
Drayton House Castle at the Photographic Survey Archive

Druids at Drayton: antiquarianism before the Society of Antiquaries (1717)

In the Photographic Survey of Drayton House there is a record of three pictures which are curious because they feature the unusual subject of druids [fig. 1]. Linked thematically as a series, the pictures form a set owing to common dimensions of 130 x 90 cms. (50 ¾" x 40") overall and to the common imagery of a woodland setting. The pictures are prominent in the archival records at Drayton, where a conspicuously full entry in Lady Betty Germain's picture list of 1724 attributes them to Henry Cook/Cooke (1642-1700). This research into the set of paintings enquires further into the reason for the unusual subject of these pictures and into their origin at Drayton. This leads to discuss their provenance at Drayton in the light of the patronage of Henry Mordaunt, the 2nd Earl of Peterborough (1623-1697) and of his successors, his daughter Mary until her death in 1705 and then the Earl's daughter's husband and his second wife, Lady Betty Germain from 1705 to 1769. These investigations explore an aspect of antiquarian enquiry on the periphery of the primary concern for classical antiquity characteristic of the later seventeenth century on the eve of the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries in 1717.

At Drayton, the canvases currently hang in a recently decorated bedroom, where they are displayed in new frames. In the Courtauld Photographic Surveys of 1997 and 2001 they are recorded both in black and white photographs and in colour transparencies.



Thomas Cook
Druids before a statue of a knight
Drayton House



Thomas Cook
Druids leading a bull
Drayton House

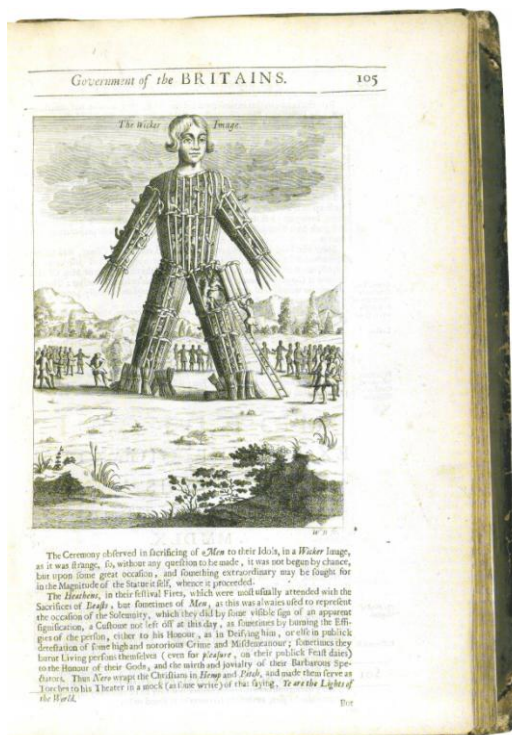


Thomas Cook
The Wicker Man
Drayton House

In one of the compositions, two elderly bearded men dressed in white robes stand in admiration and contemplation before a statue of a helmeted knight in armour, with a drawn sword raised in the right arm and situated on a plinth in a glade.ⁱ Another composition features three similarly white robed elderly bearded figures leading a white bull adorned about the horns with floral garlands.ⁱⁱ The third canvas represents a striking composition of a burning effigy in human form surrounded by agitated and tortured figures.ⁱⁱⁱ

This last arresting image offers a key for identifying the subject of the three paintings. The distinctive human shaped effigy is similar to the image of a Wicker Man illustrating an antiquarian account of druidic customs in Aylett Sammes' *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* published in 1676.^{iv}

Aylett Sammes, *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* 1676
plate illustrating 'The Wicker Man'



In detail, the three compositions at Drayton answer to Sammes' description of druidic ritual and sacrifice in ancient Britain and Gaul.^v Robed in ritual white, the druids' veneration of mistletoe in groves of oak trees marking places of sacrifice is depicted in one composition, while the other featuring two white bullocks represents cattle led to sacrifice. The human effigy of the Wicker Man of the third composition embodies the lengthy account of human sacrifice, showing the giant effigy of a man with limbs made of twigs woven as basket-ware filled with humans and consuming

the sacrificial victims alight with flames.

The pictures at Drayton by the painter Henry Cook are therefore seen to represent successive stages of druidic ritual as set out by Sammes.^{vi} The painter's debt to Sammes is most evident in the appropriation of the Wicker Man image, the subject of one of the few illustrations to

Sammes' text.^{vii} The plate is inscribed *W D fc.* identifying it as a print by William Dolle (fl. 1670-1680) who inscribed his name as *W. Dolle fc.* on a plate of *The Ancient Briton* in the same chapter.^{viii} In contrast to Dolle's daytime representation of the Wicker Man being methodically prepared for sacrifice, Cook departs from the source in dramatising the scene, showing the Wicker Man at night and alight to focus on the horror of the event. The source of Sammes' text is again departed from in Cook's representation of the druidic cult of mistletoe. In the painting, the statue of a knight in armour is introduced into the narrative of druidic ritual, no doubt acknowledging the notion conveyed in Sammes' text that druids were exonerated from military duties owing to the discipline of their order equating those of chivalric orders. In Cook's paintings, the allusion to human sacrifice in mortal combat represented in two of the compositions and the focus on the drama of human sacrifice itself in the third appear to express a heightened concern for moral values in human sacrifice which differs from the objective perspective aspired to in Sammes' account of pagan cultures.

Aylett Sammes' publication *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* is the only volume of a larger projected antiquarian enquiry into the early history of Britain. Published in 1676, it represents Sammes' (c.1636-c.1679) achievement as a graduate of Cambridge and Oxford and as a member of the Inner Temple and the summation of his interest in the cultural origins of Britons before the Norman Conquest. His purposes of 'illustrating the antiquities of this nation' and of clarifying its ancient history are set out in the dedication to the Lord High Chancellor of England and Sammes' distinctive contribution to antiquarian thought is the importance he attributes to the Phoenicians. In the seventh chapter entitled *On the Customs and Manners of the Britains*, the Phoenicians are credited for binding the pagan cultures of the ancient inhabitants of Britain. Indebted for the concept of Phoenician settlement in Britain to the 'learned Frenchman' Samuel Bochart, of whom Sammes was accused of plagiarism, Sammes' diligent acknowledgement of classical and modern texts was nevertheless acclaimed as erudite by the Secretary of the Royal Society.^{ix} Sammes developed the notion the Phoenicians were precursors of the Greeks and even comparable to the Greeks, as advanced by his contemporary Robert Sheringham (1602-1678) in his assessment of the origin of the Britons *de Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio*published only six years previously in 1670. Sammes' also exploited the claim in the classical source of Caesar's *de Bello Gallico IV* that the druids' alleged use of Greek in their role as spiritual priests was an important factor for integrating the pagan sects of Britons.^x

Sammes' discourse on the druids warranted two illustrative plates, one representing the *Wicker Man* and another preceding it of a *Druid* [fig. 3].^{xi} These plates also reflect the range of sources canvassed by Sammes for his text. The first of these plates illustrating Sammes' text reflects the account of druids by the chronicler John Selden while the marginal note beside the second illustration depicting human sacrifice acknowledges the classical source of Caesar's account of druids. For the arresting image of humans caged in a wicker effigy of a man prior to being set alight, however, Sammes is indebted to the popular notion of the Phoenician's giant stature derived from the classical source of Strabo's *Geography* after Strabo's text published in an annotated edition by Isaac Casaubon in 1587 enjoyed a revival in the seventeenth century.^{xii} The plate of an *Ancient Briton* in the same chapter of Sammes' text represents the figure on a gigantic scale against a landscape background, showing the attribution to of the characteristic features Phoenicians to the Britons.^{xiii}

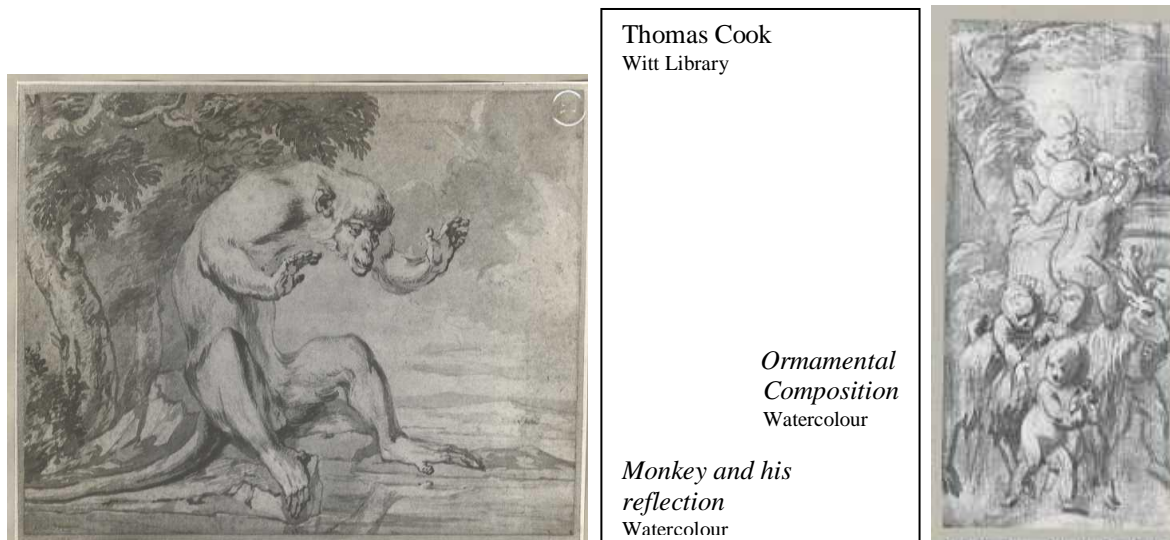
William Dolle

The set of paintings at Drayton attest to the importance of Sammes' publication as a source of imagery as well as ideas and Cook's adoption of the composition of the *Wicker Man* demonstrates the ultimate debt for imagery to Dolle's illustration of human sacrifice. The name of William Dole appears variously inscribed on the three plates illustrating the seventh chapter, taking the form *W. Dfc* on the prints entitled the *Druid* and the *Wicker Man*, and *W. Dolle fc* on the print of the *Ancient Briton*. These three prints arguably representing the most important subjects of Sammes' publication manifest a hitherto ignored aspect of this engraver's achievement, otherwise known for portrait prints between 1670 and 1680. Analysis of his portraits of scholars, clergy and nobility may illuminate Dolle's association with antiquarians of the time and the origin of his commission to illustrate Sammes' text.

Henry Cook

The documented attribution of the three canvases of druidic ritual at Drayton to the painter Henry Cook imply that they were painted within twenty five years Dolle's prototype prints. Henry Cook died in 1700 and Dolle's prints of druids were published in Sammes' *Britannia Illustrata* in 1676. Born in 1642, Cook's contribution to the interiors of Carlisle House in Soho during the Restoration period attests to this painter's prestigious patronage by the 3rd Earl of Carlisle, Charles Howard, who subsequently commissioned Vanbrugh for Castle Howard. The Witt Library's folder on Henry Cook reveals the diversity of this little known painter, illustrating his regard for van Dyke in a copy of group portraiture, as well as his

treatment of classical scenes, ornamental designs and allegorical frontispieces [fig. 3]. The three paintings of druidic ritual at Drayton present an unprecedented aspect in the range of Henry Cook's achievement and demonstrate an underestimated aptitude for original subjects, evident also in the drawing of a *Monkey looking at his Reflection in the water* reproduced in the Witt Library archive.^{xiv}



The origin of Cook's paintings is located to the later part of the 17th century, on the assumption that they post-date Dolle's model print in Sammes' *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* published in 1676 and that they pre-date Cook's death in 1700. The imagery of an idyllic sylvian setting, together with the technical characteristics of the paintings where liberated brushstrokes in the treatment of foliage anticipates the vitality of eighteenth century brushwork in Watteau's *fetes galantes* implies the paintings are to be dated to the later part of that period, thus endorsing the prototype role attributed to Dolle's prints.

Context

The development of an imagery on the unique subject of druids offers an insight of the ideological climate of the period. Indebted to Sammes' text, the canvases at Drayton embody notions idealising the grotesque in pagan culture characteristic of antiquarian theories on the pagan origins of the Britons which prevailed at the end of the seventeenth century.^{xv} Two of the three paintings of druid spirituality present images of tranquillity with which dramatic nocturnal scene of human sacrifice in the Wicker Man makes a dynamic contrast. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition integrates all three compositions into a coherent series by

combining in the conjunction of images of Horror and of the Sublime the polar sensibilities defining the Picturesque perception.

Furthermore, the idealisation of pagan culture is enhanced by implied analogy with Christianity in an aspiration to reconcile conflicting moralities. By number, the set of three canvases evokes the notion of the Trinity of Christianity. The picture of druids before a statue of a knight can be seen to infer chivalric self-sacrifice; inference to Old Testament biblical sacrifice can be drawn from the scene of druids leading cattle to sacrifice and the image of human sacrifice in the Wicker Man invites analogy with the biblical human sacrifice of Christ's Crucifixion. By allusion to the Trinity, Henry Cook's set of paintings at Drayton represent the synthesis of pagan and Christian spiritualities characteristic of antiquarian enquiry, seeking to reconcile modern civilisation with pre-historic cultures. In this role, Cook's triptych set of paintings visualises the analogy implicit in Sammes' perception of human sacrifice, in which the druidic rituals are juxtaposed with the Roman practice of torching Christians and substantiated by example of the Emperor Nero's practice in mockery of the Christian image of the Light of the World.^{xvi} Indeed, the presentation of an idealised image of druidic spirituality in Cook's set of paintings constitutes an apologia for pagan ritual, where the dramatised depiction of human sacrifice echoes Sammes' moralising absolution of the practice. Sammes' explains to some length how druidic human sacrifice was not undertaken wantonly or gratuitously 'upon the will or pleasure of the Priest' but as a measure of last resort 'entered upon the final contempt of their Decrees' in order to safeguard the life of mankind from war and sickness and usually consuming murderers and thieves and the innocent only in default of an adequate amount of criminals.^{xvii}

Antiquarian ideology

The set of paintings at Drayton mark a significant stage in shifting perceptions of ancient history, characterised by an increasingly favourable focus on the customs of the Druids anticipating eighteenth century antiquarian perceptions of druid culture centered on sites of stone circles. A generation before Cook's paintings at Drayton, scholarly assessment of Stonehenge in the mid 17th century gave no place to the druids and was subject to the critical canons of classical architecture. Commissioned by King James I to excavate and measure the site, Inigo Jones in a report to the Royal Society but published only in 1655 concluded that the stone circle was a form of Roman temple.^{xviii} A century later, William Stukeley (1687-1765) published illustrated research on Stonehenge in 1740 and on Avebury/Abury in 1743)

which focussed interest in druidic spirituality on sites of stone circles. A founder member of the Society of Antiquaries, Stuckeley is identified as a pioneer of scientific archaeology by virtue of his methodical field work and his association of stone circles with the druids is indebted to John Aubrey's refutation of Inigo Jones's classical evaluation of Stonehenge. John Aubrey (1626-1697), was a fellow founder member of the earlier Royal Society in 1662 whose name identifies the site at Avebury. He was prompted to study the stone circle when his curiosity was aroused by the sight of it out hunting in 1649, and in the paper he delivered on the subject to the Royal Society in 1663, published posthumously, Aubrey considered attributed to the Druids an important function in the stone circles of the Ancient Britons.^{xix} William Stuckeley's research at Stonehenge and Avebury was based on his earlier interpretation of early history published in *Itinerarium Curiosum or an Account of the Antiquities and Remarkable Curiosities in Nature or Art observe'd in Travels through Great Britain* of 1724, which developed analogy between pagan and Christian cultures. Attributing to the druids the function of priesthood for the Phoenicians centered on stone temples, Stuckeley views the pagan spirituality of the druids to prefigure later Christian spirituality, describing the Phoenicians as 'not idolaters' but as 'learned disciples of Abraham' with a belief in the resurrection of the body and in the expectation of a Messiah. Significantly, the subject of human sacrifice is not addressed in Stuckeley's account of the Ancient Briton and their Druids, thus diverting from the polemical issue of morality in attempting an ostensibly objective perception of pagan spirituality.

The time to which Cook's paintings are attributed coincides with the later period of the 2nd Earl of Peterborough's patronage at Drayton before his death of in 1697. The spiritual subject matter may reflect the Earl, Henry Mordaunt's conversion to Catholicism in 1685-7 and his continuing activities furnishing Drayton after his release from the Tower in 1690. Their arrival at Drayton may even belong to his earlier patronage at Drayton when the architect Isaac Rowe undertook to alter the entrance to its present orientation c. 1676 and when the rare example of a timber cantilevered spiral staircase was built c. 1680, rising three storeys in a 15th century tower to access the new suite of state apartments culminating in the King's Dining Room. The celebration of Druidism, is however, at variance with the Earl's concern for chivalric genealogy which dominates his patronage at Drayton. His preoccupation with genealogy is pre-eminently expressed in the set of four armorial paintings representing the arms he claimed by descent, which are modelled on plates in the book of heraldry *Succinct Genealogies*. Published in a limited edition of twenty four in 1685 under

the authorship of Robert Halstead, this lavish book of genealogy was in fact compiled by the earl with his domestic chaplain, Mr. Rans.

The set of four canvases serving as overdoors represent an armoured knight on a caparisoned horse, each sporting the arms Drayton lineage.



Four genealogical paintings at Drayton House

Placed in a landscape setting, the images of mounted knights closely resemble the few similar images in *Succinct Genealogies*. The knight with the armorial emblem of a rampant lion represents the House of Alno/Alneto and the illustration preceding the first numbered page in

Succinct Genealogies.^{xx} Likewise, the knight with the image of a stag on the helmet and quartered chequered armorials is modelled on the illustration facing page 157 in *Succinct Genealogies* illustrating the Drayton arms of a cross quartered with the Mauduit checks.^{xxi} Similarly, the boar and the star distinguishing the armorial caparisons of a third painting at Drayton copy the arms of the House of Vere illustrated on page 241 of *Succinct Genealogies*.^{xxii} The arms of a chevron between three stars and the eagle featuring in the fourth painting at Drayton represent the heraldry of the Mordaunts as illustrated by the horseman on page 443 of *Succinct Genealogies*.^{xxiii} It is appropriate to remark that only one of the four paintings copies the horsemen in *Succinct Genealogies*, as the remaining three are more freely derived from the printed models typically reversing the direction of the horse.^{xxiv} The set of tapestries attributed to his patronage of Mortlake bears the heraldic signature of his work and the Earl's obsession with establishing his lineage is epitomised in his revival of the medieval image of Sir Walter de Vere (d. 1210-11) donating a church known to him in the stained glass window of the neighbouring church of St. Peter at Lowick.^{xxv}



Window, north aisle
St. Peter's Church, Lowick



detail
Sir Walter de Vere/Draton

This image of Sir Walter de Vere, who assumed the name of Drayton, as donor is reproduced in a full size plate in *Succinct Genealogies* and in a canvas at Drayton attributed to Jan Baptiste Gaspars.^{xxvi}

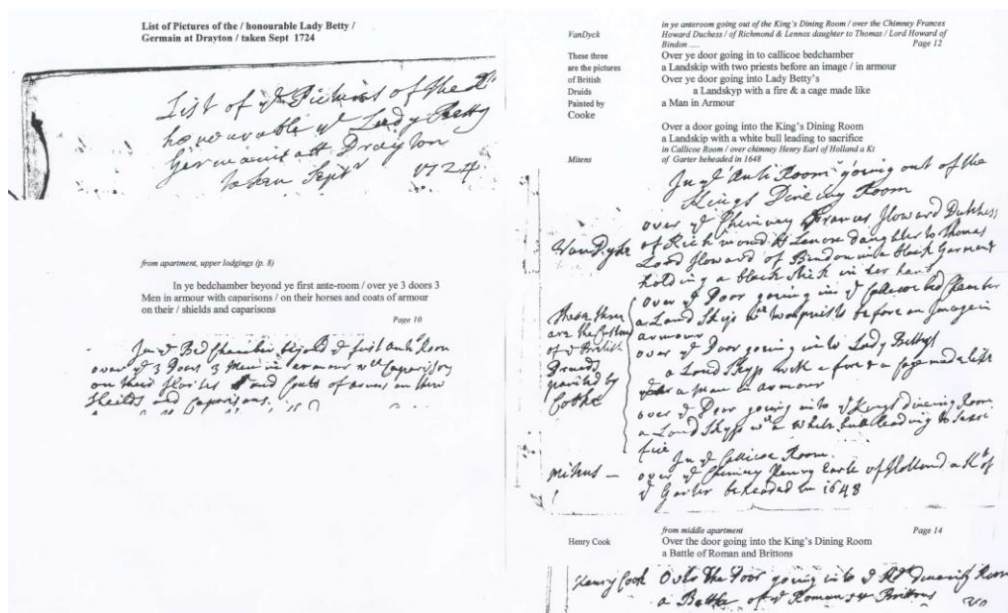


Halstead
Succinct Genealogies 1685
 Sir Walter Drayton



Jan Baptiste Gaspar
Sir Walter Drayton
 Drayton House

However persuasive are the circumstances for attributing the acquisition of the set of Druid paintings, and even their commission from Henry Cook, to Henry Mordaunt the paintings are only documented in the time of his successor, his niece by marriage Lady Elizabeth (Betty) Berkeley, a quarter of a century later. Betty (d. 1769), married to the widower of Henry Mordaunt's daughter Sir John Germain, made meticulously records of the picture collections from the 2nd Earl at Drayton and dispersed since in her London property in securing her husband's claim to Drayton after the death of his first wife Mary, the 2nd Earl's daughter, in 1705.^{xxvii} The three paintings feature in the *List of Pictures of the honourable Lady Betty Germain at Drayton taken in September 1724*, where they are referred to as overdoors in the anteroom linking a calico bedchamber and Lady Betty's apartments to the King's Dining Room.



List of Pictures of the / honourable Lady Betty / Germain at Drayton / taken Sept 1724

They are individually described as follows:

These three	Over ye door going in to callicoe bedchamber
are the pictures	a Landskip with two priests before an image / in armour
of British	Over ye door going into Lady Betty's
Druids	a Landskyp with a fire & a cage made like
Painted by	a Man in Armour
Cooke	Over a door going into the King's Dining Room
	a Landskip with a white bull leading to sacrifice. ^{xxviii}

The set of Cook's pictures are also recognised in the inventories of furnishings at Drayton made in 1710 and revised in 1724, with later amendments in 1738. These inventories list three overdoors: *one picture over each of the three Doors* (1710), *3 pictures over the doors* (1724), in a room which can be identified by its furnishings as the same in the sequence of state rooms leading to the King's Dining Room.^{xxix} The location of the paintings in the inventory corresponds with the location described in the more detailed account in the 1724 Picture List containing many of the same furnishings.

The room in which they are located adjoining the King's Dining Room contains a portrait of Frances Howard, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox displayed over the Chimney:

VanDyck in ye anteroom going out of the King's Dining Room / over the Chimney Frances Howard Duchess / of Richmond & Lennox daughter to Thomas / Lord Howard of Bindon

The reference to this portrait in the 1724 Picture List confirms that the three overdoors listed in the two inventories can be identified as the set of Druid pictures by Cook, because the room is listed respectively as containing *one picture of the old Duchess of Richmond over ye chimney* (1710) and *1 larger picture of the Dutchess (sic) of Richmond over ye chimney* (1724).

The location in overdoors of this set of paintings of a considerable size is consistent with the increasing importance given to overdoors in interior decoration in terms of size and subject. The woodland settings of the compositions conflated the unusual theme with the genre of landscape conventionally placed in overdoors. The architect Roger Pratt's notes on the furnishing of state rooms at Coleshill, Berkshire, which show that by 1650 'landskippes' on an even larger scale were designated with textile hangings as furnishings for the Great Parlour.^{xxx}

The record of the paintings in Lady Betty's 1724 Picture List suggests, however, their importance at the time was not merely perceived in their function as landscape overdoors. The entry is exceptionally complete, with individual descriptions of each painting and a full attribution to an identified painter in the margin. The relative prominence given to the paintings prompts the idea Lady Betty was responsible for acquiring this set of druid pictures. The idealised perception of the druids in Cook's paintings accords with the increasing interest in druid custom promoted in eighteenth century perceptions, as described earlier in Stukeley's publications. Another entry for a painting by Cook in Lady Betty's Picture List implies a particular predisposition for this painter Cook:

from middle apartment

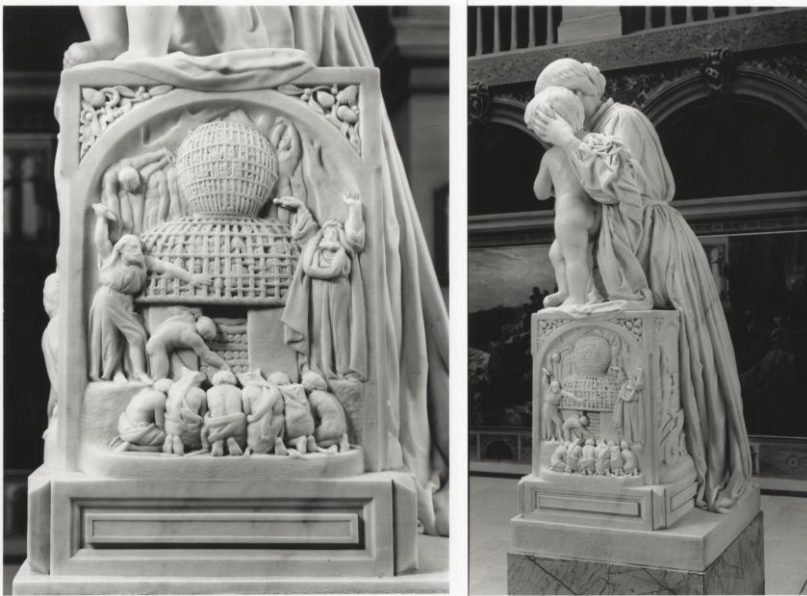
Henry Cook Over the door going into the King's Dining Room
 a Battle of Roman and Brittons.^{xxxii}

The potential acquisition of Cook's set of druid paintings by Lady Betty broadens the scope of her patronage at Drayton and is in keeping with her efforts to conserve the house and to preserve the achievements of the 2nd Earl, starting with the restoration of the chapel where the ceiling is adorned with the arms of the Mordaunts.^{xxxii} Clarifying the ambiguous issue of the acquisition of Cook's druid paintings might benefit from investigation of the Book Lists at Drayton with the hope of tracing relevant books with one or other patron, the 2nd Earl or Lady Betty. The book collection at Drayton possesses a copy of Halstead's *Succinct Genealogies*, which can be assuredly associated with the 2nd Earl, and the discovery of Sammes' earlier *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* in the Book Lists would substantiate the Earl's interest in Druids and support the case for his role in the acquisition of Cook's paintings. Alternatively, the Book Lists are attributed to Lady Betty's time and the number of early 18th century publications on genealogy observed in a cursory glance of the books in the Long Gallery show the interest in heraldry associated primarily with the 2nd Earl continuing amongst his successors, and the discovery of William Stukeley's publications would confirm an antiquarian interest in druids during Lady Betty's tenure of Drayton.

An additional factor in the question of the provenance of Cook's antiquarian paintings at Drayton is the 2nd Earl's immediate successor, his daughter Mary. As mistress of Drayton for the short period of eight years from 1697 to 1705 and formerly Duchess of Norfolk, Mary's patronage of William Talman for the magnificent new entrance front connected her distantly the architect's son, John Talman a future founder member of the Society of Antiquaries.^{xxxiii}

The link is tenuous as curiosity in druids was, however, was in the margins of interest in the newly formed society, primarily engaged with enquiry into classical antiquity

To end with the potent image of the Wicker Man, the almost identical images of the Wicker Man made by Sammes' printmaker, William Dolle and the painter Henry Cook are for the period unique. Even when druids begin to frequent the subject matter of paintings by Romanticists more commonly towards the end of the eighteenth century, the imagery of the Wicker Man is elusive. The Picture Survey reproduction of a sculptural relief representing the subject at Wallington Hall, Northumberland offers a rare exception.^{xxxiv}



Thomas Woolner
The Lord's Prayer
Wallington Hall,
1856-1867
detail : relief of *Sacrificial Wicker Effigy*

The relief panel is on the square base of a group composition of a mother with her child by the Pre-Raphaelite sculptor Thomas Woolner (1825-1892).^{xxxv} The relief panels depict scenes of human savagery and the sculptural group represents a mother teaching her child to pray which combine in a sculptural monument commemorating the triumph of Christianity over paganism. Woolner's representation of pagan human sacrifice does not draw on the earlier imagery of the Wicker Man featuring a wicker human effigy, but his awareness of pagan human sacrifice in a wicker cage is no doubt indebted to the notion of the Wicker Man visualised by Dolle in Sammes' text which was to inspire Wordsworth and Blake.^{xxxvi} Woolner's familiarity with the poetry of Wordsworth and Blake suggests the sources of his perception of the ancient Britons and of this example of revived antiquarian analogy between pagan and Christian moralities.

As a postscript, the sculpture known variously as *The Lord's Prayer, Mother and Child* or the *Trevelyan Group*, is one of Woolner's major achievements, commissioned by Sir Walter and Lady Trevelyan for the Great Hall at Wallington in 1856. The merits of further enquiry into the origin of the sculptural composition are potentially rewarding, as considerable documentation on the commission survives in the Trevelyan papers.^{xxxvii} Detailed accounts of cost and of technical execution explain the time it took to complete, delivered eleven years later in 1867. As a focal point of a Pre-Raphaelite decorative scheme in the interior created by covering an open courtyard of the late 16th century house, it is a synthesis of Woolner's earlier work.^{xxxviii} The square base with relief scenes is indebted to the design submitted for the national Wordsworth Memorial in Westminster Abbey c. 1846-47 and the four Biblical reliefs designed for the Gothic pulpit in Llandaff Cathedral, Cardiff in 1857-58 are a precedent for the religious subject at Wallington.^{xxxix} Even if the imagery of Woolner's Wicker Man is not in the tradition of the earlier images, the juxtaposition of pagan human sacrifice with Christianity at Wallington reflects the same function as Cook's painting and its two pendants of Druids at Drayton.

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Endnotes

ⁱ Courtauld Photographic Survey, Drayton House provisional list No. 38 (b/w neg. 211), 130 x 086m (51"x33¾").

ⁱⁱ Courtauld Photographic Survey, Drayton House provisional list No. 37 (b/w neg. 210), 129 x 103m (50¾" x 40 ½").

ⁱⁱⁱ Courtauld Photographic Survey, Drayton House provisional list No. 36 (b/w neg. 209), 129 x 086m (50¾" x 34").

^{iv} Sammes (1676) p. 105; London, RA (2007) cat. 13.

^v Sammes (1676) p. 104-106.

^{vi} The subject identified in the series of paintings determines a narrative sequence in reverse to the entries in the provisional list of the Photographic Survey.

^{vii} Sammes (1676) p. 117.

^{viii} Sammes (1676) p. 103.

^{ix} Parry (2007) 312-325.

^x Parry (2007) 315.

^{xi} Sammes (1676) plates p. 101, 105 respectively.

^{xii} Parry (2007) 312.

^{xiii} Sammes (1676) p. 117; Parry (1995) 318, 322.

^{xiv} Courtauld Institute, Witt Library, Henry Cook archive: drawing 7" x 9", ex. Iolo Williams collection.

^{xv} Parry (2007) 312-325.

^{xvi} Sammes (1676) 105.

^{xvii} Sammes (1676) 103.

^{xviii} London RA (2007) 39.

^{xix} London RA (2007) 39 & cat. no. 25.

^{xx} Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, Drayton House no. 201.

^{xxi} Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, Drayton House no. 202.

^{xxii} Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, Drayton House no. 203.

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- xxiii Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, Drayton House no. 200.
- xxiv Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, Drayton House no. 203 copies Halstead, p. 241.
- xxv Courtauld Institute, Conway Library, Northamptonshire, Lowick, church of St. Peter, 14th century window; 1st eastern window, north aisle of nave.
- xxvi Halstead (1685) 89; Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, Drayton House no. 212.
- xxvii *Walpole Society* vol. 26, Vertue Notebooks vol. 5, 21.
- xxviii Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, copy of original manuscript at Drayton, p. 12.
- xxix Murdoch (2006) 122; 133.
- xxx Avrey-Tipping (1919) 138. I am grateful to Jane Cunningham for alerting me to this reference.
- xxxi Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, copy of original manuscript at Drayton , p. 14.
- xxxii *Walpole Society* (1928) 56; for colour ill. of chapel Bailey (2004) 195, fig. 12.
- xxxiii London RA (2007).
- xxxiv Courtauld Institute, Photographic Survey, Wallington Hall no. 234.
- xxxv Read (1991) pl. 4.
- xxxvi Hill (2008) 91, 97.
- xxxvii Read (1982) 64-65.
- xxxviii Read (1982) 185-186, pl. 232; also illustrated in Read (1991) pl. 4.
- xxxix Read (1991) 22, fig. 15; 27.

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