, and an aspiring painter was still expected to pursue an apprenticeship. The opportunity to draw from a living model was not to be missed, and it is likely that the master would often attend with his apprentice, as he too, would have been glad of an opportunity that had not been available in his youth. However, circumstances were not ideal, the room may often have been overcrowded, although it is probable that the 'Great Room' occupied by Chéron and Vanderbank's establishment provided better accommodation than Kneller's private house, from which the Huguenot Pierre Berchet, senior, had to excuse himself, 'being not well most Tysicky, could not bear the smoke of the lamp'.²⁷

It is not known whether the academy in St. Martin's Lane offered any other facilities apart from the opportunity to draw and paint the live model. Chéron and Vanderbank's academy was the first to introduce a female model, and this seems to have attracted Royal interest. In November, 1722, Vertue wrote,

'This Month his Royal Highness with the Lord Herbert Sr And Fountain went to the Accademy of Painting in St. Martin's Lane (kept under the direction of Mr. L. Cheron and Mr. J. Vanderbank) staid there an hour a Woman being then the Moddel to draw after, to whom was given five guineas by order of the Prince'.²⁸ This is perhaps surprising in view of George II's dislike of poetry and painting, which was possibly inherited from his father. In his suggestions for running the Academy, c. 1721, Vertue proposes that every 'chief director' and assistant director should donate annually 'one Academy figure of his own Drawing there in the Accademy done'.²⁹ A number of life drawings by Chéron and Vanderbank survive, but because student drawings in the same media and often taken from similar attitudes also survive, it is often difficult to identify the hand involved. Thirty-five drawings by Chéron of this nature are preserved in the album, formerly at

Knowsley, now in the British Museum.

Of these, nine of the female model can be securely dated to the period of Chéron's own Academy in London. Five are studies of a seated woman, two seen from the front, one from behind, one to the left, and one with her left arm raised. Another shows a woman leaning to the right, her left elbow on a ledge, and two are studies of a standing woman, in one case holding a scroll. The most daring of these drawings is that representing movement, a woman with drapery, fleeing to the left.³⁰

Vertue suggests in his proposals that the 'assistant directors' were to concern themselves wholly in setting & disposing the Modell', and it is interesting to consider the range of positions in evidence in Chéron's drawings from the male model in this light. It is also possible to assess the varying ages of the model employed. Chéron's drawings are of the same youth (Plate 55), the same bald-headed man, and the same bearded man. There are studies of a standing figure seen from behind holding a staff; a youth reclining with a staff; a seated man, with arms outstretched or raised in order to vary the exercise. There is even a study of a nude man seated in profile to the right, drawing on a board. The occasional prop, a sword or helmet is used to make the exercise more interesting; one study includes a sculptured slab. Louis Chéron used black chalk, heightened with white on grey paper for nearly all these life drawings. A sensitive study of a reclining female nude in the same medium, by William Hogarth, is in the Yale Center for British Art (Plate 56). It has been suggested that this is a study for a lost Danae by Hogarth, said to have been painted in the 1740's. This is a very intimate study, and is undoubtedly based on the living model. It shows Hogarth working in a tradition which was initiated by Chéron in this country. Hogarth confesses to 'sometimes, but too seldom', taking 'the life for connecting the parts I had not perfectly remembered and then transferred them to my compositions'.³¹

It is interesting to compare four drawings from the life in the same album, which probably date from Chéron's Roman period, as they are executed in red chalk, heightened with white on buff paper. They all represent a youth, the same model. In one, he is seated on a rock, in another, he is dressed as a shepherd. Another drawing in the same technique shows a man thrusting his spear down the throat of a dragon, this suggests that the artist is attempting to imagine the model in the composition of a history painting. The fact that these drawings are bound in with

Chéron's later life studies, suggests that Chéron was referring to his earlier drawings when teaching at the St.Martin's Lane Academy.

In 1721, Vertue drew up a list of ideal conditions 'For the Improvement of the ART of Delineing in the Nation' in which the method of instruction was as follows. Students should practice from a drawing book containing 'Eys nose mouth facces hands feet etc Arms leggs bodies', and then another book, containing the outlines of whole bodies, 'Men, Women, & children'. The next stage was to copy 'drawings that are done after statues, Busts or Casts describd on Grey paper or Blew hightned with black and white only'; the last stage consists of drawing 'casts of the Antique Several heads of the most famous statues,...several hands of the like kind & some from Nature also, several feet. some trunks or bodys a horses head & other parts of the limbs'. Vertue suggested 'the Gladiator, Venus, Laocoon, Hercules, Apollo, Faunus, Boys of Fiamingo' as suitable models for casts. Vertue then commended a study of 'anatomy. Geometry, Architecture, perspective as much as is necessary for rudiments , in each the general rules, Terms measures,' and concluded ' Any person having assiduously studied these rules prescribed may be truely capable of Studying from the Life in the Accademys from Nature or the Antiques, or paintings of the most celebrated masters or with a little practice may draw plans buildings, landskips fortifications etc.'³²

There is no evidence that the methods Vertue suggests were used as an introduction to life drawing at the Academy of St.Martin's Lane, but certainly all these methods of teaching art would have been possible. John Harvey could have taught architecture and perspective; William Cheselden, as a professional anatomist could have taught 'the Names, structure, lenght & Extension of the Bones with the true form of the principal bones & Jointures. afterwards to observe the great or principle muscles of the whole body from whence they rise & terminate with their proper names and use', as Vertue suggested. Drawing manuals of outlines were available. Louis Chéron's sister produced a drawing book in Paris in 1706 entitled 'Livre à Dessiner compose de Testes Tirés des plus beaux ouvrages de Raphael', the plates were engraved by the author, but, as she explains in the introduction, 'le trait de la plupart des ces desseins a esté pris sur celuy des Originaux'³³ Apart from her membership of a literary academy in Padua, there is no evidence that Elizabeth Sophie Chéron had actually visited Rome herself, so it is probable that the

engravings were based on drawings by Louis Chéron. It is most likely that Chéron used this manual for teaching purposes, for it had been published to form 'le goust des jeunes Estudians en servant de guide' (Plate 57).

Furthermore, Elizabeth Sophie Chéron's work was known in this country, for the sale catalogues of Louis Goupy, Thomas Major and the painter, P.A. Rysbrack, included 'A drawing book of Cheron';

'the book of Elizabeth Cheron complete', 'Gems of the Kings Cabinet by Cherron', and 'Thirty-seven antique gems by Cheron'.³⁴ It is just possible that

'A drawing book of Cheron' refers to the 'Six Academy Figures in Chiaro Oscuro, after the Drawings of the late ingenious Painter Louis Cheron, painted in Green and Yellow Tincts, useful for Painters, Carvers and Others', which were advertised in the Daily Journal, March, 1735.³⁵

There is no record, however, of the use of casts of antique sculpture at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, unless the sculpted bas-relief in one of Chéron's drawings can be taken as positive evidence. However, there was no shortage of drawings and engravings of antique sculpture, which could, as Vertue suggested, be used as a substitute for casts.³⁶

Another potential means of improvement for the young artist, was that of copying 'the paintings of the most celebrated masters'. Samuel Barker the flower painter probably used Chéron's connections with the Montagu family to enable him to study the paintings by Monnoyer at Montagu House. In 1729, Vertue wrote that John Ellys 'a few years ago obtain'd a warrant from their royal highnesses to copy any pictures of Vandyke, Kneller, Lilly, with care & study had made good improvements in his way of painting'. Likewise Joseph Goupy 'became eminent in painting in Watercolours, history's in a fine masterly manner having copyed multitudes of famous paintings of most Eminent Masters'.³⁷ Highmore's success was due to 'a continual Observation on Nature & the very best of pictures done by celebrated Artists especially Vandyke'.³⁸

The other side of the coin was the painter's ability to act in the capacity of dealer, restorer and advisor, for which the experience of working abroad, above all in Italy, was invaluable. Louis Chéron valued the Pictures belonging to Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu, after his death in 1709. As the document survives, it is worth quoting in full, as it gives some idea of contemporary values.

37 Little pieces of Vandick at 3' each	111
1 peece of Pousin	10
2 peeces of Rieussau litle	10
1 peece of Baptist	10
3 peeces over ye doors 5l each	15
2 peeces of Rieusau bigger	10
2 peeces of Baptist 6 each	12
4 more of Baptist 5' each	20
2 little peeces of Botson	8
1 landskip of Forest	8
2 landskips of Crebidge 7' each*	14
1 landskip of Fouquier **	10
3 peeces of Ldy Montagu & Monthermer & ye present Duke	20
1 Cleopatra after Guido	2

* In the Dks Dressing Room are 2 landscapes on Copper by Apelyn called Crabelje, amongst the Artists at Rome on account of a Contraction in his Fingers probably the two above alluded to.

** In the D's Closet is a landscape by Fouquieres likely the same The valuation which came to a total of £266 is signed 'Valued by us Cheron, M.Antonie'. Antonie was the name of the Duke's Steward, most probably also a Huguenot.' ³⁹

George Knapton, who had spent seven years in Italy, catalogued the paintings at Kensington and Hampton Court for Frederick, Prince of Wales, with the assistance of George Vertue, and John Ellys, who had not studied abroad, acted as a dealer and advisor on paintings for Sir Robert Walpole.⁴⁰ Three other members of the St. Martin's Lane Academy had visited Italy by 1720; William Kent and Louis Goupy, in the company of Lord Burlington, and Grisoni, who was of course Italian by birth. Possibly inspired by their example George Knapton and Arthur Pond visited Italy later in the 1720's. On the other hand, six members of the Academy had actually been born in France, and of these five had enjoyed a French artistic training; Chéron, Harvey, Laguerre, Goupy and Dupuis. (Of these, only Louis Chéron can definitely be described as a Huguenot). It is surprising in this light that the first St. Martin's Lane Academy is usually described as 'Vanderbank's'. Vanderbank never travelled abroad until 1724, when he ran 'so far into debt that he was forced to go out of England into France'.⁴¹ Vanderbank's artistic allegiance appears to have been Flemish. (He is thought to have come from

Belgium). Vertue comments on his use of 'that secrett in oil painting of transparencey'. Arguably, Louis Chéron should be given the main responsibility for the character of the St.Martin's Lane Academy at this time. Chéron's contribution, which was largely based on his own experience of the French tradition of art education, was characterized by a sense of his responsibility to communicate the practice of this artistic tradition. Vertue noted that Chéron, 'was of an affable good natur'd temper - very communicative of his Art with a plain open sincerity that made him agreeable & belov'd'.⁴² The strong foreign flavour of the Chéron - Vanderbank Academy is undeniable. It was instrumental in laying the foundations of the close artistic ties with France and Italy, during the 1730's and 1740's, and Louis Chéron's direct French contacts, most notably his sister, helped him to maintain a good working relationship with French artists still practising in France.

There is evidence that artistic ties between France and England were strong in the 1720's. A very interesting series of nine paintings representing the life of King Charles I in a private collection, is closely connected with the St.Martin's Lane set, represented by Chéron, Tillemans and Vanderbank on the one hand, and contemporary artistic circles in France, represented by Pierre Angelis, Jean Raoux, and Parocell, on the other, all good catholics. Six of the canvases were painted in England and three in France, and they are all approximately the same size (62 x 75.5 cms) although the image of the king varies in the hands of the different painters involved. Angelis was responsible for the earliest signed painting, 'The King seized by Cornet Joyce at Holmby House', which is dated 1722, and 'The King's Escape from Hampton Court', and 'The Trial of the King'. Born in Dunkirque, Angelis had worked in Flanders and in Dusseldorf before coming to England in 1716, he was still living in Covent Garden by 1726, but returned to France and died in Brittany. Parocell, described as Painter to the French King, was responsible for 'The Battle of Naseby' and 'King Charles before Hull', and Jean Raoux painted 'The King taking leave of his Children'. 'King Charles setting up his Standard and making his Declaration' was painted by Tillemans and the first and last scenes in the chronological sequence were painted by Chéron and Vanderbank respectively. Chéron chose a scene in which he did not have to depict the monarch, and thus avoided having to match up with five other painters' versions of the King's appearance, 'The Marriage of Charles I'. Vanderbank's contribution, 'The Apotheosis or Death of the King' is signed and dated 1727.⁴³

These nine compositions and one more were engraved, and advertized

as available in 1728. As the inscriptions on the engravings state that they are based on the paintings, the series can be firmly dated to the 1720's. The interest in the subject extended to other members of the St.Martin's Lane Academy; James Seymour produced at least two drawings of the King, one sold at Christie's 21 July, 1967, was inscribed 'King Charles 1st of England, Drawn by Seymour', the other was in an exhibition devoted to Seymour at Spinks in 1936 and is described as 'Head of white horse in portrait of M.St.Antoine & Charles I after Van Dyck'.

Louis Chéron's contribution to the series was probably painted just before the artist's death in May, 1725, as there is a strong argument in favour of the Marriage of the King being unfinished. The legs of the rather incongruous figure of Hymen (Plate 58) to the left of the betrothed couple have breeches outlined only in beige ground, and the silk stockings on the left leg of the King's proxy, Claude de Lorraine, Duc Chevreuse, fail to cover the knee. Chéron was also responsible for the frame surround of the drawing of 'The Revolt of the Fleet', which was made with Mr. Baston (identity unknown), who designed the shipping, solely for the purpose of engraving. One, or possibly two, of the plates were engraved in France. Mons. Tardieu was responsible for the plate of Parocell's Charles I before Hull, and Mons.L'Epicier, who was in England in 1722, 'but stay'd not long & returnd to Paris'⁴⁴ was responsible for the plate of Raoux's The King taking leave of his children. Otherwise the engraving was shared by Nicholas Dupuis (The King's Marriage, Plate 59, The Battle at Naseby, The King seized at Holmby), Gerard Vandergucht (The Revolt of the Fleet and King Charles setting up his standard), Bernard Baron, (the King's Escape, and the Apotheosis) and Claude Dubois (The Trial), the last two being French engravers who had settled in London, but with no Huguenot connections. It is not known who suggested the scheme, whether it was initially intended for a private patron, or whether it was an artists' idea set up with a view to engraving the series, as a profit-making concern which would appeal to both the French and English markets. The latter seems more probable, as it is hard to believe that an English patron would be sufficiently naive to put up with five different versions of Charles I's appearance in the same room. Possibly, if one accepts the suggestion that the idea was originally coined in London, it was an attempt by the group of artists involved to attract Royal patronage.

Another example in this vein, is an impressive print of the Coronation of George I engraved by Claude Dubosc after a design by Louis Chéron. (Plate 60) It is accompanied by a long explanatory inscription in French and was evidently intended for the French market. No English equivalent has survived, and it is significant that the only impression known at the time of writing, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The enthroned King, flanked by the Prince and Princess of Wales, is surrounded by the traditional virtues. At his feet the lion of England is convincingly poised to pounce on the traditional vices, which Hercules is beating down with his club. The design is inspired by the scenes of the good government of James I by Rubens on the ceiling of the Banqueting House, Whitehall, which were available at close hand in the form of Gribelin's engravings. (Plate 25) Indeed, the figure of Hercules, club raised in both hands above his head, trampling down the vices with his right foot, is in reverse of the oval in the Rubens ceiling, and is probably taken directly from Gribelin's print. It is also probable that Chéron was inspired by the baroque exuberance of Rubens' paintings, as the vices, falling out of the composition, contrast dramatically with the staid classical figures of the Royal Family, and their accompanying virtues. The print shows that Chéron was capable of working in the full baroque manner, and as a pupil of Le Brun, he was able to combine the classical and the baroque, and was not, as is often implied, a tame follower of Poussin and Raphael.

Whereas before 1709, Louis Chéron was involved in decorative painting, as a result of his attendance of the Kneller academy, he 'got into good business was particularly much employ'd for designs for Engravers of which there are abundance in most of the best printed books prints done in London for some years before his death'.⁴⁵

Louis Chéron is known to have produced designs for engravings earlier in his career. One such design survives in the British Museum, the subject, St. Philip baptizing the Eunuch, is taken from Acts VIII, v.38. The drawing is executed in pen and ink, with brown wash heightened with white on blue grey paper, and measures 34.6 x 27 cms. The same design was etched by the artist in reverse (Plate 61) but the etching is inscribed 'L.Chéron pinxit' which suggests that there was a painting of this subject as well. The rather gauche grouping of the figures and the fact that it was available from 'I. Mariette rue S. Jacques aux colonnes

d'Hercules' suggests that the etching probably dates from the early 1690's, before Chéron came to England, when Chéron was also known to have illustrated his sister's transcription of the psalms, 'Psaumes Nouvellement Mis en Vers' with twenty-two etchings; this volume was published in Paris in 1693. Another charming engraving by B. Baron, is based on a lost painting by Chéron of 'Le Bain de Diane' (Plate 62), the engraving bears an inscription in French only, but was probably engraved in England after 1722, when Baron settled over here. but it would have been intended primarily for the French market.⁴⁶

The framework of the Academy, as Vertue suggested, provided an ideal environment for the business of book illustration, a less demanding source of income for history painters, and it enabled the designers to instruct their own engravers.⁴⁷ Many of the history painters who attended the academy, were involved in book illustration, and it is no small irony, that even after the academy had split, Thornhill and Chéron are to be found illustrating the same volumes. Illustrating 'classic' authors must have provoked discussion and interpretation of the text. Vertue emphasises on several occasions the importance of a good education for an artist, and points out that Laquerre's training in a Jesuit College was most useful for his profession as a history painter.⁴⁸ In his proposals for an academy Vertue recommends that 'no scholar should be received in this school till he has learnt to write & understands⁴⁹ the latin tongue haveing made some progress in the Classical authors'. It is worth noting in this context that Chéron designed a frontispiece for 'The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne', 1722, which was written by his fellow Huguenot, Abel Boyer. It was sold by the Huguenot bookseller, Abel Rocayrol, whose shop was in St. Martin's Lane. The frontispiece shows Queen Anne, flanked by Wisdom and Fortitude, the lion of Britain to her right, busy snarling at the monstrous Hydra of Lerna, which Hercules is demolishing with his club.

Hercules was an appropriate allegorical figure, and was a recurring subject in Chéron's work. Vertue mentions '7 plates ye⁵⁰ labours of Hercules, history as fine & great a manner as can be', that Chéron produced, as illustrations in their own right, as there is no evidence that they relate to a particular scheme or text. Six of these prints are now to be seen in the British Museum; another in this series

is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A number of drawings which must relate to this series of prints, have recently appeared on the market. Hercules clubbing Cerberus (Plate 63) was sold at Christie's March 20, 1973(95); and is possibly identical with a drawing of the same subject which was sold in Paris in 1967, accompanied by Hercules and Neptune, and a Hercules killing a Hydra of Lerna. A Hercules killing the Hydra of Lerna was also sold at Christie's 15 June 1971 (11). Hercules killing the Hydra of Lerna is also the subject of a painting in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which has long been attributed to John Hamilton Mortimer, and was exhibited as such at the Tate Gallery in 1959.⁵¹ By comparison with the etching of the same subject in the British Museum which is inscribed 'L.Chéron inv. et ceri incidere coepit.. G.Van der Gucht perfecit'., and on stylistic grounds, it can be safely described as by Chéron. Vertue also mentions 'a fine large picture painted as big as the life of Hercules.... Omphale' as being in the sale of Chéron's effects after his death.⁵²

It is appropriate to sum up Louis Chéron's contribution by examining the Tate Gallery's Apollo, an extraordinarily satisfying image. The largest book on which Apollo leans with his right arm is inscribed 'FAITS DES DIEUS ET HIST UNIVERS T.P.' which may represent a French book of reference for a history painter. The artist's tools, set square callipers, and paint brush, and the two small plaster putti to the left, suggest that this is a peculiarly personal painting, and may be an allegory of the role of the arts of painting and music. The almost visionary quality of the figure of Apollo, and the significant gesture of his left hand, reinforces this suggestion.⁵³ Books and plaster figures were amongst the sources that Chéron drew on for his painting and teaching, and it is interesting to note, that in his will Chéron left 'all his prints, books and figures done in plaister' to a fellow Huguenot, Rene Peltier. His Huguenot affiliations remained staunch until the end of his life, as in his will he leaves £200 to his sisters in Paris, if still living, and if not specifies that the money should be given to 'the poor of the French hospital', which was only founded in 1718.⁵⁴

Louis Chéron's academy certainly helped to set the pace for the academy in St.Martin's Lane, with which William Hogarth and the Huguenot sculptor, L.F.Roubiliac, were associated in the late 1730's and 1740's. Seven members of this later academy had attended Louis

Chéron's establishment, they included William Hogarth himself, John Ellys who helped to run the later academy, Bartholomew Dandridge, George Knapton, Joseph Highmore, Arthur Pond, James Seymour and Edward Slaughter, who is almost certainly a member of the Slaughter family who kept the Coffee House in St. Martin's Lane, which became a meeting place for these artists.

The opportunity to study from a female model obviously created a precedent which was continued in the Academy maintained by William Hogarth. On November 13th, 1738, the London Daily Post and General advertiser reported,

'Last week a fine Venus was finished at a Sculptor's in St. Martin's Lane for a Person of Quality; eight of the most celebrated Painters assisted at the Performance and the Lady who sate Nine Hours at different times for the same, had three and a half Crowns each Hour for her complaisance and trouble'.⁵⁵ The sculptor referred to is the Huguenot L.F. Roubiliac, whose main contribution to the revived academy was the teaching of sculpture, thus making the academy conform more closely to the French prototype. It is significant that in 1745 Vertue mentions an advertisement, 'For the Study of Drawing this winter at the Academy of Painting and Sculpture kept in St. Martin's Lane - Charing X .. on Saturday even will meet at the half moon Tavern in the Strand - to take subscriptions for the following winter Mr. Hayman (Plate 66) (History Painter etc) Mr. Gravelot (designer) Mr. Moser (chaser) Mr. Roubiliac (Statuary) Mr. Yeo (Seal Graver) Mr ... (landscape painter) Mr. Wills (portrait painter Treasurer).⁵⁶ The academy is now referred to as the Academy of Painting and Sculpture and Roubiliac is the only name mentioned by Vertue as being qualified to teach sculpture, which is in itself, a significant Huguenot contribution.

Vertue mentions that the Academy met for the 'Study of Drawing'. This is confirmed by a note in the diary of Peter Camper, for January, 1749. Camper was introduced to the St. Martin's Lane Academy 'by Mr. Roubiliac, sculptor', and was accepted as a member on contributing two guineas. Camper wrote that 'there are a man and a woman for models. The man poses three days, the woman two'. According to Camper, the last evening of the drawing classes that season was on the 17th March that year.⁵⁷ It is interesting in this context that Roubiliac's capacity for drawing has always been disclaimed. The only known signed drawing by Roubiliac in this country, for the monument to the Duke of Argyll, which was originally accompanied by the contract with his widowed Duchess, has been described as being by 'a more competent artist at Roubiliac's request specially for submission to the Duchess of Argyll', and signed by Roubiliac as 'designer only'.⁵⁸ This may well be the case, as

Roubiliac's assistants, Nicholas Read and a Mr. Siste, were, according to Vertue, talented draughtsmen. 'a drawing' by Read, 'an accademy figure shows great skill & fire & spirit extraordinary'; and Siste 'is an Ingenious man draws very well'.⁵⁹

Nicholas Read's obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine, explains that Read first studied at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, but that his father 'prevailed with Mr. Roubiliac to take him into his house to instruct him in drawing and modelling'.⁶⁰ Although it is likely that drawing did not come naturally to Roubiliac, it seems most improbable that he had attended the Academy in Paris, and assisted with the administration of the drawing class at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, and had received Nicholas Read into his studio in order to instruct him in drawing, without ever having put pencil to paper. It seems most probable that drawings by Roubiliac have existed, and possibly still survive.⁶¹

A volume of Roubiliac's sketches was acquired by Josiah Wedgewood from Roubiliac's widow, Celeste Regnier, and these sketches were probably used as models for products from the Wedgewood factory.⁶² An article on Roubiliac's statue of Shakespeare mentions a drawing in gouache of the subject 'which still survives being now in private hands'.⁶³ The bill for the Montagu monuments (Appendix D) specifies three drawings of an architectural nature. Two drawings have in the past been connected with Roubiliac's monument to Sir Thomas Molyneux, but neither of these are satisfactory attributions to Roubiliac.

A design for a monument in the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris, may well be an early drawing by Roubiliac. It shows a seated skeleton, a scythe over his right arm, flanked at the base by two putti supporting and seated on books (Plate 67). The drawing is inscribed bottom right 'Roubilliac' in pencil; this could well be an early autograph signature, as the double 'l' reccurs in the baptism register of the church of St. Nizier, Lyons.⁶⁴

Roubiliac would have encouraged his students to draw, and it is likely that the lay figure now in the Museum of London, was used by Roubiliac for that purpose.⁶⁵ Lay figures were part of an artist's equipment, and served as a model in the absence of a sitter. This particular lay figure is fully jointed, and can be made to adapt to any number of attitudes; it is approximately 2'6" in height (Plate 68); it retains its original box, which contains a male and female costume, and a military uniform, which was made for a smaller figure. It is made of cork, covered with silk stockingette, the head, of carved and painted wood, is, as Mrs. Esdaile pointed out, of a type suited to

either sex. The male costume consists of a black silk hat, trimmed with faded pink ribbon, a cambric smock, a holland skirt, a hooded cloak of red flannel, and a large pocket which was tied round the waist and worn in front. This is possibly the same lay figure which John Hamilton Mortimer provided the Society of Artists in 1770 as a result of a Committee meeting on 30th October, 1770, at which it was directed that 'the layman be set with drapery on the Fryday and Saturday in each week from the hours of six till nine'.⁶⁶ It is likely that the figure was used in the same way by Roubiliac's studio. However, the Sale Catalogue of Roubiliac's effects mentions on its title page 'An . . . jingly curious LAYMAN big as the life'.⁶⁷ This implies that Roubiliac owned another lay figure, which he must have used himself, and may well have clothed the figure. J.T.Smith claimed that 'Roubiliac seldom modelled his drapery for his monumental figures but carved it from the linen itself which he dipped into warm starch-water, so that when he had pleased himself he left it to cool and dry, and then proceeded with the marble'.⁶⁸ J.T. Smith's father Nathaniel Smith was apprenticed to Roubiliac on August 7th, 1755, so J.T.Smith would have heard about Roubiliac's studio practice from his father.

Whereas the students at the St.Martin's Lane Academy studied the naked model under Chéron and Vanderbank, the tendency in the 1740's, seems to have been the study of a fully dressed model.⁶⁹ In addition to the academy, other smaller schools were founded, including that opened by Gravelot at the sign of the 'Pestle and mortar, Covent Garden'. Hubert Gravelot's students included Thomas Gainsborough, Thomas Major, and the second generation Huguenot Charles Grignion. Two drawings by Gravelot (Plate 69) and by Grignion (Plate 70) were probably executed at Gravelot's school, at the same time, from the same model, and are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Both are executed in black chalk and are heightened with white, although Gravelot used buff paper, and Grignion used blue paper. There is very little difference in the quality of these drawings, and if anything, Grignion's presents a more sensitive rendering of texture, although he does not quite have the same authoritative grasp of the medium. There is no evidence that Gravelot had any Huguenot corrections, for he returned to France permanently in 1745.

Other vestiges of Roubiliac's studio include three terracotta studies of hands now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. One, a right hand, holds a pole and is resting on two books, and the others are careful studies of a left hand and a right hand, without extra props. The sensitivity and subtlety of their modelling makes their attribution to Roubiliac plausible. A careful study of the work of Roubiliac's contemporaries at the St.Martin's Lane Academy reveals the use of similar devices. This is most notably apparent in the work of Francis Hayman, in which the doll-like features of many of his portraits betray an over reliance on the layman, as opposed to working from the life.

The St.Martin's Lane Academy under Hayman, Gravelot and Roubiliac provided ideal opportunities for the interconnection of the fine and applied arts. Designs by Gravelot and Moser survive for a wide range of decorative objects, and it has been proved that Roubiliac also produced models for the decorative arts, for porcelain, for bronzes, and most probably for silver. It is therefore no surprise, to find Hayman painting a classical bust in the background of a gentleman's portrait; Gravelot designing a statue in a niche (Plate 71) and Roubiliac painting a copy of the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare.(Plate 84).

The main contribution of the Huguenots Louis Chéron and L.F. Roubiliac lay in their ability to communicate the tradition of the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture, on the one hand, and their emphasis on the interconnection of the different fine and applied arts, on the other hand. This contribution was combined with a sense of responsibility and a conscientiousness which was part of the Huguenot ethic.

LOUIS FRANCOIS ROUBILIAC AND HIS HUGUENOT CONNECTIONS

Louis François Roubiliac was born in Lyons in 1702, the son of a banker. The Roubiliac family were Huguenots who had become at least nominal converts to Catholicism about 1660, in order to avoid persecution.¹ Louis François Roubiliac (Plate 72) had settled in England by 1735. Roubiliac's Huguenot identity rests on a single entry in the registers of the Huguenot Chapel, Spring Gardens, an annexe of the Savoy Chapel, which was in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields. 'Sophie, fille de Louis Francois Roubiliac et de Catherine sa femme née le 25 Aout 1744 et Baptisée le 23 Septembre mesme année par Mr. Isaac Lesturgeon avec pour parain Nicholas Sprimont et pour maraine Catherine Roubiliac'.²

It has often been suggested that Roubiliac came to England primarily in search of patronage, as opposed to being prompted by a desire for freedom of worship, which, as has been shown, was still not available in France at this date. Certainly, there were a sufficient number of highly gifted sculptors in France to meet the limited demand for work, and Roubiliac's fellow students in the studio of Nicholas Coustou in Paris, Claude Lamoureux and Jacques Bousseau also left France in search of work, and settled in Denmark and Spain respectively.³

Roubiliac found work in England, but not without some difficulty, and it took him several years to establish a reputation over here. It is of particular interest therefore, to note, that the Huguenot community in London, through its connections with the English aristocracy and landed gentry, provided Roubiliac with a steady flow of commissions. To examine the role that Roubiliac's Huguenot connections played in the development of the sculptor's career throws interesting light on the manner in which a member of the Huguenot community benefitted from the network of contacts in this country which had been established by the 1730's.

Roubiliac's association with Nicholas Sprimont is of particular interest as Sprimont was a silversmith from Liege, who later became manager of the Chelsea Porcelain factory. Sprimont may well have been of Huguenot origin, but strictly speaking as Liege was just across the French border in Flanders at that time, he should be described as a Walloon. Sprimont was closely connected to the Huguenot Deschamps family, upholsterers in Compton Street, Soho, through his marriage to

Anne Protin at the Knightsbridge Chapel on November 13th, 1742, two years before he stood godfather to Sophie Roubiliac. Anne Protin's sister Susannah married Francis Deschamps, and Sprimont's relationship with his brother-in-law's family was evidently very close, for when he died in 1777, he was buried in the Deschamps family vault in Petersham Churchyard.⁵

Roubiliac's contemporary, George Vertue noted that although Roubiliac was said 'to be born at Lyons in France... he went to Liege where he learnt his art'.⁶ There is no further evidence to substantiate this statement, but there remains a certain confusion as to where Roubiliac trained. It is tempting to suggest that Roubiliac and Sprimont knew each other abroad, before they both settled in this country. Perhaps Roubiliac was responsible for encouraging Sprimont to come to England.

Sophie Roubiliac's other godparent was her own mother, Catherine, Roubiliac's first wife. Their marriage allegation indicates that Catherine's maiden name was Helot, she was also of Huguenot descent, and both parties are described as being of the parish of St. Martin Orgar. This was an anglican church in St. Martin's Lane in the City of London, which also served as a meeting place for a Huguenot congregation from 1701.⁷

Roubiliac's association with Sprimont has led to speculation on the sculptor's involvement with the Chelsea Porcelain manufactory. It is most probable that Roubiliac was prepared to supply Sprimont with plaster models, and on at least one occasion it is known that he did so. A Chelsea porcelain version of Roubiliac's terracotta portrait of William Hogarth's dog, Trump, survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Although the piece is unmarked it is dateable to about 1747-50 on grounds of paste and glaze.⁸

In this context it is interesting to note that Roubiliac studied under Balthasar Permoser (1651-1732) in Dresden. Permoser is known to have worked on a smaller scale in ivory, producing small figures of the seasons, which may well have been copied in Dresden porcelain, thus setting an example which Roubiliac may well have followed.⁹

Tradition states that when Roubiliac arrived in London, he worked initially for Thomas Carter (d.1757) who specialized in chimney-pieces, and then for Henry Cheere (1703-1781) before setting up on his own.¹⁰ Roubiliac's earliest signed and dated work in this

country, is the statue of the composer George Frederick Handel, which was set up in Vauxhall Gardens in April 1738.¹¹ A number of earlier works had previously been attributed to Roubiliac, but most of these attributions were based on style with no documentation to substantiate the claim.

The most probable of these attributions is the monument to Thomas Chambers and his wife, Margaret, put up in All Saints, Derby in 1737, at the request of their youngest daughter, Hannah Sophia, Countess of Exeter.¹² The inscription on the monument states that Thomas Chambers was a London merchant who died in December 1726; his wife, Margaret was the daughter of John Bagneld of Derby and died some nine years after her husband in April, 1735. The Exeter family, like the Devonshires and Montagus had traditionally patronized Huguenot craftsmen; Louis Chéron and Rene Cousin, the gilder, assisted with the decorative painting at Burghley in the 1690's and the gatesmith Jean Tijou worked there in the same decade.¹³ A collection of bills addressed to the Countess of Exeter, 1749 to 1754, shows that this tradition of Huguenot patronage was continued, the collection includes accounts from the Huguenot jewellers, Peter Dutens and S. Passavant, the haberdashers Peter Galliard, and Mettayer & Co., the fanmaker, Phillip Margas, and the cabinet-maker, Robert Tymperon.¹⁴

The monument to Mr. and Mrs. Chambers consists of a screen surmounted by a pediment which supports winged putti. The screen is punctuated by a central inscription on a draped cartouche and two circular niches which contain busts of Thomas and Margaret Chambers (Plate 73). It is unlikely that Roubiliac was responsible for the overall design, although it is probable that Roubiliac applied the portrait busts, the cartouche containing the coat of arms and possibly the putti. The execution of the portrait busts is somewhat heavy, but the finer details are obscured by dirt, and on close inspection, betray a liveliness which is characteristic of Roubiliac's hand.

It is of interest to note that eleven years later Roubiliac executed a bust in marble of the Countess of Exeter's niece, Arabella Aufrere. Thomas and Margaret Chambers' elder daughter Arabella, married William Bate of Foxton, Derbyshire, but died at the age of twenty-six, having produced one daughter, also named Arabella, who was brought up by her aunt, the Countess of Exeter.¹⁵ In 1746, Arabella Bate married George Aufrere,¹⁶ younger son of Israel Antoine Aufrere (Plate 74), the

Huguenot minister of the Savoy chapel. The bust of Arabella is signed and dated 1748 (Plate 75) and remains in the possession of her descendants at Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire. The bust is a most sensitive rendering of the personality of the sitter, and effectively captures the texture of her dress, particularly in the delicacy with which the lace bodice and the braid which supports the hair are executed. Such sensitivity to the rendering of texture might well be expected from a sculptor brought up in Lyons, centre of the silk trade. Furthermore, it would have been particularly appreciated by George Aufrere, who was, judging by his bills for muslin and holland to the Countess of Exeter,¹⁷ a draper of some standing. George Aufrere was evidently a man of taste, for much of his profit was channelled into building up one of the most significant collections of Old Masters to be seen in London at that time. George Aufrere acquired Ranelagh House, adjacent to Chelsea Hospital, which he filled with Dutch and Italian paintings. On his wife's death in 1804, the Monthly Magazine noted that their son-in-law, Lord Yarborough 'comes into one of the finest collections of paintings in this country. The late Sir Joshua Reynolds frequently said that it contained a greater variety of pieces by the first masters of the Italian, Dutch, French and Flemish School than any other Private Collection in England and estimated its value at £200,000.'¹⁸ George Aufrere also collected sculpture, and purchased from Sir Joshua Reynolds the statue of Neptune and Triton by Gian Lorenzo Bernini which remained in the gardens at Brocklesby until it was sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1950.¹⁹

Roubiliac usually charged 30 guineas for a marble bust, and although he evidently did good business in marble portraits, it was larger commissions that eventually established his reputation. When Roubiliac's life-sized portrait of George Frederick Handel was set up in Vauxhall Gardens 'in a grand Nich, erected on purpose in the great Grove' it was greeted with an immediate and lasting acclaim.²⁰ The statue showing the composer dictating his music to a small putto was set against a background of mature trees which had been planted in the fashionable French style of straight avenues by 1661, when Pepys and Evelyn visited the gardens. The closest prototype for an arch backed by a screen of verdure was the Bosquet de la Colonnade, designed by Le Notre and Mansart at Versailles in 1685, which Roubiliac would certainly have known.²¹

The inherent French flavour of the statue and its setting may have inspired Dr. Mathieu Maty, Librarian of the new British Museum, and a Huguenot contemporary of Roubiliac's, who worshipped at the same chapel as the sculptor in Spring Gardens, to publish a poem on Vauxhall Gardens in the *Mercure de France*, twelve years after the statue was first erected.

'Mais d'un Phidias la statue'

Attire mon attention.

Orphée y paroît à ma vûe,

Ou bien le Chantre d'Albion.

Aux airs du moderne Amphion,

De nouveau le marbre respire.

J'y vois cet aimable délire,

Qui seul mérite des lauriers.

Attentif aux sons de sa lyre,

Un Génie empressé d'écrire,

Grave dans d'immortels cahiers

Ses airs, ses accords passagers;

Je l'entends même qui soupire

De perdre encor les plus légers.

* Cette Statue de M. Handel, a été faite par M. Roubillac, Sculpteur distingué.²²

The appropriateness of erecting a statue to a living composer must have been felt on occasions such as the rehearsal of Handel's 'Music for the Royal Fireworks' held in the gardens on 21 April, 1748, which was attended by 12,000 people. Perhaps Dr. Maty's poem was prompted by just such an occasion.²³

It was another decade before Roubiliac would receive equal acclaim with the completion of the monument to John, 2nd Duke of Argyll and Greenwich in Westminster Abbey in 1749.²⁴ By comparison with the 1750's, the early 1740's were a comparatively quiet period for Roubiliac. ²⁴ The sculptor was doubtless pleased to receive work through a cousin of the Huguenot antiquary, Smart Letheuiller (1701-1760),²⁵ Sir Charles Frederick (1709-1785). Frederick produced designs for at least two monuments which were executed by Roubiliac. The first was a monument to Thomas Milles, Bishop of Waterford, who died in 1740. This was erected in the church of Highclere, Berkshire, where Thomas Milles' father Isaac (d.1720) had been resident vicar for nearly forty years. (Plate 76). Although the monument is inscribed on the left side 'Charles Frederick invt. L.F.Roubiliac sculpt.' no other inscription survived the move

when the church in which the monuments were originally housed (built by Sir Robert Sawyer in 1688) was demolished to make way for Sir George Gilbert Scott's replacement in 1870.²⁶ The Milles family came from Cockfield near St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk. Isaac Milles was educated at St. John's Cambridge, and according to the inscription on his wall monument in St. Michael and All Angels, Highclere, he 'educated many sons of the nobility and gentry instilling into their minds, together with good literature, the best principles of religion and morality'. Isaac's three sons entered the church and his only daughter married Rev. Richard Pococke minister of All Saints Church, Southampton. It is indeed possible that the Milles family were also of Huguenot origin.

The second monument executed by Roubiliac to the designs of Charles Frederick, was erected at the request of George, Lord Lyttleton (1709-1773) to his wife Lucy, who died in 1747 at the age of twenty-nine. Both designs are surprisingly similar, consisting of a weeping putto in each case flanked by an urn. (Plate 77). The monument to Lucy Lyttleton is embellished with exquisite carving in relief on the urn, representing roman style, a lady reclining on a couch, with the inscription 'LUCIAE' beneath.²⁷

It was particularly appropriate that when the Trustees of Sir John Cass Charity met in 1750 and resolved 'to prepare a Statue of Sir John Cass to be made by a Skilful Artist' and 'Erected in the Niche for that purpose in the Front of the ..School', Roubiliac was chosen as the 'Skilful Artist'.²⁸ It was thought that Sir John Cass's forbears were Huguenot refugees who had settled in London at the end of the sixteenth century, Cass being an anglicized form of de la Caisse.²⁹ Furthermore, Roubiliac was chosen by the Treasurer of the Trustees, Sir Crisp Gascoygne, who was, most probably also of Huguenot descent. (Plate 78). The names Gascon and Gascoygne appear in the Huguenot registers. Sir Crisp was born in Chiswick, the youngest son of Benjamin and Ann Gascoygne, a brewer of Gravel Lane, Houndsditch.³⁰ It seems likely that Sir Crisp was particularly sympathetic towards Roubiliac. The Minute Book of the Charity School reports that on Thursday 13th June, 1751 'a letter was read from the Treasurer acquainting the Board he had Agreed with Mr. Roubiliac Statuary for making Sir John Cass's Effigies and that it wld be proper for the Statuary to have Sir John's Picture to form the Effigies by. Whereupon it is Resolved that Mr. Roubilliac have the sd Picture from the school whenever he sends for the same.'

Within a month, the same Minutes record,

'Mr. Roubilliac the Statuary attended with a Modell of Sir Jqhn Cass Effigies to be set up in the Niche in the Front of the School and such of the Trustees present as remembred Sir John in his Lifetime gave Mr. Robilliac the best Description they could of Sir John's person'.³¹

By November, the Treasurer was able to report that Roubiliac had completed the statue, and Roubiliac was paid £100 for his work. It was suggested that 'it would be proper for some of the Trustees to go and see the Statue at Mr. Roubilliac's in Saint Martin's Lane'.³¹ By February, 1752, the statue was in place, and the decision was made to inscribe the pedestal with the founder's name 'in Characters as large and legible as possible and that Mr. Roubilliac the Statuary do put his own Name with the Date of the year 1751 in the proper place at the Bottom of the Pedestal'.³²

The trustees were evidently delighted with Roubiliac's rendering of their founder in his Aldermanic robes. The extent of their approval is indicated by the fact that Roubiliac was given another commission as a result. When Sir Crisp Gascoygne's father-in-law, Dr. John Bamber, a wealthy physician of Mincing Lane, died in 1753, the commission for a marble bust to be placed on his monument went to Roubiliac. It was set up in Barking Church, near Dr. Bamber's manor house, Bifrons.³³

While Roubiliac was working on the statue of Sir John Cass, he was also engaged in designing monuments to the 2nd Duke and Duchess of Montagu, for St. Edmund's Church, Warkton, Northamptonshire. (See Appendic C.) The 2nd Duke's father, Ralph Montagu, played a vital role patronizing and welcoming first generation refugee craftsmen and tradesmen. His son continued this family tradition, making an annual contribution to 'La Soupe' the Huguenot charity house in Spitalfields from at least 1726 until 1746. The account books at Boughton show that the Montagu family continued to employ Huguenot craftsmen and tradesmen, John Poitevin, Perruquemaker, Peter Dunoyer, bookseller, and Jacques Regnier, printseller, to name a few.³⁵ The latter was a relative of Roubiliac's fourth wife, Nicole Celeste Regnier. Unfortunately the date of Roubiliac's fourth marriage has not yet come to light, and the evidence for this marriage is contained in the sculptor's will. Nicole Celeste Regnier ran the family printshop in Newport Street, and bills for prints from the shop survive in the accounts at Petworth House.³⁶

The 2nd Duke of Montagu had made plans for the construction of a family mausoleum before his death in 1749, and it is possible that he had already approached Roubiliac. After the Duke's death the responsibility for the commission was placed in the hands of Martin Folkes, a close friend of both the Duke and the sculptor, who, like Roubiliac, frequented Slaughter's Coffee House in St. Martin's Lane.³⁷ The extraordinary confidence which was placed in the sculptor's abilities, enabled him to design the new chancel at Warkton to house the monuments. Roubiliac spent five years working on this, perhaps the most important commission of his career. He had begun work on the Duke's monument in December, 1749. On October 30th, 1754, the Public Advertiser announced, 'Last Week was finished, after more than 17 Weeks Labour, in the Parish Church of Wharton (sic) in Northamptonshire, the erecting of two superb Monuments, in the Manner of antient Roman Temples, to the Memory of the Most Noble John, Duke of Montague and his Duchess; designed and erected by Mr. Roubillac, at the Expense of the Countess of Cardigan, their Daughter. Their Characters are expressed by Heiroglyphics, the Figures inimitably finished, and the Office the Duke enjoyed of Master of the Ordnance expressed by a triumphal Arch, Engines of War, etc. Upon the Whole it is esteemed a well-designed as well as a high-finished Piece of Art, and is said not to have cost less than 3,000L.'³⁸

Like Roubiliac, the actor David Garrick was also of Huguenot descent, although there is no record of his having worshipped with a Huguenot congregation. Garrick's grandfather was a wine merchant from Bordeaux who settled in England in 1685.³⁹ Garrick continued to take an interest in French culture, visiting Paris in 1762, and collecting the works of contemporary French artists, Jean Pillement (1728-1808) also from Lyons, and Jean Etienne Liotard.⁴⁰ The statue of William Shakespeare by Roubiliac that is now in the King's Library at the British Museum was the centrepiece of a garden temple dedicated to Shakespeare which was built in the grounds of David Garrick's villa at Hampton. In view of the fact that Roubiliac had just succeeded in designing a mausoleum as well as the monuments it contained for the Montagu family, it is highly likely that Garrick gave Roubiliac equal freedom and it is arguable that the Temple built to house the statue of Shakespeare was also designed by Roubiliac. (Plate 79).

On August 4th, 1755, Horace Walpole wrote to his friend Richard Bentley from Strawberry Hill, 'I have contracted a sort of intimacy with

Garrick, who is my neighbour..He is building a grateful temple to Shakespeare.'⁴¹ The design of this temple has been variously attributed to Robert Adam, who is known to have altered Garrick's villa in 1765 and again in 1775, but who spent the years 1754-1758 on the Grand Tour in Italy; and to Capability Brown, who had, admittedly, already practised as an architect at Croome Court, Worcestershire, 1750-1, and was responsible for 'laying out Garrick's garden between 1756 and 1759, and also for creating the tunnel which provided access from the villa to the garden on the other side of the road.'⁴² John Adam described the building in a letter of 30th May, 1759 as being,

'much too large for this small piece of ground and except for the portico is not elegant either outside or inside, though the prospect to the river is most delightful. The columns of the portico are ionic and the Capitals according to the antique. The extreme ones have angular volutes set diagonally according to the temple of Manley Fortune at Rome, which answers the frontings both ways, but in my opinion has a very ugly effect.'⁴³

It is unlikely that John Adam would have been so rude about the temple if it was designed by Brown, as the Adam brothers worked in collaboration with Brown at Croome (1760), Bowood (c.1765) and Luton Hoo (1764). It is possible that Brown was responsible for the portico, but the Temple was obviously designed with a statue of Shakespeare in mind, as the niche opposite the entrance which housed the statue is part of the basic structure. (Plates 80, 82) The windows, three on the river side, and one just to the left of the entrance, which is now bricked up, were obviously planned so that the statue would gain from the best possible lighting conditions. (Plate 81) Directly opposite the entrance, it could be seen on approaching the temple through the open door, as in Zoffany's painting of Mr. and Mrs. Garrick taking tea in front of the temple, which originally hung in their dining room at the Adelphi.⁴⁴ The unorthodox piers which support the dome, the bulky quality of the building's main body, which apart from the portico, makes no other concessions in favour of gracefulness, and the presence of the vitruvian scrollwork on the dado of the interior (a feature that also appears on the fascia of the chancel at Warkton) all point towards Roubiliac as the architect.

In 'A Peep into the Principal Seats and Gardens in and about Twickenham', 1775, Mrs. Hampden Pye gives a vivid description of Garrick's

Hampton villa. 'The garden is laid out in the modern taste with a passage cut under the road, to a lawn, where close by the water-side, stands the Temple of Shakespear..This is a brick building, in the form of a dome, with a handsome porch supported by four pillars. Opposite to the entrance, in a large nich, stands a statue of the poet as large as the life, at his desk, in an attitude of thought, the figure is bold and striking. The drapery finished in a most delicate manner. The sculptor has displayed as many nice and masterly strokes in the statue of Shakespeare as the possessor had in that poet's most favourite character'.

The last remark is particularly telling, because although it is known that Shakespeare's face was based on the Chandos portrait which was copied by both Reynolds and Roubiliac himself for this purpose, (Plate 84), it is often thought that Garrick himself posed for the statue. This would be more than appropriate considering the role that Garrick played in restoring Shakespeare's works to the veneration they deserved, and in establishing the poet's reputation abroad, particularly in France. Garrick evidently felt a deep sympathy with the 'Great Bard', and housed his growing collection of Shakespeare relics in the Temple. These included an addition of 1769 of a casket made from the wood of the mulberry tree, supposedly planted by Shakspeare in which Garrick received the Freedom of the borough of Stratford-upon-Avon. The sale of Garrick's effects after the death of his widow in 1823 included 'A singularly curious Elbow Chair, enriched with the emblems of Tragedy & Comedy, admirably carved from a design by Hogarth, with a medallion of Shakespeare on the back 'made from the same mulberry tree'. The catalogue also claimed the 'This chair was always placed by the side of the Statue of Shakespeare by Roubiliac in the Temple dedicated to the Bard.'⁴⁵ As a result, Garrick became known as 'Shakespeare's Priest'.

Garrick's extraordinary gift of capturing the personality of the character he was playing by movement and expression was a revolutionary change to British audiences who were accustomed to the staid pomposity of static declamation. Garrick's performance is well described in a report compiled by a gentleman, who, deaf and dumb from birth, saw Garrick as Hamlet at Drury Lane in 1772.⁴⁶

'With ease the various passions I can trace
Clearly reflected from his wondrous face
What need of sounds? when plainly I decry
Th' expressive FEATURES, and the speaking EYE'

Hostile critics commented on 'his over-fondness for extravagant attitudes, the Caricatures of Gesture, suggested by part Vivacity, his forced conceits'. Such criticism⁴⁷ could equally apply to Roubiliac's sculpture. Indeed, it is highly probable that the sculptor was deeply moved by his friend's acting, and that his work was effected by Garrick's influence. The monument to Mr. Joseph and Lady Elizabeth Nightingale is constructed round just such a 'forc'd conceit'. (Plate 86) Joseph Nightingale is lunging forward to prevent Death's arrow from penetrating his wife. Likewise the monument to George Frederick Handel, erected in Westminster Abbey in 1761, a year after the Nightingale Monument, shows the composer at the moment of inspiration writing the aria from the Messiah, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth'. (Plate 87) In both cases the protagonists are portrayed naturalistically, thus rendering the conceits convincing.

It is probable that David Garrick sat to Roubiliac for his portrait bust at the same time that the sculptor was working on the statue of Shakespeare⁴⁸ (Plate 85). Garrick also acquired a marble version of Roubiliac's bust of Alexander Pope, which was signed and dated 1741, and is now in the Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead.⁴⁹

The 1750's were evidently the busiest years in Roubiliac's career and it is particularly happy that the sculptor's bank account with Drummonds for the years 1752 to 1757 survives. The ledgers throw fascinating light on Roubiliac's workshop practice. Huguenot names which reccur in the ledgers include 'Mr. Minett, Mr. Andrew Regnier (possibly a relative of Roubiliac's fourth wife), Mr. Timberel and Mr. Harache.⁵⁰ The latter was probably Thomas Harrache, the toyman and jeweller, whose shop was situated at the corner of Longacre and St. Martin's Lane until in 1751 he moved to the sign of the golden ball and pearl in Pall Mall until 1773.⁵¹ Thomas Harrache was appointed sole executor of Roubiliac's will and was evidently his closest and most trusted friend.⁵² A copy of Harrache's trade card in the British Museum claims that he 'Makes & sells all sorts of jewellers Work in the neates^t manner. Likewise all sorts of Rich Gold Toys..Likewise sells variety of Old China, Dresden China, . Bronzes and India Curiosities.'⁵³ Roubiliac's ledgers show that he paid Mr. Harrache 10 guineas on November 1st, 1753; £20 on March 4th, 1755, and received £20 from Tho. Harrache on May 9th, 1755. On December 10th, 1757, Roubiliac paid his friend a further £20.⁵⁴ Roubiliac may have

purchased the bronzes of Fame and Mercury which were in the sale of his effects, from his friend's shop. Equally, Roubiliac may have supplied Harrache with his own work in bronze. Roubiliac certainly worked in bronze, but apart from the bust of Lord Chesterfield, the only surviving examples of his work in this medium are connected with the musical clock in Kensington Palace, known as the 'Temple of the Four Grand Monarchies of the World'.⁵⁶ A detailed description of the clock appeared in a contemporary newspaper on December 31st, 1743, 'On the top of the Dome stands a group of Figures in Bronze representing Hercules taking the celestial Globes off the shoulders of Atlas compos'd and executed by Mons. Roubiliac (Plate 90). On the trusses of the Pedestal are placed four figures likewise in Bronze being four Emblems of the four Monarchies. These also are by Roubiliac.'

The clock is on display in the King's Drawing Room at Kensington Palace. It is still surmounted by Roubiliac's group of Hercules and Atlas, although unfortunately the original pedestal has been destroyed, and only two of the four original bronze seated figures survive. An engraving by Gravelot shows the clock on its original plinth with all Roubiliac's bronzes in situ.⁵⁸

It has been indicated that Roubiliac spent the last twelve years of his life executing some of his most elaborately monumental schemes. However, he still found time to satisfy the requests of at least three Huguenot patrons.

On September 15th, 1753, the London Evening Post reported that 'Last week was put up on the North side of Battersea Church a fine Monument to the Memory of the late Viscount Bolingbroke done by Roubiliac'. The monument consists of an auricular marble surround containing two fine busts in relief of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke who died in December, 1751 and his second Huguenot wife who died March 18th, 1750.⁵⁹ (Plate 88) According to the inscription on the monument, Mary Clara des Champs de Marcilly, Marchioness of Villette was 'Born of a noble family, bred in the court of Lewis 14th.' Despite years spent in France in political exile, where he met and married his second wife in 1723,⁶⁰ Bolingbroke maintained a close link with the Huguenot community, living amongst the master weavers in his house, No. 20, Spital Square.⁶¹

Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield's interest and familiarity with the Huguenot community in London has already been mentioned.⁶² Chesterfield was educated by M. Jounneau, the minister

of the Huguenot church in Berwick Street, Soho. Chesterfield was also a close friend of Dr. Maty, who edited his letters and compiled his biography.⁶³ It is not surprising therefore, that Chesterfield sat to Roubiliac for his portrait bust in 1755, and it is also probable that Chesterfield employed Roubiliac on some of the decorative sculpture for Chesterfield House, most notably the drawing room caryatid chimney piece which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the marble bust of Lord Chesterfield, which is signed and dated 1755 is not now known but a bronze version (Plate 89) and a plaster cast are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum and British Museum respectively.

It was possibly through his friendship with the architect responsible for building Chesterfield House, Isaac Ware (d.1766) that Roubiliac met another patron with Huguenot connections, Sir Mark Pleydell. Isaac Ware recorded the ceilings attributed to Inigo Jones in Pleydell's Berkshire home, Coleshill, which was designed by Sir Roger Pratt (1650-1662).⁶⁶ The marble bust of Sir Mark, which was thought to have been destroyed by the fire that gutted the house in 1952, has recently come to light. It portrays the sitter in a strict classical idiom, is fully signed and dated 'Sir Mark Stuart Pleydell Bt. 1755 aet 63 Ad vivum Sc. L.F.Roubiliac'.⁶⁷

Perhaps the most interesting of these Huguenot commissions is the bust of the great Field Marshal Lord Ligonier which is signed 'L.F.Roubiliac sc. ad vivum' and is now in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. An entry in the regimental account kept by Ligonier's secretary, Richard Cox, for 3 February 1763 reads 'To paid Roubiliac's bill for £153 11s'.⁶⁸ Roubiliac usually charged between thirty and ⁶⁴ forty pounds for a marble bust, and Although a terracotta version survives in the National Portrait Gallery, the total bill seems inordinate for one marble and one terracotta bust. It is significant, however, that the marble bust of Ligonier was presented to George IV by a descendant, Thomas Lloyd of 112, Gloucester Place, London in 1817, together with a marble bust of George II also by Roubiliac. Both busts were evidently commissioned from Roubiliac at the same time, and may have been presented to Ligonier on his retirement as Commander-in-chief in 1759. A pendant bust of the reigning monarch would have been appropriate on such an occasion, particularly as George II is portrayed in armour.

The latter is signed 'L.F.Roubiliac INVT', the *ad vivum* is conspicuously absent and confirms the suggestion that the bust was executed as a pair to the Ligonier, and that George II did not sit to Roubiliac in person.⁷⁰ It is even possible that the bust of George II was executed after that monarch's death, as the bust of Ligonier was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1761 (153).⁷¹

The monument to George Lynn at Southwick for which Roubiliac was paid in full in December 1760, may also be the result of Huguenot contacts.⁷² George Lynn was a member of the Spalding Society whose first president was the Huguenot Stephen Lyon. The latter married George Lynn's sister Grace, and although Stephen died some ten years before his brother-in-law, the Lynn family would have come into contact with the Huguenot community as a result of this marriage, and may accordingly have chosen the Huguenot Roubiliac for this commission.⁷³

From 1737 until 1760 Huguenot patrons and their contacts provided Roubiliac with a steady demand for work, which, in every case, the sculptor completed to the highest standards. It is arguable that the sculptor would have been considerably worse off financially if it had not been for this sympathetic support, and indeed, it is questionable whether Roubiliac would have been able to remain in this country, or whether he would have had to seek work elsewhere.

It is indicative of the strength of the bonds between different members of the Huguenot community, that after Roubiliac's death, his friend and fellow worshipper, Dr. Maty, acquired seventeen busts at the sale of the sculptor's effects, which he then presented to the British Museum, thus ensuring that future generations should be aware of the skill of the great Huguenot sculptor.⁷⁴

Thus the Huguenot community was sufficiently strong in the mid-eighteenth century in London, to support and encourage the talent of more recent settlers. Moreover, through his contact with other Huguenot craftsmen, Roubiliac was given the opportunity to experiment in different media, designing for porcelain and bronzes, and possibly even producing models for his fellow Huguenot silversmiths.

THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO ARCHITECTURE

Architecture is used here to cover the Huguenot contribution to engineering as well as the more decorative aspects of building, plasterwork, and carving in stone. These aspects are not irrelevant, as the execution of an architect's designs inevitably involves craftsmen; masons, carpenters and plasterers. In the period under discussion, the architect was often paid little by comparison with the craftsmen employed on his designs. The one way in which an architect could gain recognition and influence was by publishing his designs, and many of the Huguenot names connected with architecture used this method to establish their reputation.

In his book on English Furniture Designs, Peter Ward Jackson suggested that 'Daniel Marot probably played a greater part than any other artist in introducing into England the classicizing baroque style which flourished in France during the last part of Louis XIV's reign'.¹ Marot had been trained under the great designer Jean Berain, who worked at the court of Louis XIV. Marot engraved some of Berain's designs, notably three engravings of 'La Pompe funèbre de la reine Marie-Therese', in 1682.² The son of the Huguenot engraver and architect Jean Marot, Daniel was forced to leave France as a result of the religious persecution in the 1680's which culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He settled in Holland, and entered the services of Louis XIV's main adversary, William of Orange. In 1684, William had acquired the old moated castle of Het Loo, and by 1686, the main block had been rebuilt by his Dutch architect, Jacob Roman. Daniel Marot became 'dessinateur-en-chef' to William III, and was responsible for the interiors and for the gardens at Het Loo.³

When in 1689, William became King of England, he set about refurbishing the Palace of Hampton Court, and it is not surprising to find that Daniel Marot was employed to design the new parterre for the gardens. The original drawing for this is now in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, and is dated August, 1689.⁴ An engraving (Plate 91) based on the drawing, appeared in the second collected edition of Marot's designs, published in the Hague in 1712. This suggests that Marot may have visited this country in 1689, although it is probable that he was still heavily involved in supervising the interior decoration at Het Loo, and he could easily have produced a design for the parterre at Hampton Court without visiting England.

There is, however, concrete evidence that Daniel Marot was in this country between 1694 and 1696. In a letter to his brother Christian, dated April 13, 1694, Constantijn Huygens wrote,

'Ce paquetboate qui a este pris est le mesme avec lequel Je suis venu icy. Le capitaine s'appelle Stevens. Le pauvre Marot mandé par la Reine, pour venir ici, y a esté fait prisonnier aussi'.⁵

In April, 1694, on his way to England, Marot was captured by the French, but by October, 1694, he was certainly in London, and his marriage to Catherine Marie Gole on 23rd October, is recorded in the registers of the Huguenot church of Leicester Fields. On 16th June, 1695 ~~as~~ son, Daniel, was baptized in the same church, and by June, 1696, Daniel had acquired a younger sister Marianne.⁶

During the two years in which Marot's presence in this country is documented, it is probable that he was working for his royal patron. It is of interest that Huygens describes Marot as having come to England at the invitation of the Queen, and it is not therefore surprising to find that Marot was responsible for redecorating the Queen's Water Gallery at Hampton Court. This was a tudor building, situated at the river end of the Privy Garden. As redecorated by Marot, it consisted of a marble room, a japan lacquered room, a looking glass room, and a porcelain room lined with blue and white tiles,⁷ which were made at the Delft factory under the supervision of Adrian Koex, but also to Daniel Marot's designs. Marot was also responsible for a Dairy 'with all conveniences in which her Majesty took great delight',⁸ which was also decorated with tiles from Delft. The obvious precedent for this type of decoration was the Trianon de Porcelaine at Versailles.

However by 28th December, 1694, Queen Mary was dead, and both the Water Gallery and the Dairy were later destroyed by William III. Did Marot spend the rest of his time in England working for his royal patron, and was he perhaps responsible for the interior decoration at Hampton Court, as he had been at Het Loo? The whole question is further complicated by the fact that Marot's second son was baptized in Amsterdam on September 1, 1697, by which date Marot had presumably returned to Holland, permanently. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that a record of the Council of Nassau Demesne mentions 'a letter

from Secretary Henning of 21 March, 1698, writing in the name of his majesty that Mr. Marot should be paid 236 pounds 11 shillings 11 pence sterling.⁹ Mr. Henning can be identified with Caspar Frederick Henning, Paymaster of the money set aside for the use and service of his Majesties gardens at Hampton Court and Newmarket. Henning had begun to draw up an account sheet for the new gardens at Hampton Court on March 12th, 1698. This suggests that Marot spent at least part of his later time in England working on the gardens at Hampton Court.

It has been suggested that Daniel Marot may have been responsible for a group of houses which were completed in the 1690's, and which are strongly French in character.¹⁰ They are the second Montagu House and Boughton House, Northamptonshire, both the properties of Ralph Montagu, and Petworth, Sussex, which belonged to Montagu's son-in-law, the Duke of Somerset. At Petworth, a payment to a 'Mr. Maro' for £20 occurs in the Duke of Somerset's private accounts for September, 1693; this has been interpreted as possible proof of Daniel Marot's presence in this country at that date. However, it must be taken into account, that several refugees with the same surname had settled in this country by then. Henry, Earl of Galway and 'Mme Marie Temple' stood godparents to the daughter of Maixant and Ester Marot in 1697, and Charles Marot was baptized on September 14th, 1707, as the son of Isaac, who is described as 'dessignateur' at the church of the Savoy.¹¹ It seems much more likely that the bill of Francis Lapierre, the Huguenot upholsterer, dated April 26, 1706, for 'a Bed of Striped Tapisstry needlework' at Boughton, which includes the item 'paid to Marot for drawing the Cornishes £1.15.0. Paid for drawing the Cupps £1.5.0.'¹² refers to this Isaac Marot, as opposed to the more eminent Daniel, who is not known to have been in England at that time. It has not yet been possible to determine, what relation, if any, Isaac was to Daniel.

Thus although it is probable that Daniel Marot visited this country in 1689, and certain that he was here from 1694 to the end of 1696, Daniel Marot's most important influence in this country was through the publication of engravings of his designs. The first collected edition appeared in 1702 and was described as 'Oeuvres du Sr. D. Marot contenant plussieurs pensees utiles aux architectes, sculpteurs, orfèvres, & jardiniers, & autres le toutes en faveure de ceux qui

s'*appliquerent aux beaux arts*', published at the Hague. The second enlarged edition was published in Amsterdam, in 1712, and is inscribed '*Ce vand Chez l'Auteur*'. It is significant that many of the designs which were engraved by Marot himself, are inscribed D. Marot '*Architecte de Guillaume III Roy d'Angleterre*', as it was only later in his career that Marot became responsible for architecture as such. It was after 1695, that the Trevesaal in the Binnenhof and De Voorst, Lord Albemarle's country house were actually built to his designs.¹³ The concept of the role of the architect as a designer of not only the shell of the building, but of every detail of the fixtures within and without, including clocks, tulip vases and even the tiles on the wall, was new to this country, and was to make an enormous impact on English decorative art, making itself felt in the work of William Kent, and ultimately in the work of Robert Adam. (Plate 92)

The first Montagu House was built for Ralph, Lord Montagu by Robert Hooke in the 1670's. It was planned round a court like a French hotel, with a gatehouse in the street wall, and opposite this a corps-de-logis with a square domed centre.¹⁴ Ralph Montagu had visited France on more than one occasion by this time, and obviously developed a taste for the French style. Abel Boyer, Ralph Montagu's Huguenot contemporary, describes the circumstances in which Montagu lived in the next decade. 'Upon the Lord Russel's being sacrificed to the Resentments of the Popish Cabal the Lord Montagu thought fit to avoid the Malignity of those Times and prudently retired to Montpellier in France, where he continued till the beginning of King James II Reign; but being by him divested of his Place of Master of the Great Wardrobe, he went back to Montpellier, where he continued until towards the end of that unfortunate reign'.¹⁵

Meanwhile Montagu House had been let to the Earl of Devonshire, and in 1686, was unfortunately burnt down. A law case ensued, Ralph Montagu lost, and had to rebuild at his own expense. However, it is significant that Ralph Montagu was in Montpellier at the time, as the new design for building Montagu House was given to a '*Monsieur Pouget*' by Colen Campbell in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715. It has recently been assumed that this ca. t be the sculptor Pierre Puget (1620-1694) who is known to have been at Marseilles, the nearest large city to

Montpellier, at that time.¹⁶ It is however certain that a design was supplied by a French architect. Vertue mentions that the house was designed by an architect brought over from France on purpose, and also notes that the decorative painter Jacques Rousseau acted as an assistant surveyor and designer for the building. More recently, a contemporary painting attributed to Mignard has come to light in a private collection in France, and it bears the inscription, 'Le Duc et la Duchesse de Montaigne arretant le plan de Montaigne house qui leur est presenté par un Architecte françois'. (Plate 93).¹⁷

Pierre Puget belonged to a family of architects which included his father François, his elder brothers Jean and Gaspard, and his son François. The figure in the painting certainly represents a younger man than the sculptor Pierre Puget who would have been sixty-six in 1686, and is more likely to represent his son François. However in 1687, Pierre Puget was still acting in the capacity of an architect, as he produced two alternative plans for the Place Royale, Marseilles. Furthermore, François Puget acted as manager for his father at the court of Louis XIV, between 1683 and 1688, accompanying both the Milon de Crotone in 1683, and the Perseus and Andromeda in 1685 to Paris. It is highly likely that François would have delivered his father's design to Ralph Montagu, and it is also likely that this intriguing painting was executed in Paris, where Mignard is known to have painted individual portraits of Ralph Montagu and his first wife, which hang at Boughton today. It is also possible that François Puget accompanied Ralph Montagu to London to supervise the building in Bloomsbury. This theory is reinforced by the fact that the French architect in Mignard's painting does bear a strong facial resemblance to members of the Puget family. Unfortunately no portrait of François Puget junior survives, but François' portrait of his father hangs in the Louvre, and a self portrait of Pierre Puget was recently on loan to the Museum of Aix-en-Provence.¹⁸

Montagu House was important to Ralph Montagu as a status symbol; by employing a new architect, Montagu was asserting his own triumph, despite the fact that he had lost the case against his former friend and colleague, the Earl of Devonshire. There is no evidence, however, that Montagu's country seat at Boughton was designed by a special architect, although the North front is French in inspiration and close to the 'Profil d'une

maison particulier de Paris', in Jean Marot's publication known as the 'Petit Marot' which appeared between 1654 and 1660.¹⁹ As John Cornforth suggested 'the translation of French motifs into English building is done with a certain hesitancy, as if the draughtsman was working from engravings, and had never seen the originals himself'.²⁰ It is probable that work on Boughton did not really get under way until King William III was firmly ensconced on the English throne in 1689, and Ralph Montagu had returned permanently from voluntary political exile in France.

Petworth formed part of the dowry of Lady Elizabeth Percy, daughter of Ralph Montagu's first wife, who married Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset in 1682. The rebuilding was begun in 1688, and the garden front originally had a central square dome in the French style. The motif of the central square dome has been compared to that on Marot's Wassenaar Hotel at the Hague,²¹ but this was built in 1715, and Daniel Marot's earliest recorded commission as an architect per se, is the Treversaal, the audience chamber of the States General in the Binnenhof at the Hague, which was built to Marot's plans in 1696-8. However, the motif of the square dome also occurred on both Montagu Houses (Plate 94), and it seems more probable that Charles, Duke of Somerset would have borrowed his father-in-law's French architect. If either Boughton or Petworth were designed by a French architect, Petworth seems the more likely, as it is architecturally more complex, with its central dome, and subtly placed pavilions. Some of the details have been shown to be close to Marot's published designs, but again, these were not in circulation until some fourteen years later, and it is likely that Marot would have used an architectural vocabulary derived from his French training and background, thus drawing on the same sources as the architect of Petworth, who, it is here suggested may well have been François Puget. It is significant that a bust of William III, in a niche on the outside of Petworth Town Hall has recently been ascribed to Honore Pelle, who was a pupil of Pierre Puget's. However, there is no reason why Daniel Marot could not have supplied designs for the interior decoration of Petworth. The bold bracketed frieze, the egg and dart moulding in the marble hall and the

semi-circular-topped-frames cutting into bold segmental pediments, recur in the Trevesaal, although work was begun in the hall in 1692, some two years before Marot's first known visit to England, the possibility that Marot may indeed have visited England before 1694, cannot yet be ruled out. Furthermore, a design for a ceiling in Marot's hand, thought to be for Hampton Court, survives in the Royal Institute of British Architects. (Plate 95).²²

It has already been mentioned that the elevation of Montagu House in the 1715 Vitruvius Britannicus claims that the architect was a Mr. Pouget, and this has led to an identification with a mysterious Mr. Boujet by whom three architectural drawings are known. They consist of designs for an overmantel incorporating the arms of George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington, which can be related to the overmantel which still survives in the hall at Dunham Massey (Plate 96)²³, and a design for the bas-relief of a pediment, which shows Minerva wearing a helmet, supporting a shield, flanked by five putti, who represent the arts, and at the same time support the Garter ribbon and Minerva's spear.²⁴ No attempt has yet been made to relate this design to any architectural commission; it is unlikely to be connected with Dunham Massey, as no major rebuilding was undertaken there till 1732, some thirty years after Boujet supplied the overmantel. Although it is probable that Boujet was still connected with Dunham Massey in 1711, the year in which an illuminated pedigree was drawn up for the second Earl of Warrington, in which the draughtsmanship bears a close resemblance to Boujet's other known drawings. (Plate 97)²⁵ The design for the pediment may be connected with one of the designs for the rebuilding of Whitehall Palace in 1699, or even for one of the Oxford or Cambridge Colleges which were rebuilt during this period.

Jean de Bodt (1670-1745), an architect whose presence in this country is often forgotten, was born in Paris of a German father from Mecklenberg, and a Huguenot mother, Rose Louvint de Veral. On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Bodt, like Marot, left France for Holland and the service of William III. A biography of Bodt which was communicated by his great granddaughter claimed that he immediately became 'Comptroller General' and 'Conducteur' of dams. However, Bodt would only have been fifteen at the time. The first certain record of Bodt's service in this capacity appears in 1690-1, when he is described as an engineer in the Artillery train that accompanied William III to Ireland. In April the next year Bodt received the same post in Flanders.

On February 23, 1694, Jean de Bodt received a warrant to 'enable him to perfect himself in the art of engineering'. Unfortunately, no definite works in the field of engineering can be attributed to Bodt, military engineering, being by its very nature, for temporary use. In October, 1697, Bodt returned to England. The earliest surviving architectural drawing by Bodt, for a new Whitehall Palace, probably dates from within a year of his return to this country, as the old palace was destroyed by fire in January, 1698. Bodt eventually took copies of this design with him to Dresden, as well as a 'Plan d'une maison des Invalides pour le Roy Guillaume'. It is probable that this latter drawing was an alternative design for Greenwich Hospital, which was never executed.²⁶

Ironically, the only building in this country with which Bodt's name is connected, that still stands today, was probably built to his designs after he left England for Berlin, where in 1700 he was named chief architect in succession to Gruneberg by the Elector of Brandenburg. The particular commission was a design for Wentworth Castle, Yorkshire the country home of Lord Raby, who was British Ambassador in Berlin from 1703 to 1711. The commission forms an interesting comparison with the more mysterious second Montagu House, as happily, much more documentation survives.²⁷

Lord Raby acquired the old 17th century house at Stainborough in 1708 from Henry Cutler for £14,000, and it would seem that Bodt's design dates from the same year, as the earliest recorded reference to the project is a very interesting and informative letter from Lord Raby's brother, written from Stainborough, March 15th, 1709, and sent to Lord Raby in Berlin. It aptly describes the circumstances in which the commission was conceived.²⁷

'Dear Brother. I went t'other day to make a visset to Lady Bathurst, where I mett my mother and she desire I wou'd show your plans she stood amased at it and said the least such a building cou'd cost inside and out wou'd be ten thousand pounds. There was Mr. Lang, the Parson who is her Oracle said he was sure t'would come to a great deal more. I confest my ignorance that I cou'd make no computation of the

matter; and I had heard of people that thought they had been pritty nice in those affairs found themselves ... drawn into double what they first thought of.

We wish you mony enough to finish such another wing, and long to enjoy it, tho' for some years shou'd it have no more than one, it might overlook little London for it stateliness, and make his Great Honour (Watson Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse) burst with envy and his Little Honour pine & die. Serious I think it will make as fine a show as any house in Yorkshire, I won't say as any in the North, for they say Lord Carlile's has already cost him above £40,000.'

Lord Raby had been disinherited in favour of his cousin Watson Wentworth, and hence Wentworth Castle was conceived in rivalry to Watson Wentworth's neighbouring seat Wentworth Woodhouse.²⁸ The importance of a country seat as a status symbol is made evident from this letter, indeed as Lord Bathurst wrote to Strafford in 1717, 'it is a very fine place to talk of in town, which I have heard say is the right use of a seat in the country'.²⁹ The comparison with Castle Howard is also of interest in that Strafford employed several craftsmen who also worked at Lord Carlisle's, most notably Daniel Harvey, almost certainly a Huguenot refugee, and William Thornton.

However, as is often the case, the name of the architect is not recorded in any of the contemporary correspondance, the earliest reference being in a letter from Horace Walpole to Richard Bentley, August 1756, in which Walpole describes the East wing as ' a pompous front screening an old house; it was built by the last Lord on a design of the Prussian architect Bott...the one pair of stairs is engrossed entirely by a gallry of 180 feet, on the plan of that in the Colonna Palace at Rome.'³⁰ Fortunately, however, two designs, one of the facade, and one of the interior of the gallery, originally in the collection of Francis St. John of Thorpe Hall, Peterborough, survive in the Victoria and Albert Msueum. The volume containing the section is inscribed 'Bt. at M.Talman's Sale Feb. 1725/26 £7.10s'. The elevation is inscribed in Bodt's hand in French, 'Elevation de la facade du Batiment neuf' and in a different hand, 'W.T. del et invt'.³¹ It has been suggested that these initials are evidence that the design is by William Talman, but it is more probable that William Talman was involved in supervising

the execution of Bodt's design, as there is no record that Bodt returned to England to supervise the project himself. Only one other surviving drawing a plan of the cellars, in the Sheffield Record Office bears a French inscription; 'Dessein & lettre de Thomas Thackray Aout 1714', and another, a plan and elevation for a garden pavilion is probably a copy of a Bodt original, as it is decidedly Franco-Prussian in flavour. Indeed, there is positive evidence that Bodt did not supervise the building himself. A letter from Lady Wentworth, 28th April 1709, records the fact that 'Mr. Benson is to loock after your buildin in Yorkshire', two years later, 22nd May, 1711, Peter Wentworth advises his brother 'When I was at the Duke of Shrewsbury's my Lord Scarborough was there and he was talking of his building and they did agree that there was no Building without a Surveyor..wch agrees with the advise Mr. Benson is always desiring to send you'.³² Mr. Benson lived at nearby Bramham Park, where William Talman has assisted with the building. It seems probable that both were connected with the building at Wentworth Castle, and it is probable that Thomas Archer and a certain Mr. Bromley were also involved. It is not surprising . . . therefore, to find that Jean de Bodt's design differs from the facade as executed, most notably in the basement storey, in which the rectangular arched top windows of the design have been omitted; and the windows of the ground floor are supported by twin overlapping doric pilasters, with a distinct entasis, their eccentric and daring shape is strongly reminiscent of Thomas Archer's known architectural work.³³

The facade is fifteen bays, not thirteen bays as in the design, the two end pavilions consist of two bays each, and the central bay contains three round topped windows, as opposed to the one central round topped window, flanked by two storeys of rectangular windows as in the design. (Plate 98). However, it is interesting to note that the decorative sculpture plays an important part in the articulation of both the design of the facade and the facade as executed. The extraordinary fine quality of the coat of arms supported by trumpeting angels, suitably representing Fame, and the garlands, point to Daniel Harvey as the craftsman, although there is no recorded payment for this work. The earliest record of Harvey's presence at Stainborough is the following contract, dated 29 May, 1720.

'Agreement between the Earl and Daniel Hervey, of York, for 4 Capitals, after ye Corinthian order, which are to be fitted in just proportion to 4 marble columns, which have been shown to the said Daniel; also 4 other capetals for 4 marble pilasters which are designed to be erected in the gallery of the said Earl's house of Stainborough Hall - to be worked out of Roche Abbey Stone in masterly workman-like manner. Daniel to find the stone, and deliver the capetals finished, before the last day of June ensuing for the sum of £50 for the eight capetals.'

It seems that Harvey had competition in that Griffiths, Strafford's agent at the time tried to secure the work for a London man. However, Harvey was still working at Stainborough in 1724 when '3 letters' for 'Mr. Harvey the carver at York' cost 2s and 4d³⁴

The section of the gallery as designed by Bodt was probably never carried out, although it is in itself a most interesting document as it shows Bodt acting in the French architectural tradition; like Marot, designing the whole scheme of decoration, including the painted ceiling and tapestries (Plate 99). The gallery was eventually executed to the designs of James Gibbs; although it seems probable that Bodt's design may have influenced the decorative scheme. An anonymous description in a contemporary diary, dated 11 September, 1724 reads as follows,

'My Lord has built a new front of 15 windows to an Old House 190 feet long, which is divided into 7 rooms below all finely carved well hung with Tapestry. the two upper Stories are all thrown into a Gallery 26 feet high 30 broad with two pavillions at each end divided by two nobl white pillars & pilasters the Shafts of which are above 14 feet high all in one piece of marble. There hung 8 fine pieces of PEUGENES Victories agt the Turks & French'³⁵

The gallery was probably just complete by September, 1724, for in 1725 Raby's cousin Lord Bathurst commented 'the gallery is a very magnificent room now the pillars are up'. It was not, however till 1762 that the South Front was completed to the designs of William, Earl of Strafford, and the encasing of the remains of an old seventeenth century house was accomplished.³⁶

A similar commission survives at Dyrham, Avon, where the Huguenot architect Samuel Hauduroy built a new facade onto a tudor house.³⁷ William Blathwayt inherited the estate by his marriage to the heiress Mary Wynter in 1686. Blathwayt immediately realised the necessity of rebuilding, and his appointment in 1692 as Secretary of State to William III marks the start of the building activities at Dyrham.

The name Hauduroy occurs in the Huguenot church registers, but Samuel Hauduroy is an elusive figure whose relationship to the decorative painter Mark Anthony Hauduroy has yet to be determined. Moreover, it is not known whether Samuel Hauduroy was also responsible for the decorative painting at Dyrham. or whether this was carried out by another member of the same family.³⁸

The evidence for Samuel Hauduroy's involvement in the design of the garden front at Dyrham (Plate 100) is primarily a series of letters, memoranda and designs, which still survive today, and are divided between Dyrham House where they can be seen in the so called 'Display Room', and the Gloucester County Record Office. One letter to Blathwayt's uncle Thomas Povey, complains of the treatment Hauduroy has received, and supports the theory that Blathwayt may have chosen Hauduroy 'because he was conscientious, penniless, and therefore cheap'.³⁹ As so little is known of Hauduroy, and the letter is unpublished, it is worth quoting in full.⁴⁰

'Je ne croy pas Monsieur qui soit besoin de vous faire / Un grand discours su tout ce que jay fait pour Monsieur / Bladthwayt tant pour la Campagne que J'ay fait / tout seul a dirham ou bien lorce que Jy ay ette en / Compagnie de Monsieur bladthwayt car pour la fois que / Jy ay ete moy seul on peut voir facilement par le pland / general que Jy ay fait sy Jay perdu le temp quay Jy ay / este ettant un pland d'une assy grande fatigue qui sen / peut voir veu que toute les proportions en sont prise avec toute l'exacititude imaginable. Et cett empland a garder / a toujours de plus Jaye escrit toute bel auteurs Et le penchan(t) / de la terre Et fait le dessein de la facace avec le pland de ce qui est execute a present Et tout cela pour la valeur / de six guinee car del dix que Monsieur Bladthwayt me / donna auparavant que de partir il m'en a coute quatre / pour les fraix du carosse Et de ma nourriture pour ce qui / est du voyage que Jay fait avec Monsieur blathewayt / il scait tres bien la fatigue que Jy ay eu a instruire / Et corriger les ouvrier a visiter avec luy tout les lieux / l'un apres l'autre et ecrire tout ce qu'il faloit faire / de plus J'ay fait les desseins de caping de la terrasse /

Un dessein de chambranle des fenestres quil faut adjouter / a la facade
 Et le pland de toute la maison attache / avec le pland des ecurie
 Jay fait de plus pour le / bon homme Jacob deux desseins pour le
 boissage des portes un dessein pour les trois grande fenestres du /
 bout de la hall avec un dessein en forme d'alcove / vous voyez pas
 tout cecy Monsieur. Sy lorsque Javoir / visite de Jour avec Monsieur
 bladhwait tous les androit ou il falloit faire des augmentation J'aurois
 / peu faire tant d'ouvrage sy Je ne mettois leve tout / les Jours
 deux heure devant le jour, Et me coucher tous / les jours passe minuit
 sy javois peu faire tout cecy / je ne dit rien qui ne soit vray et
 dont Monsieur / bladhwayt ne soit le temoins c'est pour quoy Je pries
 Monsieur bladhwayt de considerer tout ces choses / Et de croire que toute
 peine merite recompense / principalement quand on le fait avec autant
 dassiduite comme jay fait je croit Monsieur que cecy et asse pour
 vous instruire de tout.

Je suis Monsieur,

Votre tres humble serviteur,

S.hauduroy.

Hauduroy claims that he has already executed the facade and master plan for the price of six guineas, as four out of the ten guineas that Blathwayt paid him were spent on the cost of transport from London and the cost of food at Dyrham. Hauduroy also lists a design for the terrace coping, a design for the window frames on the facade, a plan of the whole house including a plan of the stables, and two designs for door panelling for Jacob. (This may refer to John Jacob, whose name appears in the accounts for 1693 for supplying tiles, and crops up again in the accounts for 1700/1 in connection with plasterer's work).⁴¹ Hauduroy also lists a design for the three large windows at the end of the hall, with one in the form of an alcove; the design for the latter still survives.

Hauduroy also mentions designs executed for Blathwayt in London. Perhaps one of the most revealing points in this letter is the effort which Hauduroy had to make to instruct and correct the workmen, and the long hours that the whole process involved. It must however, be remembered that this is a begging letter, and although Hauduroy was undoubtedly conscientious, he was bound to emphasize this.

It seems probable that this letter was written during Hauduroy's first visit to Dyrham. Another document lists further designs, and probably dates from a later, and possibly a second visit.

'Desseins que Jay fait pour Monsieur Bladthwayt du depuis je suis revenue de Dirham Cest a dire du temp quil a este en flandre et ceux que j'ay fait du depuis qu'il est revenue
Premierement trois plans pour les trois estages du pavillon, des coste des escuries.

Plus un dessein de Cheminee pour la Sale neufue.

Plus un dessein de lambrassement de la porte Et du reste qui sert d'Elevation Jusqua La Corniche de la ditte Salle. plus Un dessein de la Corniche de ladicte Salle qui regne tout autour.

Plus un dessein de cheminee pour le banquetin house.

Depuis le retour de Monsieur Bladthwayt de flandre Jay dessigne Un dessein de L'escalier de Milord Nottingham Un autre dessein ou les proportions dudit escalier sont dessigne en grand avec less proportions de Lescalier que Jay pride aupres de bichopGuates.

du depuis le retour de monsieur bladthwayt de dirham Jay dessigne un dessein de cheminee pour la salle du pavillion du cote de l'Eglise.

Plus deux plans de la facade de la maison ou sont dessigne toutes les partition que l'on y doit faire'.⁴²

Of these, the three plans for the pavilion survive; one design for a door is inscribed 'Porte de la Chambre du Conseil', this inscription has been crossed out, and an additional inscription in English reads 'Form of a Door etc'. It shows the penelling and decorative carving in the lintel above, and may well be one of the 'deux dessins pour le boissage des portes..pour le bon homme Jacob' referred to in the previous document.⁴³ However, the design includes 'la Corniche de la ditte Salle', and so could fit the later description of 'un dessein de lambrassement de la porte'. Neither designs for mantelpieces survive, but the most interesting of the extant designs are the four connected with the walnut staircase.

One, the design for the balustrade of the bottom flight of stairs, (Plate 101) is inscribed,

'Cette Rampe descalier Est plus solide / Et dessigne dans lordre d'architecture / Et pour le mode du temp c'est ce que l'on doit fuir (?) le plus qu il le peut car les modes ce changes Et jamais ceux ci'

The form of the baluster is close to that included in a design of three alternate balusters; the drawing is damaged and only two are shown. Both are inscribed with comments in Blathwayt's hand. The one with a concave moulding is inscribed 'this will harbor dust very much'; the other, close to the design of the balusters as executed is inscribed, 'I must confess I think this the best of the three.'

The reference 'J'ay dessigne un desseir de l'escalier de Milord Nottingham, Un autre dessigne ou les proportions dudit escalier sont dessigne en grand' suggests that Hauduroy had access to at least the original design for Lord Nottingham's staircase. Nottingham House London, was sold in June 1689 to William III as his winter residence and became Kensington Palace; there is no record that Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham acquired another London house to replace this, indeed his residence in Soho is recorded in the rate books. In 1694, however, Finch acquired the estate of Burley-on-the-Hill from the executors of the second Duke of Buckingham, and although John Lumley of Northampton (the architect of Ampthill Park) was involved by 1697, it has not yet been ascertained whether Lumley was responsible for the new designs. There is therefore a strong case for Hauduroy's having been responsible for the original design for the staircase at Burley, (Plate 102) It is surprisingly the most impressive feature of the interior, and does not lead to an important series of rooms, as at Dyrham. Although the actual form of the twisted balusters is completely different from those at Dyrham (ideal for harbouring dust), the form of the balustrade (Plate 103), most notably at the turning point at the top of the first flight; the angular abrupt and rather masculine way in which the hand rail straightens out before and after the corner before ascending again at a steep angle; the mouldings of the hand rail, and at the sides of the treads are almost identical, the main difference being the added support of scrolls and acanthus decoration under each protruding tread at Burley, where the structure of the staircase is visible from below, whereas at Dyrham it is masked by plain wooden panels. Although it seems most probable that Hauduroy supplied designs for both staircases; in each case, the carving was executed by different craftsmen; at Dyrham, Robert Barker was responsible, at Burley, a Mr. Gilbert.⁴⁴

Samuel Hauduroy produced designs which were executed by carpenters and masons, craftsmen in wood and stone. Such decorative features provide an essential part of an architectural ensemble and are often neglected. Even John Povey, Blathwayt's nephew commented on the fact that at Dyrham 'The Garden Front is admirable for the Decoration which are without much carving solid and yet no ways heavy'.⁴⁵ In this case, it is likely that Hauduroy provided the designs for the decorative volutes which support the balcony. Nadauld, the Huguenot carver and plasterer, produced his own designs for such work, even when working with such reputable architects as William Talman and Sir John Vanbrugh.

The name Nadauld occurs in the Huguenot registers in London, and a family pedigree is preserved in the library of the Huguenot Society of London. Nadauld is only recorded as having worked in the capacity of stone carver at Chatsworth and Castle Howard, but he may perhaps be identified with the Mr. Nadue who was paid for plastering work done in the Queen's Closet in the Water Gallery at Hampton Court in 1698.⁴⁶ Nadauld's first recorded payment at Chatsworth is dated April 28th, 1700. That summer Nadauld was paid £32.10s for carving 'Figures', only one, that of Cleopatra is specified, and that cost £22.0.0. Nadauld was paid a further £6.0.0 for 'Carving 2 Busto Heads set in the Neeches upon the Staircase before ye West front' and £6.4.6. for carving '41 foot superficial of Frost worke about the Grotto under the Staircase in the West Court' (at 2s a foot). By the next February, Nadauld had been paid £10 towards a figure of Amphitrite, and £20 for the chimney piece in the Gallery. Two corbels from this chimney piece now support an Indian Buddha in the lobby between the dining room and the Sculpture Gallery, and reveal Nadauld's characteristic auricular style in decorative ornament. Nadauld was still at Chatsworth in the summer of 1701, for in July, 3s was spent on 'thatching a shed for Mr. Nadauld the carver'. 'An Account of Worke done', by Nadauld at Chatsworth, dated 1703, includes all his work to date. Three figures in the Inner Court, Mars, Fortitude and Prudence of Roach Abby Stone (£36.0); an Antonius (£22); Two Rivers (£44), which are still to be seen on the canal (Plate 104); Nadauld was also paid for a 'Pharsis', 'Pallas' and 'The Muses', statues which were probably intended for the garden. The Pallas may be identified with the statue of that subject now in the walk by the

sea-horse fountain. Other sculpture by Nadauld included '2 Dolphins' for the Fathing Room, and the figure Fluvius, two dolphins and two vases for the cascade, which still adorn Thomas Archer's Cascade House.⁴⁷

Although Nadauld had had to share the credit for carving the ornaments on the West Front with Samuel Watson, the accounts firmly state that Nadauld was paid £50 for 'the Ornaments in the Great Frise'; £50 for 'carving the ornaments on each side the 2 Windows over the Entrance of the West Front': £7 for 'Carving 4 Ciphers and Coronetts upon 4 Keystones in ye Middle Windows of the West front'.⁴⁸ At Chatsworth six drawings in red chalk can be firmly attributed to Nadauld on stylistic grounds, by comparison with Samuel Watson's drawings, and by comparison with Nadauld's executed work both at Chatsworth and at Castle Howard. One drawing is directly connected to the 'ornaments on each side the 2 windows over the Entrance of the West Front'; another is closely related to the design of the 'Great Frise', both on the West Front at Chatsworth and on the South Front at Castle Howard, (Plates 105 and 106). Another drawing, representing two palm fronds flanking the cypher WC, crowned by an Earl's coronet, is connected with the same motive that occurs at intervals on the 'Great Frise' to the side of the Pediment on the West Front at Chatsworth. Nadauld was also paid for '6 vases for the West Front', and for 'Carving 22 heads for the two Gallerys in the Inner Court'.⁴⁹ These are probably the six centre vases which are still in situ on the cornice of the West Front. The twenty-two heads are now on the roof of the greenhouse east of the cascade. In 1704, Nadauld was paid another £24 'for carving two Figures for the Neeches in ye Staircase in ye West front', which are still in situ, and he was also paid for 'carving 94 foot of ffrost worke for ye Cascade at 3s, a total of £14.6.0. In 1706 Nadauld was paid £14 'on Account of his worke for the Coving of the Vestibule in 2 Summs'.⁵⁰ The exquisite plasterwork relief of sea-horses and acanthus foliage is perhaps one of Nadauld's supreme achievements. (Plate 107).

By 1705 'Mr. Nedos' features in the accounts at Castle Howard for 'Wood and Stone carving'. This included the 'Wood worke in my Lords appart', unhappily destroyed when Sir Thomas Robinson's new wing was built later in the century; and the 'Tritons and Lions', 'Trophees on the Returning Angles', 'Trophees in the North Metopes' all executed in stone. Mr. Nedos' next account, dated October, 1706

includes 'the friez in ye great Kirbb of ye Cupola', four key stonds just under ye sayd Kirbb', 'the freez inside the hall over ye Composit Order', and the 'freez of trophys outside ye main pt North front', and for 'Roses' under the arches and the lintel of the 'Dore of ye North front' and for 'Three Pine Apples.' ⁵¹

Nadauld was evidently working at Chatsworth and Castle Howard simultaneously. This is proved by a document headed 'Nadauld hal the carved work that I have done for the Rait honourable the Earle of Carlile at Henderskelfe since the 21 of June 1705 til the 15 December 1709', which includes the item 'foure little figures called the foure Sezons made at Chattworths'. This list includes various garden sculpture not mentioned in previous accounts, 'a figure called faune' and 'an hurne in the Raywood' to the East of the Castle. Nadauld also mentions 'a figure called Apollo' (Fig.108) for which he was paid £16, and which can be identified with the figure representing that subject at the end of the lime avenue on the South side of the Castle. This statue is supported on a pyramidical structure, decorated with very fine relief work, which can, on stylistic grounds, be attributed with certainty to Nadauld, most notably by comparison with 'the figure called Diana in the West front' which must have been moved to the East front when Thomas Robinson designed the new West wing, where it survives today. (Fig.109). The sporting goddess is represented accompanied by a dachshund, a dog originally bred for hunting purposes, and the bas-relief of the tree beside these figures, betrays identical stylistic features to the trees in relief on Apollo's pedestal, although in 1727-8 Daniel Harvey was paid £8 for 'Renewing apollo's Pedistall'.⁵²

Apollo is not the only free standing sculpture to survive by Nadauld at Castle Howard. '2 figure called Seres en Flora, a figure called Pallas upon the pediment' are still to be seen above the North facade. '4 figures called Vestales' are in the four niches on the North front, '8 heads or busts set upon the Corniche the Coppullo' are also still in situ, as are the '2 Medailles and Shefers in the South front dore' and the coat of arms in the pediment of the South front. Nadauld also charged £28 for 'figures called Seneco and Socrates' which may perhaps be identifiable with two statues in the front hall. Nadauld also supplied a Baccus, a Cicero and a Plato for £14 a piece, but attempts to identify these figures have not yet succeeded.⁵³

As at Chatsworth, a bevy of Huguenot craftsmen were employed at Castle Howard. Nadauld would have been working side by side with his compatriots Gedeon du Chesne and Daniel Harvey, who has already been mentioned in the context of Wentworth Castle. It is interesting to note that the carving in the Hall at Castle Howard embodies the work of all three craftsmen. Nadauld was paid £31 14s for 'the freeses over the Cappitals in the great hall' (141 foot at 4 shillings and 6 pens per foot); Mr. Tushaine (Gideon du Chesne) was paid for the 'upper sima of the composite cornich, the under sima reverst' and 'the Ovill or Eggs in the Beding mold' (a total of £21 4s 4d) and quotes for the 'ornament de la corniche du vestibule au desus du larmie'. Daniel Harvey charged for '16 scrowls for the Pelasters of the Cupola att 3s y peece'.⁵⁴

Daniel Harvey played an important part in the decoration of the Temple of the Four Winds; and supplied vases for the gardens, some of which were painted gold and green, possibly by Daniel's relation, Jean Harvey who also worked at Castle Howard as a decorative painter.⁵⁵ Gedeon du Chesne's work was limited to carving stone mouldings at Castle Howard although he was capable of woodwork and plasterwork, as his accounts at Boughton House reveal. Nadauld's contribution both at Castle Howard and at Chatsworth has been strongly emphasized, because as a sculptor or plasterer, he plays a vital and somewhat neglected part in enlivening the architecture of two of the greatest baroque houses in this country. If these facades could be imagined without this sculptural detail, the richness which the sculptor's work provides, they would seem empty and would provide a much quieter, more classical entertainment for the eye. (Plate 110)

Nadauld's work at Castle Howard as a sculptor in stone has been emphasized at the expence of the more delicate carving in wood. Another document described as 'Worck done since 1710' includes the items 'Carving the Corniche in the Sallon', 'Carveing the corniche in the dainain romme',⁵⁶ Whereas 'my Lord's apartments' which Nadauld is also known to have carved where destroyed to make way for the new West wing, the salon and diningroom can probably be identified with today's Tapestry Room and Music Room. The entry in the accounts for the 'dainain room' specifies '81 modillions' which are in evidence today; and the lion frieze in the Tapestry Room is close stylistically to Nadauld's drawings at Chatsworth.

Whereas in the first half of this period architects of Huguenot origin were involved in the spate of country house building and royal commissions that followed the Glorious Revolution, in the second half of the period architectural patronage is offered by new or growing public institutions, on the one hand, and the expanding merchant class on the other. As the new patrons and the change of architectural style offered less scope for originality, the publication of architectural treatises became increasingly significant.

In 1715, a certain Nicholas Dubois produced a translation of Giacomo Leoni's 'The Architecture of Andrea Palladio'. Dubois describes himself as 'Architect and one of his Majesty's Engineers', and throws rather interesting light on architectural employment at the time. 'As most of th se who undertake to build neglect to make any use of any Architect in order to raise a House .. and because they don't understand the Rules of an Art.. they frequently prefer their own fancies to the judgement of the most learned and experienced Architects; or at most they rely upon Workman, who are often very ignorant, & dare not find fault with any plan, tho' never so bad, for fear of displeasing and so losing their work'.⁵⁷

Nicholas Dubois' later association with the Huguenots Lewis Dolon, Charles du Bourgay, James Herault, and Stephen de la Creuse, reinforces the probability that he too was of Huguenot origin, and he is therefore included in this thesis.

On May 30th, 1718, 'Captain Nicholas Dubois of Leicester Fields in the Parish of St.Martin in the Fields..and Seignior Alexander Galilei of St. James' Parish..agreed to become copartners & joint dealers together in all Designs, Buildings, Architecture, Drawings, both Military and Civil, to commence from the Day of these presents and to be continued for the Terme of Five years from thence'.⁵⁸

Apart from Galilei's work 'for the Duke of Manchester at Kimbolton, and a possible association with the Duke of Chandos' house in Cavendish Square, the partnership does not seem to have attracted any major commissions, although between 1717 and 1720 Dubois was involved in the development of Hanover Square (Nos.19-21) of which only no.20 stands today.⁵⁹ In 1719, thanks to the influence of Thomas Hewitt, Surveyor of the King's Works, who had witnessed the contract between Dubois and Galilei, Dubois was appointed Master Mason in the Office of Works.⁶⁰ By 1720, Dubois had formulated the scheme to set up a Builder's Company with a monopoly of building in London granted by a Royal Charter or Patent. Dubois' motivation according to his defence at the Court of Chancery in 1721, was 'Considering the great number of new buildings which were daily erecting

in and about the city of London, and the necessity of rebuilding a great part of the city in a few years by reason that the houses which were rebuilt after the fire in the year 1666 had been built in hast & with indifferent materials and the great abuse and fraud of Common Builders and Workmen your Orator thought it might be for the advantage of the public to have a Company of Builders Established who by virtue of a Royal Charter or an Act of Parliament might be enabled to raise a sufficient fund of mony to buy Old houses in order to rebuild them. and to Build good and substantial houses upon neglected and unemployed ground, and to provide all sorts of good, proper and fitting materials for Solid Building.⁶⁰

In April, 1720 Dubois communicated the idea to Colonel Charles de Bourgay, and Lewis Dolon of St.James Westminster; James Herault of Twickenham, Stephen de la Creuse of St.Martin's in the Fields and James Horne (also of St.James, Westminster, who later became Dubois' personal assistant) and they decided that it would be 'proper to have some person of quality the head of the..Design', and with this in mind, Scroop, Duke of Bridgewater (who had subscribed to Leoni's 1715 Palladio and was Lord Chamberlain to the Princess of Wales) was approached and promised 'to give them all the assistance he could in procuring a patent or charter'. Bridgewater's brother, the Honble Charles Egerton also supported the project.⁶¹

Nicholas Dubois suggested that the Company should secure 'a considerable piece of Ground situate without Bishopsgate called Petty France' which was to be sold by auction. In order to secure the property, it was agreed that £1,500 should be paid for the necessary secret service in order to be sure of offering the best price, which was to be £4,000 with three hundred pounds ground rent. Bridgewater, Egerton, and Charles de Bourgay agreed to contribute £1000 each, Lewis Dolon, James Herault and Stephen la Creuze, and a certain Anthony Vezian contributed £500 each; Dubois and Horne 'proposed to contribute their labour and Industry for building upon & Improving the land'.⁶²

Dubois 'carefully surveyed' the ground and 'drew a plan or scheme of such houses, shops, stables, Coachhouses and other Buildings' and 'an estimate of the charge that would attend the execution of the design' and presented both to Bridgewater.⁶¹

However, the property had belonged to the City of London, and the purchase of the land turned out to be conditional to the covenant

that the owner should make use in his intended Buildings of the said citty's workmen'. Dubois pointed out that this was hard as 'he was by profession a Builder or an Architect himself and knew how to choose his own workmen',⁶¹ and Dubois was assured that the performance of such covenants was not always strictly required. However, the city authorities later complained that they were never fully paid for the property. By August 1720, Dubois had embarked on another project as he had 'undertaken to build sev'l large houses for several persons of quality upon new foundations near Hyde park' and Bridgewater felt 'the complainant would not have leisure to attend to the company's matters as he ought'.⁶¹ Bridgewater therefore recommended that the property at Petty France should be sold, partly as a result of the economic climate as it 'would not make that advantage of the sd purchase which he had before found to himself by Reason of the Great fall of stocks, and the Great Decay of public Credit'.⁶¹ 1720 was the year the South Sea Bubble burst.

Bridgewater, Egerton, Lewis Dolon and Anthony Vezian defended Dubois' Bill of Complaint, and all parties were acquitted from performing the agreement. The meetings of the company had taken place in Nicholas Dubois' house on the south side of Brewer Street, which Dubois had built himself, between December 1718 and May 1719. This house later became the only concert room of note in the West End during the 1740's and 1750's run by John Hickford, and it was here on May 13th, 1765 that Mozart aged nine gave his famous recital. It is possible that Dubois had built the large room at the back of the house which was used for this purpose.⁶³

Dubois was also involved in country houses, and his best known and most successful scheme was the circular and self-supporting staircase that he designed for the 1st Earl of Stanhope at Chevening, Kent. A manuscript note amongst the Stanhope papers, probably in the hand of the second Lady Stanhope suggests that this staircase was based on the staircase Dubois built in his own house at Brewer Street.⁶⁴

Nicholas Dubois also provided designs for Stanmer Park, Sussex, the seat of Henry Pelham, a cousin of the Duke of Newcastle. The property was acquired in 1721, and the total cost of rebuilding came to £14,200. Dubois also acted as Surveyor and was therefore paid at

the high rate of 6/, receiving a fee of £738. It is a plain brick house, with stone facings, which were taken from a nearby demolished house at Kenwards, with a low pediment on the main front. (The balustrade was added in the nineteenth century). Dubois also designed such interior features as chimney-pieces; Samuel Tufnell, the London mason, charged £28.0.0. 'for a Marble chimneypiece done in Torbay, White veine & Statuary Marble, with a carved head in the front according to a design given by the Surveyour.'⁶⁵

Correspondance between Dubois and his patron survives and is dated from 12 November, 1722 to 12 August, 1727. This shows that Dubois also produced designs for the garden 'one for Mrs. Grace for her intended Hermitage an Pools'; another 'represents the church at Stanmer & the churchyard walls as they were & as I propose to have them rebuilt, with the plan of the intended canal that has occasioned a dispute between the primat of Stanmer & me'. It seems that Dubois not only fell out with the local vicar, but also with the servants, whose 'behaviour towards me has hitherto been intolerable: the softest word they usually made use of in your Brothér's time, was the french son of a Bitch', Dubois complained and protested that he never 'acted contrary to the rules of a liberal Education, a man of Honour, an Old Officer to the King and a Gentleman born as I am'.⁶⁶

It was possibly through the influence of Thomas Pelham who had as the younger brother of Henry, succeeded to Stanmer, that Dubois received the commission to build a bridge at Lewes, Sussex in 1727. This was built with the assistance of Arthur Morris, the mason. The keystone of the arch is inscribed on the South side,

'PEVENSEY RAPES

N.DUBOIS SUVR

A.MORRIS

MASON

1727'

although the bridge was widened in 1932 (Plate 111)

Dubois died in 1735, the year before a public commission was set up to build a bridge at Westminster. The idea had been formulated as early as 1721, and Thornhill, Colen Campbell and John Vanbrugh produced designs in the 1720's.⁶⁷ The plan to bring the bill before Parliament was made in 1733, and Nicholas Hawksmoor produced plans in 1734, and was

joined by John Price and Batty Langley. Meanwhile, a committee appointed by the House of Commons in January 1736 to look into the possibility consulted Charles Labelye, Dr. Desaguliers and Captain Knowles as to the most suitable of five possible sites for the bridge. Both Charles Labelye and Dr. Desaguliers were of Huguenot origin, Labelye claimed that he had been in England for sixteen years, and must have arrived in 1720, although he is known to have visited Madrid in 1727-8. It seems that Labelye was a protégé of Dr. Desaguliers as the latter sponsored Labelye's membership of the French Masonic Lodge in Hemings Row in 1725 and in 'A Course of Experimental Philosophy', 1745, described Labelye as 'formerly my disciple and my Assistant'.⁶⁸ Labelye's first recorded connection with the project is dated 1733 when he supplied maps and surveys of the Thames at Westminster. In 1734, he assisted the elderly Hawksmoor with his design, and it was not until 1736, that Labelye produced a design in his own right. On May 10th, 1738, the commissioners decided to appoint Mr. Labelye 'to laying the foundations and conducting the Building of the piers, abutments and 69 superstructure of the said Bridge, and all the works relating thereto.'

Although very little is known of Labelye's previous experience, apart from his connection with Dr. Desaguliers Richard Walker suggests 'that he learned his profession of marine civil engineering in harbourworks and fen drainage', and certainly this would explain the suitability of his choice.⁷⁰ His reports 'Relating to the Improvement of the RIVER WEAR and PORT of SUNDERLAND', 1748 and 'The Result of a View of the Great Level of the Fens, taken at the Desire of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, etc. Governor, and the Gentlemen of the Corporation of the Fens, ' 1745, which were published during the building and completing of Westminster Bridge would confirm this training.

Initially opposition to Labelye's appointment was largely a matter of professional jealousy, and on the other hand Labelye was firmly supported by the commissioners, most notably the Earl of Pembroke with whom Labelye maintained a constant correspondance, and who even suggested improvements to Labelye's second and final design, for a stone bridge, and laid the first stone in January, 1739.⁷¹ It is interesting to note that in 1737, David Papillon, great grandson of the Huguenot architect and engineer of the same name (1581-1655) joined the

commissioners as a fairly regular attendant, and also became a member of the works committee in 1738.

Labelye also used the Huguenot engraver Fourdrinier, who produced prints of both Labelye's designs for Westminster Bridge. (Plate 18). Fourdrinier was also a stationer, who supplied Lord Pembroke, and whose shop was conveniently situated at the corner of Craggs Court, Charing Cross, and who specialized in architectural engraving.

However, the most significant contribution to Labelye's team, was the pile driving engine invented by the Huguenot watchmaker James Vauloué, which was immediately put into use for building the foundations. (Plate 112). Charles Labelye described Mr. James Vauloué as 'a very ingenious watchmaker of my Acquaintance, who has published a print of the Engine, with an Explanation; for which Reason it will be sufficient for me to mention, that having viewed the Model of that contrivance and calculated the Effect of such an Engine, I found that supposing the Ram or Weight to be 1700 lb and the Height of the Strokes at a Mean 20 Feet perpendicular the Engine would give about 48 Strokes per Hour, by the help of three Horses. This effect being much Superior to that of any of the Engines commonly used for that Purpose though it took a great deal of Time in making'.⁷³ An advertisement in Read's Weekly Journal, December 12th, 1738, announced, 'Curiously engraved on a Copper Plate by Mr. Toms after the drawing of Mr. Gravelot. A Perspective View of the Engine made use of for driving the Piles of the New Bridge at Westminster..to be had at Slaughter's Coffee House, and Mr. Harding's both on the Pavement in St. Martin's Lane.'⁷⁴ A copy of the engraving is in Sir John Soane's Museum, and a working model of the engine is in the Science Museum.

However, not all Labelye's Huguenot support was so useful. Charles Marquand, who was one of the contractors for building Brentford Bridge, Middlesex to Labelye's designs, was given the contract to cut off the piles at ten shillings each, providing his own tools, and retaining the longer poles for his own use. However, Marquand was 'seized with a violent fit of the Gout', for a month nothing happened, and then the contract

was cancelled. Marquand's excuse was that his servant in his absence had lighted a fire with the model of his device.⁷⁵

Apart from such minor delays, the building went smoothly until seventeen months before the bridge was formally opened. In November 1747 the last stone was laid by Lord Pembroke, but in May and June, 1747, the first signs of calamity appeared. The balustrade over the West 15' Pier was found to be out of alignment. In September 'One of the great stones, of several hundred weight, in the fifth arch fell..' into the water. By June 1748, the mean level was 2ft 11 ins below the two adjoining piers.⁷⁶

For the first time the commissioners disagreed with Labelye as Labelye later claimed, 'I received Order to unload the Pier and to proceed next to take down the two damaged Arches. This order was the first and only one that ever I received from the Commissioners, contrary to my judgement or opinion and which I obeyed, but I own not without some concern.'⁷⁷

However, the adjoining arches were dismantled and rebuilt, with a reversed arch over the pier itself in order to relieve some of the pressure, and the bridge was opened to traffic in 1750. Such an incident immediately produced a flow of bantering criticism and satire. Batty Langley published 'A Survey of Westminster Bridge As 'tis now sinking into Ruin' with a frontispiece in which 'Mr. Self-Sufficient' (Labelye) is shown hanging from a gibbet under one of his own arches. Popular ballads such as 'The Downfall of Westminster Bridge &c My Lord in the Suds', a jibe at Lord Pembroke were in circulation.⁷⁸

The result of this incident was that it had besmirched the reputation of such an ambitious project, and it was possibly to reestablish his reputation and to provide answers for the curious that Labelye published 'A Description of Westminster Bridge to which are added An Account of the Methods made use of in laying the Foundations of its Piers and An Answer to the chief objections that have been made thereto'. Labelye was not however, prepared to be drawn into a 'Paper War upon this or any other Account', but was motivated by principles that conform to the Huguenot ethic.

'It is the Duty of Man to do all the Good in his Power, and to contribute so far as his Abilities will permit to the Welfare of Posterity. I

thought it incumbent on me to communicate to others some of the Fruits of my Studies Join'd to above twenty years Practice and Observation'.

Labelye wrote this in the projected two volume edition of 'A Description of Westminster Bridge' which was included in the 1751 Description. The larger edition was never published for in 1751 'greatly afflicted with Asthma and unfit for Business', Labelye left England for Beziers in the South of France, and probably died in Paris some thirty years later.⁸⁰

It was possibly this lack of an authoritative treatise on bridges in English that prompted Stephen Riou to publish 'Short Principles for the Architecture of Stone Bridges with practical observations and a new geometrical diagram to determine the thickness of the Piers to the Height and Base of any given arch', in 1760. Stephen Riou was the son of a London Merchant of Huguenot origin.⁸¹ In his book, Riou refers to Westminster Bridge as 'a very magnificent stone bridge, which may have afforded much experience in the practical part to those who had the opportunities to attend upon this building. It is to be regretted, that the ingenious and honest gentleman, who was appointed over this work did not at the finishing of it publish all the particulars of the mechanism of this grand structure; in a manner he was capable of doing it, to the satisfaction of the curious.'⁸²

Stephen Riou supplied a design for Blackfriars Bridge which 'was delivered by a friend of mine to a person of eminence in the city since deceased; but I have reason to believe, that it was by him at once condemned to the obscurity of some dark corner.'⁸³ Blackfriars was built to the designs of John Gwynn in 1759.

The major bridge commission of this period went to the Huguenot Labelye and the serious publications on bridge building were written by Labelye and the Huguenot Stephen Riou (although Riou was quick to assert that he enjoyed 'the peculiar happiness to be born a subject of Britain'.) It is probable that this was due to a French training and practice; Riou claimed that 'the first of my studies in architecture was at a foreign protestant academy of note'.⁸⁴ It is significant that in 1736 after the passing of the Act for Westminster Bridge, Charles Marquand went to Paris with Captain Charles Knowles for the express purpose of gathering information from French engineers about the foundations of piers in deep water.⁸⁵

In 1720 the 'Corps des Ingenieurs des ponts et chaussées' was founded; Hubert Gautier and Bernard Forest de Belidor were the French authorities cited throughout the proceedings. A bridge over the Loire at Blois, completed in 1720, was also cited as an example. Thus the English looked to the French for authority in engineering. Samuel Smiles, author of the *Lives of the Engineers* as well as a book on the Huguenots, commented, 'We depended for our engineering, even more than we did for our pictures and music, upon foreigners'.⁸⁶

Like Dubois, Jean de Bodd, Riou's earliest training was with the army, and it was doubtless through military experience that he developed an interest in architecture and engineering. In 1746, Riou published 'The Elements of Fortification, Containing the Construction, Attack and Defence of Fortified Places, Regular and Irregular. Translated and Collected from the works of the most celebrated authors', which was dedicated to William, Duke of Cumberland. The frontispiece shows Minerva, Mars and Fame supporting a medallion of the Duke of Cumberland, and is not surprisingly, engraved by Fourdrinier. This publication was again inspired 'by the Scarcity of books in the english language which treat methodically of this art'⁸⁷ and many of the plates are derived from Vauban and Belidor. As the first authoritative treatment of this subject in English, Riou's book made a major contribution to military education.

Abraham Roumieu is another little known architect of Huguenot descent, who was working in the second half of this period. He was the son of John Roumieu, a London refiner.⁸⁸ Abraham Roumieu was apprenticed to Isaac Ware in 1748. An architectural book in the sale rooms in 1972 was inscribed 'Abraham Roumieu Architect 1756', but his only recorded work in this capacity was for the fourth Duke of Gordon in the 1760's.⁸⁸ Unexecuted designs for interior decoration which were intended for Gordon Castle are now in the Register House, Edinburgh, and are probably inspired by the work of the Adam brothers. Roumieu was the grandfather of the Victorian architect, Robert Lewis Roumieu (1814-77) who was responsible for building the French Hospital, Victoria Park, Hackney, amongst much else.

Although Ireland gained from the contribution of Huguenot goldsmiths, engravers, woodcarvers and draughtsmen, the contribution to

architecture was slight. However, it is quite possible that Richard Cassels(1690-1751), the leading architect of his day in Dublin, was of Huguenot origin, as he certainly had Huguenot connections, and the name occurs in the registers of the Portarlington and Dublin churches. Cassels married Anne Truphet of Lisburn, a niece of Louis Porie; the executors of Cassels' will were his wife and Peter Bernard; and the administration of his wife's effects was granted to Daniel Crommelin, a kinsman of the well known Lisburn linen weaver. It was through Cassels' Huguenot connections that he met Dr.Benjamin Mosse, who founded a lying-in hospital in St.George's Lane, Dublin in 1743.⁸⁹

The foundation stone of the new hospital was laid on July 9th, 1747, and a design was produced by Cassels, and as no bill has survived, it is possible that Cassels made no charge, although he died in 1751, and did not live to see the hospital's completion. However the most interesting and unusual feature of the hospital is the chapel which is decorated with exquisite stucco work by the mysterious Bartholomew Cramillion.

In August, 1755 Cramillion was engaged 'to execute the stucco-work which is to be done in the chapel pursuant to a draft made by the said Cramillion in the best Manner for the sum of three hundred guineas'.⁹⁰ The work was to be completed within thirteen months. The ceiling, a square 86', 30' high, consists of an octagonal cove, with four cartouche shells at the pendentives. At the centre of each of the larger octagonal sides four triangular coves, flanked by winged angel terms contain allegorical figures of Charity, Hope and Faith, and two tablets represent the ten commandments, these are supported by angel terms at the sides, and the heads of putti at the base.(Plate 113). At the corners the shell cartouches are supported on inverted C-scrolls, decorated with putti heads, from which are suspended garlands of roses and sunflowers(Plate 114). The terms supporting the corner cartouches carry inscriptions in gold letters on red ribbon, which from the corner to the left of the altar read, CHILDREN ARE COME TO BIRTH BUT THERE IS NOT STRENGTH TO BRING FORTH (Isaiah, XLIX, v.23); to the right of the altar, KINGS SHALL BE THY NURSING FATHERS AND QUEENS THY NURSING MOTHERS (Isaiah, XLIX.v.23); to the left of the entrance,

OUR SONS SHALL GROW UP AS THE YOUNG PLANTS AND OUR DAUGHTERS AS THE POLISHED CORNERS OF THE TEMPLE (Psalm CXLIV, v.12); and to the right of the entrance,
OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES AND SUCKLINGS HAS THOU PERFECTED PRAISE (St.Matthew XXI, v.16).

The ceiling was probably completed by December, 1757, as on the 29th of that month 'the said Bartholomew Cramillion covenants and agrees to execute the stucco-work of the Altar-piece in the Chapel of the Lying-in Hospital (according to a Plan and Draft made by him) to the best of his skill and ability..and that the same should be completely finished in six months from the date hereof for Hundred Guineas'.⁹¹

The altar consists of two putti supporting drapery in bundles which cascades from a centre semi-cupola decorated with lambrequin ornament, that shelters a lamb carrying a flag in its right hoof, which is in turn supported by a golden book from which hang seven seals. The book is supported by pairs of angels and cherub heads, which are seen against a background of scattered cloud, tinged slightly blue, and hence distinguishable from the putti and angels. Above, on the other side of the cupola, two putti heads support an olive branch in their inside wings. The original colours are remarkable, the drapery, a deep red-purple reveals a pale duck-egg blue reverse, decorated with gold leaf simulating rich embroidery. 20,000 leaves of gold were applied to this decorative scheme by the gilder John Hudson, even though the money Dr.Mosse intended to spend on gilding was cut down to two-thirds the original amount on his death in 1759.⁹² Although Cramillion finished his work on time, and by August, 1758 'the work was performed & accomplished to the well liking and satisfaction of Dr.Mosse and all beholders', it seems that Cramillion had to wait for payment. A memorial to the Governors praying for the payment of a balance due to him upon Dr. Mosse's death survives in Cramillion's own hand,
'That your memorialist being a stranger in this Kingdom would have left it long since, but waiting to get his just demand and having suffered gravely by his detention in this kingdom on account of the sail sum so due to him and having the most urgent occasion to go to his own country immediately, the delaying him longer will prove of the utmost disservice to him'.⁹³

Apart from a payment of £4 14s 9d on December 9th, 1757, 'for ornamenting the ceiling of a room in the gardens' of the Rotunda Hospital, no other stucco work by Cramillion is known. It seems that he either remained or returned to Dublin at a later date, as in 1772 he exhibited 'A sketch of a model for the statue of Dr. Lucas in a character called Love to his country', as a result of a competition which was won by Edward Smyth.⁹⁴

For the most part, craftsmen of this nature worked from the designs of architects. It has been shown that the Huguenot craftsmen, Nadauld, James Vauloué and Cramillion, worked to their own designs, and were thus able to compliment the work of the architect. Such craftsmen deserve to be distinguished in their own right.

The most significant Huguenot contribution to architecture in Great Britain lay in the field of engineering. As it was to France that the rest of Europe looked for authority in the fields of engineering and military fortifications, the French trained Huguenot engineers found acclaim in Britain and Ireland. The first generation Huguenot architects who worked in the French baroque style, Daniel Marot and Jean de Bodt were able to contribute to English Baroque architecture, but by 1715, the baroque style had ceded to a taste for the Italian-based Palladianism. By 1715 Daniel Marot and Jean de Bodt had settled in Holland and Dresden respectively, and Samuel Hauduroy was probably dead. In order to find employment, second generation Huguenot architects were forced to adopt the Palladian style. To conclude, Huguenot architects brought to Great Britain and Ireland their expertise, and were prepared to channel their talent into whatever style or commission was required.

THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO WOODWORK

With the restoration of Charles II, and the change over from Puritan to Continental taste, and renewed appreciation of high quality and elaborate goods, furniture was one of the first forms of art to undergo a dynamic change and from the 1660's onwards, important pieces were often made for the English court in France.¹ The royal State bed was the focal point of the court, from which the monarch received his most trusted ministers. No expense was spared, and in this context it is impossible to consider the art of the carver or cabinet maker without emphasizing the importance of the upholsterer, who was in a position of authority and often worked in conjunction with the cabinet maker.

Woodwork covers the whole range of household furniture; it is closely allied to architecture in providing interior decoration in the form of panelling, and staircases often of a fairly elaborate nature; and it includes vehicles for transport such as carriages and barges. It also includes carving used as decoration in houses and churches, often of a fairly elaborate nature, and it is probable that much of the carving that is anonymous and has formerly been attributed to Grinling Gibbons, is by hitherto undiscovered Huguenot craftsmen.

One such little known craftsman is James Tabary, who is recorded as a sculptor in Paris during the 1670's, and received relief through the Threadneedle Street Church in London, in February, 1681/2.² Later in 1682, James Tabary was admitted to the Franchise of Dublin as a French Protestant, and in 1685 another member of the same family, Louis, described as a sculptor, was also admitted.³ Louis and James Tabary may be related to the brothers Taborrie, who worked on the boiseries in the choir of the church of the minimes at Tours, although James Tabary is known to have come directly from Paris.⁴ This would certainly fit with the 'boiseries' which James Tabary had executed in the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, by 1686, which was consecrated on January 16th of that year by the Archbishop of Dublin, and dedicated to the memory of King Charles I Martyr.⁵

The boiseries consist of high Corinthian pilasters framing the East window, at the base of which panels carved in relief represent

symbols of faith, the anchor, and eucharistic ewer, and purity, the lily. An interesting panel to the right of the altar (Plate 115), which is in the shape of a doorway, with a segmental headed tympanum containing large putti heads, supporting trailing festoons of flowers is almost identical to plate 177 of the 'First Book of Architecture by Andrea Palladio Translated out of Italian with an Appendix Touching Doors & Windows by pr le Muet, Architect to the French King.' An English edition was published in London in 1683, but it is more probable that Tabary was familiar with the original French edition which came out in 1546. The exact function of this particular panel is obscure; it is rather extraordinary that a doorway should be imposed flat against the wall; possibly it was used to frame a painting, or further carving; possibly Tabary was following the pattern book without questioning the purpose of the design, Tabary was also responsible for the rails and altar table (Plate 116) both of which still survive, but felt that he was not sufficiently well paid for his trouble as the minutes of the Royal Hospital record,

'Whereas James Tabarick Carver sett forth in his Petition, that he was not allowed the full vallue of his worke in carving framing and setting up the Altar-piece. Rayle, Pannell and Table in the Chapell of the Hospitall it did appear by the Certificate of Mr. Robinson his Maty Surveyr that the said Altarpiece as it then was fixt was valued at two hundred and fifty pounds, wch he declaring to be the full value thereof, according to the best of his Judgement unlesse the said Tabarick should add other workes thereto which was intended Ordered that the said Two hundred and fifty pounds be allowed the said carver as the present worth of the said worke, and that if any other embellishment should be added hereafter, that the same shall be payd for according to the vallue thereof.'⁶

No other works by the Tabary brothers have yet come to light in Ireland or in England, but as mentioned above, there is a possibility that their work is hiding under the guise of one of the better known names such as Gibbons. Louis Tabary certainly returned to England as he entered the French Hospital in February, 1730/31.⁷

Some very fine carving in the York area which dates from the 1720's, points to the presence of a skilled craftsman working in the French tradition, and may well be the work of a Huguenot craftsman,

as there was a Huguenot community in York, although unfortunately, the records of the Huguenot church there no longer survive. Examples of this anonymous craftsman's work are the very fine carved oak reredos in Holy Trinity Church, Hull, and the fine panelling in the Chapel at Ribston Hall, near Knaresborough.⁸ Although there is no documentation that Daniel Harvey also worked in wood, his authorship is a possibility which should not be completely dismissed; such elements as tied symmetrical bunches of ribbons are also in evidence on the stone urns known to have been sculpted by Harvey in the gardens at Castle Howard. Another Huguenot craftsman in wood who worked in Yorkshire is Jonathan Godier, anglicized to Goodyear, who features in the Wentworth Castle accounts for October 1725 when he was paid £33.2.4 for joiner's work. A note in Hobson's Journal for 2 June, 1732 records that 'Jonathan Godier the Joyner died about a fortnight ago, at Doncaster; he killed himself with drinking, He did most of the Joyner work at Stainborough hall then servant to Mr. Thornton; as also the best Staircase at the Banks.'⁹

Although fifteen names of 'Menuisiers' are recorded in the records of the Huguenot churches in London alone, and eight names are recorded as carpenters, none of these names have yet been traced in contemporary accounts. Paradoxically however, the volumes of the Wren Society record names of French craftsmen, which do not occur in the Huguenot parish records. A certain Bernard Angier was paid £293.0.0 in 1685-6 'for Carpenterswork in building a Guard House for H.M.foote Officers and Soldkrs in Windsor Castle according to a contract made with him by the Officers of his Majesty's Works on behalfe of his Majesty'; Noel Ansell was paid for making molds for St. Paul's Cathedral in 1703-4; Simon Audney was paid for 'one third of carved worke done in the Church of St. George's Botolph Lane,' in 1695-6; perhaps most interesting of all, at a committee of the Commissioners of St. Paul's on Thursday, June 28th, 1688 'Monsr Derigner, a french carver, who was recommended by ye Rev. Mr. Wake to Sir Thos. Maries to be employed in this building be also recommended in ye name of the commissioners to ye Master Masons to be by some of them employed accordingly as soone as possible'.¹⁰

A Mr. Derignee is recorded as working in 1692 as a carver and gilder at Kensington Palace, when he was paid £20 for a large mirror, 10' long by 7' wide for the Queen's Closet, which was carved with figures and gilded. Derignee also supplied a frame with inner glass

'to put over the chimney in the said room carved with foliage and filtribus de Jessamy' for which he was paid £52. A Derignee is recorded as working in the French Royal Accounts in the capacity of a sculptor at Clagny, 1678-9; and on the stables at Versailles, 1680, and may well be identifiable with the Robert Derignee who worked at Kensington.¹¹

The roles of carpenter and the more demanding role of carver and gilder were combined to produce contemporary means of transport. The elaborate coach made for William III in the Hague to the designs of Daniel Marot in 1698 is now to be seen at Whitbreads in the City of London. (Plate 117). It was first used in its present capacity as the coach of the Speaker of the House of Commons by Charles Abbot, Speaker 1802-1817, who records a payment to Lord Redesdale of £1,060 for the State Coach built in 1701, and repaired in 1801.¹² The body of the coach is decorated with an assortment of decorative features typical of Marot's work. Two dogs at the base of the carriage are surmounted by a mace decorated with ribbons, the lower section of the coach is decorated with painted panels, and the outer window frames are surmounted by standing caryatid male figures, supporting the cornice. Shells, oak leaves, boar's heads, female masks and lambrequins make up the ornamental vocabulary with which it is embellished. The coachman's seat is supported by rampant lions at the rear, and resting above the main junctions of the wheel and cog are female figures representing the four seasons. Coaches of this date are rare, the lavish decoration in the form of ornamental carving is also to be found on the state beds of the period.

The other essential form of transport during this period was the barge, and the supreme surviving example is also a royal commission. In 1732, a barge was executed to the designs of William Kent for Frederick, Prince of Wales, and is now to be seen in the National Maritime Museum. The carver employed was James Richards, but it is interesting to note that the gilding was executed by the Huguenot Paul Petit, who charged a total of £259.10 for 'Gilding and Painting a Twelve Oared Barge' on July 8th of that year.¹³

Daniel Marot's influence as a designer in this country has already been stressed, but of all the fields which his designs covered, that of furniture was, arguably, the most significant. Marot's furniture designs were copied by both French and English craftsmen working in England and Holland, and his influence can even be seen in the furniture of William Kent.¹⁴ There is, however, little evidence that Marot actually supervised the execution of his furniture designs in this country, and it is significant that few original drawings by him survive, or have yet been identified.

One splendid exception is a drawing of a great 'Lit d'apparat' in Siena, which is quite close to the five representations of beds in Marot's 'Livre d'appartement', but does not directly relate to any one of these engravings, and is more likely to be a working drawing for one of Marot's patrons in Amsterdam or the Hague.¹⁵ A volume containing drawings which have been confidently attributed to Daniel Marot has recently come to light in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and this contains a design for the headboard of a bed, which, as it is in the same volume as the designs for the panels now at Boughton House, may well relate to an English commission, possibly for Ralph, Duke of Montagu.¹⁶ One such bed is that now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, from Melville House, Fife, which was made for George Melville, 1st Earl of Melville (Plate 118) and was possibly commissioned to celebrate his creation as such in 1690. The cornice is carved in openwork and decorated with six coronets; above the headboard the escutcheon bears his monogram C.M.G., and an Earl's coronet on either side. The coverlet is decorated with the same monogram in an escutcheon below a coronet, within an elaborate scrollwork design. The bed is covered with crimson velvet, lined with figured oyster coloured damask, and embroidered with silk braid. The upholsterer is thought to have been Francis Lapierre, the leading Huguenot upholsterer of the day.¹⁷

Other pieces of furniture which have been related to designs by Daniel Marot include a series of oak benches at Dunham Massey (Plate 119) and twelve chairs at Dyrham, although it has not been possible in either case to trace the names of the craftsmen responsible, it is probable that they were executed by French craftsmen in England.¹⁸ It is, however, interesting to note that Daniel Marot married Catherine Gole in 1694, the niece of Pierre Gole, the famous French ebeniste.¹⁹ Marot's father-in-law, Adrian Gole was also an ebeniste, and a third brother, Gerrit, was described as 'Menuisier en ebene'. So apart from his architectural training, Marot's closest ties were with cabinet-makers.

Although the Gole family originated from Bergen in Holland, three of four brothers settled in France, and the family was not exempted from persecution.²⁰ In 1685, Pierre Gole's son Corneille, was compelled to settle first in the Hague and later in London, where the baptisms of his sons Abraham, 1696 and Corneille Francois, 1701, are recorded in the registers of the Huguenot Church of Leicester Fields. It is significant that Madame Catherine Gole stood godmother to Corneille's son Abraham; and judging from the Huguenot habit of retaining the maiden name in marriage, this may well refer to Daniel Marot's wife, as they were known to be in England at this date.²¹ Thus Daniel Marot's first cousin was practising as a cabinet-maker in England during Daniel Marot's visit to this country, and whilst Marot's designs were in circulation.

Corneille Gole, following his father's example, gained the patronage of the King, William III. Pierre Gole's work was well known in this country. A table and gueridons representing summer and autumn, were probably presented by Louis XIV to Charles Sackville, ambassador in Paris 1669 and 1670, and have been confidently attributed to Pierre Gole and the sculptor Mathieu Lespagnandelle (a protestant who became a nouveau converti in 1686) and can still be seen at Knole today (Plate 120 and 121). The table top is decorated with marquetry of engraved brass on pewter, in the form of acanthus scrolls and floral motifs, an elaborate process, which probably explains why craftsmen known to have practised as cabinet-makers are recorded in the Huguenot parish records as 'Graveur', which one would normally translate as engraver.²²

One such craftsman is René Pelletier, who is described as 'graveur' in the registers of La Patente, Soho, for 1690.²³ At Boughton, the accounts

of 'Rene & Thomas Pelletier...carving and gilding work..done for His grace the late Duke of Montagu, from August 16th, 1689' onwards contain receipts for the years 1693, 1694, and 1698, and the following document quitting debt of accounts, which is dated 1712, and signed by both craftsmen explains their relation to Jean Pelletier, another cabinet-maker who also worked in England.

'Know all men by these presents that we René Pelletier of the parish of St.Martins in the Fields in the county of Middx Engraver and Thomas Pelletier of the parish of St.Pauli Covent Garden in the sd County of Middx Carver and Gilder - as joint or separte traders or as Executors of the last will and testament of Esther Pelletier our late mother devoted who was ex~~co~~^{co}rix of Jean Pelletier our late Father deceased'.²⁴

The earlier receipts at Boughton are signed by the father Jean Pelletier, who supplied amongst much else ' a large walnut tree Cabinet with abundance of drawers to it & shelves within the upper body for My Lord Monthermer's prints' in November, 1704 for £9.0.0. A centre table in the Second State Room at Boughton(Plate 122) has a fine engraved top, bearing Ralph Montagu's monogram and an Earl's coronet, and must therefore date from between 1689 and 1704. (Plate 123) It can therefore be confidently attributed to Jean Pelletier, although it is likely that he was assisted by his sons, and that the elaborate engraved top was the work of René Pelletier.

As Master of the King's wardrobe, Ralph Montagu was in a position to recommend craftsmen for Royal commissions, and it is therefore not surprising to find that Jean Pelletier's name also occurs in the Royal accounts. Pelletier combined with the carver Derignee, and his bill for 'burnished gold worcke done for the Queen's most excellent Maty. att Kensington October 26th, 1690 includes the items 'for gilding a screene' £8.0.0. and 'a great frame for ye greate Glass' £18.0.0.; and ' a frame for the glass over ye Chimney of the said closett' £4.0.0.²⁵ All these items occur in Derignee's bill for carving, which is dated 1690.

Whereas the Pelletiers specialized in carving in 'walnutree' and gilding, another renowned family of cabinet-makers, the Arbunots specialized in japanning. A Jacob Arbunot and a Philip Arbunot received denization in 1709, and in witnessing for each other were described as japanners.²⁶ A Jacob Arbunot, cabinet-maker, was to be found on the

South side of Longacre in 1709, and a craftsman of the same name had a lookingglass shop at the Royal Cabinet over against Church Court in the Strand in 1715 which he presumably shared with Philip, who is described as of the same address in 1716. The shop was burnt out and by 1727, the Arbunot's had left off trade.²⁶ A bill for work by Philip Arbunot at Drayton, dated July 2nd, 1702 consists of 'making up an Indian Chest of 27 yr owne boards and finding locks and Hindges and painting ye 2 ends £8.10.0.' In 1703-4, Philip Arbunot provided the Royal Household with 'two large sconces with Double Branches finely gilded being three foot deep scalloped diamond cutt and Engraved Embellished with Crimson and gold Mosaic works with Flowers on the Bodyes of the glass ' for £12.7.0.²⁸

It is interesting to note that when René Pelletier stood godfather in 1691, his co-godparent was Dlle Marie Arbunot, which suggests that the two families were close.²⁹ Huguenot craftsmen of the same trade obviously clubbed together; another instance of this occurs in the registers in connection with the Riorteau family. Jacques Riorteau is described as an ebeniste in the registers for the church of the Savoy, in 1705, and his shop was in Hog Lane opposite L'Eglise des Grecs,³⁰ his family is closely involved with that of Abraham Dorselle, described as 'ebenist en Longacre a L'enseigne de L'Ange' in the same year, at the same church, but unfortunately no evidence of Dorselle's work has yet come to light, but a James Riorto is recorded as working for Frederick, Prince of Wales in 1731. This may refer to the original James Riorteau, but as his eldest son was born in June, 1705, and also named Jacques, it could equally well refer to the son who at twenty-six, would have been capable of high quality work. The language of the bill is poor however, and it would be surprising if the younger James, had not absorbed more of the English language.

The account is of particular interest and worth quoting in full, for although it centres round 'an India screen', Riorto was also paid for decorating the room to house the screen,³¹

'1731 Apr. y 9

For loocking out an India screen too Days in the Citte £1.1.0.

For carrying Do to St.James to Shew it £0.5.0.

For carrying ditto home again to my house £0.5.0.

For making two packing cases for Do. £1.10.0.

For carrying Do to Que by Land and by Water £1.0.0.

For sawing and Prepairing a six leafe screen and finearing the Pannells with Do £20.0.0.

For painting the Old Panells in Coleurs and Speckling the borders £40.0.0.

For varnishing the Room in Green and Gilding the Plaine Moldeings £25.0.0.
 For foure large Pannells and too Narrow slips Grav'd and Painted to
 Imitate the other Pannells £25.0.0.

For Gilding the Plaister Cornish and Sealing £30.0.0.

Total £144.01.00.

Cabinet makers would employ turners and locksmiths for the accessories and it is therefore interesting to find that Pierre Pavie, who is described as ebeniste in the registers of La Patente de Soho, invites the 'serrurier' Samuel Marc to stand Godfather to his son Etienne in 1703, and is witness to the marriage of Jacques Marc 'serrurier' at the Church of Hungerford Market in 1701. Samuel Marc was employed by Ralph Montagu at Boughton, and at Montagu House; Jacques Marc, presumably a close relation, lived in White Lion Street, at the sign of the Cross Keys, and Pierre Pavie can be identified with the Monsr. Pavie who features in the accounts at Chatsworth, and was paid £10.0.0. for a clock case in 1695.³² A Mr. Pavie features in the accounts of Northumberland House for 1696, where he is paid £1.17.0. 'for making & gilding 4 drawers in his Grace's Cabinett to Put bookes in and some other work' for Northumberland House in 1696.³³ There was a cabinet maker of the same name working in Compton Street, Soho, in 1727.

Although it is interesting to find a Jacques Riorto working in 1731, there appears to be a lull in the supremacy of French cabinet makers during the decades 1730-1760, with the rise of Chippendale and John Linnell and craftsmen working to the designs of William Kent. However, two of the first members of the profession, working at the end of the 1750's may well be of Huguenot descent, Samuel Norman and Pierre Langlois. Norman(d) was a fairly common name amongst the Huguenot refugees in the 1680's and 1690's,³⁴ and a Jeanne Langlois from St. Lo, Normandy, described as '68ans veuve d'Ebeniste' was living in Church St., St. Anne's Soho, in 1718-20.³⁵

Samuel Norman worked at the Royal Tapestry Manufactory in Soho and in the late 1750's was employed at Woburn in the capacity of a modern interior decorator. Norman was responsible for painting and gilding woodwork, providing wall-hangings, blinds and curtains, and supplying seat furniture. Between 1760 and 1763, Norman supplied the 2nd Earl of Egremont with £1,250 worth of furniture.³⁶

Pierre Langlois is traditionally hailed as a Huguenot craftsman, but unfortunately there is no concrete evidence to substantiate that claim, although it is indeed possible that he was of Huguenot descent. Langlois specialized in floral marquetry, a style which had only recently evolved in Paris, and the earliest reference to his presence in this country occurs in the accounts of the 4th Duke of Bedford, April, 1759.³⁷ His trade card claims that at his workshop in Tottenham Court Road, near Windmill Street, Langlois 'makes all sorts of Fine Cabinets and Commodes inlaid in the Politest manner with Brass, & Tortoiseshell & likewise all rich Ornamental Clock Cases and Inlaid work mended with great Care Branch Chandelier and Lanthorns in Brass at the Lowest Prices.'³⁸ It is interesting to note that in 1771, Samuel Servient, goldsmith, entered the French Hospital, and gave his address as 'Tottenham Cort Road, ches Mr. Langlois Cabinet Maker'.³⁹ Pierre Langlois has been identified with Pierre Eloi Langlois in the past, a furniture dealer and cabinet-maker who was made Maitre Menuisier in Paris in 1774, a year in which Pierre Langlois was paying rates in London, but he may well be related to the Parisian dealer.

Although the cabinet maker often features as the supreme craftsmen in the field of furniture history, it was the upholsterer who commanded the most authority. According to the London Tradesman, 1747, 'The upholder or Upholsterer employs Journeymen in his own proper Calling, Cabinet Makers, Glass-Grinders, Looking-Glass Frame-Carvers, Carvers for Chairs, Testers and Posts of Bed, the Woolen-Draper, the Mercer, the Linen-Draper several Species of Smiths, and a vast many Tradesman of the other mechanic Branches'.⁴⁰ It is interesting that it was given to an upholsterer, James Gronous, to compile a full inventory of Montagu House and Ditton on the death of Ralph, Duke of Montagu in 1709, whereas Thomas Pelletier provided an inventory of pictures and furniture only.⁴¹

Upholsterer's work was expensive doubtless due partly to the high cost of the quality materials used. It is not surprising to find the names of the foremost upholsterers primarily in the accounts of eminent members of court or the Royal accounts, such as the accounts of the 2nd Duke of Dorset; the 1st Duke of Montagu or the 1st Duke of Devonshire.

Philip Guibert supplied William III in 1697 with 'a couch of carved walnuttree, the headboard carved with his Ma'ties cyphers and ornaments belonging to it' for £6; 'a fine black soffa - of a new fashion filled up with fine hair, and its cushion filled up with downe, the

freize and checks all molded and fringed' for £10.0.0.⁴² A similar combination of couch and daybed from the collection of the Duke of Leeds, are to be seen at Temple Newsam. The reference to 'Gilbert ye Joyner by my lady Duches's order' occurs in the papers of the Duke of Leeds for 9 November, 1703. Although various minor alterations have occurred in order to improve the appearance of the sofa and daybed (Plate 124) they provide an example of the richness of the combination of fringe, Genoa velvet, tassels, carving and gilding. Daniel Marot's 1712 book of designs included a pattern for a day bed somewhat similar to that at Temple Newsam; like the latter it is supported on hoop stretchers and was accompanied by stools. The inventory of Kiveton, the seat of the Duke of Leeds, in 1727 describes the furniture in the Great Drawing Room as '14 chairs & 2 stools frames Black & Gold covered with flowered velvet trim'd with guilt mouldings & serge cases, 1 large seat ditto' The Best Closet contained '1 large couch, 4 large sqr stools frames japan'd & black Gold cover'd with some Indian Sattin'.⁴³

The earliest reference to Francis Lapierre occurs in the Royal accounts, in 1689, 'For furnishing his Grace the Duke of Schomberg's Apartment at St. James'. Lapierre charged a total of £230,⁴⁴

'For the Hire of a Crimson Genoa Damask bed trimed with crimson, green and white silk fringe a Bedstead with a sacking bottome five foot & half broad a double rising Tester cornish top and bottom, two Quilts of dimity filled with fine flockes a feather bedd & boulder two pillowes & four blanketts six walnuttree armed chairs stuffed with curled hair and covered with red linnen. Six damask cases for the chaires & a Parragon Case for the bedd. Six false cases for the chairs a large Turkey carpet to lay under the Bedd & 4 pieces of Flaunders small figured Tapestry hangings another bedstead five foot broad sacking bottome with a sett of blew mohair curtains & vallance lined with Gold coloured Persian, a quilted counterpane wth silk fringes all round the Bedd of musk colour crimson & white & Dimity quilt a feather bed and boulder, & 3 blanketts, a black table Stand and looking glass Six cane chairs with six cushions a bedstead four foot broad, a sett of Paragon Curtaines with green white & sad coloured fringe all round with a quilt feather bed & boulders 3 Blanketts, 3 presse Bedsteads wt three feather Bedds boulder & 6 Blanketts three green ruggs a Doz of Turkey work chairs 18 Cane Chairs 3 large Tables to dine upon & six ordinary

Tables 2 bench Bedsteads with 2 feather bedds & 2 bouldsters 4 blankets & two rugs, three half headed bedsteads for the servants, with three matts, three feather bedds, boulder, three rugs & three pair of blanketts for twenty months time (viz.) from November 1688 to August 1690.'

The next year Lapierre supplied a large very fine Persian Carpet.. for her Majesty's service in the Gallery at Kensington' for £64.10.0. and in 1694-5 '5 peices of fine Tapestry hanging for Mr.Keppells Bedchamber at Windsor Castle for £236.05.00.

As well as working in the capacity of interior decorator and contractor for other craftsmen, Lapierre also practised as an upholsterer. Accounts survive for work of this nature at Boughton, Knole and Chatsworth. The accounts at Boughton are of particular interest as it is possible to relate Lapierre's accounts with those of the Pelletier family. Thus in April, 1706 Lapierre was paid for 'two square stools finely carved stuff'd with curled hair & covered with linnen at £1.5s' (£5.0.0.) and for 'covering the stools with crimson velvet & all embroidering them wth gold lace £4.0.0.'. In May of the same year, Pelletier was paid £5.0.0.'for gilding two square stools and two round ones for my lady Monthermer Closet at 25s a Stool'⁴⁵ Francis Lapierre's bill specifies that the items were for Montagu House, but it is possible that the two round stools in the Second State Room at Boughton were made by the same team of craftsmen.

The Chatsworth accounts record that in 1697, Francis Lapierre was paid in part of £470 for a Bed, at £6 a week, 17 paymts paid £102.0.0. The tester of the bed survives in the long gallery at Hardwick Hall, where it serves as a canopy. Lapierre also supplied a 'Christall Chandelier' in the same year for which he was paid £27.9.6.⁴⁶

At Knole, an account dated December 26th, 1694 includes the following items,

'For a easy Chear freame Japand Black stofed with corled hear & coverd with lynen & Making ye Chear & gilt Neiyle all round & a Coshing	£3.12.0.
For 8 large turkey skins ..to cover ye Chear	£3.12.0.
For making of ye Caas For ye Blue lethor chear	£0.3.0.
For 6 yds $\frac{1}{2}$ of Blue Serge to Make ye Caas at 2s 6d yd	£0.16.0.
For sewing silk & hooks & yes	£00.02.00.

In the following year, Lapierre supplied the Earl of Dorset with three pictures for £20.0.0.⁴⁷

Of all his patrons, Lapierre was closest to the Duke of Montagu, and a document survives at Boughton, which shows that Francis Lapierre

deposited £500 with Ralph Montagu 'in order to make provision for a marriage portion for Frances Lapierre', his daughter. The document is dated 1695; in June, 1702 an additional £1,000 was deposited for the same purpose. Frances Lapierre eventually married Joseph Boucher, tailor, but there seems to have been some complication over full payment of the dowry as the executors of Joseph Boucher's will, on his death in 1740, claimed a debt of £500 which was then due from the 2nd Duke's father. It is interesting to note that Joseph Boucher also worked for the Montagu family, and was responsible for providing 'mournings' for the 1st Duke's funeral in 1709.⁴⁸

At Drayton, Northamptonshire, where Lapierre's presence is also recorded, the fine state bed dates from 1701; the bedstead, tester, cornices, base mouldings, headboard and yellow taffeta were supplied by the upholsterer Guillotin of Castle Street, Soho. The outer curtains are of green velvet and decorated with floral embroidery, executed by Rebekah Dufee & Elizabeth Vickson, who signed a bargain on July 24, 1700 'for ye embroidery of ye bed they to find silks and all other things fitting for ye use at 22 shillings a yard, they having received six pound in hand'.⁴⁹ By January, 1701, 'Two grate curtanes' had been completed and a third was in hand. The embroidery, which is amongst the finest examples of early eighteenth century needlework in this country, also adorned a settee which survives in the King's Dining Room, and six armchairs.

Embroidery is one of the most difficult crafts to study, as so much has been destroyed, but it was of supreme importance as ornamentation and identification on upholstery and clothes. Other Huguenot embroiderers included Stephen Toulouse who was paid £110 in 1711 'For embroidering richly her Majesty's armes and supporters very large according to the Union all of gold and silver on Crimson figured velvett as also her Majesty's armes and supporters upon the foot Vallance and Cornice' of a 'Crimson figured velvett Canopy of State'. Toulouse was paid £50 in 1712 'For embroidering Richly with gold wyre upon Crimson velvet IHS and a Glory about it and the Four corners being for an altar cloth for her Majesty's Chapel at Hampton Court, and £21 by the commission of the Privy Seal for 'Embroidering richly a Purse with her Majesties arms' in 1717, and £160 for embroidering richly 2 Coats at £80 each for Sir John Vanbrugh

Kn Clarenceaux and Peter Le Neve Esq, Morry Kings of arms, and £19 for 4 orders of the garter for John, Duke of Montagu.⁵⁰ In July, 1731, John, Duke of Montagu paid £100 'to ye churchwardens of ye french Savoy for Stephn Toulouse decd' presumably for his funeral expences.⁵¹

Another embroideress who figures in contemporary accounts, was Mrs. Mary Gagneron who was working for James Brydges, Duke of Chandos between 1722 and 1727, and charged £27 6s for embroidering a coat, breeches, and a pair of stockings.

The Apprentice Bindings of the Upholders' Company in the Guildhall Library, which date from 1704 include the names of craftsmen already mentioned above, James Gronous; Philip Guibert, and others whose names have not yet been traced in contemporary accounts; Josiah Casimire, Isaac Nourtier, Isaac Descamps, Anthony Guidott, Edward Noys, Daniel Demee. The Descamps family are in evidence from 1714-1756,⁵² John and Peter of the same name also being masters of the trade. The records are of particular interest in that they show Huguenot apprentices coming from the provinces to serve their apprenticeship in London. Thus William Guidott, son of Richard Guidott of Southampton, becomes apprentice to Anthony Guidott in 1716 with the advantage of not having to pay a fee; and Paul Columbine, 'son of Francis Columbine, late of the city of Norwich, Physition,' is apprenticed to William Braithwaite in London in 1714. The Columbine family were pillars of support of the Huguenot church in Norwich, and it is interesting to note that a Paul Columbine and his man Kreyer were responsible for much of the stuffing and upholstery in the 170's at Holkham.⁵³ This may be the son of the Paul Columbine mentioned in the Apprenticeship lists of the Upholders' Company, but it does suggest that Paul Columbine returned to Norwich to practise his trade.

Although it has been shown that many of the Huguenot cabinet-makers specialized in particular aspects of their trade, one of the most common professions amongst the first and second generation Huguenot refugees was that of carving and gilding. Although this included frames for marble tables and even chimney-pieces, one of its most important aspects was the production of frames for pictures or for mirrors. Often, two men of the same craft would work together, one undertaking the carving, and the other the skilled process of gilding. One such example is the teamwork of Jean Pelletier and Robert

Derignee, and indeed Jean Pelletier and Francis Lapierre, where the latter was responsible for producing a carved object, probably made by yet another Huguenot carver, which was then gilded by Pelletier. The craft of gilding was in itself a separate profession, Rene Cousin and his assistant Peter Cousin were working at Whitehall, Hampton Court and Windsor in the 1680's as assistants to both Verrio and Grinling Gibbons in this capacity.⁵⁴ A gilder's role was to unite the different art forms of carving and decorative painting which were frequently seen in juxtaposition. Although under James II, Rene Cousin received payment for 'Repairing the Ends of the Picture frame in front of the Altar' in the Queen's Chapel at Windsor, there is only one other reference to his having worked as a carver; although a payment is recorded in the accounts at Petworth for 1690 to 'Mr. Cousine for a frame for the head of a man'.⁵⁵

In 1699-1700 Jean Pelletier was paid 'For carving and gilding 4 Frames for four marble Tables at £28 each', 'For carving and gilding the six pair of large stands at 30l a pair' and 'For mending 4 guilt Frames' (£4) at Hampton Court (Plate 125).⁵⁶ Pelletier's earliest account for Ralph Montagu consists solely of gilding. In 1690, Pelletier charged Montagu £1.2.0. 'For gilding Four Lyons paws for a large walnut tree press'; in 1691 £2.10s for 'gilding a scroll for a spring clock in Whitehall' and in 1693 'for gilding five large frames for five landscapes of Mr. Rousseau at £6.10 a frame'.⁵⁷ Pelletier's next bill for Montagu, which is contemporary with his work at Hampton Court, includes both carving and gilding. Pelletier provided pear-tree frames for 'The four evangelists' and the 'four landscapes of Poussin'; cut 'twelve Ebony frames new blacked & polished for the small heads of Vandyck' and practised different types of gilding according to the object to be treated. Thus in May 1706, Pelletier charged £120 'For gilding the body of a chariot and the carriage and for painting the ground green, for the Marchioness of Monthermer', and for gilding the great coach carriage & with a red ground' and in 1708 he charged £4 'For gilding a Dressing plate in Water gold! Pelletier was also prepared to help out with more banal features of the decoration such as carving 'four Capitals and the cornishes and Architrave for two doors under the Cloisters at Montagu House', for which he charged £5. and for carving two festoons that are over the two niches in the Room called the vestibule at Ditton for £5.10.0. It is interesting to note that Pelletier's erstwhile associate at Kensington, Robert Derignee was also employed by Montagu in 1707, when he was paid £10.0.0. for 'carver's work'.⁵⁸

Although it has not yet been possible to identify any of Pelletier's work in the field of picture frames, it is probable that the same classical moldings were used that are to be found on Pelletier's surviving furniture, which can be identified with more certainty. It is likely that this classical tradition in picture frames was carried on by the Gosset family, of which at least four members are known to have been active in this field. They were Matthew Gosset (1683-1744), and Jacob Gosset (1701-1788); Gedeon Gosset (1706-7-1785) and Isaac Gosset (1713-1799). The last three were sons of the Huguenot Jean Gosset, whose brother Matthew had settled in England as a wax modeller and taught his nephew, Isaac, the same trade.⁵⁹ Vertue commented that Isaac was 'at first practized to frame carving his original business' and that although 'he still undertakes carving for persons that are willing to pay him well for his labours'- he concentrated on wax modelling and 'sells each head in oval frames for one guinea apiece; he also has a brother that works, a framemaker'.⁶⁰ Vertue's statements can be proved, the Gosset brothers are recorded as working for Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter at Moulsham Hall, Essex in the capacity of carvers, although the Hall was unfortunately demolished in 1809, Jacob's subscription to Leoni's Alberti in 1726 suggests that he was interested in architectural work as well. However, the only account known for frames by Jacob Gosset occurs in the books of Frederick, Prince of Wales for 1736. Jacob Gosset received £231 for 'a carv'd & gilded frame for His Royll Highness pict att holength for the Duke of Dorset' £25.0.0. (now at Easton Neston); 'for another version of the same picture for the Prince's mistress, Mrs. Vane, which was probably more elaborate than the former as it cost £35.10.0. (now at Raby Castle) and 'a frame for a Child pict £21.0.0.'⁶² In the same month James Amiconi was paid for the portraits these frames contained, the 'Child picteur with Cupitts' can be identified with the portrait of Frederick, Prince of Wales with two putti holding a lyre and a symbol of eternity now at Buckingham Palace. It is probable that the other references to Gosset the framemaker which occur in this and the next decade refer to Jacob Gosset as opposed to Isaac Gosset who was ten years younger. Arthur Pond's note book in the British Museum contains the entries for 1736 'Gosset the Framemaker on account' and for 1737, February, £22 to Gossett for frames.⁶³ In 1748, Hogarth wrote to Lord Wyndham about the frame for 'Paul before Felix' which that patron had

commissioned for the Hall of Lincoln's Inn,

'I have enquired of Mr.Gosset, a Frame maker in Berwick Street about the price of one somewhat in the manner of the sketch below. he believes it may come to about 30 pound Guilt to about half as much unguilt and about five pounds less if my Lord Windham's arms are omitted. Frames may be carried up to a great expense, but he thinks one cannot be made in proportion to the picture for less'; a footnote adds

'I have removed the picture home again in hopes of making some improvements whilst the Frame is making.' The sketch at the base of the letter is annotated 'a Moulding of 11 or 12 inches broad with carving at the corners and in the middles' and 'my Lord Windham's armes if Judg'd proper'.⁶⁴ The Gosset in this letter may be identified with Jacob Isaac or Matthew. Only two works by Matthew Gosset are known today, they are of George II and Queen Caroline, and are in the Museum at Detroit. They are both contained in their original frames, which may well have been made for Matthew by Jacob Gosset.⁶⁵ However, as Vertue insists, Isaac Gosset continued to undertake frame-making for his artist friends, these included Thomas Gainsborough, William Hoare and Allan Ramsay. In 1763, Hoare wrote to the 2nd Earl of Egremont, that he had 'given orders to Mr.Gosset my Framemaker to wait on you, who will give you a Receipt for me'. Meanwhile Gosset had supplied 'a modell of ye Queene in a Rich frame for the use of Mr.William Hoare' for which he received four guineas. Vertue adds that Gosset's 'labours in carving can be managed under his care', and it seems that Gosset's artist friends took advantage of this. Thus it is no surprise to find William Hoare writing from Bath to Charles Yorke in London, 9th August, 1764 to say that 'Mr.Gosset has the account of the pictures I have had the pleasure to do for you & I will desire him to wait on you'. In another letter dated October 4th, 1764, William Hoare writes that Mr. Gosset has received the amount due and thanks him.

Similarly a letter from Ramsay to Richard Davenport, July 8th, 1767, encloses a bill for the frame for Ramsay's picture of M.Rousseau 'Mr. Davenport to Isaac Gosset of Daillain, For a three-quarter frame oiled gold £2.2.0.; and a case for ditto £0.6.0.' Whitley thought that Dallain was a mistake for London, however Dallain occurs in the family bible and probably refers to their place of origin in France.⁶⁶

It is an interesting reflection on the status of the artist by the mid eighteenth century, that it is left to the artist to negotiate with the frame maker, whereas it is evident from the accounts of the Pelletier family that the final decision as to the frame rested with the patron at the turn of the century. It is also of interest to note that Ramsay, Gainsborough and William Hoare evidently made a habit of going to Gosset for frames, whereas Joseph Goupy, John Wooton and George Knapton patronized Paul Petit and Thomas Hudson went to Joseph Duffour.

Both Paul Petit and Joseph Duffour produced frames of an exuberance which can only be described as the epitome of the short lived English rococo.

Paul Petit's name first occurs in the accounts of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1732, when, as has already been noted, he was paid for gilding the Royal Barge. Petit worked for this patron from 1732 to 1749, and the accounts include such items as gilding settees, stools, a couch, and a table frame in 'oyl Gold'; and 'for the woodwork and carving of a Chimneypiece the frize carv'd Apolloes head and Raised and festoons of fruite and flowers with other ornamts two Men opening off Chimy 2 to Cornish and 2 to pedestal over Cornish all Enrich'd put up at Carleton House £16.15.8.' The majority of Petit's work consisted of picture frames and happily a number of these are still identifiable.

In 1742, Paul Petit charged £21.0.0. 'For a Rich picture frame carved with birds Richly ornamented neatly repair'd and Gilt in burnished Gold to a picture of His Royal Highness painted by Mr. Woutton.' The painting shows Frederick, Prince of Wales and John Spencer (1708-46) and Charles Douglas, 3rd Duke of Queensberry (1698-1778) engaged in shooting, and the frame was evidently conceived as an extension to the subject of the painting.⁶⁷ Surmounted by the Prince of Wales' three feathers, which emanate from a head band on a dog mask, the frame is ornamented with C-scrolls attached to lambrequin ornament, and oak leaves, but is highlighted by two birds carved upside down at the top of the frame, and at the base by a live bird happily perched on another dead bird, the outcome of a good shoot. At the base two eager dogs' heads are thrust from the corners towards the picture, and the sides of the frame are punctuated by the traditional hunting weapons, bows and arrows to the right, a dagger and drinking flask to the left. Thus the imagery of the frame is dictated by the subject of the painting, and the frame

serves as a three dimensional extension to a two dimensional work of art. Petit produced frames for Wootton's pictures of 'Lisle and Tourney' in the next year (both paintings are now in St. James' Palace.)⁶⁸ Eight years previously,⁶⁸ Wootton's painting of 'Frederick, Prince of Wales in the Hunting Field', which was painted with the assistance of William Hogarth, was framed by the other great rococo craftsman of Huguenot descent, Joseph Duffour.⁶⁹

Amongst Petit's most elaborate frames, the description of the 'large picture frame richley carved with the Prince's Crest at top with Cornicopies pouring out Orders and several Medals, neatly carv'd with sevll emblems of arts and Sciences, Richley ornamented neatly repair'd and Gilt In Burnish'd Gold in the Best manner' was sent to Dublin College in 1747 and cost £197.9.6. Another, 'a picture frame Richley carved with a Eagle and Sceptre at top with two Savages supporters Standards in their hand and Trophies of warr and richly ornamented neatly repair'd and Gilt in Burnish Gold in the Best Manner' cost £150.10.0. in 1748.⁷⁰

The only example of Petit's work which has been identified and is within easy access of the public is in the Primary Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum and surrounds Knapton's portrait of the Prince as a child (Plate 126)

In 1739, Petit's account for the Prince of Wales includes the name of an assistant Henry Joris.⁷¹ It is tempting to suggest that this may be the Henry Jouret who practised as a Picture Frame Maker in Grafton Street, Soho, in about 1760, and was to be found at the Gold Frame, the Middle of Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, ten years later.⁷² It is most likely that, if not the same craftsmen, at least both were of Huguenot origin.

Joseph Duffour appears only twice in the accounts of Frederick Prince of Wales. In 1737, he was paid for 'a frame for a Pickture of liberality & Modesty £7.7s' and for '12 Frames for pictures of Cupid & Psyche', he also provided 'fine glass plates' for the thirteen pictures, and received a total of £97.7.0.⁷³ In 1738, his name occurs in the accounts of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, in which he receives £8.6.0. 'for Earving work'. In 1745/6 he was paid £10.1.0. by Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, and in 1751-3 his name occurs in Thomas Hudson's Bank Ledgers and in the accounts of the 2nd Earl of Egremont at Petworth, as well as in the 2nd Earl's bank account at Drummonds in 1757.⁷⁴ In 1762,

the Goldsmiths' Company paid Duffour for gilding the frame to Thomas Hudson's Benn's Club of Aldermen, which had been commissioned by the company, and as the surviving references to the framing of Hudson's pictures are all to Duffour, the original gilt frame that surrounds the great Gopsall portrait of Handel, painted by Hudson in 1756 has been plausibly attributed to that frame maker (Plate 127).⁷⁵ The frame is less exuberant than Petit's masterpieces, but the daring way in which the violin bow is held in place by the ribbon tying the trophy of instruments together at the top of the frame, and the appropriate folios of music held together in a laurel crown at the base, serve as an appropriate extension to the elderly, blind, great musician, who is placed rather formally in the centre of the painting, a copy of the Messiah open in front of him.

Whereas the Gopsall frame is carved of wood, Duffour's trade card, decorated with scrolls, birds and flowers, claimed that he was the 'original Maker of Papier Mache',⁷⁶ although his compatriot Peter Babel was practising as a papier mache frames and ornaments maker in St. James' Street, Longacre by 1763.⁷⁷

Although papier mache was produced as a cheaper and more convenient alternative, the traditional carver and gilder was still in demand. Simon Hennekin, a carver and gilder in Edward Street, opposite Broad Street, Soho, who designed his own trade card, advertised, 'Frames of all sorts made in the neatest taste', and by 1763 he was 'eminent for making laymen for painters';⁷⁸ Daniel Bernardeau was described as a hardwood turner & oval frame maker' in St. Martin's Court, near Leicester Fields, c.1750; Morin, another carver and gilder, lived in Old Belton Street, facing Brownlow Street, St. Giles in 1748, to name a few obviously Huguenot names.⁷⁹ Samuel Norman, who has already been mentioned, provided the 2nd Earl of Egremont with '2 very rich and large Picture frames in the French taste to match an old one' for Egremont House, Piccadilly, between 1760 and 1763.⁸⁰

It is difficult to reconstruct the wealth of designs and possibilities that were available in the form of frames. It is probable that these carvers and gilders had their own pattern books from which a patron or an artist could choose a design. Thus when Daniel Fare (possibly connected to Duffour) of Queen Street, Picture frame maker appeared before the Committee of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1734, he produced 'several patterns of picture Frames and they ordered him

To conclude, the published designs of Daniel Marot were the most influential Huguenot contribution to the field of woodwork during this period. The designs covered the whole range of woodcarving, tables, chairs, coaches, clockcases, picture and mirror frames, and designs for upholstery. The designs circulated widely, and remained in craftsmen's workshops for many years as a constant source of inspiration. It is therefore no surprise to find elements of Marot's ornamental vocabulary in the furniture designs of William Kent, some thirty years after Marot's designs were first published. Many of the first generation Huguenot craftsmen in wood worked closely to Marot's designs. Of these craftsmen, the Huguenot upholsterer Francis Lapierre made the most significant contribution. He was the first upholsterer, resident in London, to practise the art of French baroque upholstery, and it was as a result of the combination of Daniel Marot's designs and Lapierre's craftsmanship and organization, that the baroque state bed was introduced as a centrepiece, and became requisite for every stately home.

As in the other artistic fields in which the Huguenot craftsmen excelled, the second generation craftsmen in wood were forced to adopt the rococo style then in fashion. Once again, their technical mastery gave them an immediate advantage over native craftsmen. James Duffour, James Pascall and Paul Petit were the first craftsmen in Great Britain to produce elaborate rococo gilded carving. Like their contemporaries, the silversmith, Paul de Lamerie and the sculptor, Louis François Roubiliac, they were also responsible for spreading the new style. Duffour, Pascall and Petit were also responsible for the development of the picture frame, which became a work of art in its own right. The theme of the decorative carving was chosen to complement the subject of the painting the frame was intended to surround. This resulted in some of the most exciting decorative carving produced in mid-eighteenth century England.

In addition to these two areas of particular Huguenot contribution, considerable significance should be attached to the individual craftsmen, such as Godier and the Tabarys, who settled in the provinces, in York and Dublin respectively, and maintained their high standard of craftsmanship, even if their style was outdated. Such craftsmen provided an example for the natives to follow, thus indirectly raising the standards of local craftsmanship.

to make three very handsome carved & gilt Frames for the pictures of
 Sr Hugh Middleton, Sir Martin Bowes, & Sir Thos.Vyner.'⁸¹

One such pattern book survives in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and belonged to Gideon Saint, Carver and Gilder at the Golden Head in Princes Street near Leicester Fields, who according to the trade card included in the volume (Plate 128), 'MAKES all sorts of Sconces, Girandoles, Chandeliers, Brackets, Tables, Chimney-pieces, Picture Frames etc in the best and most Reasonable manner.' In 1743, Saint was apprenticed to Jacob Touzey of St.Martin's in the Fields Carver, who was also doubtless of Huguenot origin. Twenty years later Saint had set himself up as a carver and gilder in Soho. The pattern book takes the form of a scrap book, divided into twelve sections labelled, brackets, shields & Odd ornaments, ceilings, Signs and other Outworks, Stands & Clock Cases, Mouldings, Girandoles, Tables and Slabbs, Ornament for Chimneys. The entries consist of cut outs from English and French pattern books, the latest identifiable prints are of 1758, and were probably collected during Saint's training as a Journeyman. They are taken from such familiar works as Pierre Le Pautre, Nicholas Pineau, Boulle, Thomas Johnson and Mathias Lock, although all names and other inscriptions have been cut off. This selection of engraved and etched prints is reinforced by drawings in pencil, ink, wash and red chalk, which were either pasted in the book, or made directly onto the pages of the scrapbook. The only signed drawing by Gedeon Saint is a copy of the title page to Mathias Lock's 'A New Drawing Book of Ornaments', 1740 (inscribed no.61 in pencil, 19 x 12.9 cms); to the left on the same page (Plate 129) a drawing in ink, 18.4 x 12.9, is taken from the second plate of the same source. Both drawings are included under the mirrors section of the scrapbook, Another typical page from the section Girandoles includes two etchings (Nos 702 and 706) from Thomas Johnson's collection of designs, and three etchings from unknown pattern books, and a pencil drawing done straight⁸² into the book by Gedeon Saint.

Although paradoxically, and partly because of its catholic nature the scrapbook has not really assisted in identifying any surviving carving by Gedeon Saint, it is only after perusing such a compilation of available designs that one can grasp the variety and wealth of furniture in the widest sense of the word, that was available to the eighteenth century patron.

....

THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO PORCELAIN

Daniel Marot is the earliest of 'the Huguenot Frenchmen or Flemings who played such a large part in the early history of English Porcelain',¹ and although Daniel Marot's designs for porcelain were not executed in this country, the fact that his architectural designs and furniture designs were executed, created a demand for the porcelain which was being produced to Marot's designs at Delft. Thus the surviving examples of this Delft are to be found in houses built or rebuilt after the Glorious Revolution in 1688, such as Hampton Court, Chatsworth, Dyrham, and Uppark.²

The most renowned collection of such porcelain was to be seen in the Queen's Water Gallery at Hampton Court, an old tudor building converted for the Queen's use. It is probable that the bill due to 'Adrianus Koex of Delft for Durch China or Ware sent to her late Majty the sume of Thirteen Hundred and Fifty Gilders 3 Styvers' (£122 4s 9d) was for this building. The Gallery had been destroyed by 1700, but the decorative scheme consisted of wall tiles, over a dozen of which survive; and tableware, of which a large blue and gold cream bowl is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is probable that Koex also supplied ornamental objects for the Palace itself, such as the tall tulip vases which can still be seen today at Dyrham and Chatsworth. One particularly majestic urn survives at Erddig; it is decorated with the Royal Arms on one side, and the monogram RWMR on the other. Tiles also survive at Het Loo, William's country seat in Holland, originally forming part of the decoration of the 'candied fruit cellar' which was begun in 1686.³

It is not surprising that William Blathwayt, who acted as Secretary of State to William III from 1692 to 1701, and accompanied the King on his campaigns to the Low Countries against the French, and the 4th Earl of Devonshire, who also accompanied King William abroad, should have acquired the same taste. There are still more than forty pieces of Delft earthenware at Dyrham, of which more than half are marked A.K., and the pieces include, basins, baskets, dishes, vases, bottles, bowls and sweetmeat trays, as well as the more lavish pyramidical flower vases and urns.⁴ Even the latter performed a utilitarian as well as a decorative function. Each of the bulbous openings is in fact a self-contained compartment designed to hold water for the benefit of the flower it supports. The urns contained decorative trees and were positioned in the fireplaces during the summer months, as is

shown in the frontispiece to Daniel Marot's second 'Livre d'Appartements'. The example from Chatsworth (Plate 130) is supported on lion paw feet, and painted with the virtues, Prudence, Faith, Fortitude, Hope, Justice and Charity, in separate round topped compartments on the bottom tier, and supports a further seven tiers, each containing six nozzles for flowers.⁵

It is interesting to note that it may well have been Daniel Marot who negotiated on behalf of the patron for the items still to be seen at these country houses. When the taste for Dutch Delft appears to have waned in about 1704, such china as was used in England was exported from the East, and supplied by cabinet-makers such as Philip Arbunot who was paid £4.3.0. in May, 1703 for '3qr of china bottles and 4 Cream Basons', or dealers such as Peter Motteux, who supplied China and Japan wares, Tea Fans, at the sign of the two Fans near the Old East India House, during Queen Anne's reign.⁶

^{e1} The earliest known reference to a 'China' manufactory in this country occurs in the letters of Earl Cowper for 1728. A letter to his sister from Derby, dated September 22nd, records, 'I have bespoke a set of china from the Man who makes it here in England'.⁷ Apart from this there is no other certain reference to the manufacture of china in this country until the setting up of the Bow and Chelsea manufactories in 1744 and 1745 respectively, and the products which were then produced were very different in style and function from the Dutch Delft. The period 1704-1728 was dominated by the large number of gifted silversmiths working in this country, many of them being Huguenot refugees, and also saw the production of exquisite work in materials such as ivory and horn. Items such as snuff boxes, toys and fans, which could be made by any of these craftsmen, were to be had at the jeweller's shop, who by the very nature of his profession would have been in contact with ivory turners, goldsmiths and watchmakers. It is probable that these craftsmen were responsible for creating a taste which was later able to appreciate similar objects made at the Chelsea and Derby manufactories in the 1740's and 1750's. It is significant that these factories were from the outset controlled by craftsmen whose initial experience had been in the professions of silver and jewelry.

The obvious prototypes for tableware produced by these manufactories, were silver vessels; the prototypes for the figures, lay in European sculpture which was often produced in miniature by the sculptors themselves in the form of bronzes or terracotta models; or was copied from terracottas, bronzes or engravings by wax modellers or ivory turners.

The most 'Ingenious Man for Carving in Ivory',⁸ in the words of his contemporary, George Vertue, was David Le Marchand, who came from Dieppe and is thought to be the son of Guillaume Le Marchand, who painted a Nativity and a Christ Crucified for the Eglise St. Jacques and the Couvent des Minimes, Dieppe, in the first decade of the eighteenth century.⁹ It is probable that Le Marchand's earliest work in ivory, the base relief of the 'Miracle of the Man with a Withered Hand', at the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff and the Christ on the Cross, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum were executed in the family tradition of History painting. Dieppe was well known for its craftsmen in ivory, as the material was imported direct from Africa.¹⁰

The range of wares that could be acquired at the workshop of an ivoirier in Dieppe is indicated by the following advertisement preserved in the Museum at Dieppe,

'Antoine Belleteste demeurant à Dieppe, Grand'rue, la boutique à côté de la place Royale fait et vend toutes sortes de curiosites et decoupe à la scie; tabatieres a Jour et autres tabatieres travaillées de toutes façons; navettes pour les dames; couteaux cure oreilles, paniers, moulinets et trompettes, crucifix, communes et autres, crucifix bien finis de toutes grandeurs, figures saintes montées sur des pedestaux et autres figures pour garnir les cheminées; toutes sortes d'eventails decoupés et sculptés de toutes façons, tabatieres à tell s armes et chiffres que l'on veut; billes et billard, cornets, dës pour le trictrac, jeux d'échecs et domino; et generalement tout ce qui se fait en ivoire, en os et en cocco, à prix raisonable'¹⁰

It is reasonable to assume that David Le Marchand produced an equivalent range of objects, and it is highly probable Le Marchand, and the other Huguenot ivory turners supplied the jewellers' shops of their fellow Huguenots. It is of interest to note that a D. Marchand, is a witness at the marriage of the Jeweller Antoine Planck and Marie du Barri, at the Huguenot Church in Swallow Street, 1704/5.¹¹ Unfortunately, Le Marchand's contribution to the more banal aspects of the ivory craft

are likely to remain anonymous. However, like his compatriot Antoine Belleteste, Le Marchand also supplied 'figures pour garnir les cheminées'. One such example is the group of Chance, Time and Vertue, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 131), which is based on the marble group in the Tuileries, Paris, originally executed by the sculptor Thomas Regnaudin for Versailles as 'The Abduction of Cybele by Saturn' although twenty years later its true meaning was forgotten, and a model of the original was shown at the Salon of 1699 under the title, 'Le Temps qui decouvre la Vérité'.¹² The habit of producing miniature statuettes in ivory, based on full sized sculpture is to be found throughout the eighteenth century, and is paralleled by productions in bronze.

The Dieppe Museum has a series of Four Seasons in ivory by J.A. Belleteste based on the statues by Girardon in the park at Versailles, which were made probably with the help of engravings by Desplaces.¹⁰ Vertue mentions 'Verscovis...a Sculptor in Ivory...he cut some statues in Ivory about 7 or 8 Inches long in Imitation of antique statues and done with great beauty & exactness also the statue Shakespear from the monument done by Scheemaker'.¹³ It was probably the same craftsmen or his son who supplied ivory figures of Fiamingo, Inigo Jones and Rubens, for Horace Walpole's Rosewood cabinet, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The ivory of Inigo Jones is a tiny replica of the statue by Rysbrack at Chiswick.¹⁴

The earliest of the continental porcelain factories was founded at St. Cloud before 1678; The Meissen factory followed in 1710; Chantilly 1725; Mennecy 1734; and Vincennes in 1745.¹⁵ It is indeed possible that as a result of continental influences porcelain was being made in England in 1728, and it is probable that this early factory was in some way connected with the refugee community. For example in 1722, a Thomas Billin took out a patent for what sounded like porcelain production.¹⁶ The earliest certain reference to the manufacture of porcelain in England occurs in the petition of the new Vincennes factory which refers to 'un nouvel établissement qui vent de se former en Angleterre d'une manufacture de porcelaine qui parait plus belle que ce de Saxe'.¹⁷

This probably refers to the Chelsea Manufactory, although it is not yet known who was in charge at this early stage. Various attempts to produce porcelain had occurred in the early 1740's. In February, 1742/3

a 'Mr. Bryand, a stranger, that was present shew'd the Society several specimens of a sort of a fine white ware made here by himself from native materials of our own country, which appeared to be in all respects as good as any of the finest Porcelaine or China Ware; and he said it was much preferable for its fineness to the Ware of Dresden and seem'd to answer the character of the true Japan'.¹⁸ It has been thought that Mr. Briand, the stranger who showed his experiments to the Royal Society, was of Huguenot origin, and the name certainly appears in the London and Dulbin registers later in the century. Recent research has shown that Thomas Bryand entered a partnership with Joseph Farmer, potter of Lane Delph, Staffordshire in February, 1746, and that the name Bryan occurs in the local parish registers and the 'd' may be due to the local dialect. The partnership lasted only twelve months, and in February, 1747, Thomas Briand died as a pauper.¹⁹ It seems therefore unlikely that Briand was of Huguenot origin.

In May, 1743, Andrew Duché, a potter from Savannah, Georgia, who claimed to have already made porcelain in America and to have discovered supplies of Kaolin clay in 1739, arrived in London. Duché has been confused with a visitor received by William Cookworthy of Plymouth, who showed Cookworthy examples of his work. Cookworthy was duly impressed and wrote to his friend, the surgeon, Richard Hungston on May 3rd, 1745.

'I had lately with me the person who hath discovered the china-earth. He had several samples of the china-ware of their making with him, which were, I think, equal to the Asiatic T'was found in the back of Virginia where he was in quest of mines, and having read Du Halde, discovered both the petunse and Kaolin. Tis the latter earth, he says, is the essential thing, towards the success of the manufacture. He is gone for a cargo of it, having bought the whole country of the Indians where it rises. They can import it for £13 per ton, and by the means afford their china as cheap as stoneware. But they intend only to go about 30 per cent under the company. The man is a Quaker by profession, but seems to be as thorough a Deist as I ever met with. He knows a good deal of mineral affairs, but not fundities'.²⁰

The company referred to in Cookworthy's letter is the East India Company, which had a near monopoly of imported Chinese porcelain.

The archives of the Port of London record that in 1743/4, 20 tons of clay were imported from Carolina, to the value of £5. It has been thought that this was the cargo organized by Duche, and that it was intended for the use of the Bow manufactory, as the first Bow patent, dated December 6th, 1744, claims that the material to be used was 'an earth, the produce of the Chirokee nation in America, called by the natives unaker'.²¹ However, Cookworthy's visitor is now identified with a certain Cornelius Daherty, who was petitioning in London, in June, 1744, for the authorization of his purchase with James Maxwell, of a large tract of land from the Chirokee Indians.

Duché probably visited England because he had Huguenot relatives who had settled here. Duché's grandfather was a Huguenot from La Rochelle, and his father had settled in Pennsylvania. Duché had probably heard about the new porcelain manufactory at Bow, and had planned to export Kaolin clay from Virginia to meet the new demand. It would appear, however, that Duché returned to Charleston in 1744, after a fruitless journey to England, and his project was undertaken by Cornelius Daherty instead.²²

It is significant, however, that Bow porcelain was exported to America, and that a certain Gousse Bonin, who is thought to have come from Bow, London, and may also have been of Huguenot origin, set up his own porcelain manufactory with George Anthony Morris in 1770 in Southwark, Pennsylvania, and announced that they 'have proved to a certainty that the clays of America are productive of as good Porcelain as any heretofore manufactured at the famous factory in Bow, near London, and imported into the colonies and plantations'.²³

The Vincennes reference to a porcelain factory in England, undoubtedly refers to Chelsea, but it is not possible to determine which factory at Chelsea is meant. In 1750, a certain Charles Gouyn is described as 'Late Proprietor and Chief Manager of the Chelsea House'.²⁴ He has been identified with the Charles Gouyn of the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, from 1737. In 1757, his son, Peter Gouyn, was apprenticed to Peter Nicholas Frisquet, jeweller of Lothbury, who was also of Huguenot origin. Charles Gouyn is mentioned as a jeweller in Mortimer's Universal Directory of 1763; and in 1769 was declared bankrupt. His will, proved January 12th, 1785, describes him as a jeweller of Bennet Street, still in the same parish.²⁵

From the early advertisements of Sprimont's Chelsea factory, it is evident that another separate manufactory existed at Chelsea. The Daily Advertiser, March 3rd, 1749, announced that Mr. Sprimont, 'gives Notice,

that he has no sort of Connexion with, nor for a considerable time past has put any of his Ware into that Shop in St.James' Street which was the Chelsea China Warehouse'.²⁶ This announcement implies that Sprimont had at one time been connected with the 'Chelsea China Warehouse', and as Gouyn is described as 'Late Proprietor and Chief Manager of the Chelsea House' in 1750, it is possible that in 1749, Gouyn was still connected with the shop in St.James' Street. It would seem that Sprimont and Gouyn were originally working for the same manufactory, but by March, 1749, had gone their different ways.

Porcelain toys were being manufactured in London during this period, and although toy production later became a speciality of Sprimont's porcelain manufactory, very few toys can be ascribed to the red anchor or raised anchor periods. It has been suggested that 'the inventive development of the whole genus must have taken place elsewhere'.²⁷ How . . . an advertisement in the Public Advertiser, from November 23rd to December 21st, 1754, announced by order of the Proprietors of the Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory the sale by auction of 'All the entire Stock of Porcelain Toys, brought from their Warehouse in Pall Mall; consisting of Snuff-boxes; Smelling Bottles; Etwees, and Trinkets for Watches (mounted in Gold and unmounted) in various beautiful shapes of an elegant Design and curiously painted in Enamel.' It also included 'A large Parcel of Porcelain Hafts for Table and DessertKnives and Forks'.²⁸

'Most of the above things are in lots suitable for Jewellers, Goldsmiths, Toyshops, Cutlers and Workmen in these Branches of Business'. Furthermore the advertisement announced 'Nothing of the above kind was in their former Sale, nor will anything of the same sort as this be sold from the Manufactory till after next year.' This last announcement, and the fact that the goods were bought from the warehouse and not from the manufactory, suggests that Sprimont had unexpectedly acquired a large stock of toys. Considering the nature of these objects, and the evidence that they were obviously not modelled by craftsmen in Sprimont's establishment, it seems most probable that they were the products of Charles Gouyn's establishment, before it folded in 1750. It is also probable that much of the work associated with the 'Girl-in-a-Swing' factory was made at Gouyn's establishment although Kate Foster has noted that some of the toys attributed to the 'Girl-in-a-Swing' factory are of much poorer quality, and were possibly later versions of Gouyn originals made for a wider market.²⁹ Sprimont's insistence that the 'Warehouse in Pall Mall on the North side towards the West End', bore the inscription 'Chelsea Porcelaine, made by N.Sprimont is sold here only' shows that he wanted to avoid association with inferior products produced by

another manufactory.³⁰

There was an established market for such toys, which were probably sold by the Huguenot Toy Shops run by Mrs.Chenevix, who is referred to by Horace Walpole in a letter to Horace Mann 5 June 1747 as 'the toy woman a la mode,' sister of the no less noted Toy woman at Bath, Mrs. Bertrand whose shop is mentioned by Pope in his 'Lines to Lady Fanny Shirley, on receiving from her a Standish and two pens',³¹ which was written about 1739. Mrs Chenevix was the daughter of a Mr.Deard who kept a toy shop at the Star, the End of Pall Mall, near St.James Haymarket. Her second husband was Paul Daniel Chenevix, goldsmith, 'A L'enscigne de la Porte d'Or vis a vis de la rue de Suffolk au quartier de Charing Cross', who sold 'toute sorte de Bijouterie en Or et en Argent de l'ouvrage des meilleurs ouvriers, comme aussi des Curiosities de toute especes en Or et en Argent, Ambre Ecaille de Tortue & cae Et pareillement Pierreries et Vaiselle d'Argent en tout genre'.³² Her husband died in 1742, and Mrs. Chenevix took over the shop, which was evidently very profitable as she was able to run Strawberry Hill on the proceeds until she sold it to Horace Walpole in 1749. Her sister Mrs.Bertrand, may possibly be the wife of the goldsmith Paul Bertrand, who received denization on 3rd July, 1709;³³ who supplied Frederick, Prince of Wales with a silver Dish stand weighing 59 oz for £29 8s in 1738, and with £716,4.0. worth of goods in October of the same year. The bill is worth quoting in full, as it exemplifies the close involvement between the jeweller, silversmith, watchmaker and manufacturer of porcelain.³⁴

'His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Bought of P.Bertrand.

a Groupe of China figures £5.5.0.

a pair of Old China Candlesticks £4.4.0.

a gold snuff box £26.5.0.

an Enamel'd Snuff box £16.16.0.

a Cornelian Snuff box £7.7.0.

a blood stone pocket case £10.10.0.

a Cameo watch Toy £16.16.0.

a pair of Candlesticks £12.12.0.

Change of ye pocket case for an Inlay'd Estwey £5.5.0.

a Blood Stone Estwey £21.0.0.

2 gold Chaines for Ditto £5.15.6.

Trincketts for Ditto £5.15.6.

a Ring £4.4.0.

a French Clock £30.0.0.
 a Snuff box £70.0.0.
 a Blood Stone Watch, Chain etc £33.0.0.
 2 Old White cups & Silver gilt saucers £10.10.00
 a pair of sauce boats £17.6.0.
 Four Silver Salts £13.14.0.
 a Silver Bread Basket £25.15.0.
 a Silver hand candlestick £8.8.0
 a Cornelian Toothpick case £12.12.0.
 a Snuff box £6.6.0.
 a Pocket book £6.6.0.
 a Ditto £6.6.0.
 a Silver Cork Screw £0.15.0.
 a double travelling case £15.15.0.
 a Gold Enamel'd Trunk £57.15.0.
 a Smelling bottle £1.11.6.
 a pair of Gilt Rose buckles £4.4.0.
 a Perfume Pot £6.6.0.
 a Silver Sugar dish £21.0.0.
 pr Raffle £1.1.0.
 a Cornelian Snuff Box £8.8.0.
 Half a pair of Brilliant tops £31.10.0.
 a Blood Stone Repeater Chain & Seale £48.6.0.
 a Gold smelling bottle £11.11.0.
 a Bread Basket £31.18.0.
 a Snuff box ornamented wth brilliants £46.0.0.
 an onix egg £10.10.0.
 a Smelling bottle £4.4.0.
 a french Toylet £1.11.6.
 a Gold Snuff box £32.0.0.

Nathaniel Jefferys, Cutler to his Majesty, their Royal Highnesses,
 the Prince of Wales and the Duke advertised 'China Knives and Forks of the
 Chelsea Manufactory in the greatest variety of most beautiful Dresden
 Patterns mounted' in the London Daily Advertiser, January, 1753.³⁵ Further
 afield, Abraham Pigney, Ivory Turner, a member of the Huguenot church, Norwich
 who advertised as a glass seller in the Norwich Mercury, July, 1729, and
 appears in the list of freeman of Norwich for 1730 as a toy man,

advertised the sale of his stock in the Norwich Gazette and Norwich Mercury, in January and February, 1762 'at his House in London Lane Norwich consisting of a great Choice of China, Glass, Cutlery, Toys and many other Articles, the said Mr. Pigney being determined to leave off Business.'³⁶

From 1747, Nicholas Sprimont paid rates for the known site of the porcelain factory in Chelsea,³⁷ although the first known advertisement only appeared in the Daily Advertiser on 21st and 24th February, 1749, and reads,

'The Undertaker of the Manufactory of China Ware hereby acquaints the Publick that he has prepared a large Parcel of that Ware, consisting of Tea and Coffee Pots, Cups and Saucers of various Forms besides several other Things as well as for Use as Ornament which he proposes to offer to Sale on Tuesday next, the 28th instant, at the Manufactory at Chelsea, from which time the Warehouse will be open constantly and Attendance given'.³⁸

It appears that supplies were limited and promptly exhausted as the next advertisement, March 3rd, 1749, reads,

'Mr. Sprimont takes the Liberty to acquaint the Publick that the favourable Reception and general Approbation his China Ware has met with, makes it necessary for him to suspend all further sale thereof at his Warehouse after Tomorrow, that he may have Time to make a sufficient Quantity of such Things he has observed to be most agreeable to the Taste of those who have done him the Honour to look at his Performance. He will nevertheless, till he shall be in a Condition to sell again, receive such orders for Plates Dishes, and all Table Utensils, as well as for Tea, Coffee or Chocolate Services, as any Persons may think fit to give him'.³⁹

A year later Sprimont announced that he had 'been employed ever since his last sale in making a considerable Parcel of which the Assortments are so far advanced that he hopes to be in a condition to offer it to Sale in the month of March next'.⁴⁰

Nicholas Sprimont came from a family of silversmiths in Liege, which was in the Netherlands, but had a culture with a strong French bias, and it is significant that Sprimont identified with the Huguenot community in London, marrying Ann Protin at the Knightsbridge Chapel in November 1742, and standing godfather to Roubiliac's daughter Sophie, at the Huguenot Chapel Spring Gardens in 1744.⁴¹ Sprimont practised as a silversmith, entering his mark at the Goldsmiths' Company, in January, 1743, as a large worker. From 1743 to 1748 he

was tenant of a house on the North side of Compton Street, Soho. Sprimont's surviving silver dates from 1742 to 1747, and is in the Royal Collection, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁴¹ Payment of £149 17s to Sprimont on January 6th, 1744/5 is recorded in the receipt book of Charles, 5th Lord Baltimore, although no more information is available it is probable that this also was for silver.⁴²

Two drawings by Sprimont survive. One, an original design in pen and ink for a soup tureen (Plate 132) which bears the arms of Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester, (26.4 x 18.1) is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Thomas Coke was created Earl of Leicester in 1744, so the drawing could date from 1744 to Leicester's death in 1759. Another original design in pen and ink for two glasses on a silver dish, decorated with vine leaves and grapes (34.8 x 38.5 cms) is in a volume of sketches by Schnebbelie in the Society of Antiquaries.⁴³ Both drawings are signed N.Sprimont inv. et Del. The second is presumably an imaginative study of glass and silver rather than a specific design for manufacture, as Sprimont is not known to have had any connections with the manufacture of glass. The design for a soup tureen could have been executed in silver or porcelain and it is probable that much of the early Chelsea Tableware was, judging by contemporary advertisements, designed by Sprimont himself, although the Andrew Lagrave who appears in the Rate Books for Lawrence Street from midsummer 1749 may have assisted. Significantly, the Earl of Leicester and Sir Everard Fawkener lent Sprimont the houses in Lawrence Street, Chelsea.

It is significant that the most renowned china manufactory in Europe, Meissen, shared the same proximity to the art of the silversmith. Its first art director Irminger was a silversmith, and in the 1730's Frederick Keandler, also a silversmith, took charge of the models. It has been stressed that Sprimont's 'sophisticated use of organic forms and scrollwork suggests independent access to European sources of the rococo, with little mediation from St. Martin's Lane.'⁴⁴ However, it is significant that 'Silvershape' was evidently a selling point for the new porcelain. It follows that if prospective clients were prepared to buy silver of a particular design, the same clients were more likely to be attracted by porcelain of a similar shape and design, than something entirely different, particularly if both types of vessel were to be seen simultaneously on the same table. Thus it is interesting to find

that the term 'silvershape' is used to describe 38 lots in the catalogue of the sale of Chelsea Porcelain, held at Mr. Ford's auction rooms on March 10th, 1755.⁴⁵ Of Sprimont's surviving silver, the objects which can be most closely paralleled in the productions of the Chelsea Porcelain manufactory are the silver-gilt salt cellar in the form of a crab holding a whelk shell and two large lobster and shell salts in the Royal Collection, and four sauce boats with ladels. Meanwhile as the range of Chelsea products increased; porcelain was used as a substitute for silver on more elaborate items, such as, 'A new invented Epergne that is converted into a pair of branches when not used for a desert' which was announced in the Public Advertiser, November 10th and 12th, 1756;⁴⁶ or 'A watch set in gold fixed in a Stand finely decorated' advertised in the same paper on the 14th and 16th April, 1759.⁴⁷

Porcelain was also used to imitate wood. At Chelsea, the idea of creating a porcelain surround for a clock, which occurred at Vincennes and early Sevres 1750-1760, was carried out probably during the same period, and one example is in the collection at Luton Hoo. A gold anchor surround in mazarine blue and gold consists of four music making putti, two clutching violins at the corners, with a female figure on a raised section in the centre, seated on a cloud, attended by another putto, and holding a ballad inscribed 'Sung by Miss Young at Ranelagh', a reference to Cecilia Young who married Thomas Arne, the composer, or to her sister Isabella who performed at Ranelagh. The clock mechanism is inscribed 'STEPHEN RIMBAULT, LONDON', a member of the renowned family of Huguenot clockmakers. A similar musical clock by Rimbault, dated 1760, is also contained in a Chelsea surround, surmounted by four music making children, decorated with four panels of children in groups, representing the seasons, and with another group of Mercury trying to capture Time, this is at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland.

A less elaborate porcelain equivalent of wood are the porcelain wall brackets made at Bow and Derby (Plate 133) The only contemporary reference to such brackets occurs in the Public Advertiser, 1760, in which some 'large Brackets' are mentioned in the context of 'Groups of Figures'.⁴⁸

As long as Chelsea was limiting its production to tableware and toys, it could rely on a trained silversmith and jeweller for the sources of its designs. However, by December 1750, Chelsea was producing figures, and it would seem that by 1750, Sprimont had acquired the

assistance of Joseph Willems, modeller from the Tournai factory, as a pair of painted terracotta figures of a dancing youth and girl in contemporary dress are incised 'Willems 1749'. Sprimont had probably turned to Meissen and Vincennes for inspiration, and it is significant that at Meissen, Augustus the Strong had appointed professional sculptors to work as modellers at the manufactory, and this seems to have been accepted as general practice in France where both Falconet and Bouchardon are known to have worked for the Sevres manufactory. It is not surprising that Sprimont turned to his native Belgium for such a craftsman.

By the summer, 1754, it would seem that this production of figures was well under way, an advertisement for August, 1754 describes,

'A curious collection of Chelsea Porcelaine, consisting of Table and Dessert Services, Plates, Tea and Coffee Equipages, Figures, Birds, both useful and ornamental' to be sold by auction by the manufacturers in about eighty lots at Merchant Taylors' Hall, York.⁴⁹ It is also significant that Sprimont advertised as far afield as Dublin and Edinburgh in 1758 and 1752 respectively.

When Mrs. Esdaile published her monograph on L.F. Roubiliac in 1928 the identity of the Chelsea modeller was not yet known, neither had a group of Chelsea figures been attributed to another manufactory, now known as 'Girl-in-a-Swing'. Thus understandably, Nicholas Rouquet's remark that of the three or four porcelain manufactories in London, 'Celle de Chelsea est la plus considerable, un riche particulier en soutient la depense, un habile artiste françois fournit ou dirige les modèles de tout ce qui s'y fabrique',⁵⁰ and the fact that Roubiliac invited Sprimont to stand godfather to his daughter, lead to the interpretation that Roubiliac was the Chelsea modeller. It is not surprising to find that the group 'Britannia mourning over a medallion of Frederick, Prince of Wales' attributed by Mrs. Esdaile to Roubiliac, and Chelsea, is now thought to have been made at the 'Girl-in-a-Swing' manufactory.⁵¹ It has also been suggested that the modeller employed by that factory may have been Bartholomew Cramillion, the mysterious sculptor who appears at the Rotunda Hospital, Dublin in 1755, as the stucco decoration in the chapel of the hospital, and the style of the products of the 'Girl-in-a-Swing' factory are stylistically extremely close, however there is not yet any documentary evidence to support such a theory,

although circumstances are conveniently placed in time and there was a Huguenot family of Cramillion in London connected with the watchmaking trade.⁵²

Despite the discovery of Joseph Willems identity, a number of Chelsea products are still described as having been modelled by Roubiliac. A group of Sight and Hearing c.1755-60 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, bore a label to that effect in 1979. Ironically the group of Sight is close to Nicholas Coustou's Adonis, 1710, intended for the gardens at Marly, but now in the Louvre, although the left hand arm is outstretched in the Chelsea figure, instead of folded accross the body in the Coustou Adonis, the rest of the figure is remarkably close.⁵³ The porcelain portrait head, 1751-3, in the Ashmolean, traditionally said to be of the sculptor's daughter, Sophie by Roubiliac, is also known in terracotta, bronze and marble and relates closely to the head of Endymion by the eighteenth century sculptor Agostino Cornacchini.⁵⁴ However it is more than probable that Roubiliac supplied casts of models on occasion for the use of the manufactory. In 1743, Rysbrack made three terracotta statuettes of 'Rubens, Vandyck, and Fiammingo Quenoy,' which were cast in plaster and sold at seven guineas a set. Four years later, Scheemaker's offered a set of casts from terracottas based on the ancient Roman statues, 'Hercules, Flora, Venus, Faunus, Zingara, Egyptian woman'.⁵⁵ Indeed, there is one securely documented example of Roubiliac's having provided a model for Chelsea. This is the model of Hogarth's pug dog Trump, which appears in an engraving by Phillips in the second volume of Samuel Ireland's 'Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth'. Roubiliac's Sale Catalogue mentions four pug dogs in plaister and two dogs in plaister, which suggests that the sculptor was prepared to sell casts of the original terracotta, and an undecorated example made at Chelsea 1747-50 is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. (Plate 134)⁵⁶ Another decorated example in a private collection is slightly larger than the Museum example, and it has been suggested that they are both survivors from two different pairs. It is probable that the pair in each case was modelled at Chelsea, and only one of each pair was based on a Roubiliac plaster cast, as it is unlikely that the sculptor would have been prepared to create a pair for his original terracotta portrait of Trump. It would seem that other casts by Roubiliac were extant,

judging from both the sculptor's sale catalogue and the catalogue of Charles Harris, who specialized in plaster casts, which includes Hogarth's Pug Dog and several other items which were clearly cast from originals by Roubiliac.⁵⁷

It is significant in this context that Josiah Wedgewood seems to have had a particular interest in Roubiliac's work, and acquired a book of sketches by the sculptor, which have, unfortunately been destroyed, but which his great grandson, Roger Smith, described in some detail to Mrs. Meteyard.

It contained any momentary thought which the gifted and enthusiastic Frenchman had jotted down, through a series of years, in connection with his art, a human figure, a limb, a seraphic wing, a flowing garment, a lyre apparently too aerial for the touch of mortal hands, a serpent, a gorgon, a sphinx, a cup, an urn, a tazza, a plinth, or an entablature all therein varied from antique art; there was more movement, more exuberance, probably more crowding of detail. But Wedgewood saw much which he could render serviceable'. It is probable that Roubiliac provided some of the ornamental motives in Wedgewood's repertoire.⁵⁸

It would also seem likely that Roubiliac produced models for bronzes as the figures of Hercules, Atlas and the four Ancient Monarchies connected with the Charles Clay Musical Clock in Kensington Palace are known to have been cast from the sculptor's models. Such models were an accepted source for porcelain. A manuscript list of 'plaister figures sent to Derby' survives in the Derby Public Library, and probably dates from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It includes '1 Large Venus, 1 Fiamingo Boy, 2 do figures, 1 Antique Body, 4 Feet, 1 sitting Boy, 1 Standing do, 2 little hands, 1 Do less, 1 Figure to match the Venus, 1 Bass releif of a Sacrifice, 1 do the Burying of Cato, 1 Anatomy small, 2 Hands, 1 Standing Boy, 1 Bass relief of the Phillistines, 1 Group of Salmacis, 1 Hermaphroditus'.⁵⁹

One more Chelsea product that was directly inspired by a French prototype were the 3,000 flowers advertised in the Public Advertiser, May 1st, 1755, 'to be sold by themselves so that Ladies & Gentlemen can make use of them in Grottos, Epergnes, Flowerpots, & agreeable to their own taste'.⁶⁰ Such flowers were also made at Vincennes and are to be seen in portraits of Mme de Pompadour by Boucher.

It is often forgotten that the modellers of Porcelain figures used paintings as sources for their ideas. Thus the group of 'Hercules and Omphale' by the Girl-in-a-Swing modeller is based on a painting by Le Moyne, the Derby group of 'The Virgin, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. John the Evangelist gathered round the Cross' in the Victoria and Albert

Museum, is based on a painting by Le Brun (Plate 135). It is significant in this context that Nicholas Sprimont had a substantial collection of paintings which were sold after his death in 1771. The subject matter included Classical Mythology, 'Jupiter and Leda', and 'Venus, its companion' by P. Laura; 'Diana and her nymphs by Van Harp'; 'Lucretia and Cleopatra by Cassali'. Religious subjects included 'The Virgin, Child and St. John by C. Maratti'; 'A Magdalen by Guido', another by Murillo, a head of the Virgin by C. Dolci, Hagar and Ismael by Larese, and 'A holy family by Veronesi'. Popular subjects included a 'Mountebank on a Stage and many figures', by Angellus, An astrologer, 'A Gipsy writing by Veronesi', Two Turks' Heads by Heemskirke, A boy with a fiddle by F. Hals, a boy with a birds nest by Old Sone, A bacchanalian by Larese, A Dutch dairy maid by Noodigh. Still life and animal subjects included, 'A herring with oysters', 'Birds and dogs by A. Hondius', 'A small dutch boor by Teniers', 'Dogs of divers kinds by Savory, and such scenes as 'A Poultry market' and 'A Pig market' by 'B. Gael'; Two goats heads by Savory and a Lobster and a Crab by Elin Quarles. The Sale consisted of 108 lots, and although there is no way of proving that Sprimont was collecting simultaneously with the early stages of his Chelsea Manufactory, his collection betrays an interest in the type of subject matter used at Chelsea, and it is probable that Sprimont did at least turn to paintings and engravings after paintings for a source of ideas for his Chelsea products.⁶¹

Whereas Chelsea made use of a variety of source material, the early products of the Derby factory point to an emphasis on sculpture as a source. The modeller for the Derby factory from its beginnings in 1750 to 1756 was Andrew Planché, son of Paul Planché and Marie Anne Fournier, who was apprenticed to a London Jeweller and goldsmith, Edward Mountenay.⁶² It is possible that the Derby factory was started before 1750, with the assistance of a certain James Marchand, a Westminster potter, whose presence in Derby is recorded in 1752, when he married Mary Oldfield at St. Alkmund's Church.⁶³ Andrew Planché is known to have been in Derby from at least 1751 when two sons Paul Edmund and James were baptized. James was buried in December, 1754, and in 1756, two more sons were born to Andrew Planché, James, who is described as 'the bastard

son of Andrew Planché and Margaret Burroughs' and William 'the son of Andrew Planché and Sarah his wife',⁶⁴

The early products of the Derby manufactory are mostly figures. A series of gods and goddesses relate closely to sixteenth and seventeenth century sculptural prototypes. The figure of Neptune relates to that of 1652 by the French sculptor Michel Anguier, as one of a set of six deities made in miniature for the jeweller Tessier de Montarsis, although the figures were later carved in stone for Versailles and engraved by Louis Desplaces.⁶⁵ It is probable that Planché used the engraving as a source. The group of Pluto and Cerberus (Plate 136) in the Victoria and Albert Museum has affinities with Neptune carving the waves, 1737, by Lambert Sigisbert Adam. The figure of Jupiter by Alessandro Algardi, which was commissioned as one of a set of four by Velazquez in 1650, was used as a source for the model of that figure produced at Derby in the 1750's.⁶⁶

There seems to have been a particular interest in Chinoiserie at Derby, exemplified in a group of figures representing the senses, such as the group symbolizing Sight, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 137), dated 1750-3. The two obvious sources for exotic figures at this time were De Ferriol's 'Recueil de cent estampes representant différentes Nations du Levant', with engravings by G. Scotin, which was published in Paris in 1714, and engravings after Boucher by Ravenet.

It is interesting to note that Andrew Planché's younger brother Jacques, was a watchmaker who trained in Geneva and later became an assistant to Vulliamy, who was also later to work in collaboration with the Derby manufactory. In 1756, Planché nominally signed a partnership agreement with John Heath and William Duesbury, but possibly as a result of his moral behaviour, left Derby and returned to his earlier training as a jeweller, joining his uncle's firm, Anthony Planché & Co., Westminster. This was probably the son of Antoine Planché, jeweller, who was connected with a D. Marchand in 1705/6,¹¹ and it is interesting to note the continuing connection between the two families, fifty years later in the persons of James Marchand and Andrew Planché.

Another modeller of Huguenot descent was Jean Voyez, who like Sprimont and Planché before him was trained as a silversmith. He worked as a carver for the Adam brothers, before he was employed by Wedgwood in 1768. Like Planché, Voyez talent appears to have been marred by moral

behaviour, but his work falls largely outside the scope of this thesis.⁶⁷

Another venture which was evidently connected with the demand of the toy shops was the manufactory at York House, Battersea, 1753-6. Entries in the Battersea Rate Books, show that the venture first traded under the name of Janssen, Delamain and Brooks. Stephen Theodore Janssen was a prominent merchant stationer, and in a good position to obtain the fine paper used for transfer printing, the method used to decorate their products. John Brooks, the manager, probably invented this process, but there seems to be some confusion as to the identity of Delamain, who is usually identified as the Dublin potter, Henry Delamain.⁶⁸ However a Huguenot goldsmith of the same name is recorded in Bath in 1701,⁶⁹ and again in Soho in 1742. The latter may be a Thomas Delamain who purchased the position of Secondary of the Poultry Compter in the City of London, in July, 1745. Possibly the goldsmith was related to the Dublin potter, and both were involved in the Battersea project, for in 1753, Henry announced that he had purchased the art of printing earthenware. However, the Delamain connection was short lived; in 1753, John Brooks borrowed money from Peter Gandon, a gunsmith of Westminster, possibly the son of Pierre Gandon, arquebusier, of the same name who was baptized at La Patente de Soho, in August, 1713.⁶⁹ However, by May, 1754, Gandon was declared bankrupt, and by 1756 Janssen had suffered the same fate. It is significant that Henry Delamain died in Dublin in 1753, leaving £1,000 to his wife, so it is probable that Thomas Delamain was the active partner at Battersea. As a goldsmith, he probably took care of the mounts for Battersea products which were of gold or silver or alternatively of gilded copper.

The closure of the Battersea factory was followed by the production of white enamelled boxes printed with music and the words of French songs and with calenders for the years 1758 and 1759, and the inscription 'Made by Anthony Tregent in Denmark Street'.⁷⁰ Antoine Tregent, born in 1721 at Lunel near Arles in the South of France, came to England with his parents Antoine and Marguerite Tregent in about 1740. Antoine married Anne Bruce at the Oxford Chapel in Vere Street in 1750 and eight of his children were baptized at the Huguenot church in Leicester Fields. The fact that his second child was buried in 1752 in Battersea Church Yard, suggests that Tregent was living in Battersea at the time

that Janssen opened his factory. In 1760, Tregent moved to Bristol, where another child was baptized in 1761. In the same year an advertisement in Farley's Bristol Journal announced, 'Mr. Anthony Tregent Two Doors from the Painter's Arms in Milk Street, has just received from London a very extensive variety of the most fashionable and current Articles of Toy and Jewellers goods To be sold only in the wholesale way to Merchants and Dealers and at the very same Price as by the Makers in London'.

Tregent was a close friend of the minister of the Huguenot church in Bristol, Mr. Pierre Gautier, and it appears from Gautier's correspondence that Tregent was well known in Paris, and it is probable that Tregent sold English toys in France.

Apart from the short lived Battersea venture, the other centre for enamelling in this country was at Bilston, Staffordshire. It has been suggested that this was started by 'a group of enamellers who arrived from France some time before 1745', but there is no evidence to substantiate this tradition.⁷¹ It may however derive from the fact that Jacques Tregent, the second son of Antoine, was living in Wolverhampton in 1798, and probably pursuing his father's profession as he was associated with the Bilston Toymaker Benjamin Brett in 1799. His younger brother James Tregent, practised as a clock maker in London from 1770-1804.⁷²

Other enamellers of Huguenot origin about whom little has yet come to light include Philip de la Fons, who was working in Tottenham Court Road in the 1790's; John Hankin, Peter Mussard and Isaac Nerbell.⁷³ The latter lived in the parish of St. John Southwark, as a manufacturer of china ware, and applied for a patent to practice his invention, 'a method of making enamel equal to the Venetian enamel (being the only enamel now used in England) from materials solely the produce of Great Britain'.⁷⁴ A Mr. Nerbell was awarded a prize in 1759 for the manufacture of enamels, by the Royal Society of Arts.⁷⁵

Another feature of early English porcelain is the existence of separate decorators such as William Duesbury, whose account books for 1751-3 survive, and are a source of valuable information on the products of the contemporary manufactories at this time.⁷⁶ It is significant too, that the English evidently preferred to choose their own decoration.

A contemporary French source, discussing the extent to which the Vincennes manufactory hoped to export its products, commented, 'Les anglois ne demandent que de la porcelaine toute blanche, mais comme ils pourroient en faire usage pour y ajouter des peintures on leur vend cette porcelaine blanche aussi chère que si elle etait peinte.'⁷⁷

In the field of decoration an important contribution is to be found in the work of James Giles. The grandson of the 'ebeniste' Abraham Gilles, who stood godfather to Jean Guichant in 1694 at La Patente, Soho, and who with his two sons James (James II's father) and John, was naturalized in March 1699/1700. James Giles II, was born in 1718, apprenticed to a jeweller, John Arthur of St.Martin's in the Fields in 1733, and recorded as working in Worcester from 1745 to 1759, although he was also to be found in Chelsea from 1754 to 1759, and in 1761 he was granted a lease for premises in Cockspur Street. His first known advertisement of 1760, states that he was prepared to procure and paint Worcester Porcelain for any person. Giles' clients included the Duke of Richmond, The Duchess of Ancaster, William Duesbury, Philip Christian of Liverpool, William Davis and Thomas Turner of Worcester.⁷⁸

Without the presence of a community of highly competent Huguenot craftsmen in London, who were trained in the appropriate skills of silver, jewellery and enamelling, it is probable that only three of the six early porcelain factories in England would have got off the ground. Of these six, the two finest, Chelsea and Derby, were, if one accepts Sprimont's identification with the Huguenot community, largely due to the efforts of Huguenot craftsmen. Their technical mastery and discerning taste was responsible for the extraordinary fine quality of the early products of these first porcelain manufactories in Great Britain.

THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO THE ART OF THE PORTRAIT

The art of the portrait can conveniently be treated as a separate subject, for although the portrait was executed in a variety of different techniques, varying from the more conventional half length or full length painting, to sculpture in the round or in relief, miniature reliefs in ivory, horn and silver, the medal, the wax model, the miniature, the silhouette and the engraved portrait, these images were often based on sources executed in different media, and as a result were influenced by the characteristics of the rendering of the source used. Portraits were also used as identification of property, much in the same way as coats of arms, to decorate ornate personal possessions such as watches and snuffboxes. Medallion portraits were often commissioned on the death of a person of eminence, for circulation amongst the friends of the deceased. The portrait of the reigning sovereign was used as a patriotic ornamental device, and classical portrait busts in relief were sometimes substituted for the more abstract mask as ornament on silver.

It is therefore not surprising to find that Simon Gribelin's presentation volumes contain much in the way of sources for this type of decoration. The four plates of engravings of Greek and Roman medals would have been used for ornamental decoration on silver and jewelry¹ The centrepiece of 1733-4 by Paul de Lamerie contains four such classical heads, set in oval panels on each side of the oval bowl, alternated with female masks.² Whereas portraits often formed part of a large emblematic engraving, such as the print of the Seven Bishops committed to the Tower, in 1687, by Gribelin, which appears in its entirety in his large presentation volume in the British Museum; whereas the smaller volume contains the same portraits but as separate items divorced from their original context,³ thus intended for a purely decorative use. Gribelin also produced engravings of contemporary medals, such as the print of the medal cast by John Fowler to celebrate William III's victory at Namur in 1695 (Plate 138)

Medallic sources were probably used for the medal-sized busts to be found on the back of watches by David Lesturgeon, such as the example in the British Museum (Plate 139) which was evidently made in 1702 to commemorate the coronation of the new Queen Anne. Although

the bust itself is of a high standard, the curious juxtaposition of the techniques of casting and engraving is rather unsatisfactory. Simon Gribelin also used an engraved medallion portrait based on a drawing by his contemporary Pierre Berchet of Colonel Parsons as a frontispiece to the reissue of his 1682 'Book of Several Ornaments' in 1703⁴. The reissue was dedicated to Colonel Parsons.

Simon Gribelin also includes an engraving in his larger presentation volume of the 4th Earl, later 1st Duke of Devonshire. This is inscribed (Pl. 140) 'D. Vautier pinx. S. Gribelin Sculpt. 1689'. In 1691, 'Sr. Daniel Vautier' 'peintre en email' and 'Sr. Pierre Berchet, peintre' assisted at Simon Gribelin's marriage to Marie Mettayer, and are described as Gribelin's uncle and brother-in-law respectively.⁵ It is possible that Daniel Vautier came direct from France, either from Paris or Blois, to England. The technique of painting on enamel had been evolved by Jean Toutin and Jean Petitot, both of French origin, who settled in Geneva, thus founding a school of enamel painters in that city. As a result of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, French protestants also fled to Geneva, which was, after all, the centre of their faith, the home of their founder Jean Calvin. It is therefore not surprising that many of the artists trained in that tradition, eventually left Geneva for work at other European Courts, and many were attracted to London. Although Jean Petitot is known to have worked in England from 1639-1643, he did not die until 1691, but there is no record of his having returned to this country within the period covered by this thesis.⁶ Petitot's assistant was Jacques Bordier, who remained in England after Petitot had left, although by 1668, he was back in France operating as a secret agent for the Genevese government at Versailles. Jacques Bordier's cousin, Pierre, is also thought to have worked in England; his only recorded portrait is a miniature of the poet John Gay.⁷

Another miniaturist who came direct from France is Barthelemy Lemaire. A miniature of Queen Anne painted in oil on copper is in the City of Liverpool Museum, an inscription engraved on its brass frame reads 'Le Maire fecit', includes a crown and sceptre and two hearts, also inscribed 'Two-in-One-For Ever', the Royal Arms, 'Semper Eadem', and a long inscription on the reverse reads,

'A Medall upon the apy/ Union of Great Britain to / the Immortal Glory of Her / Most Excellent Maistys Queen / Anne July the 3 Anno Dm 1708 / in the 7th year of Her Maiesties / Reigne Made By / Barthelemy Le Maire His Most / Excellent Maiestys King Charles / the 2ds of blessed Memori/ Ingraver in Ordinairy / sworn at Whithall the 25th / of June 1670 in the 22nd of / His Maiesties Reigne / Made by the said Le Maire / in the 63 year of / his age'⁸

Alexandre Souville is recorded as working in London in 1713, as two miniatures in the Portland Collection of Matthew Prior, signed 'Souville F.C.1713' and Queen Elizabeth I, based on a portrait by Marc Gheeraerts survive.⁹ This artist may well be related or even identifiable with the Alexander Souville who is recorded as working in England in 1685, or the Peter Surville engaged by the Dublin Municipal Council in 1689, to paint a portrait of James II.¹⁰

Paul Prieur, born in Geneva, was the son of a Parisian Jeweller and is known to have worked as a miniature painter in London, 1682-3.¹¹ After 1700, miniature painters of French origin working in England tend to be visitors from other European Huguenot settlements in search of patronage. Benjamin Arlaud certainly worked in England during the second decade of the eighteenth century, and a miniature portrait of John Pepusch (who was the son of a protestant minister in Berlin) survives in the Royal Collection.¹² John Pepusch conducted the chapel singers at Cannons for James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, and it is interesting to note that Benjamin Arlaud's brother Jacques Antoine, who worked at St. Germain, c1703-10, also acted as a dealer in Paris, providing Chandos with a portrait of Cromwell, Scandenburg, and a painting of Jupiter and Leda by Annibale Caracci.¹³ Vertue commented on 'a Mans head a limning Benjamin Arlaud pinxit 1715 curiously neat well colourd and well drawn this Mr. Arlaud was limmer to the King or Queen till he died whether he had a salary or not I can't tell by this picture he shows to be a Master of his Art'.¹⁴

In Geneva schools set up by miniature painters in 1704, by the André family and in 1730 by François Picot guaranteed a steady flow of well trained talent.¹⁵ Andreas Mussard is recorded as working in Bath in 1751, where a miniature of a man is still to be seen in the Holbourne Museum.¹⁶ In 1765, an advertisement in the Daily Advertiser announced

his arrival in London, Another Genevese miniaturist, by descent, John Alexander Gresse was born in London in 1741, possibly the son of the small worker P.G.Gresse, whose address on entering his mark in 1725 was given as 'Dean Street, Soho, near Tyburn Road'. J.A.Gresse later became drawing master to the daughters of George III.¹⁷

Another Limner, Carpentier may be identified with the Andrien Carpentier who executed the portrait of Roubiliac working on Garrick's Shakespeare. His name appears in the Daily Advertiser. February, 1743, as at Mr.Cheek's Apothecary, Bow Street, Covent Garden, and again in the same paper August 1745 appeared the announcement 'Mr.Carpenter, a famous limner, who was said to have been dead, is at Bath in good Health and continues his Profession with good success as before'.¹⁸

William Delacour, limner, in Coventry Court, Haymarket, St.James, advertised in the same paper, in February, 1745 that he 'continues to sell most beautiful crayons of a particular composition, and also cloths prepared he uses himself, better than anything yet found, Water colours, the best sort, warranted never to fade, and in general everything useful in Water Colour and Crayon Paintin'.¹⁹ In the Public Advertiser, February, 1753 an Auction 'of the Household Furniture, Pictures, Plate, China and Linen of Mr.De la Cour Portrait painter in oil and crayons at his dwelling the Green Door, in Winchester Street, New Broad Street' was announced as Delacour had been 'invited to establish an Academy at Dublin'.²⁰ In September of the same year Delacour advertised that he had moved from Ormonde Quay to College Green, Dublin. This is doubtless the same artist who produced a series of pattern books in the 1740's, and who later settled in Edinburgh, where he worked as a decorative painter. The only known portrait by Delacour is a self portrait in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, which is signed and dated 1765.²¹ (Plate 141)

David le Clerc, who practised as a miniature painter in London, 1715-17, was the son of the medallist Gabriel le Clerc of Rouen, who had settled in Berne. David le Clerc spent most of his working life in Frankfurt.²² Another equally international artist was Francis Laine, who was born in Berlin, taught enamelling by Chodowiecki, and is recorded in London in 1741, he later became engraver to the East India Company.²³

John L'Admiral, born of Huguenot parents in Amsterdam, 1699 was associated with Jacob Christoph le Blond, born in Frankfurt, and although both artists practised as miniaturists in Amsterdam, they came to England in 1720, and attempted to develop a means of printing in several colours which failed.²⁴ It is probable that Charles Boit, enameller, was also of Huguenot origin, although he arrived in England in 1687 from Stockholm. In 1691, he was assisted by James Parmentier, and according to Vertue on the presentation of a large enamel portrait of Queen Anne, framed by Gosset in 1706, he became a professor of the Royal Academy of Painting in France, where he died in 1726.²⁵

The extent to which these miniaturists were prepared to travel, emphasizes the life style of many of the portraitists of Huguenot origin. Another such, Jean Cavalier, who also worked in Sweden, is known to have visited London in 1690. However, a very fine ivory relief equestrian portrait of Charles II (Plate 142) has recently been acquired by Temple Newsam, and it is signed and dated 1684.²⁶ There may possibly be some connection between this medallion and the equestrian statue of Charles II at Windsor, which also shows the King in Roman armour, and was cast by the Huguenot Josias Iback; the inscription 'Josias Iback Stadti Blarensis 1679 Fudit' is cut into one of the horses hoofs. The statue was apparently 'first cut in wood by a German', and then cast in London.²⁷ It was erected in 1680 on a stone pedestal carved by Gibbons. It was the gift of Tobias Rustat, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II.²⁸ There is however no proof that the ivory medallion was executed in England, and it may well have been based on a contemporary engraving.

However, the Victoria and Albert Museum have recently acquired an ivory medallion by the same artist, which is inscribed, 'D.GRAFFTON I.CAVALLIER 1684',²⁹ and although this may equally have been executed abroad, it does substantiate the possibility that Cavalier may have visited this country in 1684. Another ivory portrait medallion with the bust of a gentleman in profile bears the inscription 'IOHEN SEIGNETTE MED DOCT RUPEL' and is signed 'I.Cavalier F. 1684'.³⁰ This sitter may prove to be a Huguenot doctor working in London, and if so, will provide conclusive evidence that Cavalier was in England in 1684. The Victoria and Albert Museum also possesses an ivory relief of Mary II signed 'Cavalier F. 1686' which was presumably made in Holland. It seems probable that Cavalier was in England again in 1688, as an ivory medallion 8cms in diameter is inscribed on the verso 'J.CAVALLIER FECIT A.D.1688', and on the recto

'SAM.PEPYS CAR. ET. IAC.ANGLREGIB A SECRETIS ADMIRALIA' was acquired by the Clothworker's Company in 1931.³¹ By 1690, it would seem that Cavalier's reputation in this country was well established. An ivory of Mary II in Berlin (late 143) is signed 'CAVALIER F.LONDINI 1690'³² and a receipt in the accounts of the Sackville family for July, 1690, reads, 'two medals one of my Lord & ye other My Lady' £21.10.0., and is signed by the artist.³³ Judging by the date of the bill the medals represented Charles, 6th Earl of Dorset, and his second wife, Mary, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Northampton who died in 1691. Other medallion portraits by Cavalier include one of William III in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which bears the initial 'C' on the arm of the sitter, and an ivory of Sir Godfrey Kneller in the National Portrait Gallery, which is signed lower centre I.C.³⁴ It is significant in this context that in March, 1690, Cavalier is known to have shared the sittings given to Kneller for the state portrait of William III.³⁵

Cavalier evidently made a habit of travelling from centre to centre as in December, 1690 he was granted a 'Pass and letters of recommendation to travel abroad and return' by King William III. Cavalier is described in the document as 'the King's Medallist' and the reason for his journey is given as 'pour y travailler aux Choses de son Art'.³⁶

By 1693, Cavalier is mentioned in Stockholm and Copenhagen, and the Victoria and Albert Museum also owns an ivory medallion of Ulrich Fredrich Guldenlowe which is dated 1693 and signed I.C. Guldenlowe was a statholder in Norway. Cavalier is not known to have returned to England, and appears to have died during a voyage to Persia in 1698 or 1699.³⁷

David Le Marchand has been mentioned in the context of ivory reductions from large scale sculpture, but his most important contribution is in the field of portraiture, and twenty-five busts in relief or in the round, in ivory, survive today.³⁸ As well as producing busts of his contemporaries, Le Marchand produced copies of antique busts. Dr. Mead's sale included as lot 32 'Heads of Socrates, Plato, Homer, Cicero and two of Medusa, finely copy'd from the antique in ivory by Marchand', as well as lot 40 'Sir Isaac Newton's head in mezzo relievo (in ivory) by Marchand'.³⁹

Le Marchand also executed a small ivory bust in the round of Isaac Newton which appears in the portrait of the sculptor by Highmore. Both the portrait and the bust originally belonged to Matthew Raper, the 'sound scholar and as able a mathematician' who presented the bust of Newton to the British Museum in 1765. It is probable that Matthew Raper's father of the same name had commissioned the ivory bust, which is signed and dated 1718.⁴⁰ The portrait of Le Marchand shows the same bust, and was probably painted about 1723, and the very fine ivory relief of the patron's son, the donor of the bust, aged fifteen, which is signed and dated 1720, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Plate 144).⁴¹ The young Matthew is shown standing in a library, demonstrating a proposition in geometry on a table with his left hand, and holding a pen in his right. The detailed rendering of the tripod table, the bookcase with a volume inclined across a gap, and even the wooden planks of the floor boards, and the almost indulgent rendering of billowing drapery, are the equivalent of the court portraiture of Rigaud, as Terence Hodgkinson has pointed out.

The fact that David Le Marchand came from a family of Dieppe history painters has already been noted, but it is significant that the Dieppe Museum has recently acquired a half length portrait of a woman which is signed 'g.le Marchand fecit'.⁴² It is probable that the Le Marchand family also painted portraits. Were it not for the fact that the name David Le Marchand occurs several times in the Huguenot records, it would be tempting to throw doubt on Le Marchand's claim as a Huguenot, particularly as he did not come over to England until 1697.⁴³ The ivory relief portrait of a French aristocrat, and the small bust in the round of Louis XIV, which is dated 1700, suggest that Le Marchand was receiving official French patronage before he came to England.⁴⁴ However, it is possible that coming from the protestant stronghold of Dieppe, he was attracted by rumours of a healthier patronage in England, and decided to emigrate, and either to revert to his former faith or to abjure his catholic faith.

Matthew Raper also gave the British Museum an ivory relief by David Le Marchand of Sir Christopher Wren in 1765, inscribed with the sitters name and the initials 'D.L.M.' on the reverse. Another fine relief of the architect is in the National Portrait Gallery (Plate 148)⁴⁵ and as Le Marchand also executed a relief portrait of Thomas Guy, who

had appointed Moses Raper, Matthew's uncle, as a Trustee of his residuary estate, it seems that Le Marchand moved in the Raper's circle.⁴⁶ It is not surprising to find that Le Marchand was also patronized by his fellow Huguenots in this country. An ivory relief portrait of Daniel Garnault (Plate 146) was sold at Christie's 13 December, 1976, according to a label on the reverse, Daniel Garnault was a treasurer of the New River Company.

It seems that Le Marchand, in the tradition of painted portraiture, worked on his model from the life. The antiquary, William Stukeley records, in his Diary for 11 July, 1722, 'I sat to Mr. Marchand cutting my profile in basso relievo in Ivory'.⁴⁷ It is plausible to suggest that Le Marchand's family background, with its tradition of painting, influenced his work in ivory, resulting in a more detailed and at the same time, more lively image than is to be found in ivories based on engravings.

Another Dieppe artist who may have practised as a painter as well as an ivory carver is Jacques Constantin, who entered the French Hospital in February, 1732/33, described himself as a painter of 78, 'qui par Grand Maux Dyseux dont il a Esté afflige depuis bien des annees Ayant Empesché de Gagner savye ce qui le reduit dans une Extreme Pauvrete Estant malade & tres Infirme'.⁴⁸ It is tempting to connect this artist with the otherwise unknown Jacobus Constantin who signed the allegorical portrait of James II, an ivory relief, in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The relief probably dates from the year of King James II's coronation, 1685, when Jacques Constantin would have been 31, if the age he gave to the French Hospital was correct. The fact that the painter is known to have come from Dieppe, a centre of ivory carving, helps to establish this claim. To confuse matters, however, another painter, R.A. Constantin, is recorded as working in England during the second decade of the eighteenth century.⁴⁹

An alternative media for fine portrait reliefs, which may often have been used by ivory carvers and medallists when working from the life, was wax. Antoine Benoist, who has no Huguenot connections, came to England in 1684, to model wax busts of James II and his courtiers.⁵⁰ Some fifty-five years later Matthew Gosset, a member of the family from St. Sauveur or St. Lo in Normandy, who had settled in England, produced

'a representation of ye Court of France in wax, as big as the life, and clothed in ye habits, ye Court of France wore last year, being given to him for that purpose'. Sir J.Percival who witnessed the scene in 1730, claimed that 'Nothing can be finer done nor more like, tho only ye Duke of Bourbon's face was taken off in plaister of paris'.⁵¹

Although only two surviving portrait models by Matthew Gosset have yet come to light, significantly, they represent George II and Queen Caroline, are dated 1741, and were originally in the collection of Herbert Dupuy, and are now in the Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. Pyke reproduces a photograph of the Queen Caroline, which is preserved in its original carved and gilded frame, and is set in an additional wax frame of its own, decorated with acanthus and palm leaves in relief, the royal arms and a male mask.⁵² Thus, not only was Matthew Gosset able to combine the arts of frame making and wax modelling, but he was able to instruct his nephew the better known Isaac Gosset, in both arts.

E.J.Pyke recorded a series of 12 wax models in one frame in the collection of Dr.H.Gosset in New Zealand. These consisted of Appuleius, Aratus, Aristophanes, Democritus, Diogenes, Epicurus, Heraclitus, Lepidus, Livia Pompei, unidentified head, and Zene.⁵³ However, another branch of the Gosset family, acquired in 1909 another series of twelve heads in one frame, of which only two correspond in subject matter to the set mentioned above. The label on the verso describes the heads as 'Roman Emperors', although the names inscribed on the medals themselves read 'Aristotle, Democratus, Aristophanes, Apollthyen, Apollo tyanix, Arischinus, Terence, Numa, Horace, Aratus, Euclid and Ovid'.⁵⁴ However, Pyke records that ten Roman Emperors are dispersed in Gosset family collections in New Zealand, these consist of Augustus, Julius Caesar, Emperor Caligula, Claudius, Domitian, Galba, Titus, Tiberius, Vespasian, and Vitellus.

Gosset also produced a series of British Worthies, which were presented to the University of Leiden by Thomas Hollis in 1758. These consist of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, John Locke, Edmund Ludlow, Andrew Marvell, John Milton, Isaac Newton, Sir Walter Raleigh, John Selden, and John Wycliffe.⁵⁵ Such series of ancient and modern worthies are the miniature equivalent of the series of sculptured busts that contemporary sculptors produced for libraries; these however, were probably intended for a Gentleman's smaller cabinet of curiosities.

It is probable that even portraits of contemporaries were intended to be displayed as a series representing members of the same family. Vertue noted that Mr. Gosset 'has had the Honour of his Majestyes His sitting to him having done the King's portrait in wax extreamly like him and the late Prince of Wales - the princess of Wales - the Duke of Cumberland - and the Present young Prince of Wales'.⁵⁶ Vertue was referring to George II and two portraits by Gosset of that monarch survive in the Royal Collection, with three portraits of Frederick 'the late Prince of Wales' one of Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, Princess of Wales, one of William Augustus Duke of Cumberland, and one of George III as Prince of Wales, and in addition one of George I, one of Frederick Augustus, Duke of York, one of Fredinand, Duke of Brunswick, one of Edward Duke of York, two of George III as monarch, and one of the Rev. Isaac Gosset, the modeller's grandson, who became vicar of Windsor and chaplain to King George III. The latter used to be shown his grandfather's models when he dined at the castle.⁵⁷ (Plate 147)

Although the majority of Gosset's models were created as finished works in themselves, it would seem that Gosset also made models for temporary use. An account amongst the Petworth archives records the fact that Gosset was paid for a 'model of ye Queene in a Rich frame' for the use of Mr. Hoare the painter.⁵⁸ It is probable that the wax model of Henry XVIII made by Gosset for Horace Walpole, was acquired as a substitute, until Walpole was able to acquire the original hone stone relief.⁵⁹

Yet another talented Dieppe craftsman who specialized in miniature portraits was Jean Obrisset, who worked in horn and silver, and whose father is recorded as an ivory carver, working both in England and Dieppe.⁶⁰ Jean Obrisset probably used dies to create impressions in pressed horn, and as many of the images bear a close resemblance to contemporary medals, it is probable that Obrisset may have collaborated with a medallist, although he evidently also relied on engravings as source material. Thus Obrisset's portraits of Charles I and Charles I with Henrietta Maria are based on memorial medals of 1670 by Roettiers, (Plate 148 and 1649 by Heinrich Rhitz respectively, the image of Oliver Cromwell is based on the Battle of Dunbar medal of 1650; Charles II is based on the medal by Roettiers of the Battle of Lowestoft. The joint image of William III and Mary II is based on Bower's Coronation medal, and medallions executed in lead by Obrisset of Queen Anne and George I are based on medals by John Croker. Where there was no easily accessible

medallic prototype , Obrisset probably turned to paintings, and his image of James I is thought to be based on a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, and his portrait of Prince George of Denmark is thought to have been copied from a picture at Kensington Palace by Kneller.⁶¹

Since the publication of P.A.S. Phillips' monograph on this craftsman in 1935, other signed works have come to light, and include a portrait of James III the old pretender and his sister Louise, based on Roettier's medal of 1712. In addition Obrisset also produced equestrian portraits of Charles I, George II and Peter the Great. Although most of the designs cited above were incorporated into the lids of snuffboxes, there are several portrait plaques in tortoiseshell signed by Obrisset, which are almost the equivalent of a Cavalier or Le Marchand medallion portrait. A particularly fine tortoiseshell plaque of James II is in the British Museum, another portrait plaque of an unknown man bears the Fitzgerald arms on the reverse.⁶²

Another means of capturing a profile portrait was the silhouette, and in this context it is worth noting that the Huguenot François Toronde worked in this capacity. Toronde's contribution to this art form consists of a series of conversation pieces of families with their servants, pets and furniture. Although Toronde's surviving work dates from much later, Toronde began his career as a drawing master in Bath about 1760, and then later settled in Berwick Street, Soho.⁶³

It has already been suggested that Obrisset and Gosset may have relied on engravings for the identity of a sitter no longer living. Portrait engravings were also used as a cheaper form of creating numerous copies of a portrait of an eminent contemporary. One little known engraver of Huguenot origin is Peter Vandrebanc who was in England by 1685, when he engraved Kneller's ad vivum study for the full length portrait of King Louis XIV in armour. The engraving is inscribed 'Ludovicus Magnus / ad vivum depictus a Gotfriedo Knellero cum in finem a Divo Carolo II ex Anglia in Galliam Miss A. 1685 dein vero ob summam picturam excellentiam Sculptus a P. Vandrebanc.'⁶⁴ Vandrebanc was living in Soho, the west side of Greek Street in 1692 and in Dean Street in 1693-4;⁶⁵ by 1693 he had engraved nine of the plates for Tijou's, 'A new Booke of Drawings'.

Another engraver who is identified with the Huguenot community in London, Paul van Somer, was actually born in Amsterdam although he trained in Paris. His arrival in London dates from 1674-5, and his engraved

portraits include Henrietta and Anne Churchill after Mignard, which is inscribed 'sold by P. van Somer in Newport Street', and more appropriate to a Huguenot context, Israel Antoine Aufrere, which is inscribed 'D. en T. Ministre de l'eglise Francoise de la Savoye a Londres'⁶⁶. Whereas the engravings by Vandrebanc and van Somer closely follow their sources, it is interesting to compare the engraved portraits by Simon Gribelin. Two preparatory drawings by Gribelin for portrait engravings survive in the Ashmolean Museum.

One is a drawing based on the portrait by Dahl of James 2nd Duke of Ormonde. (Plate 149) The engraving reproduces the oval drawing in reverse but sets it in an allegorical surround which includes figures representing Fame, Justice and Mars, and judging by the signature, 'S. Gribelin inv. et sculps' was designed by Gribelin (Plate 150). In 1711, Ormonde had succeeded John, 1st Duke of Montagu as Captain-General.⁶⁷ The other drawing represents a more mysterious figure, it is inscribed, 'guill Trumbull agent pour les Roy Jac I at Char I a la cour de Bruxelles' (Plate 151) who was in fact grandfather of the William Trumbull who was ambassador to Paris 1685-6.⁶⁸

Possibly the most important of the portrait engravers of Huguenot origin who settled in this country was Jean Simon who took up engraving in mezzotint. Simon's earliest prints date from the middle of the reign of Queen Anne, when he was employed by Kneller who had fallen out with Smith,⁶⁹ Simon's engravings after Kneller include the portrait of Lord Somers, Another early print is based on the ad vivum portrait by Arlaud of Ezechial Spannheim who was ambassador from the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Brandenburg to various courts including England, and in that capacity rendered services to the Huguenot refugees on the Revocation. Spannheim died in London on 28th October, 1710 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.⁷⁰ The inscription of the print describes Spannheim as Ambassador to Queen Anne in 1707, and was probably printed to announce his arrival in London. Another subject attributed to Simon with Huguenot connections is inscribed 'A Sketch of a Topeing meeting between a Parson, a Burgher-masters Steward and a Poet, which all people that know em, if they please may laugh at Drawn from the life at the House of a famous Burgher Master'. One of the figures represented has been identified as Thomas D'Urfey, who was born in Exeter of protestant parents who had fled from La Rochelle before 1628, and as a playwright and song writer frequented Knole, the Burgher Master's house referred to in

the print.⁷¹

Jean Simon also worked as an engraver for Huguenot artists; he produced an engraving after Brit's miniature of Queen Anne and seven engravings after portraits by Philip Mercier of Frederick Prince of Wales, which is significant considering that only thirteen of Mercier's one hundred and thirty one recorded portraits were engraved.⁷² There was presumably always a demand for prints of royalty. The other portraits by Mercier which were engraved include a self-portrait of the artist, and a portrait of the Huguenot General Louis de Jean by John Faber. There is also an etching by Mercier himself of the artist with his first wife and family. Prints of self-portraits of artists were presumably useful as an advertisement, and there seems to have been a demand for prints of military leaders. The only other prints after paintings by Mercier are by Faber, and date from Mercier's Yorkshire period, where there was presumably a market for images of local personalities. These include John Hebden 'a celebrated musician' and John Phillips who achieved his fame by reaching the age of 116.

Philip Mercier arrived in this country in 1716, having been born and trained in Berlin under Antoine Pesne, and having travelled in France and Italy.⁷³ According to Vertue, Mercier arrived with a portrait of Frederick Prince of Wales, which anticipated the Prince's arrival in this country by twelve years, and must have been of interest.⁷⁴ It is no surprise to find that on January 9th, 1729, Mercier was appointed principal painter to Frederick. The salary covered the cost of painting royal portraits, and so with the exception of a payment of ten guineas in 1735 for a portrait of Princess Mary on Cooper by myself,⁷⁵ there are no separate entries for Mercier's royal portraits in the accounts. Nine portraits of Frederick by Mercier survive and of these three were engraved by Simon. The National Portrait Gallery example, now at Beningborough outside York, which was not engraved, is thought to have been painted towards the end of Mercier's period as principal painter, probably in 1736. (Plate 152) In October of the same year, Mercier was replaced by John Ellys, who had been trained at the St. Martin's Lane Academy under Louis Chéron and John Vanderbanck.⁷⁶

One of Mercier's most original contributions to British portraiture is the Sir John Ligonier, the spirited modelling and bright red coat reflect the vigour of this great Huguenot soldier (Plate 153) who was later

the subject of a portrait bust by the Huguenot sculptor, Roubiliac. The Mercier portrait must be thirty years earlier in date, and therefore contemporary with Mercier's portraits of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

With the arrival of foreign artists, Amigoni and Van Loo, and with increasing competition from British artists, Mercier was forced to seek patronage elsewhere, and decided to settle in York in 1741. Presumably, even York did not provide enough work for in 1747, Mercier visited Ireland, where he was evidently in contact with the Huguenot community in Dublin, as the portrait of Henriette Raboteau, wife of William Le Fanu, who lived in Dublin all her life, must date from this year.⁷⁷ (Plate 154). By comparison with the bold positive portraits of Prince Frederick and Sir John Ligonier, executed when Mercier was in his prime, the portrait of Henriette Le Fanu, distanced by its painted oval format, is sober and subdued, no doubt appropriately for the wife of a respected Huguenot, but it is remarkably sober by contrast with Mercier's other female portraits of this date, such as the Mrs. Elizabeth Boyd.⁷⁸ As another female portrait in similar subdued dress by Mercier is known in a private collection in Edinburgh, it has been suggested that this may represent the typical dress of a Huguenot lady of standing.⁷⁹ Hogarth's 'Noon', which shows the Huguenots emerging from the Eglise des Grécs in Hog Lane, Soho, shows five ladies wearing similar bonnets, lined by an additional black hood. (Plate 2)

It seems probable that Mercier also identified to some extent with the Huguenot community in York. His portrait of Marmaduke Fothergill with his sister and mother (now destroyed) showed in the background the portrait of his father, Sir Marmaduke Fothergill, painted by the Huguenot James Parmentier, which is now in the library of York Minster. (Plate 155). Although this is in bad condition, the inscription is partly legible, and includes the name of the sitter, his age, 64, and the year 1717. Parmentier has been recorded as an assistant to Boit in 1691, and his activities as a history painter have been discussed elsewhere, but he seems to have practised both as a portrait and history painter.⁸⁰ His earliest recorded portrait is of Charles St. Evremond. The original painting at Knole is signed and

dated 1701, and a copy is in the National Portrait Gallery. A political exile, St. Evremond identified with the Huguenot community in London,⁸¹ despite his catholic faith, and received a pension from Ralph Montagu.

By 1703 it seems that Parmentier had settled in Yorkshire, for Ralph Thoresby notes in his Diary on 12th March, 1703, that he had sat to Parmentier for his own portrait.⁸² This may well be the portrait now at Sledmere. Two portraits of Henry and Anne Cooke of Ouston, Doncaster York, signed and dated 1704 were sold at Sotheby's in 1978,⁸³ and Parmentier also painted Sir Francis Chaplin in 1713.⁸³ Although it has been suggested that painters such as Mercier and Parmentier, although of Huguenot origin, did not identify in any way with the Huguenot community in Britain, it is more than probable that both painters were initially attracted to York, by the existence of a Huguenot community in that city. A letter from Parmentier to Thoresby dated July 30th, 1707 suggests that his son attended a French school in Leeds run by a Mr. Seignior.⁸⁴ It is significant that after Mercier's death in 1760, his widow Dorothy Clapham, who was not of Huguenot origin, set up as a printseller and stationer in Soho. Dorothy exhibited four miniatures at the Society of Artists in 1761 and in the same year was appointed by the Society to look after the miniatures.⁸⁵

Two other painters of Huguenot origin who came to England from Switzerland in 1743 are Barthelemy Du Pan and David Morier. The latter painted an equestrian portrait of Lord Ligonier now at Anglesey Abbey. The former was employed by Frederick, Prince of Wales,⁸⁶ in 1745, when he was paid £80 'For two pictures of His Royal Highness'. Du Pan also painted Dr. Maty, librarian at the British Museum, the portrait still hangs in the Board Room of that institution.⁸⁷ It is probable that Du Pan also visited Dublin, as an engraving after his portrait of the first Earl of Harrington is lettered 'Du Pan Pinxt. Dublin 1750'.⁸⁸ Yet another Swiss artist to visit England was Jean Etienne Liotard, the son of Antoine Liotard, a refugee from Montelimar in France, who settled in Geneva where his son was taught by the painter Gardelle, possibly a relation of the notorious miniaturist Theodore Gardelle, also born in Geneva, who was working in London in 1759.⁸⁹ Liotard's presence is recorded in England 1703-5 and his sitters included David Garrick, and Mrs. Garrick Isaac Gosset, George III as Prince of Wales, a posthumous portrait of Frederick, Prince of Wales, Princess Augusta and their nine children,

Dr. Richard Pococke, the Countess of Meath, Sir Everard Fawkener, Sir William Ponsonby and Maria, Countess of Coventry, dressed in a Turkish costume.

Roubiliac's only surviving attempt at portrait painting is a copy of the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare which belongs to the British Museum, and may well have been presented by Roubiliac's friend the Librarian, Dr. Maty. Roubiliac was evidently looking for a convincing source for his portraits of Shakespeare, and even asked Sir Joshua Reynolds to produce a copy of the same Chandos portrait for his use. The payments to Mr. Rhinold, £17, 10th December, 1757; £25, on July 20th, 1757 and £18 on August 12th, 1757 in Roubiliac's account with Drummond's Bank, may relate to this request.⁹¹ Roubiliac produced two terracotta versions of the statue of Shakespeare, as well as the full sized marble version, and a smaller marble version is also recorded.⁹² Roubiliac also produced a terracotta bust of Shakespeare which was presented by Dr. Maty to the British Museum in 1762, and a marble version which is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington.

Dr. Maty's bequest included seventeen busts and casts bought from the sale of Roubiliac's effects after his death. These included terracottas of Barrow, Ray, Bentley, Charles I, Cromwell and Willoughby: and plaster casts of Chesterfield, Folkes, Dr. Mead, Pope, Milton, Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Tully and Marcus Aurelius.⁹³ It is possible that Dr. Maty bequeathed the busts to the British Museum with the idea of displaying them as a decorative and inspirational device in the library of which he was in charge. The tradition of using busts to decorate a library dates back to Sir Robert Cotton's private library in his house at Westminster at the end of the sixteenth century.⁹⁴ It has already been mentioned that Roubiliac supplied busts for the libraries of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dublin in the 1750's and 1740's respectively. The models of Barrow, Bentley and Willoughby, presented to the British Museum by Dr. Maty relate directly to the marbles in Trinity College Library, Cambridge.⁹⁵

A plaster model of Dr. Bentley was probably bought by Andrew Ducarel, also of Huguenot descent, who was keeper of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Library at Lambeth Palace, where it still remains.⁹⁶ The Pope, Charles I, Chesterfield and Folkes are all known in marble and in bronze and can be firmly related to the terracottas in the British Museum.⁹⁷ However, to date, no marble versions of Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Tully, Marcus Aurelius, Cromwell or Milton are known, although another terracotta of Milton is in the Royal Scottish Museum.⁹⁸ Although there is a plaster bust of Plato in Trinity College Library, Cambridge, it is based on an early 17th century model.⁹⁹

However, Roubiliac also provided a series of busts for private libraries, and Wilton House preserves a series of four busts in marble of contemporaries, and two terracotta busts of Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke and Sir Francis Bacon.¹⁰⁰ The latter may be the model for the marble at Cambridge, but a marble of Thomas, 8th Earl of Pembroke is not known in England. However, marbles of both sitters, which correspond to the terracottas at Wilton (apart from the fact that there is one less button on each of the sleeves of the marble of Sir Francis Bacon) are to be found in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, for which it has previously been assumed that Roubiliac only provided the marble bust of Dean Swift, which was in place by July 1749. However, a closer examination of the busts in Trinity College Library, reveals that the eighteenth century busts of Milton, Demosthenes, Plato and Socrates are unsigned, and are of sufficient quality to be by Roubiliac. Unfortunately, the terracottas of Demosthenes, Plato and Socrates by Roubiliac, which were presented to the British Museum by Dr. Maty, have disappeared, and it is not possible to make a direct comparison with the marbles in Dublin, although it would seem probable that the terracottas were preliminary studies for the finished marble busts. Until the terracottas come to light, it is not possible to attribute the marble busts of Demosthenes, Plato, and Socrates to Roubiliac, although it can now be proved that Roubiliac supplied three busts for the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Roubiliac also produced a set of medallion portraits of British Worthies.¹⁰¹ According to Roubiliac's sale catalogue, these included, Cromwell

Garrrick, Conyers Middleton, Newton, Pope, Handel and Inigo Jones. With the exception of the Inigo Jones, these medallion portraits survive in bronze, although the Handel is also known in terracotta. It is probable that other sitters were portrayed in this way as Mrs. Esdaile noted that a medallion head of Edward Capell, the Shakespeare scholar was engraved by Bartolozzi as a frontispiece to Capell's 'Notes on Shakespeare, and described it as 'from a model in plaister taken from the life by Roubiliac, 1759'.¹⁰²

Although there is no evidence that Roubiliac used these medallion portraits as a source for medals, medallion portraits in marble play a vital role in his monumental sculpture, both in the smaller monuments such as those to Elizabeth Craven, St. Mary's Scarborough, and Elizabeth Smith, St. Botolph's Aldgate, and Ann Taylor, St. Mary's Newark, whereas medallion portraits also form important items in Roubiliac's large scale monuments, such as the medallion portraits on the monuments to General Fleming in Westminster Abbey, and George Lynn, Southwick, Northamptonshire.

One of the most delicate of Roubiliac's female portrait medallions is the portrait of Mary Clara des Champs de Marcilly, Marchioness of Villette, of a Huguenot family, who married Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, and is to be seen on the monument to them both in St. Mary's, Battersea (Plate 156) The medallion of Clara placed to the right of the inscription, is in marked contrast to the vigorous and masculine profile of Lord Bolingbroke opposite.

On the monument to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, in Warkton Church, Northamptonshire, the medallion portrait of the deceased is used as the focal point. The widowed Duchess stands on a lower level watching a figure of Charity placing the medallion portrait in the centre with the assistance of a small putto above. It is perhaps significant that in the year that John, 2nd Duke of Montagu died, a medal was cast in memory of the deceased by the swiss medallist Jacques Antoine Dassier, and the use of a medallion portrait in such a significant manner on the monument may relate to the circulation of this medal amongst the friends of the deceased.¹⁰³

Jacques Antoine Dassier (1715-1780) was probably the son of Jean Dassier (1676-1763) who became chief engraver to the republic of Geneva, and visited England in 1728, producing in 1731 a medallion series of English sovereigns from William I to George II. Jacques Antoine came

to England in 1740, and it is interesting to note that the medallist was producing a series of portraits of the same subjects as Roubiliac. Dassier printed proposals for making medals of distinguished living English men, the subscription was 4 guineas for thirteen medals or 7s 6d for a single medal. Six other subjects of medals by Dassier were also portrayed by Roubiliac.¹⁰⁴ They were John, Duke of Argyll, 1743, two years before Roubiliac started working on the monument in Westminster Abbey; Lord Chesterfield, 1743, also two years before Roubiliac's signed marble bust; Martin Folkes, 1740; Sir Andrew Fountaine, 1744, Roubiliac made busts of both sitters c.1748 for Lord Pembroke; Alexander Pope, 1741 contemporary with Roubiliac's first recorded bust of the poet; and the reigning monarch George II. Dassier's medal of Martin Folkes described by Vertue as 'very like' is now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.¹⁰⁵ A later medal by Dassier of Frederick, Prince of Wales is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Both medals are parcel gilt and bring to mind the fact that Jacques Antoine received instruction from the Parisian goldsmith Germain.¹⁰⁶ It is highly probable that Roubiliac and Jacques Antoine Dassier knew each other, and it is possible that Roubiliac's later series of medallion portraits, albeit of a larger size and in higher relief, were inspired by the knowledge of Dassier's high quality medals. In 1756, Dassier left England for St. Petersburg and died on his way back to England in Copenhagen in 1759.

Although Roubiliac's series of busts of eminent contemporaries have already been noted, it is of interest to show, that like Mercier, Roubiliac was also patronized on occasion by his fellow Huguenots. The bust of Arabella Aufrere (Plate 157) signed and dated 1748, is of particular interest. Arabella was the wife of George, the grandson of Israel Antoine Aufrere, Minister of the Savoy. George Aufrere worked initially as Steward to Lord Exeter at Burghley, and it is possible that Roubiliac received the early commission for the two portrait busts to Lady Exeter's parents, Thomas and Mrs. Chambers, on their monument in All Saints, Derby through the influence of his fellow Huguenot George Aufrere. The latter became member of parliament for Stamford, and built up a superb collection of works of art at his house near the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. According to a notice in the Monthly Magazine, October 1st, 1804, which announced the death of Roubiliac's sitter, her daughter Sophia, who married the 1st Lord Yarborough, inherited this collection, 'one of the finest collections of paintings in this country. The late Sir Joshua Reynolds

frequently said, that it contained a greater variety of pieces by the first masters of the Italian, Dutch and French and Flemish Schools, than any other private collection in England and estimated its value at £200,000.¹⁰⁷ This collection forms the nucleus of the Yarborough collection at Brocklesby Park, where Roubiliac's portrait bust of Arabella Aufrere remains.

The most distinguished of Roubiliac's Huguenot patrons was John, Viscount Ligonier, who fled from Castres in the south of France to Dublin under an assumed name at the age of seventeen, and fought as a volunteer in Marlborough's army in 1702. He rose from a Colonel, 1711, Brigadier General, 1735, Major General, 1739, Lieutenant General 1742/3, General 1746, to Field Marshall in 1757.¹⁰⁸ An exceptionally fine terracotta for the marble bust of this subject at Windsor Castle is in the National Portrait Gallery, (Plate 158) The bust combines an impression of majesty associated with a great military hero with an intensely human interpretation of a face that has undergone much hardship and reveals great determination. A pencil drawing probably made after the Roubiliac marble now at Windsor, is in the Harris Art Gallery, Preston (Plate 159)¹⁰⁹ It has been attributed to Nollekens, but although the execution of the drapery and even the position of the wig are identical to the original marble, the face in the drawing bears little resemblance to the intensity of expression so successfully rendered by Roubiliac, even the length of the face and the structure of the chin are unrecognisable in the drawing, which suggests that it was executed by a studio hand, possibly Nathaniel Smith, who later became an assistant to Nollekens,

Such then is the extent of the Huguenot contribution to the art of portraiture in this period. However, quite apart from being regarded as an end in itself, these portraits were copied and used as decorative devices in two dimensional form on snuffboxes, or casts, taken from medallion portraits or busts by Le Marchand, Dassier, Roubiliac or Gosset were used by the porcelain manufacturers to produce a popular edition of the original. Thus Liotard's crayon portrait of George III as Prince of Wales was engraved by the French Simon Francois Ravenet and used as a transfer print at Battersea 1753-6, to decorate enamel plaques and snuffboxes.¹¹⁰

During the early 1750's three porcelain busts of George II, George Prince of Wales, and William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, which have been described as 'distinguished original works' were produced.¹¹¹

No models directly related to these busts have been discovered. It is of particular interest to note therefore, that Roubiliac, whose name is often associated with the Chelsea factory did produce a bust of George II, which is now at Windsor Castle. However, it would seem that this particular bust was not a royal commission, but was according to the archives at Windsor, presented with the marble of Lord Ligonier, on 27th June, 1817, by a Thomas Lloyd of 112 Gloucester Place, London.¹¹² It is therefore possible that Roubiliac produced the bust on his own initiative, and also provided a model for the use of the Chelsea Porcelain manufactory. Roubiliac's interpretation of the monarch, dressed in armour, wearing the Order of the Garter, with a flamboyant piece of drapery knotted at the side, was suitable for reproduction as a public image. On the other hand, Rysbrack is known to have produced busts of both George II, and William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, although neither sculptor has yet been associated with a bust of George III as Prince of Wales. It is also possible that another sculptor, such as John Cheere, had taken casts from work by both Roubiliac and Rysbrack, and then supplied the porcelain manufactory with the casts. Cheere is known to have had casts after Roubiliac's busts of Newton and Bacon, both of which were later reproduced in black basalt by Wedgwood and Bentley.¹¹³

Wedgwood also turned to Gosset for sources. Portrait medallions of Anne, Princess of Orange, Augusta, Princess of Wales, Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, Sir Robert Walpole, Queen Charlotte, George Edwards, Frederick, Prince of Wales, George II, and George III, were all based on the Huguenot wax-modeller's originals. Wedgwood medallions of Frederick, Lord North, and George I were based on wax models by Matthew Gosset. The Wedgwood medallions of John, Duke of Marlborough, John, Duke of Montagu, Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, Abraham Demoivre, Martin Folkes, and Sir Andrew Fountaine were based on the medals by J.A.Dassier. Wedgwood even used ivory portraits by David Le Marchand for his medallion portraits of Anne Dacier, wife of the Huguenot scholar, who abjured her faith on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, remaining in France, where Le Marchand's ivory portrait, now in the British Museum, was executed. Nicholas Boileau Despreaux, based on the ivory by Le Marchand now in the Royal Collection, was produced by Wedgwood as a pendant to the Anne Dacier. A medallion portrait of Sir Isaac Newton, based on the ivory medallion by Le Marchand which was sold at Sotheby's in 1963, and the Wedgwood medallions of Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Raper were also based on originals by Le Marchand. Wedgwood's relief portrait of the Hon. Robert Boyle was based on a medal cast from the ivory by J. Cavalier.¹¹⁴

The miniature in enamel was a unique Huguenot contribution to the art of portraiture, which originated in Blois, was nurtured in Geneva, and practised by Huguenots in Great Britain throughout this period. Various Huguenot artists channelled their technical mastery of different media into portraiture, as it was constantly in demand. It is a significant tribute to the enduring qualities of Huguenot portraiture that the originals were used as models for later reproduction.

CONCLUSION

It has been shown that a wide variety of Huguenot artists, designers and craftsmen settled and worked in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-1760. It remains to determine whether any consistent pattern can be drawn from the variety of the Huguenot artistic contributions over this period. Was there a distinct Huguenot style, which was maintained throughout this period? And if so, how and to what extent did the Huguenot style influence native craftsmanship?

The style of the first generation Huguenot artists and craftsmen was influenced by their place of origin in France. Four fifths of these Huguenot artists and craftsmen came from the provinces, and thus their style tended to be out of date by comparison with the work of those who had trained in Paris, and practised at the French court. Most of the great Huguenot silversmiths came from the French provinces; Abraham Harache from Rouen; Peter Archambo and Louis Mettayer from the Ile de Rè; and David Willaume from Metz. What is regarded as the Huguenot style in silver is therefore based on the French provincial style of the late 17th century. As most late 17th century plate was melted down to finance the French wars against the Dutch, it is not possible to compare the Huguenot silver with contemporary French metropolitan plate. It is only by comparing the pattern books of a provincial craftsmen; Simon Gribelin from Blois, for example, with the designs of the Court based Jean Tijou and Daniel Marot that the contrast is revealed. The contrast lies in the vocabulary of the ornament used, rather than in the presentation.

Despite the contrast in degrees of sophistication, Marot's, Tijou's and Gribelin's designs share the same quality. Their pattern books are characterized by vigorously rendered ornament, carefully balanced and proportioned, which even in two dimensional form anticipates the three dimensional quality which will be inherent in its translation into metal, stone or wood. Gribelin's designs anticipate the subtleties of depth which will become apparent in engraving on silver. The same substantial, yet appropriate ornament, is to be found on the woodwork, porcelain, sculpture and decorative painting produced by Huguenot artists and craftsmen. The uniqueness of the Huguenot style lies in the fact that the ornament is so

satisfactorily integrated with the structure of the object or painting.

Native British craftsmen were certainly impressed by the Huguenot artistic contribution, and learnt from their example. The work of the goldsmith George Wickes, or the gatesmith William Edney, reflects the influence of the first generation Huguenot craftsmen in their respective fields; although their work lacks the robustness and plasticity that is found in Huguenot prototypes.

It is significant that whereas Gribelin's pattern books continued to be sold in London until the 1740's, by that date they would have had a limited appeal to craftsmen who were working in an outdated style. Both Tijou's and Marot's designs remained influential well into the mid-eighteenth century, and their ornamental vocabulary is to be found as late as 1758 in the plasterwork decoration of the Rotunda Hospital Chapel in Dublin, executed by the Huguenot craftsman, Bartholomew Cramillion; the canopy of the altar back is decorated with the lambrequin ornament so typical of Marot's and Tijou's designs. Of the Huguenot designers, Marot was undoubtedly the most influential, in that he designed such a wide range of artistic features, and brought to English taste the notion that every feature of an interior or exterior should be designed by the same hand; a notion which was taken up by two great designer architects of the eighteenth century, William Kent and Robert Adam.

It would be fair to say that Daniel Marot was largely responsible for disseminating the style of the court of Louis XIV in England, which is associated with those Huguenot craftsmen who were privileged to be able to work for their monarch, at least before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. However, by no means all the Huguenot first generation craftsmen mentioned in this thesis conformed to Marot's artistic principles, although they did all share a technical mastery of their work, which combined with high standards of execution, earned them commissions in this country. It was the combination of a distinctive style, which was in itself, partly the result of technical mastery, that forced native craftsmen to compete.

The second generation of Huguenot craftsmen had to contend with new changes in fashion, the British admiration for the French classicizing baroque style of the court of Louis XIV waned in favour of the lighter, more graceful, rococo style of the court of Louis XV. In order to retain new commissions and employment, second generation Huguenot

artists and craftsmen had to adopt the new style, but once again their technical mastery and sense of proportion and harmony, which they had inherited and learnt from the previous generation, stood them in good stead, and they led native craftsmen into the new developments in style. Many of the refugee designers and craftsmen maintained direct contact with the European continent through Huguenot relatives who had settled elsewhere, and this enabled them to keep abreast of the latest developments in taste. It is against this background that the work of the great second generation Huguenot silversmith, Paul de Lamerie should be seen, and the rococo pattern books produced by the second generation Huguenot designers, Francois Chassereau, William Delacour and Francois Vivares.

To what extent did the Huguenot ethic influence their artistic contribution? Their high standards, and capacity for maintaining technical mastery, and their conscientiousness have been noted. Huguenot artists and designers also felt a responsibility to communicate their expertise to the next generation. Many of the late 17th century and early 18th century pattern books produced in England were the product of the refugee designers. Huguenot artists were prepared to teach on the side, and Louis Chéron's contribution to the St. Martin's Lane Academy has been underestimated. It is significant, too, that the fields in which the Huguenot artists, designers and craftsmen excelled, combined beauty with utility. Of the 530 professions recorded in the Huguenot registers, 155 were goldsmiths, 90 were watchmakers, and 45 were carpenters and upholsterers. The tendency for portrait painters to channel their talent into the miniature, which could be used as ornament on useful objects, has been noted. It is significant that one of the major Huguenot contributions lay in the field of engineering.

This thesis has brought to light some four hundred and fifty hitherto unknown craftsmen who are recorded as having worked in Great Britain and Ireland over this period. The purpose of this thesis has been to examine the contribution of the great names associated with Huguenot artistic heritage, Paul de Lamerie, Daniel Marot, and Louis Francois Roubiliac, against the background of these lesser artists and craftsmen of the Huguenot community with which they were all three intimately associated. The extent to which the Huguenot community supported these artists, designers and craftsmen, and built up a steady circle of patronage, has been revealed, and provides fascinating insight into the

close relationship between the different art forms for which the Huguenot craftsmen were responsible. It is this exemplary relationship between the different art forms, that is arguably the most significant aspect of the Huguenot contribution to art, design, and craftsmanship in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-1760.

NOTES TO THE TEXTINTRODUCTION

1. A.J.Grant, The Huguenots, London, 1934, p.162ff
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9. Georgia Harkness, John Calvin, The Man and his Ethics, New York, 1931, p.164
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THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO METALWORK: ENGRAVING

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44. P. Van Somer's address is given in the inscription on Gribelin's engraving of the seven bishops committed to the Tower by James II in 1688. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.
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60. Bernard Quaritch, Reprints of Rare Books, VI.
61. Huguenot Society Quarto Publications, Vol. XXXV, A Supplement to Dr. W.A. Shaw's Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization, p.13. Abraham Martin, described as an engraver of Clerkenwell, witnesses the naturalization of Denis Clapot and Jacob Rodet who are both described as watchmakers.
62. R. Symonds, Thomas Tompion, His Life and Work, 1951, p.134. Francois Asselin entered the Clockmakers' Company, 7 November, 1687.
63. A Michael Tijou, probably of the third generation, is recorded as working in Greek Street, Soho, as a carver & gilder in 1796.
64. Charles Oman, English Engraved Silver 1150-1900, 1978, p.79, figure 91.
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66. Charles Oman, op.cit., p.63, pl.69.
67. I am grateful to Richard Garnier for the information that the Master of George Vertue has been tentatively identified as Blaise Gentot.
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69. Ibid., Vol. XXVI, Op.cit., p. 22.
70. The inscription inside the front cover of the volume reads, 'Gribelin's works compleat - made up by himself, very curious.'
71. Charles Oman, op.cit, pp.76-78, 82.
72. Richard Godfrey, Printmaking in Britain, 1978, p.31.
73. Horace Walpole and Strawberry Hill, Orleans House Exhibition Catalogue, 1980, no.97.
74. Treasures from Chatsworth, The Devonshire Inheritance, Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, 1980, nos. 171 and 172.
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THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO DECORATIVE PAINTING

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2. Huguenot Society Quarto Publications, Vol. XXII, Le Livre des Conversions et des Reconnoissances faites a L'Eglise francoise de la Savoye, 1684-1702, p.13.

3. English Baroque Sketches, catalogue of exhibition at Marble Hill House Twickenham, 1 May - 7 July, 1974, contains a useful chronology.
4. George Vertue, Note Books, I, p.87.
5. Ibid., III, p.111. The decorative scheme was destroyed when the church was rebuilt in the nineteenth century. Parmentier also painted 'at Hull an Altarpiece the Lords Supper' (Vertue, III, p.29) which has been overpainted but survives in Holy Trinity Church.
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7. George Vertue, Note Books, III, p.22; IV, p.43.
8. Desalier D'Argenville, Abrege de la Vie des plus fameux Peintres, 1765, pp.332.
9. George Vertue, op.cit., III, p.21.
10. Desalier D'Argenville, op.cit., pp. 339-40.
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14. John Cornforth, op.cit., III, p.687.
15. The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley M.D. and the Antiquarian and other Correspondance of William Stukeley, I, The Surtees Society, Vol. LXXIII, 1882.
16. George Vertue, op.cit., III, p.22.
17. Chatsworth, Building Accounts, Vol.VI, p.1.
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24. Dussieux, L.E., Les Artistes Francaises a l'Etranger, Paris, 1856, pp. 271-2.
25. George Vertue, op.cit., V., pp.47,139.
26. Guide Book to Drumlanrig Castle, p.15.
27. George Vertue, op.cit., I, p.87.
28. Ibid, III, pp.39-40.
29. Marcus Binney, 'Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire', Country Life, Vol.151, 15 March 1973, pp.678-682, p.680.
30. George Vertue, op.cit., II, p.35.
31. Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 93 H 24 (8480) fol.5.
32. Blathwayt Papers, Gloucester County Record Office, E.234.
33. Ian Bristow 'The Balcony Room at Dyrham, National Trust Studies, 1980, pp.141-146.
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35. Joyce Godber, Wrest Park and the Duke of Kent, Henry Grey (1671-1740) which includes a reproduction of John Rocque's Survey.
36. Huguenot Society Quarto Publications, Vol. XXV., Registers of the French Church of Le Carre and Berwick Street London, p.42.
37. Sackville Papers, Kent County Record Office, Maidstone, UZ 69, A 232.
38. Pearl Finch, Burley on the Hill from Saxon Times to the Present Day, Vol.I, 1901, p.69.

39. Huguenot Society Quarto Publications, Vol. XXV, Registers of the French Church of Le Carre and Berwick Street, London.
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41. English Baroque Sketches, op.cit., under Antonio Verrio.
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THE HUGUENOT CONTRIBUTION TO ART EDUCATION, LOUIS CHERON, L.F.ROUBILIAC
AND THE ST. MARTIN'S LANE ACADEMY

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3. Ibid., p.174.
4. Boughton House Accounts, 1706-7.
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6. See pp.35-6.
7. H.A.Hammelmann, Book Illustration in Eighteenth Century England, 1975, p.19.
8. John Woodwiss, British Silhouettes, 1965.
9. D.N.B. under Fournier, Daniel.
10. Huguenot Society Quarto Publications, Vol. XXII, Le Livre des Conversions et des Reconnoissances faites a L'Eglise francoise de la Savoye, 1684-1702, p.13 ; Vol. XXVI, Registers of the French Churches of the Savoy, Spring Gardens, and Les Grecs, London, p.89.
11. Anecdotes of William Hogarth, written by himself, 1833,p.24.
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14. Guiffrey, M.J.J. et Barthelemy, Liste des Pensionnaires de L'Academie de France a Rome, 1908.
15. Desalier D'Argenville, Abrege de la Vie des plus fameux peintres, 1765, Vol.II, p.370.
16. George Vertue, op.cit., III, p.22.
17. Nicola Ivanoff, La Piscina Probatica di Louis Cheron Nella Chiesa di San Pantaleone a Venezia, Arte Veneta, XVI, 1962, pp.174-6.
18. Pierre Auzas, Les grands Mays de Notre Dame de Paris, Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire de l'Art francais, 1949, pp.85-88.
19. Elspeth Evans, A decorative Artist at the Courts of Louis XIV & William III, Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, Vol. 22, no.2, 1972, pp.142-161, p.152.

20. George Vertue, op.cit., III, p.8, 19.
21. It was engraved by N.Tardieu and is inscribed, 'A Paris chez F.Poilly, Graveur rue Saint Jacques a l'image Saint Benoist And by John Bowles at the Black horse in Cornhill.'
22. George Vertue, op.cit., VI, p.170.
23. Ibid., III, p.21.
24. Ibid., II, pp.90-1; III, pp.85-6.
25. Ibid., III, p.170.
26. Ibid., III, p.12.
27. Ibid., VI, p.169.
28. Ibid., III, p.11.
29. Ibid., II, p. 128.
30. Edward Croft-Murray, Catalogue of British Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings, The British Museum, 1960, Catalogue nos. 92-99, p.280
31. Gilbert Benthall, Early Art Schools in London, Typescript, Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, p.8. Vertue noted that Hogarth 'from a perfect natural genius improv'd by some study in the Accademy under the direction of Cheron & Vanderbank'.
32. George Vertue, op.cit., II, pp.150-155.
33. There is a copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
34. Sale Catalogue of Louis Goupy's Effects, 1747, Saturday Feb. 4 (5th day) lot 81. Sale Catalogue of Thomas Major's Effects, 1748, lot 30 'Thirty-seven antique gems by Cheron'; Sale Catalogue of P.A.Rysbrack's Effects, 17 April, 1749, lot 20 'A drawing book of Cheron', lot 54 'The book of Elizabeth Cheron complete'.
35. Lisa Clinton, Collection of Newspaper entries relating to artists and craftsmen in London, 1735-1755, Typescript, Department of Furniture and Woodwork, Victoria and Albert Museum.
36. George Vertue, op.cit., II, pp.150-1.
37. Ibid., III, pp.38,138.
38. Ibid., III, p.29.
39. I am most grateful to Mr.P.I.King for finding this document for me. *among the Boughton papers*
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41. Ibid., III, p.20.
42. Ibid., III, p.22.
43. Robert Raines and Kenneth Sharpe, The Story of Charles I, I, Connoisseur, Vol.184, September, 1973, pp. 35-46; II, Vol. 185, July 1974, pp. 192-5.
44. George Vertue, op.cit., III, p.8.
45. Ibid., III, p.22.
46. Ibid., III, p.8.
47. In this context it is interesting to note that Horace Walpole described Cheron as 'master of Vandergucht but not in England' as Vandergucht frequently engraved Cheron's designs in England.
48. George Vertue, op.cit., II, p. 124.
49. Ibid., II, p.152.
50. The sale of the Effects of Christian Frederick Zincke, 31st January 1748-9 included lot 1., 'Twelve of the labours of Hercules by Cherron'.
51. British Romantic Painting, Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1959 (261)
52. George Vertue, op.cit., III, p.28.
53. Edward Croft-Murray, and Paul Hulton, Catalogue of British Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings, The British Museum, 1960, p.270
54. Ibid., p.270
55. Lisa Clinton, op.cit.
56. George Vertue, op. cit., III, p.154.
57. Petri Camperi itinera in Angliam 1748-1785, Onuscula selecta Neerlandicorum de Arte Medica, XV, 1838. (Copy in Library of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh). I am most grateful to Kim Sloan for this reference.

58. John Physick, Designs for English Sculpture, 1680-1860, 1969, p.119.
59. Vertue, Note Books, III, p.154.
60. Obituary, Gentleman's Magazine, 1787, Part II, p.644.
61. Whitley Papers, under Roubiliac, quotation from the Middlesex Journal, 18 September, 1770, 'When a meeting of Statuaries was held about the Alto Relievo at the Mansion House, the late celebrated Roubiliac, among others attended. The other artists delivered drawings of their designs & when Roubiliac was asked for his, he said 'I have brought no plan - I do not draw but if you will give me a lump of clay & let me be shut up in a room I will do something for you.'
62. Eliza Meteyard, Life of Josiah Wedgwood, 1865.
63. H.C.Andrews, Roubiliac's Statue of Shakespeare, Architectural Review, Vol.39, 1916, pp.93-4.
64. Natalis Rondot, Les Protestants au Lyon au XVII Siecle, 1891, p.18.
65. For a full account of the lay figure and photographs of its various costumes, see Mrs. Arundell Esdaile, Roubiliac: Some unrecorded details connected with his life and work: The Archeological Journal, Vol. 86, 1929, pp.178-187.
66. I am grateful to John Sunderland for this information from his forthcoming study of John Hamilton Mortimer.
67. K.A.Esdaile, The Life and Works of Louis Francois Roubiliac, 1928, p.218.
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69. Gilbert Benthall, Early English Art Schools, Typescript Ms., Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum; p.34.

LOUIS FRANCOIS ROUBILIAC AND HIS HUGUENOT CONNECTIONS

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32. I am most grateful to Christian Theuerkauff, of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kullurbesitz, Berlin, for this information and for a photograph of the original.

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HUGUENOT SOCIETY QUARTO PUBLICATIONS (Abbreviations used in Appendix A)

4. Registre de l'Eglise Wallonne de Southampton.
7. Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin.
11. Register of the French Church of La Patente, Spitalfields, London.
13. Register of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, London. Part II.
14. Register of the French Nonconformist Churches, Dublin.
16. Register of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, London. Part III.
19. Register of the French Church, Portarlington, Ireland.
20. Register of the French Churches, Bristol, Plymouth, Stonehouse, and Thorpe-le-Soken.
21. Le Livre des Tesmoignages de l'Eglise de Threadneedle Street, 1669-1789.
22. Le Livre des Conversions et des Reconnoissances faites a l'Eglise françoise de la Savoye, 1684-1702.
23. Register of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, London, Part IV.
25. Registers of the French Church of Le Carre and Berwick Street London.
26. Registers of the French Churches of the Savoy, Spring Gardens, and les Grecs, London.
28. Registers of the French Churches of the Chapel Royal, St. James, and Swallow Street, London.
29. Registers of the French Churches of the Tabernacle, Glasshouse Street, and Leicester Fields, London.
30. Registers of the French Church of Rider Court, London.
31. Register of the French Church of Hungerford Market, later Castle Street, London.
32. Registers of the French Churches of Le Petit Charenton, West Street, Pearl Street, and Crispin Street, London.
35. A Supplement to Dr. W. A. Shaw's Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization.
37. Register of the Church of St. Martin Orgars with its history and that of the Swallow Street Church.
39. Register of the French Church of Saint Jean, Spitalfields.
42. Register of the Artillery Church, London.
45. Registers of Wheeler Street, Swanfields, Hoxton, La Patente de Soho, Repertoire General.
49. Relief of French Protestant Refugees, 1681-87.
- 52, 53. French Protestant Hospital: inmates of, and applicants to, 1718-1957.

THE PROFESSIONS OF EMIGRE CRAFTSMEN AS RECORDED IN THE REGISTERS OF THE
HUGUENOT CHURCHES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The number in brackets after the name refers to the relevant volume of
the Huguenot Society Quarto Publications.

ARMOURERS AND GUNMAKERS (A=Armourer; G=Gunmaker)

Boureau, Antoine (49)	1681, London, Rue St. Andre devant l'enseigne de la Fortune de la Guerre. G.
Cailhau, Pierre (29)	1703-1706, London, Grafton St. vis-a-vis Mr. Brian, distilleur. A.
Cosset, Eleazer (49)	1681-2, London. G.
De Seret, Samuel (29)	1690-1698, London. G.
De Verre, Pierre (45,52-3)	1707-1745, London, St. Anne's Westminster. A.
Favier, Jean (49)	1682, London. A.
Fleschelles, Jean (49)	1681, London. A.
Foulon, Isaac (29)	1708, London, Litchfield St. G.
Gandon, Pierre (45)	1713, London. G.
Gente, Jacques (16,49)	1681-1699, London, King St. A.
Godet, Jean (49)	1681, London, Sword Cutler.
Gorgo, Jacques (29,45)	1689-1714, London, Grafton St.(1702). A.
Gruche, Pierre (31)	1699, London, Compton St. G.
Guichet, Pierre (49)	1683, London. G.
Hiquenaar, Isaac (49)	1681, London. G.
Houel, Etienne (52-3)	1730-1, London. A.
Jante, Isaac (49)	1682, London. A.
Jante, Samuel (49)	1681, London. Cannon maker.
La Forest, Anthoine (49)	1680-82, London. A.
Lagrange, Henri (45)	1706, London. A.
Le Breton, Pierre (49)	1683, London. Sword cutler.
Liardon, Jean Pierre (26,45)	1698-1706, London, Queen St. St. Anne (1700) Earl St. St. Giles (1706). A.
Maynard, Isaac (35)	1709, London, St. Anne's Westminster. G.
Nortie, Jean (49)	1681-2, London. A.
Pebet, Guillaume (26)	1704, London, King St. St. Giles. G.
Pelut, (7)	1706, Dublin. A.
Rogissard (7)	d.1696, Dublin. A.
Roussel, Charles (49)	1682-3, London. Sword cutler.
Sauvage, Jaques (45)	1693-8, London. A.
Segalas, Israel (52-3)	1773, London. G.
Tollier, David (21,35)	1709-1722, London. G.
Tollier, Jean (16)	1692-1711, London, Brick Lane (1702). G.

CABINET-MAKERS AND CARPENTERS (CM=Cabinet-maker; C=Carpenter)

Arbunot, Jacob (35)	1709, London. Japanner.
Arbunot, Phillip (35)	1709, London. Japanner.
Badeau, Elie (20)	1696-7, Bristol. C.
Barbier, Daniel (21)	1685, Southampton. C.
Bellemare, Daniel (32)	1699, London, Spitalfields Market. C.
Berloun, Pierre (20)	1700, Bristol. C.
Blanchet, Jean (4)	1689, Southampton. C.(de Vaisseau)
Bon, Pierre (35)	1709, London, St. Anne's Westminster. C.
Bonseregant, Mathieu (49)	1681, London. C.
Bosquain, Adam (45)	1693, London. C.
Bouvard, Isaac (49)	1681, London. CM.
Brigaud, Moyse (49)	1683, London. C.
Broussard, Pierre (45)	1700-7, London. C.
Brunier, Jean Antoine (45)	1710, London. CM.
Chamar, Jean (45)	1703-1706, London. C.
Colbran, Francois (14)	1707-8, Dublin. C.
Connessant, Pierre (52-3)	1747-8, London. Woodcarver.
De Breuill, Michel (21)	1697, London. CM.
De la Haye, Isaac (16)	1705, London, Frying Pan Alley, Stepney. Upholsterer.
De la Mere, Pierre (26,32)	1703-5, London, Red Lyon St.(1703); White Lion Court(1705). CM.
Demede, Jacques (32)	1704, London. C.
Deselincourt, Jean Charles (49)	1681, London. C.
Desbois, Lazare (37)	1702, London. CM.
Desmoulin, Paul (26,29)	1704-9, London, la Savoye proche la Temple Francoise(1704); Kine St. St. Giles(1709). CM.
Dorselle, Abraham (26)	1705-1715, London. CM.
Du Brul, Pierre (16)	1706, London. C.
Duret, Louis (45)	1691, London. C.
Du Rus, Jean (49)	1681-2, London. CM.
Du Vige, Isaac (49)	1681, London. CM.
Fanet, Jean (45)	1705-1707, London, Herle St. Par. St. Giles. C.
Fauquignon, Daniel (45)	1704, London. C.
Faure, Daniel (45)	1746-1752, London, St. Giles, Westminster. C.
Gaillard, Jacques (31)	1719, London. C.
Gaulle, (25)	1694, London. CM.
Gaultier, Isaac (52-3)	1747, London. C.

Joubert, Rene (49)	1681-2, London. C.
Lejeune, Etienne (37)	1691, London. CM.
Lepingueur, Jacques (45)	1723, London. C.
Makin, Andre (49)	1681, London. C.
Mamour, Isaac (49)	1681, London. C.
Marthe, Jean (7)	1702, Dublin. C.
Marteau, Pierre (49)	1681, London. Coachmaker.
Martinet, Andre (49)	1681, London. Coachmaker.
Massiennes, Henri (49)	1681, London. Coachmaker.
Maurice, Jean (14)	1701-6, Dublin. C.
Menardeau, Pierre (49)	1681-2, London. Coachmaker.
Marsillac, Jean (11,49)	1681-1692, London. C.
Moisant, Jaques (49)	1681, London. Coachmaker.
Moisant, Pierre (49)	1681, London. Coachmaker.
Paillet, Jacques (52-3)	1764, London, St. Giles. CM.
Pavie, Pierre (45)	1705-6, London. CM.
Perinot, Jean (31,45)	1689-1707, London, Longacre (1707). CM.
Pickeret, Charles (49)	1681, London. CM.
Pitard, David (14)	1723, Dublin. C.
Poupart, Aubin (49)	1682, London. C.
Pouvreau, Francois (49)	1682, London. C.
Olivier, Francois (19)	1702-5, Portarlington. C.
Rainne, David (16,32)	1703, London, Grey Aigle St. Spitalfields, a l'enseigne du Prince George. C.
Riorteau, Jacques (26,28)	1699-1718, London, Monmouth Court (1699); Hog Lane (1705-7). CM.
Rein, Jean (45)	1691-1705, London. C.
Roulaux, Louis (45)	1706-1710, London. C.
Rousset, Jean (45)	1705, London?. C.
Noe, Charles (52-3)	1759, London, Red Lyon St. vis-a-vis la tete du Duc. C.
Thebaut, Jean (22)	1686, London. C.
Vanier, Etienne (45)	1703, London, Rose St. St. Anne. C.
Zeba, Vincent (45)	1696, London. CM.

ENGRAVERS (GRAVEUR)

Aubery, Daniel (52-3)	1742, London.
Arache, Abraham (29)	1689, London.
Bernard, Jacque (30)	1702, London, Longacre, vis-a-vis la rue St. Jaques.
Bongrain, Isaac (26)	1703-1706, London, Grafton St.(1703); Crown St. Soho(1706).
Broquier, Paul (49)	1682-3, London.
De Valee, Daniel (16,32)	1703, London, Willers St. Stepney proche le Faucon.
Duchesne, Gedeon (49)	1681, London.
Duplat, Laurand (45)	1693, London.
Fenster, Pierre (25)	1730, London, St. Giles.
Gribelin, Simon (11)	1691, London.
Martin, Abraham (35)	1709, London, Clerkenwell.
Mauger, Josias (26)	1710-1713, St. Anne, Westminster.
Neutte, Henri (29)	1701, London, Rue de Martin's Court chez Mr Renou, Orfevre.
Obrisset, Jean(31)	1691, London.
Pelletier, Rene (45)	1691, London.
Rougissard, Charles (7)	1701, Dublin.
Sadiere, Frederic (52-3)	1768, London, Grafton St.
Terrier, Thomas (16)	1695-1702, London. Staining Lane, St. Zacharie.

FANMAKERS

Chupin, Elisee (37)	1700-1702, London, l'enseigne de l'ours, Moorfields.
Dandet, Jean (49)	1681, London. Fanpainter.
Desveaux, Abraham (32)	1707, London. Spitalfields Market.
Ferry, Pierre (26)	1703, London, Rue St. Anne a l'enseigne de l'ours.
Grude, Nicholas (16,32)	1694-1704, London, Moorfields(1694); Shoreditch (1704).
Makepiece, Jean (37)	1715, London.
Marandel, Jean (37)	1682-1691, London.

GOLDSMITHS

Arache, Abraham (26)	1706, London, Compton St. pres du Blackamore
Barrachin, Louis (45)	1690-1692, London.
Batut, Jean (26)	1705-9, London, Bible d'or, Strand(1704-5).
Benquel, Jean (20)	1695-1700, Bristol.
Beliart, Jacques (49)	1681, London.
Bertrand, Paul (35)	1709, London, St. Martin's Westminster.
Beziers, Le Sieur Henri (20,31,45)	1689, Bristol and London.
Bobin, Gedeon (45)	1696-1712, London, Monmouth Court (1700); Rose Court (1708).
Boier, Simon (49)	1683, London.
Bourtet, Pierre (28)	1708, London.
Boursin, Denis (52-3)	1743-5, London.
Boursin, Esme (49)	1682, London.
Brissac, Theodore (31)	1696-1702, London, St. Martin's Lane, La Boule d'or.
Brisson, Jacques (7,49)	1681, London; 1701, Dublin.
Cabanes, Isaac (52-3)	1753, London.
Cabaret, Lazarene Michel (35)	1709, London, St. Martin's Westminster.
Cahais, Aaron (52-3)	1782, London.
Canu, Jacques (21,32)	1699, London.
Champion, Daniel (26)	1705-1713, London, Earle St.(1705); Lombard St.(1706).
Cordes, Jean (31,37)	1699-1702, London, Duke Court, (1699); Cecil Court, Ponce Coffee House(1702), St. Martins des Champs.
Connoisant, Isaac (49)	1682, London.
Couyon, Moyse (29)	1703, London, Grafton St. St. Anne.
D'Argent, Jaques (25)	1695, London.
Danois, Daniel (26)	1710, London, King St. St. Giles.
Debour, Jacques(35)	1709, London, St. Martin's, Westminster.
De Barry, Pierre (31)	1688-1695, London.
De la Brosse, Pierre (31)	1696-1699, London, St. Martin's Westminster.
De Seret, Samuel (29)	1712, London.
Desmortiers, Josue (45)	1705-1719, London, White Lion St. St. Giles(1706)
Duhamel, Isaac (29)	1701, London, Castle St. St. Martin.

Febure, Jean(26)	1703, London, St. Martin's lane a coste des Clefs.
Geay, Jacques (45)	1688-1696, London, Fort St., Artillery Ground (1702)
Ghiselin, Nicholas (16)	1687-1701, London, French Court, Broad St., St. Benet Fink(1699-1701).
Glinksens, Abraham (52-3)	1752, London, Spitalfields.
Godde, Phillippe (31)	1698, London, New St. Covent Garden.
Godin, Daniel (52-3)	1793, London.
Gobert, Francois (49)	1681, London.
Goyon, Andre (52-3)	1764, London.
Grignon, Rene (49)	1682, London.
Guicherit, Jean (45)	1691-4, London.
Guill, Pierre Alexandre (51-2)	1744, London.
Hanet, Paul (26)	1703-5, London, Tower St. proche la tete du Roy.
Henry, Pierre (31)	1717, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Hommedieu, Ozee (45)	1697-1710, London.
Jaynes, Salomon (31)	1699, London, Castle St.
La Brosse, Pierre (35)	1710, London, St. Martin, Westminster.
La Galere, Francois (31)	1690, London.
Lanier, Phillippe (52-3)	1732, London.
La Roche, Mathieu (7)	1682-1697, Dublin.
Le Court, David (16)	1700, London, Dorset St., Spitalfields.
Le Febure, Jean (4)	1702, Southampton, described as 'demeurant a Londres'
Leturgeon, David (31)	1700-1709, London, Church Lane, St. Martin's Westminster.
Marc, Jean Louis (26)	1700-1704, London, at Mr. Doyenne, sculptor, Lichfield St. a la Lambie.
Margas; Jacques (28)	1691-1706, London.
Martin, Jean (32)	
Martin, Luc (26)	1710, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Masse, Theophile (29)	1694-1704, London, Rider Court(1701).
Mettayer, Louis (26)	1706, London, Litchfield St.
Michon, Pierre (31)	1688-1696, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Pantjn, Simon (35,49)	1682-1709, London, St. Martin's Westminster.
Paturle, Jean (7)	1701, Dublin.

Peres, Denis (30)	1705, London, Hesse Court, St. Anne, Westminster.
Perigal, Gedeon (29)	1701, London, St. Martin's Lane a l'enseigne des Clefs Croizees.
Phillippon, Nicholas (29)	1704-1717, London, Somerset Court vis-a-vis l'enseigne du Cros Keys.
Pilleau, Alexis (25)	1693-6, London.
Filleau, Pierre (31)	1724, London, St. Martin des Champs.
Poitevin, Jean (49)	1681-2, London.
Prou, Ezekiel (20)	1688, Bristol.
Raucuard, Nicholas (26)	1710, London.
Rapilliard, Jean (11,31,45)	1693-5, London.
Rapilliard, Paul (11,31,45)	1692-4, London.
Renou, Abraham (25,31)	1681-1704, London, Newport Market, Rider Court, l'enseigne du cerf.
Renou, Francois (49)	1681, London.
Renou, Jacques (28)	1709, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Renou, Phillippe (25,31)	1691-1705, London, Earl St. over against the George,(1703); Castle St. 7 Dials (1705).
Renou, Mathieu (49)	1681, London.
Riberolles, Pierre de (49)	1681, London.
Roussel, Isaac (26)	1701-1706, London, Longacre aux deux Boules d'or.
Roussel, Louis (29)	1704-6, Suffolk St., Charing Cross, la pendule, a l'egle d'or.
Rigal, Anthony (35)	1709, London, St. Martin's Westminster.
Sain, Phillipe (29)	1704, London, London, Little Newport St.
Sarazin, David (16)	1687-1711, London.
Sarazin, Jacques (16)	1696-1702, London; Threadneedle St. St. Benet Fink (1699).
Servant; Henri (31)	1699, Bethisford, Devon.
Servient, Samuel (52-3)	1771, London.
Solomeau, Jean (37)	1699, London, Old Artillery Ground.
Tabart, Pierre (52-3)	1743-4, London.
Taillefer, Paul (52-3)	1730, London.
Thibaud, -Thomas (28,31,45)	1690-1700, London.
Thuillier, Pierre (39)	1703, London, St. Martin's St., Spitalfields.
Willaume, Adam (45)	1694, London.
Willaume, David (25,31,45)	1695-1721, London, St. Martin des Champs.
Wulson, Jean (22)	1693, London.

JEWELLERS

Alliaume, Pierre (16)	1705, London, Artillery Lane, Tower Hamlet, Tobacco box maker.
Ansloe, Abraham (52-3)	1751, London.
Audeer, Francois Paul (52-3)	1781, London.
Bauillier, Pierre (7)	1699, Dublin.
Berchere, Jacques Louis (16,37)	1700-1720, London, Broad St. St. Peter Le Poor. Marchand Joaillier.
Bernard, Solomon (52-3)	1754, Christ Church, Middlesex. Snuff Box Maker.
Brison, Jean (29)	1689-1705, Lichfort St. proche la boulle d'or. Lapidaire.
Cellier, Nicholas (45)	1706, Fore St. Par. St. Anne, Lapidaire.
Chevalier, Jean (52-3)	1785, Brick Lane, Spitalfields. Metteur en Oeuvre.
Cordes, Jean	Metteur en Oeuvre.
Courtauld, Augustin (35)	1709, London.
De la Fond, Jacques (29)	1713-1723, London, Lapidaire.
De la Masiere, Samuel (7)	1702, Dublin.
Deletang, Pierre (52-3)	1760, London, Diamond Cutter.
Fabre, Isaac (31)	1741, London, Fountain Court, Strand.
Fleoriau, Francis (35)	1710, London, St. Peter le Poor.
Foubert, Thomas (52-3)	1747, London.
Gagnon, Abraham (52-3)	1757, London.
Garrigues, Moyse (37)	1700-1, London.
Ghiselin, Guillaume (16)	1699, London, Angel Court, St. Barthelemy, pres la bourse, Diamantaire.
Girard, Noe (16)	1706, London, Lothbury Court, Frogmorthen St., .
Hallee, Abraham (25)	1724, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Joubert, Pierre (31)	1699, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Larcheveque, Daniel (52-3)	1743, London, Coleman St.
Le Monnier, Jacob (49)	1681-2, London.
Le Noir, Jean Pierre (52-3)	1762, London.
Lorin, Jean (37)	1698, London, Rue St. Martin le Grand, Marchand Joaillier.
Marchant, Pierre (31)	1695-1707, London, Porter St.

Marechal, Jean Pierre (26)	1726, London, York St. Covent Garden.
Massienne, Jean (31)	1691-1699, London, Marchand Joaillier.
Mayaffre, Andre (26)	1710-1719, London.
Migault, Oliver (35)	1709, London.
Mirande, Samuel (52-3)	1742, London.
Maurice, Luc (29)	1701-7, London, St. Martin's Court (1701); King St. Par. St. Martin (1703). Graveur en Pierre.
Person, Abraham (26)	1706, London, St. Martins, Meteur en oeuvre.
Person, Louis (31)	1705, London, Suffolk St. a l'enseigne du cok joaillieur et meteur en oeuvre.
Picard, (20)	1702, Bristol, meteur en oeuvre.
Plank, Antoine (26)	1705-6, London, St. Leonard Foster.
Rebout, Michel (52-3)	1753, London.
Roquette, Remond (29)	1706-1712, London. Maitre Jeolier.
Vautier, Nicholas (31)	1706, London, Porter St.
Vigier, Jacques (52-3)	1745-6, London, la paroisse St. Clement.
Verbruggen, Corneille (37)	1704, London, Drury Lane, metteur en oeuvre.
Masse, Etienne (32)	1699, London.

LOCKSMITHS

Ardouin, Isaac (20)	1690, Bristol, Mareschal ferrant.
Audier, Jean (49)	1682, London.
Bachand, Jean (49)	1682, London.
Bachelier, Nicholas (16)	1698-1700, London, Grey Eagle St.
Blot, Pierre (31)	1690, London.
Brachet, Mathurin (49)	1681, London.
Cellier, Louis (45)	1706-9, London, King St. St. Giles.
Charbonnier, Andre (16)	1701, London, Nightingale Lane, Aldgate.
Chese, Daniel (49)	1681, London.
Cocar, Abraham (16)	1681, London.
Courillaud, Jean (29)	1706-7, London King St. vis-a-vis l'enseigne Kings Armes.
Courier, Solomon (19)	1700-1706, Portarlinton,
Delessard, Pierre (19)	1704-1709, Portarlinton.
Desalles, Francois (45)	1692, London.
Duclos, Jaques (19)	1709-1717, Portarlinton.
Ducrocq, Louis (45)	1695, London.
Fouquelin, Mathieu (29)	1695-1708, London, Earles St. St. Gilles.
Gallois, Jacques (49)	1682, London.
Gautier, Nicholas ()	1703-1713, London, Compton St.(1703-1707)
Godet, David (20)	1691-4, Bristol.
Grindor, Adam (49)	1681, London.
Guiche, Pierre (49)	1683, London.
Gautier, Pierre (49)	1681-2, London.
Harrial, Benjamin (49)	1682, London.
L'Avenue, Pierre (16)	1701-5, London, Farthin St. Stepney.
Le Maitre, Thobie (29)	1690-1701, London, Stees St. Brunsgarden.
Malleau, Isaac (52-3)	1778, London.
Marc, Jacques (31,49)	1681-1701, London, White Lion St. a l'enseigne du Cross Keys.
Marc, Samuel (29,45,49)	1690-1703, London, Compton St.(1701-3).
Mettivier, Pierre (11)	1693, London.
Normand, Abraham (49)	1681, London.
Normand, Philippe (49)	1681, London.
Normand, Pierre (49)	1681, London.
Nortier, Jaques (16)	1700, London, Farthing St.
Nouilleau, Jean (31)	1693-1700, London.

Peynel, Paul (25)	1703, London, Earles St. proche La Pyramide.
Podevin, Francois (52-3)	1749, London, chez son fils a la serrure d'or Wardour St.
Polte, Jean (26)	1705, London, King St. vis-a-vis des Trois Fers de Cheval.
Sommelier, Pierre (32)	1700, London, Spetrefields.
Trouillard, Jean (45)	1694-1696, London.

PAINTERS

Baudouin, Christopher (35)	1709, London, St. Dunstan, Stepney, Pattern Drawer.
Benoist, Abraham (45)	1715, London.
Berchet, Pierre (11)	1691, London.
Boistault, Louis (28)	1692, London, Dessineur.
Constantin, Jacques (52-3)	1732-3, London.
Cherron, Sr. Louis (22)	1693, London.
De Bourge, Etienne (16)	1703, London, Angel Alley.
Francois, Jean (49)	1682, London.
Grandpre, Samuel (31)	1689, London.
Hauduroy, Marc Anthony (25)	1745, London.
Lavergne, Pierre (31)	1700-1709, London, Cecil Ct. St. Martins next door but one to the angel.
Marechal, Pierre (26)	1704, London, Longacre.
Marot, Isaac (26)	1707, London, Dessignateur.
Van Somer, Jean (37)	1691-1704, London, Old Artillery, Jamaicas Planter.
Vautier, Daniel (11)	1691, London, peintre en email.

SCULPTORS

Andre, Mathieu (29,32)	1700-1706, London; Compton St. pres le Black more head (1700); Earle St. par. St. Gilles (1702) Steward St.(1704); Artillery Lane (1706), mason.
Barreau, Pierre (19)	1704, Portarlinton. Masson.
Bertheux, Pierre (31)	1702-1705, London; Compton St. l'enseigne de la vache (1702); Panton St.(1705). 'culpteur.
Bosche, Jacob (49)	1681-2, London. Sculpteur.
Bourgeois, Antoine (32)	1702, London, Perle St. vis-a-vis les Weavers Arms
De la Bourde, Jean (25)	1698-1701, London, Princes St. St. Anne au signe du Dauphin, Sculpteur.
Deman, Jacques (26)	1710, London, St. Anne, sculpteur doreur.
Duchesne, Gedeon (49)	1681-2, London, graveur.
Denis, William (19)	1705, Portarlinton. Masson.
Doyenne, Nicholas (26,31)	1689-1703, London, Litchfield St., Two Black Boys. Sculpteur.
Du Rond, Pierre (19)	1695-1714, Portarlinton, Masson.
Le Large, Abraham (26)	1704-1707, London, St. Andrew St., l'enseigne de la Regne Anne. Sculpteur.
Le Maitre, Jean (52-3)	1800, London, woodcarver.
Maillard, Jacque (29)	1700-2, London, Old Soho, Berwick St.(1702). Sculpteur
Savetier, Guillaume (42,45)	1700-1707., London, Steward St. Artillery Ground (1700-3). Sculpteur.
Tabary, Jacques (49)	1681-2, London. Sculpteur.
Tabary, Louis (52-3)	1730-1, London. Sculpteur.
Vermalette, Charles (49)	1681-2, London, Carver.

TAPESTRY WEAVERS

Audibert, Charles (52-3)	1771, London, portiere de l'eglize des Grecs.
Baraband, Elie (45)	1705, London.
Bertrand, Jacques (16)	1698-1712, London, Vine Court, Stepney.
Brodu, Isaac (45)	1692-4, London.
Couloudon, Joseph (52-3)	1731, London, Grafton Street.
Courtois, Nicholas (45)	1697, London.
Danthon, Pierre (52-3)	1773, London.
Demay, M. (26)	1704, London, Corner House, Spring Gardens.
Jamar, Timothee (7)	1694-1702, Dublin.
Retour, Paul (52-3)	1789, London.
Rufy, Louis (7)	1694-1701, Dublin.
Wascor, Jean (49)	1681, London.

TURNERS

Alleaume, Pierre (16)	1703-1711, London, Steward St.(1703); Artillery Lane (1705), Ivory Turner (tobacco box).
De Beorain, Pierre (11)	1693-1705, London, Canon St. Franchise de la Tour, Tourneur en Ivoire.
Dubec, Jacques (42)	1702, London, Rue du Cannon, Artillery Ground. Turner.
Hemett, Thomas (16)	1703-4, London, Black Eagle St. Turner.
L'Heureux, Daniel (16)	1687-1705, London, Cannon St. Franchise de la Tour, Tourneur en Ivoire.
Mauger, Pierre Michel (26)	1703-1713, London, Esse(x) Court proche l'enseigne du coq. Tourneur en Ivoire.
Nel, Pierre (16)	1691-1700, London, Rue du Cannon, L'Artillerie, St. Catherine de la Tour, Tourneur en Ivoire.
Neel, David (49)	1683, London, Ivory Turner.
Neelz, Jacob (16)	1699-1703, London, Cabinet Court, Duke St. Artillery Ground (1703), Tourneur en Ivoire.
Obrisset, Jean (31)	1691, London, Tourneur en Ivoire
Perigal, Jean (31)	1699, London, Artillery Ground, Fore St., Tourneur en Ivoire.
Pierre, Jean (16)	1705-1711, London, Fort St., Tourneur en Cuivre.
Prevost, Jean (16)	1706, London, Wheeler St., Tourneur en Ivoire.
Prevost, Thomas (16)	1689-1700, London, Phenix St., Tourneur en Ivoire.
Ramet, Isaac (49)	1681, London, Tourneur en Bois.
Rc dart, Jacques (49)	1681, London, Tourneur.
Si son, Jean (16)	1699, London, Wheeler St., Turner.
Vattier, Pierre (21)	1697, London, Tourneur en Cuivre.

WATCH AND CLOCKMAKERS

Allix, Pierre (52-3)	1775, London.
Amiot, Thomas (26,29)	1696-1708, London; Monmouth Court, St. Giles(1704-6)
Armand, Samuel (52-3)	1694, London.
Asselin, Etienne (37)	1701, London, Broad St., St. Benoit.
Baissallance, Michel (52-3)	1772, London.
Basomaine, Jean (29)	1698-1709, London, Castle Street, Cadran Couronne, (1703-5); St. Andrew St.(1709).
Beauvais, Paul (26)	1696-1705, London, St. Martin in the Fields.
Begeron, Jean (16)	1699, London, La Grande St. Helene.
Bernard, Elie (26)	1694-1704, London.
Besson, Abraham ()	1708-1710, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Blanchard, Abraam (31)	1704-1720, London, Newport St.
Blanchard, Josias (31)	1702-1708, London, Green Ball, Porter St.(1702); Newport St.(1706-8).
Bonnet, Louis (26)	1704, London, at Mr. Demay, Tapestry Maker, Corner House, Spring Gardens.
Bourdon, Thomas (29,42)	1704-7, London, Fore St. Artillery Ground (1704-6)
Braban, Pierre (52-3)	1750, London, Brownlow St. Drury Lane.
Bruyet, Claude (42,45)	1697-1716, London, Rue du Cannon (1706).
Cahier, Abraham (11)	1704, London.
Castang, Jean (52-3)	1783, London.
Cazarre, George (52-3)	1782, London.
Chauvin, Thomas(31)	1692-1700, London, St. Anne Blackfriars (1700)
Clapot, Denis (35)	1709, London.
Compigny, David (16)	1705, London, Hogsdon Spittlefields St. over against Queen's Head.
Compigny, Michel (37)	1698-1700, London, Frying Pan Alley (1698); Stewart St.(1700).
Constantin, Jean (26)	1707, London.
Crucifix, Jean (42)	1699-1708, London, Petitcoat Lane (1699-1702).
Crucifix, Robert (42)	1702, London, Petitcoat Lane, Cobs Yard.
De Baufre, Jacob (25,31,45)	1701, London, Fref St. par de St. Anne a l'enseigne de la pandule.
De Baufre, Pierre (25,31,45)	1691-1701, London,
De Bordeaux, Noel (11)	1706, London, Dorset St. Stepney.
Babault, Daniel (26)	1702-1707, London, Rue du Cannon, Spitalfields (1702-6); White Street (1705-7).

- De Caux, Lucas (42) 1697-1703, London, Petit Coat Lane.
- De la Feuille, Henri (16) 1699-1701, London, Princess Court, Lothbury.
- De la Fosse, Samuel (16) 1688-1701, London, Riders Court, St. Anne(1700)
- De la Haye, Jacques Pierre (16) 1691-1701, London.
- Duchesne, Daniel (52-3) 1765, London.
- Dufferon, Louis (26) 1707, London, Church St. St. Anne.
- Dulaq, Henri (20) 1695-7, Bristol.
- Dunan, Anthoine (7) 1706-9, Dublin.
- Du Puy, Jean (49) 1683, London.
- Du Puy, Jean Pierre (16) 1703, London, Spitalfields Market.
- Fairon, Louys (28) 1706, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
- Fleureau, Francois (7) 1712, Dublin.
- Fleureau, Isaye (25,26) 1694-1714, London, Longacre(1703).
- Gabis, Pierre (52-3) 1753, London.
- Gallois, Jaques (52-3) 1786, London.
- Girard, Jerome (52-3) 1754, London.
- Girardel, Phillipe Constantin (16) 1699, London, Spitalfields Market.
- Girod, John James (35) 1709, London, St. Anne, Blackfriars.
- Godeau, Francois Maitre (49) 1681-1693, London.
- Godin, Louis (16) 1694-1713, London, Hand Alley, Paroisse de
Bishopsgate.
- Guepin, Abraham (16) 1702-1708, London, Spitalfields Market (1702-5)
- Guerimand, Jean (52-3) 1769, London.
- Herbert, Anthoine (16,31,32) 1696-1710, London, Horseshoe Alley(1701); Port
St. Par. St. Anne a l'enseigne de la Perruque (1706)
- Herbert, Jean (16) 1705, London, Willer St.
- Hubert, David (35) 1709, London, St. Faith under St. Paul.
- Hubert, James (35) 1709, London, St. Stephen's Walbrook.
- Hulin, Bernard (26) 1706, London, St. Andre St., pres les trois
Navettes.
- Jourdain, Guillaume (16) 1699-1703, London, l'artillerie.
- La Vigne, Francois (52-3) 1754, London.
- Le Roy, Pierre (52-3) 1760, London.
- Leturgeon, David (16,21) 1693-1701, London, Lothbury paroisse (1701)
- Lormie, Isaac (16) 1704, London, Vine Court, Spitalfields Hamlet.
- Lormier, Pierre (42) 1698-1711, London, Rue du Cannon(1699-1705).

Luce, Guillaume (16)	1698, London, Corbet Court, Stepney.
Lys, Ezchiel (29)	1704-1712, London, Toure St. next Kings Arms, St. Giles.
Mallet, Pierre (42)	1697-1701, London, Crispin St. Petitcoat Lane(1699- 1701).
Martineau, Isaac (52-3)	1799, London.
Mercier, Jacques (16,21,26)	1683-1706, London, Monmouth Court, St. Giles.
Mercier, Pierre (11,49)	1682-1701, London, Lamb St.(1701).
Mercier, Simon Pierre (42)	1701-7, London, Lamb St.(1702).
Papavoine, Izaak (29)	1700-1703, London, Grafton St.(1700); Suffolk St. (1701); Ducks Court, St. Martin's Lane (1703).
Parquot, Pierre (30)	1702-1713, London, St. Anne, Westminster.
Pomarede, Jean (52-3)	1786, London.
Prevost, Guillaume (16)	1700, London, Little Paternoster Row.
Ree, Jacques (52-3)	1737, London.
Regard, Remond ()	1677-1691, London, upper end of Russell St. Drury Lane
Renard, Elie (4)	1694-1704, Southampton.
Renvoize, Jacques (52-3)	1810, London.
Rodet, Jacob (35)	1709, London.
Roger, Pierre (28,31)	1706-1714, London, Rider Court, St. Anne.
Sene, Jean (52-3)	1748-9, London.
Tanqueray, Jacques (31)	1720-1729, London, St. Martin des Champs.
Thompson, Phillippe (28)	1742-1751, London, Queen St. St. Giles, 7 Dials.
Thorolet, Jonas (37)	1699, St. Marie de la Savoye, Strand.
Tonnelette, Jonas (26)	1704, London, Cranbourn Alley l'enseigne de l'aigle noir.
Vauloir, Mathieu (26,28)	1695-1707, London, Greek St. St. Anne,(1695); St. Martin's Court (1707).
Vauloue, Francois (52-3)	1769, London.
Vauloue, Pierre (52-3)	1736-7, London.
Veugney, Gabriel (29)	1700, Church St. St. Anne.
Viet, Claude (16)	1700-1714, London, Switing Allee.
Viette, Estienne (25)	1699, London.

OTHERS

Baudry, Etienne (29)	1688, London, Fondeur.
Benoist, Thomas (49)	1681, London, Faiseur de Fringe.
Bureau, Pierre (39)	1692, London, Marchand Libraire.
Collon, Phillippe (37)	1701, London, Pall Mall, Libraire.
David, Abraham (37)	1701, London, Faiseur de Pluche.
De la Haye, Isaac (16)	1693-1705, London, Frain Pan Alley(1703-5), Upholsterer.
Deman, Francois (45)	1706, London, Par. St. Gilles en the Fields, Doreur.
Desessarts, Henri (52-3)	1740-1, London. Doreur.
Durandeau, Philippe (52-3)	1794, London, Giseleur.
Feray, Gedeon (39)	1689, London, Imprimeur de Toile.
Foret, Daniel (29)	1689, London, Ouvrier de Pleine Part des Monnays Royales de France.
Fraillon, Pierre (16)	1701-1714, London, Spittlefields Market (1701); Grey Eagle St.(1702); Monmouth St.(1705). Calico Printer.
Gariot, Phillippe (4)	1702-1710, Southampton, Coutelier.
Gurney, Francois (45)	1754, London, Maitre Relieur.
Jobert, Jean Baptiste(45)	1691, London, Brodeur.
La Bernardiere, Guillaume (52-3)	1781, London, Typefounder.
Larmel, Pierre (42)	1701-1709, London, Marche Spitalfields, Imprimeur de Toile.
Le Cholleur, Daniel (16)	1699-1702, London, Crispin St., Imprimeur de Toile.
Lemery, Jacques (52-3)	1796, London, Mathematical Instrument Maker.
Le Sage, Pierre (42)	1702, London, Pater Noster Row, Imprimeur de Toile.
Morgie, Jean (16)	1703, London, Browns Lane, Stepney, Cloth Printer.
Ouvrix, Jacques (49)	1682, London, Glazier.
Paulmier, Charles (52-3)	1771, London, Grafton St. vis-a-vis la chapelle, Imprimeur de Toile.
Paysan, Jean (7)	1701-6, Dublin, Vitrier.
Savigny, Nicholas (37)	1714, London, St. James, Westminster.
Shallard, Daniel (3-)	1714, London, Spitalfields, Imprimeur de Ca'ico.
Sieurrin, Abraham (16)	1704, London, Printer.
Thebeau, Jean (16)	1704, London, Calico Printer.
Uilet, Thomas (16)	1703, London, Broad St., Chainbroker.

Valentin, Pierre (16)	1704, London, Bachars Row, Calico Printer.
Vintes, Hugues (37)	1724, London, Brodeur.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ARTISTS AND CRAFTSMEN WHOSE ORIGINS IN FRANCE ARE
RECORDED IN THE REGISTERS OF THE HUGUENOT REFUGEE CHURCHES IN GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Allix, Pierre	Alencon
Andre, Mathieu	Caen
Ansloe, Abraham	Amiens
Archambaut,	Oleron & Re
Ardesoif, Stephan	Caen
Armand, Samuel	Dauphine
Aubery, Daniel	Rouen
Aubin, Henry	Jersey
Audeer, Francis Paul	D'Azay, Haute Poitou
Audibert, Charles	Orange
Bachelier, Nicholas	Nanteuil les Meaux, Brie
Badeau, Elie	St. George, Xaintonge
Barachin, Louis	D'Angers
Basomoine, Jean	Nogent le Roy en Beauce
Bassaillance, Michel	St. Foi en Guienne
Baullier, Sr. Pierre	Gein, Loire
Beliart, Jacques	Paris
Benquel, Jean	Puylaurens, Languedoc
Berlounin, Pierre	Bauguain, Bas Poitou
Bernard, Elie	Le Mans, Maine
Besier, Henry	Ile de St. Martin
Besson, Abraham	Nantes
Blanchet, Jean	Marennes
Blanchet, Josias	Oleron
Blot, Pierre	Nanteuil les Meaux, Brie
Bobin, Gedeon	Poitou
Boistoult, Lucas	Dieppe
Boisvilliers, Louis	St. Jean D'Angeli, Xaintonge
Bouillard, Isaac	Oleron
Boureau, Eleazer	Sedan
Boursin, Rene	Paris
Bouteille,	Re
Bouvard, Isaac	Clermont
Braban, Pierre	D'Aubigny en Berri
Brachet, Maturin	Batisaire

Brisson, Jacques
 Brunier, Jean Antoine
 Bruyet, Claude
 Cabanes, Isaac
 Cahais, Aaron
 Cahier, Abraham
 Cahusac,
 Cailhau, Pierre
 Canu, Jacques
 Castang, Jean
 Cazarre, George
 Chartier, Jean
 Chavanan, Pierre
 Cherron, Louis
 Chevalier, Jean
 Connessant, Isaac
 Constantin, Jacques
 Cosset, Eleazer
 Couder, Daniel
 Couloudon, Joseph
 Courtauld, Augustin
 Cusson, Jean
 Dandet, Jean
 Danthon, Pierre
 D'Argent, Jacques
 De Beorain, Pierre
 De la Bourde,
 De la Fond, Jacques
 De la Masiere, Samuel
 Deletang, Pierre
 De Pons, Jean
 Des Bois, Lazare
 Desmortiers, Joseph
 Dessessarts, Henri
 Detaches, Jean
 Dollond,
 Doyenne, Nicholas

Charenton
 Dauphine
 Tours
 Montpellier
 Belleville, Paris
 Paris
 Albi, Languedoc
 Bergerac, Guienne
 Dieppe
 Saverdun
 La Rochelle
 Blois
 St. Hypolite
 Paris
 Orleans
 Sedan
 Dieppe
 Sedan
 Milhan
 D'Aubusson
 Oleron
 Ufairac
 Paris
 Paris
 Sancerres, Berri
 Dieppe
 Paris
 Paris
 St.-Jean d'Angeli
 Rouen
 Saintonge
 Autun, Bourgogne
 Gernet en Xaintonge
 Paris
 Paris
 Normandie
 Paris

Du Breuill, Michel	Dieppe
Du Chene, Daniel	Paris
Du Chesne, Gedeon	Paris
Dulaq, Henri	Quinquand, la basse Bretagne
Duplat, Laurand	Saintonge
Dupont, Lquis	Poitiers
Dupuy, Jean Pierre	Paris
Durandeau, Philippe	D'Aubusson
Durus, Jean	Paris
Duvige, Isaac	Paris
Feray, Gedeon	Fecamps
Fleschelles, Jean	Prouville
Fleureau, Isaye	Orleans
Foret, David	La Rochelle
Foubert, Thomas	Orleans
Fouquelin, Mathieu	Paris
Gabis, Pierre	Chatellerault
Gaillard, Jacques	Caen
Gallois, Jacques	Charenton
Gariot, Thomas	Fontenay le Conte
Garnier, Daniel	Caen
Gaultier, Isaac	Normandie
Geay, Jacques	Marennes
Gente, Jacques	Amiens
Gente, Isaac	Amiens
Ghiselin, Nicholas	Rouen
Gilles, Abraham	Rouen
Girard, Jerome	Chatillon, Berri
Glinsens, Abraham	Bolbec, Normandie
Godeau, Francis	Rouen
Godet, David	Meche, Xaintonge
Godin, Daniel	Normandie
Gois, Jacques	Paris
Gole, Cornelius	Paris
Gorgo, Jerome	Fontenay, Poitou
Goyon, Andre	Saintonge
Gribelin, Simon	Blois
Guerimand, Jean	Dauphine

Guicherit, Jean	Touars, Poitou
Guicherit, Jean	Re
Guill, Pierre Alexandre	Caen
Harrache, Jean	Rouen
Harache, Pierre	Rouen
Hebert, Henri	Le Mans
Hiquenaar, Isaac	Sedan
Hommedieu, Ozeo	La Rochelle
Houel, Etienne	Normandie
Jantes, Samuel	Amiens
Keruel, Marc	Caen
La Bernardiere, Guillaume	Lyons
Lagrange, Henri	Coze, Saintonge
Larcheveque, Daniel	Rouen
Le Febure, Jean	Chalons, Champagne
Le Jeune, Etienne	Paris
Le Maistre, Thobie	Normandie
Le Maitre, Jean	Caen
Lemay,	Bordeaux
Lemery, Jacques	Luneray, Normandie
Lenoir, Jean Pierre	Chatillon sur Loire
Le Roy, Pierre	Meaux
L'Heureux, Daniel	Dieppe
Liger, Isaac	Saumur
Lorin, Jean	Paris
Maillard, Jacques	Dieppe
Malleau, Isaac	Re
Marc, Samuel	Caen
Marc, Jacques	Caen
Margas, Jacob	Rouen
Margas, Samuel	Rouen
Martin, Jean	Chatelleraut
Masse, Etienne	Paris
Masse, Theophile	Paris
Maurice, Jean	Milamer, Normandie
Mercier, Pierre	Paris
Mettayer, Louis	Re
Moyssant, Pierre	Dieppe

Neelz, Jacob	Rouen
Nel, Pierre	Dieppe
Noe, Charles	Mer en Beauce
Ourry, Louis	Jersey
Paillet, Jacques	Saintonges
Paillet, Marc	Saintonges
Pantin, Simon	Rouen
Paturle, Jean	Lyons
Paulmier, Charles	Poitou
Peizan, Jean	St. Jean d'Angeli
Perinot,	La Capelle, Picardie
Perigal, Gedeon	Dieppe
Perigal, Jean	Dieppe
Pilleau, Alexis	Le Mans
Pireveau, Pierre	Poitou
Pitard, David	Rochefort
Podevin, Pierre Francois	Arras
Poitevin,	Thouars.
Pomerede, Jean	Clairac, Guienne
Portal, Abraham	Bagnols sur Coze, Languedoc
Pottier, Michel	Caen
Rainaud, Philip	Poitou
Rapilliard, Jean	Chateauthierry, Brie
Rapilliard, Paul	Chateauthierry, Brie
Rebout, Michel	Montpellier
Renou, Abraham	Tours
Renou, Francois	Tours
Renou, Mathieu	Tours
Renvoize, Jacques	Basse Normandie
Retour, Paul	Paris
Riberolles, Pierre de	La Rochelle
Rogissard,	Sedan
Roquette, Ramond	Nerac, Guienne
Rovaux, Francois	St. Sauveur, Poitou
Rufy, Louis	Rouen
Sadiere, Frederic	Paris
Saint,	St. Lo, Normandie
Sauvage, Jacques	Clairac

Savetier, Guillaume
 Sene, Jean
 Seret, Isaac
 Seret, Samuel
 Simon, Pierre
 Tabart, Pierre
 Tabary, Jacques
 Tabary, Louis
 Taillefer, Paul
 Tanqueray, David
 Thebaut,
 Thibault, Thomas
 Touillaud, Jean
 Vattier, Pierre
 Vuloue, Francois
 Vautier, Daniel
 Vermalette, Charles
 Veugney, Gabriel
 Viet, Claude
 Vigier, Jacques
 Vintes, Hugues
 Willaume, David
 Zeba, Vincent

Dieppe
 Dieppe
 Crespy en Lanois
 Crespy en Lanois
 Rouen
 Vitry le Francois
 Paris
 Paris
 Chateauthierry
 St. Lo, Normandie
 Niort
 Poitou
 Rochuard, Poitou
 Rouen
 Bourges en Berri
 Blois
 Dieppe
 Chatillon-sur-Loire
 Orleans
 Normandie
 Paris
 Metz
 Paris

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's rôle there was minor whereas Barigioni's contributions were considerable, the fact of their association remains and serves to strengthen the case we presently have for the Urbino altar as some kind of collaborative

her drawing for an altar to be added to those by Specchi or related commissions is in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin (Fig. 57). Peter Dreyer and Jacob have made the attribution to Specchi, which is quite convincing on the basis of comparison with the Pantheon high altar drawing. They so convincingly identified the sheet as a project for the Cappella di S. Paolo di Terra Santa in the Pantheon. The chapel belongs to the *Congregazione Virtuosi* of which Specchi was a member. The coffers represented in the drawing, the capitals of the pilasters, and the inscription *DIVI IOSEPHI* on the pediment of the central bay leave no doubt about the intended location of the project, but there is no indication as to when or for what occasion the attribution was proposed.

The drawing is an impressive exercise in the representation of at least six different kinds of marble, using red and black chalk, grey and brown ink, and lightening. Alternatives for the decoration of the flanking bays and the white paper glued on the marbling beneath the capital zone (partly ripped in the central bay) indicate that a fixed design had not been established. The lines indicate the previous, more restricted size of the central niche. The different patterns between the capitals are exactly the same as were executed in the tribune of the Pantheon, where the division of the wall by pilasters also corresponds to the chapel drawing. The circular and square revetment patterns are entirely below, however, correspond to Specchi's project for the tribune rather than to the execution. Similarly, the row of busts in the side bays again in the tribune project where Specchi drew them at a higher level. As like these and the putto-heads with crossed wings are evidence of the feasibility at work, but the correspondences do not enable us to determine the drawing came first. A positive way of dealing with the changes in revetment patterns visible between the Specchi drawings and the church and those noted in my note 9 remains to be discovered.⁴⁷ In 1710 Clement XI ordered the restoration of marbles and columns in the Cappella di S. Paolo, and the drawing may be an ambitious proposal from that time.⁴⁸ Any different decorations presently in the chapel would only provide *terram* *quem*, but even they are undated.⁴⁹

K. NOEHLES: *La chiesa dei SS. Luca e Martina nell'opera di Pietro da Cortona*, Rome [1969]; and H. HAGER: 'Carlo Fontana's Project for a Church in the "Ecclesia Triumphans" in the Colosseum, Rome,' *Journal of the American Academy of Architecture*, XXXVI [1973], pp. 319-37. I AM-HAGER, pp. 185-187.

oral communication. The drawing had been published in JACOB, p. 144, 7, hdz. 564 simply as 'Altar mit Ostensorium und Monstranz unter dem Baldachin.'

the earlier drawings I am using a plan published by BRAHAM AND HAGER, p. 5.

HAGER: 'La cappella del Cardinale Alderano Cybo in Santa Maria del Monte,' *Commentari*, XXV, 1-2 [1974], p. 58.

OLCI: 'Notizie delle pitture che si trovano nelle chiese e nei palazzi di Urbino,' dated 1775 but revised by Dolci after 1789; published in *Rassegna di Belle Arti*, XI [1933], pp. 281-367 (especially p. 288).

the altar of S. Fabiano is closely related to the Metelli altar in Pesaro, which is attributed to Barigioni, whereas Specchi's work at the former involved the transport of materials (BRAHAM AND HAGER, p. 191; and H. HAGER, 'Un progetto di tre cappelle di Carlo Fontana a Roma,' *Commentari*, XXVII [1974], p. 274). On the other hand, the relationship of the Cybo Chapel altar, the high altar, and the high altar of the Pantheon (indisputably Specchi's) is equally close. Incidentally, the altar in the Cybo Chapel served as a model again in 1726 for the altar of the Volto Santo, attributed to Juvarda, in the Cathedral of Lucca (see BOSCARINO *Juvarda Architetto*, Rome [1973], Fig.

5, p. 144 (Kdz. nr. 23 821). The dimensions are 44.5 by 35.2 cm; a scale of 1:100. The drawing is partly cut. My thanks to Dr Dreyer for permission to use this drawing.

it is difficult to be sure about the revetment patterns up to Specchi's time, but so much of the graphic evidence was copied without regard to the content itself, as SHEARMAN points out ('Raphael, Rome, and the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae,' *Master Drawings*, XV [1977], pp. 107-46).

see in Valesio's diary, ASC, cred. XIV 16 Fol. 338 (9th April 1710).

JASS, p. 186.

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Notai, Tribunale delle acque e strade, b. 139, fol. 354-356, 27th July 1725 (for Bernardino Cametti).

do, conforme a me notaro sasserisce, che la santa memoria di Clemente Papa XI per maggior ornato della venerabile chiesa detta della Madonna, oltre diversi abbellimenti in essa da Sua Santità fatti fare mentre visse, e la direzione, e soprintendenza di Monsignor Eccellentissimo, e Reverendissimo Nicolo Giudice suo maggiordomo habbia lasciata ancora l'incarico all'istesso prelato di far proseguire detti abbellimenti, et ornamenti nella medesima chiesa, et in particolare le statue di marmo alli due altari all'altare maggiore del coro, con haver a tale effetto assegnata una somma

di denaro, che di già si trova depositata nel Banco di Lelmi depositario della Reverenda Camera a disposizione del sopradetto Monsignor Giudice, il quale in esecuzione della sua, e memorabile intenzione di detto Sommo Pontefice habbia per adesso determinato di far fare quella, che dovrà collocarsi nell'altare contiguo alla porticella della sacrestia, e siasi esibito di farla a tutta sua cura, incumbenza, e peso il Signor Bernardino Cametti scultore, il quale di già ne ha fatto il modello di stucco rappresentante S. Anastasio prete martire, che di presente si trova collocato in detto altare, e per il prezzo in tutto, e per tutto (compreso il marmo, conduttura del medesimo tanto al suo studio quanto che delli modelli e statua alla Chiesa della Rotonda, a collocazione della medesima all'altare maggiore disegnato) di scudi mille, e trenta tre, e volendosi hora, cio, che si è stabilito in voce, accio la verità sempre apparisca, farne pubblico istrumento

Il Signor Bernardino Cametti promette, e si obbliga di fare a tutta sua cura, peso, et incumbenza la sopradetta statua di marmo rappresentante S. Anastasio prete martire da collocarsi nell'altare laterale all'altare maggiore, cioè in quello contiguo alla porticella della sacrestia in detta Chiesa della Rotonda dentro il termine di diciotto mesi da oggi prossimi . . . con l'infra scritti, patti, capitoli, condizioni, e convenzioni cioè

Che il detto Signor Cametti s'obbliga di fare la sudetta statua a similitudine del modello di creta, che stà collocata di presente nell'istesso altare, e piuttosto in miglior forma di quello, a contentamento del detto Monsignor Eccellentissimo, e Reverendissimo Giudice, et a recognitione del Signor Alessandro Specchi architetto da Sua Eccellenza deputato . . .

Che il marmo per far la sudetta statua, debba essere di Carrara della qualità simile a quello servito per la statua fatta dal Signor Lorenzo Ottomi in un altro altare di detta chiesa, rappresentante S. Anna con la Beatissima Vergine . . .

Che non essendovi di presente il marmo di Ripa del altezza di palmi 13 bisognevole per la detta statua, sia lecuto, e possa il detto Signor Cametti farvi aggiunta della testa riportata, purché accompagni al marmo dell'istessa statua, quale tolgono la testa dovrà esser tutta d'un pezzo . . .

Che il detto Signor Cametti . . . si obbliga di metter in opra la detta statua nell'altare sudetta a tutta sua cura, peso, rischio, pericolo, e spese . . .

E la fattura di detta statua . . . Signor Bernardino Cametti promette, e s'obbliga di farla per il prezzo, e nome di prezzo di detti scudi mille e trenta tre . . . compresi . . . anche il costo del marmo, del modello in grande messo in opra, e del piccolo, che occorresse farsi, e la spesa delle condutture, e trasporto del detto marmo, e rispettivamente della detta statua, e mettitura in opra . . . nella nicchia dell'altare sudetta . . . conforme il sopradetto Monsignor Eccellentissimo, e Reverendissimo Nicolo Giudice soprintendente come sopra deputato . . . s'obbliga di pagarlo, e somministrarlo ad esso Signor Cametti delli denari . . . per quello importerà il valore del marmo immediatamente, che farà comprato il medesimo, et il resto di mano in mano, che esso Signor Cametti andrà lavorando la detta statua . . .

In oltre si conviene che mancando di Signor Bernardino di fare, e compire detta statua nel termine come sopra stabilito . . . possa il detto Monsignor Eccellentissimo Giudice far fare detta statua ad un altro scultore, anche a maggior prezzo delli detti 1033 scudi a tutte spese, danni, et interessi di esso Signor Cametti . . .

Francesco Nicolao Orsino

Olimpio Bartolomeo

2. ASR, Notai, Tribunale delle acque e strade, b. 140, fol. 451-453, 28th January 1727 (for Francesco Moderati):

Essendo, conforme a me notaro sasserisce, che la santa memoria di Clemente Papa XI . . . habbia lasciata ancora l'incarico all'istesso Signor Cardinal Giudice di far proseguire detti abbellimenti, et ornamenti nella medesima chiesa (Pantheon) et in particolare le statue di marmo alli due altari laterali all'altare maggiore del coro, con haver a tale effetto assegnata una somma di denaro, che di già in parte si trova depositata nel Banco di Lelmi a disposizione del predetto Eccellentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinal Giudice, il quale in esecuzione della sua, e memorabile intenzione di detto Sommo Pontefice, habbia già fatta fare, e sia anche messa in opra, e collocata quella dell'altare contiguo alla porticella della sacrestia, et havendo hora determinato Sua Eccellenza di far fare l'altra nell'altro altare, e siasi esibito di farla a tutta sua cura, incumbenza, e peso il Signor Francesco Moderati scultore per il prezzo in tutto, e per tutto, compreso il marmo, conduttura del medesimo tanto al suo studio, quanto che delli modelli, e statua alla detta Chiesa della Rotonda, a collocazione della medesima statua nell'altare sudetta di scudi mille e trentatre moneta. E volendosi hora cio che si è stabilito in voce, accio la verità sempre apparisca farne pubblico istrumento

Il sudetto Signor Francesco Moderati promette, e si obbliga di fare a tutta sua cura la sopradetta statua di marmo rappresentante S. Erasmo prete martire, da collocarsi nel sudetto altare laterale all'altare maggiore, cioè in quello situato vicino all'altare del Crocefisso dentro il termine di mesi diciotto da computarsi dal giorno che sarà giunto il marmo qui in Roma . . .

Che il detto Signor Francesco Moderati s'obbliga di fare la sudetta statua a similitudine del modello già fatto et a contentamento del detto Eccellentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinal Giudice et a recognitione del Signor Alessandro Specchi architetto da Sua Eccellenza deputato

Che il marmo per far la sudetta statua debba esser di Carrara della qualità simile a quello servito per la statua dell'altro altare, fatta dal Signor Bernardino Cametti . . .

Che il predetto Signor Francesco s'obbliga di metter in opra la detta statua nell'altare sudetta a tutte sue spese . . .

E la fattura di detta statua il medesimo Signor Moderati promette, e s'obliga di farla per il prezzo e nome di prezzo di scudi mille, e trentatre moneta romana . compresi anche il costo del marmo il quale dovrà esser tutto d'un pezzo, eccettuato, che la manca di detta statua la quale dovrà esser riportata, come anche la punta della palma che dovrà tenere nella mano destra, principiando dalla mano sino all'estremo così concordato con Sua Eccellenza e del modello da esso già fatto e d'ogni altro che occorresse farsi . Il sopradetto Eccellentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinal Nicolò Giudice sopramtendente . s'obliga di pagarlo, e somministrarlo ad esso Signor Moderati delli denari nel seguente modo cioè per quello importerà il

valore del marmo, immediatamente, che sarà comprato il medesimo, di mano in mano che esso Signor Francesco andara lavorando la detta

In oltre si conviene che mancando il detto Signor Moderati di fare detta statua nel termine come sopra stabilito . possa il detto tissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale far fare detta statua a scultore anche a maggior prezzo di detti scudi mille, e trenta tre

*Francesco Nisco.
Olimpio .*

TESSA MURDOCH

Roubiliac as an Architect? The bill for the Warkton monuments*

THE discovery of the bill for the monuments (Fig.59 & 60) to the second Duke and Duchess of Montagu in Warkton Church, Northamptonshire (Fig.61), has revealed the unexpected fact that Roubiliac was responsible for creating the setting for the monuments which have long been recognised as being amongst his greatest works.¹

The document was found in a scrapbook containing mostly genealogical material, which according to a contemporary, was one of John, Duke of Montagu's main interests.² The bill is undated, but is in the form of a legal document, and so is probably a contemporary copy. It bears the watermark, 'PRO PATRIA', which is in evidence on other legal documents of the period.³ The account has been amended under the supervision of Countess of Cardigan, the daughter of the second Duke and Duchess of Montagu, who, after their death, lived locally at Deene Park. It is inscribed on the verso in a different hand from that of the account itself, 'Roubiliac's Bill for Monuments'.

Apart from the direct evidence of Roubiliac's acting as an architect, the account throws new light on his method of procedure, and the extent to which he was involved with construction on site.

By rebuilding the chancel as a family mausoleum, Duke John was continuing a tradition initiated by his father, Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu. At the latter's instructions 'a place of sepulture' was constructed on the north side of the old chancel at Warkton, 'for himself and his family'.⁴ This vault, only completed after the 1st

Duke's death in 1709, is still to be seen today.

It would appear that Duke John's original plan commission from his friend the antiquary, V Stukeley, a mausoleum in the Gothic style, complete fan vaulting, in the form of an additional chapel south-east angle of the nearby church at Weekley was to include a monument to the Duke in the form of a plain inscribed marble slab in the centre of the floor. It was intended to make provision for, 'a young man or woman to be married over his grave on may day morning, with £100 portion'. However, this, like Stukeley's design for a Gothic bridge in the park at Bowood House, was never executed. Instead, the project was transferred to Warkton church, possibly because of the existing family vault, and the decision was taken to rebuild the chancel there for the purposes of a mausoleum (See Fig.A).

The current *Guide to St Edmund's, Warkton*, states that the chancel was rebuilt in 1748. There is no direct evidence that Roubiliac was working on this commission in that year, but it is possible that the initial design for the new chancel was executed by Duke John himself. The 2nd Duke was an amateur architect of some distinction, and his surviving designs include a plan and elevation for a building barracks at Woolwich and a scheme for castellated farm buildings on his Northamptonshire estate.⁵ However, it is more likely that the new chancel was not completed until after the Duke's death in 1749. It was then that 'the whole care of a monument to the Duke was entrusted to Martin Folkes',⁶ President of the Royal Society from 1741, and from 1749 President of the Society of Antiquaries.⁷ Martin Folkes acted as patron on behalf of the widowed Duchess of Montagu. Folkes had himself sat to Roubiliac in 1749⁸ (the

*This article was written in connection with research into Huguenot artists and craftsmen, 1680-1760, for the degree of PhD., at Westfield College, University of London, under the supervision of Dr Bindman.

¹ I would like to thank His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch for kind permission to publish this document and also Mr P. I. King of the Northamptonshire County Record Office where it is deposited, for bringing it to my attention. I would also like to thank my supervisor Dr Bindman, Dr Avery of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and John Newman of the Courtauld Institute for discussing the document with me.

² The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley M.D. and the Antiquarian and other Correspondence of William Stukeley, Roger & Samuel Gale etc., I, *The Surtees Society*, Vol. LXXIII 1882, pp.114-15.

³ E. HEAWOOD: 'Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Hilversum Paper Publications Society*, Collection of Works and Documents illustrating the History of Paper I 1950 p.146, p.493 nos 3706-3707. E. Heawood cites similar marks on English legal documents dated 1750 and 1766.

⁴ The Rev. PETER WHALLEY: *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire compiled from the manuscript collections of the late learned antiquary John Bridges, Esq* [1791], Vol. II pp.263-64.

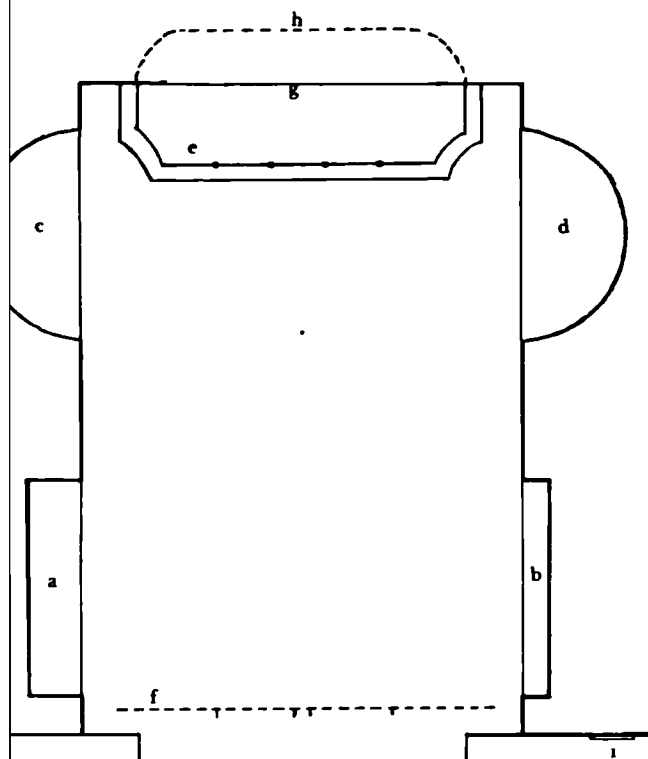
⁵ STUART PIGGOT: *William Stukeley An Eighteenth Century Antiquary* p.151.

⁶ P. R. WOOLLEY 55 2281: 'The drawings for castellated buildings: Boughton House (HOWARD COLVIN *Dictionary of British Architecture* p.555, under Montagu, John 2nd Duke of)'.
⁷ British Museum, Add. Ms.35397; Letter of 8th September 1750 Thomas Birch to Lord Hardwicke.

⁸ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1889 edition, under Folkes, Martin.
⁹ The bust is inscribed, 'M. Folkes. ARM. REGAL LOND. PRAESES MDCCXLIX' and signed, 'L. F. Roubiliac sculpsit ad vivum 1749'.

MARGARET WHINNEY: *Sculpture in Britain*, 1964, p.112, pl.87B, M. I. WEBB: 'Roubiliac Busts at Wilton', *Courtauld Institute Papers* Vol.11 ii [1956] p.804. Webb quotes the relevant entry in the House of Commons, November 16th, 1749 'To Mr Roubiliac for one Marble Bust of Martin Folkes in full of all demands £35 00 00.' The plaster cast of this bust is in the British Museum. It was presented with fifteen other busts by Roubiliac.

Fig.A. Plan of the chancel St Edmund's Church, Warkton



monument to John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, d.1749 by L. F. Roubiliac.
 monument to Mary, 2nd Duchess of Montagu, d.1751 by L. F. Roubiliac.
 monument to Mary, 3rd Duchess of Montagu, d.1775 by Robert Adam and
 Van Gelder.
 monument to Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch d.1827 by Thomas
 Spence.
 the altar rails.
 the communion rails.
 the 'Venetian' window.
 the railings surrounding ditch on exterior
 monument to Dr Lamotte, d.1741.

now at Wilton House, was recognisable by August
 of that year, when Vertue described it as 'a most exact
 copy' ¹⁰ it was easy for him to procure Roubiliac's ser-
 vice as sculptor for the Duke of Montagu's monument. It
 was probably Folkes who made Roubiliac responsible for
 the completion of the chancel.

The document shows that Roubiliac produced seven
 designs for the project; one 'for the Inside', another 'for
 the outside', copies of both of these, and a drawing of a
 cupola not executed'. Presumably intended for the cen-
 tre of the chancel, a cupola would have provided advan-
 tageous lighting effects for Roubiliac's monuments which
 were placed in the two westernmost bays of the chancel
 (there are four in all) at some remove from the 'Venetian'
 window in the east end (Fig.62) which is now the sole
 source of light for the addition. The other drawing and
 for which Roubiliac charged, were designs for the
 'work'. This must be the 'communion rails' (Fig.64)

who had bought them at the sculptor's sale 12th-15th May 1762 RUPERT
 : *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851* [1953] pp 329-330 under
 Roubiliac.
 : *Walpole Society*, Vol. XXII [1933-4] (Vertue Note Books Volume III)

and 'altar rails' mentioned in the document, which still
 survive. ¹¹ 'Iron work' may also refer to the 'great grilles'
 which once surrounded the monuments, ¹² and also the
 railings, still in situ, which screen off a small ditch at the
 base of the exterior of the 'Venetian' window (Fig.61).

Although Roubiliac was responsible for these draw-
 ings, it is probable that they were executed under his
 supervision by an assistant. According to Vertue, in
 1750, Roubiliac had a certain 'nicolas. . . an apprentice'
 who was a skillful draughtsman. ¹³ This must be Nicholas
 Read, who had studied initially at the St Martin's Lane
 Academy, where from 1745, Roubiliac was lecturer on
 sculpture. ¹⁴ The suggestion that these drawings were not
 autograph, is supported by John Physick's comment on
 the only known signed drawing by Roubiliac (for the
 monument to the Duke of Argyll in Westminster Abbey)
 which he described as being by 'a more competent artist
 at Roubiliac's request specially for submission to the
 Duchess of Argyll' and signed by Roubiliac as 'designer
 only'. ¹⁵ Furthermore, the drawings mentioned in this
 document are of an architectural nature; there is no
 mention of drawings specifically for the monuments, and
 it is doubtful whether any drawings were executed for
 this purpose. Five designs for the Duke's monument and
 two for that of the Duchess were included in the sale after
 the sculptor's death, but there is no definite indication as
 to whether 'designs' refers to drawings or models. ¹⁶
 Terence Hodgkinson has suggested that the context of
 these items in the sale would imply that they were
 models, although an earlier entry in the sale catalogue
 describes a model for the same commission as such, 'Dut-
 chess of Montagu's monument, in plaster'. ¹⁷

The document shows that Roubiliac also produced 'a
 Model of wood for the Chancel', which, as the amend-
 ment indicates, was executed by 'a workman',
 presumably from the drawings already mentioned. This
 model is as yet untraced, although it may well have been
 the 'model in wood of a large room' which was sold with
 Roubiliac's effects on 12th May 1762 (92). ¹⁸ Apart from
 the designs, it is evident from the document that
 Roubiliac was responsible for providing the materials for
 the paving, the borders and steps, although Warkton had
 its own quarry 'of very hard and excellent building
 stone', ¹⁹ so it is probable that any basic building

¹ The Rev W Cole who visited Warkton church in the company of Horace
 Walpole on 22nd July 1763 commented 'The chancel seems to be new built
 paved with marble and railed in from the nave by Iron rails' British Museum,
 Add Ms 5834 p 426 The railings to which the Rev. W. Cole refers have been
 moved about nine inches further east from their original position presumably
 during the nineteenth century alterations.

Guide to St Edmund's Church Warkton (No Date)
 The Walpole Society, Vol XXII (Vertue Note Books Volume III) 1933-4
 p 152. Vertue also mentions in 1749 a Mr Sisterna principal workman with Mr
 Roubiliac Sculptor (III p 143 who draws very well (III p 141)
⁴ Obituary of Nicholas Read *The Gentleman Magazine* 787 Part II
 p 644

JOHN PHYSICK *Designs for English Sculpture 1680-1860* Victoria and Albert
 Museum 1969 pp 119-120 Fig 83

⁵ K A ESDAILE *The Life and Works of Louis François Roubiliac* 1928
 p 226 Third Day's sale Lots 67-68

TERENCE HODGKINSON A sketch in terracotta by Roubiliac THE BURLINGTON
 MAGAZINE Volume 89 1947 p 258, K A ESDAILE *op cit* p 220 First Day's
 sale Lot 73

⁶ K A ESDAILE *op cit* p 221 First Day's sale

⁷ *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire op cit* p 263

materials were obtained locally.

Obviously the chancel had to be rebuilt before the Duke's monument could be installed, but the building was evidently constructed with the monuments in mind. The so called 'Venetian' window is not what is generally understood by that term. It is possible that originally a true 'Venetian' window was planned, but the idea was later abandoned, when for practical reasons, perhaps a lack of sufficiently competent local builders, or severe weather, the execution of the cupola was prevented.²⁰ The necessary light required could then only be obtained by opening out the whole area formerly assigned to a 'Venetian' window, and forgoing the central divisions normally evoked by that term. Certainly the extraordinary stresses brought about by such a huge area of glass at the east end of the chancel could only have been dealt with satisfactorily by a professional architect.²¹ It seems likely that Roubiliac may have called on the assistance of an architect friend in these circumstances. The architect Isaac Ware, is a most likely candidate. Like Roubiliac, Isaac Ware was connected with the St Martin's Lane Academy.²² Ware sat to Roubiliac before 1741 and probably again in 1755,²³ although only the earlier marble bust is known today.²⁴ (It is now in the National Portrait Gallery collection at Beningbrough Hall, near York). Both Ware and Roubiliac were members of the committee set up in 1755, to discuss the founding of a Royal Academy.²⁵

Most of the items listed in the document are still to be seen. The paving, the black marble 'dotts', square sections inserted in the 'freestone paving' at regular intervals, the black marble border and steps; (one at the entrance to the chancel supports the 'communion rails' the other two at the altar support the 'altar rails') and the 'Vitruvian Scrowl' round the fascia, still survive. Even the plain black marble slab commemorating Dr Lamotte, Vicar of Warkton for twenty-seven years, and in residence at Boughton House,²⁶ is in evidence on the east wall of the south aisle. Other items give further clues as to the nature of the original design. The '38 feet of Dentels carv'd on the three Pediments over the Windows' of which the amended price was considerably reduced, would be explained by the suggestion that a true 'Venetian' window was originally intended. With reference to Roubiliac's charge for the 'Vitruvian Scowl', the amendments show the 'Scowl on the fascia at the Entrance being overcharg'd in ye Dimensions'. This suggests that the 'Scowl' work was carried across the entrance wall, which

probably contained an archway of identical proportions to those surrounding the monuments. Between 1818 and 1874 the 'energetic' vicar, the Reverend Henry S. was responsible for removing the eighteenth-century transepts to the chancel and replacing it with a reconstruction of the thirteenth-century archway.²⁷ Recently, the monuments to the second Duke and I. of Montagu were obstructed by nineteenth-century work which have now been removed from the chancel.²⁸

Surprisingly, perhaps, the document does not mention any preparatory models for the monuments then made. Yet three models by Roubiliac for this commission survive and are now on exhibition in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Two of these are for the Duke's monument (Fig.63), executed in terracotta, was described by Margaret Whinney as 'a first sketch',²⁹ the other executed in wood and plaster shows 'an additional piece of work added to the Dukes monument' mentioned in the document. The third model, also executed in wood and plaster, represents the monument to the duchess.³⁰ Its absence from the bill is perhaps explained by the implication that they were kept in the sculptor's studio and not submitted to either the 2nd Duchess of Montagu or the Countess of Cardigan for approval. The letter from Dr Thomas Birch of 8th September 1750 to Lord Sandwich explains that the Duchess of Montagu, neither gave him (Mr Folkes) Instructions herself nor allow him to consult any other person about it, 'any of the models which he had prepared'.³¹ It seems then, that of the surviving models for the monument, at least one (Fig.63), the earlier terracotta model, was made at the request of Martin Folkes. A letter from Dr Birch also helps to explain why the later wood and plaster models were found in London at the triforium of Westminster Abbey (by Mrs Esdaile in September 1923) and not at Boughton House, or Park, Northamptonshire, as might be expected.³²

Although the document itself is not dated, the evidence it provides assists in a reconstruction of the chronology of the commission as executed by Roubiliac. It is already known that from December 1749 to 1751, Roubiliac was working on the design for the monument. The Dublin Courant for 19th December 1749 announced that Roubiliac was 'preparing a monument to his Grace the Duke of Montagu'. Birch's letter (above) shows that by 8th September 1750 Roubiliac had produced more than one model for the Duke's monument, and Andrea Soldi's portrait of Roubiliac at Dulwich dated August 1751, shows

²⁰ The cupola was probably abandoned after the monuments had been executed in full size; for their compositions might imply a central light.

²¹ I am indebted to John Newman for this suggestion.

²² MARK GIRONARD "Coffee at Slaughters", *English Art and the Rococo*, I, *Country Life*, Vol. 139, 1, [1966], p.61, and 'Hogarth and his Friends', *English Art and the Rococo*, II, *Country Life*, Vol. 139, 1, [1966], pp. 188-190.

²³ K. A. ESDAILE, *op cit*, pp. 47, 108.

²⁴ JOHN KERSLAKE *Early Georgian Portraits*, London [1977] Vol. I pp. 293-295, Volume II, pls. 848-849, and 850. The bust is inscribed on the front of the socle in gold capitals, 'ISAAC WARE'.

²⁵ JOHN PYE: *Patronage of British Art* [1845], p. 77.

²⁶ Dr Lamotte, who died on 11th January 1741 appears in the accounts at Boughton House (Unpaid bills at the death of Ralph, 1st Duke of Montagu, 1709, Vol. I, p. 159).

²⁷ *Guide to St Edmund's Church Warkton*.

²⁸ The work was executed between May and July 1978. I am grateful to Dalziel for this information.

²⁹ MARGARET WHINNEY: *English Sculpture, 1720-1830*, London [1971].

³⁰ The two wood and plaster models belong to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey and are on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

³¹ British Museum, Add. Ms. 35397, *op cit*.

³² K. A. ESDAILE: 'A Find in the Abbey, Three models by Roubiliac', [29th December 1923], pp. 9-10-12. Mrs Esdaile thought that the models for the Montagu monuments had been produced by Roubiliac in support of his design for the Nightingale monument as the third model found in London was for the Nightingale monument and is now also on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

³³ K. A. ESDAILE: *The Life and Works of Louis François Roubiliac* [1967].



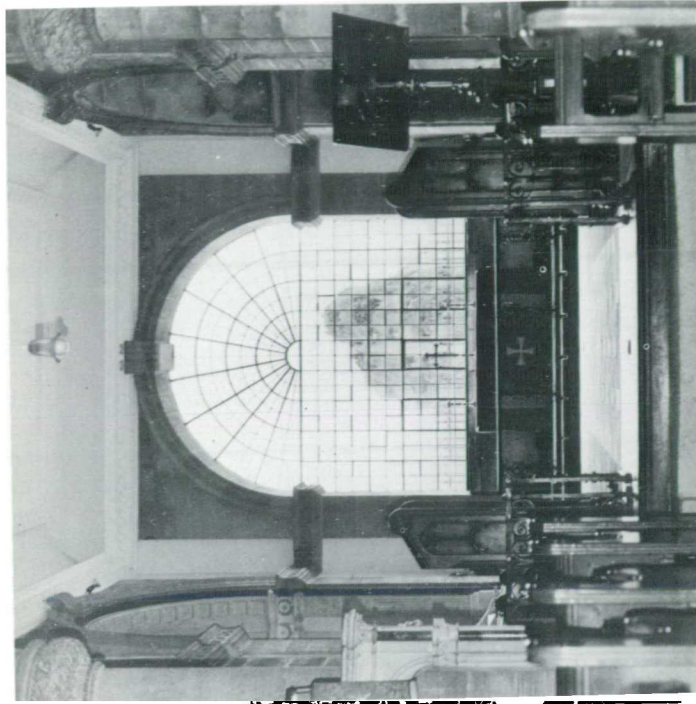
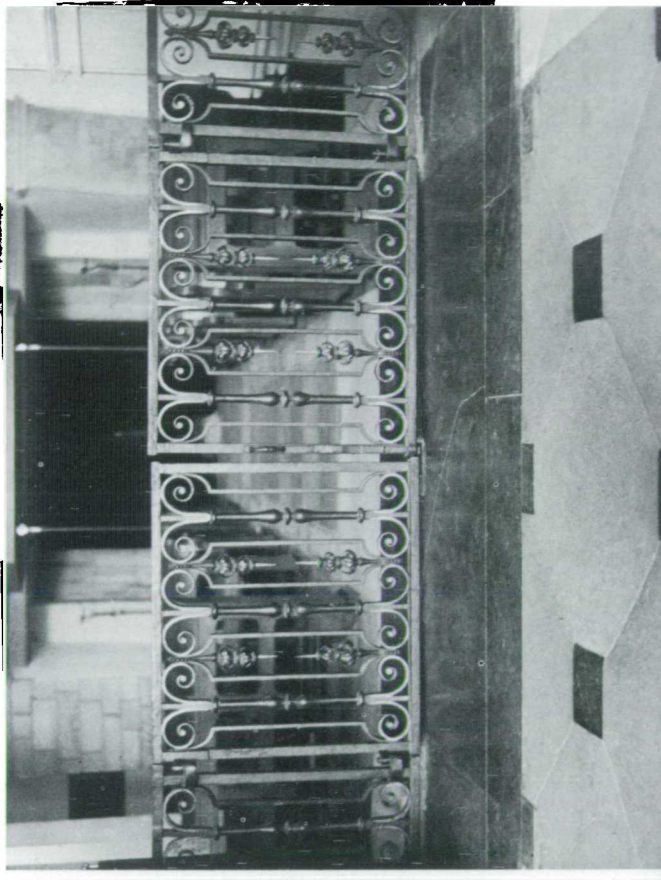
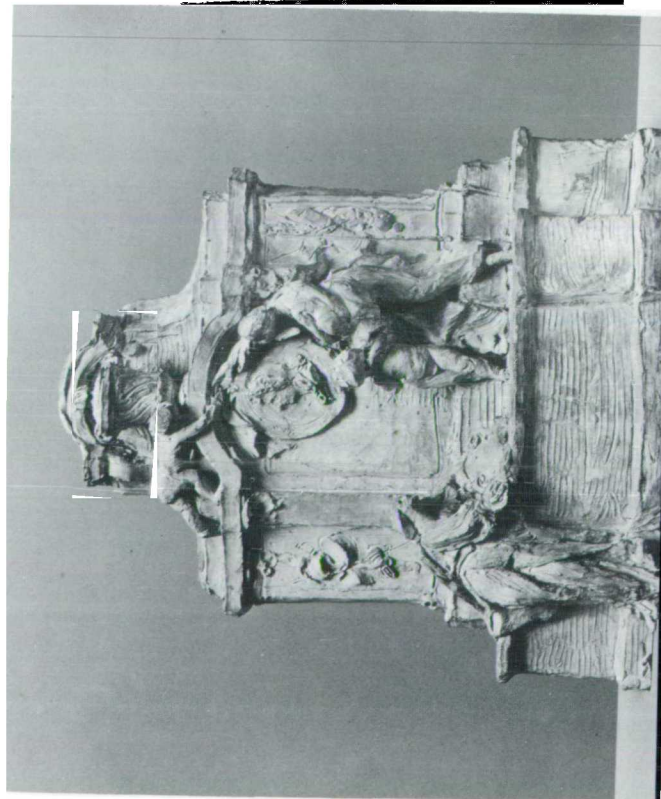
69. Monument to Mary, 2nd Duchess of Montagu, (seen from the East) by L. F. Roubiliac (Warkton Church, Northamptonshire)



69. Monument to Mary, 2nd Duchess of Montagu (seen from the East), by L. F. Roubiliac (Warkton Church, Northamptonshire).



Warkton Church, Northamptonshire: the exterior from the South East.



62. The Chancel of Warkton Church, seen from the West.

tor working on a model of the figure of *Charity* with
d for the same monument. It is possible that Soldi
using an older model as a prop, for the painting
sents an earlier study of the figure of *Charity* than
on the two surviving models exhibited in the Victoria
Albert Museum. In the latter, as in the finished
ment (Fig. 59), *Charity* carries a second child on her
and the standing child beside her is in a different
on from that represented in Soldi's 1751 portrait.
hough it is an accepted fact that the design for the
's monument was fixed before Roubiliac's journey to
in the autumn of 1752,³⁴ it has not yet been
lished when the monument to the Duke was actually
led in the chancel of Warkton church. It is arguable
he Duke's monument was in place before the death
e Duchess, in May 1751, as the inscription on the
ment reads, 'His afflicted widow, Mary, Ducchess
ontagu erects this monument'. However, the item in
ocument, 'To an additional piece of work added to
Dukes monument',³⁵ implies that the addition was
after the original monument had been installed.
Furthermore, careful observation of the woodwork of the
ional section on the later model reveals a slight dif-
ference in colour by comparison with the woodwork of
entral section. It is probable that the addition to the
's monument was made necessary by the installation
monument to his Duchess in the opposite bay of the
cel, as the extra height on the Duke's monument
d have been required to balance the pair.³⁶ In this
xt it is significant that the additional section is carv-
operately on the wood and plaster model of the
's monument, and could therefore easily have been
d after the design of the Duchess's monument had
fixed. The addition on the model of the Duke's
ument would therefore have been made after the
el for the monument to the Duchess was complete.
addition on the Duke's monument, likewise, would
ably have been executed after the installation of the
ument to his Duchess. This dating is further sup-
d by the fact that the additions to the Duke's monu-
are specified on a bill amended by the Countess of
igan, as it was presumably only after her mother's
a that Lady Cardigan would have taken over the
nsibility of the commission, and extended it to in-
the monument to her mother. As *The Spectator*
ibed the 'tomb of the Dutchess of Montague' as be-
n Roubiliac's studio in December 1753,³⁷ the in-
tion of the Duchess's monument must have occurred
time after that, probably in early 1754, and thus
ddition to the Duke's monument would have been
at the same time or possibly even later. This im-
that 1754 is the earliest possible date for the com-
on of the commission and thus for the date of the
nal version of the document published here. This
n out chronology is supported by the fact, recorded

in the document, that at least 'five Journeys' were made
to Northamptonshire in connection with this commis-
sion.

The price of the monuments is typical of the period;
Vertue comments 'These works of monuments is the best
paid, of any works of painting history, portraiture,
Landskips, conversations. . . . the professor of real merit
will come over and study to excel for such profits and
rewards, which amount to great sums of money, as such
monuments have cost some five hundred pounds each,
some 7 or 8 hundred some thousand or some hundreds
more.'³⁸

In this case Roubiliac charged a basic £1800 for two
monuments but of this amount £1000 was probably given
in advance as, according to Dr Birch, by September 1750
'The Duchess of Montagu. . . had already sent him (Mr
Folkes) £1000 for the Expense of it.'³⁹

J. T. Smith describes how, 'the putting up (of
monuments) was generally intrusted to a mason, who
upon his return to London was rarely questioned as to
where it was erected, or as to how it looked.'⁴⁰ The en-
tries in Roubiliac's Warkton account, '30 Days work and
Travelling charges' and 'Uncharged five Journeys in to
Northamptonshire' indicate that as an exception to the
usual rule, Roubiliac accompanied his work to
Northamptonshire and probably supervised the in-
stallation of the monuments himself.

To sum up the order of procedure, it seems that John,
2nd Duke of Montagu, conceived the idea of rebuilding
the chancel to provide space for family monuments.
After the Duke's death in July 1749, Roubiliac was called
in as sculptor, presumably by Martin Folkes, but also
given the opportunity to create his own setting. In so
doing he designed four bays, the easternmost pair being
occupied at a later date by the monument to Mary, 3rd
Duchess of Montagu (the Countess of Cardigan of the
document) executed by P. VanGelder to Robert Adam's
design and Thomas Campbell's monument to Elizabeth,
Duchess of Buccleuch (only daughter of Mary, Countess
of Cardigan).

During the first half of the eighteenth century
sculptors in England frequently executed monuments to
the designs of architects, and even Roubiliac is known to
have executed two small monuments to the designs of the
architect Sir Charles Frederick,⁴¹ rather to the detriment
of the sculpture. But these two examples are in
Roubiliac's case an exception, the usual signature on his
monuments, 'L. F. Roubiliac inv' et sc', shows that he
was responsible for his own designs.⁴² The bill for the
Warkton monuments has shown that Roubiliac was in
this case also responsible for designing the architectural
setting. Roubiliac's habit of making structural models for
his larger monuments (such as survive for the Argyll,

GARET WHINNEY *op cit* [1971] p. 92

on the later model the 'Firepan and Smoke' are executed in plaster on the
ment itself, which explains why, 'so little Marble was used in the addi-
tion cut down the price of the extra work from £120 to £30.

indebted to Dr Bindman for this suggestion.

ESDAILE, *op cit*, Appendix C, 'The Monument of the Duchess of Mon-
tag No. XVI of the revived Spectator, Tuesday, 25th December 1753',

³⁸ *The Walpole Society*, Vol XXII Vertue Note Books, Vol. III [1933 4],
p 146

³⁹ British Museum, Add Ms 35397, *op cit*

⁴⁰ J. T. SMITH *Nollekens and His Times* [1828] Vol I, p 230.

⁴¹ MARGARET WHINNEY *op cit* 1964 p 259 note 17. M. I. WEBB 'Architect
and Sculptor', *Architectural Review*, Vol CXXIII [1958], p 329 The
monuments are to Bishop Milles (d 1740 at Highclere, Hampshire, and to
Lady Lyttleton (erected 1748) at Hagley, Worcestershire. Sir Charles
Frederick became Surveyor General of the Ordinance in 1750

⁴² MARGARET WHINNEY, *op cit* [1964] pp 1 5 06.

ROUBILIAC AS AN ARCHITECT? THE Montagu and Nightingale monuments, which incorporate strongly architectural features) points to an active interest in architecture on his part. But it is unlikely that he had undergone a formal training as an architect before he came to England. It is more probable that his training at Dresden under Balthazar Permoser (a former pupil of Bernini's) and in Paris in the studio of Nicholas Coustou was sufficient to give him an adequate understanding of the erection of simple structures.⁴³ In favour of the latter is the fact that the architectural setting at Warkton is comparatively unsophisticated. This

BILL FOR THE WARKTON MONUMENT document does, however, challenge the generally accepted account of Roubiliac's work as it raises the possibility that he may have designed architectural settings for some of his other monuments or statues. It is hoped that other bills, as informative as the present one, will come to light.

⁴ It is significant in this context that William Tyler who described himself as being for many years student under the late Mr Roubiliac, (City M S 167 13, cited by RUPERT GUNNIS *op cit* pp 403-04) was known to be a sculptor but practised also as an architect. H. COLVIN *op cit*, p 84. William Tyler who designed the monument to Martin Folkes which was executed by Tyler's former pupil, Robert Ashton and installed in Westminster Abbey in 1788. (MARGARET WHINNEY, *op cit* [1964] p.142 pl 115A).

The Right Hon ^r The Countess of Cardigan * To L. F. Roubiliac D ^{ne}	£	s	d	£	s	d
To two Monuments in Memory of the Duke and Dutchess of Montagu	1800	0	0	1800		0
To the Attorney for drawing Articles	2	18	4	2	18	4
To a Model of wood for the Chancel & Materials	22	4	0	11	2	0
To Timplants** at large for the Execution of D	1	15	0	1	15	0
To a Drawing for the Inside that was Executed	5	5	0	5	5	0
To D ^o for the outside	3	3	0	3	3	0
To a Copy of both Drawings	3	3	0	3	3	0
To a drawing of a Copula not executed	3	3	0	3	3	0
To a D ^o for the Iron Work and a Copy	2	2	0	2	2	0
To hiring the Slittiards*** four times	2	2	0	2	2	0
To an additional peice of work added to the Dukes Monument	120	0	0	30	0	0
To 99 feet of Black and white paving, Border, within the Communion Rails, att laying at 5/6 ft	27	4	6	27	4	6
To 48 feet of Solid Marble black for the steps at the Entrance of the Chancel and at the Altar Rails 1.4.0 ft	57	12	0	57	12	0
To 26 feet of Moulding work D at 8 6 ft	11	1	8	7	16	
To 96 feet of plain work at 4 ft	19	4	0	19	4	0
To 121 feet of black marble Border round the paving in the Chancel at 3 6 ft	21	3	6	10	6	6
To 173 black Dotts at 1/2 ft	10	1	10	11	4	0
To 420 feet of freestone paving at 4 foot	7	3	7	7	3	7
To putting up and cleaning Dr Lamotts Monument	2	8	0	1	4	0
To 30 days work and Travelling charges	9	16	0	9	16	0
To 122 feet of Vitruvian Scrowl round on the facia in the Chancel and at the Entrance	12	4	2	5	16	0
To 38 feet of Dentels carv d on the three Pediments over the Windows, at 3 f	5	14	0	2	17	0
To Carving the two Scrowls over the Venetian Window	2	0	0	1	0	0
To 2423 feet of D. Deal, Nails & Work for Casing	75	14	4½	49	5	9
To 26 Feet 8 In of Single Deal at 6 f (doubt ess)	0	13	4	0	4	6
To Carriage of some of the Cases to the Waggon uncharged five Journeys in to Northamptonshire	1	1	0	1	1	0
	2228	17	3½	2076	8	2

Allowing 1.2.0. for Materials there remains 10. for the Workmanship, which being all plain, and on deal, any workman must have been a very slow performer who at 1 a week would employ himself ten weeks about it (Memd. what ought to be allowed for directions I can't pretend to determine as one Mans time is to be of so much more Value than that of another

Seems to be the full Value in proportion to the price of the whole Monument, the greater part of it being Masonry, therefore not requiring a touch from a masterly hand, and being but little in Quantity, and of common Dove Marble, except the Additional End of the Siena Pilasters which in Quantity likewise are so inconsiderable and the putting on so easy, that 201s for that part of it must be a good price. The remaining 101s for the firepan and Smoak surely can't be under the Value of it as so little Marble is us'd and the Size but small, tho' it very well Executed.

This is an obscure Article and therefore it ought to be enquired whether the 48 feet Solid, charg'd black Marble for the three steps only was not the whole Quantity of Marble, black and white us'd for paving Borders, Steps, Risers and Dotts for it seems impossible that 48 cubic feet of Marble should be us'd in three steps containing 95 Superficial feet and no more than one inch and a half thick. The 26 feet of Moulding work is here charg'd at 6 y foot being all quite strait and consequently easily Executed

The black Border round the paving of freestone in the Chancel and before the riser of the Step, at the entrance included, contain no more than 59 feet as may be seen from the acct of dimensions marked which at 3 6 a foot amount as of this act to 10.6.6. There is 173 Dotts 36 half D by quarters in all 192 The paving at common price and well done

The measure is 116 feet the Scrowl on the facia at the Entrance being overcharg'd in ye Dimensions

2423 feet of Deal at 3 f foot	30 5.9.	Value of Nails
To 26 feet 8 of Single Deal at 2 f foot	7 0 0.	might be used
Carriage of some Cases to the Waggon	12 0 0	Work of one M weeks at 12 f
	49 5 9.	

* The right hand column of figures and explanations represent the amendments made under the supervision of the Countess of Cardigan, presumably completion of the work.

** Timplants. Our 'Templet'.

*** Slittiar. There is no such word. However the sale catalogue of Roubiliac's 'stock of marble, working tools and other implements' includes 'A large pair of stilliards that will weigh 41 hund. 3qrs. 7lbs and case to ditto. The O.E.D. describes stilliard as 'obs. form of steelyard. Dr. Johnson defined the latter as 'A balance in which the weight is moved along an iron rod and grows heavier as it is removed further from the fulcrum.' It seems that the clerk must have crossed two l's instead of the initial 't'.

The Real Value of ENGRAVED SILVER

Examining engraved inscriptions, armorials and cyphers can reveal the original owners of 18th century English silver, explains Tessa Murdoch.

From April, the Treasury of the Museum of London will display a variety of domestic silver made in London in the 18th century. Household plate, chamber candlesticks, inkstands, cutlery, salts, sugar castors, and vessels for the new drinks, tea, coffee and chocolate, contrast with more lavish pieces made primarily for display, cake baskets, tea caddies and a remarkable centrepiece. The silver is drawn from two important private collections not normally visible to the public.

The collection of silver belonging to Courtaulds Ltd, includes plate made by the family craftsmen, Augustin Courtauld (1686–1751), his son, Samuel (1720–1765), and Samuel's wife Louisa (1729–1807), who carried on her husband's business after his death.

The large quantity of 18th century silver that survives today can be explained by its suitability as an investment for the increased wealth which its patrons were enjoying. A glance at some of these patrons throws interesting light on the silver displayed.

A few bills survive, although only on rare occasions is it possible to relate an original account to a surviving piece of plate. Several 18th century bills and trade cards from the Heal collection in the British Museum are exhibited with the silver, including an account from Louisa Courtauld, 'Widow of Samuel Courtauld, goldsmith and Jeweller at the Crown, Cornhill, No. 21 opposite Royal Exchange', to Mrs George James, which is dated June 25, 1768. Mrs James had to pay £1 8s 4d for '4 second hand Desert (sic) Spoons'.

This bill is a reminder that not all the plate sold at goldsmiths' premises was as glamorous as the two handled silver cup made by Augustin Courtauld in 1714 at the request of Sir Henry Ashurst. The cup (fig 3) was made for presentation purposes, and bears the following inscription in Latin:

To commemorate the friendship between Robert Boyle, a man of the highest distinction and Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, who as was right, ever respected his friend while he lived and after his death greatly honoured his memory. This presentation was made by Sir Robert's Executors, one of whom, Sir Henry Ashurst offered it, while Thomas Burnet caused it to take this particular form'.

Gilbert Burnet 1643–1715) fig 1) came to London in 1663, with a letter of introduction from Dr John Wallis (1616–1703), the celebrated mathematician, to Robert Boyle (1627–1691) fig 2 a leading member of the Royal Society, who is now recognized as the founder of modern chemistry. The portrait of Robert Boyle illustrated here belonged appropriately to Sir Henry Ashurst, his executor. Thomas Burnet was

the Bishop's youngest son, and compiled a biography of his father.

In 1687, Gilbert Burnet published an account of his European travels in a series of letters to Robert Boyle, and in his *Rough Draught of my own life*, Burnet paid a further tribute to Boyle's friendship:

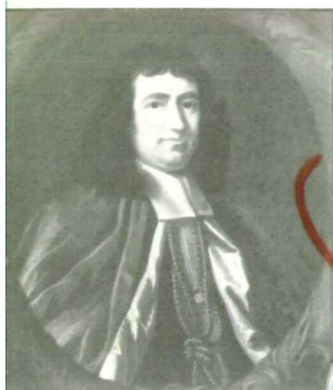
'I lived ever after to his dying day in a close and entire friendship. He had the purity of an angel in him, he was modest and humble rather to a fault. He despised all earthly things, he was perhaps too eager in the pursuit of knowledge, but his aim in it all was to raise in him a higher sense of the wisdom and glory of the Creator and to do good to mankind, he studied the Scripture with great application and practised universall love and goodnes in the greatest extent possible, and was a great promoter of love and charity among men and a declared enemy to all bitterness and most particularly to all persecution on the account of religion.'

As Bishop of Salisbury, Burnet preached at Robert Boyle's funeral in St. Martin's in the Fields, January 1691.

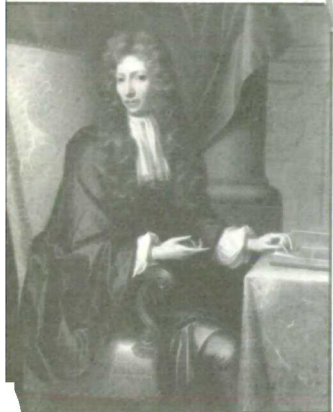
When, in a codicil to his will, Boyle appointed Sir Henry Ashurst as his executor in place of his sister, Boyle left Ashurst 'the Sum of Twenty pounds to be paid out by him in a peece of Plate'. It is surprising that Sir Henry Ashurst took over 20 years to use this legacy, but as an 'enemy of all persecution on the account of religion', Boyle would have welcomed the employment of Augustin Courtauld. Augustin was born in France, in the Ile d'Oleron, near La Rochelle, a protestant. In order to avoid persecution of the French protestants (or Huguenots as they were called) under Louis xiv, which culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, Augustin fled to England as a child with his father. In 1701 he was apprenticed to another refugee Huguenot goldsmith, Simon Pantin, of St. Martin's Lane.

On other silver in this exhibition, engraved armorials provide the main clue to patronage. The armorials on another cup and cover (fig 6) by Augustin Courtauld, made in 1723, indicate that this piece belonged to Francis, second and last Earl of Godolphin (1678–1766) (fig 5 who married Henrietta, eldest daughter of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough in 1698. Godolphin's ownership is also in evidence on the cover, which bears an engraved dolphin crest on its rim. Engraved armorials are often added later, and may not indicate the original ownership of a piece of plate. The style of the engraving on this 1723 cup would suggest that the armorials were contemporary, and that in this case, Francis, Earl of Godolphin was the goldsmith's patron.

Augustin Courtauld was well placed just off St.



1



2

Above top fig 1
Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury (1643-1715) after John Riley, 1690.
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

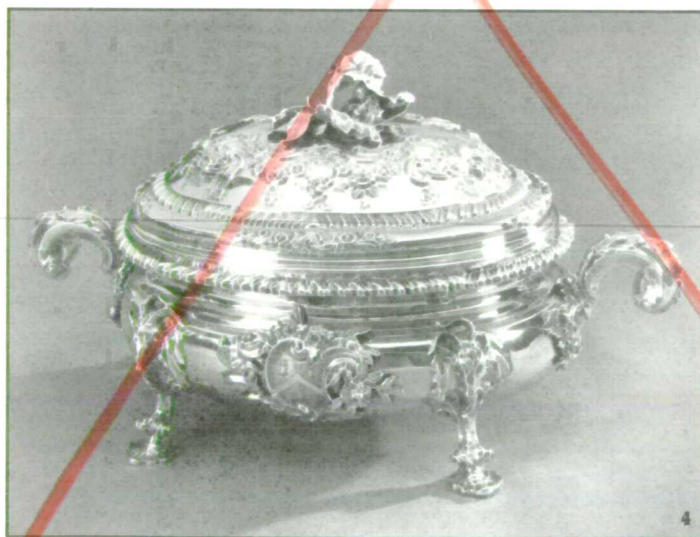
Above fig 2
The Hon Robert Boyle (1627-1691) after J. Kerseboon, about 1689-90.
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Above centre fig 3
Two handled silver cup made by Augustin Courtauld, 1714, to commemorate the friendship between the Hon Robert Boyle and Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.
THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY

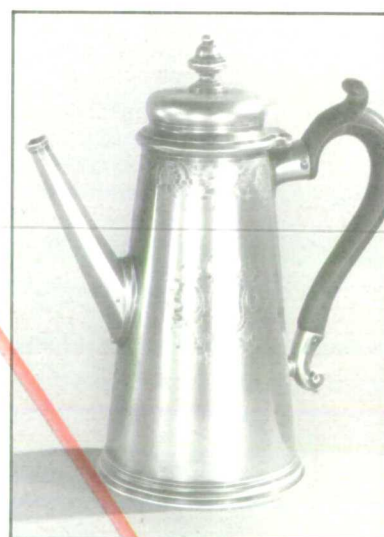
Right fig 4
Soup tureen made by Samuel Courtauld the elder, 1751.
COURTAULDS LTD



3



4



Martin's Lane, in the West End, to attract patronage from noble patrons, whose London houses were situated in the fashionable residential quarters of the City of Westminster. Sir Henry Ashurst lived in the Piazza, Covent Garden; Francis, Earl of Godolphin later lived in Cavendish Square, and another patron, John, Lord Ashburnham (1687-1737), (fig 7) lived in Ashburnham House, Little Dean's Yard, which survives and is now the property of Westminster School. For the latter, Augustin Courtauld produced a silver tray in 1724, which is decorated with a band of engraved ornament incorporating classical busts and baskets of flowers, with the Ashburnham coat of arms, a fess between six mullets, in contemporary mantling in the centre.

Augustin Courtauld's situation in the West End did not prevent his attracting commissions from

City merchants. A fine early George II coffee pot made by Augustin Courtauld in 1732 (fig 8) bears the arms of Sir Thomas Hankey (1704-1770), Alderman and Banker at the Golden Ball in Fenchurch Street and his wife Sarah whom he married in 1733. Sarah Hankey was also closely connected with the City; her father, Sir John Barnard (1685-1764) being a merchant who became Lord Mayor of London in 1737 and represented the City for six successive Parliaments from 1722 to 1761. Like the tray made for Lord Ashburnham, the coffee pot is decorated with a thin band of ornamental engraving enlivened by female heads in broad-brimmed hats, and shell motifs. The engraved armorials combine the 'wreath saliant' of the Hankeys, with the 'rampant bear' of the Barnards.

At the request of a fellow Huguenot craftsman



1



2

fig 1
Burnet, Bishop of
Salisbury (1643-1715) after
1690.

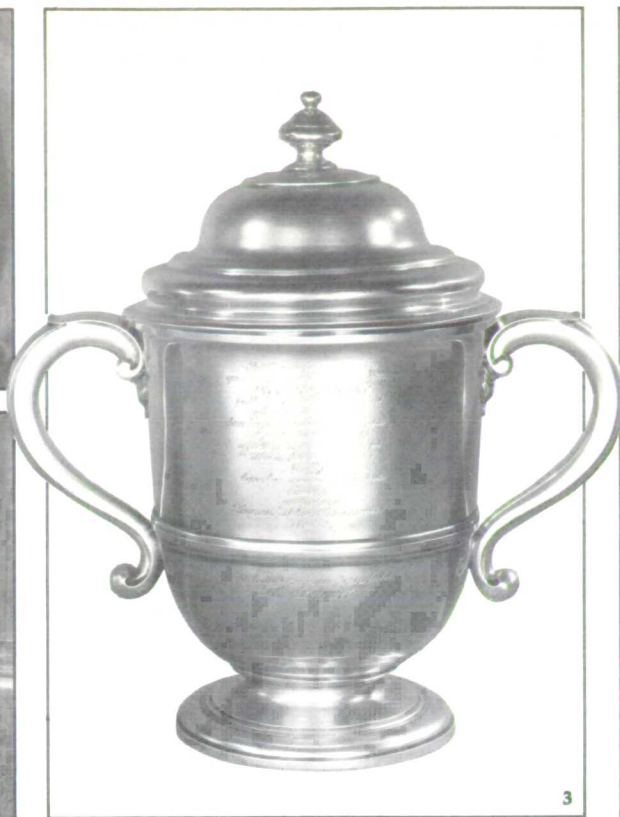
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

fig 2
Robert Boyle (1627-
1691) by J. Kerseboom, about

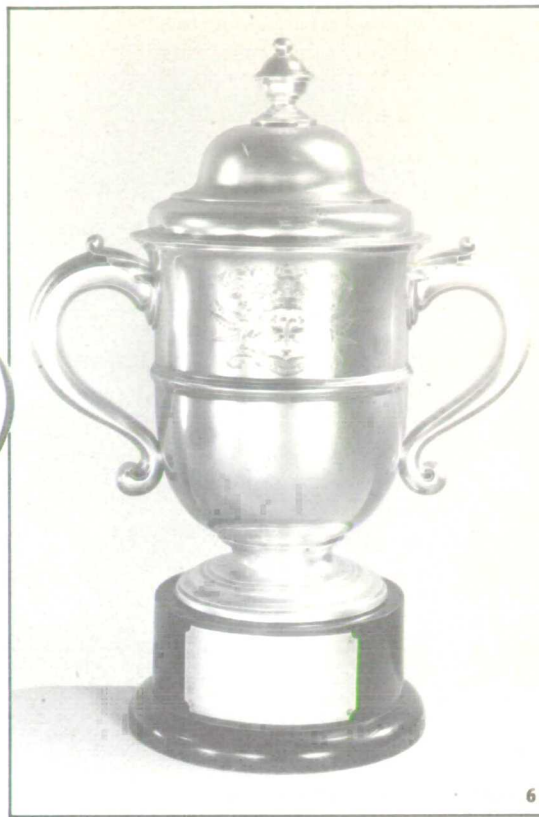
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

fig 3
Engraved silver cup made
by Augustin Courtauld, 1714,
commemorating the
marriage between the Hon
Robert Boyle and Gilbert
Bishop of Salisbury.
J. SMITHS'
LONDON

fig 4
Silver teapot made by Samuel
Courtneidge the elder, 1751.
J. SMITHS' LTD



3



6



4



8

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At the request of a fellow Huguenot craftsman,



Above fig 5
Francis, Second Earl of Godolphin (1678-1766), by Sir Godfrey Kneller, about 1710.
NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Left fig 6
Silver two handled cup and cover by Augustin Courtauld, 1723, made for Francis, Second Earl of Godolphin. The cup bears his arms: 'Gules an eagle with two heads displayed between three fleurs de lis Argent'.
THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY



Above fig 7
John, Lord Ashburnham (1687-1737), by Michael Dahl, 1714.
SOTHEBY'S

Above left fig 8
Silver coffee pot made by Augustin Courtauld, 1732, for Sir Thomas Hankey and his betrothed, Sarah Barnard. Engraving of the arms of Hankey impaling Barnard attributed to Joseph Sympson.
THE GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY

the carver, Edward Gestlin, Augustin Courtauld was also responsible for making the Lord Mayor's Salt, 1730, which is included in the present exhibition. Gestlin gave the salt to Thomas Carbonnel, another Huguenot, foreman of Tower Ward, who in turn presented the salt to 'Willim Dormer Esqr the present Sword Bearer and to his successors for the use of their table at the Lord Mayor's, 1741'.

The style of the engraving on the Hankey coffee pot is very close to that on another coffee pot by the same maker (reproduced in Dr Hayward's book, *The Courtauld Silver*, Sotheby's, 1975, Plate 18) and has been confidently attributed to Joseph Sympson by the leading authority on English engraved silver, the late Charles Oman.

According to the antiquary, George Vertue (1684-1756), Joseph Sympson studied at the St. Martin's Lane Academy under Louis Cheron (1660-1725) and John Vanderbank (1694-1739) in the early 1720s. Horace Walpole (1678-1757) tells us that Sympson was employed by Tillemans (Peter Tillemans, 1684-1734, the landscape painter whom Sympson would have met at the St. Martin's Lane Academy) 'on plate of Newmarket, to which, he was permitted to put his name, and which though it did not please the painter, served to make Simpson known'. Sympson also worked for the goldsmith, William Lukin (recorded 1692-1755), and probably engraved several other pieces by Augustin Courtauld, including a salver of 1728 which bears the arms of Burrey of Norfolk and Delafosse.

Joseph Sympson also worked for Thomas Farren (recorded 1695-1743), and an elaborately engraved salver of 1733, bearing Farren's marks and the arms of John Shales Barrington can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The son of another London goldsmith, Charles Shales of the Vine, Lombard Street, Barrington was particularly keen to display his royal descent from George, Duke of Clarence brother of Edward IV and Isabella Neville, daughter of Warwick the Kingmaker. The abundant scrolls breaking out into acanthus leaf ornament, the female mask, shell motif and baskets of flowers, executed in a rather untidy manner, are the hallmarks of Joseph Sympson's style. In this case, the engraver has added the jovial figures of a shepherd and shepherdess, and two male terms, flanking a scene of putti at play. By 1733, Joseph Sympson had progressed from being 'very low in his profession, cutting arms on pewter plates' to being employed by several of the foremost goldsmiths of the period.

Engraving

Contemporary engraving is an appropriate embellishment to the plain presentational two handled cups and salvers produced throughout the 18th century. On more elaborate pieces, produced in the Rococo style, engraving is often reduced to a minimum, and is barely given sufficient space amid the profusion of cast and chased ornament to make identification possible. Such is the case with the soup tureen (fig 4) made by Augustin's son Samuel in 1751, although the sculptural details, dog roses, goats' head feet, and inverted scroll handles fully compensate.

Engraving on silver has only recently gained recognition as a subject in its own right. It certainly

adds considerable interest to a piece of plate, not only by enlivening an uneventful surface, but by indicating its ownership, donorship, or both. Silver could be decorated with armorials or an inscription. Alternatively, interwoven initials, known as cyphers, were used. This was a particularly appropriate mark of ownership on small items, such as silver watch-cases, or snuff-boxes, although cyphers were engraved on larger objects, even coffee pots. Such initials would have served as useful identification within a family, but are little help in identifying the patron when the provenance is unrecorded. Books of cyphers were produced in the 18th century as patterns for the silver engraver, one such, *A New book of Cyphers* by Colonel Parsons, published in 1704, is included in the exhibition.

Samuel Courtauld was apprenticed to his father in 1734, and as a journeyman, worked in his father's premises in Chandos Street, off St. Martin's Lane. On Augustin's death in 1751, Samuel moved to 21 Cornhill in the City of London, having inherited his father's tools and patterns. His move to the City may have been prompted by a desire to become more involved in the administration of the Goldsmiths' Company, although he was only admitted to the Livery of that Company in 1763. Samuel Courtauld's new trade card claims that he 'Makes & Sells all sorts of Plate, Jewels, Watches & all other Curious Work in Gold & Silver at the most Reasonable Rates', and that he 'Likewise Buys & Sells all sorts of Second-hand Plate, Watches, Jewels'. This trade card gives some indication of the wide range of precious objects which an 18th century patron could acquire at a goldsmith's premises. It also serves as a reminder that much new plate was made by melting down earlier pieces which were no longer fashionable.

It is therefore, remarkable that such a varied selection of 18th century silver survives today. Possibly because of its outstanding qualities of proportion, elegance and technical virtuosity, patrons were inclined to treasure Georgian silver for its intrinsic merits, and were not prepared to trade it in for the latest whim of fashion. Certainly, there was sufficient wealth to enable the patron to keep his old plate and yet still commission new pieces.

On Samuel's death in 1765, Louisa Courtauld maintained the management of the business, with the assistance of a former apprentice, George Cowles. After nine years, Cowles was succeeded by Louisa's eldest son, Samuel, in 1777. The Courtauld silver of this period was made in the Neo-classical style, and is sometimes decorated with figurative engraving, based on contemporary sources such as the collection of Greek vases belonging to Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803), the British Envoy to Naples. Within two years, Samuel Courtauld, the younger, emigrated to America, thus putting an end to the production of silver in London by three successive generations of the same family.

Exhibition

The Courtauld Silver and Mr Morley Lawson's collection will be displayed in the Treasury of the Museum of London for one year from April 19.

HUGUENOT ARTISTS DESIGNER AND CRAFTSMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

1680-1680

Tessa Violet Murdoch

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Westfield College

University of London

ERRATA

p. 0 Line 5 for 'nine' read 'five'.

p. 18 Line 34 for 'impose' read 'oppose'.

p. 82 Line 1 for 'son' read 'grandson'.

p. 83 Line 16 for 'first' read 'second'.

Line 17 for 'Their' read 'Roubiliac's first'.

Line 18 for 'Catherine's' read 'his first wife's'.

p. 85 Line 14 for 'Ranelagh' read 'Walpole'.

p. 92 Line 2 for 'part' read 'pert'.

p. 183 Line 35 for '1703-5' read '1753-5'.

p. 187 Line 36 delete 'her daughter Sophia who married'.

p. 208 Note 4 read 'C. Baughal. Nouveau Dictionnaire des Architectes

Francais, 1887, Paris, p. 540.'

p. 211 Note 6 insert '1935'.

p. 216 Note 90 read 'E. Humbert, Jean Etienne Liotard, Amsterdam, 1897, pp. 13.

p. 148 should precede p. 147.