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The Manor and Houses of Gorhambury

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THE history of Gorhambury—the manor and the four notable houses—enjoys far more than a local reputation.

The early association with a great Abbey, the fame of men who made it their home, the surviving records of their houses and gardens, and latter-day controversy over authorship, all combine to colour the picture and to endow the subject with a breadth and richness not easily surpassed in the story of English country life.

Gorhambury has been its name for many centuries, and came as one result of the Norman Conquest. In Saxon times it was the manor of Westwick, and as such came into the possession of the Abbey of St. Alban in 996; being granted by King Ethelred to Abbot Aelfric, who had been his chancellor. Of any contemporary building in the park there is no known record.

The name Gorhambury is derived from Geoffrey de Gorham, the sixteenth Abbot of St. Albans, who had been induced to leave Normandy and come to England by Richard de Albini, the fifteenth Abbot, to take charge of the famous Grammar School of the Abbey. This appointment did not in fact mature, but in 1119 he was elected to succeed de Albini in the abbatial office.

This Geoffrey de Gorham was the builder of the first recorded house in Gorhambury Park. Since those times three more houses have been built. Their positions are marked GI, GII, GIII, and V.H., respectively, on the map. No. I.

It will be seen that in no case was an old site re-occupied or an old house rebuilt. Collectively they cover a period of 700 years.

Geoffrey de Gorham built his manor house about 1130 on a relatively low site, and it remained standing until the sixteenth century. It may not be imprudent to conjecture that he followed the example of the Abbey and used Verulamium as a quarry for his materials.

As a residence upon ground the property of the

Abbey, de Gorham had no personal rights in its possession, and Matthew Paris damages the good fame of this Abbot by asserting that he alienated to his family the fine manor and estate of Westwick—probably by converting a beneficial lease into a fee simple.

The estate had been held of the Abbey by Hugh, son of Humbold, who married a de Gorham, sister of Abbot Geoffrey; and it was to him that the Abbot granted the manor in perpetuity, as his sister's marriage portion, about 1130.

The unscrupulous action of Abbot Geoffrey was repeated by his nephew, Robert de Gorham, eighteenth Abbot, who became prior of St. Albans in 1148 and was elected Abbot in 1151.

Without the concurrence of the fraternity, he set the Abbey seal to a renewed or extended grant of Westwick-Gorham to satisfy a relative then in possession, and the estate, which by rights was Abbey property, continued in his family several generations.

The de Gorhams held the manor until about 1307, about which date a detailed survey was made of the Hall and Manor which is still preserved in a fragment of one of the burnt Cotton MSS.

It then consisted of—"a hall with chambers; a chapel with a certain chamber; a storied edifice beyond the gate with a chamber. A kitchen, a bake house, a dairy, a larder, with a certain chamber, a granary with a chamber for the bayliff, a dwelling for the servants of the manor; two cow houses, two sheep houses, a pig sty, and gardens."

John de Gorham, the last of the Hertfordshire branch of the family to possess Westwick-Gorham, sold the reversion to his cousin, Alicia de Vere, widow of the fifth Earl of Oxford, for the use of her second son, Alphonsus de Vere, and his heirs. The manor descended from Alphonsus to his son John, seventh Earl of Oxford, who, in 1350, granted it to his son Thomas (afterwards created eighth Earl). On the attainder of Robert, ninth Earl of Oxford, in 1388, the property escheated to the Crown.

Thus occurred an opportunity long waited for by the monks of St. Albans. In 1395, the last year of Abbot Thomas de la Mare, a licence was granted and letters

patent obtained for the purchase of Gorhambury, and this was completed the following year on payment of 900 marks and a half (£600 6s. 8d.).

Once again an appendage of the Abbey, it remained securely in its possession until the surrender in December, 1539.

In 1541, Henry VIII granted the manor of Gorhambury to Ralph Rowlett, merchant of the Staple at Calais; but the new owner was dead by 1543, and the house passed to his younger son Amphibalus.

From him it passed to his brother, Sir Ralph Rowlett, in 1546, who sold it, with other possessions, in 1561 to his second wife's brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

The Rowlett wills prove the existence and habitableness of a mansion in the park, and it is intriguing to contemplate the extent and appearance of the ancient house when the estate passed into Sir Nicholas' hands. Can we think of it as resembling the Bishop of Chichester's castle at Amberley, with moat, towering curtain walls, gate house and drawbridge, or had it then become modernized and rid of defensive measures, so acquiring something in common with beautiful Gothic manor houses like Great Chalfield?

No records exist to tell us, but what would excavation of the site reveal? In a dry summer the bases of walls, including those of a large tower, may be traced, and many years ago foundations were unearthed at a considerable distance from the tower.

Quite possibly old cellars and vaults remain, and if the site could be excavated there is little doubt but that a more or less complete plan would be revealed. It is a fascinating project which I am hopeful may some day mature.

Sir Nicholas Bacon came to Gorhambury with considerable experience in building. From 1545 to 1554 he had busied himself in the erection of a house at Redgrave, fifteen miles north of Bury St. Edmunds; and as Treasurer of Gray's Inn had supervised the rebuilding of the Hall between 1553 and 1560. Moreover, he must have seen much of what other men were doing in providing modern houses in an age of great building activity.

It seems safe to say that Sir Nicholas did not purchase Gorhambury because he had fallen in love with the house, but rather that he liked the fine undulating park with its beautiful woods. Another reason, doubtless, was its closer proximity to London and the Court. Redgrave had meant a ninety-mile ride, whereas at Gorhambury the double journey could, if necessity demanded, be made in a day.

As to Sir Nicholas's first actions here, some doubt still exists. That careful recorder of history, the late Mr. W. J. Hardy, in his article, "Some old Lawsuits connected with St. Albans," contributed to the Transactions of this Society in 1892, states that Sir Nicholas acquired Gorhambury shortly before 1556, and that he made alterations and additions to the existing house which were completed in 1558.

I am unable to find anything to corroborate these statements: my dates of the Rowlett ownership and Bacon's acquisition in 1561 being taken from the Feet of Fines.

There is, however, a slightly earlier date to be found in the Close Rolls, where there is an entry that on 20th December 2 Elizabeth (1559) Nicholas Bacon paid 2,000 marks (£1,333 13s. 4d.) to Rowlett for "goods, lands, and tenements," which are not specified, and cannot therefore definitely be ascribed to Gorhambury although the figure looks a likely one.

Possessed as Bacon was of the zest for new building, I feel it hardly likely that he would have spent money on a very old house, with whose planning and design he would have felt entirely out of sympathy.

Whether or no he entered into occupation, if not of actual ownership, sufficiently early to live for a while in the medieval mansion, certain it is that after 1561 he immediately began to plan a new house on higher ground further west. And in order to provide some of the materials for building he commenced the demolition of the old house.

The work was begun in 1563 and finished in 1568. The building records of this famous old house are meagre, and this is the more tantalising because we know Sir Nicholas was in the habit of keeping very accurate and complete accounts.

In the muniment room at Redgrave Hall, about 1920, was discovered a bound parchment volume entitled *The Charges of Building Redgrave Hall*, partly written in Bacon's own hand, set out in great detail year by year, giving the names of the craftsmen, the materials they used, and the work they did.

It forms a remarkable record of Tudor method of building in brick and timber, and it is to be regretted that this precious document has gone to America. However, photostats are in the possession of the London School of Economics, where I have had access to them by courtesy of Sir William Beveridge.

Of the building of Gorhambury by Sir Nicholas Bacon only one document has until recently been known, and that is but a single, though doubtless contemporary, sheet, preserved among the papers of Anthony Bacon at Lambeth Palace Library. It is entitled:—"A brief of the whole charges of the money bestowed upon the buylding at Gorambury between the first daye of Marche anno dni: 1563 and the last daye of September A.D. 1568, viz. by the space of fyve yeares and xiiii days (sic) made upon xiiii particular bookes hereupon examined."

This "brief" states that the work was supervised in the first year by Nicholas Bourdeman, and for the remainder of the work by Thomas Wytherhead. The money paid yearly in all trades is set out in a column for each of the six years. The totals horizontally give the expenditure in each trade, while the sums cast vertically give the yearly amounts. (See Appendix I.)

The grand total is given as £3,176 11s. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., but a double check of the figures shows a total of £3,177 11s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. The brief affords an opportunity of studying the progress of the building during the five years and six months the work was going on.

The expenses of the first year, 1563, are chiefly concerned with the trades of sawyers and carpenters, labourers, masons, and carryers.

The first would be felling, splitting, sawing, and adzing the oak timber. The labourers would be engaged in digging out the cellars and the foundations, and the masons in building the base of the walls in stone and flint, with which materials they were being constantly supplied by carriers and labourers journeying to and

from the ancient mansion and the conventual buildings of St. Albans Abbey, both of which were in process of demolition. In the first year a small amount is also paid to bricklayers, but the amount is nearly doubled in the second year, when brickmakers appear and are paid a very similar amount.

Tilemakers also appear in 1564, and their bill of £ 18 9s. 5d. is the only entry in the trade up to the end, which suggests that in one year they made a sufficient quantity of tiles for the roofs of the four sides of the quadrangle.

The sums paid to masons and labourers considerably increase, and cartage rises to £ 75 15s. 6d.

In the third year there is still greater activity and expenditure. New trades come on the scene in the form of joiners, plasterers, and glaziers, which show the building is rising apace, and at least a portion is already covered in, with walls plastered and windows glazed by the latter part of 1565.

There is also an item of £ 38 for quarrymen and carriage of stone, which possibly refers to clunch obtained from Totternhoe.

The next year, 1566, is one of almost feverish activity, nearly £ 1,000 being expended, which in the money of that time represents a huge sum for one year's work.

Nearly all the expenses in the constructional trades are increased, and this year is in fact the peak in most of them.

The cost of quarrymen and brickmakers has fallen, but there are big increases for carpenters, sawyers, bricklayers, and joiners.

Brickmakers and quarrymen, however, are still busy. Over £ 100 is spent on cartage (suggestive of great distances and high rates); while £ 164 13s. 11d. is spent on labourers, the highest yearly item in any trade, and suggests, in my opinion, that besides considerable attendance on the skilled craftsmen much work was being done in laying out the gardens, etc. The total expenditure this year is £ 952 os. 3¼d.

In 1567 it has dropped to £ 572 14s. 9¼d., and the last year is the lowest of all at £ 296 14s. 9d. During 1567 carpenters and joiners are busily employed on the internal finishings, such as panelling. Pavyers and

plumbers appear for the first time, but the amounts for them are extremely small, and can hardly represent the full amount of the work. Brickmakers have a year's rest, but appear again with £ 18 expended in the last year.

All amounts are low in 1568, and the trade of painter, which has always been last on the scene, is here entered for £ 12 1s. 6d.

It is singular that smiths are omitted—for somebody had to be paid for ironwork to windows and doors.

A great deal of important and interesting detail is, of course, omitted from the "Brief," which is merely an abstract made up from "fourteen particular bookes." Consequently we are ignorant of much that nothing else can supply, and which, in the case of Redgrave, makes the active scene live afresh, with the names of the craftsmen and their actual jobs of work almost from day to day. At the foot of the brief there is a memorandum not without significance. It runs:—

"There is not accompted for in this Brief any timber felled within any yo^r Lordships woods nor otherwise had of any person, neither is there valued any free stone brought from the Abbey of St. Alban. Lyme, sonde, nor the proffites that might have accrued of burninge and makinge of Brycke within the tyme abovementioned."

The stone from the Abbey was free in more senses than one (in the memo it is, of course, meant in the geological sense), but Sir Nicholas was already well versed in the use of monastic spoils. At Redgrave he employed the very altar stones removed by order of Bishop Ridley from the churches of Redgrave, Rickingall, Hinderclay, and Wrotham, for use as paving.

I have said that the Lambeth "Brief" was the only surviving building account of Gorhambury II known until recently. Those "fourteen particular bookes" are not among the Gorhambury papers, and have long been regarded as lost; but they may still reappear.

A few records of the building operations have recently come to light, in the form of agreements with tradesmen, but are not available for my use in this article.

Some doubt exists as to what exactly constituted the plan of the house as finished in 1568.

The ground plan (Fig. 1) shows two courts and a

wing to the west. It is certain the latter was not of the original scheme, and it is doubtful whether Sir Nicholas Bacon built the kitchen court.

The main front faced south, about 115 feet long, flanked by attached octagonal towers. In the centre of this front was a porch and archway passing through a cloister into a court measuring 80 feet by 72 feet, and paved with stone.

At the north end of the court was the Hall, entered from a porch with open arches on three sides and two stories in height. This porch is of interesting design and constitutes the most important fragment of the now scanty ruins (Fig. 2). The two stories are made to conform each to an order of Roman architecture; the lower being Doric, the upper Ionic; the classical models being adapted and in places confused with the vernacular, while the scale of the Ionic order is much smaller than that of the Doric below. A finely moulded cornice with pediments to front and sides originally coped the walls and was adorned with statues; and statues—possibly representing Roman Emperors—until recent times occupied the niches seen on either side of the first-floor window. Above the window still remains a splendid achievement of the Royal arms, France modern quartering the leopards of England, sculptured in stone and being very curious in having the words DIEU ET MON DROIT contracted to DIU.E.MO.DROIT.

In the space below the window sill is a stone inscribed as follows, and fixing the completion at 1568.

“ Haec cum perfecit Nicolaus tecta Baconus,
Elizabeth regni lustra fuerit duo,
Factus equis magni custos ipse(?) sigilli,
Gloria sit soli tota tributa Deo.”

Which may be translated:—

“ When Nicholas Bacon brought these buildings to
completion,
Two lustras¹ of Elizabeth's reign had passed,
He had been knighted and made Keeper of the
Great Seal,
May all glory be ascribed to God alone.”

¹ A lustrum is a period of five years.

The triangular spandrils of the main or south arch each had a circular marble medallion representing a Roman head in low relief, and probably from the hand of an Italian sculptor. One was stolen a few years ago, and in consequence the other has been removed to a place of safety in the present house. It is given in Fig. 3, and clearly demonstrates the high artistic ability which Bacon was able to command.

The dies of the pedestals of each order were inlaid with coloured and veined marbles polished.

The porch, which was raised about 2 feet 6 inches above the court by a flight of steps, gave access to the Hall under the screen in the traditional manner; the room in the porch above was therefore a kind of recess or alcove off the minstrel's gallery.

The Hall was not large, being about 35 feet long beyond the screen, while between front and rear walls, which remain standing, the width is 19 feet 9 inches. The height to the spring of the roof was about 22 feet. An open timber roof would have been traditional, but this is doubtful in this case, as in the next century attics are referred to. Therefore, unless the form of roof was changed—of which there is no record—the Hall would probably have been ceiled by a plastered waggon vault of some kind.

A view of the ruined fireplace of the Hall is given in Fig. 4. It has a brick relieving arch over, and the stone jambs and lintel have had the original surface enrichment chipped away. It is also clear that the original back with its herring-bone brickwork has been covered by later brickwork, and the width of the opening reduced on the right-hand side. This mutilation and reduction are due to the gradual change in fireplace design from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth. While the stone surround changed to one of wood, the open hearth with dogs became restricted to suit the later basket grates.

If the supposition be correct that Sir Nicholas Bacon built only the first court (numbered 16), we can assume that the space east of the Hall screens would originally have been occupied by buttery, kitchen, etc., and that these were transferred to new rooms on the north court

The porch, which was raised about 2 feet 6 inches above the court by a flight of steps, gave access to the

The east and west sides of the main court contained living rooms, with a central door to the court opening from each wing.

The south side had an open cloister on the ground floor, and above that a library.

West of the Hall was the chapel, and an octagonal turret built into the south-east angle. This contained a spiral stone stair of fairly liberal dimensions; and I think it probable that the projecting turrets at the end of the south front also originally contained stairs. Certainly they are not so marked on the plan (Fig. 1), but as this cannot be earlier than the eighteenth century, there had been ample time for many alterations.

It is not improbable that the house had no wooden stairs in straight flights, other than those between minor differences of floor level, up to the end of Elizabeth's reign; and great force is lent to this supposition by the fact that a wing built as an addition expressly to gratify the Queen was entered from one of the original spiral stone stairs, viz. that in the angle formed by the chapel and the west wing of the court (numbered 6).

This stair carried up to a bell cote, and the bell itself still exists in the turret of the stables belonging to the present Gorhambury. It is inscribed with the following couplet:—

“Anthony Bartlett made me
In fifteen hundred and sixty three,”

i.e. the year in which Sir Nicholas commenced to build.

As one result of a survey of the ruins and study of documents relating to subsequent alterations, it appears that the Hall floor was some three feet above the floors in the wings on either hand. It will be shown later, by a specification for a staircase, that the difference in level between the Hall floor and that of the first floor in the west wing was 8 feet or thereabouts. Allowing for the thickness of the latter, and for the drop from the Hall to the lower level, the height of the ground-floor rooms in the wings was probably about 10 feet.

The plan illustrated is interesting in giving the names of the ground-floor rooms, some of which are supposed to preserve the titles adopted by the Bacons. But

beyond the library we have no knowledge of the first floor at that time, although the rooms in it may not have differed greatly from those enumerated in a surviving early eighteenth-century inventory which I give later.

The illustration, Fig. 5, shows practically the entire remains of this famous house.

We may now consider its general design and appearance by examining the materials and methods of construction as revealed by what is still standing.

The general conformation of plan was typical of a modest Tudor house, and so also would have been the appearance of the elevations had the walls been faced with brick or stone as was general. But such was not the case, although both these materials were used in abundance.

Bacon's motive is not altogether clear, yet it is evident that from the very commencement he intended to have a white house without the expense of masonry. This points to reasons of economy, and to the fact that the most local stone—clunch—does not possess hard-weathering properties. He could have had clunch in abundance from the Abbey, and did, in fact, use it for dressings, as at doors, windows, etc., though in the Hall porch there is masonry which strongly resembles Portland stone, which could only be had here at great cost. But he may have feared the cost of upkeep if he used clunch for ashlar facing.

The construction, therefore, appears to have been a mixture of old materials—flint and stone from the demolished house plus a fairly large quantity of new brickwork.

Internal faces appear to be brick generally, but externally large areas of flint predominate in parts, and the foundations and cellar walls are almost entirely composed of flint and stone. Windows and doors are framed in clunch masonry in the usual Tudor style, with depressed arches at the heads, but the stones are carefully set to stand half an inch in front of the general wall face, thus allowing room for a facing of plaster of some hard composition. Portions of this plaster rendering still remain, see Fig. 5.

The remaining walls are about 2 feet 3 inches thick on the ground floor and show some puzzling features.

There are, for instance, a number of straight vertical joints in the brickwork which suggest alterations, but are certainly evidence of bad workmanship, for the lack of bond between large areas of high walls has tended to movement, and coupled with the irregular use of various materials not easily bonded together or to brick, produced grave defects about the house which provided one of the main reasons for abandoning it in the eighteenth century.

In all probability the clay was dug and bricks made and burned on the estate.

The bricks remaining at old Gorhambury vary in thickness from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the great majority are almost exactly $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, some go to 9 inches. They are built on lime mortar with wide joints, and measure from four and a half courses to five courses to a foot in height.

The plinth splay in the court is formed of clunch, but what remains of it by the chapel and at the rear of the Hall is cut in brick.

The Hall windows, and one on the return in the north-west angle of the court, are framed in stone with hollow moulded jambs, mullions and transoms; a few of the iron casement frames remain, but no glazing, though this would have been in lead lights, probably in diamond panes, possibly with some coloured heraldic glass inserted in the upper lights in the Hall. The window just referred to in the north-west angle still has the depressed arch head to each of its two top lights, with straight label mould above the head with the usual dropped ends. Such a window, entirely Gothic in design, is in striking contrast to the Hall porch in "Roman architecture" (see Fig. 5). In fact one would like to think that some years separate the window from the porch, yet this is improbable by reason of the inscription already quoted. This was the very time when the Renaissance in architecture was budding in this country and causing some confusion in the design and decoration of buildings. We have to wait for Inigo Jones and Wren for the full flowering of the English idiom.

A window formed entirely of brick with moulded mullions, jambs and arched heads is always a very interesting feature of sixteenth-century brickwork, and such sur-

vives at ground level at the rear of the Hall of this house. It must be part of Sir Nicholas's original work and consists of three lights, each 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide by 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It was so placed to give light to the cellar under the Hall, and at some later date two of its three lights were bricked up inside. Some of the original iron bars are in situ, as they are in the remains of some of the Hall windows, and indicate that what few lights were fitted with iron casements were, by reason of these bars, made to open inwards.

Fig. 6 shows the present ruined condition of a ground-floor doorway leading from the stair turret that once contained the bell (No. 6 on plan). Half the arch stones lie amid large heaps of debris on the ground, but the doorway is interesting apart from its structure. Observe the door still on its hinges. It is of lapped oak boards nailed to ledges and hung on wrought-iron strap hinges. I consider it probably to be the original Tudor door. It is, unfortunately, very rotten, and beyond repair or worth preserving. It gave access from the house at the foot of the stairs out into the long cloister or loggia which Bacon built just prior to Queen Elizabeth's second visit. The remaining stone jambs of a doorway immediately above gave on to the ante-room of the gallery over the cloister, which formed an addition made about 1575 and 1576, and which will now be described in detail.

Queen Elizabeth made, in fact, two visits to Gorham-bury, and came first in 1572 when she jokingly remarked on the smallness of Bacon's house.

The Queen is traditionally supposed to have said: "My Lord Keeper, what a little house you have gotten"; to which Sir Nicholas replied: "My house is well, Madam, but you have made me too great for my house."

When, therefore, Bacon learned that the Queen had a mind to visit him again, he felt bound to make some important addition to his house that would gratify her majesty. The result was the long cloister projection westward (7 on plan, Fig. 1), with a gallery over.

A solid brick wall was carried westward from the chapel and a paved cloister or loggia formed on the south side 18 feet wide.

Along the front edge of this a row of stone columns

of the Tuscan order were erected: these carried a beam and wooden entablature with transverse joists spanning to the rear wall and forming the gallery floor. The south front of the gallery was framed in timber, lathed, and plastered, and pierced with windows of painted glass. There was a large window at the west end, and on either side of it a private apartment.

This gallery was 120 feet long by 18 feet wide. The walls were panelled with oak gilt in compartments, each bearing a Latin inscription selected by Sir Nicholas. These were recorded in a beautifully illuminated book prepared at the suggestion of Lady Lumley and now in the British Museum, which opens as follows:—

“Syr Nicholas Bacon Knight to his very good Ladye The Ladye Lumley sendeth thes sentences painted on the Lord Kepars Gallery at Gorhambury, and selected by him owt of divers authors, and sent to the good Ladye Lumley at her desire.”

The panelling on the north wall will have been interrupted in the centre by a noble fireplace, supported upon the brickwork surrounding the niche in the cloisters below. Whether the chimney-piece was of carved oak or marble it is impossible to say. That shown in Fig. 7, may have come from this gallery, but if so it will date from Sir Francis Bacon's time, as the style of the design is later than the erection of the gallery.

A very beautiful feature of this most distinguished gallery was the painted windows, some parts of which by great good fortune have survived, and now stand in frames in the hall of the present house, with the addition in the head of each frame of seventeenth-century heraldic glass of Sir Harbottle Grimston's time. The older parts of these panels are illustrated in Fig. 8. The glass consists of a great variety of subjects taken from fables, the flora and fauna, etc., of the time, most beautifully drawn and coloured: the whole representing a series of the greatest interest and value. It is of mid-European provenance, and forms an outstanding example of sixteenth-century decorative domestic glass. When Charlotte Grimston wrote her history of Gorhambury about 1820 further fragments existed, notably one piece bearing a scroll with the date 1569 which has now

disappeared, and which possibly came from a window of the Hall or the chapel.

Besides the glass in the gallery windows, there was undoubtedly other painted glass in the Elizabethan house, and while on this subject it may be mentioned that fragments of other heraldic coats figured by Charlotte Grimston are now to be seen in St. Michael's Church in the window of the north wall of the chancel. These coats of arms relate to the Bacon family, and include quarterings of the extinct family of Quaplode and others. Their presence here suggests that they originally belonged to the chapel windows at Gorhambury, and that while the domestic glass of the gallery was removed after the demolition of the old house to a new conservatory, that from a consecrated window was more fittingly put in the parish church.

The wooden roof of the gallery, later described as ceiled as a plastered barrel vault, was also richly decorated. It must have presented a magnificent appearance. The rear wall of the loggia below the gallery had a series of arches formed on its south face, spaced to suit the intercolumniation of the Tuscan colonnade: the central one being elaborated as a fine semi-domed niche in masonry in which was placed a life-size statue of Henry VIII in gilt armour.

This ruined niche and statue still remain as the only surviving portion of the gallery wing, see Fig. 9. The head, it is believed, was stolen some years ago.

Also in the loggia, the records state, were placed the famous terra cotta busts of Sir Nicholas Bacon and his second wife, Anne Cooke, "inserted in the wall."

This remarkable addition, the cost of which does not appear to have survived, was completely finished when, in 1577, Queen Elizabeth came on her second visit, and on this occasion she stayed from Saturday until Wednesday. Her entertainment cost Sir Nicholas a pretty penny, as is shown by a most interesting document at Lambeth, which opens thus:—

"The charges expended at Gorhambury by reason of her Majesty's comynge thither on Saturdaye the 27th of Maye 1577 before supper, and contynewinge untill Wednesdaye after dinner followinge, warranted by a Booke of particulars."

It is given at length in Appendix No. 2.

“ Payments were made in respect of the Pantry and Pastry, for wheatt etc; Buttrye, for beare and ale; Cellar for wyne of all kyndes; Ewry and Chaundry, for cotton lightes and in quarriers torches and mortrezes. Kitchen, for beef, mutton, veales, lambes, and kiddes, all kinds of fowl from capons, pullets, chickens and geese to mallards, teales, larkes and curlewes. Sea fyshe of all kindes, ffreshe water ffyshe of all kinds. Bacon, tongues, cowes udders and calves feete. Rabbits, butter, egges, creame, milk and frutte. Salcery, for vinegre and verges; spicery, for spice of all sortes; confectionary, in banquetting stuff. Woodyarde, coolehouse (coals), necessaries. Herbs and flowers and artichokes. Presents for officers of the Queen. Carriedge from London to Gorhambury and back again. To them of the Revells. To the cookes of London. For losse of pewter and naperye. A cupp presented to the Queenes Majestie besides 25 buckes and 2 staggis.”

This entertainment, with all the incidentals involved, cost Sir Nicholas £577 6s. 7½d., i.e. between one-fifth and one-sixth of the original cost of the house.

At the conclusion the Queen expressed herself highly gratified and sent the Lord Keeper her portrait, which still hangs at Gorhambury and is traditionally ascribed to Hilliard.

Sir Nicholas Bacon died in March, 1579, and his property passed to Anthony, the elder son by the second marriage, though possibly his mother had some rights to Gorhambury. But before we pass on to consider later episodes in the history of old Gorhambury, mention must be made of the schemes adopted by Sir Nicholas for supplying the house with water.

Firstly, a well exists and is marked at 38 on the plan Fig. 1. It is lined with masonry, is very deep, and is supposed to be of great age, though by whom it was made is unknown.

It appears, however, from the researches of previous writers on the subject, that Sir Nicholas first erected on the river Ver, on the site of Pré Mill, a “ force ” to supply his house with water; but I find there is some confusion as to whether the water was pumped to the medieval Gorhambury or to the new house, and this ques-

tion is of vital importance on account of the difference of levels and distances. While the difference between the river level and de Gorham's house is only about 40 feet, it is increased to about 140 feet to reach the high ground on which Sir Nicholas built his new house.

On the other hand, the ancient house would almost certainly have possessed one or more wells, and therefore would not have been in need of water supply as was the higher site, where Bacon may have hesitated to sink a well on account of the great depth he might have to go and the consequent heavy cost.

However, whatever the "force" or pumping engine may have been, it was a bold project and involved laying a pipe—probably in lead—a distance of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

As regards the laying of a pipe line, though doubtless costly, it was at that time frequently done by wealthy men building houses well above water courses. Just about the same time, Thomas Hoby, one of Bacon's brothers-in-law, had brought water to his house at Bisham in a lead pipe. In Camden's *Miscellany*, Vol. X, printed 1902, we find:—

1563 "this yeare was water brought in lead from Puddings to the house and the fountain placed in the garden at Bisham."

Perhaps the force at Gorhambury gave trouble at times, although it appears to have existed until after Bacon's death. But whatever the reason, another scheme of reservoirs in Pré Wood was later carried out.

It is stated that into these reservoirs water filtered by natural drainage through the gravel, and thence into a deeper tank, from whence it was conveyed to Gorhambury House, distant about three quarters of a mile, through a leaden pipe.

This pipe has, in fact, been dug up in places, and portions of it preserved. In recent times the course has been surveyed, and it has been definitely established that the water flowed from Pré Wood to the house by gravity, but somewhere or other a pump must have been working in order to provide the necessary pressure. We learn from the depositions in a law suit of 1601 that after the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon his widow, Lady Anne, had taken down the "force." "not finding such need of that water," and it is conjectured that this action on

her part was on account of an ample supply from Pré Wood.

It is clear from a statement made subsequently by Dr. Rawley, chaplain to Sir Francis Bacon, that the house had an ample supply of water. He makes the remarkable statement:—“When Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, lived, every room in Gorhambury was served with a pipe of water from the ponds distant about a mile off. In the lifetime of Mr. Anthony Bacon the water ceased, after whose death, his Lordship coming to the inheritance could not recover the water without infinite charge.”

This, as we shall see, was one reason why Sir Francis Bacon came to build Verulam House, but Gorhambury was not deserted on account of the difficulty of water supply, and all the circumstances point to an early seventeenth-century date for the construction of the surviving well.

To return to the succession: Sir Nicholas's will leaves Redbourne and other lands to Anthony and states that there is a document concerning the disposal of Gorhambury. The will grants the right to Lady Anne Bacon to reside at Gorhambury and to remain possessed of half the stuff in the house.

The latter was to come to Anthony on her death, but did not do so as Anthony predeceased his mother by nine years.

After his father's death, Anthony, being provided for, was able to live abroad and to devote himself to foreign affairs, of which he wrote frequently to Lord Burleigh.

Returning in 1592, he lived with his brother in Gray's Inn or at Twickenham, but from 1595 he lived in Lord Essex's London house, devoting himself to his service. There he stayed until Queen Elizabeth required him to move in order that Essex should be confined to his own house as a prisoner.

Essex went to the block in 1601, and Anthony died the same year.

Anthony bequeathed the manor to his brother Francis, and on November 20th, 1602, Lady Anne Bacon renounced the estate to him, thereby giving Francis full possession.

The period of thirteen years since the death of Sir

Nicholas appears to have been one of neglect, and Sir Francis found he had inherited a property on which it would be necessary to spend considerable sums to restore it to the condition in which it was left by his father. Fortunately, he was extremely fond of Gorhambury, inherited his father's interest in building, and possessed in architecture, as in many other of the arts, extraordinarily clear and fresh ideas. As witness, for instance, his essay on domestic architecture.

Research has so far failed to reveal any building records of Gorhambury during the later Bacon ownership; but it is quite possible that Sir Francis added the wings of the north or kitchen court. He repaired the older parts as necessity demanded, he undoubtedly carried out important schemes of interior decoration, and altered and embellished the gardens and park, in which he greatly delighted. We are indebted to that versatile seventeenth-century writer, Aubrey, for most interesting accounts of Gorhambury at this period, which would have been even more detailed had he visited the place before, instead of after, the Civil War. Aubrey's *Lives* contains a description of Gorhambury under Sir Francis Bacon, compiled from notes he made of a visit in 1656. He says:—

“Gorhambury House, which is a large, well-built Gothic House, built (I thinke) by Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, Father to this Lord Chancellor . . . a noble portico which fronts the garden to the south. Opposite to every arch of the portico and as big as the arch are drawn, by an excellent hand (but the mischief of it is in water colours) curious pictures all emblematicall with mottoes under each: for example, one I remember, as a ship tossed in a storme, the motto *Alter erit tum Tiphys.*”

This brief text was taken from Virgil, *Eclog.* IV. 34, in which Virgil prophesies the coming of a golden age to be heralded by the great ship *Argo*, and its helmsman Tiphys, sailing on a new quest.

Aubrey continues:—“Over this portico is a stately gallerie whose glass windowes are all painted, and every pane with severall figures of beast, bird, or flower. . . . Perhaps his Lordship might use them as topiques for locall memorie.

“The windowes look into the garden, the side oppo-

site to them no windowe, but that side is hung all with pictures at length, as of King James, his Lordship and severall illustrious persons of his time."

These pictures now hang in the present house; King James I by John Decritz, Sir Francis Bacon by Paul van Somer, etc., etc.

"At the end you enter is no window but there is a very large picture thus:—in the middle on a rock in the sea stands king James in armour, with his regall ornaments: on his right hand stands (but whether or no on a rock I have forgot) King Henry IV of France in armour, and on his left hand, the kinge of Spaine, in like manner. These figures are (at least) as big as the life: they are doune only with umber and shell gold; all the heightening and illuminated part being burnisht gold, and the shadowed umber, as in the pictures of the gods on the dores of Verolam House.

"The roof of this gallerie is semi cylindrique and painted by the same hand and same manner, with heads and busts of Greek and Roman Emperours and heroes.

"In the Hall (which is of the auncient building) is a large storie very well painted of the feasts of the gods, where Mars is caught in a nett by Vulcan. On the wall over the chimney is painted an oake with akornes falling from it: the word—*Nisi quid Potius* (what else is stronger?) and on the wall, over the table, is painted Ceres teaching the sowing of corne; the word—*Moniti Meliora* (Instruction bringeth improvement).

"The garden is large, which was, (no doubt) rare planted and kept in his Lordship's time. Here is a handsome dore which opens into Oake-wood: over this dore in golden letters on blew are these six verses."

Aubrey left a space here and never gave the poem.

"The oakes of this wood are very great and shadie. His Lordship much delighted himself here; under every tree he planted some fine flower, or flowers, some whereof are there still (1656), viz. paeonies, tulips. . . .

"From this wood a dore opens into. . . ." Here is another of those tantalising gaps Aubrey so frequently left and never completed.

"A place as big as an ordinary parke, the west part whereof is coppice wood where are walkes cutt-out as straight as a line, and broade enough for a coach, a

quarter of a mile long or better.—Here his Lordship much meditated, his servant Mr. Bushell attending him with his pen and inke horne to sett doune his present notions.”

Aubrey’s description of the glass in the Long Gallery windows accords exactly with that still preserved at Gorhambury and here illustrated (Fig. 8).

Its rarity and importance at that time as now is borne out by his “Notes on Antiquities,” given in Clark’s edition of his *Brief Lives*, p. 329. “Heretofore glasse windowes were very rare, only used in churches and in the best roomes of gentlemens’ houses. Yea, in my remembrance, before the civill warres, copyholders and ordinary poore people had none. Now the poorest people, that are upon alms, have it.

“In Herefordshire, Monmouth, Salop etc. it is so still.

“But now this yeare (1671) are goeing up no lesse then 3 glasse-howses between Gloucester and about Worcester, so that glasse will be common over all England. Memo.—without doubt, before the Reformation there was no county in England but had severall glasse-painters. I only remember one poore one, an old man (Harding) at Blandford, in that trade.”

With regard to the “curious pictures all emblematicall” in the portico, etc., i.e. the cloister facing south under the long gallery built for Queen Elizabeth, these are referred to in Pennant’s *Journey from Chester to London*, published in 1782, which states: “On the outside of the part which forms the approach is the piazza or porticus, with a range of pillars of the Tuscan order in front, where the philosophic inhabitants walked and held their learned discourse: and withinside is a court with another piazza; the one being intended for enjoying the shade, the other to catch, during the winter, the comfortable warmth of the sun. The walls of the piazzas are painted al fresco with the adventures of Ulysses, by Van Koeper. In the one is a statue of Henry VIII, and in the other a bust of the founder, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and another of his Lady.”

The bust of his son Sir Francis as a child is not noticed, but is mentioned by Walpole who saw it with

the others at his visit about 1751 (see illustration in *Transactions*, 1932).

It will be observed that Aubrey does not refer to the decorated panelling in the long gallery which so delighted Lady Lumley, but is more concerned with the paintings. This is but an omission on his part, for it was intact one hundred years later when Walpole saw it and refers to the gilt wainscotting in "a pleasing old gallery."

The picture of Gorhambury in Sir Francis Bacon's time would be very incomplete without further short quotations from Aubrey which help greatly to convey the true atmosphere.

"When his Lo^p was at his country house at Gorhambury, St. Albans seemed as if the court had been there, so nobly did he live."

"Every meale, according to the season of the yeare, he had his table strewed with sweet herbes and flowers, which he said did refresh his spirits and memorie."

"His Lord^p would many times have musique in the next roome when he meditated."

"His servants had liveries with his crest, a boar; His watermen were more employed by gentlemen than even the King's."

"King James sent him a buck and he gave the keeper £50."

"None of his servants durst appear before him without Spanish leather bootes; for he would smell the neates leather, which offended him."

"Three of his Lord^{sp}s servants (Sir T. Meautys, Mr. Bushell, Mr. Idney) kept their coaches and some kept racehorses."

"Mr. Thomas Hobbes (Malmesburensis) was beloved of his Lordship, who was wont to have him walke with him in his delicate groves, when he did meditate: and when a notion darted into his mind, Mr. Hobbes was presently to write it down, and his Lo^{dp} was wont to say he did it better than any one else about him, for that many times when he read their notes he scarce understood what they writt, because they understood it not clearly themselves."

A very important discovery in connection with Gorhambury was Mr. Spedding's find of autograph note-

books in Archbishop Tennyson's library which he recognized as those of Sir Francis Bacon. Spedding transcribed the entries, of which many relate to Gorhambury, for his "Lord Bacon (sic) Life and Letters." The originals are in the British Museum. Add. Mss. 27. 278.

These notebooks give the most valuable and interesting information as to Bacon's intentions at Gorhambury, and in particular they reveal in great detail his plans for turning "ye pond yard into a place of pleasure," by which it is clear that he schemed a splendid water garden at the pondyards, including a pleasure house on a central island, some nine years before he erected Verulam House, which will be described later.

Where he reminds himself to give directions to have a plott made, i.e. a plan to be drawn, it is probable he may have employed Mr. Dobson of St. Albans, the artist's father who, Aubrey states, acted as a sort of assistant architect to Bacon when building Verulam House.

The first entry in the notebooks that is of particular interest probably refers to Gorhambury House.

July 25, 1608. "Causing the waulkes about ye wall to be sanded and made handso. against Hickers² comyng. so the old waulkes wth rayles and swept: Plott to be made of my poole, and the waulk through Pray wood and ye stand thear on the hill for prospect."

This "stand" is known as Bacon's Mount, and is marked "The mount field" on the map of 1634 (Map No. 2). The mound of earth still remains.

July 28, 1608. "To give directions of a plott to be made to turn ye pond yard into a place of pleasure, and to speak of them to my L of Salisbury.

"The ground to be enclosed square wth a bricke wall, and frute trees plashed upon it, on the owt side of it to sett fayre straite byrches on 2 sides and lyme trees on 2 sides. some x foote distante from the wall. so that the wall may hide most of the shaft and onely the tufts appear above.

"From ye wall to have a waulk of some 25 foote on a higher levell.

"Under that waulke some 4 foote to have a fyne litell stream rune upon gravell and fyne peppell to be putt

² Probably his friend, Sir Michael Hicks.

into ye bottome, and of a yard and a half over, w^{ch} shall make the whole residue of the ground an Iland; the banque to be turfed and kept cutt; the banq I mean of the ascent to ye upper waulk: no hedg hear but some fyne standards (? roses) well kept.

“ Within that stream upon a leuell to make another waulk of 25 foote, the border to be sett wth flagges of all sortes of flower de Luces and lylyes.

“ All the ground within this waulk to be cast into a laque, wth a fayre raile wth Images gilt round about it and some low flowers specially violetts and strawberries along qu.

“ Then a fayre hedg of Tymber woorke till it touch the water, wth some glasses coloured hear and there for the ey.

“ In ye middle of the laque where the howse now stands to make an Iland of 100 broad: an in the middle thereof to build a howse for freshnes with an upper galery open upon the water, a terace above that, and a supping roome open under that; a dynyng roome, a bedd chamber, a cabanett, and a roome for musike, a garden; In this Ground to make one waulke between trees; The galleries to cast Northwards; Nothing to be planted hear but of choyse.”

This intriguing description in Bacon's own words is a most valuable record of the delight he took in garden making, and it is in fact so complete that I have used it as a specification and made a plan to scale, showing the enclosing wall, the walks, the “ fyne littell stream ”—which in part still survives—the lake, and the central island (see Fig. 10). This I have compared with a survey of the ponds, islands, etc., as they exist, and it would appear that Bacon enlarged his enclosed garden in carrying out the scheme.

The central island marked A, now reached by causeways, with no sign of a bridge, is the spot where he planned his “ howse for freshnes,” where a house of sorts already stood, and where Aubrey saw “ a curious banquetting house in Roman Architecture.” Actually this island is 130 feet broad. The surrounding lake, now about 35 feet wide, is marked B. Then comes the inner broad walk at C, but about 35 feet wide instead of 25 feet. The existing ditch, fed from the springs at

S, probably is part of the "fyne littell stream rune upon gravell," but it does not now continue around the square and possibly never did so, as the U-shaped lakes as D and E probably are original, and indicate how Bacon enlarged upon his first idea.

Adjoining this central group of ponds are others doubtless of Bacon's time, with the remains of islands in their midst, marked F and G, and to which he refers under the same date, July 28, 1608.

"To sett (? leave) in fitt places Ilands more.

"An Iland where the fayre hornbeam standes with a stand in it and seats under neath.

"An Iland wth Rock.

"An Iland wth a Grott.

"An Iland mounted wth flowers in ascents.

"An Iland paved and wth pictures.

"Every of the Ilands to have a fayre Image to keepe it, Tryten or Nymph etc.

"An Iland wth an arbor of musk roses sett all wth double violettts for scent in Autumn, some gilovers w^{ch} likewise dispers sent.

"A fayre bridg to ye middle great Iland onely, ye rest by bote.

"To remember the poynt of husbandry of stubbing some wood at Praye.

"The making of the fayre waulk."

Thus it would appear that the pondyards had been converted into a delightful group of water gardens some eight or nine years before Bacon built Verulam House adjoining them.

The history of Gorhambury II must here be left for a while before we record the death of Sir Francis Bacon, to deal with the building of Verulam House, which he carried out probably soon after his elevation to the peerage as Baron Verulam in 1617.

Bacon's interest in the ruins of Verulamium is well known; it gave the title for his barony, and the name was also chosen by him for his new house which he designed and built in the north-east corner of the park, just above and to the south of the pond-yards. (See map No. 2.)

Here again, most unfortunately, no building records are available, for it must have been a very remarkable

“An Iland where the fayre hornbeam standes with a house in which Bacon gave play to his advanced ideas on domestic architecture.

The lack of water at Old Gorhambury is supposed to have been a chief reason for building Verulam House near the ponds. Sir Francis is credited with the remark that if he could not bring the water to the house, he would take the house to the water.

It is also said that he built Verulam House as a quiet place of retreat, and probably also the better to enjoy his newly made gardens; but as the map shows it was situated very near to the main turnpike road, and therefore not so secluded as the site of the old house. Whatever the reasons, it afforded an opportunity to depart entirely from the now old fashioned lay out of Gorhambury: to plan a small, compact house with some lofty rooms and a grand staircase on the new open newel model, with an outlet at the top on to a flat leaded roof to enjoy the view of his water gardens and more distant country.

The kitchens, etc., were accommodated in a basement below ground level, an arrangement which was then still new.

Bacon spared no pains in the design and equipment of Verulam House and its surroundings, and we are again indebted to Aubrey for a very lively account of its arrangement and appearance, and for the name of a local man who played a prominent part in bringing it into being.

Perhaps what was a source of pleasure to the great philosopher proved ill suited to the tastes of the normal country gentleman of the seventeenth century. However that may be, the house proved a burden to Bacon's successors and did not survive fifty years. Contrary to statements in local guide books, not a single fragment of Verulam House remains in situ—except possibly some walls, etc., underground still awaiting excavation. A small but tall old building of seventeenth-century brickwork just north of the ponds is believed by many to be a surviving portion of the house, but this is not the case, as is clearly shown in the estate map of 1634, here illustrated (Map No. 2), on which Verulam House is shown as also is the surviving small building in question—situated in “The Orchard.”

Here Aubrey must take up the story. He is writing largely from memory, and begins by falling into an error in saying that Verulam House is within the walls of Verulamium. It was, in fact, situated nearly three quarters of a mile to the north of the north gate of the Roman city.

“ Within the bounds of the walls of this old citie of Verulam (his Lordships Barony) was Verulam House, about half a mile from St. Albans, which his Lordship built, the most ingeniously contrived little pile that ever I sawe.

“ (I am sorry I measured not the front and breadth; but I little suspected it would be pulled doune for the sale of the materialls.)

“ The view of the howse from the entrance into the gate by the high way is thus. The parallel (respective) sides answer one another. I doe not well remember if on the east side were bay windowes, which his Lordship much affected, as may be seen in his essay ‘ of Building.’ Quære whether the number of windowes on the east side were 5 or 7: to my best remembrance but 5. This model I drew by memorie. 1656.”

Aubrey’s drawing has reproduced so very indistinctly that it is not possible to make anything of it with certainty, and at best it was based on a rather hazy recollection.

He continues: —“ No question but his Lordship was the chiefest architect, but he had for his assistant, a favourite of his (a St. Albans man) Mr. . . . Dobson (who was his Lordships right hand) a very ingeniose person (master of the Alienation Office): but he spending his estate upon woemen luxuriously, necessity forced his son William Dobson to be the most excellent painter that England hath yet bred: qui obiit Oct. 1648: Sepult. S. Martins in the fields.

“ This howse did not cost less than 9 or 10 thousand the building. There were good chimney pieces; the rooms very loftie and all were very well wainscotted. There were two bathing roomes or stufes, whither his Lordship retired afternoons as he sawe cause. All the tunnells of the chimneys were carried into the middle of the howse, and around about them were seats.

“ The top of the howse was well leaded. From the

leads was a lovely prospect of the ponds which were opposite to the east (sic) side of the howse and were on the other side of the stately walke of trees that leades to Gorhambury howse, and also over that long walke of trees whose toppes afford a most pleasant variegated verdure, resembling the works in Irish stitch.

“ The Kitchen, Larder, cellars, etc., are underground. In the middle of this howse was a delicate staire-case of wood, which was curiously carved, and on the posts of every interstice was some pretty figure as of a grave divine with his Booke and Spectacles, a mendicant Friar etc. (not one thing twice). On the Dores of the upper storie on the outside (which were painted dark umber) were figures of the Gods of the Gentiles (viz: on the south Dore 2nd storie was Apollo; on another, Jupiter with his Thunder bolt etc.) bigger than the life, and doune by an excellent hand; the heightenings were of hatchings of gold, which when the sun shone on them made a glorious shew.

“ The upper part of the uppermost dore, on the east side, had inserted into it a large looking glasse with which the Stranger was very gratefully deceived (for after he had been entertained a pretty while with the prospect of the ponds, walkes, and countrey, which the dore faced), when you were about to return into the roome, one would have sworn *primo intuitu*, that he had beheld another prospect through the howse, for as soon as the stranger was landed on the balconie, the concierge that shewed the howse would shutt the dore to put the fallacy on him with the looking glasse.

“ This was his Lordships summer howse, for he says: ‘ one should have seats for summer and winter as well as clothes.’

“ The figures of the ponds were thus: they were pitched at the bottom with pebbles of severall colours, which were worked into several figures, as of fishes etc. which in his Lordship’s time were plainly to be seen through the cleare water, now overgrown with flagges and rushes.

“ If a poor bodie had brought his Lordship half a dozen pebbles of a curious colour, he would give them a shilling so curious was he in perfecting his fishponds, which I guess doe containe four acres. In the middle of

the middlemost pond in the Island, is a curious banquetting Howse of Roman Architecture, paved with black and white marble, covered with Cornish slatt and neatly wainscotted."

Brief though Aubrey's account may be, we are greatly indebted to him for preserving so interesting a record of Verulam House. Moreover, we can be sure there was no exaggeration when he describes it as "the most ingeniously contrived little pile that ever I sawe," and we share his regret at failing to take the dimensions before it was too late. It is unfortunate, too, that he omitted to state the materials of which it was built. It may have been brick entirely, but probably stone was used for dressings, especially for the bay windows, the construction of which would demand stone if built "embowed" instead of with several flat faces.

Most interesting is the mention of Mr. Dobson of St. Albans as assistant architect for the work, and doubtless many an unnamed St. Albans craftsman was employed in the construction if not in its embellishment. It is rather an interesting theory that the profligate life of Dobson senior produced, by virtue of necessity, a great artist in his son. For William Dobson was indeed an "excellent painter," and his works are still prized.

The cost of the house, as given by Aubrey, is enormous. At "9 or 10 thousand the building," it was thrice the sum expended on the original construction of Gorhambury II by Sir Nicholas Bacon.

It probably occupied much less ground than the latter—being without an internal court, but it almost certainly rose to a greater height and was doubtless very compactly planned and on very modern lines. Much of the expense will have been incurred in the decoration and fitments of the interior, where no doubt the owner let himself go. The "loftie rooms" would be wainscotted full height or up to a frieze in panelling, possibly employing walnut, and perhaps some exotic woods, in addition to oak, with carved friezes and possibly inlay on pilasters and panels. Ceilings would be decorated in modelled plaster.

The fireplaces probably were very elaborate affairs in various marbles with parts coloured and gilded. Charlotte Grimston's *History of Gorhambury* gives a sketch

in colour of an important marble chimney-piece which accords with a surviving example now much defaced. The lower half which has jambs and frieze of white marble inlaid, and a cornice of Purbeck marble, is almost perfect and exists in the Temple, now a cottage (see Fig. 26). In the frieze is cut in purest Roman letters the Bacon Motto, *MEDIOCRIA FIRMA*.

The upper half, or mantelpiece, was smashed at some time, but a few fragments now in the stable can be identified with the sketch referred to above. With this sketch as a guide, I have carefully measured both the part in the Temple and the broken fragments, and have made a scale drawing which probably represents pretty closely the original design (Fig. 7). For the central medallion of arms, however, I am obliged to rely upon the old sketch which unfortunately is very indefinite.

The "bathing roomes or stufes" at Verulam House were heated apartments in which Bacon could enjoy a Turkish bath.

The grouping of the chimneys and the seats around them is a very interesting feature. In those days there was no hesitation in making the run of the flues horizontal for a part of their course, and I think it likely that the thick walls containing the flues were planned around the well of the staircase. This well probably was square, with the stairs between the three floors arranged in short flights on three walls, with landing space along the fourth. The posts at "every interstice" were the newels into which the rails and strings were framed, and were capped each with a carved figure as at many other houses of the time. But, in addition to the figures, Aubrey states that the stairs were curiously carved, by which I take him to mean that in place of the usual balustrade, the spaces beneath the hand rail were filled with panels of carved and pierced ornament, as for instance at Aldermaston Court.

The paintings of "the Gods of the Gentiles," "on the dores of the upper storie on the outside," are quite extraordinary. I take him to mean the doors to the principal rooms on the first floors, and the paintings on their outer sides faced the landing and staircase; though, on the other hand, these doors may have given access to the

leads if several rooms opened on to a sort of terrace. But on this point we can only conjecture.

These doors can hardly have been made on the normal pattern of that time, with many small panels and richly moulded, for that would have been quite unsuitable for such large scale decoration. If panelled on their inside faces towards the rooms, the other face must have been flush boarded as a ground for the pictures. And if internal doors, they must have been well lighted from one or more large windows, for when the sun shone on the "hatching of gold" it "made a glorious shew."

The flat roof evidently was designed as a vantage point, and indeed it was an ideal place from which to enjoy the whole lay-out of the ponds and gardens; and the joke played upon the unsuspecting stranger, by a mirror fitted into the upper half of a door, is not only most amusing, but extremely interesting as being probably the earliest known reference to a glass mirror used for such a novel purpose—and, in addition, it must have been an unusually large plate for that time, unless indeed it was a composite glass.

Aubrey's account of the fishponds is most intriguing. In general form they remain to this day as shown upon the map of 1634, and the island is still there on which once stood that "curious banquetting house in Roman Architecture," which was paved with black and white marble in squares and had a roof of Cornish slate. The reason for the slate roof is probably clear. The pitch was low, being dictated by the pediment of the classic portico which almost certainly he would have at the entrance, if not at both ends. Tiles would be quite unsuitable for so low a pitch, and while lead would have been suitable, it is probable Bacon much preferred the appearance of the thick grey Cornish slate and therefore went to the trouble and expense of having it brought to St. Albans. It is just possible someone had a stock of it at the London docks of which he availed himself.

Aubrey winds up his account with a description of the park between Verulam House and Gorhambury II.

"From hence to Gorhambery is about a little mile, the way easily ascending, hardly so acclive as a deske. From hence to Gorhambery in a strait line leade three

parallel walkes: in the middlemost three coaches may pass abreast: in the wing walkes two may.

“ They consist of severall stately trees of the like groweth and heighth, viz. elme, chestnut, beach, horne-beame, Spanish-ashe, cervice tree, etc., whose topps (as aforesaid) doe afforde from the walke on the howse the finest shew that I have seen, and I sawe it about Michaelmas, at which time of the yeare the colour of the leaves are most varied.”

Memo: “ in my Liber B ” (now lost) “ I have sett downe an exact description of the delicious parke now (1656) plowed up and spoil’d. The east part of it which extends towards Verulam-Howse (pulled downe, and the materialls sold by Sir H. Grimston about ten yeares since) consisted of several parts, viz, some thickets of plumme-trees, with fine walkes between; some of raspberries. Here were planted most fruit trees which would grow in our climate; and also several choice forest trees. The walkes both of boscages and fruit trees; and in severall places where were the best prospects, were built elegant summer howses of Roman Architecture, then standing (1656) well wainscotted, but with the paveing gone. One would have thought the most barbarous nation had made a conquest here. This place was, in his Lordship’s time a sanctuary for phesants, partridges, and those of several kinds and nations, as Spanish, &c., speckled, white, etc.”

The dry summer of 1802 prompted Charlotte Grimston to explore the ponds and the site of the banquetting house in the light of Aubrey’s description, and she gives the following record.

“ The ponds were so completely dry in the remarkable hot summer of 1802, that I had an opportunity of endeavouring to discover if any traces could be found of the Tessalated Pavements Mr. Aubrey mentions: but I could not find the smallest remains of them, and only slight traces of the foundation of the banquetting house.”

Sir Harbottle Grimston, upon the marriage of his eldest son, George, with the daughter of Sir Edward Alston, gave them the use of Verulam House.

After the death of George Grimston without issue, his widow remained in possession of that residence, but

it was in a state of decay and there was trouble with tenants. The repairs occasioned some misunderstanding between Sir Harbottle and his daughter-in-law, which was only terminated by her marriage with John, Duke of Somerset.

Finally the house was demolished in 1663, and the materials sold to two carpenters for £400. The returns of the Hearth Tax for this year show payment for eleven hearths.

There is no record of what happened to the magnificent appointments of this house, except that Aubrey states the "two carpenters" made £800 on their bargain.

With the death of Sir Francis Bacon in 1626 we may return to the history of Gorhambury II. Before his death he put the estate in the hands of trustees for his friend and secretary Thomas Meautys, to whom he owed money in a bond.

Meautys spent a great part of his time in London, and in 1638 he let Gorhambury to the sixth Earl of Sussex, who died here about 1643, but Lady Sussex stayed here until 1646 when she married the Earl of Warwick.

The Verney papers throw a little light on conditions at Gorhambury during the Civil War period.

On November 4th, 1642, the Earl of Essex signed the following order:—"To all colonells, etc., and other officers and soldiers under my command, and to all others whom it may concern . . . Protection for the Earl of Sussex, to prevent the plundering of his house, etc., at Gorhambury."

On November 9th, or five days later, Lady Sussex wrote to Sir Ralph Verney . . . "I sent a chest to Coleharbort the Goldsmith. . . . I am making up all my doors, or as many as I can, to keep my house safe; my servants give me hopes they were able to keep out one hundred if they should come upon us."

Lady Sussex lived in mortal dread of the garrison at St. Albans.

On November 28th, 1642, she again wrote to Sir Ralph: "I am thinking to put my hangings and best stuff in one of the round turrets over my chamber and

cent appointments of this house, except that Aubrey states the "appointment" as follows, "whether I shall put any of your things there."

Under such conditions the fine domain left by Sir Francis Bacon rapidly fell into decay, and many parts of the house itself became defective through lack of proper attention and care.

In 1640 or 1641 Sir Thomas Meautys married his cousin Anne Bacon of Culford, and about a year later their only daughter was born. In 1649 Sir Thomas Meautys died and was buried in St. Michael's Church, his daughter Jane inheriting his lands at Gorhambury. She died when only ten years old.

The year prior to her death, viz. in 1651, her mother, Lady Meautys, married Sir Harbottle Grimston. At the death of the daughter, Gorhambury passed to her father's elder brother, Henry Meautys, who in 1652 sold the estate to Sir Harbottle for £10,000.

It is greatly to be regretted that no inventory exists of the contents of the house at the time that Sir Harbottle took possession. We may assume that he found there a collection of great interest and value. Sir Nicholas Bacon had undoubtedly spared no expense in furnishing the house of his creation in a manner worthy to receive his Queen. Aubrey, in his description of the house, unfortunately makes no reference to furniture, but, as we have seen, he mentions two of the portraits and states that the wall on one side of the gallery was hung with full length portraits of illustrious persons of the time. We know that Sir Francis added to this collection of portraits, and it is probable that he supplemented the furniture by bringing from York House, on his retirement into private life, some of the treasures he had collected there. Anne Meautys, too, as the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, the artist, must have received, besides the three fine paintings by her father which are now one of the most important features of the Gorhambury collection, other works of art collected by him. Even assuming that many of the Bacon treasures had been sold to meet debts after the death of Sir Francis, there must have remained a collection of exceptional interest and value.

To this was added in 1652 the fine collection of pictures and furniture brought by Sir Harbottle Grimston

from his Essex home, Bradfield Hall, near Manningtree. As the head of the Suffolk branch of an ancient family, he was possessed of some extremely fine family portraits, the most rare of which was, and is, the portrait of his ancestor Edward Grimston, painted by Petrus Christus in 1446—a picture which has the distinction of being the earliest known portrait of an Englishman in connection with which the names of sitter and painter are known. Among other valuable family possessions brought by Sir Harbottle was the English carpet, dated 1570.

Not satisfied with this collection of treasures from two houses, Sir Harbottle proceeded to add a further series of "portraits of illustrious persons" in order to bring that of the Bacons up to date, and a group of a dozen portraits of himself and family by Lely, Riley and other good artists of the day.

The walls of the Elizabethan house must indeed have been lined with portraits.

What precisely were Sir Harbottle Grimston's first actions with regard to his newly acquired property there are no records to show, but it is probable that pending the restoration of King Charles he did no more than necessary repairs.

But he was to enjoy considerable favour with the return of monarchy, being elected Speaker of the Restoration House of Commons.

The restraint and depression of the Commonwealth had gone, and like the majority of men Sir Harbottle was eager to see and to adopt the new fashions which the king and many another exile had imbibed on the Continent and were enthusiastically introducing into England. There was something more than a desire for novelty and a taste for colour in the demand for the new walnut furniture and the brightly hued materials for hangings and for clothes.

Many Gorhambury documents of the second half of the seventeenth century survive: the greater number of these are the Steward's books of household accounts. Their perusal sheds a most interesting and instructive light on the needs and doings of a well-to-do family of that time. These books also contain payments to workmen, which have to be read in conjunction with some

surviving agreements made with various master craftsmen for alterations about the house.

A small selection of the Stewards' entries are here given. One of the earliest of interest refers to making and painting a set of 48 chairs:—

1661. 15 Feby.

To the Joyner in pt of 22[£] for 48 chayres 15 0 0

To the Paynter in pt of 6[£] for paintinge
blewe 2 0 0

Then a few days later:—

To the paynter the remainder of the money
due to him for paynting 48 chayres
at 2^s 6^d ye chayre 4 0 0

To the Joyner the remainder of the money
due to him for making 48 chayres ... 7 0 0

To the paynter for carriage of the
chayres from ye joyners to ye
paynters & for paper and pack thred
to paper them up 0 7 4

These chairs appear very cheap at just over 9s. each, but allowing for the value of money at that time, they were no doubt strongly framed if devoid of much enrichment in the way of carving on back rails, etc. They may have been made in beech as a painted finish was intended, and they probably had boarded seats, possibly sunk a little below the tops of the seat rails to admit of a squab cushion, as was then fashionable for inexpensive chairs. They may well be the same set given as "48 boarded chairs" in an inventory taken in 1707.

1668. To the upholsterer by yo hon^r
appointment 103 10 0

1675. April. To Mr. Exton for a bedd 82 0 0

1681. Aug. 15. To the collector of the
hearth money for 41 fire hearths at
Gorhambury house for halfe a yeare
due at Lady Day, 1681 2 1 0

1681. Oct. 17. To Mr. Cole towards the
repair of the Abbey Church in St.
Albans 10 0 0

1681. Dec. 1. Laid into the Iron chest
in Mr. Lazenby's Closett of wh^h yo^r
hon^r has the keyes 2400 0 0

1682.	Jan.	For a woman that helpt Nan to wash when her Arme was sore ...	0	1	0
		Mr. Baker for drawing my master's tooth	0	10	0
1682.	Feb.	For a looking Glasse for Mrs. Eliz. Grimston	1	11	0
		A pair of candlesticks for my master ...	0	4	0
		Spent at St. Albans on Saturday ...	0	0	6
1683.	May.	For washing the wrought bedd	0	11	6
1683.	Sept.	Paid Nurs for Rhenish wine and allum for Mrs. —	0	0	5
1683.	Sept.	For oranges and Jews ears ³ for her	0	0	5
1683.	Oct.	A drinking glass for my Lady	0	2	0
1683.	Feb.	Beeswax to rub my master's table, etc.	0	0	1
		For cleaning and mending ye Pendula clock	0	6	0

Payments for servants' wages during the year show that ten were employed, and the amount for one quarter is entered at £23 17s. 6d.

This year (1683) a new stable was built, probably at 36 on the plan. Many items for its equipment are entered, but the cost of the building is not given.

1684.	July.	Paid John Nicholls for a bedstead	0	15	6
		Gunpowder for ye dogs	0	1	0
1684.	Nov.	Miss Betee's watch now at Mr. Knibs	0	2	6

This will doubtless be the well-known clockmaker.

1684.	Dec.	For two potts to make tea with—brass and copper	1	0	0
1684.	Jan. 1.	To Mr. Reynolds the up- holsterer his bill	90	0	0
1685.	July 1.	To the Cabinet maker his bill	2	5	0
1685.	July 9.	To the chair maker	8	2	0
		To the fframe maker his bill	25	0	0

³ An edible cup-shaped fungus, growing chiefly on the elder tree. So called from its shape and the elder being the tree on which Judas Iscariot was reputed to have hanged himself. Formerly used as a medicine.

1685. Dec. 5. To Mr. Marchant the
framemaker 14 5 0

Sir Harbottle Grimston made several structural alterations and improvements to meet the taste of his day.

The most important of these concern the Chapel, but apparently repairs were first attempted in 1668. In that year from April to May the following entries occur.

To Mr. Smyth for mending the ironwork of the Chapple window	0 2 6
To Mr. Marshall upon bill for ye Chapple window	13 10 0
To Mr. Marshall upon bill for stone and carriage out to Gorhambury (probably from Sopwell)	1 17 2
To the glassier for glasseinge the Chapple window	1 17 11

By 1672, however, it was decided to rebuild the chapel, and the following arrangements were entered into:—

1672-3, March 20. Agreement made between Sir Harbottle Grimston and Thomas Evans, a bricklayer. Evans is "to take down the end of the old chapel and to build a new wall twenty feet in length from the old wall," i.e. a new west end wall to the chapel projecting 20 feet from the rear wall of the old Long Gallery, "and to make the foundation as thick as it was before, and from the water table to the roof a foot and a half thick," i.e. from the top of the splayed plinth course to build a wall 2 bricks thick. "The height and breadth within to be according to the old chapel." He is to raise the roof next the chaplain's chamber even with the new building and to lath, tile and seal it.

He is to build up a room for the gardener adjoining the said wall, which is to be seven foot high from the ground and seven foot broad and sixteen foot in length to lath and tile it, and pave it at the bottom with brick. And the said Thomas Evans is to provide all material whatsoever for doing the aforesaid work and to have the use of the old. And for doing and finishing all the said bricklayer's work (which is to be done before midsummer's day next ensuing) he is to have and receive the sum of £60; that is to say £30 presently down, and £30 when the work is all finished.

The new west wall of the chapel is to have a stone window of modern design, and to this effect Sir Harbottle Grimston enters into another agreement, bearing the same date as the foregoing, with a mason named Thomas Edney.

This provides: "To build a new window to the Chapel containing fourteen foot wide in transome and eighteen foot in the clear, with a pier in the middle and three lights on each side of the pier. The first light to be seven foot high with transome, the second six foot high, and the third five foot high, arched on the top." The Master of the Rolls is to bring as much stone from Sopwell as is useful and necessary for doing the said work (he owned Sopwell House), "and what is wanting over and above is to be supplied out of the stone in the barn at Gorhambury. The said Thomas Edney is to find lime for the said work and to let in all the iron bars fit for the glazier, and to do all other freemason's work to the finishing of the said window, which is to be finished, before midsummer day next ensuing, in good and workmanlike manner. And he is to have and receive for the said work the sum of £19: that is to say £5 the first day he begins work, £10 more when the work is half done, and £4 when he has finished the said work."

Within a month the agreement was set aside in favour of another dated April 15th, which specified a smaller window of different design, "in form and fashion according to the draft made thereof by Capt. Ryder," for which Edney is to have £10 and to find stone, ironwork, etc. A memo records, that the window was to have been "18 foot and 20 foot" and that "now the window is to be but 14 foot and 16 foot." But there is some question as to whether it shall be made of wood or stone, as will appear.

It is possible to deduce from the above documents something of what actually occurred, and to give an outline elevation of the first proposal if not of the second. Edney possibly designed the 18 foot by 20 foot window, which, besides being very large for its position, possessed a central pier which never looks well in a window. Then Capt. Ryder—possibly an architect—comes on the scene and criticises the first design and prepares his draft for

the smaller 14 feet by 16 feet window, which may have looked like my suggested sketch (Fig. 11).

In this same agreement Edney further agrees "to lay the floor of the said chapel with good strong and sound Pirbeck stone, cornerwise, and to find stone lime and all other materials whatsoever, except carriage of sand, for which he is to receive at the rate of 16d. a foot."

On April 7th, 1673, an agreement is made with Joseph Carter for the carpenter's and joiner's work.

He engages "to frame a new roof ye whole length and breadth of the chapel and to put in ceiling gises and brackets for a cove ceiling, and to make good the gallery roof to ye chapel roof, and to find all materials belonging to ye carpenturer's work of new timber. To make a pair of stairs out of the passage in the gallery into the gallery in ye chapel, and also to make a timber partition to secure ye round stair, and two new door cases with timber and boards.

"To make a new wooden gutter the whole length of the chapel to carry ye water between ye gallery roof and chapel roof ready for the laying on the lead, and to make use of old boards.

"To frame a new roof for a shed 7 foot wide and 16 foot long on the back side of the chapel" (this is the "room for the gardener") "and a door and door case, and a window, to be done of the old materials except the door case and window.

"To cut off the landing place going to the chapel, and to return ye rails and ballisters straight to the dining-room door, and also to put a new door case into ye chapel close to the great stairs.

"To make good the roof going up to Mr. Tressel's chamber and straight with the rest of the range of building with old timber.

"To new joist and board, with materials which are to come from Sopwell, and boards which are already at Gorhambury, the new room under the master's own chamber" (it is impossible to identify this); "to fill the old roof where the tiles are to be taken off and to put in two purlines, and to new set up a dormer window in the garret overlooking into the kitchen court with old stuff which is already at Gorhambury.

"To take down ye old roof which is now over the

Chapel and the ceiling-floor and the windows, and to frame a floor the breadth of the seats on both sides of ye chapel with old stuff and to board with old boards.

“ To make a new window in the chapel according as it is designed in the draught.”

This last item shows that Capt. Ryder's design was first intended to be made in timber, but a week later Edney the stonemason gives his revised price for the window as already stated. However, according to a letter written by Joseph Carter shortly after, the material for the construction of the window remained a while in doubt.

The agreement continues:—“ And it is agreed that the Master of the Rolls do pay unto Joseph Carter the sum of £60 in full for doing the several works aforesaid, and the said Joseph Carter doth acknowledge that he hath received £30 in hand in part of the said £60.”

Added in another hand is “ Six pounds is to be abated out of this contract in regard he does not make the window.”

1673, June 11th. Agreement between Sir Harbottle Grimston and Thomas Edney “ to lay the floor of the chapel at Gorhambury with good strong sound and well coloured white Perbeck stone and black marble corner-wise well polished, at the rate of 2s. a foot which comes upon measure 443 foot.”

The original agreement for this paving, of April 15th, was for “ Perbeck stone ” only, at 16d. a foot, but evidently that was considered too plain, and it was certainly very fashionable to lay a floor of black and white squares diagonally.

On the back of the document is written the following:—“ July ye 11th 1673. Memorand: all ye tileing over ye hall and all other new tileing about ye house was measured and did containe forty six square and fourteen foote at 3s. p ye square . . . cleaning gutters and garotts of rubbish and carrying it away etc, £7 8s. od.

Edney also agrees “ to lay the floor of that part of the chapel where the communion table is to stand, with black and white marble, well polished and glazed, corner-wise,” for which he is to have 3s. 6d. a foot and to find marble, lime, and all other materials. He is also to work the step “ with an ostrigal mould,” i.e. a rounded

nosing with fillet under; to polish, glaze and lay the same with the marble steps that are at Sopwell, "finding all other materials," for which he is to have £3.

1673, Oct. 20, Agreement between the same parties. Edney agrees "to take up all the defective stone of black marble in the shell house" (this is conjectured to be at the west end of the loggia under the gallery) "and new lay in the roome thereof, black marble rubbed and polished, and to new lay the paveinge before the shell house doore leadinge into the gravell walke, as well where the wood lyes as where the stone lyes. To take up the stone in the space at the end of the lowe gallery under the gallery chamber and to square and rub the best of that stone, and new lay it, the one half with that stone, and the other half with blacke marble, well rubbed, as alsoe the steppes going in and out of the same.

"To make foundations of bricke to sett the two pillars upon that supports the gallery chamber, to make cleane and rub over the stones that lye by the pillars on the syde of the sayd space, and to plaster all alonge the side of the foot of the pillars with Tarrice," (an imported earth of volcanic origin which imparts cementitious properties to lime mortar) "and to lay two courses of old stone that shall be left in the kitchen court from the bricke paveinge at the seller doore to the doore going up to Mr. Martine's chamber, and one course from that doore to the bricke paveinge goeing into the brew house entry, and to lay whole stones in the forecourt, in the roome of such as are broken: he to find all stone, marble, lyme, hayre, and all other materialls to be used about the work for which he is to have forty and three pounds."

Between 21st Oct., 1673, and 26th March, 1674, Edney is paid as follows:—

To Mr. Ednee in pt of his contract for paveinge ye walke by the Shell house at ye end of ye Gallery	...	...	...	15	0	0
To Mr. Ednee in further pt of his contract				8	0	0
To Mr. Endee in full of his contract for ye Shell House & the stone walke next it				19	0	0

The steward also records under these dates a payment to an artist named Wright for painting a copy of a portrait of Sir Nicholas Bacon:—

To Mr. Wright for an originall copy of
my Ld Keepers picture 10 0 0

The last item in this batch of agreements etc. relating to work at this time is a letter written by Joseph Carter, the carpenter, at Gorhambury to Mr. Martin—probably Sir Harbottle Grimston's confidential clerk—at the Rolls, in Chancery Lane.

1673. No day or month. " We receive no orders for going on with the chapel as yet. I well hoped to have heard on Sunday last at night. We desire to hear with what expedition you can. We are not yet hindered by it, by reason the old walls are not quite taken down; if we can hear by Tuesday next it will be seasonable enough. The bearer hereof, Mr. Edney, and I have talked about the window in the chapel, and he says he can make it of stone which he can find out of Sopwell, and I perceive the charge of wood or stone will not differ much, if you please to acquaint the Master and Lady with it, since he is come so great a journey. If they please I am willing to remit my bargain, which is £6 out of my contract, that he may have the doing of it if the master and lady be so pleased. I hope to hear by the bearer if he return to Gorhambury, or otherwise, directly how we shall proceed."

However, Edney finally had the work and the window was made in stone, for an entry under 29 June, 1673, states:—

To Mr. Ednee in full for his contract for
making the chapple window at Gor-
hambury 7 16 0

Although no contract appears to have survived, the chapel was also new panelled at this time, for another entry under this date records:—

To John Nicholl and James Barnes in pt of
their contract for wainscoatinge the
chapple at Gorhambury 50 0 0

The pair of carved oak Corinthian columns still existing at Gorhambury came originally from this chapel and may well be part of the work carried out by these craftsmen. Also two panels with carved swags and a length of balustrading in St. Michael's Church also came from the old house and were originally part of the chapel gallery.

John Nicholl was also employed in 1676 for panelling and flooring the Dining Room.

To John Nicholl in full of his contract for wainscoting the Dining Room ...	22	2	0
To him in full of his contract for flooreing the Dining roome and the other roome	10	0	0

Sir Harbottle Grimston died in 1685 and was succeeded by his younger son, Sir Samuel Grimston, who held Gorhambury till his death in 1700. During his time the Steward's books contain many items of interest, a few of which are here given.

“ 1691. Recd of M^{tres} Baker money paid her by John Steephens, Cabinet maker in pt for 237 foot of Walnuttree at 1s. 3d. per foott, ye sum of 13—00—00 which with a giny my M^r rec^d before in earnest is 14—01—00, so there remains due 14s. 9d.”

This entry shows that English walnut was realizing a high price in the reign of William and Mary.

1691. Dec. 20. Paid Mr. Arme ye up- holsterer in full his bill for ye Damask bed	48	10	0
1692. For lackering vernish 1 pt ...	0	2	0
A book of silver	0	0	7
For 2 brushes for painting ...	0	0	6
For oils & colour as by bill ...	0	19	0

This entry is very interesting as suggesting that the materials were purchased for amateur lacquer work on furniture such as was greatly in vogue among young ladies at that time. It called forth a book, published in 1688, by John Stalker and George Parker, entitled *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing*, giving various oriental designs, method of procedure, and how to make up the colours, incorporating metal dusts etc.

1693. Mar. Mr. Sparling for Esops Fables	0	15	0
— . April. Althorp the Potter his Bill	8	10	0
1693. July. For a pint of Brandy for my Ladyes throat	0	1	4
1694. April 21. To Sir Godfrey Kneller for the picture	22	0	0
1695. Dec. 10. To the cabinet maker for Tables stands and glass frames ...	10	0	0

An interesting Inventory of Household Linen made this year is given in Appendix 3.

1696.	For a plaine table and instruments to measure with	...	...	...	3	15	0
1697.	Paid Mr. Meure in full his Bill of Delf ware	...	...	...	7	3	0
— .	The glaziers bill for ye sashes had to Gorham	...	...	...	3	15	8

This last item is of especial interest as being the earliest record of the new type of wooden sliding sashes coming to Gorhambury. In the old water colour drawing (see Fig. 12) most of the south windows are shown changed from the original casements—either in stone or wood frames with lead lights—to sashes divided by stout bars into rectangular panes, such as all new houses of that time were having throughout; and many old ones like Gorhambury were having the windows renewed to comply with the new fashion, but at the expense of a certain incongruity.

The Venetian style sash in the central window of the Long Gallery, shown in the painting, is probably not earlier than about 1740.

If we may judge by the slight remains it is probable the windows within the court were not altered; certainly the hall windows and one in the west range still have their sixteenth century stone frames.

The children of Sir Samuel Grimston all predeceased their father, and in consequence he adopted his nephew William, the grandson of Sir Capel Luckyn and of Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Harbottle Grimston, as his heir; but it was conditional upon his taking the name and arms of Grimston together with the payment of a large sum of money.

Though he at once changed his name, William Luckyn did not take possession until 1710, as he was obliged to let the house in order to help to raise the amount. The story of this episode is so well related by the Hon. Charlotte Grimston, that I quote it at length.

“On the death of Sir Samuel Grimston the property of Gorhambury devolved to William Luckyn, second son of Sir William Luckyn, Bart, of Messing Hall, Essex, by Mary eldest sister of Sir Samuel Grimston. He acquired the estate by the bequest of his uncle who

coupled the gift with two clauses, that he should take the name of Grimston, and pay seventy thousand pounds to Lady Bruce, the granddaughter of Sir Samuel Grimston. The change of name was easily acceded to, but the payment of seventy thousand pounds, which was an immense sum in those days, was considered so difficult, that William Luckyn hesitated long, if he should accept the Estate subject to such an encumbrance.

“ His elder brother, Sir Harbottle Luckyn, strongly urged him to agree to the terms, and fortunately for our family his arguments proved effectual. You are therefore to fancy William Luckyn now William Grimston wandering through the immense suite of rooms at Gorhambury considering by what means he could liquidate this debt; the subject preyed upon his spirits and made his new possession appear a burthen to him, and if the walls could speak they would tell you how bitterly he lamented the acquisition of them, and how heartily he wished, like Sir Harbottle Grimston, his only fault was that of being too rich. I have seen innumerable letters from Mr. Grimston to Sir Harbottle Luckyn full of mournful details of his poverty, and expressions of regret at the necessity of keeping the house in repair without the means adequate for the purpose. Sir Harbottle could give nothing but his advice, for, poor himself, an immense number of younger brothers and sisters were to be provided for. There were Capel, Henry, Charles, Edward, Samuel, George, Sherington, and James, besides Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah, Mildred, and Martha; all hanging upon him for support.

“ Raise what money you can upon the estate and marry an heiress, I can only wish you well, was the language of his answers.

“ Mr. Grimston accordingly let half the house to Henry fourth Earl of Carlisle, then Lord Morpeth, and lived himself in the remainder. He likewise made the axe sound throughout the park at Gorhambury. The wood called Broke, and the cluster of trees named the Rookery were in those days united, and fine timber grew where at present not one stick remains. (c. 1820.) Oak wood was likewise cleared of every tree which had grown to its full size, and a skreen of young Elms, now still growing,

were planted in strait lines on the outside of the wood, in order to conceal the deficiencies of the inside."

An existing inventory dated 1707 from "A lease of Gorhambury House, furnished," gives a good list of the rooms in the old house; the lessee being Thos. Frederick Esq.

The lease is endorsed on the back: "The painted window glass is to be repaired by Thos Frederick Esq, but ye said glass is to be delivered him by William Grimston Esq."

The rooms are set out as follows, but I have mentioned the furniture only where it is described in sufficient detail to be of any value as a record.

The Great Hall.

On the staircase & passage before the Chappell doer.
In the lower Chappell.

In the Upper Chappell: 8 Dutch chairs.

The rooms over the Great Hall.

The passage to the Matted Gallery.

The matted Gallery: 48 Boarded chairs.

The passage out of the matted Gallery: 3 Dutch matted chairs.

Sir Sam^{els} Sumer House.

Mount Pleasant.

The mans Room.

The great Dining Room: 12 figured velvet chairs

The Wt Drawing Room: 2 India Cabbinetts and 2 stands.

The Passage room: 6 cane and mohair chaires.

The Little Chamber: A blew Paragon bed.

The Best Chamber.

The Closet.

The Black Gallery.

The Green Damask Room: A walnut tree table, a black glass.

The Red Room.

The Passage & Staircase.

Mr. Duncombs Room: 5 cloath chaires.

Mad^m Cooks room: 10 yellow damask chairs.

The Footmans Room.

Mr. Fotherbys Room: An old wrought bed. 1 chest of drawers.

The Lady Ann Savils Room.

Mr. Symonds Room: 4 Turkey worked chairs. A scrutore.
 The Lady Ann Grimstons Room.
 The Landing.
 The Maids Chamber.
 The passage at the Stare head.
 The Garrets over the Green Chamber.
 The garden cloyster: A marble table.
 The Great Parlour: 1 flapp table. 12 Dutch chairs.
 The Little Parlour: one damask elber chaire.
 The Porters Lodge.
 The Closter Room: 1 great leather chaire.
 Room at the end of the Red Entry.
 Pilgrims Room.
 The kitchen.
 The cellars & pantry.
 The Brew House.
 The Well House.
 Mr. Langford's Room.
 Mr. Hodges Room.
 Mr. Monrows Room.
 The Leather chamber.
 The Chaplins Room.
 The wash House.
 The Stable.

There is an amusing tradition in regard to the room called "Mount Pleasant" which I am permitted to recount in the form of an extract from a private record made by Charlotte Grimston.

She is writing of Sir Samuel Grimston's time, and referring to his second marriage, says:—

" . . . he married with Anne sixth and youngest daughter of John Tufton second Earl of Thanet, whose violent temper occasioned the misery of the latter part of his life. There is a tradition in our family that Sir Samuel Grimston constructed a small room at the end of the Billiard Room accessible only by a very narrow winding stair which he called Mount Pleasant because Lady Anne being extremely corpulent found the ascent of the stairs too difficult to interrupt his retirement by her presence.

" From this story it appears that in the days of which

I am writing anger as well as love could laugh at locksmiths."

The "two India Cabbinetts" may well be identical with similar pieces also still at Gorhambury.

That part of the house retained and occupied by Mr. William Grimston appears in the following:—

"Memo, 28th April 1708 of what rooms in ye dwelling House of Gorhambury Mr. Frederick consents Mr. Grimston shall have during his tenure . . .

The side of the House next ye stable.

The bayliffs Room.

The whole side next ye stables below stairs wth ye cellar under the servants Hall.

From Sr Samuels roome to the end of ye black gallery above stairs.

The whole length of ye garrats over the out houses fronting the three new parlours."

Endorsed on the back of this is written:—

"for mending ye glass windows, a bed or two spoilt and some things lost & broak, severall dear kild ye Hous left very dirty."

There is also a short a/c of monies due which includes "Paid labourers for carrying out the snow from the long gallery and that side of the house 0 5 0"

which certainly points to a bad state of repair.

Going back to the early years of William Grimston's time, are two entries in the Steward's book which recall the awful storm of Nov. 26-27th, 1703. Bristol and the surrounding country was completely inundated, the Bishop of Bath and Wells was killed in his bed, the Eddystone Lighthouse entirely vanished from its rock, while in London the damage was reckoned at £1,000,000.

Gorhambury House suffered with the rest, but not too badly considering the extreme violence of the storm.

1703/4. Jan. 11. John Bradwins bill of bricklayers work done at Gorhambury and Sopwell most of it since the storme	11	0	0
1703/4. Feb. 1. Joseph Kents bill for glazeing	3	18	0
1703/4. Feb. 1. Another bill of Joseph Kents after the storme	0	15	6

The last is a name not without local interest and will

occur again, in a descendant, in the building accounts of Gorhambury III.

About 1710 William Grimston built a new oak staircase out of the south-west corner of the Hall, doubtless to replace an old one. The specification is sufficiently detailed to enable a pretty clear picture to be formed of its appearance. It was typical in design and arrangement with current London fashion.

“ The staircase to be erected will rise out of the south side of the Hall at the upper end, next the chapel, to the floor of the Dining room above, as it now lies, viz. : two flights of stairs of eight steps each, and two half spaces, one at the end of the first flight, and the other level with the dining room floor, where the dining room door is to be made; all to be made of good oaken wainscoat, viz. treads, risings, rails, balusters & bracketts, and also to be wainscoated rail height with oak and pillasters answerable to the columns on the railworke : the under part to be wainscoated down to the floor, as also that part of the ceiling under the upper halfe pale with the same oaken wainscoat. vz beade worke and the panells raised, the dining room door to be the same with architrave on both sides carved, and shutters and linings to the two windows on the stairhead, all oaken wainscoat. The balusters, bracketts, rails, and capping of the wall worke and architraves under the stairs with the columns are to be carved.

“ The Chappell door is to be sashed with 2 inch and a half stuff, from the middle rail upwards, bottom to be beade worke and pannells raised, with a deal door next the hall to slide up in the partition, and those pair of doors that are now in the chappell to be putt into the parlor partition underneath the stairs, and the steps to be made from the hall floor down to the parlor with old treads that are now at Gorhambury.”

Without doubt this was a very handsome stair of a type of which many fortunately survive. Quite possibly this one was removed to another house and is still doing duty, but as with the famous panelling in the Gallery and much else in old Gorhambury, it has all vanished no one knows where.

It is probable that William Grimston, or may be his uncle, erected the Ball Room shown at No. 19 on the

plan, but precise information is lacking. In fact after Sir Harbottle Grimston's time, building records are extremely few until we come to the second half of the eighteenth century, when plans were on foot to build a new house on another site.

In 1719 William was created a peer of Ireland by the titles of Baron Dunboyne and Viscount Grimston. He died in 1756 and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son James, who was born in 1711.

His marriage was delayed some months owing to the alarm produced by the rebellion of 1745. After the defeat of the Jacobites the marriage took place, and Mr. Grimston resided with his brother-in-law until the death of his father put him in possession of Gorhambury as the second Viscount Grimston.

He found the old house in considerable need of repair: in fact the original methods of construction must by now have been giving repeated trouble.

It is on record that he did much to improve the house: he also demolished the Ball room, which had been built in a very ill-considered situation. He next turned his attention to the garden and immediate surroundings in the Park.

Referring back to the old map of 1634, it will be seen that the house was enclosed by walls around the gardens and outward courts and accessible only by an entrance through two archways filled with heavy iron gates kept constantly shut. It will also be observed that the coach road from the gates carried south in a straight line to a field called Ley Lamcroft and then turned left and joined the ancient approach to Gorhambury I at the corner of what is called Henry Smith ground. From the junction the original road was still used till it emerged on Watling Street at Blew gate field just without the northern gate of Verulamium.

There was, it will be noted, another drive which led through Pré Wood, coming out in Pré Wood Lane, now known as the Hemel Hempstead road.

The second Viscount's improvements consisted in demolishing the enclosing walls and removing the gates, on the advice of Mr. Richmond, one of the first professional ornamental gardeners. The garden was moved from the front of the house to the back (this would now

appear a very doubtful improvement unless it refers to the kitchen gardens which still exist within old enclosing walls); also a straight new road was made from Watling Street, going east to west up to the house. This is shown on the map of 1768 (see map No. 3), and by its construction the old approaches became disused. The first half of the ancient coach road, however, is still easily traceable from Gorham block.

It will be observed that on this 1768 map Verulam House is not marked, though the ponds and orchard house are clearly shown. New Year's Ground marks the site of Verulam House.

The second Viscount Grimston died on December 31st, 1773, and was succeeded by his eldest son James Bucknall. Almost immediately an important new chapter opens in the history of the houses, for the third Viscount was the builder of the fourth, and present, Gorhambury mansion, marked G. III on Map No. I.

Notwithstanding the reparations carried out by his father, the structural defects of the house, rooted as they were in unalterable causes, rapidly became so serious that recourse had to be taken to shoring the walls in places. The surviving old brick buttress at the rear of the Hall is probably work of this time.

There appears little doubt but that a genuine effort was made to save the beautiful and historical old buildings, and to this end the best professional advice was sought.

The third Viscount succeeded in 1773, and "between that time," his sister, Charlotte Grimston, wrote about 1819, "and the year 1778, the extreme want of repair of the old house rendered it quite unfit for habitation. All the best architects of the time were consulted as to the possibility of restoring it to a state of tolerable comfort, and security against cold and wet, but the walls, which were originally built of rubble and chess work, would not bear any alteration, and after various plans had been suggested, they were all relinquished as impracticable, and upon deliberation, it was thought most eligible to abandon the old mansion and build a modern house."

There were, moreover, special circumstances which pointed to the desirability of building a fine house at this

period. The third Viscount had, as a young man, made the Grand Tour, so fostering a natural taste for painting, sculpture and architecture. On his return he had fallen in love with and been accepted by Harriot, the lovely daughter of Edward Walter, a wealthy patron of the arts and the builder of a beautiful house, Berry Hill, at Dorking.

Edward Walter, with his wife and daughter, had also made the Grand Tour, and had brought back a magnificent collection of pictures, busts, bronzes, etc., all of which were destined to come to Gorhambury, Harriot being his only child and heiress.

What more natural than that the young couple, supported by the practical experience of building and the highly cultivated taste of Edward Walter, should decide to erect a mansion in the current style?

Tradition says it was Mr. Walter who chose the site finally decided upon, and that he planted his walking stick at the spot which in his opinion offered the best aspect and slope of ground.

As proof of the undecided state of the negotiations in and about the year 1775, the following account by an architect, Jos. Saunders, is quoted from the private correspondence of the third Viscount Grimston.

The Rt. Hon^{ble}
Lord Visco^t Grimstone,
Dr. to Jos. Saunders

1775

Sept. To making Working Drawings for a Summer House at Gorhambury, going down there & setting out ditto &c.	10	10	0
To surveying the House, giving instructions for shoring it, taking the plans of it &c.	15	15	0
To making designs for a New house at Gorhambury, making fair Drawings of ditto &c.	52	10	0
		<hr/>	
		78	15 0
		<hr/>	

Nothing appears to have matured from the surveys and preliminary work charged in this account, but prob-

ably in the hopes that it would, Mr. Saunders waited an unconscionable time before rendering his account, which did not reach Lord Grimston until October 1789.

Filed with it is the draft of the prompt reply, dated 8th October, 1789:—

“ To Mr. Josh Saunders, No. 252 Oxford Str. London.

“ Sir,

“ I must confess I was much astonished at the Demand made upon me by your letter of yesterday, not having the smallest idea that a rough sketch, sent to me fifteen years ago could have been so valued, and for which there was no specific order given whatever; inso-much that I consider'd it at the time as merely forwarded to me for my Inspection, and, if I had thought of it since, I should have been confirmed in the idea by not hearing from you in the course of so many years. — As to the plan of a Temple &c, the first I have heard of that subject was by your letter of yesterday.”

So far as the records are concerned, this reply closes the incident.

But to return to the preparations for building. We are left guessing the names of “ all the best Architects ”: doubtless Robert Adam was among them. But about the beginning of 1777 Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Taylor was commissioned to design the new house. He was then sixty-three years of age, and Gorhambury and Heveningham Hall, Suffolk, proved to be his last important works.

Taylor was born in 1714. The son of a master mason, he was for a time pupil to Sir Henry Cheere, the leading sculptor, and then travelled to Rome. Recalled by the death of his father in 1743, he quickly received important commissions such as two monuments in Westminster Abbey, the figure of Britannia at the Bank of England, and the sculptured pediment of the Mansion House.

He then turned his hand to architecture and was much employed in the alteration and erection of country seats.

1755. Chilham Castle, Kent, for James Colebrook.

1756. Alterations to the Grove, Watford, for Lord Clarendon.

— Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn.

— No. 70 Lombard Street.

1766-71. Large additions to the Bank of England, where he was succeeded by Sir John Soane in 1789.

1772. Ely House, Dover St., Piccadilly, for Bishop Keene.

1777-84. Gorhambury, Herts, for Lord Grimston.

1778. Heveningham Hall, Suffolk.

Taylor was one of the three principal architects attached to H.M. Board of Works.

He died on September 27th, 1788, and was buried in St. Martin's in the Fields.

At Gorhambury Taylor had a free and open site, and produced various schemes for different aspects and dispositions of the wings, etc. Some of these survive both in plans and in aquatint engraved views, but I have not met with any corresponding to the executed design.

The selected site is on level ground, some 440 yards east of old Gorhambury, and a gradual slope leads eastwards to the lower ground where Gorhambury I was situated. The eastern aspect was chosen for the entrance front, a decision which doubtless was influenced by consideration of the older approaches. But the straight drive westward from Watling Street which had been made earlier in the century was abandoned and a longer and pleasanter approach constructed in a new road swinging gradually to the west past Mayne's farm, thence climbing the hill on the site of turret walk, and bending to the south as the level of the house site was reached.

The house consists principally of a central rectangular block of three stories, measuring 120 feet by 70 feet, symmetrically planned on axial lines. This main structure is faced with stone, and the proportions are arranged with subdivisions to accommodate a Corinthian order in plain ashlar upon a podium or basement of V-jointed or rusticated masonry. The columns of the order are reserved to a boldly projecting portico forming the principal entrance on the east front, and a central feature of attached columns on the west or garden side. In each case the cornice above the colonnade supports an angular pediment (Figs. 13, 14, 15).

The masonry facing in general was built of hard clunch from Totternhoe, but the plinth, bases to columns, cill

courses, steps, etc. were formed of Portland stone. The balustrade around the roof is entirely of Portland stone.

Apart from their excellent modelling, especial interest attaches to the Corinthian capitals, which are of Coade stone; actually a cream coloured artificial stone or terracotta of which Mr. Coade had the patent, and in which he did much work not only in purely architectural detail but in figure subjects and a variety of ornament. In this instance the capitals are cast in sections and are in pristine condition, as may readily be seen from adjacent bedroom windows.

The fenestration of the building conforms to the tradition and practice of the time. The principal rooms are marked by tall double hung sashes surrounded by moulded stone architrave, flat frieze and delicate cornice; while the basement and bedroom windows are reduced to square openings.

Later, in the nineteenth century, when alterations were made at the foot of the principal staircase, the sashes of the Library were changed to French casements giving on to a small terrace, at the ends of which curved flights of steps were constructed as a way down to the garden, Fig. 15.

The original design included detached wings to north and south of the main building, and connected thereto by covered passages (see plan, Fig. 16). That to the south was for breadmaking and storage and preparation of food, with servants' rooms above; while the north wing contained laundry, brewhouse, dairy, etc., also with servants' rooms above.

But these wings were not built until 1788-90, and in an inferior manner to that of the main block. The family, however, had moved from Old Gorhambury into the new mansion in October, 1784. It must therefore be supposed that the basement rooms had to suffice for all service purposes for five years. Subsequently the disadvantages of having the kitchen immediately below the windows of the principal south rooms were recognized, and the south wing was demolished and the kitchen quarters transferred to an additional wing built around, and incorporating, the isolated north wing, which will be described later.

The basement storey had a stone flagged floor (later

replaced by boards in certain rooms) at about 1 foot 6 inches below ground level, and all rooms and passages vaulted in brick and plastered. Brick, in fact, is the chief building material for all walls throughout, and is used to back up and make out the full thickness of the external walls behind the stone face.

The main staircase in the oval well originally descended to the basement, and until the formation of the terrace outside the Library was used as a means of reaching the garden. Beneath the landing and steps of the portico were planned the vaults for fuel. Strangely enough, in this most obscure part of the house have been built into the wall a few interesting fragments of stone carving from the Tudor house, in particular a stone block bearing the initials N.B. of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

The first or principal floor of the main building contains a fine suite of well proportioned rooms, all intercommunicating and with access to the entrance hall entered beneath the portico (see plan, Fig. 17). The Hall is 36 feet 6 inches square, and has a floor of white Purbeck stone in large squares, chequered with small squares of black marble: this floor being carried on brick piers supported upon the brick vaulting of the basement.

Around the walls at second floor level runs a wide stone gallery supported upon shaped metal cantilever brackets and protected by an iron balustrade (Fig. 18). That shown in the illustration is not the original railing, which was a delicate design of wrought iron with ovals and Greek detail, but was substituted in cast iron in the nineteenth century. The height of the hall is equal to its length and breadth, the walls rising to a large plaster cove. This gallery, and the doors leading off it, were the original means of reaching the bedrooms: the door shown in the corner of the hall leads to the foot of the oval stairs, and by ascending these access is gained through another door immediately above to the corner of the gallery.

Against the right hand wall of the hall can be seen the marvellous Elizabethan carpet, measuring 19 feet by 5 feet. It bears the Royal arms in the centre with the date 1570, while on the left are the arms of the Borough

of Ipswich, and on the right those of Harbottle. It is the earliest English pile carpet extant.

The doorcase with Ionic columns and pediment seen in the hall is opposite the entrance, and leads into the library—a fine apartment 36 feet by 25 feet, fitted with a good simple range of painted bookcases, and facing west; see Fig. 19.

A most interesting group of family portraits hangs above the books, and on top of the cases at the south end can be seen the three famous painted terra-cotta busts of the Bacons, which were illustrated in last year's *Transactions* of this Society, in Miss H. M. M. Lane's article, "Gorhambury: 1561-1652."

The central bust is that of Sir Nicholas Bacon, builder of Gorhambury II; on the left his second wife, Anne Cooke; and on the right the small bust of their second son, Sir Francis Bacon, when about twelve years old.

The door in the angle of the library gives on to a tiny ante-room leading to the drawing-room, and also having a door on to the service stairs which run from basement to attics.

As the plan shows, one side consists of a large alcove flanked by shelves for small books and a niche, while in the centre is a doorway to the library. The illusion of a satinwood veneered miniature room is perfect; actually it is grained work in paint and varnish, and is a masterpiece of this fast dying method of surface decoration (Fig. 20).

The south west angle of the house is occupied by the Drawing Room, a simple room of good proportions with a delicately modelled plaster cornice and frieze. The plaster walls are painted straw colour, and the woodwork broken white with fluted borders to panels, etc., picked out in yellow to match the walls (Fig. 21).

As in the Library, and all rooms excepting the Hall, the floor is laid with home grown oak out of the park: the boards are mostly quarter cut, secret nailed and dowelled together along the edges.

The Drawing Room contains some famous pictures. The one over the fireplace is a self-portrait of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Culford. To the left is the Earl of Essex, and to the right Queen Elizabeth—the portrait with which Sir Nicholas Bacon was presented at the conclu-

sion of the Queen's visit to Gorhambury in 1577. Both the portraits of Essex and of the Queen are attributed to Hilliard. The large painting on the far wall is Sir Joshua Reynolds' group of four children of James, second Viscount Grimston.

Here also are many fine pieces of mahogany furniture of the Chippendale and Heppelwhite periods.

The fireplace, like that in the library, is beautifully carved in white marble with insets of antique Roman and Italian workmanship. Fig. 22 shows the Drawing Room fireplace with insets of rosso antico, while the detail of that in the library shows in the frieze a Roman sacrifice (Fig. 23). These chimney pieces are attributed to Piranesi. The craftsmanship is of extremely high quality, and although documentary evidence is lacking, the Piranesi tradition is strongly held and is supported by the fact that he procured some antique sculpture for Edward Walter at Berry Hill, including the Roman vases shown upon the Drawing Room mantle shelf, which vases are to be seen figured in Piranesi's works.

The Ballroom in the south east angle was originally the dining room, at which time the meals were brought from the kitchen in the south wing, through part of the basement and up the service stair to this room.

The room at the north east angle, now the Dining Room, was originally planned as Lord Grimston's business room, having access from his dressing room which separated the former from his bedroom.

The staircase is designed in stone as a spiral ascent from the principal to the second or bedroom floor in an oval well, a favourite late eighteenth-century practice.

Each step is moulded, its wider end built into the wall and its bottom front edge obtaining a lodgment on the top back edge of the one immediately below; thus each step supports and is supported in turn.

Like the hall gallery, the present cast iron balustrade is a nineteenth-century replacement of an original wrought iron design of delicate Adam character.

Originally, as already stated, a lower flight descended to the basement. At its head the stair gives on to the Hall balcony, and above this the oval well rises to the roof and is top lit by a skylight, while a set of small

windows in its walls serve as borrowed lights to bedroom corridors.

The second floor, as originally designed, contained the whole of the family bed and dressing rooms. The arrangement is given in plan, Fig. 24, and will be seen to be much below modern standards in regard to the corridor planning, only one being directly lit, and ventilation being obtained only through the rooms.

In some cases cupboards are contrived by forming a curved partition centring in a fireplace with doors to the enclosed spaces on either hand. In some of the bedrooms are marble fireplaces dating from about 1700, which have been brought from old Gorhambury, adapted and re-used; while the chimneypiece in the Servants' Hall is a survival from Bacon's time and must have come out of one of the state rooms in the old house. It is of marble with boldly sculptured pilasters, now somewhat defaced and covered with black lead.

An item in the accounts for 1781 refers to these transfers.

“ Sep. 3. Masons and Labourers unpack-
ing and carrying old chimney
pieces out of the old house and
carrying and packing of D^o 0 10 6 ”

There are also several entries of removal of Purbeck stone and marble paving to the new house. Likewise there are a few panelled oak doors with carved architraves of early eighteenth-century date which were removed from the old house and re-used in subsidiary positions in the present house.

The ceilings of the bedrooms appear to be normal plaster and lath, etc., but upon ascending to the attics the floors of these are found to be of concrete cast in situ, with, presumably, iron or steel reinforcements. The construction of these concrete floors does not appear in any of the building accounts. The work must be later than the original work of 1777-1784, and probably it represents an early example of suspended reinforced concrete.

The records of the building of this, the fourth house in Gorhambury Park are very complete, thanks to the businesslike methods of Lord Grimston in dealing with correspondence and in keeping accounts. Thus are pre-

a curved partition centring in a fireplace with doors to the enclosed spaces on either hand. . . . In some of the with whom Lord Grimston contracted for their respective parts of the work, and of some of their assistants.

The very interesting agreement with Benjamin Cock, master carpenter, is given in full in Appendix No. 4. He is to have "a present at Christmas of 1 guinea if his conduct has deserv'd it."

The account book opens with the sentence: "Expence of building a new House at Gorhambury Herts begun by James Bucknall Viscount Grimston Anno Domini 1777."

Some of the first entries, however, concern material sold out of the old house, and for the almost continual cost of repairs, such as:—

1777. Jan. 1.	Marvin Goulds in full for				
	repairs ... ..	...	...	...	230 0 0
— March 25.	Rich ^d Peacock for old				
	iron ... ..	...	...	...	10 13 6
	Kentish for old iron ... ..	...	...	...	10 13 6

Moreover it is clear that the southern half of the wings surrounding the main court of the old house were now demolished, probably to save the continual expense of upkeep, and also in the hope of utilizing some of the materials in the new building. But the architect condemned the old bricks and "prevented the continuance of the use of them."

It must be borne in mind, however, that between the building of the two houses the brick tax had intervened, with the result that from the latter half of the seventeenth century bricks were made thicker. It would be found very inconvenient to employ the thin Tudor bricks in conjunction with the new ones, which were about three quarters of an inch thicker, and probably harder burnt. The old bricks would rise five courses to the foot, whereas with the new bricks there would be four courses in the same height; thus to mix them would greatly inconvenience the bricklayers and result in poor bonding.

The partial demolition of the old court is shown in a water colour drawing dated 1787, and preserved in the Herts County Museum, which shows the east and west wings abruptly stopped off and exposing the front of the Hall in the direction of Pré Wood.

Enormous quantities of bricks were required for the new building, and these were produced under contract by one Bodimead, who dug the clay and burnt the bricks on the estate, more than probably on the site of a spinney still known as Brick kiln spring. He also burnt the lime on the spot.

For the bricks, including all expenses, he was to be paid 17/- per thousand, and for the lime at the rate of 12/- per cwt.

In passing, it may be mentioned that similar bricks to-day, cost, at works, anything from 60/- to 70/- per thousand.

Bodimead delivered bricks and lime as follows:—

1777. May to November. 26 kilns were fired, producing 792,300 bricks. 590 cwts of lime were produced, which at the above rates cost	1041	9	10
1778. 18 kilns produced 600,000 bricks, and together with 295 cwts. lime cost ...	687	0	0
1779. 3 kilns gave 85,500 bricks, and with 35 cwts. lime the total was	142	5	6
1781. 2 kilns with 60,000 bricks are recorded, and			
1782. 1 kiln produced 27,000 bricks.			

Thus in five years the product of fifty kilns was 1,564,800 bricks, and the summary gives the total expenditure on bricks and lime at ... 2149 18 7½

The cost of wood for burning the bricks is an additional item at ... 369 9 3

The master bricklayers were Thomas White and Thomas Chambers, whose total bill, including the scaffolding they used, as distinct from that for the masons, amounted to ... 764 4 3

This item is an illuminating instance of the low cost of labour in the eighteenth century. In this case it represents only one-third of the cost of the materials used. To-day on a like expenditure on materials, the cost of labour would approximate £2,000

Three master masons were employed in cutting and building with stone brought chiefly from Totternhoe, and to a very limited extent from Portland.

The waggons plied constantly between Totternhoe and Gorhambury.

1779. Oct. Turnpike Bill to Tottenhoe ...	5	9	6
1780. April. Brown's bill for beer at the quarries	1	0	0
1780. Sept. Toll gate at Tottenhoe ...	5	11	1½
— — Eleven times the waggon to Tottenhoe	1	7	6
1781. Oct. To Mr. Gripes for carriage of stone	44	0	0

and numerous like entries.

Hawke, Wildsmith and Westmacott were the responsible masons, the first two being much more employed than the third, and their total combined bill for material and labour amounted to 5505 4 11½

Soon after the work commenced Lord Grimston wrote to his architect with regard to some question that had arisen as to the provision of scaffolding on the part of the masons. The reply is interesting and throws light on the difficulty of supervizing in 1777 work only twenty miles away from London.

“ Dated 16 Oct. 1777. Spring Garden.

“ Mr. Taylor presents his most respectful compliments to L^d Grimston and begs leave to acquaint his Lordship that upon looking into the agreemnt with the masons who are to do the Tottenhoe stone worke of the basement storey, finds they are as well as the Bricklayer, to provide all manner of scaffolding. Mr. Taylor will certainly send his clerk by one of the coaches on Tuesday (no coach going out on Monday) to examine and measure the work.”

There were payments to a Mr. Langrish of Stone Wharf, Limehouse, for Portland stone delivered by order of Mr. John Wildsmith, which doubtless are included in the amounts paid the master masons.

Mr. Hawke received payments for Portland stone, and the entry under Oct. 26th, 1779, reads:—

To carriage to Hertford of stone ... 62 2 2
which suggests that the Portland stone was sent on from the London docks by barge up the River Lea to Hertford and thence by road.

In connection with this question of transport in former times, it is interesting to speculate how the Kentish rag stone used sparingly in the plinth of the Gate House of St. Albans Abbev reached its destination in 1361:

as also the Portland stone used on the porch at old Gorhambury about 1567. It is not improbable that in both cases it also was water borne to Hertford, and thence by the comparatively level and well-beaten track to St. Albans.

As already stated, natural stone was used for the entire external facings and the shafts of the columns and pilasters, but not for the Corinthian capitals. Two entries confirm these as composed of the then very popular artificial composition called after the inventor, Coade stone.

By 1782, when the first payment is made, Mr. Coade was dead, and his wife continued to work the patent.

April 19th. To Mrs. Coade in part for
 Corinthian capitals 250 0 0
 and on March 26th, 1783,

To Mrs. Coade the Remainder of her
 Bill for Capitals in full 92 3 0

Delivery, however, had been made not later than August, 1780, and evidently it was considered unsafe to leave them too near the scene of active building until actually required for fixing, and the following entries record:—

1780. Aug. 21. To Removing the capitals
 from the new house to the old and un-
 packing and packing of D°.

By the end of the month the masons were ready to fix, so they were taken back and unpacked.

“Aug. 31st. To hoisting and setting capitals,” 7½ days.

In September there are several more such items of unloading, unpacking, hoisting and fixing.

In connection with the building of the walls it is to be noted that no concrete was employed in the foundations, but care was taken to drain the soil at the base of the walls, and on June 23rd, 1777, the sum of £117 6s. 9d. is paid to Mr. Kent of St. Albans for supplying “leaden pipes, etc., to the foundations.” It is to be observed that they were careful not to begin the foundations of the portico until four years after the commencement of the main block. In other words, they wisely gave time for the greater mass and weight to settle down, as all heavy buildings must, before bonding to it a comparatively light and open addition.

There are several entries of Tarras at 5s. 6d. per bushel, in some it is used "for the drains." This material has already been mentioned in accounts of the late seventeenth century at old Gorhambury, where it is spelt Tarrice. It was used as a means of ensuring a quicker and harder set to lime mortar before the introduction of Portland cement. It has long fallen into disuse, but it is interesting to know that its properties are now being investigated on a scientific basis, and experiments carried out with a view to its possible usefulness in situations and with materials for which Portland cement mortar is considered unsuitable.

For the floors and roofs, oak and fir timber were required in large quantities. The former was chiefly felled on the estate, the latter imported to London from the Baltic ports.

There is an entry in 1782 of £45 4s. 6d. for Norway oak, but its precise use is not specified. The home grown oak used in beams, etc., in the first floor was valued at £260 8s., and the workmanship in addition at £130 13s. 9d.

Between March, 1779, and December, 1781, there are entries of Riga timber. Medley was paid for deals, and on other occasions for fir, and Belcher and Burney, and Cosser & Co., also supplied much of the fir. This was all brought together in the final summary under one total payment to the master carpenter, Benj. Cock, and including nails and other incidentals amounted to £4,771 14s. 6d.

The roofs were slated, the material being supplied by Mr. Benion, and the first payments in this trade commenced in January, 1781. But prior to this the carcass of the house was kept dry by a temporary roof of thatch. This is entered in January, 1779:—

" Thatching the new building 7 10 3 "

There is, however, a less clear entry in the previous month for "covering the building," which cost £18. This may represent the rafters, etc., necessary to support the thatch.

Mr. Kent was entrusted with the whole of the plumbing, as his ancestor had been at old Gorhambury. In the present house he had long runs of wide valley and parapet gutters, flats and flashings, as well as water

pipes, etc. His total bill amounted to £1,039 3s. 9¼d.

When the house was completely roofed in an insurance against fire was effected with the Sun Fire Insurance Co. The entry reads,

1781. 10 Decr. Insurance of Gorham House

at the Sun Fire Office 4 11 6

I am indebted to the Secretary of the Sun Fire Office for the following copy of the original policy.

Policy No. 452473 dated 10th Decr., 1781.

Annual Premium, £3 15s.

First Premium, £3 18s. Christmas, 1782.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD
VISCOUNT GRIMSTONE,

of Gorhambury, near St. Albans in Herts, on his house only at Gorhambury aforesaid intended for his own occupation, part finished, brick stone and slated, not exceeding Three Thousand Pounds. £3,000.

J. Berwicke. J. Grove. J. Moffatt.

Coming to the interior finishings, a host of names appear from which the following have been selected.

Plaster and composition ornament is scarce. It occurs chiefly in the fine friezes of the original dining-room and drawing-room.

Feb., 1783. To Adam & Co. for his compo-

sition 25 16 0

This firm was owned by a brother of the famous contemporary architects Robert and James Adam, who constantly employed such enrichment.

In March, 1784, further composition costing £21 9s. was put up by Mr. John Rose, the plasterer, who was responsible for the whole of the internal plastering, and was paid in full at £985 15s. 8d.

William Hewlett supplied the door and shutter hinges, pulleys, for the sashes, screws, etc.

Mr. Holmes supplied the glass at £317 15s.

The carver's bill amounted to £138 os. 5¼d. in all, and probably the work was entirely executed by Henry Bazile of 65, Charing Cross.

Amongst the building accounts is a receipted bill of his for £97 which states it to be for carver's work done in the Library, Dressing Room, Lady Grimston's Bedroom, Eating Room, Drawing Room, Hall, Chimney pieces. This carving chiefly consists of very chaste

enrichment on the borders of the panels to doors and window shutters. All the doors are of deal and painted, with the exception of those to the three entrances of the original Dining Room, which are of the finest Cuba mahogany.

The wood for these doors may have been supplied by one Chaplin, who in March, 1783, was paid £42 19s. 10d. for mahogany. That they were made locally seems possible from the following letter written by Lord Grimston to the famous firm of furniture and joinery manufacturers, Messrs. Seddon & Sons of Aldersgate Street. It comes at a date almost one year after the house was first occupied, when one would presume all doors were hung, and is therefore difficult to explain.

Dated Gorham, 14 Aug., 1785.

To Messrs. Seddons, Aldersgate Str.

Sir,

The mahogany door which came hither yesterday from you we have measured with the opening, and find that it does not fit in any part of it, it is too short and too narrow, added to which the stiles (? rails) do not correspond to the side linings: In short, the London work has got no credit with my Joyners by this specimen.

I give you this immediate information that the others may not be gone on with from the same measures, and to desire to know what I shall do with this.

I am, etc.,

GRIMSTON.

It may be that the three mahogany doors existing in the Ballroom were supplied by Seddons, replacing original deal doors, which it may have been considered did not so well accord with the contemporary Dining-room mahogany furniture. If that be so the use for Mr. Chaplin's mahogany is obscure.

We do not know whether the faulty door was returned to London; perhaps not, for a mahogany door similar in design to those at Gorhambury, but reduced in size, has for long formed the front entrance to Kingsbury tarmhouse.

The wrought iron balustrade to the principal staircase, and the plain rails to the service stair, were supplied by Thos. Robinson, who received £55 17s. on

August 2nd, 1783. But apparently a Mr. Underwood or Wadeswood completed the work, including that to the Hall gallery, for on February 12th, 1785, he was paid £50 on account, and on the 9th of March following £60 in full for railing. There is a small intermediate entry of five guineas paid on a/c to a Mr. Tanner, who possibly was an employee either of Robinson or Underwood. Thus the total cost of staircase and gallery balustrading was £171 2s.

A full summary of the cost of building the main central block of the new mansion as prepared by Lord Grimston is given in appendix No. 5. The total for all labour and materials amounts to £16,829 6s. 6d.

The work was practically complete when in October, 1784, Lord Grimston and his household finally quitted what remained standing of the venerable Tudor house built by the Bacons, and entered into occupation of their new house.

This event is recorded in a memo among the papers of the 3rd Viscount, dated October 20th, 1784.

“Took possession of our New House at G on this day, after having been employ’d in building it seven years the second of last month.

Grimston.”

It was not until four years later that a start was made upon the building of the wings which had formed part of Taylor’s original design, but which for some reason was delayed. On June 9th, 1788, appears the first entry for “digging the foundations of the Kitchen offices,” and presumably this was well in hand before the north wing was begun.

Within four months Sir Robert Taylor was dead. The records make no mention of his successor, but a few days after his decease Lord Grimston received a letter from William Pilkington of Manchester Buildings, soliciting the post of “surveyor” to his Lordship. No reply has survived, and as detail building records of the wings have not come to light we are left in doubt as to whether or not his request was granted. The fact that ten years later, in May, 1798, we find him writing to Lord Grimston in reply to a question concerning the value of some Portland stone balusters fixed at Gorhambury, lends colour to the suggestion.

It is, however, clear that Sir Robert Taylor made no charge in respect of the wings, as is shown by the following account for fees for his services which was rendered by his son Michael Angelo Taylor, who had been granted letters of administration.

" Cost of Lord Grimston's House						
as pr. His Lordship's statement				£	16,829	6 6
Model	...	...	...		32	17 0
				<hr/>		
				£	16,862	3 6
				<hr/>		
Commission at 5 pr cent.	...	...	...		843	2 0
Journeys	...	...	...		63	0 0
Cash paid for models	...	...	...		32	17 0
				<hr/>		
					£938	19 0."
				<hr/>		

The receipt for this amount exists, signed

" Mich^l Ang^o Taylor, Administrator. 11 Feb., 1790."

In January, 1789, the walls of the south wing were probably complete, in which month Chambers presented his bill for brickwork " exclusive of materials " at £171 13s. 4d. Stone facing as to the main building was here abandoned and only Portland stone was employed sparingly for cornice, cills, etc., and the columns of the connecting open corridors.

Thus we find among the plastering accounts, also carried out by Chambers, particulars of the stucco work.

" To 1,000 yds. 6 ft. super of stucco on
brick prepared from stone lime and Drift
sand wash'd down to imitate stone in
courses with arches to appertures ... 51 1 11
Measured and valued Oct. 18, 1792.

Geo. James Rose,
Surveyor. Hartford."

Possibly this man Rose, and not Pilkington, supervised the erection of the wings, but his signature to a valuation of just one section of the work is not proof.

Chambers' bills for " plaistering " in both wings were paid in 1792 and amount to £146 8s. in addition to the external stucco. The accounts of other trades employed upon the wings unfortunately appear to be lost.

Reference must here be made to a small building

called The Temple, and marked upon map No. 1, as it was probably built about this time.

It has been thought that it represents one of Bacon's summer houses "built of Roman Architecture" by reason of its classic portico, and also because there exists within it the lower half of a marble fireplace of early seventeenth century date, bearing the Bacon motto *Mediocria Firma* (see Fig. 7).

There is, however, the evidence of a note in the diary of the second Earl of Verulam, dated April 18th, 1870. "Saw works at the Temple. On piece of wood, Bilt by Grove, October 8th, 1787."

The brickwork and general design of the Temple accord much more readily with this date than an earlier one. It is just possible the stone Doric columns of the portico may have come from an older building; but the entablature and pediment are chiefly of wood painted (Fig. 26).

The structure has every appearance of being built in the late eighteenth century, and if that be the case the fireplace probably is one of those taken out of old Gorhambury at this period, or possibly preserved after the earlier demolition of Verulam House.

With the completion of the wings, building operations cease to be recorded at Gorhambury for a number of years.

The third viscount, who built the new mansion and moved from the old house in 1784, lived in his new abode twenty-five years.

On July 6th, 1790, he was created a peer of Great Britain as Baron Verulam of Gorhambury, Herts. He died January 1st, 1809, and was succeeded by his son James Walter, who inherited the Scottish barony of Forrester in 1808, and was created Earl of Verulam, November 24th, 1815.

Before his death in 1845 considerable alterations were to be made.

Among the surviving accounts the next in order of date opens with the year 1813. Hitherto the ancient practice had obtained of engaging the various trades separately, involving the making of agreements with the principal or "master" of each craft. Now, however, from 1813 onwards the general contractor appears on the

scene, and from this date until 1828 he is Thos Martin of 12, George Street, Portman Square.

Up to 1815 "sundry works" is the sole description of work done, and the bill is relatively small at £999 10s. 3d. Martin appears to have been constantly employed by Lord Verulam in Town as well as at Gorhambury, and his general statement shows a charge in 1815 of £12,902 4s. 7d. for "Erecting house and offices in Grosvenor Square."

Under the year 1817 the amount of £3,547, 16s. 6d. is entered for "Erecting the additional building at Gorhambury" in 1816-17, together with a further charge of £80 12s. for travelling expenses, etc., during this period.

This additional building consisted of a wing, possibly of two stories, covering the open space between the original north wing of 1788-90 and the main block. (See plan, Fig. 25.) It is to be regretted that the desire of the first Earl to entertain on an ambitious scale, and the requirements of a family of six sons and four daughters, made it appear that the accommodation as provided in 1784 was totally inadequate; for not only did the new addition destroy the pleasing symmetry of Sir Robert Taylor's dignified and balanced lay-out, but it rendered the house too large for the needs of later generations.

Onwards to 1819 there is another account, the first of Martin's in detail, for £740 14s. 5d. for a host of sundry items in the way of repairs, decorations, etc., chiefly about the principal rooms.

During this period there is no mention of an architect, though it is highly probable that one was employed.

There is a lull until 1826, when a new scheme was launched involving the demolition of the detached south wing and the enlargement of the now fully attached north wing, thus transferring the kitchen offices from the south side and opening up a space for an enlarged garden. One reason for pulling down the kitchen wing was said to be that the smell of cooking often entered the Drawing-room windows, but apart from this it was obvious that it would be more convenient to have all services concentrated on the north side where they

could be better planned, with cool larders and storage, and more convenient access by tradesmen, etc.

William Martin again was the contractor, the plans being prepared and work supervised by William Atkinson, architect.

Evidently the improvements this scheme of Atkinson was expected to make were eagerly awaited, as the following extracts from the Diaries of the first Earl of Verulam show.

“ 1825, Oct. 22. Lady V. quite full of the improvements she is about to make at Gorhambury: Mr. Atkinson’s plans examined and re-examined.”

The demolition of the detached south wing was watched with considerable interest, and about five months later there is a further entry.

“ 1826, Mar. 14. The wing being nearly down opens a pleasing prospect towards Pre Wood, and I think improves very materially the appearance of the House, which I trust will be made infinitely better by this measure of Lady Verulam’s.”

In addition to considerable remodelling, this scheme involved the raising of the wing to three stories, so that the original cornice of the detached north wing had to be removed and reset at the higher level, the stucco treatment of the walls being continued on to all the new work.

Further, it will be noted on the plan that the additional wing now completely shut out the light from what had been Lord Grimston’s dressing room, since which time it has been but a lobby or ante room leading to the main central corridor of the wing.

Up to 1828 the work had cost £6,868 17s. 7d., but there were a few extras, and the account was settled at £7,197 5s. 9½d.

Atkinson’s own account for fees also exists, including a detailed list of some 88 plans comprising working drawings, full size details, and survey plans requisite for the work. He charged £30 5s. for eleven journeys, and the receipt for his fee of £370 is dated March 27th, 1829.

For the next eighteen years the house was rid of workmen, and apart from minor matters nothing of importance was done.

The second Earl succeeded in 1845, and by 1847 yet a third scheme of alterations was on foot.

On this occasion, however, some structural alterations occur in the principal building. The work was carried out by Messrs. Armstrong & Smith, Builders, of Pimlico, and the architect was William Burn, of 6, Stratton Street.

During the contract the original wrought iron balustrades to the staircase and hall gallery were removed and replaced with the heavier cast iron ones still existing. The foot of the staircase was also completely altered.

Hitherto the original spiral stair had descended to the basement, but now the bottom flight was removed and a new straight flight made to descend northward from first floor to the ground floor level of the large north wing in which some subsidiary living rooms were arranged facing and opening west on the garden. A lower hall was formed at ground level, with an entry from a new projecting porch, by which the old main entrance under the Portico into the Hall could be kept shut except upon special occasions.

The roof of the Portico was reconstructed and slated. The stone and marble paving of the Hall was relaid. Iron girders are mentioned for the first time and employed in a bathroom floor. Rooms were re-decorated, some windows and skylights renewed, and furniture repaired.

The total bill was £2,190 8s. 0½d., the work being completed in April, 1848. The Earl noted in his Diary:—

“12/4/48. Got into our rooms at Gorhambury.”

The architect's fee was £140, and his Lordship deemed it “a very small charge.”

In conclusion I have to record my great indebtedness to the Earl and Countess of Verulam for the opportunity afforded me of examining all relevant documents in their possession, for the loan of numerous papers and books, and for much personal assistance in the elucidation of many obscure points.

I have to acknowledge my thanks to Miss H. M. M. Lane and the Rev. H. O. Cavalier for valuable help in research and in translations; to Mr. H. E. Asprey for assistance rendered in surveys, etc., and to the proprietors of *Country Life* for their kind permission to reproduce many of the illustrations.

APPENDIX No. 1.

Copy of Lambeth MSS. expenses of building Gorhambury II, but with Arabic figures in place of the Roman numerals in the original.
 "A Briefe of the whole charges of the money bestowed upon the buylding at Gorambury betwene the first day of Marche anno dni 1563 and the last daye of September a.d. 1568, viz., by the space of fyve yeres and xiiij dayes (sic) made upon xiiij particular bookes hereupon examined, viz. :

	Anno Dni 1563 In onere Nicholas Bourdeman	Anno Dni 1564 In onere Thome Wytherhead	Anno Dni 1565 In onere sd Thome	Anno Dni 1566 In onere sd Thome	Anno Dni 1567 In onere sd Thome	Anno Dni 1568 In onere sd Thome	To To.
Emptions and provision of necessaries	£36 13 10	£43 9 8½	£90 9 5½	£238 17 6½	£190 11 2½	£132 9 8½	£732 11 6½
Carpenters	58 6 9	53 10 0	67 16 6	91 0 2	82 12 10½	13 12 10	366 19 1½
Brycklayers	25 14 0	42 18 11	73 17 5	124 15 2	30 16 11	5 17 4	303 19 9
Masonnes	51 5 6	74 14 0	29 0 0	50 11 8	40 0 0	23 6 8	268 17 10
Sawyers	16 3 6	5 15 7	17 14 11½	25 0 11	10 1 4	6 10 2	81 6 5½
Joyners	Nil.	Nil.	2 17 0	63 11 0	42 4 10	5 6 8	113 19 6
Plasterers	Nil.	Nil.	19 13 4	21 13 4	24 6 3½	Nil.	65 12 11½
Paynters	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	12 1 6	12 1 6
Glasiers	Nil.	Nil.	19 2 0	11 18 0	4 11 8	Nil.	35 11 8
Brickmakers	Nil.	47 13 4	38 0 0	24 2 8	Nil.	18 0 0	127 16 0
Quarymen and Car- riage of Stone	Nil.	Nil.	38 0 0	26 16 8	9 1 4	8 15 6	82 13 6
Tylemakers	Nil.	18 9 5	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	18 9 5
Pavyers	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	4 2 6	2 11 8	6 14 2
Plombers	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	1 18 9	Nil.	1 18 9
Labourers	65 0 6	95 13 10½	109 16 3	164 13 11	105 18 11½	36 6 8½	577 10 2½
Lymeburners	Nil.	6 8	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	Nil.	6 8
Dyers Caryages	61 18 11	75 15 6	68 7 10½	105 1 4	23 8 5	31 16 0	366 8 0½
Necessary payments	6 0	5 0 0	2 11 2	3 17 10½	2 19 8	Nil.	14 14 8½
Summa totalis	315 9 0	463 7 0½	577 5 11½	952 0 3½	572 14 9½	296 14 9	3177 11 9½

Memorandum: there is not accounted for in this Brief any tymber felled within any yor Lordships woods nor otherwise had of any person, neither is there valued any free stone brought from the Abbey of St. Albans, Lyme, sonde, nor the profites that might have accrued of burninge and makinge of Brycke within the tyme above mentioned.

APPENDIX No. 2.

(Lambeth Palace Library MSS. 647, folio 9.)

The charges expended at Gorchambury by reason of her Maties comynge thither on Saturday the 18th of Maye 1577, before supper and contynuinge untill Wednesday after dynner followinge, warranted by a booke of particulers.

		£	s.	d.
Pantry and Pastry	first for wheatt in the Pantry and Pastry	47	12	6
Buttrye	Itm in beare and ale	24	16	8
Cellar	Itm in wyne of all kyndes	57	5	8
Ewry and Chaundry	Itm in cotton lightes and in Quarriers torches and mortrezes	15	18	1
Kytchen	Itm in Beef 8 oxen, £31.3.7, in mutton 60 carc. £27.0.0, in veales 18 carc. £9.6.3, In Lambes 34 carc. £7.15.4, in kiddes 10, £2.10.0	77	15	2
Achates in fowle	Itm Capons of all kindes 206, £17.5.4, Pulletes of all kindes, £1.1.0, Chekins 31 doz. and 8, £6.6.8, Geese 10 doz., £6.1.0, herrons 12 doz. and 8, £26.13.4, Bitters 13 doz. and 10, £17.4.2, Ducklinges 12 doz., £3.13.0, Pigeons 19 doz. and 10, £2.2.8, Byrdes of the neast 18 doz. and 7, 18s. 7d., Godwittes 2 doz., £4.0.0, Dotterells 14, 9s. 4d., Shovelers 13, £2.3.4, ffezaunts 2 doz. and 5, £3.12.6, Pertriches 13, 11s. 8d., Quales 16 doz. and 9, £8.7.6, Mayechickes 17 doz., £3.8.0, Mallerdes 23, 15s. 4d., Teales 12, 4s., Larkes 3 doz. and 9, 2s. 6d., Curlewes 3, 4s., Knottes one doz., 4s.	105	7	11
	Itm for sea ffyshe of all kindes £23.17.10, for ffreshe water ffyshe of all kindes, £13.0.8	36	18	6
Achates viz.	in Gammons of Bacon baked and boylde £1.10.0, dryed tonges 24, 16s., Tonges 36, £1.17.0, Bacon 2 fflitches, 11s., neatts tonges, 8s., Sheepes tonges, 6d., Cowes udders, 1s., Calves feete, 2s., hares 1s. 4d., Rabbettes 41 doz. and 9, £7.9.6, Butter £8.14.8, Egges, £2.17.0, Creame, £2.10.8, Milke, 6d., fleure £1.13.9.	28	12	11
Salsery	Itm in vinegre and verges	3	12	0
Spicery	Itm in spice of all sortes	27	6	1½
Confectionry	Itm in Banqueting stuff	19	0	6
Wood yarde	Itm in woode	8	1	8
Coole howse	Itm in Cooles	16	0	0
Necessaries, herbes, fflowers, artichokes	Itm in necessaries, £18.5.9, in herbes fflowers and artichokes, £6.15.10	25	1	7

		£	s.	d.
Rewardest	Itm in rewardest for presentts, £9.16.0, in rewarde for officers of the Quenes £12.5.0.	22	1	0
Cariedges	Itm in Cariedges from London to Gor- hambury and from Gorhambury back again to London	10	0	0
	Itm to an upholster for things hired	1	15	8
	Itm to them of the Revells	20	0	0
	Itm to the cookes of London for their wages	12	0	0
	Itm to Laborers for their wages	1	7	8
	Itm for feeding of fowle		6	0
	Itm for alteracion of thinges besides the stuff	7	10	0
	Itm for losse of Pewter £6.15.6, for losse in naperye, £2.0.6	8	16	0
	Sma to ^{lis} of all expense beside a cuppe psented to the Quenes Matie besides 30 buckes and 2 staggess.	577	6	7½

APPENDIX No. 3.

1695. An account of Linen at Gorham delivered to Mrs. Monro.

In the lesser cyprus inlaid chest of Damask.

Long table cloths	11	Fine sheets added for ye best
Side board „	13	room marked figure one: 3
Napkins	10 doz. and 5	pairs more added 2 fine pairs
More Napkins	5 doz.	figure 2 for the green roome.
Long towels	12	2 fine pillow beres.
	made into	
Little towels	24	
Cloths for ye Sacramt & side Board cloths	8	
Three pieces of new	yds.	
Damask which contains	177½	to make curtains at London.
Three pieces of fine new Dimety		3 pieces.

In the Great Cyprus Chest.

Five Holland Sheets.	11 pr & one sheet strangers.
Callico topsheets.	11 and 3 holland top sheets.
Holland Pillowbiers.	15 peare.
Callico stool cloths.	18
Callico table cloths for chambers.	90
Holland Table cloths for cham- bers	5 and one Diaper.
Little Diaper Towels.	15.
Long Diaper Towels.	8.
Holland Towels.	4.
Large Flaxon Sheets	1 pr.
Flaxon Sheets	12 pr.
Dimety Blankets.	4
Holland Top sheets.	4.

In the Trunk going to ye Maids Chambers.

Fine diaper napkins	22 doz.
Old " "	7 doz.
Diaper table cloths	12
" side board cloths	14
French diaper Table cloths	10
" " side board cloths.	18.

In the trunk under the window in ye maids Chamber.

Flaxon Table cloths.	12.
Finer " "	4
Flaxon side board cloths	6
Large Flaxon Table "	7
Towells.	12
Flaxon Napkins	16 doz. & 5.

New sheets made in May '96 Linen made Pillow biers	2 pr.
One pair of fine Holland sheets with two Breadths and $\frac{1}{2}$.	1 pr.
and so much remained and made 2 pr of Pillow biers.	
Two pair not so fine with two breadths	2 pr.
" " Holland sheets courser with two breadths	2 pr.
2 coarsest pair of these Holland sheets my Lady uses at London.	

In ye trunk in ye Passage by ye Laundry.

Flaxon sheets two Breadths and Halfe	4 pr.
Irish cloth sheets	2 pr.
Large Flaxon sheets for my Mr. his bedd	2 pr.
Flaxon napkins.	30 doz.

In ye chest in ye same passage.

Course sheets for Footman &c.	21 pr. & one.
New course sheets in a Trunk in ye Laundry.	11 pr.

In another chest in ye same passage.

Flaxon sheets	38 pr. & one.
Flaxon Pillow biers.	21 pr. & one.

In another trunk in the Laundry.

Fine long table cloths	7
Coarse Hall table cloths	10
Dresser cloths	7

APPENDIX No. 4.

Agreement between Lord Grimston and the Carpenter.

25 MARCH 1777.

It is this day agreed between Benjⁿ Cock, Carpenter, on the one part and the Visct. Grimston on the other that he the s^d Benjⁿ Cock should enter into the service of L^d Grimston as carpenter working himself and overseeing the work of other carpenters, framing their work, and doing in the service both as to extra Hours during the summer season as he has been us'd to do, and likewise in the winter, to commence from the date hereof and to continue as long as his Behaviour, Diligence, and Abilities in

his Profession make him a proper Person for such Employment, to be judged by Lord Grimston. In total consideration of which full services it is hereby agreed that he shall receive from Lord Grimston the sum of Twenty five Pounds pr Ann. to be paid Quarterley, with a present at Christmas of 1 guinea, if his Conduct has deserv'd it.

This annual pay with the Present shall be considered as full satisfaction for every Demand which he may formerly have made from other Carpenters working under him, who shall now be paid no more by Ld Grimston than they usually have been by Benj Cock that is to say—per Diem, in witness whereof the s^d Benjamin Cock and Ld Grimston set their hands this

25 March 1777 signed } Grimston
Benjⁿ Cock

APPENDIX No. 5.

Expence of building a new House at Gorhambury
begun Ann. Domi 1777.

	£	s.	d.
Digging and cleaning out the Foundations, drains etc.	56	15	4½
To the Brickmaker for Bricks and Lime	2149	18	7½
To the Bricklayer scaffolding included	764	4	3
To Wildsmith	2697	18	5½
Westmacot } Stone masons	89	15	6
Hawke }	2707	11	0
To Mr. Adams for composition	25	16	10
Iron railing	171	2	0
To the Slater	153	6	0
To Mrs. Coade for artificiall stone	342	0	0
Mr. Holmes for glass	317	15	0
For Tarras	76	7	0
To Canvas for lining	4	2	6
Patent sky light	35	3	6
Kent the Plumber	1039	3	9¼
Rose the Plaisterer	985	15	8
Carpenter. Timber nails etc included	4771	14	6
Carver	138	0	5¼
Covering the building in winter	18	0	0
Cariage paid	191	6	2
Thorpe for one Patent sash	5	14	5
Painter	77	15	6
	£16,829	6	6

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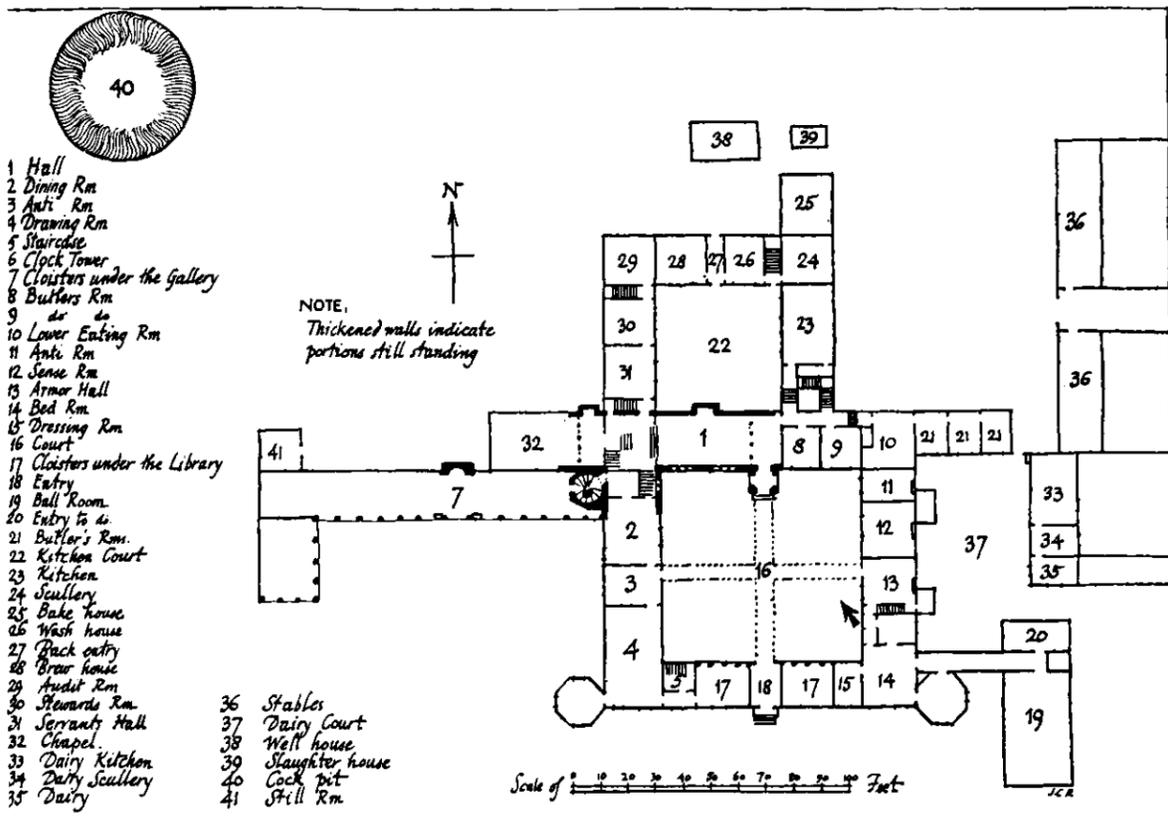


FIG. 1. GROUND PLAN OF BACON'S HOUSE (GII ON MAP No. 1). THE LAYOUT REPRESENTS THE BUILDINGS AS EXISTING IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.



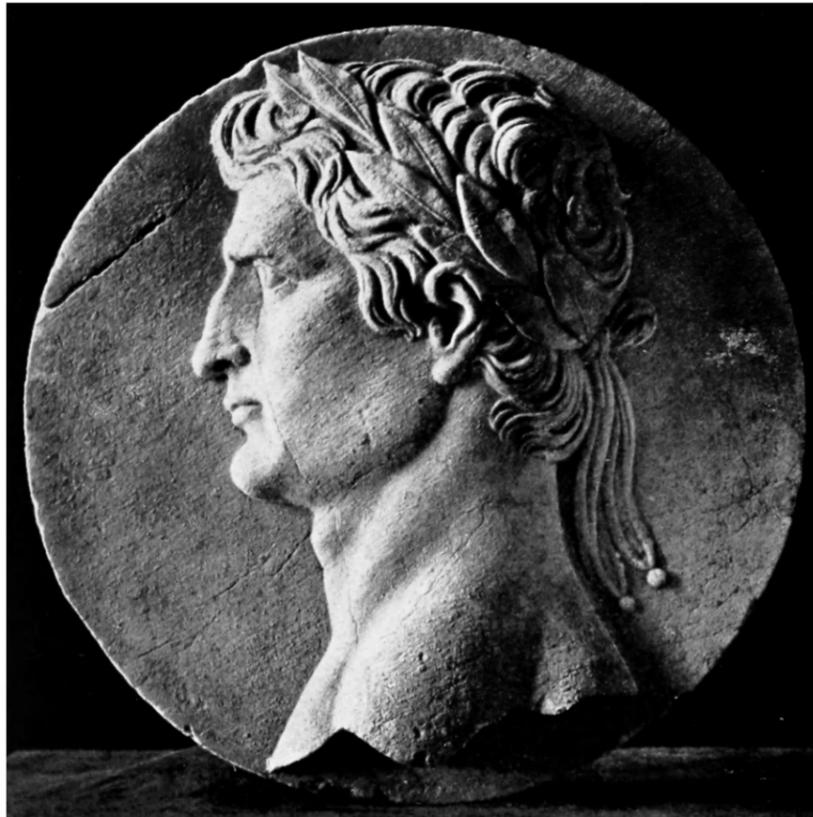
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FIG. 2. THE PORCH GIVING ACCESS TO THE HALL. THE WALL OF THE LATTER, NOW FALLEN, WOULD HAVE FILLED THE LEFT SIDE OF THIS VIEW. THE BRICK LINING TO ARCHES AND PIERS IS A MODERN EXPEDIENT TO STRENGTHEN THE STRUCTURE.



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Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 3. ONE OF A PAIR OF SCULPTURED MARBLE MEDALLIONS
ORIGINALLY IN THE SPANDRILS OF THE FRONT ARCHWAY OF THE
PORCH. 12½ IN. DIAMETER.



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Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 3A. GLAZED TILE, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, PAINTED IN COLOURS WITH THE CREST AND MOTTO, ETC., OF THE BACONS



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FIG. 4. FIREPLACE OF THE HALL. NOTE THE CONTRACTION OF THE OPENING BY LATER OWNERS; THE CUTTING AWAY OF ARCHITECTURAL ENRICHMENT FROM THE FACES OF THE STONE FRAMEWORK, AND THE ARCH THAT SUPPORTED THE HEARTH WITH CELLAR BELOW.



Gothamberg.



FIG. 5. A VIEW OF THE RUINS OF BACON'S HOUSE TAKEN FROM A POINT IN THE COURT MARKED BY AN ARROW ON THE PLAN FIG. 1. THE TALL FRAGMENT ON THE LEFT IS THE REMAINS OF THE STAIR AND BELL TURRET (G), OF WHICH CONSIDERABLY LESS IS NOW STANDING.



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FIG. 6. AN EXTERNAL DOORWAY GIVING ACCESS TO LOGGIA UNDER THE LONG GALLERY (7) FROM THE FOOT OF THE STAIR TURRET (6).



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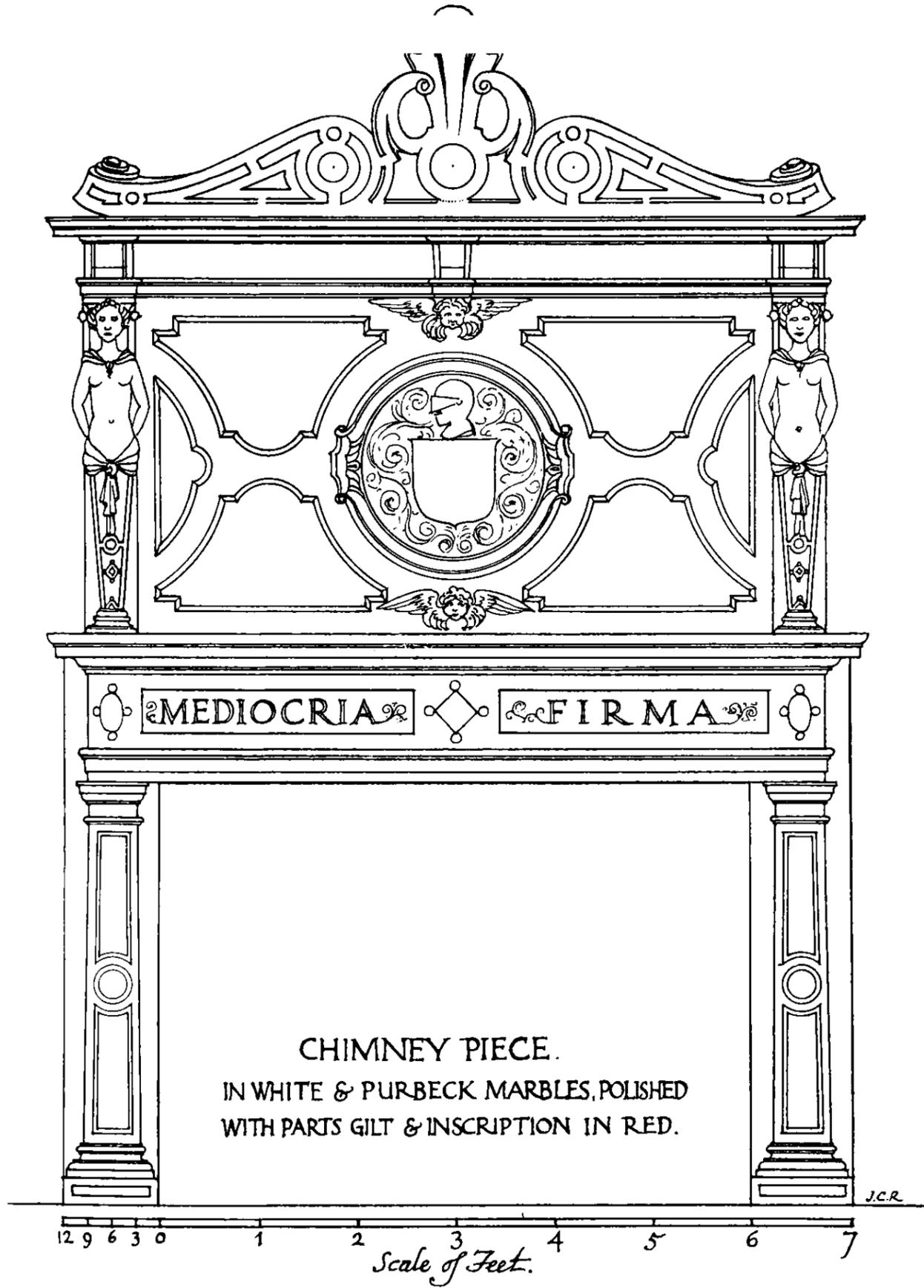
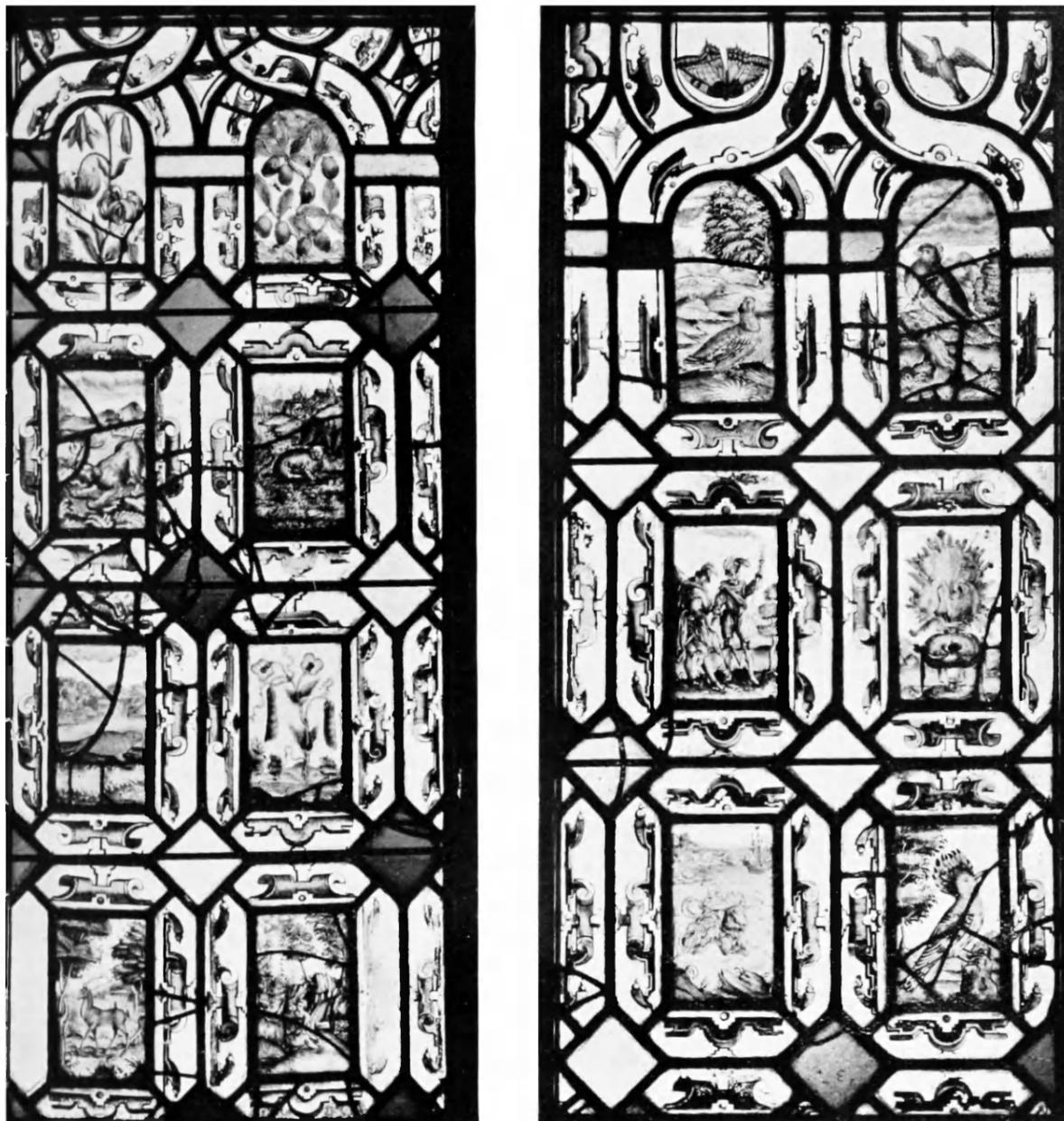


FIG. 7. AN EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CHIMNEYPIECE FROM BACON'S HOUSE. OF THE UPPER HALF ONLY A FEW FRAGMENTS SURVIVE. THE LOWER HALF NOW STANDS IN THE "TEMPLE" COTTAGE.



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Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 8. DECORATIVE GLASS IN LEADED PANELS ORIGINALLY PART OF THE WINDOW GLASS IN THE LONG GALLERY.



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FIG. 9. THE RUINED NICHE AND STATUE OF HENRY VIII FORMING THE CENTREPIECE
IN THE LOGGIA UNDER THE LONG GALLERY.



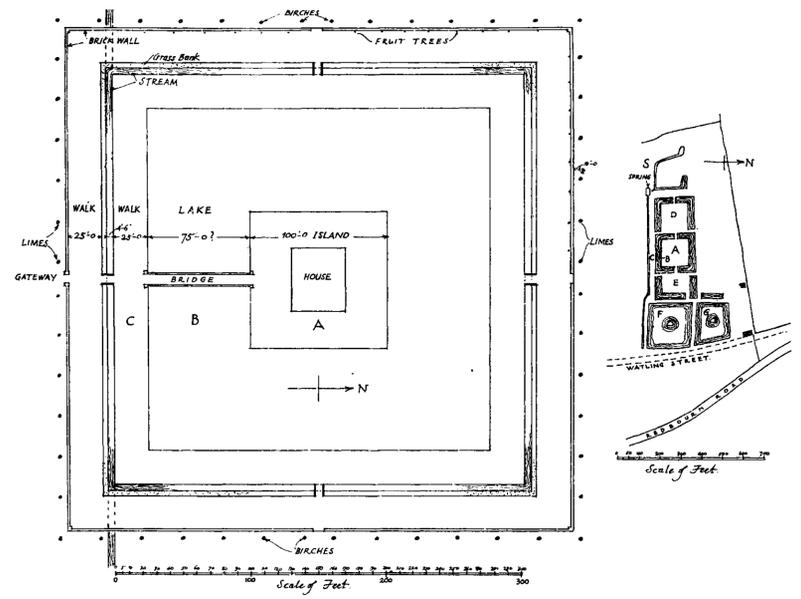


FIG. 10. PLAN OF WATER GARDEN AND HOUSE ON AN ISLAND IN A LAKE MADE FROM BACON'S NOTES OF 1608. ON THE RIGHT A PLAN OF THE PONDS AS EXISTING.



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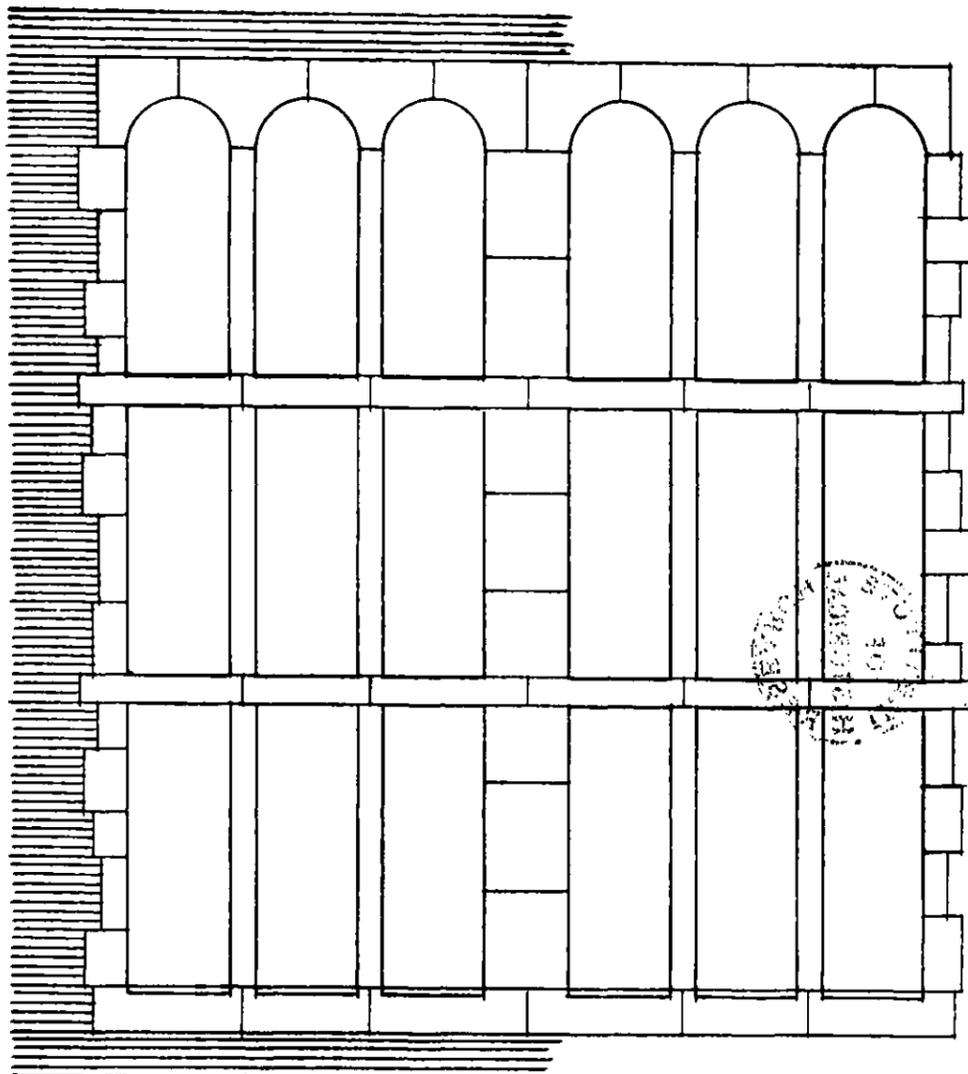
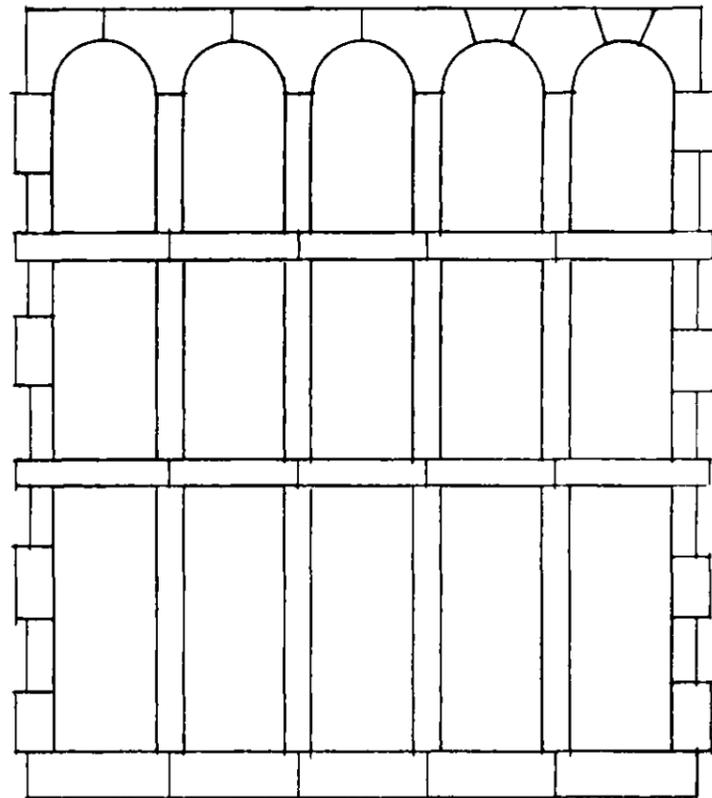


FIG. 11. ELEVATION OF FIRST DESIGN FOR CHAPEL WINDOW, BASED ON SPECIFICATION IN ARGEEMENT WITH T. EDNEY, MARCH 20, 1673. FOR WHICH HE WAS TO RECEIVE £10: BUT NOT EXECUTED.

NEW STONE WINDOW TO CHAPEL
1673

20
19
18
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Feet



CONJECTURAL ELEVATION OF WINDOW, "14 FOOT AND 16 FOOT," DESIGNED BY CAPT. RYDER, WHICH EDNEY BUILT AND FOR WHICH HE RECEIVED £10.



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Courtesy of "Country Life."
FIG. 12. REPRODUCTION OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WATER COLOUR DRAWING OF BACON'S HOUSE TAKEN FROM THE SOUTH.
THIS SHOULD BE COMPARED WITH THE PLAN FIG. 1.





FIG. 10. EAST FRONT OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE. THE PORTICO CONTAINS THE DISCOURT ENTRANCE.



bury.



Courtesy of "Country Life."

6. 14. THE CORINTHIAN PORTICO ON THE EAST FRONT: THE CAPITALS ARE OF "COADE STONE."





FIG. 15. THE PRESENT HOUSE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ADDITIONAL WING CAN BE SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND.



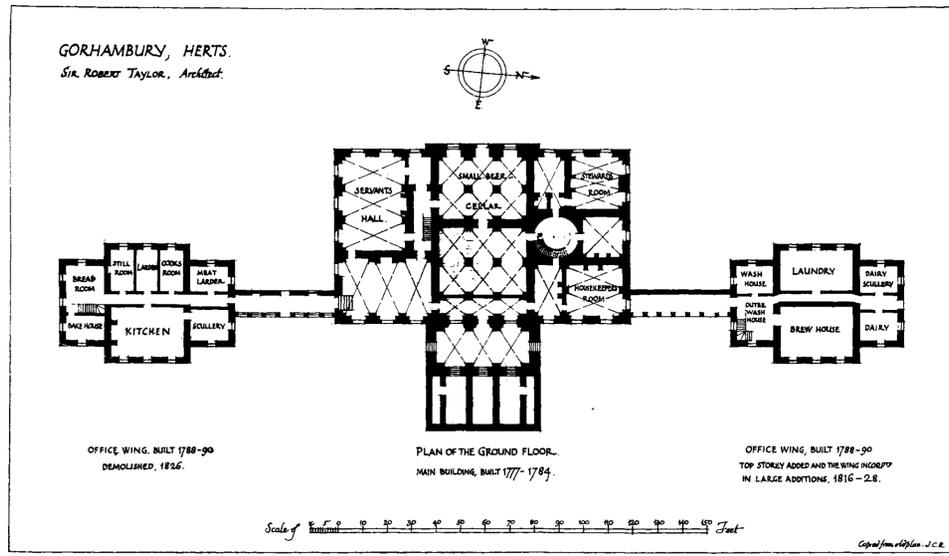


FIG. 16. GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF THE PRESENT HOUSE AS IT EXISTED WITH FLANKING WINGS BETWEEN 1790 AND 1826. (SEE TEXT.)

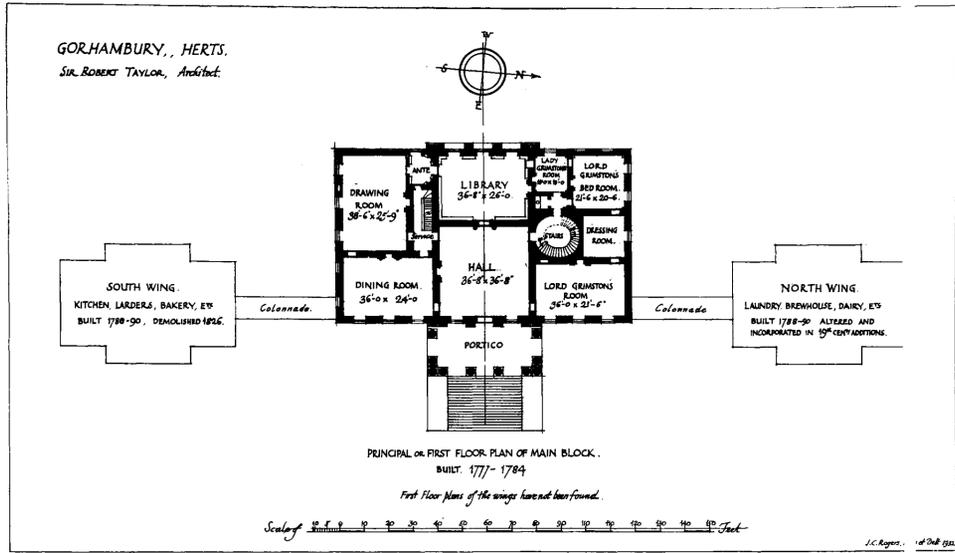


FIG. 17. FIRST FLOOR PLAN AS IT WAS BEFORE THE LARGE ADDITIONAL WING OF NINETEENTH CENTURY DATES CLOSED THE WINDOWS ON THE NORTH WALL AND INCORPORATED THE ORIGINAL NORTH DETACHED WING.



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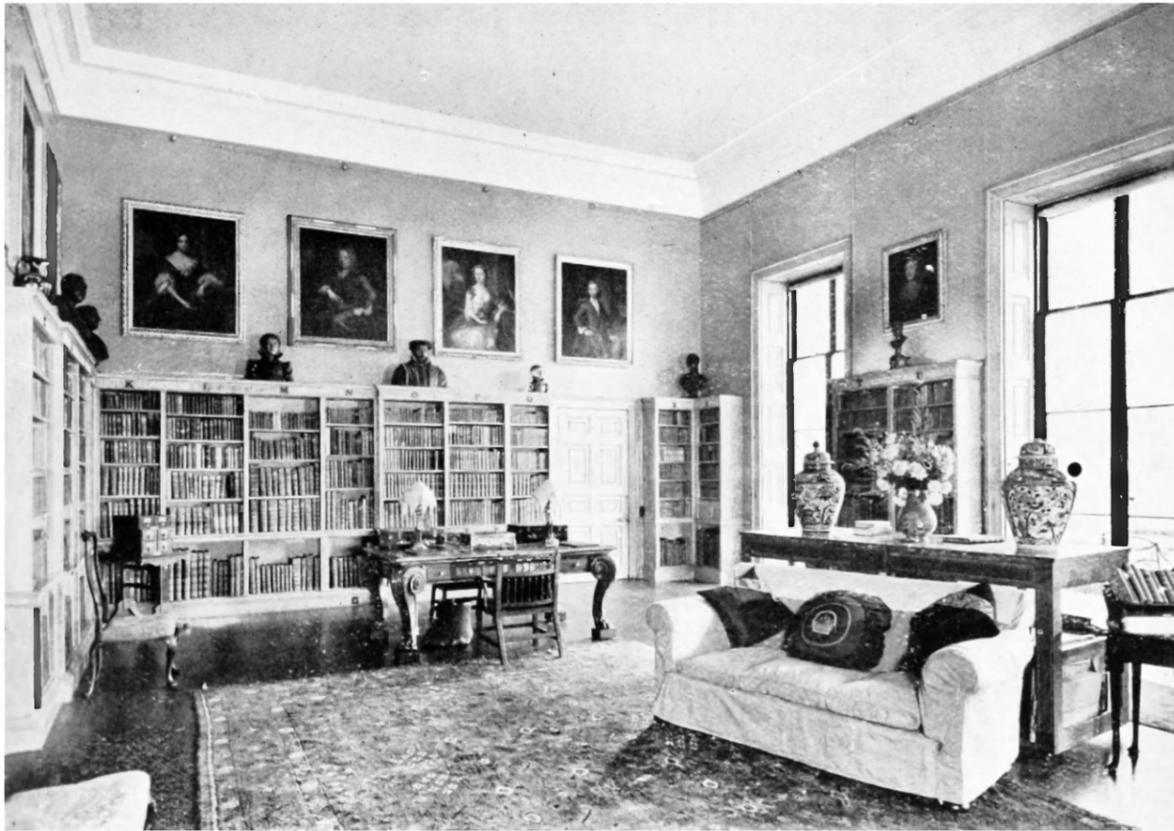


Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 18. THE HALL OF THE PRESENT HOUSE. THE WALLS PAINTED PLASTER; THE FLOOR OF PURBECK STONE AND BLACK MARBLE SQUARES



Gorhambury.



Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 10. THE LIBRARY, WITH PAINTED BOOKCASES. THE FRENCH CASEMENTS REPLACE ORIGINAL SLIDING SASHES. AMONG THE BUSTS ON THE BOOKCASE, THE THREE AT THE END OF THE ROOM ARE THOSE OF SIR NICHOLAS BACON, HIS WIFE ANNE, AND HIS SON FRANCIS: IN PAINTED TERRA COTTA AND CONTEMPORARY.



bury.

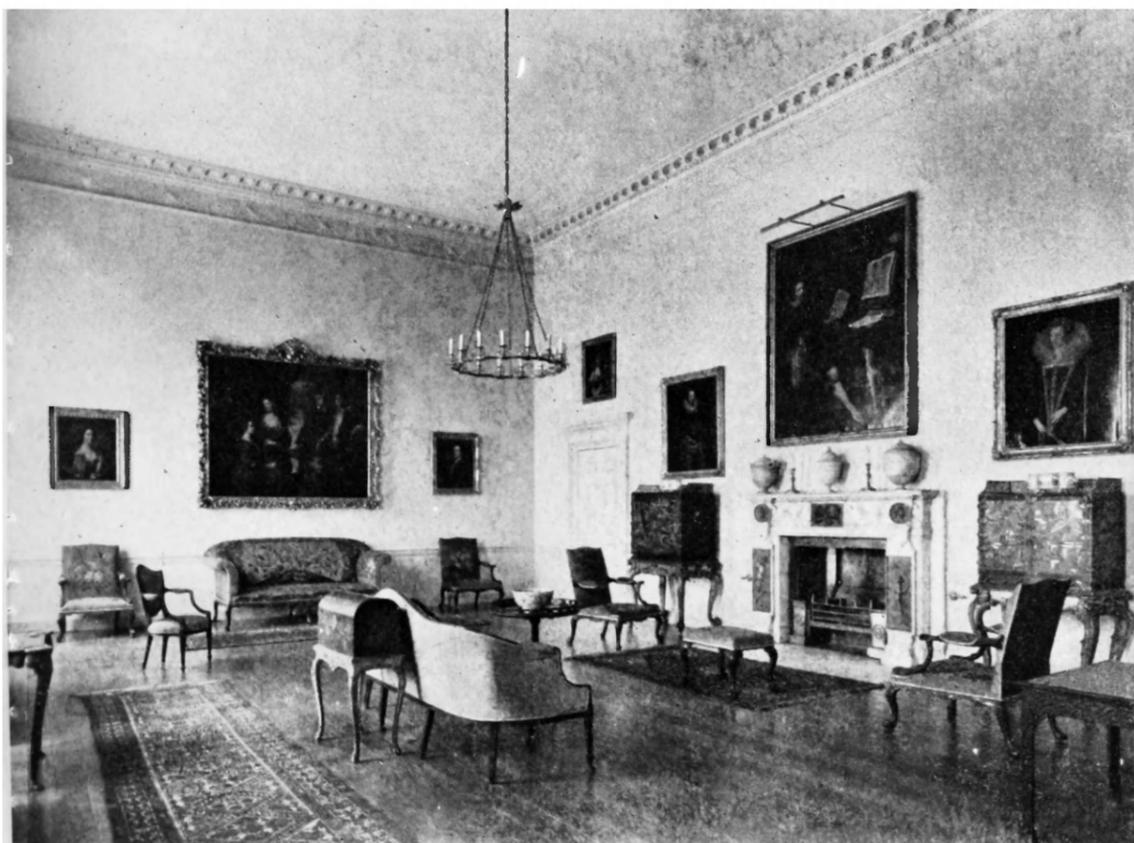


Courtesy of "Country Life."

G. 20. ANTE ROOM BETWEEN LIBRARY AND DRAWING ROOM. THE WALLS, NICHE AND WOODWORK GRAINED TO IMITATE SATINWOOD.



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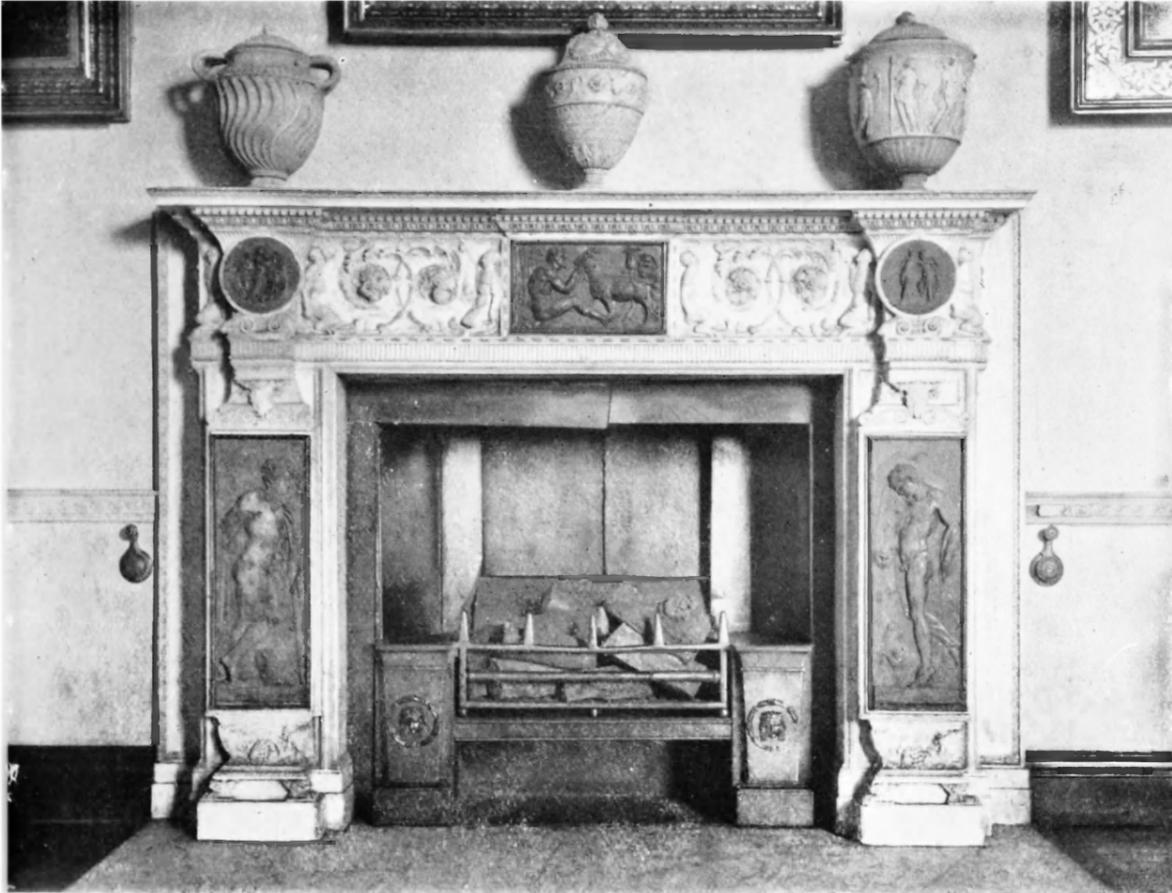


Courtesy of "Country Life"

3. 21. THE DRAWING ROOM. PAINTED WALLS WITH DELICATELY MODELLED PLASTER CORNICE; PIRANESI MARBLE FIREPLACE; POLISHED OAK FLOOR.

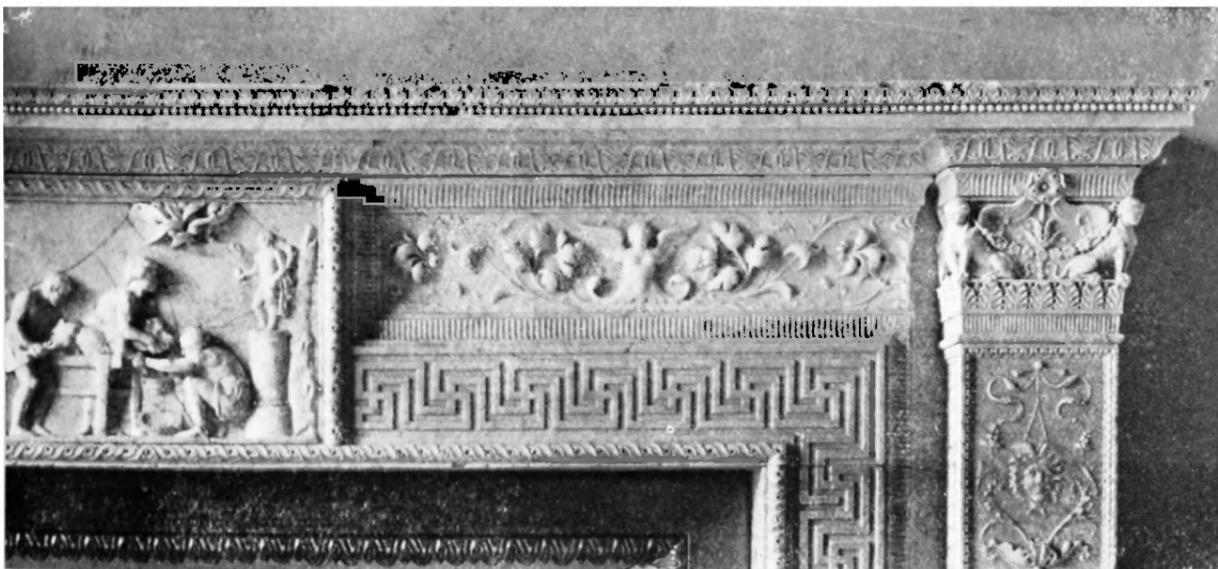


Gorhambury.



Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 22. THE DRAWING ROOM CHIMNEYPiece IN WHITE MARBLE WITH ROSSO ANTICO INSETS. ROMAN VASES ON THE MANTEL SHELF.

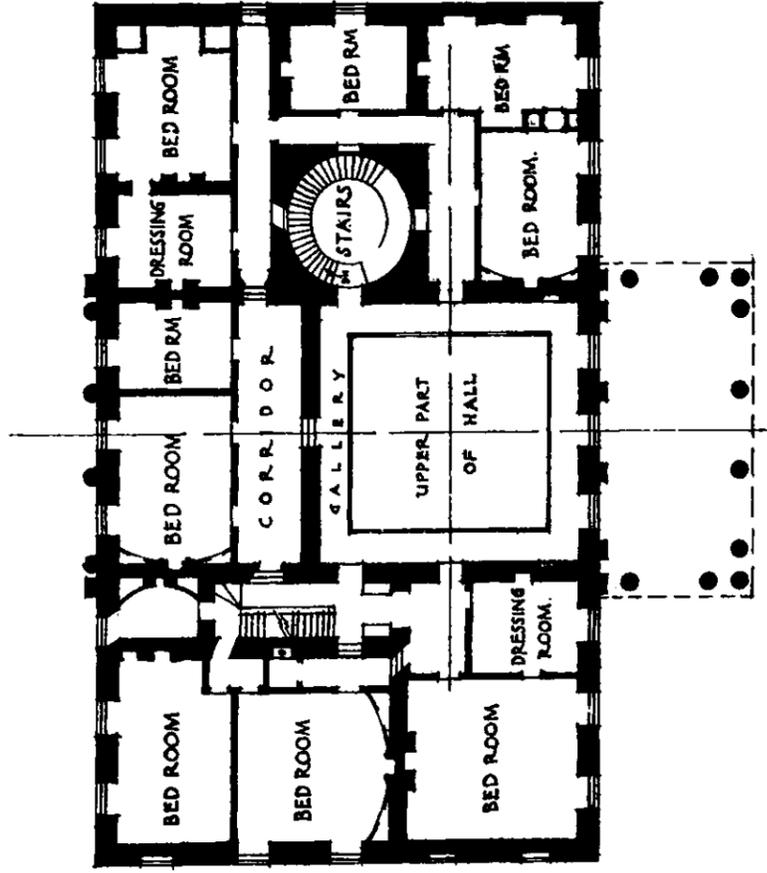


Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 23. DETAIL OF LIBRARY CHIMNEYPiece. INSET IN FRIEZE IS A ROMAN PANEL DEPICTING A SACRIFICE.



GORHAMBURY, HERTS.
SIR ROBERT TAYLOR, Architect.



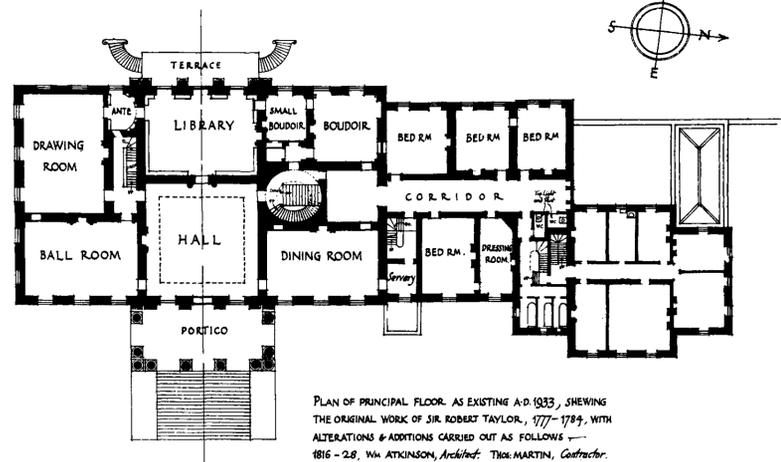
SECOND FLOOR CONTAINING PRINCIPAL BED ROOMS.
Built, 1777-1784.

Scale of Feet

J.C. Rogers. *Mon. of delf.*



GORHAMBURY, HERTS.



PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR, AS EXISTING A.D. 1933, SHEWING THE ORIGINAL WORK OF SIR ROBERT TAYLOR, 1777-1789, WITH ALTERATIONS & ADDITIONS CARRIED OUT AS FOLLOWS—
 1816-28, WM. ATKINSON, Architect; THOMAS MARTIN, Contractor.
 1847-48, WM. BURN, Architect; ARMSTRONG & SMITH, Contractors.

Scale of 1/4" = 1' 0" Feet.

J.C. Eggar, Nov. 1922

FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR AS EXISTING. COMPARE WITH FIG. 11.





FIG. 26. A GARDEN TEMPLE, NOW A COTTAGE, ERECTED ABOUT 1787. ORIGINALLY THERE WAS A CENTRAL ENTRANCE UNDER THE PORTICO TO ONE LARGE ROOM. THE RIGHT HAND HALF OF THE STRUCTURE, WITH HIPPED TILE ROOF, IS A LATER ADDITION.



Gorhambury.



Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 27. CARVED MAHOGANY ARMCHAIR, ONE OF A SET,
COVERED IN NEEDLEWORK. c. 1755.



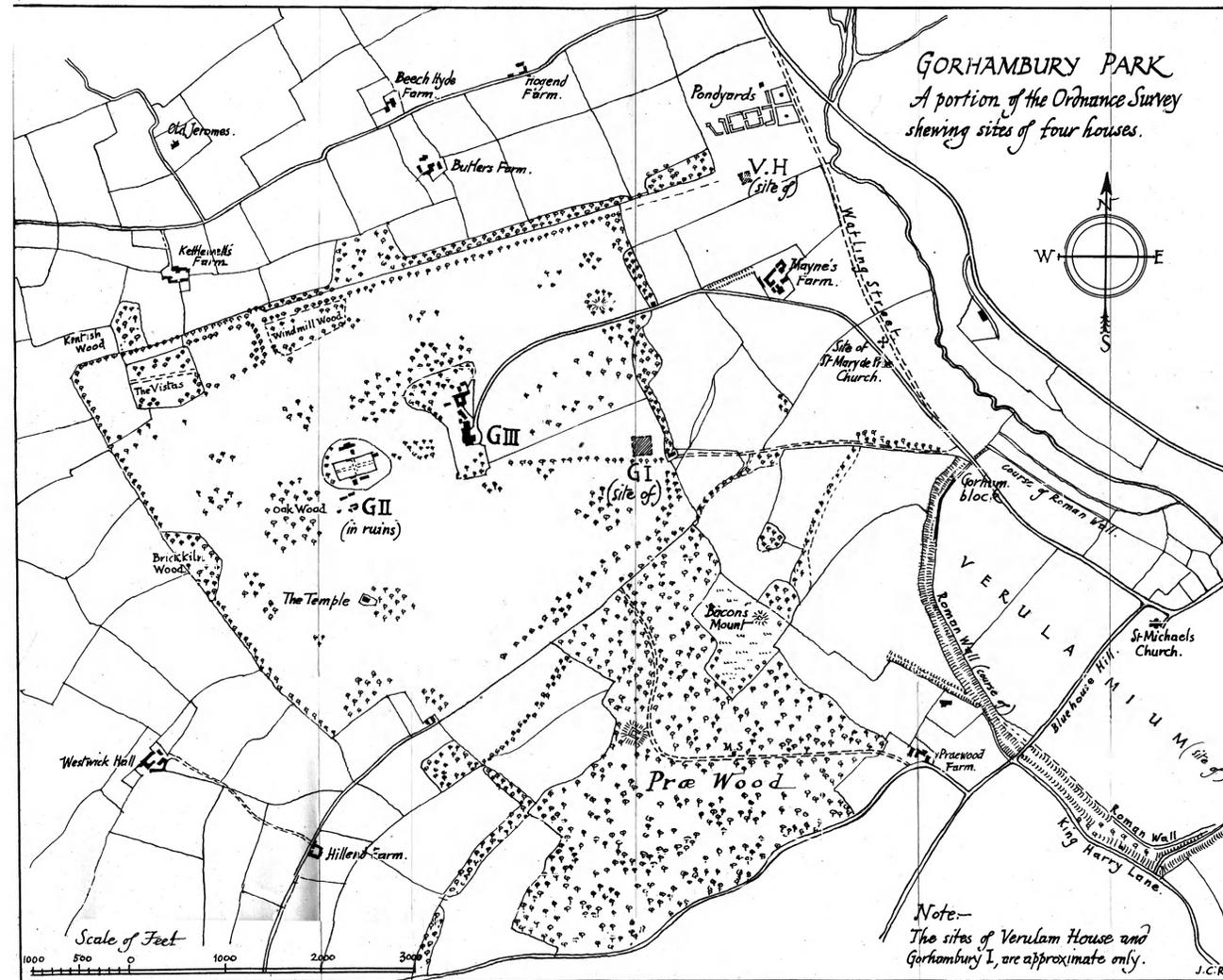
Gorhambury.



Courtesy of "Country Life."

FIG. 28. FITTED MAHOGANY DRESSING TABLE, *c.* 1788. PROBABLY THE DRESSING TABLE BOUGHT FOR £11-12-0, MAY 7, 1788, FROM "MR. MARSH." THE SHELF ON THE STRETCHERS IS MODERN.





MAP No. 1

