



National Trust Arts, Buildings & Collections Bulletin

AUTUMN 2021

In this issue:

The Big Picture

New perspectives at Dyrham Park

Own Label

Plant collector George Maw at Benthall Hall

Attic Treasures

Ancient Greek inscriptions in the Trust's collections

Publisher: Christopher Tinker
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Rupert Goulding and Sally-Anne Huxtable

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Published by the National Trust, Heelis, Kemble Drive, Swindon SN2 2NA

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Front cover:
Statue of Hermes on the roof at Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire
Photo: National Trust Images/James Dobson

This page (top to bottom):
A Cocoa Tree and Roasting Hut, c.1672, unknown artist, oil on canvas, Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire (NT 453740)

Photo: National Trust

Maw & Co floor tiles, 1899, Entrance Hall, Sunnycroft, Shropshire (NT)

Photo: National Trust Images/John Millar

Lieutenant General Sir James Hills-Johnes GCB VC, 1894, Dorothy Tennant, Lady Stanley (1855–1926), oil on canvas, Croft Castle, Herefordshire (NT 537635)

Photo: National Trust Images

The Marble Hall, Petworth House, West Sussex
Photo: National Trust Images/Andreas von Einsiedel

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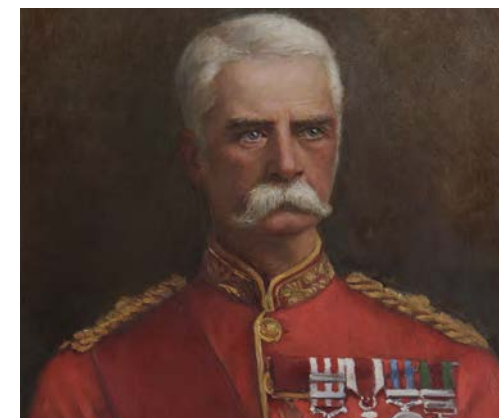
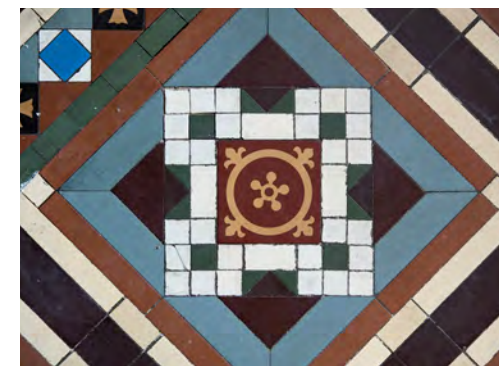
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In this issue ...

This, autumn 2021, issue of *Arts, Buildings and Collections Bulletin* ranges thematically from ancient Athenian inscriptions to the latest 3D-scanning techniques, and geographically from West Bengal to Jamaica. Along the way, it suggests some striking connections, too.

Two very different paintings, discussed by Rupert Goulding and Matthew Constantine, provide revealing entry points into Britain's colonial history, reminding us perhaps of how differently modern and contemporary viewers will 'read' these images and unpick the narratives they convey. In another example of the shifting sands in which historic collections exist, we learn how the extraordinary work of master-carver Grinling Gibbons has passed in and out of fashion, his unrivalled skill happily celebrated again today as the Trust and others mark the tercentenary of his death. The changing roles and tastes of the collector are also to the fore, not least in the remarkable figure of botanist, geologist and ceramicist George Maw.

We hope you enjoy reading this issue and making illuminating connections of your own.



ABC Briefing

News, events and publications



These Passing Things

Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal, North Yorkshire

Dates vary (until end October 2021)

www.nationaltrust.org.uk/fountains-abbey-and-studley-royal-water-garden

This dramatic collection of contemporary art installations by Steve Messam is an astonishing visual transformation of Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal's folly buildings and water gardens, supported by Arts Council England.

The temporary works include *Bridged* (above), which crosses the river Skell close to the site of a lost 18th-century iron bridge; and *Drifted*, a group of 12 floating pyramids in the canal, which draw their inspiration from a lost pyramid folly. Messam's works are temporary and site-specific, re-imagining the everyday, interrupting historical landscapes and vacant architecture to encourage people to see the familiar environment in startling new ways.



Forthcoming:
April 2022
Hardback
RRP £10
224pp
150 x 180mm
978-0-70-780461-3

50 Great Trees of the National Trust

Within the gardens, parks and countryside properties owned and cared for by the National Trust grow some of the oldest, largest and rarest trees in cultivation. Many are representatives of our native flora – living reminders of Britain's wild woodland, traditional land-management practices or forgotten landscapes. Ancient veterans like the Old Man of Calke and the pollarded hornbeams of Hatfield Park have been shaped by historical change and interaction with humans. Other trees, planted here for ornamental or productive purposes, have more exotic and recent origins. Britain's rich arboricultural heritage is down to centuries of human collection and cultivation.

In this forthcoming book in the National Trust Collections series (see page 32) each featured tree is accompanied by a wealth of images and a short, informative text. It concludes with a gazetteer of National Trust places where particularly notable trees can be found. The author, Simon Toomer, is a forester, arboriculturist and botanist. He was formerly Senior Consultant for Plant Conservation with the National Trust and Director of Westonbirt, the National Arboretum.





A stitch in time

The National Trust's longest-running conservation project has taken an important step forward with the return of a tapestry (NT 1129447.12) from a 440-year-old set to Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire.

It is the 12th tapestry in a set of 13 to be conserved and returned to Hardwick after several years at the Trust's Textile Conservation Studio in Norfolk, made possible through the generous support of donations and external funding. The 16th-century tapestries, which tell the Old Testament story of Gideon, are nearly 6 metres high and 70 metres in total length. The work is the Trust's largest textile conservation project: it started in 2001 and will not be completed until 2023.

The art of war

A suit of samurai armour from Snowhill Manor, Gloucestershire has undergone 300 hours of conservation work at the Knole Conservation Studio thanks to funding received from the Royal Oak Foundation. The armour features in the National Trust book *125 Treasures from the Collections of the National Trust* (see page 32), and it is on display at Snowhill as part of the Trust's Year of Treasures.

Made for ceremonial use rather than for combat, the armour bears the signature of a talented master armourer called Kashu ju Munenao, who beautifully decorated it with creatures, including crickets and dragonflies.

While the helmet, body and sleeves are matching, the mask and shoulder guards actually come from a different suit. It was purchased for the quality of the craftsmanship by the collector Charles Paget Wade (1883–1956), who gave Snowhill to the National Trust in 1951.



Monumental undertaking

Wellington Monument in Somerset's Blackdown Hills has emerged from its scaffolding shell following a £3.1m, two-year conservation project. At 175 feet, the Grade II* listed monument is the tallest three-sided obelisk in the world. It was built to commemorate the Duke of Wellington's 1815 victory at the Battle of Waterloo. However, the structure was beset by early funding and construction problems. As early as 1890, the local press described it as 'dilapidated'.

Since taking ownership of the monument in 1934, the Trust has carried out maintenance and repairs but a legacy of existing problems, along with its exposed position, meant that a major restoration project was needed to secure its future. According to Helen Sharp, the National Trust's project manager, 'The pyramidion,

the triangular section at the top, had to be almost completely replaced, with only the original capstone remaining. The new design reduces the number of joints by using larger stones in a special design to prevent water ingress'. Over 1,500 new stone blocks were added, all hand-tooled by specialist masons.

Local fundraisers generated vital support for the project, developing some highly creative initiatives in the process, including exchanging fragments of stone from the crumbling monument for donations. The project also received funding from a LIBOR grant; Highways England Designated Funds; Historic England's Heritage Stimulus Fund; Viridor Environmental Credits; War Memorials Trust; Somerset West and Taunton Council; Wellington Town Council; and the Duke of Wellington.

‘The whole story of the cocoa’

Dyrham Park and the painting and planting of chocolate in Jamaica

Phillip Emanuel

PhD Candidate, William & Mary, Virginia

Rupert Goulding

Senior National Curator (Research and South West Lead)

In a closet at the end of an enfilade of rooms at Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire hangs a picture of a tree. It is a cocoa plant and it shows the process used in growing and preparing cocoa, or cacao, in the Caribbean in the late 17th century. While the painting has been at Dyrham for centuries, it hasn't always been clear where it came from or why an almost identical picture is in the Royal Collection. New research in manuscript collections at the British Library, Royal Society, and Rockefeller Library at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia has started to shed light on what this picture really represents.

A Cocoa Tree and Roasting Hut (Fig. 1) is first identifiable at Dyrham Park in a sale of pictures from 1765. It was recorded unsold and presumably remained somewhat overlooked at Dyrham, only to resurface in the inventory of chattels purchased by the Ministry of Works in 1956. It was then, as presently, located in the closet adjoining the Greenhouse, an appropriate junction between house and orangery for a botanical scene, but from earlier inventory analysis this seems a recent placement.¹

Neither the Royal Collection nor the Dyrham version of the *Cocoa Tree* has

received much formal study. An erroneous origin in Brazil and attribution to Albert Eckhout stems from the provenance of the version in the Royal Collection ([RCIN 406104](#)). That is known to have arrived during the reign of Charles II (1660–85) and has been associated with a set of views of Cleves (now Kleve, Germany) purportedly once hanging in the Prinsenhof of the former Governor-General of the Dutch colony of Brazil, Prince Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen (1604–79).² New research offered here explains how the original was painted in Jamaica and presented to the king in 1672, surely quite independently of the Cleves views, and for altogether different purposes.

The first item of evidence for the painting's fuller story comes from a recently identified letter written by the then Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, Sir Thomas Lynch (d. 1684), to Sir Robert Moray, Fellow of the Royal Society (1608/9–73).³ The letter, now in the archives of the Royal Society, tells us that the picture was sent after 2 March 1672 and that it came to England aboard the Royal African Company (RAC) ship *Diligence*, commanded by Captain Cullen.⁴ Governor Lynch also instructed Cullen to

1. *A Cocoa Tree and Roasting Hut*, c.1672, unknown artist, oil on canvas, 203.5 x 101cm (NT 453740)
Photo: National Trust





2. The east front at Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire
Photo: National Trust Images/Chris Lacey

deliver a detailed report on Jamaica, dated 10 March 1672, to the Council for Trade and Plantations in London, a report that was received on 26 May and presented the following day. Councillors would learn that the island was producing an abundance of sugar, some indigo, but no cacao.⁵ Therefore it seems Cullen, having carried African people into slavery in Jamaica, sailed the *Dilligence* back to England with commodities, governmental papers, private letters, and ‘a Box marked L that has in it a Cocoa Tree painted to the Life’.

The letter to Moray explained how cocoa was grown in the islands, using the picture as an illustrated guide:

This Picture contains the whole Story of the Cocoa, it's an old Tree, the Body (as they commonly are) is about 4 inches in Diameter, 5 foot in height, and about 12: from the ground to the Topp of the Tree: These Trees are exceeding different among themselves, for some shoot up in two or three bodies, others in one as this, Their leaves are many, dead, and discoloured, unless on very young Trees, They are not att all beautifull, nor so agreeable to the Eye as the fruite is to the pallate of them that love Chocolate.

The Number of Codds a Tree produces is uncertaine But wee reckon a bearing Tree yeilds from two to 8 Lb of Nutts a yeare, and each Codd conteines from 20 to 30 Nutts.

The manner of curing them is to cutt them downe, when they are ripe and lay them to Swet 3 or 4 dayes in the Codds, which is done by laying them on Heapes, after this they cutt the Codds, and take out the Nutts and putt them into a trough covered with Plantane Leaves, where they Swett againe about 16 or 20 dayes, the Nutts that are in each Codd are knitt together by certaine ffbres, and have about them a white kinde of Pulpe, that's agreeable to the Palat, but these turning and Sweating these

little things are broke, and the pulpe is imbib'd and mingled with the Substance of the Nutt, after this they are putt to dry on the Barbacoes or Drawers 3 or 4 weekes in the Sun, and then they become of a reddish dark colour, as you see, and so are cured.

The description goes into incredible detail, even telling Moray that the original tree was from a plantation belonging to former Governor Sir Thomas Modyford (1620–79). It was thus not merely a representative or idealised picture, but one composed at a specific location. The apparent blue and yellow/gold colour scheme of the hut's finial may represent Modyford's heraldic colours (tinctures).⁶ His cacao plantations were at Sixteen Mile Walk in the former parish of St Thomas-in-the-Vale (see Fig. 5), now in St Catherine, about 15 miles north of Spanish Town. Described in 1697 as ‘Elizian plains, a most pleasant Vale’ and later by Hans Sloane as ‘some of the best and securest plantations of the Island’; its southern approach passed through a deep gorge in the Rio Cobre, attracting subsequent writers and artists for its picturesque qualities, while the vale was prized for its fertile red soil, frequent rainfall and conditions considered especially healthy for habitation.⁷

The one thing that Lynch completely misses from his account, just as the artist has omitted them from the painting, are the people, mostly enslaved Africans, but perhaps also Indigenous Americans, who did the work. Throughout his account, Lynch speaks of the trees being planted and of the pods being removed, but never mentions them. Instead, the tree and its products become detached from their cultivation, viewed as an object for the botanical consideration of the Royal Society in London.

While the Lynch-Moray letter contains this full description of the painting, a second version, now in the British Library in a collection of papers assembled by William Blathwayt (?1649–1717) (Fig. 3) and his uncle Thomas Povey (1613/14–c.1705) (Fig. 4), takes up the story.⁸ It reproduces the same content as the first letter but also notes that the picture was sent first to Moray to look at, and was then to be forwarded on to Lynch's mother-in-law, Lady Herbert, for safekeeping. However, Lynch asked that if the king should see it and like the picture, then it should be given to him, adding that 'I dare not present not thinking it a fitt offering to him, to whom I owe all I have or can doe'.⁹ Based on the fact that this painting remains in the Royal Collection to this day, Moray evidently did show it to Charles II, and the monarch must have expressed a desire to keep it.

It is probable that the second, Dyrham copy of the painting was made shortly after the original's arrival in London in May 1672 for Thomas Povey, a close associate of both Moray and Lynch, and a fellow active member of the Royal Society. The two versions, while close, have many small differences.¹⁰ The Royal Collection version was enlarged at top and bottom to integrate it with the set of views of Cleves when installed on the staircase at Frogmore House, Windsor, in the early 20th century. However, the original canvases are within a few centimetres of each other. Cross-referencing, it is likely the Royal Collection version is the one 'painted to the Life', given its specificity when contrasted with the more generalised approach in the Dyrham version. For example, the metal rings attached to the drying trays have a pronounced D-shape, whereas those in the Dyrham copy are a simpler uniform circular shape. Furthermore, the quantity, colour and form of the various



cacao 'Nuts' differ, with those in the Royal Collection version better matching the accompanying description, to illustrate their 'reddish dark colour'. Should a future programme of technical analysis be possible, it may resolve some of these questions.

Who painted the original picture is inevitably unknown, but Lynch did comment 'the Painting is not so delicate, but the Resemblance admirable' and 'I am not sure this piece will bee so much Esteemed at Whitehall, as the Originall is amongst the Spanyards, and in these Indyees'.¹¹ No details are provided about the artist in either letter, other than the apology for its quality. Assuming Thomas Povey commissioned the copy, he was closely associated with artists working at court and in Royal Society

circles, such as Samuel van Hoogstraten, Robert Streeter and Hendrick Danckerts, so had access to artists and studios who could produce it. In April 1673 the painting's description was published in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, authored by 'an intelligent person now residing in Jamaica' and yet, despite references to the all-important picture, there was no accompanying illustration.¹²

There the story of the painting may have ended, but for the fact that it is not the only connection between Dyrham, Blathwayt, Lynch, cacao, and Jamaica. Until recently it was generally thought that Blathwayt had not himself directly engaged in plantation owning, but instead profited from it indirectly in his roles as Secretary of the

3. (Above left) *William Blathwayt*, c.1689–91, by Michael Dahl (1656–1743), oil on canvas, 127 x 102cm, Dyrham Park (NT 453747) Photo: National Trust Images/Ian Blanter

4. *Thomas Povey*, c.1657, by John Michael Wright (1617–94), oil on canvas, 104 x 83cm, Dyrham Park (NT 454802) Photo: National Trust Images



5. A 19th-century view of St Thomas-in-the-Vale, the location of Sixteen Mile Walk plantation, as depicted in James Hakewill's *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica*, London, 1825
Image courtesy of Boston Public Library/Public Domain

Lords of Trade and Plantations and Auditor-General of Plantation Revenues. But in fact, manuscript sources from a decade after the painting arrived in England show him very keen to profit from an investment in cacao plantations like the one depicted.

In the summer of 1682, Lynch wrote from Jamaica of his own investment in cacao and teased Blathwayt that he, like other courtiers, would have no interest in such things:

By Temple you had a very small Box of chocolatte, it was not good, & I remember Tee is your drink. I do not know but you would do wel to venture at making a Cocoa Walk, possibly

*4 yeares salary might make you 500l or more per annum, I am engaging in partnership with Sir Th: Modyford, & in another place with C. Broughton so think to adventure 1000l, But you Courtiers have not faith, nor wil I say more because there's accyents in this as in everything.*¹³

Blathwayt's response to Lynch was anything but uninterested, asserting 'I do approve extremely of your Proposition of a Cocoa and though We Courtiers are of so little faith, we can easily trust ourselves in good hands'.¹⁴ He wrote with excitement about the prospect of getting a grant of 1,000 acres in Jamaica: 'If such a quantity might be of any

advantage to me (as I have been heretofore told it would) and would cause no clamor I would be glad to be made a freeholder in Jamaica either in my own name or in any of The Povey's name.'¹⁵

Blathwayt was particularly motivated by the prospect of being in partnership with Lynch, but Lynch already had partners. Instead, he asked the Governor to set him up with a reliable agent, good land, and to invest the Jamaican contribution to his salary as Auditor-General to cover the costs of labour and equipment.¹⁶

Lynch's updates on their private plan to acquire land are nested within his official letters to Blathwayt. From 1682 to 1683 the two men discussed cacao planting alongside a new set of Jamaican laws sent to the king for approval, primarily one governing the importation of enslaved Africans to work just such plantations.¹⁷ As Lynch reminded Blathwayt, 'To the Planters they ar as needful as Bread is to feed a Labourer, or Money to set up a Usurer.'¹⁸ Lynch complained that the RAC was not supplying enough enslaved people, so undermining the economics of plantations and consequently the Jamaican colony. The proposed law was part of ongoing tensions between the competing priorities of planters and those of the RAC in London, and the empire at large. In the end, a blight on cacao, floods and trouble securing the land delayed the implementation of the plan long enough for both men to decide that it was no longer worth the risk to Blathwayt.¹⁹ Instead, he would receive the Jamaican salary payments that would otherwise have been invested, saying that 'I think tis better for me than planting so farr off.'²⁰

The coda to this story came some years later. In 1682 when planning plantation investments with Lynch, Blathwayt had been a freeholder neither in Jamaica nor in the English countryside. But in 1686 he

married Mary Wynter (1650–91) and through that marriage acquired Dyrham Park and thus became a significant landowner. From 1693 Blathwayt bought dozens of paintings from his uncle Thomas Povey, presumably including the *Cocoa Tree*, and purposefully brought them down to Gloucestershire to decorate the house, then being rebuilt with significant ambition. He was at that time one of the most powerful men in government – Secretary of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, Auditor-General of Plantation Revenues, Secretary at War, Clerk of the Privy Council, and de facto Secretary of State to William III (1650–1702). Now he and the king both possessed copies of this painting, symbols not just of the cash crop that produced hot chocolate, but of their role in the emergent British Empire. This painting may not show the whole story, but it nonetheless represents the near lifetime investment Blathwayt made in the imperial project. For Blathwayt, colonies became ‘necessary and important because they enlarge His [Majesty’s] Empire & Revenue very considerably’.²¹ Though not shown in the picture, through archival evidence we can see beyond the painting to better understand the connections between Blathwayt, Dyrham, England, expanding colonial communities, their commodities, and the often-invisible enslaved Africans and Indigenous peoples who produced them.

Notes

1. British Library S.C. 1360, *A Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Pictures of William Blathwayt, Esq...* [1765], Day 4, Lot 23; *Dyrham Inventory*, Item 102b Large oblong painting of cocoa tree, late 17th century [1956], National Trust Archive, Dyrham Park.
2. See Christopher White, *Dutch Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen*, London, 2015, pp.147, 472.
3. ‘An Account of ye Cocoa Tree by Sr Th. Linch from Jamaica March 2. 1671/2 sent p. C. Cullen in ye

6. *An Exact Mapp of Iamaicae*, 1683; produced to accompany Sir Thomas Lynch’s new Jamaican laws, featuring place names including Sixteen Mile Walk, and collected in the *Blathwayt Atlas*
Photo: Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library



- diligence’; Royal Society, Classified Papers 10, 13.
4. John Cullen was captain of at least one Royal African Company voyage in the 1670s, see *Slave Voyages* (Transatlantic Slave Trade Database), voyage ID 9994, <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database> [accessed 22 July 2021].
5. ‘America and West Indies: March 1672’, in *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 7, 1669–1674*, ed. W Noel Sainsbury, London, 1889, pp.335–44. British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol7/pp335-344> [accessed 12 July 2021].
6. James Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies*, London, 1875, p.61.
7. J. Harry Bennett, ‘Cary Helyar, Merchant and Planter of Seventeenth-Century Jamaica’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol.21, no.1, 1964, pp.53–76; Thomas Trapham, *A Discourse of the State of Health in the Island of Jamaica*, London, 1679, p.33; Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the Islands...*, London, 1707, p.LXV. (Transatlantic Slave Trade Database), voyage ID 9994, <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database> [accessed 22 July 2021].
8. ‘By Sr Tho Lynch, The Description of The Cacao’, British Library, Egerton MS 2395, 643r–48v.
9. ‘Description of The Cacao’, BL, Egerton 2395, 645r.

10. NT 453740 measures 203.5 x 101cm, RCIN 406104 originally measured approximately 199.5 x 103.5cm.
11. Op. cit., note 9.
12. *Philosophical Transactions*, 21 April 1673, No. 93, pp.6007–9.
13. Sir Thomas Lynch to William Blathwayt, Jamaica, 12.07.1682, Blathwayt Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg (hereafter ‘CW’), XXIII. 2. Lynch had sent chocolate to Blathwayt only a few days earlier. Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 09.07.1682, CW, XXIII. 2.
14. Blathwayt to Lynch, Whitehall, 01.11.1682, CW, XXIII. 3.
15. Ibid.
16. Blathwayt and his partner Sir Charles Littleton both wrote to Lynch to confirm their plans. Lyttleton to Lynch, 20.01.1682, CW, XXIII. 4; Blathwayt to Lynch, 20.01.1682–83, CW, XXIII. 4.
17. For letters dealing with the cacao project, the question of Jamaican laws, the Royal African Company, and the demand for a constant supply of enslaved Africans, see Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 08.10.1682 CW, XXIII. 3; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 09.11.1682, CW, XXIII. 3; Blathwayt to Lynch, 20.01.1682–83, CW, XXIII. 4; Blathwayt to Lynch, Whitehall, 05.02.1682–83, CW, XXIII. 4; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 15.04.1683, CW, XXIV. 1; Lynch

- to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 10.05.1683, CW, XXIV. 1; Lynch to Blathwayt, 17.05.1683, CW, XXIV. 1; Lynch to Blathwayt, 09.06.1683, CW, XXIV. 1; Blathwayt to Lynch, Whitehall, 30.06.1683, CW, XXIV. 1; Blathwayt to Lynch, Whitehall, 18.07.1683, CW, XXIV. 2; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 23.07.1683, CW, XXIV. 2; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 07.10.1683, CW, XXIV. 2; Blathwayt to Lynch, Whitehall, 10.10.1683, CW, XXIV. 3; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 22.10.1683, CW, XXIV. 3.
18. Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 05.06.1683, CW, XXIV. 1.
19. Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 23.07.1683, CW, XXIV. 2; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 14.08.1683, CW, XXIV. 2; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 12.09.1683, CW, XXIV. 2; Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 15.11.1683, CW, XXIV. 3.
20. Blathwayt to Lynch, Whitehall, 03.03.1683/84, CW, XXIV. 4. Lynch’s previous letter declared that the problems of land and blight had meant too much risk and that he would instead send Blathwayt’s salary. Lynch to Blathwayt, Jamaica, 29.12.1683, CW, XXIV. 4.
21. Quoted in Gertrude Jacobsen, *William Blathwayt, A Late Seventeenth Century English Administrator*, New Haven, 1932, p.96; original: (William Blathwayt) *Reflections on a Paper concerning America*, Huntington Library, Blathwayt Papers, Box II, BL416.



1. George Maw (1832–1912), accomplished botanist, geologist, ceramicist and artist, and long-term tenant at Benthall Hall in Shropshire
Photo: National Trust

George Maw of Benthall Hall

The man who labelled Kew

Pamela Smith

Senior National Consultant for Gardens and Parklands

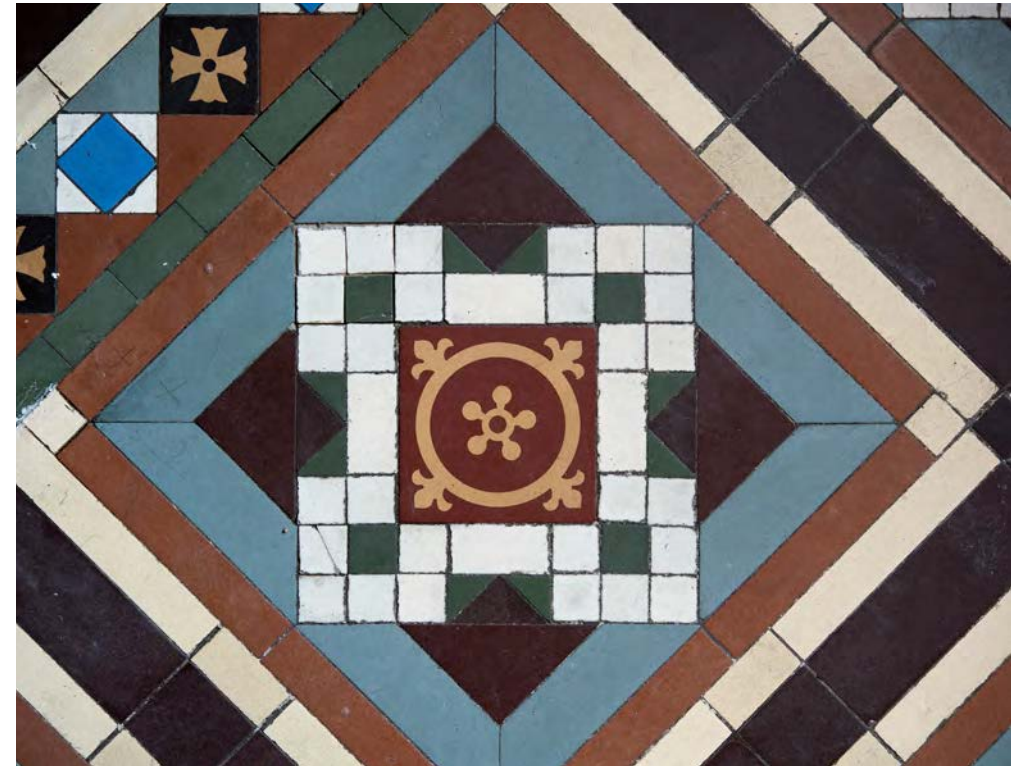
On 8 October 1868 Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817–1911) wrote to George Maw (1832–1912) (Fig. 1) to report that the fern labels designed, manufactured and patented by Maw had arrived. Hooker reported that, although of good quality, ‘they waggle about so as never to present the written surface to the public’. Joseph Hooker was the Director of Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, writing just three years into his 20-year directorship.¹ George Maw, a long-term tenant at Benthall Hall (NT) in Shropshire, was an accomplished botanist, geologist, ceramicist and artist. He was a Fellow of the Linnean Society and the Royal Horticultural Society (RHS), a member of a number of the RHS committees and a plant hunter. He shared the geological theories he formulated during these plant-hunting expeditions with the Geological Society, of which he was also a Fellow.

The letter is one of many between Hooker and Maw, writing as botanists, fellow plant hunters and friends. The archives at both the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew and RHS Lindley each contain over 100 letters

between the two men. Hooker wrote to Maw about the development of the gardens at Kew, working practices and his concerns about the staffing and management of the gardens. Maw wrote of his plant-collecting expeditions and the cultivation successes in his gardens at Benthall Hall.

Initially, however, the letters focussed on refining the design of Maw’s plant ‘tallies’ or labels. In June 1868 Hooker wrote that Wedgwood’s plant labels were perhaps of better quality, while Maw’s broke when experimentally dropped onto a stone floor. Over the course of many letters the robustness, shapes and colours (green and buff) of the new plant labels for Kew were gradually agreed upon. In January 1869 Hooker even wrote to Maw saying that he was instituting a fine for any gardener at Kew who broke one.

The two men became great friends and Maw created decorative tiles for Hooker’s house. In 1882, after seeing the tiles Maw had made, Hooker (now Sir Joseph) wrote: ‘I am charmed with them, the porch is lovely, some too good for the scullery and larder’.



In 1874 Hooker dedicated the 100th volume of *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* to Maw, 'as a tribute to the value of your exertions in introducing hardy herbaceous plants to English gardens. No one of late years, or perhaps ever, has collected with his own hands so many of these for transmission to England, cultivated them with more success, or distributed them more liberally.'²

While living at Benthall Hall, Maw also corresponded with Charles Darwin (1809–82). In January 1869 Darwin wrote to Maw to ask him to collect a living specimen of *Drosophyllum*, a carnivorous plant he needed for his studies on evolution. Darwin wrote that the search for it 'I fear is quite hopeless'. Maw, however,

was obviously successful – Darwin wrote to him in May 1869 thanking him for the 'splendid specimen'.

George Maw at Benthall Hall

Benthall Hall (Fig. 2) is a Grade I listed 16th-century stone house set within 2 hectares (5 acres) of gardens above the Ironbridge Gorge in Shropshire. The hall, gardens and parkland were given to the National Trust in 1958 along with an endowment by the Benthall family, who had owned it for most of its history. George Maw and his brother Arthur (1834–1911) leased the hall from 1853 to 1886, prompted by their wish to move their tile factory nearer to Shropshire's better clay deposits. At nearby Broseley they built the Benthall Tile Works.

At its height, Maw & Co was the largest tile-producing company in the world, manufacturing over 20 million tiles a year, exhibiting its products at world fairs and becoming one of the largest employers in the area. Albert ran the family business, while George focussed on design, much inspired by his botanical interests. During his time at Benthall, Maw married Frederica Mary Brown (1830–94) and they had nine children, all born at Benthall Hall, two of whom are buried in Benthall Church in the grounds.

During the Maws' tenancy the garden was adapted to display and trial the plants that George and fellow collectors and botanists had gathered. Maw frequently gave plants to Kew and many letters refer to gifts of

2. The south façade and front lawn of Benthall Hall
Photo: National Trust/James Dobson

3. Maw & Co floor tiles of 1899 in the Entrance Hall at Sunnycroft, Shropshire (NT): the scheme incorporates a mixture of plain, vitreous and encaustic tiles
Photo: National Trust Images/John Millar

plants to and from Maw. On Christmas Day in 1880, the notable garden designer Gertrude Jekyll (1843–1932) wrote to Maw,

I received this morning a delightful Christmas gift – the two boxes of bulbs and your Morocco lecture, the other papers I shall return in a day or two. I am returning your little packing box, well knowing how precious they are and enclosing blooms of Iris stylosa.

In August 1883 the importance of packing boxes was also noted in a letter to Maw from Sir Michael Foster (1836–1907), iris specialist, physiologist and Secretary of the Royal Society:

Mr Maw, It was very kind of you to send me these bulbs but why oh why did you trust such precious things to a fragile matchbox. Some vicious person had crushed the bigger bulb into pieces ... please when you send your friends things like this remember the parcel post and use a small tin box.

Maw received many notable visitors to his garden and it twice featured in the influential publication *The Gardener's Chronicle*. It was here that William Robinson (1838–1935), himself a distinguished and highly respected plantsman and the original advocate of naturalistic gardening, recounted his visit:

Benthall Hall, Shropshire, the residence of George Maw Esq well known to most readers of this journal as an enthusiastic botanist, horticulturalist and geologist ... our visit to Benthall was made on a frosty day in November, not altogether the best time to see a garden ... but perhaps more impressive from the very fact that there was so much to be seen even under such relatively unfavourable circumstances. Here are to be found, besides the crocuses,



4. Plate XXIX^c (*Crocus sativus*) from Maw's seminal book *A Monograph of the Genus Crocus* (1886) (NT 509362)
Photo: National Trust/Alan Burrage

*representatives of the hardy flora of Europe, of Asia Minor, and North Africa, not in twos and threes, but in hundreds, and a large proportion collected by the cultivator himself.*³

In the same issue, the editor discussed Maw's botanical collection at Benthall in the context of climate change: 'A humble crocus may throw light upon the most gigantic problems of the earth's history, may give a clue to the changes which have taken place in the climate and configuration of the globe, as well as furnish an indication of the climate at the present day.'⁴

In 1886, due to ill-health, Maw gave up his business and lived in retirement at Kenley in Surrey, naming his new house 'Benthall'. By 1890 Benthall Hall was leased to the painter, architect and horticultural designer Robert Bateman (1842–1922), the son of James Bateman (1811–97), who was the creator of the innovative Biddulph Grange Garden (NT) in Staffordshire. Robert Bateman made some structural changes to the garden and, through the various generations of the Benthall family in the 20th century, the garden's plant palette continued to increase.

The plant collector

Among botanists, Maw is perhaps best known for *A Monograph of the Genus Crocus*. Published in 1886, it was the result of over 10 years of study and is regarded as one of the most complete works on the genus crocus (Fig. 4). Its colour botanical illustrations were drawn by Maw himself from specimens grown at Benthall Hall. Of the 27 books printed, one is displayed in the hall and Maw's original drawings, much praised by John Ruskin (1819–1900), are archived at Kew.

To study crocuses Maw travelled the extent of the plant's habitats, often accompanied by Joseph Hooker and other plant hunters. He collected around 4,000

distinct species of plants – principally alpine, many of which needed frost protection (a number of greenhouses are indicated to the rear of the hall on a first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1883). The location of Maw's sunken alpine frame is not known, although the Benthall family speculate that it was sited in a ditch to the south of the hall, which has become known as 'Maw's Ditch'.⁵ However, many of Maw's own plant labels, patented in 1868, have been found in Benthall's garden soil – many broken but retaining legible plant names (Fig. 5). The most recent find was discovered by a visitor in 2020.

Today, plant hunting is licensed by agreements with host countries. The National Trust abides by the international legislation, the Nagoya Protocol, which ensures the fair and equitable trading of plants and plant products.

The garden today

Before she died in 1960, Mary Clementina, after discussions with her cousins Sir Paul Benthall and Sir Edward Benthall, gifted with an endowment the Benthall Estate to the National Trust in 1958. Sir Paul Benthall, funding some of the repair costs, was the

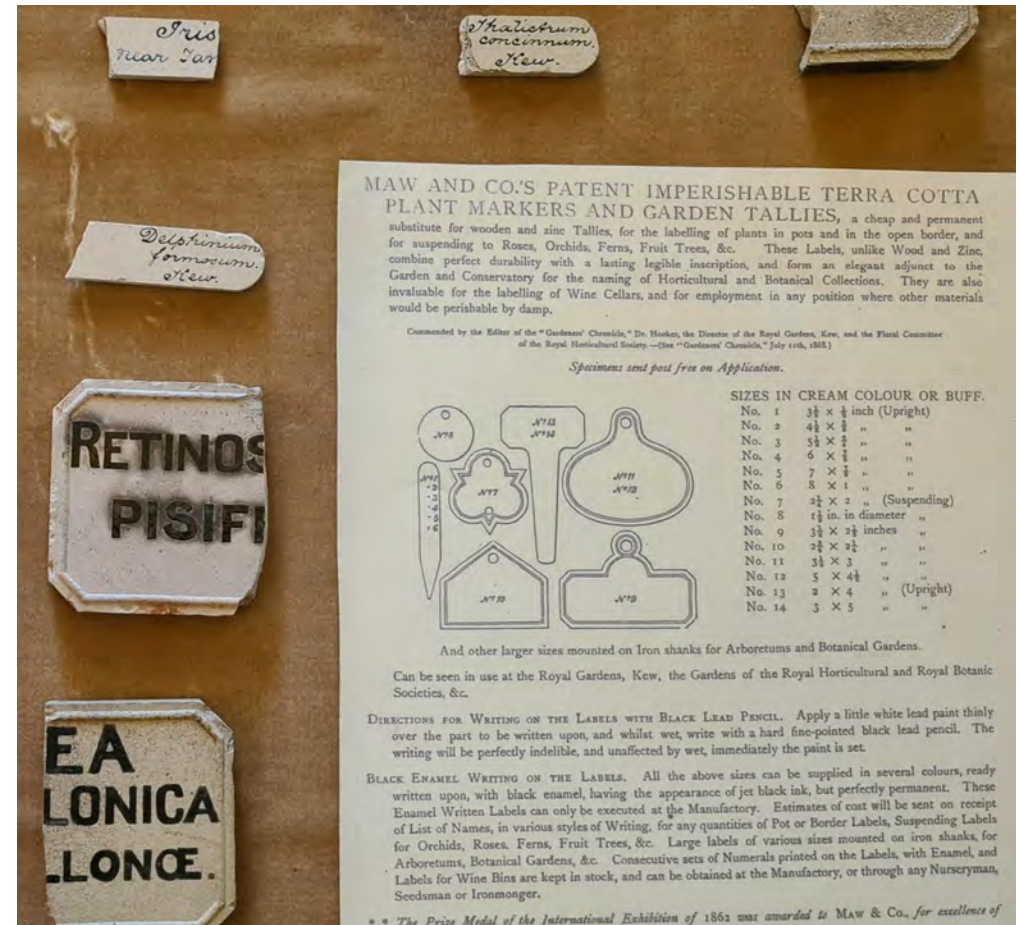
first tenant in 1962. The Benthall family continue to discuss the garden with Senior Gardener Nick Swankie.

Houses and gardens in the care of the National Trust have plantsmen and women in their history – some as patrons, plant hunters and botanists. These associations are evident through the Trust's property collections as well as its plant collections, and include invoices and books that hint at family interests. Benthall Hall and its gardens are no exception, in fact they are the scene of a significant botanical legacy – one that is worthy of further research.

In the meantime, every spring under the trees to the south of the hall in an area not cultivated since Maw's time, not far from 'Maw's ditch', crocus and Turk's cap lily grow, possibly relict populations from Maw's own collections.

Notes

1. A role he took over from his father, Sir William Jackson Hooker (1785–1865).
2. Joseph Dalton Hooker, *Curtis's Botanical Magazine*, 1874, vol. 100.
3. *The Gardeners' Chronicle*, 12 February, 1881.
4. Ibid.
5. This has yet to be proven; other possible locations exist.



A selection of plants associated with George Maw

Named in honour of Maw

Chrysanthemum mawii syn.
Rhodanthemum gayanum
Crocus mawii (this name was published in 2013, so Maw continues to be remembered)
Erica ciliaris 'Mawiana'.

Discovered and introduced by Maw

Draba mawii (Type) syn.
D. dedeana subsp. *mawii*
Saxifraga maweana (Type)

Described and named by Maw

Crocus boissieri
Crocus danfordiae
Crocus hermoneus

Collected by Maw

Crocus aleppicus (Type) – crocus collected by Maw in Syria
Crocus ancyrensis
Stachys maweana (Type)
Verbascum maroccanum

Maw studied and grew over 400 species of crocus at Benthall Hall, donating 467 species to the British Museum in 1865. The Royal Botanic Garden Kew's Herbarium holds 40 herbarium specimens collected by Maw from seven countries across 20 plant families, six of which are 'Type' specimens – the reference specimen from which all others are verified.

5. A display of Maw & Co.'s 'patent imperishable terra cotta plant marker and garden tallies' Photo: National Trust/Alan Burrage



Exhibitions and special displays

Celebrating Grinling Gibbons

Emma Campagnaro

Property Curator, Dunham Massey

Rebecca Wallis

Cultural Heritage Curator

This year marks the tercentenary of the death of Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721), the greatest known artist-carver in British history. The National Trust is celebrating his creative legacy as part of a UK-wide programme of events and exhibitions that runs until August 2022.¹

The rise of an artist-carver

Born to English parents, Gibbons was raised in Rotterdam. In the 17th century the Dutch Republic was a thriving mercantile country and a skilled industry had developed around shipbuilding and urban construction.

It was in this context that Gibbons chose a career as a carver, rather than following in his merchant family's footsteps. Previously thought to have been trained by the Baroque sculptor Artus Quellinus (1609–68) and his firm in Amsterdam, recent research suggests that Gibbons was probably apprenticed more locally to the van Douwe sculpture business.²

In any event, it was Gibbons's training in northern European carving traditions that honed his exceptional creativity, and his compositions were strongly influenced by 16th-century Dutch art and architecture. Unlike many English woodcarvers at the time, Gibbons tended to use limewood, which creates a more three-dimensional, sculptural result than traditional English oak, a harder material more suited to low-relief. His mastery of sculptural undercutting and projection created such deceptively life-like forms that the writer and antiquarian Horace Walpole (1717–97) described Gibbons's work as 'the art even unto deception'.

Gibbons arrived in England by 1667, having qualified as a journeyman carver, and is first recorded as working in York, probably under the guidance of the architect and carver John Etty (c.1634–1708). By 1671 Gibbons was working in London, at a time when the city was experiencing a creative regeneration following the Great Fire of 1666, and there was increased demand for skilled craftsmen like Gibbons to rebuild and reimagine the city. Initially he was working around Deptford and was likely employed in a workshop producing high-quality ships' carvings for the nearby Royal Dockyards. However, we know that Gibbons continued to develop his own creative skills because the diarist and writer John Evelyn (1620–1706) famously described discovering the carver at work in his home. On walking past one evening, Evelyn reports seeing 'the young

man at his carving, by the light of a candle ... engaged on a carved representation of Tintoretto's Crucifixion [now at Dunham Massey (NT 931239)] which he had in a frame of his own making'.

Evelyn's interest in the young artist-carver was closely followed by that of court architect Sir Hugh May (1621–84) and painter Sir Peter Lely (1618–80). Together with Gibbons's own exceptional talent, this collective support led Charles II (1630–85) to commission him to work on the remodelling of Windsor Castle (1680–2). Over the next few decades his extraordinary talent and flamboyant Baroque style became increasingly sought after by subsequent monarchs and other wealthy patrons. Gibbons's commissions, featuring his trademark swags and elaborate carved surrounds, included St Paul's Cathedral (1695–7), Burghley House (1683–5), Petworth House (c.1692) and Kensington Palace (c.1704), where his carvings have just undergone extensive restoration.³

Gibbons's success was also due to his keen business skills. By the 1680s he was running the largest woodcarving workshop in England. The various elements of a scheme were made in the workshop and assembled on site. Gibbons was almost certainly involved in carving the showpieces, such as the key elements of trophies, alongside supervising a highly skilled workshop team. He may also have done some of the preliminary carving for his assistants to finish. Portraits of Gibbons all show him as a successful, wealthy individual. In a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller of about 1690 (reproduced in Fig. 2), he positions himself as an artist, studying sculpture by Bernini, rather than a journeyman carver.

The National Trust looks after some of the most significant examples of Gibbons's carvings. Over the past few years, the Trust



has been exploring his work in partnership with external colleagues who are undertaking similar research, as well as through a National Trust sculpture-cataloguing project, which has catalogued carvings attributed to Gibbons and his followers at Belton House, with those at Lyme Park and Sudbury Hall to follow.

Some of the finest work by Grinling Gibbons can be found at Petworth House, West Sussex, and Dunham Massey, Cheshire.

'Flounced all about with carving'

The Carved Room at Petworth has delighted visitors since its creation. Horace Walpole (1717–97) visited Petworth in 1749 and wrote of 'the finest carving of Gibbons' that his

eyes 'ever beheld'. Originally commissioned by Charles Seymour (1662–1748) and Elizabeth Percy (1667–1722), the 6th Duke and Duchess of Somerset, the carvings at Petworth represent Gibbons at the height of his skill and imagination in carving sculptural ornament.

On reaching her majority in 1688, the twice-widowed Duchess and her third husband were able to spend her considerable wealth on their West Sussex home. Gibbons was one of a team of prestigious artists, architects and craftspeople who transformed Petworth into the impressive Franco-Dutch Baroque palace we see today. Their French-born Dutch architect and designer, Daniel Marot (1661–1752), had, like



1. (Previous page) The Carved Room at Petworth House, West Sussex
Photo: National Trust Images/Andreas von Einsiedel

2. Grinling Gibbons, as depicted in a mezzotint print of c.1690, after Godfrey Kneller, published by John Smith, London
Photo: The Trustees of the British Museum

3. Detail of the musical trophy in the Carved Room, Petworth House, West Sussex
Photo: National Trust Images/Andreas von Einsiedel

Gibbons, already been employed by William III (1650–1702) and Mary II (1662–94). Both appointments by the Duke and Duchess showed their allegiance and connections to the royal court.

Around the same time, the Duke also commissioned Gibbons to create carvings and a full-scale sculpture of himself at Trinity College Library, Cambridge, where he was Chancellor. The ‘Proud Duke’, as he became known, was certainly using Gibbons’s carving to frame his power and influence. At Petworth, the carvings comprise two double picture-surrounds that frame full-length portraits of the Duke and Duchess, by Johan Baptiste Closterman (active

c.1690–1713), alongside portraits of the Duke’s grandparents. The hyper-real carvings largely consist of Gibbons’s famous swags of flora and fauna, alongside specific elements representing the couple’s status, fashionable taste, intellect and royal connections. These include the carved family crest, garter and other armorials. The trophy of classical vases was probably inspired by engravings after works by Raphael (1483–1520) and Giulio Romano (?1499–1546) of the Allocution of Constantine and, in the musical trophy, there is a sheet of the semi-opera ‘Fairy Queen’, which was composed by Henry Purcell in 1692 (the same year as the Petworth commission) to celebrate the 15th wedding anniversary of William and Mary.

These limewood carvings were first installed in a smaller drawing room for entertaining guests, which occupied about half the current space. Inventories of 1749/50 and 1764 describe the room ‘flounced all about with carving’, with ‘Pictures of Full length in carv’d frames’. The smaller dimensions of the original display space partly explain the exceptional detailing on the Petworth carvings, even on the top sections, since they were intended to be seen up close and to amaze and impress the viewer even under the closest scrutiny. It also explains the high cost of the carvings at £150 (about £20,000 today), compared to just £80 for the two Closterman portraits.

In 1786 the 3rd Earl of Egremont (1751–1837) extended the room to its current size to create a formal dining room. Additional carvings were brought into the space, including those around the portrait of Henry VIII, which feature a life-like lobster. They were probably carved by Gibbons’s colleague at Petworth, John Selden (1688–1713/14). In the first half of the 19th century the panelling of the ‘Carved Room’, as it became known, was painted white and further carvings were

added by Jonathan Ritson (?1776–1846). Four landscapes by Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851) and portraits of both Ritson and Gibbons were installed. These alterations were removed from the 1870s until 2001–2, when the room was restored to its appearance during the 3rd Earl’s time.

In a programme that runs until summer 2022, the Carved Room will benefit from enhanced interpretation and lighting, accompanied by talks and tours exploring Gibbons’s life and legacy. The carvings will also undergo specialist conservation cleaning, celebrating 300 years of Grinling Gibbons at Petworth. [RW](#)

Replicating genius

Entering the 18th-century closet library at Dunham Massey is a joyous sensory overload. The sweet scent of linseed oil blends with wafts of vanilla from the lignin-laced pages, and the eye is momentarily distracted by the warm hues of the fine leather bindings that fill the bookshelves. Eventually the gaze is drawn to the focal point at the end of the room, settling on an illuminated and impressive relief panel credited as Gibbons’s first major work: *The Crucifixion*, after a monumental oil painting by Jacopo Tintoretto (c.1518–94) in the Sala dell’Albergo of the Scuola di San Rocco, Venice.

The remarkably accurate and complex relief-carving was the focus of diarist John Evelyn’s account in 1671; his memorable discovery of a future master-carver through a cottage window in Deptford. Gibbons humbly claimed he was a beginner, yet the 22-year-old had developed skills of such a high calibre that he was able to turn Agostino Carracci’s engraving of Tintoretto’s work into a scene that is almost three-dimensional.

Initial hopes of featuring the sculpture in the ‘Grinling Gibbons 300: Centuries in the

4. Factum Foundation undertaking 3D scanning of *The Crucifixion* (NT 931239) at Dunham Massey, Cheshire
Photo: National Trust/Emma Campagnaro



Making' [exhibition](#) were dashed due to loan restrictions applied to the bequest of the Dunham Massey estate. Thanks to a highly innovative project, however, another means was found to showcase this important masterpiece. Pioneering for all involved, it was the first time a National Trust object of international significance had been identified for digitisation.

In a collaboration that brought together the National Trust, the Grinling Gibbons Society and the art-conservation organisation Factum Arte (Factum Foundation for Digital Technology in Conservation),⁴ photogrammetry and laser scanning techniques were used to record *The Crucifixion*, the first time such high-resolution data has been acquired for a complex relief of this scale.

In preparation for the work, specialist conservators Wynn Griffiths & Tarr removed the glazing and display frame from the carving before mounting it vertically on a purpose-built structure for unobstructed scanning. Vibration, disturbance and environmental conditions all had to be carefully accounted for before the work could commence.

The Factum Foundation was excited by the challenge presented by the complexity of the carved relief. The cushion frame is a floral helix; the slim stems weaving together, creating pockets of space that are totally inaccessible. The crucifixion scene itself is carved to varying depths, from the flat billowing clouds in the background to the various human and animal limbs that jut into the foreground. The relief is 150mm deep in places. As the Factum Foundation observed: 'There are undercuts everywhere – points which the human viewer, no matter how hard they strain eyes and neck, will never quite get a grasp on'. As a subject for 3D recording, they explained, 'this is a tough one.'

To obtain the desired results, Factum Foundation employed two complementary recording methods. First, the relief was recorded using photogrammetry – a method often used for sculptures and other objects 'in-the-round', which involves taking hundreds of photos of the subject, capturing every curve and plane in perfect focus from every angle. Specialist software, RealityCapture, was then used to process these photographs into a single 3D model of the whole piece.

The next step was to use a Lucida 3D laser scanner, designed by artist-engineer Manuel Franquelo and Factum Foundation, to carry out a second phase of recording. The scanner is normally used on paintings and other low-relief surfaces, which it can record at extremely high resolution, and which is accurate to 0.1mm. Gibbons's *Crucifixion*, however, has a much deeper relief and it was necessary to substantially modify the usual scanning method in order to record as much as possible of the surface of the work, sometimes recording what appears to be the same area of carving four or five times.

Back at Factum Foundation in Madrid, both sets of data were processed and merged to create a single digital model, combining the overall shape and dimensional accuracy of the photogrammetry recording with the pinpoint surface accuracy of the Lucida 3D laser scanner. The model can be rotated and viewed from different angles in an [online application](#), which also allows users to zoom in to examine the surface texture of the limewood carving.

As well as contributing to organisational knowledge, it will help to support and inform future decision-making and conservation care, while continuing to advance understanding of this internationally significant object. [EC](#)



5. Detail of the scan data acquired from Gibbons's *The Crucifixion*
Photo: Factum Foundation for Digital Technology in Conservation

Legacy

Gibbons was celebrated in his own time but towards the end of his career the Baroque style had gone out of fashion and his workshop was almost exclusively producing stone carvings, particularly for funerary monuments. However, Walpole was one of a number of 18th-century admirers of Gibbons's work, and his carving continued to be prized by a select few. In the 1800s, when Evelyn's diaries were published, there was a revival of interest and by the end of the 19th century a rather romantic fascination with the carver had gathered momentum. He was even immortalised in one of the sculptures adorning the façade of the newly extended Victoria and Albert Museum in 1909.

Three centuries after his death, Gibbons's work still resonates with new generations of artists and craftspeople, as the current exhibitions of contemporary art connected to 'Gibbons 300' have shown. [RW](#)

Notes

1. See <https://grinling-gibbons.org/grinlinggibbons300/> for details.
2. Attingham Trust lecture, 'Grinling Gibbons in the Country House and Royal Palace', Ada de Wit, Wallace Collection, London, 2021 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XvhUCAqwAwA>).
3. 'Restoring Genius: Grinling Gibbons's Carvings in the Orangery of Kensington Palace', HRP Blog, 30 July 2021 (<https://blog.hrp.org.uk/curators/restoring-genius-grinling-gibbons-carvings-in-the-orangery-of-kensington-palace/>).
4. Factum Arte (<https://www.factum-arte.com/en/inicio>).

Sir James Hills-Johnes

An imperial life

Matthew Constantine
Cultural Heritage Curator

On a wall in Croft Castle, Herefordshire is a portrait of Sir James Hills-Johnes (1833–1919) (Fig. 1).¹ Painted by Dorothy Tennant in 1894, it shows a retired British Indian Army officer in full dress uniform, his chest bearing the accumulated honours of a long career, including the Victoria Cross he had won 37 years earlier during the Indian Rebellion.² There are further National Trust connections: the library at The Vyne, Hampshire includes books previously owned by Sir James about this 1857 conflict, apparently a birthday gift from his wife in 1890 (NT 3186462–4). The books almost certainly originally came from their house at Dolaucothi in Carmarthenshire, which passed to the Trust in 1941.³

This article sketches out some of the details of the background and career of the man in the portrait and illustrates how a single item in the collections can open a vivid window onto Britain's imperial past.

James 'Jemmy' Hills (Johnes was only added to his surname in 1883, following his marriage) was born in 1833, the second of ten surviving children of James Hills Sr (1801–72) and Charlotte Marie Antoinette

Savi (1813–50). Charlotte was the daughter of a Florentine doctor (said to have been surgeon to Tipū Sultān (1750–99)) who became an indigo plantation owner in Bengal.⁴ James Hills Sr was born in Ancrum, Roxburgh and arrived in India as a teenager to seek his fortune, eventually overseeing a personal fiefdom of 11 indigo processing 'factories' (Fig. 2), 28,000 acres of plantation and 60,000 *ryots* (contracted farmers) around Neechindipore, now on the Indian border with Bangladesh, north of Kolkata (Calcutta).⁵

Indian indigo, sometimes called 'blue gold', was much in demand because of its ability to dye textiles a deep rich blue colour that would not wash out. From the 1770s, the British East India Company (EIC) poured investment capital into vast new indigo plantations set up in territory the company controlled in Bengal. The processed products were then shipped by the company via Calcutta. By the 1810s, almost all of the global supply of indigo came from this single source.

Because of their lack of accountability, these plantations developed as deeply



1. Lieutenant General Sir James Hills-Johnes GCB VC, 1894, Dorothy Tennant, Lady Stanley (1855–1926), oil on canvas, 41.9 x 31.7cm, Croft Castle, Herefordshire (NT 537635)
Photo: National Trust Images



2. *An Indigo Factory in Bengal, 1863*, William Simpson (1823–99), watercolour; this is the original for plate 38 of Simpson's *India, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1867)
Photo: © British Library Board WD1017/1017

exploitative operations that coerced local farmers into growing indigo plants instead of food and trapped them in a web of unpayable debt. The result was a cycle of low-level violence and reprisal that eventually culminated in a major popular uprising in 1859 and subsequent government regulation.⁶

This was the world into which 'Jemmy' and his siblings were born. All would lead lives closely tied to the three main mechanisms by which the EIC and its successor, The British Raj, exercised control over such a vast and disparate region – military force, the law and commerce.

All six sons were sent back to Britain to be educated,⁷ with three going on to train as army officers at the East India Company Military Seminary at Addiscombe (Croydon) during the late 1840s and 1850s. Five

returned to India – three as senior military officers, while two went into business.⁸ Of the four daughters, two married EIC army officers and two married senior legal advisors to the British Raj.⁹ 'Jemmy' Hills began his career in 1853 with the Bengal Horse Artillery, a unit in one of the EIC's private armies. His actions as a second lieutenant at the Siege of Delhi during the 1857 Indian Rebellion against the EIC earned him a Victoria Cross.

After the subsequent 1858 takeover of the EIC by the British government, many European EIC officers lost pay and privileges, provoking a so-called 'white mutiny' early in 1859. It was at this point that Hills was made aide-de-camp to Lord Canning, who had been the last EIC governor-general and then continued as the first viceroy of the new Raj. Canning was the

focus of much of the officers' resentment, so it is perhaps significant that as a Bengal-born, high-profile war hero with credibility among his fellow officers, Hills was chosen for such a role.

In 1862, ill-health forced Canning to return to Britain and Hills changed jobs, spending a year as assistant resident in Nepal – the deputy representative of the British government in the independent kingdom that bordered northern India.¹⁰ This was a very sensitive relationship as Nepal was a major source of the vast amounts of timber that the Raj needed to build the railways and other infrastructure that would increase its control and economic exploitation of India.

While in Nepal, Hills seems to have been an active hunter, receiving a leg injury from which he never fully recovered.¹¹ Skill at hunting had great symbolic cultural value

across the Indian subcontinent and Hills's activity may have been as much about helping to build relationships with a local elite as simply filling leisure time.

Having returned to the Bengal Horse Artillery, in 1867 Hills was chosen to join a military expedition against the Ethiopian Empire (Abyssinia) of Emperor Tēwodros (or Theodore) II (c.1818–68). Tēwodros hoped to secure European, and particularly British, military support to keep hold of his disintegrating empire and, in desperation, had seized European hostages in the hope of forcing the hand of the British government. After a long impasse, it was eventually decided to send part of the Indian Army to free the hostages from Tēwodros's mountain-fortress capital of Maqdala.¹²

Thanks to the efforts of the military engineers (including Hills's brother, Jack),

the expeditionary forces overcame the challenging terrain to reach their objective. The final action was recorded by Hills: '14th April 1868: We stormed Magdala yesterday ... loss trifling on our side ... Theodore was shot in the leg and then as the Europeans advanced put a pistol to his mouth & shot himself.'¹³ After freeing the hostages, churches and other buildings were looted and burned and the expeditionary force withdrew, leaving the empire to descend into civil war. For his part commanding a mortar battery, Hills won a campaign medal.

The expedition included 'embedded' artists, photographers and journalists, including Henry Morton Stanley, who would become a friend of Hills – his wife Dorothy would later paint the Croft Castle portrait.¹⁴ They helped project the undertaking as a successful demonstration of British military power, but the enormous cost (extra income tax had to be raised to cover the estimated £9 million) and the damage to the cultural heritage of Ethiopia was widely criticised at the time.¹⁵

Among Hills's fellow officers in Ethiopia was Frederick Roberts (1832–1914, later Lord Roberts) a close friend and comrade since their time together in the EIC Academy (Fig. 3).¹⁶ Their experience campaigning in the challenging Ethiopian mountains was called upon again in 1871–2 when the British launched a punishment expedition against people living in the Lushai Hills to the south of Assam (in the north east of India), who had been raiding European-run tea plantations and local villages.

The pair were united again eight years later in a more high-profile imperial campaign, this time in Afghanistan. The Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–80) was ultimately caused by tension between the Russian and British Empires during the 1870s. Concerned to maintain Afghanistan as a buffer state

to protect India, the British used military force to take control of Afghanistan's foreign affairs, but this was threatened by a major Afghan uprising in 1879. In response, an expedition under the command of Roberts was sent to enforce British interests.

Hills was serving in the Kandahar field force (essentially an occupying force in the south of Afghanistan) but joined Roberts in the advance on Kabul and was appointed by him as military governor of the city for a period while the uprising was suppressed and suspected rebels executed. Having restored a compliant Afghan ruler, British forces withdrew in spring 1881.

Both Roberts and Hills had votes of thanks given in Parliament. Hills was also made a Knight Commander of the Royal Order of the Bath (later upgraded to Knight Grand Cross); the insignia is prominent in the 1894 portrait. His military career having peaked (he was made a lieutenant-general in 1883) and facing retirement, James Hills married Elizabeth Johnes in 1882 and settled at her Dolaucothi family estate in Carmarthenshire.¹⁷ The marriage established Hills within the local county elite, something he reinforced by adopting his wife's family name.

After retiring from the military in 1888 he was soon elected as a county councillor for the Liberal Unionists – a breakaway pro-empire and bitterly opposed to Irish Home Rule; in 1886 they had allied with the Conservatives.¹⁸ Most of his political activities were around local issues, but in 1900 he caused a minor political scandal when he was reported as saying to a packed party gathering that his old friend Roberts – by now a field marshal and firmly a popular hero – personally hoped for a Conservative government in the forthcoming election. This was deeply embarrassing for Roberts,

3. Sir James (left) and Lord Roberts at Dolaucothi c.1900

Photo: R. Shann/Public Domain



4. Ethiopian necklace previously owned by Robert Napier, commander of the Ethiopian Expedition, now at Hughenden Manor, Buckinghamshire (NT 428872)

Photo: National Trust/Thomas Boggis





5. James Hill Johnes, VC, *Attacking the Enemy*, 1893, Frank Nowlan (c.1835–1919), oil on canvas, 54 x 83.2cm; this work, showing an artist's later imagining of events, demonstrates a Victorian taste for art that romanticised the imperial experience
Photo: Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/ The National Library of Wales

who was forced to send an urgent telegram: 'No authority for Sir James Hills-Johnes statement. I always hold aloof from politics.'¹⁹

Aside from domestic concerns, in 1901 Hills became a founder member of the Central Asian Society (now the Royal Society for Asian Affairs). With his military experience in Afghanistan, this was undoubtedly a subject close to Hills's heart; in 1890 he had even travelled to Tashkent in Uzbekistan to investigate a world exhibition organised by Russia to promote economic development of the region.²⁰

Sir James lived out the rest of his days at Dolaucothi, surrounded by souvenirs of his long career and travels. He died in January 1919, a victim of the global influenza pandemic, and was buried with military honours in the nearby village of Caio.

Notes

1. Allocated to Croft Castle in 2000 due to a connection with the family of his wife.
2. Now in the Royal Artillery Museum collection.
3. The majority of the badly decayed house was demolished in 1952.
4. For more on the fascinating Savi family see: <https://www.thedailystar.net/literature/the-man-three-nationalities-1593940>.
5. See *Indian & Home Memories* by Sir Henry Cotton, London, 1911, pp.80–4, for a possibly rather rose-tinted assessment of James Hills Sr.
6. See: www.indianculture.gov.in/stories/indigo-revolt-bengal.
7. The Edinburgh Academy: www.ed.ac.uk/india-institute/india-in-edinburgh/medicine-military-and-merchants/tea-and-jute.
8. The oldest, Archibald, took over the family indigo concern. Sir John 'Jack' Hills and Colonel George Hills became Indian Army engineers. Robert stayed in Britain and was an early professional cricketer. The youngest son, Charles, was a Calcutta indigo broker, reputed by his family to have fathered the famous Anglo-Indian Hollywood actress Merle Oberon (1911–79) with his 'widowed housekeeper' (see *Indigo & Opium* by Miles Macnair, Studley, 2013). In 2002 an Australian documentary revealed that Oberon's birth mother was actually the housekeeper's 12-year-old daughter – a confused family story or a metaphor for imperial 'forgetting'?
9. Charlotte married Lieutenant William Cubitt (who was also awarded the Victoria Cross in 1857), Elizabeth married Lieutenant-General Jenkin Jones, Veronica married Lewis Pugh Evans (who became Attorney General of Bengal), and Emilia married Lewis's younger brother, Griffith (who went on to serve as the legal adviser to Robert Bulwer-Lytton and subsequent viceroys of India).
10. See James Hills-Johnes's obituary in the *Carmarthen Journal and South Wales Advertiser*, 10 January 1919.
11. He was wounded by a boar and then shot in the leg by a colleague. The Hills brothers were well-known for 'pig-sticking' (hunting wild boar on horseback with a long spear) – Archibald wrote a book on it.
12. It has been argued that Conservative Party strategists, led by Disraeli, believed that this would win patriotic votes from the newly enlarged electorate being created through the 1867 Reform Act (see, e.g., F. Harcourt, 'Disraeli's Imperialism', *Historic Journal*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1980).
13. Extract from family letters recently sold at auction.
14. The Welsh-American Stanley (né John Rowlands, 1841–1904) is famous as the journalist sent to find Livingstone in what is now Tanzania. Later he became agent in Congo for King Leopold II of Belgium – one of the most brutal regimes in the history of European colonisation of Africa. He was knighted in 1899 'for services to the British Empire'.
15. See NT Collections Online entry for NT 428872 for more on this expedition and its legacy.
16. Both were born in India, joined the Bengal Horse Artillery and won VCs during the Indian Rebellion. They even bore a striking resemblance to each other, including their short stature. Hills was godfather to Roberts's son, who was killed during the South African War (or Second Boer War, 1899–1902) shortly before Roberts arrived to take command of British forces in 1900. Hills accompanied Roberts as an unofficial advisor for a period.
17. Two of Hills's sisters lived relatively nearby and he may have met Elizabeth though them.
18. Henry Stanley was also a Liberal Unionist (becoming an MP in 1895) and the Stanleys regularly stayed at Dolaucothi.
19. *South Wales Daily News*, 2 October 1900.
20. Hills's obituary in the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. 6, issue 1–2, 1919, p.93.

Ancient Athenian Inscriptions

At Petworth House, Lyme and Mount Stewart

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Between the late 17th and the early 19th century, travellers and collectors from the British Isles explored the cities and cultural centres of Europe in search of distraction and erudition. Voyages to Europe, the Grand Tour, were a privileged aspect of the life of a few young men and women of distinction, and were seen as the pinnacle of a refined education. Exploration of the lands and remains of Greek and Roman antiquity (from the 8th century BC to the 5th century AD) were of great interest to these travellers. Indeed, Italy and Rome were initially favourite pilgrimages, but from the second half of the 18th century, the eastern Mediterranean and Greece became the destinations of choice.

In 1734, veterans of the Grand Tour founded the Society of the Dilettanti with the express purpose of supporting the study of Greek and Roman art: the organisation sponsored trips that would record Greek and Roman antiquities and sometimes bring them to the UK.

Travellers and collectors would return to the UK bringing with them sculptures, books and other trophies to be displayed in halls, libraries and gardens across the land, or sometimes to be donated to the public museums that emerged from the second half of the 18th century. They showed great enthusiasm for objects associated with the classical cultures of Greece and Rome: coins, vases, manuscripts, statues, gravestones, architectural elements, thrones, chests – anything that could be acquired and shipped was fair game. Of particular interest were those objects, often made of marble, which preserved on their surfaces pieces of writing in Greek, Latin or other languages of the ancient world. They were highly prized because they

1. *Funerary Monument of Arkesis* (NT 500255.3), Lyme
Photo: © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. Köln.
Photograph no. FA 2083-00. Photographer: R. Laev





2. *The North Gallery, Petworth House, c.1865*, Madeline Campbell, The Hon. Mrs Percy Wyndham (1835–1920), watercolour on paper, 33.5 x 42cm (NT 485159)
Photo: National Trust Images/NTPL

3. The Petworth *stèle*, which was reused as a threshold block, probably before it was brought to the UK: the deep circular cavity was the socket for a door-post (NT 486389)
Photo: Julian Lambert



4. (Following page) Petworth's Marble Hall: the Petworth *stèle* is incorporated in the base of the statue of Artemis at the left of the picture
Photo: National Trust Images/Andreas von Einsiedel

provided information about the lives of ancient individuals and their world. By the early years of the 19th century, collecting antiquities had become a competitive pastime, as aristocrats attempted to emulate Lord Elgin's notorious acquisition of Greek marbles including Athenian inscriptions, most of which were transferred to the British Museum in 1816.

Today, inscriptions are highly valued by historians and scholars of classical antiquity owing to their contribution to our understanding of the ancient past. They provide snapshots of the ancient world, unadulterated by the interference of later editors, and often depict diverse aspects of life (ranging from accounting and record-keeping to attitudes towards gender and age) that are passed over by the sources that survive in other written forms. They are preserved in huge numbers: perhaps as many as 20,000 inscriptions survive from ancient Athens and its surrounding territory (known as Attica) alone. Of these, about 225 can be found in museums, private houses and National Trust properties in the UK. This article explores the Athenian inscriptions currently preserved in three National Trust properties, where they can be viewed by visitors: Petworth House (West Sussex), Lyme (Cheshire) and Mount Stewart (County Down).

An Athenian inscribed decree, Petworth
Petworth House, a country house located in extensive parkland in the West Sussex countryside, has a profound artistic heritage in the shape of its collection of European oil paintings and Greek and Roman antiquities. The collection was initiated in the 1750s by Charles Wyndham, 2nd Earl of Egremont (1710–63), a member of the Society of Dilettanti, who built up, mostly via agents in Rome, one of the most

substantial accumulations of Greek and Roman antiquities in England. His son and heir, the 3rd Earl (1751–1837), enlarged his father's holdings and extended his gallery to create a display that juxtaposed classical sculpture with contemporary paintings; it is depicted as a family space in a water-colour of c.1865 (Fig. 2).

The Petworth *stèle* (an ancient stone slab, Fig. 3) records part of a decree of the Athenian Council and Assembly of 108/7 BC and was originally set up on the Athenian Acropolis – a fragment of it remains today in Athens. The Petworth portion bears a hole that was a socket for a door-post, which was cut when it was reused as a threshold block, probably before it was brought to the UK. This use evidently wore the face of the inscription smooth and the letters have also been damaged by standing water. Nevertheless, enough of the text is visible for large sections of it to be deciphered. It is clear, therefore, that the decree honours those Athenian unmarried girls who worked the wool for the ceremonial robe (*peplos*) for the statue of Athena, which was carried in procession and presented to the goddess at the Panathenaia festival. The inscription appears to reflect a revival or reform of the arrangements for making the *peplos* during the late 2nd century BC. The names of the girls are listed in a roll of honour at the bottom of the inscription. This provides us with a great deal of information about the female members of elite Athenian families at this period, and the text tells us that the girls' zeal and love of labour were held up for emulation.

We do not know precisely when or how the inscription came to Petworth: it is possible that it was acquired by the 2nd Earl, but it may have been obtained at a later point during the era of competitive



collecting. By 1865 the inscription had been built into the modern base of, fittingly, a Hellenistic statue of Artemis. It stands there today in Petworth's Marble Hall (Fig. 4) for visitors to see.

Inscribed funerary monuments, Lyme

Lyme in Cheshire is home to two ancient Athenian stone inscriptions and one piece of uninscribed sculpture. They are the legacy of Thomas Legh (?1793–1857), who inherited the Lyme estate upon his father's death in 1797. In 1810, Legh began his studies at Brasenose College, Oxford, but soon decided that greater excitements could be found elsewhere. In 1811, he travelled to Greece for the first time, on a journey that would ultimately take him to Egypt. Although he spent some time in Athens, he appears not to have considered this to have been the highpoint of his travels. In his published account of his time in Greece, he dedicates more space to his rather minor role in the removal of the frieze of the classical temple of Apollo in Bassai in southern Greece, which is now at the British Museum, and a replica of which is displayed in the Bright Gallery in Lyme (NT 500251).

The two inscribed sculptures at Lyme are both funerary monuments. The *stèle* of Arkesis, dated to the early 4th century BC, depicts in a sunken relief panel a young woman gazing at a swaddled young baby (Fig. 1). The image suggests that Arkesis died in childbirth; the depiction of a deceased mother interacting with an infant or child would serve to underline her maternal status. The profound humanity of the monument resonates with the great sadness engendered by death in childbirth; this was a theme relevant to the family of Legh, whose wife, Ellen Turner, died in childbirth in January 1831, aged 19.

The other inscribed monument at Lyme, also dating to the 4th century BC, is a grave-marker of the type known as a *naiskos* ('little temple'), bearing the names of Melisto, (daughter of Hegestratos of Oion) and Epigenes (son of Mikrion of Eleusis) (Figs 5 and 6). The seated woman seems to be Melisto; she clasps the hand of Epigenes in a gesture, called in Greek *dexiosis*, which suggests a bond between humans that transcends life and death. Melisto appears to be about to lift her veil with her left hand. This motion, known as *anakalypsis*, may evoke the act of marriage or married status: Melisto and Epigenes, then, are likely to be husband and wife. The female figure in the background is probably enslaved: she holds a box, perhaps a jewellery casket, signifying wealth, which may have come to the family in the shape of Melisto's inheritance.

The absence of any detailed excavation record means that the original context for these marbles is lost. We know nothing, for instance, of the other objects that would typically have accompanied them in the family funerary enclosure, where they were probably originally set up. We know more about the context that Legh envisaged for them: the three pieces of Athenian sculpture were installed in the library at Lyme (Fig. 6) as part of his refurbishment of the house, undertaken from 1814. The *stèle* of Melisto and Epigenes was set above the fireplace, and the two other pieces were placed in an alcove to the right of the fireplace, where they remain today.

The Mount Stewart stele

The estate and house of Mount Stewart adorns a picturesque setting along the east shore of Strangford Lough on the Ards Peninsula in County Down, Northern Ireland, 15 miles east of Belfast. The only Attic inscription in Northern Ireland, the Mount



5. Funerary Monument of Epigenes and Melisto (detail showing inscription) (NT 500255.2)
Photo: © Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Köln. Photograph no. FA 2011-07/R. Laev



6. The library at Lyme is home to three pieces of Athenian sculpture, two of them visible here: the *stèle* of Melisto and Epigenes over the fireplace and a grave relief of a comic poet in the alcove to the right of it (NT 500255.1)
Photo: National Trust Images/Chris Lacey



7. The Mount Stewart stele (NT 1220123)
Photo: Frederick Lauritzen

Stewart stele (Fig. 7) is known to have been held in the London home of the Marquesses of Londonderry until it was transferred to their County Down residence in the middle of the 20th century. The circumstances of its acquisition by the family are unknown. One possibility is that it was acquired by 'Fighting Charlie', the 3rd Marquess of Londonderry (1778–1854), who was interested in classical sculpture. An alternative is that it was received as a gift by Viscount Castlereagh (1769–1822), the 2nd Marquess, who served as British Foreign Secretary between 1812 and

1822 and negotiated the surrender and final exile of Napoleon and the Peace of Paris at the Congress of Vienna (1814–15). Or it may have been the gift of another high-profile collector.

Whatever its precise origin, possession of this inscription indicates the prominence of the Stewart family among those with classical interests. Indeed, the Stewart family's admiration for antiquity is reflected in the construction between 1783 and 1786, in the grounds of Mount Stewart, of a banqueting house in the form of a 'Temple of the Winds',

which still offers spectacular views across Strangford Lough today. It was designed by James 'Athenian' Stuart (1713–88) on the basis of his schematic drawings of Athenian buildings that would appear in the famous publication *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece* (4 volumes, 1762–1816), which was hugely influential in the development of Neo-classical architecture.

The Mount Stewart stele depicts five individuals, whose names are inscribed on the moulding running above their heads. The character of the scene is typical of classical Attic funerary monuments (5th–4th centuries BC), although it is unusual for as many as five figures to be depicted. The figures form a group, perhaps consisting of three generations of the same family. The seated male (part of whose name, ending '-sios', is lost) and the standing female (Phaino) (perhaps father and daughter) are clasping hands (*dexiosis*), as are the older (Neophron) and younger (Onomantos) standing males (perhaps father and son). Onomantos is naked, a conventional indicator of youth and athletic virility. Although they are standing back-to-back, the fact that the feet of Phaino and Neophron are touching suggests that they are husband and wife. A smaller female figure (Kleno, perhaps the sister of the standing youth) is carved in shallower relief than the other figures, and has a small bird perched on her raised left hand, another common, and poignant, motif on this type of monument, also usually associated with youth.

The high quality of the relief suggests an affluent family. Indeed, an attractive (but uncertain) restoration of the name of the seated man is [A]sios, a distinctive name borne by a known member of a propertied family connected with that of the famous orator Demosthenes. Aisios was the brother of Aphobos, Demosthenes's guardian, who

allegedly mismanaged his ward's property. Attic funerary monuments had a specific function in terms of projecting claims to status in relation to inheritance of citizenship and property rights. Perhaps the composition of our monument was intended to convey a specific message in this context, namely that Phaino was the heir of the home and property of [A]sios, who, lacking male offspring, may have betrothed his daughter to Neophron with a view to securing the passage of his property to his grandson, Onomantos.

Perspectives on the past

The four ancient Athenian inscriptions in National Trust properties are important to our understanding of the ancient world: they provide glimpses into the complex lives and mentalities of a number of (relatively privileged) Athenians.

Moreover, the presence of the inscriptions in the UK is a reflection of 18th- and 19th-century aristocratic tastes in classical culture, providing insights into a very different time and place. Nevertheless, much remains unknown about them and the precise routes by which they arrived in their current homes.

Notes

Acknowledgements: the authors wish to thank Andrew Loukes at Petworth, the National Trust staff at Lyme, and Frederick Lauritzen at Mount Stewart for facilitating our work on these inscriptions and its publication.

1. An Arts and Humanities Research Council sponsored project, led by Professor Stephen Lambert (Cardiff University), Professor Polly Low (Durham), Professor Peter Liddel (Manchester), Dr Chris de Lisle (Durham) and Robert Pitt (Athens), is currently engaged with editing and translating these inscriptions and making them accessible to all through the dedicated Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections website: <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/papers/aiuk/>



1. *Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex*, 1620, Daniel Mytens (c.1590–1647/8), oil on canvas in contemporary frame, 213 x 122cm, Knole, Kent (NT 129887)

Photo: National Trust Images/James Dobson

Acquisitions

Selected highlights, 2020–1

The National Trust is committed to developing its collections through the acquisition of items that have special connections with our places, and to caring for them so that they can be enjoyed by current and future generations. News of significant and other selected acquisitions can be found both here, in the autumn issue of *Arts, Buildings & Collections Bulletin*, and online at www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/our-latest-acquisitions.

During 2020 and 2021, despite the ongoing financial impact and challenges of the global pandemic, which have affected cultural heritage organisations across the world, we have been fortunate in being able to acquire several important new works of art for the collections. This has been possible through the generous support of private donors, funders and HM Government's schemes for acquisitions through the Acceptance-in-Lieu tax and Private Treaty Sales schemes.

A key theme for acquisitions in this period is portraiture. Two important paintings on display at Knole have been generously allocated to the Trust through the Acceptance in Lieu scheme. With support from a generous private donor, we have also been able to secure a portrait for Wimpole Hall by Private Treaty Sale, which was otherwise due to be consigned for sale at auction.

In addition, we are delighted to have been given an important historic carriage for the National Trust carriage museum at Arlington Court, Devon, which will be on display from November 2021, after initial conservation treatment has been completed.

Further to the curators named, the entries below were prepared with the assistance of National Trust curators, collections and house teams, and registrars from across the organisation.

Two portraits for Knole

Two superb portraits of members of the family associated with the property have been accepted in lieu of inheritance tax by HM Government and allocated to Knole, Kent. They have been on display at the property for over 200 years.

The first is a 1620 portrait of Lionel Cranfield, 1st Earl of Middlesex (1575–1645), by Daniel Mytens (c.1590–1647/8), which shows Cranfield in his robes of state and with the white wand of the Lord High Treasurer (NT 129887) (Fig. 1).

The second, a portrait of Lord George Sackville (1716–85) by Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88), continued the family tradition of patronising fashionable court artists (NT 129926) (Fig. 2). It was painted in the early 1780s, at a time when

Gainsborough was favoured by George III (1738–1820) and at the height of his powers. The artist's brilliant brushwork captures the sitter's splendid attire and features with fluent strokes. It is likely that the painting was commissioned to celebrate Sackville's elevation to the peerage in his own right (he was a younger son of the 1st Duke of Dorset) and his retirement from a highly eventful military career that encompassed both great victories and deep humiliation.
Sam Bailey and John Chu

Yorke family portrait for Wimpole

An attractive portrait by the well-known 18th-century portrait artist Thomas Hudson (1701–79) has been acquired for Wimpole, Cambridgeshire. The sitter is believed to be either the first or second daughter of Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764), and Margaret Cocks (1688/9–1761). The first daughter, Lady Elizabeth (1725–60), married Admiral George Anson (1697–1762). The second daughter, Lady Margaret (1733–69), married Sir Gilbert Heathcote, 3rd Baronet (d.1785).

The painting (NT 207889) was on loan to the Trust for several decades, displayed in the Long Gallery together with other Yorke family portraits. When the owner had to make arrangements to sell the portrait, a private donor generously stepped forward to help to acquire the painting. The owner agreed to withdraw it from auction, assisted by the auction house, Sotheby's, and to sell it to the Trust through the government's Private Treaty Sale scheme.

The National Trust is delighted that the portrait will return to Wimpole in autumn 2021, where it will feature in special volunteer-led tours from November.

Iain Stewart and Jane Eade

2. *Lord George Sackville Germain, 1st Viscount Sackville, c.1784,*
Thomas Gainsborough RA (1727–88),
oil on canvas, 127 x 102cm,
Knole, Kent (NT 129926)

Photo: National Trust Images/
James Dobson





Chichester carriage for Arlington Court

This family travelling carriage was made for Robert Chichester (1804–82) of Hall, North Devon in c.1840 as a town chariot and converted at a later point in the 19th century to a slightly larger and less formal carriage for regular family use.

Robert Chichester was a cousin of Colonel John Chichester (1769–1823), of Arlington Court, now in the care of the National Trust. Arlington is home to the Trust’s Carriage Museum, where over 40 carriages are on display in the former stable block.

This wonderful new acquisition is the only carriage with an association with the Chichester family. It was generously donated to the Trust in 2021 by Mr Garth Pedler, who acquired the carriage at a sale in 1996 and undertook significant work to research, conserve and restore it. The carriage will be on display at Arlington from November 2021.

Phillippa Turner



3a. *Chichester carriage*, c.1840, built by Pettle of Barnstaple, National Trust Carriage Museum, Arlington Court, Devon (NT 2900385); and 3b. enhanced detail of the Chichester coat of arms
Photos: National Trust Images/ Trevor Ray Hart

Van Steenwyck perspective for Ham

In the 1630s William Murray, 1st Earl of Dysart (c.1600–55), created a picture closet at Ham House, Surrey in tandem with that of his close childhood friend Charles I (1600–49) at Whitehall Palace. Inventories show that Murray and Charles I even exchanged works of art. The king's closet was lost in a devastating fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698, and the Green Closet at Ham is the only surviving example in the country that also houses many of its original contents.

One picture lost to Ham in the early 20th century, however, was an oil on copper perspective based on Antwerp Cathedral by the important Anglo-Dutch painter Hendrick van Steenwyck (1604–49). It remained with a member of the historic family rather than being transferred to the National Trust in 1948. Van Steenwyck was based in London in the early 17th century, and he was able to satisfy the demand for architectural scenes and church interiors from collectors including the king, who owned at least a dozen pieces by him.

Described in 17th-century inventories simply as a 'perspective' by Van Steenwyck, this demonstrates that it was the technical aspects of the picture that were most valued. Displayed in the small, private space of the Green Closet, like many of the pictures gathered there it opened a view onto the wider world.

As well as being desirable in the early 17th century, the Van Steenwyck also influenced later collecting habits at Ham House. The 4th Earl of Dysart (1708–70) bought an interior view of Antwerp Cathedral by Peter Neefs the Younger (1620–75) in 1748 and hung it with the Van Steenwyck in the Green Closet. Both paintings are visible in a photograph of the Green Closet published by *Country Life* in 1920. The Van Steenwyck was reacquired



in April 2020, purchased from Agnews, London with the help of a grant from the Art Fund and from a fund set up by the late Simon Sainsbury, and it now hangs once again in the Green Closet. Its return further cements the status of that spectacular space

as a rare and concentrated expression of early 17th-century court fashion. The painting by Neefs, also formerly lost to Ham, was purchased and returned to the Green Closet in 2015. *Hannah Mawdsley*

4. *Cathedral Interior*, 1621, Hendrick van Steenwyck, the Younger (1604–49), oil on copper, 16.7cm diameter, Ham House, Surrey (NT 1140914) Photo: National Trust/ Hannah Mawdsley

English manuscript book for Dyrham
Probably written for William Blathwayt (1649?–1717) while he was Secretary at War under Queen Anne (1665–1714), the book incorporates William Blathwayt's *Rules and instructions for the better government of our Marine Regiments*. The manuscript lists the salaries of officers of the general staff, various guards regiments, officers in the coastal and border fortifications, the Cinque Ports, the Tower of London, and those serving abroad in Newfoundland and the West Indies.

Also included are costs of fire and candles, regulations for other provisions for the troops and allowances for various ministers of state in England and Ireland.

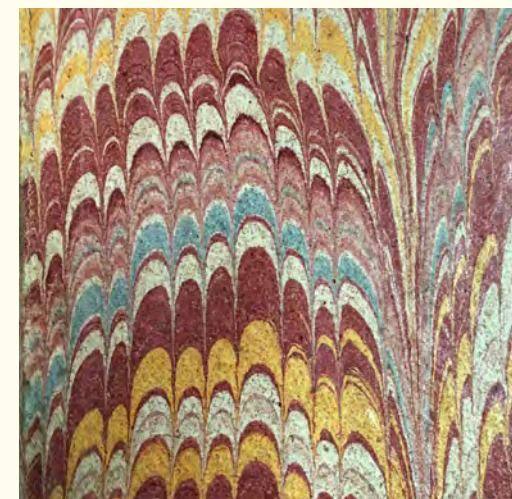
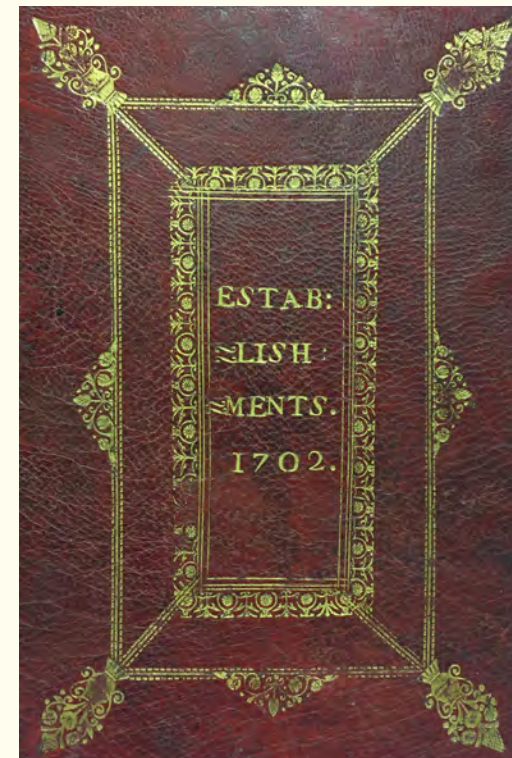
Too modern to have been included in the *List of Books at Dyrham taken in 1698* (Gloucestershire Record Office D1799/E269), it re-joins dozens of William Blathwayt's books on the military and fortifications that have remained in the house since his time.

The book was at Dyrham Park until the 1958 Sotheby's sale, when it was bought for the Cottesloe Military Library. It was bought from the Sotheby's sale of the Cottesloe Library, London, 19 November, 2019 (lot 147), acquired with funds from legacies for Dyrham Park and Gloucestershire.

Yvonne Lewis

The Royal Reg^t of Foot.

<i>Field & Staff Officers.</i>	<i>Per Diem</i>	<i>Per Annum</i>
	<i>s d</i>	<i>s d</i>
<i>Colonel as Colonel</i>	12 .	219 .
<i>Lieut. Colonel as Lieut. Colonel</i>	7 .	127 15 .
<i>Major as Major</i>	5 .	91 5 .
<i>Chaplain</i>	6 8 .	121 13 4 .
<i>Two Adjutants each 4</i>	8 .	146 .
<i>Two Quarter Masters each 4</i>	8 .	146 .
<i>Chyrurgeon 4. & Two Mates 2:6 each</i>	9 .	164 .
<i>Drummr. Major</i>	2 .	36 10 .
<i>Paper to the Colonel's Company.</i>	1 .	18 5 .
<i>One Company.</i>	218 8	1070 13 4
<i>Captain</i>	8 .	146 .
<i>Lieutenant</i>	4 .	73 .
<i>Ensign</i>	3 .	54 15 .
<i>Three Serjeants each 10^d</i>	4 6 .	82 2 6 .
<i>Three Corporals each 12</i>	3 .	54 15 .
<i>Two Drummers each 12</i>	2 .	36 10 .
<i>Sixty privat Soldiers each 8^d</i>	2 .	730 .
	346	1177 2 6
<i>The Pay of Twenty three Comp^s more of the like Thumb¹² and at the same Rates</i>	74 3 6	27073 17 6
<i>One Comp^a of Grandd¹²</i>		
<i>Captain</i>	8 .	146 .
<i>Two Lieutenants each 4</i>	8 .	146 .
<i>Three Serjeants each 1:6^d</i>	4 6 .	82 2 6 .
<i>Three Corporals each 1:0</i>	3 .	54 15 .
<i>Two Drummers each 1:0</i>	2 .	36 10 .
<i>Seventy Granadiers each 8</i>	2 6 8	851 13 4 .
	312 2	1317 . 10
<i>The Pay of another Company of Grandd^s of the like Thumb¹² and at the same Rates</i>	312 2	1317 . 10
<i>Total for this Reg^t</i>	87 11	31,955 15 .



5a., b. and c. English manuscript book, lettered in gilt on the front cover: *Establishments. 1702.*, contemporary red morocco, gilt tooling, 8vo/16 x 11.5cm, Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire (NT 3103537): detail of internal page, front cover and marbled endpaper
Photos: National Trust/Yvonne Lewis



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Dr John Chu is Senior National Curator, Midlands (Pictures and Sculpture) at the National Trust. **David Taylor** is the former Curator of Pictures and Sculpture at the National Trust.

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