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DECORATIVE PLASTERWORK OF THE YORKSHIRE REGION, 1570-1670

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Division of Adult Continuing Education
University of Sheffield

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THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

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DECORATIVE PLASTERWORK OF THE YORKSHIRE REGION, 1570-1670

SUMMARY

DAVID BOSTWICK

Few documentary sources exist from which it is possible to discover the names of decorative plasterers working throughout Yorkshire between 1570 and 1670. However, the plasterers' use of wooden moulds for casting plaster enrichments and the discovery of the same enrichments in different properties means it is possible to trace the geographical distribution of any particular workshop's output. Five workshops, operating around Wakefield, Halifax, North Yorkshire, Leeds/York and Sheffield have been identified and, from the evidence of inscribed dates and documentary sources, a chronology of the work of each workshop has been assembled.

Decorative plasterwork was patronised by the nobility and legal class in the later 16th century, being taken up by the gentry in the early 17th century and wealthy yeomen by the mid 17th century. Family inter-relationships through marriage, business and social contacts were responsible for the spread of decorative plasterwork at county and local level.

Pattern designs employed in the later 16th century were drawn from an heraldic vocabulary which was increasingly augmented by Mannerist ornament. The dissemination of this was assisted by the presence in the county of foreign craftsmen and by the spread of printed books containing engraved ornament. The appearance of the same enrich-ments in properties separated by great distance not only indicates itinerancy of the plasterers but also a trade in cast enrichments.

Decorative plasterers were few throughout the period and the profession was organised in small workshops. No apprenticeships as or to plasterers are ever found since, in several cases, it can be shown that the decorative plasterers were also joiners. The potential to recreate the regional pattern books of ornament from the study of decorative plasterwork designs, which can then be utilised to further the study of regional furniture and the like, is considerable.

Acknowledgements

I would like to place on record my sincere thanks to the owners of the historic buildings mentioned in this survey who have allowed access to their properties for the purpose of recording the decorative plasterwork. In addition, I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to the staff of the various libraries, museums, archive repositories and archaeology units for their ready assistance.

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INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this study arose from an exhibition which I organised in 1983 at Bishops' House museum in Sheffield. The exhibition, entitled Sheffield, the Master Plasterer and the Devil, sought to explain the occurrence over a wide area around Sheffield of decorative plasterwork sharing a common stock of designs. In the research for that exhibition, it rapidly became apparent that little was known about the subject beyond occasional references by local writers who had noted similarities between plasterwork at different sites (1). Spurred on by the late Richard Doncaster (2), who had generously donated to the Museums' Department samples of decorative plasterwork which he had rescued from demolished buildings over the years, I determined to explore the subject further and to extend the coverage to embrace the whole counties of Yorkshire and Derbyshire.

The original title for the research was Decorative Plasterwork of the Renaissance, 1570-1670 in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and adjacent parts. Even at the outset, it was recognised that, since the incidence of decorative plasterwork is no respecter of county boundaries, the research would inevitably spill over into adjacent counties in order to obtain a clear picture of the distribution of the art form. What was not immediately apparent was that the decorative plasterwork found in Derbyshire is largely the product of the Sheffield-based workshop, and that a small group of properties with decorative plasterwork in the vicinity of Wirksworth would appear to be the work of a local practitioner who may have drawn his inspiration from the Sheffield plasterers' work at Haddon Hall (3). This observation, taken in conjunction with the fact that the plasterwork at Hardwick Hall, which is hand-modelled and effectively a "one-off", has been thoroughly discussed by Stallybrass (4) in 1913 and again in recent years by Bostwick (5), persuaded me that the content of this thesis was best restricted to the county of Yorkshire in order to fully document the extent of the several Yorkshire-based workshops which have been identified. Nonetheless, full discussion is made throughout the text of plasterwork in adjacent counties where this is the product of the

Yorkshire-based workshops and reference is made to other work where this is appropriate to illuminate the argument.

The period 1570-1670 was not chosen arbitrarily. Although archaeological fragments, perhaps dating from the early 16th century, have been recovered from the site of Sheffield Manor and samples of early 16th century plaster have been excavated at Pontefract Castle, decorative plasterwork does not attain any wide distribution until the last quarter of the 16th century, when it became highly fashionable amongst the leading members of society. Of course, the practical value of plain plaster as an insulating layer on stone walls which could then be whitewashed to help eradicate bugs had long been appreciated. So also the utility of plastered ceilings was valued not only to prevent dirt and debris dropping from rafters and through gaps between floorboards but also, when whitewashed, to reflect light. Decorative plasterwork on ceilings, overmantels and as friezes added an aesthetic dimension, permitting the display of family heraldry and fashionable patterns and designs. Its sculptural quality, particularly when thrown into relief by candlelight, must have been much admired.

Despite regional variations, the decorative plasterwork of Yorkshire in this period, whilst often displaying a marked preference for heraldic ornament, nonetheless betrays the clear influence of the Mannerist style. That is to say, many of the designs and patterns employed by the plasterers were derived from and inspired by the then "new" vocabulary of Renaissance ornament, emanating from Italy via Germany and the Low Countries. It was a style which persisted throughout the 17th century at lower levels of society and was not effectively extinguished until some years after the Restoration when new ideas finally swept it away. Consequently, this thesis charts the rise and fall of the style through the medium of decorative plasterwork within a regional context.

Nonetheless, the subject of this study does not fit conveniently into the mould of any particular academic discipline. As a result, this study is neither an exercise in social history, economic history nor,

indeed, art history, although it incorporates elements of all of these to some extent. By deliberately choosing an inter-disciplinary approach to my researches and by not delving into the social, economic or art history aspects in any great depth, I have aimed to look at the subject with as few preconceptions as possible and to see what the material itself suggested about the society and the craftsmen who created it: the thesis is, in effect, a study of material culture. One interesting finding, for instance, is that the political turmoil of the Civil War period which might have been considered to have had an adverse effect on the commissioning of decorative plasterwork appears to have had little or no effect whatsoever either in the Calder Valley area or around Sheffield where several dated examples are known from the years 1640-1660.

Professor Hoskins, who, in 1953, advocated the need for more study of the physical evidence of history to fill out the picture painted by documents alone, sparked considerable debate over his concept of "the Great Rebuilding" (6). Despite his critics, the apparent recognition of a period of intense building activity between the years 1570 and 1640 is a useful one, if for no other reason than that it effectively marks the time during which the decorative plasterwork of this study is found. Certainly, there was very little anywhere in the country before 1570 and the fashion for the particular style waned after the Civil War. Decorative plaster in the period 1570-1670 occupies but one small part of the wider scene, however, in which advances in domestic planning and developments in building design contributed to a vigorous architectural environment in which the so-called prodigy houses - Burghley, Hardwick, Holdenby etc. - showed the way forward.

The broader architectural scene has been well documented in recent years. The vernacular tradition and polite architecture of this period each have their exponents, some of whose works are cited in the bibliography attached to this study. It is, generally speaking, to the polite area that decorative plasterwork belongs and this area has seen much scholarly re-assessment by Sir John Summerson (7) and Dr. Mark Girouard (8), particularly in relation to the plans and drawings of the

surveyors of the period: respectively, John Thorpe and Robert and John Smythson. An awareness of the experimental nature of much of the domestic architecture of the period as it struggled for symmetry of plan as well as facade and the daring utilisation both inside and out of the new vocabulary of Renaissance ornament culled from continental pattern books owes much to recent studies of the country house.

In this regard, Girouard's book on Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House (9) was something of a catalyst, encouraging writers such as Malcolm Airs with his Making of the English Country House 1500-1640 (10) to explore the role of the craftsman and his relationship with the patron during this period. In 1988, John Newman, in his article 'The Elizabethan and Jacobean Great House: A Review of Recent Research' (11), gave a masterly overview of the past thirty years or so with pointers towards those areas most in need of further exploration:

> "As far as the architectural historian is concerned the most desirable element would be a study of the output of certain types of craftsmen, in particular masons, plasterers, and joiners. We need a Geoffrey Beard for this period, and we need many more studies along the lines of that on Hertfordshire plasterwork by Monika Puloy (1980-82)." (12)

Ironically, at the time this review appeared, I was deeply engaged in the research for this thesis on decorative plasterwork. The findings presented here may go some small way towards helping to fill the gap which Newman identified.

The reference to Puloy's survey of Hertfordshire plasterwork (13) is particularly apt as this is the latest research on the subject to appear in print. It may be useful here to review the literature on the decorative plasterwork of the period and to attempt a summary of the current state of knowledge. Bankart's comprehensive treatise, entitled The Art of the Plasterer (14), appeared in 1908 in which chapters were devoted to the work of the 16th and 17th centuries. However, it was not until 1926 that Jourdain's book, English Decorative Plasterwork of the Renaissance (15), appeared in which she cast her eye widely over the country, looking at the artistic worth of the plasterwork of the period and its stylistic development. A year

later, Turner's Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain (16) extended the coverage beyond the shires of England and beyond the 16th and 17th centuries. In like manner, almost fifty years later, Beard's scholarly assessment of the subject in Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain (17), published in 1975, brought the subject up to date. His survey incorporated much new material and went far beyond the art-historical approach by enquiring into working practices, seeking to discover information about the plasterers themselves. In this he was eminently successful and set a standard for others to follow.

No further books have appeared on the subject since Beard's monograph and only in the pages of learned journals has the plasterwork of the period been aired in any depth and then, generally, as the result of a survey seeking to make a case for the existence of a local "school". Of such surveys, Fouracre's work (18) in 1909 into the plaster in Devon was extended by Oliver (19) in 1917 through an examination of the work in Barnstaple. A re-survey of Devon by French and French (20) in 1957 established beyond any doubt the extensive nature of the 16th and 17th century plasterwork practice of the Abbott family in that county and beyond. In similar fashion, a 1922 survey of decorative plasterwork of the 17th century in the Parish of Halifax, West Yorkshire by Kendall (21) proved the existence of a local tradition. His work was revised and extended by Bretton (22) in 1967 who sought to establish a chronology. In his analysis of plasterwork in Middlesex, undertaken in 1914, Turner (23) sought to establish the extent of the output of an unknown 17th century practitioner, just as surveys by Curwen (24) in 1930 of the plasterwork in Cumberland and Westmorland and by Girling (25) in 1939 of the pargetting in Suffolk aimed to reveal the vitality of the plasterwork tradition in these areas. In Scotland, Beard's (26) work in 1969 was followed by that of Touche (27) in 1973 which sought to reveal the extent of the usage of particular cast enrichments during the 16th and 17th centuries.

All these studies have, effectively, shared a common purpose: that of identifying, listing and comparing examples of decorative plasterwork

in an attempt to discover similarities and define the extent of the output of one or more local plastering workshops. Rarely are the names of the plasterers responsible known, and more work in sifting building accounts, examining probate records and the like is needed to help in making positive attributions. In this latter respect, the most recent work in the field by Puloy is also deficient. Her excellent survey work and analysis is fine as far as it goes. However, she acknowledges that time constraints prevented further documentary research. This is a pity since she was on the point of making a significant discovery. She writes:

> "Bearing in mind that the earliest moulds were always in wood, presumably made by wood carvers, it is not surprising that many decorative motifs from the wood carver's repertoire found their way into plasterwork." (28)

The findings of my research similarly show that carved woodwork and cast plasterwork often share the same range of patterns, but this can be taken a stage further. Documentary research undertaken for this thesis has revealed that, in several instances in Yorkshire, the wood-worker and the decorative plasterer were one and the same.

This thesis is also an attempt to bring some order to a very confusing subject. For instance, the term "Elizabethan" is frequently used to describe decorative plasterwork which employs designs current during the 16th century, despite the fact that these designs often stayed in use and were being worked in plaster well into the later 17th century and long after the height of fashion had passed. As with the regional surveys of decorative plasterwork noted above, this analysis of its occurrence in Yorkshire also seeks to establish a chronology - a frame-work in which to view the development of the art-form. Only in this way can a more precise context be established where loose descriptive terms such as "Elizabethan" and "Jacobean" are replaced by firm dates.

Methodology

The research for this thesis has involved a considerable amount of fieldwork over several years in order to view, analyse and record the

surviving examples of decorative plasterwork in the county. Before the travelling could begin, it was necessary to compile lists of sites in order that properties within a given area could be visited systematically. Starting with the county surveys contained in Pevsner's Buildings of England series (29) and augmenting his few references with descriptions contained in the Department of the Environment's Listed Building Registers, a basic list of extant plasterwork sites was assembled. Further detail was added from the Sites and Monuments Record of the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit, York Archaeological Trust and the splendid records of the West Yorkshire Achaeological Service. The York office of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England allowed complete access to its files, whilst the photographs and files of the National Buildings Record in London proved invaluable. During this period of research, two important regional studies of buildings were published by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England: Colum Giles' Rural Houses of West Yorkshire, 1400-1830 (30) and Sarah Pearson's Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines, 1560-1760 (31). The appearance of these books could not have come at a better time, allowing me to compare an emerging picture of the distribution of decorative plasterwork against the wider backgrounds which they describe.

The survival of considerable numbers of examples of decorative plasterwork from the 16th and 17th centuries into the present day is quite remarkable, considering the natural decay of building fabric. Coupled with this, changes of taste in the 18th and 19th centuries resulted in much rebuilding and refashioning, whilst the drive for improved standards of environmental health in the 20th century, prior to a growing awareness of the loss of the architectural heritage, caused the destruction of many properties containing plasterwork. It was, of course, essential to identify those examples which no longer survived in order to re-establish the former extent of the art-form throughout the county.

My chosen starting point in the search for former examples was Ambler's

Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire (32). Local history and antiquarian books such as Walker's History of Wakefield (33) and Davies' Walks through the City of York (34) proved invaluable in their descriptions of buildings no longer surviving. It proved possible to match some written decriptions against similar work by the same craftsmen once a local style was established from photographs and fieldwork. The accounts of excursions made by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society contained in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal mentioned a number of buildings with plasterwork that no longer survive. Indeed, the pages of the Journal were scoured for references, as were all the issues of the Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, the Thoresby Society Publications, Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Archaeologia Aeliana etc. At times it proved to be a tedious, but ultimately fruitful, search through the journal literature.

More immediately rewarding was the time spent in libraries searching for references and photographs. In particular, the library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in Leeds proved to be a valuable resource where correspondence between Leigh Tolson, the Huddersfield antiquary, and the Society contained rare references to and photographs of plasterwork throughout Yorkshire. The Thoresby Society's library and that of the Hunter Archaeological Society both contain rich collections of lantern slides and glass plate negatives of long-demolished buildings. The photographic work of J.R. Wigfull, represented in the Hunter collection, was of great interest but the finest collection of images of destroyed plasterwork is that of H.R. Kendall, contained in the Halifax Antiquarian Society's records at Calderdale Archives Department. The local studies libraries in Huddersfield, Rotherham, Leeds, Bradford, Barnsley and York were all able to furnish references, newspaper cuttings and photographs of decorative plasterwork, but the museums in the county turned out to have equally good documentary and photographic resources. This was particularly true of the Tolson Memorial Museum in Huddersfield, and

also the Sheffield City Museum where the local archaeological survey records of the late L.H. Butcher are deposited.

Wakefield and Pontefract Museums not only have good documentation and record photographs of destroyed plasterwork but also possess rescued portions from several sites. This is the case in Halifax, too, where Shibden Hall contains the documentation and the Bankfield Museum, Boothtown, contains the plasterwork from many demolished buildings. The Yorkshire Museum in York, Leeds City Museum and English Heritage in London all have examples of excavated plasterwork which have been seen and whose records proved useful in adding more places to the county list. York Archaeological Trust has few examples of plasterwork but excellent photographic records of recently demolished buildings in the city which contained it.

The fieldwork involved in visiting sites with surviving plasterwork was considerable. Over four years, "holiday" excursions were made to North Yorkshire, Northumberland and Co. Durham, the Lake District, and the Yorkshire/Lancashire border. Many weekends were spent travelling shorter distances in West and South Yorkshire and Derbyshire. Sometimes the fieldwork seemed more like a hiking expedition as remote houses on the Stanbury Moors beyond Bradford were searched to confirm or refute the notion that plasterwork existed there. Similarly, seeking out the hidden houses in the valleys and on the hills around Halifax, mentioned by Stell (35) and others, sometimes proved disappointing as a number had either since lost their plaster or been completely demolished. Two high points worth mentioning were the finding of a plaster plaque in an isolated moorland cottage at Far Deanfield, near Keighley, and the discovery that Lazenby Hall, near Danby Wiske has probably the finest hand-modelled ceiling in the county to which Pevsner's description, "an entrance hall plaster ceiling with decorated beams and panels" (36), hardly does justice.

As much of the fieldwork involved pioneering discovery, record photographs were taken at all sites visited. These were developed and printed by the National Buildings Record in an arrangement whereby

copies have been retained for the national archive. By careful measurement on site and close scrutiny of photographic images, it has proved possible to determine whether or not similar decorative features found in plasterwork at different sites were cast from the same moulds. From the evidence gathered together in this way, lists of properties arranged in chronological sequence according to the appearance of distinct clusters of enrichments and known dates were constructed to chart the rise and fall of the individual plasterwork groups. Examples of these are contained in Appendix 2.

Research to discover who actually made the plasterwork overmantels and ceilings has been a frustrating and, at times, utterly fruitless exercise. Calendars of documents in the North Yorkshire Records Office in Northallerton revealed nothing by way of building accounts for the properties in that part of the county. It was thought that Sir George Wombwell's manuscripts relating to Newburgh Priory might have contained information about the plasterers but this was not the case. The same was true of the Ingleby Papers, relating to Ripley Castle, held at Leeds City Archives. The Prior-Wandesford Papers in Dublin, which might have contained records for the building of Kirklington Hall, were also deficient in 16th century documents. Similarly, the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments at Sheffield Record Offce and the Rodes family papers in the Derbyshire Record Office in Matlock were searched for references to the 17th century building of Wentworth Woodhouse and the 16th century building of Barlborough Hall but to no avail. Such disheartening work was occasionally rewarded. The Bright Papers in Sheffield Record Office contained a few accounts for alterations to Pitsmoor Hall, mentioning the plasterer concerned.

In York, more information lay in wait amongst the papers of the Company of Bricklayers, Tilers and Plasterers in the York Minster Library, and in the Freemen's Rolls and Apprenticeship Registers at York City Archives. Probate records of named plasterers, found in the printed indexes published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (37), and the Index Library lists of wills (38), were followed up in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research in York, the Lichfield

Joint Record Office and the Public Record Office in London. At Gawthorpe Hall, near Burnley, manuscript transcripts of the building accounts revealed the names of the plasterers involved. This was an important discovery as the accounts which had been printed by the Chetham Society in 1856 (39) had not mentioned any plasterer by name.

However, the single and most important set of documents for information about decorative plasterwork in the early 17th century in Yorkshire is the Temple Newsam Papers deposited in Leeds City Archives. Several weeks were spent searching the letters, accounts and receipts of Sir Arthur Ingram and the craftsmen he employed on his various building projects at York House, Sheriff Hutton Hall, New Park Lodge, Huby and Temple Newsam House. Manuscript transcripts made by Pawson in the 1950s were also searched as they contain other material no longer present in the deposit.

A growing list of names of plasterers, carvers and related craftsmen involved me in much work searching the parish registers or York, Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax and Sheffield (40) in an attempt to add detail. Much of this proved to be fruitless or inconclusive. Indeed, it is true to say that the documentary sources overall have proved disappointing. Not only is there no one set of records that reveals all about the subject, but the references which do survive are, with the exception of the Temple Newsam Papers, slight. Nevertheless, it has been possible to assemble enough information about the plasterer's craft, even though information on individual buildings is scant or non-existent.

Where buildings are concerned, much effort has been spent in tracing the family connections of the person or persons who installed the plasterwork. Considerable background reading to familiarise myself with Yorkshire families throughout the period 1570-1670 and the construction of family charts utilising information from Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire (41) and Hunter's Familiae Minorum Gentium (42) has been necessary. From such work, it has been possible to show how the fashion for decorative plasterwork spread throughout the social

network both at county level and at local level and how the same plasterers favoured by one family were utilised by their relations and friends.

With regard to the tracing of design sources employed by the plasterers, books such as Tipping's English Homes (43) and well-illustrated popular books such as Alison Plowden's Elizabethan England (44) were valuable introductory sources for indicating the fashionable designs of the period. However, books on samplers, furniture, textiles, maps, silver etc. were consulted for comparative designs. The discovery that engraved ornament in contemporary books was, perhaps, the most significant area culled by plasterers for designs led me to search this area thoroughly. Emblem books in the British Library were not a particularly fruitful area but the card index held there, which had been assembled by McKerrow and Ferguson in their research into printed ornament up to 1640, was most useful in identifying at least one design employed by the Sheffield plasterers. The most valuable resource for this pattern-searching activity was not, however, the British Library but the stack of the Sheffield City Library. There, I was permitted to systematically open every 16th and 17th century book in the strongrooms, and in the course of several weeks to go through every volume printed between the years 1550 and 1700 contained within the Norton Library and the Worsbrough Grammar School Library stored there. Such work enabled me to assemble a list of books containing examples of engraved ornament which could also be found in the decorative plasterwork of Yorkshire.

Geographical distribution

Fairly early in the research, it became apparent that several plasterwork groups could be distinguished according to the distinctive ranges of designs which each employed within the county. It was already appreciated through the work of Kendall and Bretton that a group existed around the Calder Valley, and the core of the Sheffield group had already been identified in the exhibition research previously mentioned. It soon became obvious that an extensive group existed in

West Yorkshire based around Wakefield; another group could be identified in North Yorkshire and beyond, and a further group existed in the Leeds/York area. However, the overall picture was complicated by the appearance of examples of one group within another area: for example, Sheffield group enrichments unexpectedly appear in an overmantel at Market Place, Pontefract whilst the work of the Halifax group and the Leeds/York group was being carried out during the same years in overlapping geographical areas. Analysis also had to take into account the appearance of those examples within an area which did not relate to the prevalent style. It became clear that a number of these "oddities" were, in fact, later examples of a different workshop superimposed upon an earlier distribution. In other instances such as at Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme, enrichments from one group are found in combination with those of another. Further confusion resulted from the re-emergence of apparently defunct enrichments such as the arms of Sir John Savile seen in Wakefield in 1584 reappearing in a house in Derbyshire 34 years later. Added to all of this was the increasing realisation that the output of the groups spanned many years and interpretation needed to take account of the subtle changes in style and the extension or contraction of the range of designs during the lifetime of the workshop. Furthermore, to confound analysis, examples of decorative plasterwork having no relationship to the main groups were identified and have eventually been recognised as examples from adjacent counties or rogue occurrences whose origins are not known. Such examples are, however, rare and have been included in Appendix 3, if not mentioned in the text.

In terms of the geographical distribution of plasterwork throughout the county, it is noticeable that the art form is virtually non-existent in the east of the county of Yorkshire with the exception of Burton Agnes Hall and 23 Harbour, Scarborough. The same is true of the eastern part of South Yorkshire where no decorative work is known other than at Tickhill Castle. The general absence extends into Lincolnshire where, apart from a fragment of "patterned pargetting" found at Dowsby Hall in the 1970s (5), only one example in the entire county is known at Deloraine Court in Lincoln. North and west of York, examples are to be

found from the later 16th century in properties adjacent to the Great North Road. It evidently served as the arterial route along which the plasterers travelled, at least as far as Berwick and possibly to Edinburgh to undertake commissions. The drovers' route from Kendal to Wakefield should also be noted here as the route whereby late 16th century plasterwork of the Wakefield area found its way into the Lake District. However, the greatest concentrations of decorative plasterwork are to be found in the areas around the Yorkshire woollen towns, the ironworking town of Sheffield and the administrative centre at York.

It would appear that the Pennines served as a fairly effective barrier to the wholesale movement of Yorkshire-based plasterwork designs into Lancashire and Cheshire with a few notable exceptions, in particular, the work found at Gawthorpe Hall dating from 1603-05. However, the barrier was seemingly breached by a Lancashire-based plasterer who in the 1630s carried out work at West Royd, Warley and in the 1640s appears to have joined forces with the Halifax plasterers on commissions at Barkisland, Sowerby and Gomersal. Other than these, direct cross-border work can only be found in 1658 at Bent Farmhouse, Sutton where the style of working and enrichments employed firmly identify the work as belonging to a group based around Greenhead/Hurstwood, Lancashire. Interestingly, however, amongst the decorative vocabulary of this plasterwork group, a rosette enrichment found at Greenhead, Lancashire is from the same mould that was used at Hawksworth Hall, West Yorkshire in 1611, and a diamond panel with fleur-de-lys enrichment is virtually identical to others found at East Riddlesden Hall and Lees Hall, Thornhill. A wyvern, set amongst foliage in an oblong plaque, is from the same pattern as others to be seen at East Riddlesden Hall and Headlands Hall, Liversedge, whilst the style of placing two large leaves and grapes at the points of a diamond-shaped ceiling panel has parallels in the work at Baxter Gate, Pontefract and The Nunnery, Arthington. Whilst further research is needed into the Lancashire plasterwork of the period in order to account for these similarities (46), clearly the Pennines did not fully prevent the exchange of ideas or even, on occasion, cast enrichments over the county boundary but the extent of this was limited and appears to have been

confined to the examples quoted.

In the south of Yorkshire, the Derbyshire foothills do not appear to have presented any barrier to the dispersal of the Sheffield-based plasterwork style in the 17th century. Examples can be found in the area contained by a line drawn between Castleton, Hathersage, Bakewell, Chesterfield and Barlborough. Yet, apart from a far-flung example of work at Mayfield in Staffordshire, just over the Derbyshire border, the Sheffield plasterworkers did not penetrate the High Peak. Indeed, with the exception of a small group of properties around Wirksworth which contain local examples of mould-cast and butter-press moulded plasterwork, the art form is rarely found elsewhere in Derbyshire (See Appendix 4).

On the basis of available information and careful comparison of like with like, it has been possible to distinguish the output of five groups of plasterwork during the 1570-1670 period. They are:

1. The Wakefield Group, operating from c.1580-1620, in the West Yorkshire area, merging with

2. The Halifax Group, operating from c.1620-1670, in the Calder Valley and West Yorkshire.

3. The North Yorkshire Group, operating from 1568-c.1615 throughout North Yorkshire, Co. Durham and Northumberland, evolving into a York-based group, operating until c.1650.

4. The Leeds/York Group, operating from 1620-1680 throughout North and West Yorkshire.

5. The Sheffield Group, operating from 1574-1676 throughout the area around Sheffield and North-East Derbyshire.

Each of these groups is treated separately as a chapter of this thesis. It is apparent that the division drawn between the Halifax and Leeds/ York Group is not inflexible since, at certain times, a merging or coming-together of designs is noticeable. There was obviously some interchange of personnel and/or cast enrichments on some jobs. This aspect is looked at in the following chapters.

Footnotes to Introduction

1. In particular see Wigfull,J.R.,'Broom Hall, Sheffield', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 4, 1937, 161-172.
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CHAPTER 1: THE WAKEFIELD GROUP

No discussion of the decorative plasterwork of the Wakefield area in the late 16th century can fail to take account of the all-pervading influence of the Savile family in the West Riding of Yorkshire (1). Largely as the result of advantageous marriages, the Savile family had become the premier family of the county by 1580 with members represented in many of the leading professions of the day: some held government office, some high legal position, others were learned academics and yet others were highly successful merchants and financiers. Family ties through marriage with other important families in the county created a large area of influence. The most brilliant match was that of Sir George Savile of Lupset (d.1622) to Mary Talbot, daughter of the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury whose own area of influence extended throughout the south of the county into Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and beyond.

Family pride and some element of competition between the various branches of the Savile family resulted in the building of new houses and the embellishment of others over a period of about 40 years, from approximately 1580-1620. As patrons, they engaged the services not only of masons but also a wide range of specialist craftspeople: wood-carvers, stained glass artists, stone sculptors and, of course, decorative plasterers. Remarkably, not a single house built by the Saviles survives today: rudimentary drawings and brief written descriptions have to suffice in many cases to convey an impression of what has gone. Scant ruins of the great hunting lodge at Tankersley nonetheless attest to the quality of the building there and illustrate how only the best available workmanship was good enough for this aspiring dynasty. Where evidence of decorative plasterwork is concerned, there is little information on its actual appearance in the great Savile houses. Yet, sufficient instances in lesser houses, coupled with written accounts, can help to portray some details.

Nothing is known about the internal appearance of Thornhill Hall, the home of the senior branch of the Savile family, which was destroyed in the Parliamentary siege of 1648 (2). Howley Hall, demolished in 1730,

was the home of John Savile, grandson of Sir Henry Savile of Thornhill. It had been built in 1588, and its wainscot panelling, bearing the date 1590, was re-used in several Wakefield houses (3). By 1590, the Wakefield plasterers were well established with an extensive list of commissions already untertaken and it would seem likely that their work was represented at Howley.

Lupset Hall, home of Sir George Savile and Mary Talbot, certainly did have decorative plasterwork. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, who visited the hall on 16 March 1702, 12 years before its rebuilding, "found no arms in the windows; only in the hall is Sir John Savile's and his lady's in plaster..." (4). It is not clear to which John Savile he is referring for, although the son of Sir George Savile was a Sir John who married Elizabeth Armytage of Kirklees in 1626, it is just possible that the arms were those of Sir John Savile and his wife, Jane Garth of Morden in Surrey. They lived at Bradley Hall and their arms appeared in several houses.

Bradley Hall was burnt to the ground in 1629 but, from references contained in a matter-of-fact/auto-biography (5) written by Sir John Savile (d.1607) and from other external evidence, it is possible to deduce that Bradley contained fine plasterwork ceilings. Sir John Savile was a lawyer who was made a Sergeant at Law in 1593 and, by 1598, had attained the position of Baron of the Exchequer. Like his legal contemporaries, he also pursued building schemes to enhance his status. In the summer of 1580 he moved into the "new house" at Bradley and, in 1582, his second daughter, Jane, was born "in the chamber of the new work called 'Neville Chamber'". Since another Savile property in Wakefield with a dated ceiling of 1584 displayed the arms of Sir John Savile and Jane Garth (6), it is fair to assume that the mould for the armorial had originally been carved for the new work at Bradley in 1580. Similarly, the practice of placing the arms of families related to one's own in plaster ceilings and on overmantels (7) could indicate that this was the case also in 'Neville Chamber'.

In 1593, Sir John Savile of Bradley purchased Methley Hall which he re-

fashioned to reflect his social standing and sense of family pride. Methley was demolished in 1955 and photographs of the interiors show rooms completely refashioned in the 18th and 19th centuries. The only remaining trace of Elizabethan work is the elaborately carved screen, gallery and stairs shown in a photograph of the hall (8). Yet Methley is known to have contained elaborate plasterwork. A drawing of the same screen and gallery in Boyne's edition of Whitaker's Loidis and Elmete (9) shows that the ceiling of the hall, completed no later than 1612 by Sir John's son, Sir Henry, was divided into hexagonal-shaped compartments by plasterwork ribs with small pendants at the intersections. A description of the small long gallery with its "gracefully moulded ceiling" offers tantalising evidence of the sumptuous interior decoration of that appartment (10).

Mr. George Savile, a kinsman of Sir John Savile of Bradley and Methley, purchased Haselden Hall in Wakefield in 1584. He was a wealthy wool merchant trading at Blackwell Hall in London, and the founder of Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School in Wakefield. As a largely self-made man coming of a minor branch of the Savile family, he was, perhaps, concerned to stress his family connections. In any event, the plasterwork ceiling which he installed at Haselden Hall featured the arms of his illustrious cousin, Sir John Savile of Bradley, together with Savile proper, the royal arms [Pl.1.1] and those of Wortley of Wortley. The latter evidently referred to the match between Margaret Savile of Thornhill (d.1580) and Thomas Wortley. Again, it can be surmised that the mould for this enrichment had been originally cut for a ceiling at Wortley Hall where 19th century plasterwork coats of arms, which can be seen today, may be a conscious imitation of Elizabethan predecessors (11).

Haselden Hall was demolished in the 1960s but a drawing of the parlour ceiling survives (12), showing not only these coats of arms but also George Savile's rebus [Pl.1.2] - an owl perched on a barrel or a hasel on a tun for Haselden, with his initials and those of his wife, Mary. An oblong plaque with a pelleted surround containing the date 1584 [Pl.1.3] is repeated at intervals in the design. Various fragments of this ceiling survive in Wakefield Museum, including the cast of the

royal arms.

In 1618, when Mr. George Savile's grandson, John Rodes, built a new house at Barlborough in Derbyshire, he chose to display the arms of Sir John Savile of Bradley in plaster on the great chamber chimney-piece [Pl.1.4]. By reference to the drawing of the Haselden Hall ceiling, this coat of arms was evidently cast from the same mould as the Savile-Garth arms shown there. No doubt, pride in his Savile family connections and, perhaps, acknowledgement of Sir John Savile's role as guardian during his upbringing may be the reasons behind the appearance of the arms at Barlborough (13). John Rodes had married Margaret Nevile of Chevet in 1616 and the arms may well have signified family friendship for her too, as the previously mentioned reference to 'Neville Chamber' at Bradley Hall would seem to suggest.

Through the display of family arms and those of other families connected by marriage, the Wakefield plasterers were simply responding locally to a widespread demand for this fashionable feature of late 16th century plasterwork. Once the wooden mould of any particular armorial had been made, then numerous casts could be turned out for use elsewhere. Bretton Hall, near Wakefield, had a great chamber whose ornamental plaster ceiling incorporated the arms of several families connected by marriage with the Wentworths: Dransfield, Clifford, Fitz-William, Hammerton, Rockley, Maleverer and Kaye (14). Surprisingly, the arms of Savile were not noted yet John Savile of Bradley took as his second wife, in 1587, Elizabeth Wentworth, daughter of Thomas Wentworth of Elmsall, and Sir George Savile of Thornhill married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir William Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse in 1607. No doubt splendid plasterwork existed at Wentworth Woodhouse too: certainly, a reference to the arms of the Clifford family which appeared there would indicate they were made of plaster cast from a mould, perhaps forming part of a scheme of armorial work as at Bretton Hall (15).

Weston Hall at Otley still has 3 coats of arms in plaster in the Dragon Room: Vavasour of Weston impaling Savile, the same with quarterings and Metcalfe impaling Savile. These refer to Sir Mauger Vavasour who

married Jane (d.1617), daughter of Sir John Savile of Stanley (d.1590), near Wakefield, and widow of James Metcalfe of Nappa Hall (16). Sir John Savile of Stanley's own house at Stanley is known to have had "old plaster panelled ceilings" which survived a disastrous fire in 1759 but no longer exist (17). No doubt these ceilings displayed the usual range of motifs favoured by the Saviles at this time, and it seems likely that these would have included coats of arms, especially as Sir John Savile of Stanley was an elder brother of Mr. George Savile, the wool merchant of Wakefield, whose armorial ceiling at Haselden Hall has already been mentioned.

When Mr. George Savile of Wakefield died in 1593, he left Haselden Hall to his son, George, and Horbury Hall to his son, Thomas. Thomas improved the comforts of the timber-framed house in 1595 by installing in the parlour a decorative plaster ceiling of which only a few fragments survive. One of these, a stylised bunch of grapes, set within a diamond-shaped border [Pl.1.5], is a recurrent feature in plasterwork ceilings in the Wakefield area, and is found alongside other enrichments which first appeared at Haselden Hall in 1584. Other enrichments at Horbury include a fleur-de-lys, an oblong plaque set with the date 1595 and a distinctive version of the royal arms encircled by the garter bearing the royal motto, "Honi soit qui mal y pense".

Clearly, what we have here is a chain of family interconnections with each member in turn employing the services of the same plasterers to improve his house. However, the plasterers' work was not confined to the homes of the Savile family alone. Their patronage ensured that friends and social equals would seek out the plasterers' skills and that others who had the money and social aspirations would follow suit. Appendix 1, Map 1 indicates the geographical distribution of properties worked by the Wakefield group of plasterers.

In 1584, the same year that George Savile installed his plasterwork, Martin Birkhead who also owned a fine timber-framed house in Wakefield did likewise (18). Martin Birkhead (d.1590) was a lawyer attached to the Council of the North in York. During the Earl of Huntingdon's

presidency, he was Queen's Attorney there. In his correspondence to the Earl of Shrewsbury in 1582 (19), he mentions Mr. George Savile and Mr. Wortley, with both of whom he had business dealings. Clearly, he mixed with the notable local men of his time, and the plaster ceiling he installed in his house in Wakefield displayed his standing and family pride.

That the ceiling was the work of the same plasterers whom Mr. George Savile employed there can be no doubt. The same oblong date plaque of 1584 with a pelleted surround appears, as does the grape bunch set within a diamond. A new mould was cut for the arms of the Birkhead family with the initials MB all set within a diamond [Pl.1.6]. With a stylised pomegranate at the junctions of the ribwork, these elements were repeated over the whole ceiling within a distinctive ribwork pattern based on the quatrefoil (20).

At least 2 other Wakefield area houses had plasterwork ceilings installed in 1584. It was evidently a busy year for the plasterers whose work set a trend which continued unabated for several years. Of the Rectory House at Wakefield little is known beyond Walker's reference to its 1584 dated ceiling. It was undoubtedly a Savile property since Sir George Savile of Thornhill (d.1622) who had married Mr. George Savile of Haselden's widow, Elizabeth (d.1626), leased the Rectory House to his second son, Henry Savile (21). The plasterwork ceiling at Altofts Hall, which no longer survives, is known to have had the familiar date plaque of 1584 set within the overall design which incorporated the fleur-de-lys, small pendant bosses at ribwork intersections and a " floriated pattern" (22), which probably refers to the grape bunch in a diamond device. Altofts Hall was owned by John Freston, cousin to Sir Martin Frobisher who lived at Frobisher Hall, Altofts. This latter was demolished in 1859 and no description of its interior is known. Yet, it is likely to have contained splendid plasterwork, as Sir Martin Frobisher was near neighbour to the Saviles. His widow, Dorothy, married John Savile of Bradley as his third wife in 1597 (23).

By 1588, the Wakefield plasterers had moved to Ledston Hall to carry out a major contract there for William Witham and his wife, Elinor, whose initials and date are inlaid in the frieze of the chimneypiece in what is known at Lady Betty's bedroom (24). The ribwork of the plaster ceiling is set out in exactly the same pattern as that at Martin Birkhead's house in Wakefield. The plaque containing the date 1588 is set within a pelleted surround, and the same stylised pomegranate and grape bunch set in a diamond reappear as in Martin Birkhead's house also. Other elements in the design such as a fleur-de-lys are found in later work by the Wakefield plasterers. The most significant feature of the ceiling, however, is its plasterwork frieze of heraldic wyverns, urn, flowers and strapwork. This is the first dated example of a design which was to become widespread throughout West Yorkshire during the 17th century.

Other houses within the Wakefield group crowd into the years following 1588. Several have undated ceilings but five of them are dated from 1593 to 1596. With only two exceptions, all these properties feature the garter arms cast from the same mould but different from that which appeared at Haselden Hall in 1584. Indeed, for those families which did not bear arms, the appearance of royal arms for loyalty, coupled with a range of heraldic motifs as enrichments, ensured an impressive display.

All we know about the Cock and Swan Inn in Wakefield (25) is that the plaster ceiling bore a date plaque of 1593 together with the arms of Queen Elizabeth I [Pl.1.7]. These were saved for display in Wakefield Museum when the building was demolished. In 1593, Nether Hall at Horbury (26), home of the Binnes family, was given a handsome ceiling displaying the garter arms and the date set in the familiar oblong plaque. Fragments of this ceiling still survive, reset on the internal walls of Nether Hall, now known as the Shepherd's Arms. A new version of the grape bunch set in a diamond but with a double leaf makes its first appearance here, as does a distinctive scrolled strapwork frieze. By 1595 Horbury Hall had followed the example of Nether Hall, Horbury with the insertion of new plaster ceilings as

part of Thomas Savile's improvements there (27). As at Nether Hall, these ceilings made use of existing moulds: Queen Elizabeth's garter arms, the new grape bunch set in a diamond, the date 1595 set in an oblong plaque and a fleur-de-lys first seen at Ledston Hall in 1588.

In 1596, rooms in a house, recently known as Mr. Robinson's shop, in Northgate, Wakefield were enriched with plasterwork schemes of some pretension (28). The building still boasts a ribwork ceiling [Pl.1.8] incorporating the garter arms of Elizabeth, the date plaque of 1596, fleurs-de-lys, grape bunch set within a diamond as at Horbury Hall, and a Tudor rose surmounted by a crown set within a rectangle, recalling a similar badge in the Dragon Room ceiling at Weston Hall, Otley. Whilst the ceiling is undoubtedly fine, it is the accompanying frieze which is noteworthy. This is made up of different motifs set alongside one another: a flowerpot with flowers, right and left facing wyverns, and two mermaids with a scallop shell between [Pl.1.9]. All these motifs are important precursors of a group of enrichments which emerged from the Wakefield plasterers' workshop in the early 17th century and which will be discussed later.

One other town house in Wakefield, formerly known at Gosney's Pie Shop, Northgate, may have displayed Queen Elizabeth's garter arms, but whether in a ceiling or over a fireplace is not known (29). However, Carlton Hall, near Rothwell, home of the Hunt family, still retains its parlour wing with a plaster ceiling featuring the familiar royal arms encircled by the garter, the grape bunch within a diamond as at Horbury Hall, and the stylised pomegranate as at Ledston Hall, together with a beam soffit ornament similar to that shown in the drawing of the ceiling at Haselden Hall. The only other appearances of the garter arms of Elizabeth cast from the same mould are far away from Wakefield in the south of the county. One example can be seen on an overmantel in a rear chamber at Knabbs Hall, near Silkstone (30) and another, formerly above a fireplace at Low Farm, Ederthorpe, is now refixed in Darfield Church.

Sir John Jackson of Ederthorpe was a member of the Council of the North

and King's Attorney there in the reign of James I. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir John Savile of Bradley in 1594 (31) and installed a plasterwork overmantel in an upper chamber of his house at Ederthorpe, bearing not only the garter arms of Elizabeth I but also the initials IS, presumably in honour of Sir John Savile of Bradley, amidst a range of other enrichments including the Savile owl crest [Pl.1.10]. Prominent in the composition is a pair of flowerpots with flowers surmounted by a little owl, both from the same mould as those in the frieze in Mr. Robinson's shop, Wakefield. Flanking these is a pair of half-lozenge shapes filled with a pattern of fleurs-de-lys and foliage. The mould for this design was evidently but one of an entire suite of matching moulds which were later re-used at Barkisland Hall in 1638 and East Riddlesden Hall in 1642-1648 to create elaborate all-over patterned ceilings. The likelihood is that these moulds had originally been created to form a ceiling during the later 16th century in one of the great Savile houses.

One other enrichment worthy of attention on the Ederthorpe mantel is a floral device which is found nowhere else except on a plasterwork ceiling panel from Barkisland Upper Hall dated 1596 and bearing the initials MG and DG for Michael and Dorothy Gledhill (32) [Pl.1.11]. This ceiling panel, long since removed to Kendal in Cumbria, displays the grape bunch set in a diamond from the same mould as that at Carlton Hall and Horbury Hall, and a little fleur-de-lys as at Horbury and Ledston. The Wakefield plasterers, it would appear, were prepared either to send pre-cast enrichments from their workshop or to travel quite long distances beyond Wakefield in pursuit of their craft.

The Ederthorpe overmantel also incorporates an apparently insignificant feature: a lion mask from which issue hand-worked curling tendrils. This mask is found nowhere else except at Oakwell Hall, Birstall in the parlour window reveals and on surviving fragments of a destroyed ceiling worked by the Halifax plasterers circa 1630 (33) [Pl.1.12]. Curly tendrils, similar to those at Ederthorpe, became the hallmark of the work of Francis Lee, the Halifax plasterer, in the 1620s and 1630s. Thus, this small piece of evidence for the use of motifs by

the Wakefield plasterers which are later found in the work of the Halifax group is highly important. Together with other instances, it points to continuity and development - to a tradition of decorative plasterworking covering nearly 100 years.

One final observation needs to be made concerning the Ederthorpe overmantel. The appearance of elaborate decorative enrichments incorporating the Savile owl crest in the mould, and the appearance of other enrichments in association with the Savile owl in small-scale work such as this, would suggest a re-use of moulds which had originally been cut for a grand Savile house. It seems inconceivable that the expense of creating moulds with specific family symbols would be considered for a single overmantel. Rather, the lost houses of Bradley, Methley and Howley probably featured the designs which now survive on this plaster panel.

Of all the vanished houses of the Wakefield area, perhaps the one whose disappearance is most to be regretted is Heath Old Hall which was mostly demolished in 1961 (34). It was built between 1580 and 1584 by John Kaye, Deputy Steward of the Honour of Pontefract. He was on intimate terms with the Savile family - indeed, Whitaker reports that he took as his mistress Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Savile of Thornhill - and was building a grand and, perhaps, pretentious house at the same time as the Saviles were building theirs. Painted glass in the windows at Heath displayed the arms of Rutland, Cumberland, Bedford and Cecil (35) in much the same way as Sir John Savile's gallery at Methley Hall contained painted glass with the arms of Yorkshire families (36). It was, therefore, quite in keeping that John Kaye should have seen fit to embellish his new house with numerous plasterwork ceilings at a time when such were becoming the height of fashion in the district.

Photographs of the interior of Heath Old Hall show it to have had six contemporary ceilings with associated plaster friezes. The great chamber ceiling on the top floor displayed the arms of John Kaye of Dalton quartered with Jane Dodsworth of Shelley, parents of the builder, and the Kaye crest of a griffin holding a key in its beak

erased [Pl.1.13 and Pl.1.14]. These were set within rectangular and circular compartments formed by ribwork, with an accompanying frieze which appears to have been a precursor of the urn and wyvern frieze noted at Ledston Hall in 1588. On the same floor, the long gallery ceiling of lobed pendants and strapwork plaques set at intervals among the ribwork was bordered by a frieze of masks, birds and strapwork plaques. On the first floor, four rooms retained plasterwork: the winter parlour, with a frieze of masks and strapwork below a ceiling of star-shaped ribwork designs, enriched with fleurs-de-lys; two chambers with a scrolling foliage frieze beneath ceilings enlivened with short, fat pendants and large rosettes; and a further room containing a ceiling fragment only and for which no description is known.

It is a matter of speculation whether or not John Kaye employed the services of the Wakefield plasterers since none of the designs which characterise the Wakefield group so far discussed appear at Heath. A possible exception to this is a carved stone frieze above the great chamber overmantel featuring a running ornament of wyverns and urn which may be the prototype for this design found in plaster at Ledston Hall in 1588. A variant of this may also have appeared in plaster in this room at Heath but the visual evidence is inadequate for a positive identification (37). Whatever the case, one of the designs at Heath - that of putto supporting the coats of arms - finds its way into the repertoire of the plasterers at Woodsome Hall in 1602 and into the pattern book of the Halifax plasterers in the 1620s and 1630s along with other familiar designs from the Wakefield group.

The evidence would appear to favour the notion of a common workshop from which the designs found at Heath and those found in Savile houses and others around Wakefield emanated. If the appearance of the putto supporters cited above does not seem sufficient to justify a common workshop source, then other examples can be called upon. The Kaye griffin crest which appeared repeatedly in the great chamber ceiling at Heath could also be seen in the parlour at Humley Manor House, New-millderdam, a property to be identified as "my nowe dwellinghowse at Milnthrope" in the will of Elizabeth Savile of Wakefield (d.1614) (38).

Here, it was positioned alongside an owl on an overmantel bordered by pilasters made up of an S-scroll ornament (39). This ornament, in turn, could be seen as a frieze at Cross House, Wakefield and still survives as a ceiling border at Piemont House, Lofthouse. In an upper chamber at Humley, an heraldic lion passant set in a diamond panel was placed above a deep frieze of vine trail cast from a mould which appears to have been used again at Flanshaw Hall. This house was the home of Edward Watkinson (d.1609), a Wakefield mercer, church warden, governor of Wakefield Grammar School, and thus an intimate member of the Savile circle. Photographs of Flanshaw Hall taken in 1942 (40) show stylised swans amongst the fruit, flowers and foliage of this frieze. The same design seems also to have featured in the decorative plasterwork at Garforth Old Hall:

> "The frieze incorporated a bird, some say a cormorant or a flamingo, confusion over the species probably leading to the names 'swan' and 'goose'" (41).

The long gallery ceiling at Heath Old Hall displayed a fourteen-lobed circular boss which could also be found in the parlour ceiling at Clarke Hall, Stanley, near Wakefield [Pl.1.15]. Considerable fragments of the Clarke Hall ceiling were discovered during excavations in the 1970s (42). Apart from this circular boss or collar, a core or pendant boss was also discovered which appears to match a pendant boss in photographs of an upper chamber at Heath Old Hall. Clarke Hall was known by the name of Bradford Hall until its purchase by Benjamin Clarke of Handsworth, Sheffield in 1677. Robert Bradford (d.1599) was a governor of Wakefield Grammar School and a contemporary of the Savile founders of the same. He came from a family that owned lands at Heath and evidently followed John Kaye's lead by employing his plasterers to install a decorated ceiling at Bradford Hall in the late 16th century. Walker remarks that:

> "when the floor of this room [Bradford/Clarke Hall] was renewed in 1890, remains of the original Tudor plaster ceiling composed of geometrical panels adorned with fleurs-de-lys, roses, pomegranate and pine apples were found beneath the old boards." (43)

This description vividly suggests the familiar enrichments of the Wakefield plasterers, used in conjunction with the boss and collar employed at Heath Old Hall, giving added weight to the suggestion of a common workshop for both.

The 1970s excavations at Clarke Hall discovered a fleur-de-lys casting [Pl.1.16] with an area of pimples on the central petal, which is virtually identical to a fleur-de-lys found repeatedly in the hall ceiling at Levens Hall (1586), near Kendal in Cumbria. Even more interesting is the fact that the frieze in the hall at Levens, which is cast from the same mould as a frieze at Yanwath Hall in the same county, could formerly be found nowhere else except at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield. Furthermore, another frieze of a mask and strapwork which was situated in the long gallery at Heath Old Hall can still be seen, cast from the same mould, at Deloraine Court, James Street, Lincoln, where it is dated 1602 (44).

Clearly, the appearance of friezes and other enrichments cast from the same moulds in houses in different counties points to either travelling craftsmen or, which may be the case here, to the availability of plaster casts for sale from a regional workshop which were then transported to the work-site for fixing by local plasterers. However, the appearance of the same castings in Wakefield and Cumbria is of more than just passing interest since two other houses in Wakefield also displayed workmanship in plaster which relates to similar decoration in the Lake District.

Bleaze Hall at Old Hutton in Westmorland features a splendid ceiling composed of circular panels formed by graceful spirals of plasterwork vine leaves and grapes (45). The same design could be found on the ceiling of a house in Cross Square, Wakefield and in Gosney's Pie Shop, Wakefield where it was accompanied by beam casings of vine foliage and grape clusters (46) [Pl.1.17 and Pl.1.18]. A close examination of the leaves reveals that they are cast from the same moulds as those at Bleaze Hall and there is little doubt that the same hand is responsible in the execution of the work at all three sites.

The route from Kendal to Wakefield was not only used by drovers bringing cattle to the West Riding, it was also a pack-horse route for the carrying of cloth. In this, I believe, lies the explanation for the plasterwork connection. Roger Bateman, who built Bleaze Hall about 1600, was a wealthy cloth merchant in Kendal. He would have known George Savile of Haselden Hall, Wakefield through their mutual business dealings. Roger Bateman's son, Henry, is known to have been the owner of a great train of pack-horses which travelled regularly between London, York and the north (47). It may well be that Bateman's pack-horses were used to carry the very plasterwork enrichments back to Kendal which now adorn Levens Hall and Yanwath Hall and that plasterers from Wakefield travelled the route itself in order to execute the work at Bleaze Hall.

The pack-horse route leading from Yorkshire to Lancashire through the township of Cliviger, south east of Burnley, passes close to Barcroft Hall where, in the east chamber of the south wing, can be seen a square ceiling panel containing a spiral design of leaves and grape bunches, probably dating from 1614 (48). It is very much in the style of Wakefield examples and that at Bleaze Hall, Westmorland. To the west of Burnley, at Stockbridge House, Padiham, believed to date from the mid 17th century, a ceiling panel in the parlour features linked spirals of grape bunches and leaves (49). Both these examples may draw their inspiration from Gawthorpe Hall, Ightenhill, built between 1600 and 1605, where two ceilings with this spiral grapevine survive

The decorative plasterwork at Gawthorpe Hall is of crucial importance for understanding the post-1600 period of the Wakefield area, where plasterwork to the same designs and from the same moulds is found. Furthermore, since building accounts survive, it is possible to examine the sequence of the plasterers' work at Gawthorpe in detail (50). Most importantly, however, the plasterers are named as Francis and Thomas Gunby. They probably came from the Leeds area where the surname is common: certainly, they are later found working at York, Leeds and Wakefield (51). One other man, Edward Nowell, appears in the building

accounts as a plasterer rather than a plasterer's labourer. Nowell was a Wakefield area name in the 16th and 17th centuries and it is highly likely that he was an associate of the Gunby brothers and travelled with them to Gawthorpe. To what extent he or they had worked or trained in the Wakefield area in the 1580s and 1590s is a question that cannot as yet be answered, although the appearance of certain motifs at Gawthorpe Hall indicates a degree of continuity from this earlier period and suggests employment by the Savile family.

Gawthorpe Hall was originally commissioned by Sir Richard Shuttleworth, a London barrister, appointed Sergeant at Law in 1584 and Chief Justice of Chester in 1589. He died in 1599, leaving the building programme in the hands of his younger brother, the Reverend Lawrence Shuttleworth, Rector of Whichford in Warwickshire (52). Gawthorpe Hall shares many architectural features in common with Heath Old Hall, Wakefield, both of which are believed to have been designed by Robert Smythson, the Elizabethan architect (53). However, in terms of plasterwork patterns used, the only point of comparison is a frieze of an urn and opposed wyverns [Pl.1.19] which may have appeared in the great chamber at Heath Old Hall.

From the building accounts, it is clear that the first room to be decorated with plaster at Gawthorpe was the gallery. The plasterers were paid for cutting their moulds for two weeks in June and July, 1603 before commencing the actual plasterwork. The gallery ceiling consists of a repeating star-shaped ribwork arrangement centring on pendant bosses. Three enrichments only are used to decorate the panels between the ribs: a lion and ring mask, a stylised pomegranate and a ribbed cone-shaped boss. Below the cornice, a decorative frieze is broken at intervals by projecting corbels of acanthus leaf pattern. The frieze, seemingly cast in sections from a rectangular mould, comprises a female antique with flowing hair astride a C-bar strapwork motif. She is flanked by seated lions, each with a front leg raised and two owls amongst a background of leaves, flowers and fruit. This same frieze was also used in the Wainscot Room dated 1604 which was

destroyed in the 19th century during alterations by Sir Charles Barry but for which a drawing survives. The fireplace overmantel in the gallery bears the initials IR and is dated 1603, the year of King James I's accession, and features his royal arms set within the garter surmounted by an imperial crown [Pl.1.20]. A narrow band of foliage ornament, also used as the frieze in the chamber over the dining chamber, occurs above this central panel. On either side is a caryatid figure of the same pattern as a mould-cast version in the window reveals at Oakwell Hall, Birstall circa 1625 [Pl.2.8] and beneath are pious maxims in English and Latin.

The importance of this decorative scheme lies in the conjunction of elements from the pre-1600 Wakefield period and others which are found widely scattered around the West Yorkshire area after 1600. The frieze is the most significant aspect in that the flowing hair of the female antique is immediately recognisable as a stylistic feature seen in three other plasterwork friezes: the mermaids at Mr. Robinson's shop, Northgate, Wakefield (1596); a winged double-tailed mermaid at Goldsborough Hall, Knaresborough (post 1600); a double mermaid and merman at Woodsome Hall, Almondbury (1602), Piemont House, Lofthouse, and Hatfeild Hall, Stanley (1608). The raised front leg of the opposed lions is another stylistic feature seen in plasterwork representations of wyverns in West Yorkshire, and the C-bar motif is commonly found in plasterwork and woodcarvings of the Leeds/York area from the early 17th century onwards.

It is, however, the appearance of the owl, the Savile badge, that is exciting. There is no reason why the owl should feature at Gawthorpe - yet it also appears in the great parlour there - except that the plasterer was utilising a design already in his pattern book. Of course, it may be that the long gallery frieze at Gawthorpe was cast from a mould already in existence (54). Whichever is the case, it would seem highly probable that the frieze design had previously been used in one of the vanished Savile houses in West Yorkshire. Methley Hall would be a likely contender, especially as Sir John Savile who lived there would have known Sir Richard Shuttleworth through the

legal network and would have been well placed to recommend tried and tested craftsmen for the building work at Gawthorpe. The building acounts for Gawthorpe Hall would seem to bear out this supposition. In June, 1602 the accounts record: "To Sir John Savell's man for 1 tunne and 1 pound weight of iron" (55).

More certain evidence of the re-use of existing moulds is to be seen in the gallery ceiling where the small ribbed cone appears to be the same as that used at Ledston Hall in 1588, whilst the stylised pomegranate is from the same mould as that at Ledston Hall, Carlton Hall and Martin Birkhead's house, Wakefield. To clinch these observations, the narrow band of foliage ornament on the overmantel, which is also used as a frieze in another room, is from a mould which previously had been used to outline the surrounds of ceiling panels at Woodsome Hall, Almondbury (1602) [Plate 1.21] and Goldsborough Hall (post 1600) [Plate 1.22]. The ceiling panel at Goldsborough encloses a design of acorns and oak leaves cast from the same moulds as some in the great parlour (1605) at Gawthorpe: the ceiling panel at Woodsome Hall encloses a coat of arms of the Kaye family supported by putto cast from the same moulds as those in the great chamber ceiling at Heath Old Hall.

This network of houses sharing certain plasterwork features inevitably argues for there having been the same group of plasterers at work in all these properties, cutting new moulds and re-using others as occasion demanded. Gawthorpe is richly supplied with evidence to support this observation. The urn and wyvern frieze, already mentioned in relation to Heath Old Hall and Ledston Hall, appears in the "chamber in the west end of the house" (1604) at Gawthorpe, but cast from a different mould than that used at Ledston (56). Another popular design found at Gawthorpe Hall is a frieze of scrolled strap-work, fruit and leaves. In the "chamber over the porch" (1604), this frieze was cast from the same mould that had previously been used at Horbury Nether Hall (1593) and at Mr. Robinson's shop, Northgate, Wakefield (1596) (57). A variant on this design exists in the "heighmost

chamber in the west side" (1604). The mould for this frieze was later re-used at 36, Commercial Street, Rothwell (58).

One other small feature which occurs at Gawthorpe and which was effectively a hallmark of the late 16th century Wakefield plasterers is the date set within an oblong plaque having a pelleted surround. In this case, the plaque appears in the "chamber over the porch", is set with the year 1604, and is accompanied by the initials LS for Lawrence Shuttleworth. The practice of fixing these small date plaques seemingly continued after the height of the fashion for them in the 1580s and 1590s in Wakefield. Others are, or were, to be found at *Woodsome Hall (1602)*, *Greenhead Hall, Huddersfield (1608)*, and Shepley Hall (1609). The great hall at Gawthorpe was reconstructed by Sir Charles Barry in the 1850s and the plasterwork is meant to be a faithful copy of the original. This may well be the case as the frieze in this room is quite recognisable as a scaled-up version of a fruit and scroll design employed at Humley Manor, Newmillerdam, Cross House, Wakefield and Piemont House, Lofthouse.

Of the few remaining cast enrichments found at Gawthorpe, two in particular deserve mention. The first is a marigold flower set between two flanking acanthus-like leaves. This design, though not from the same mould, can be found in Lees Hall, Thornhill and later at Marsh Hall, Northowram (1635-37) and East Riddlesden Hall (1642-49). The second enrichment is a lion mask with ring in mouth which appears in three ceilings at Gawthorpe. Although variants of this design occur in West Yorkshire plasterwork, actual instances of this particular mould are rare and restricted to later properties: Westroyd at Warley (1630s), Howroyd, Barkisland (1642), Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby Bridge (1649), and, in Lancashire, Spenser House, Worsthorne (c. 1627) (59). As the Yorkshire examples of this enrichment appear with other motifs normally found in Lancashire properties, it is likely that itinerant plasterers from Lancashire were responsible (60). They, in turn, may have inherited the mould from local men such as Brian Blyth who had helped the Gunbys at Gawthorpe. More research is needed into Lancashire/Cheshire decorative plasterwork to establish if a link exists

between the work at Gawthorpe and other plasterwork of the 17th century in that region.

Gawthorpe's glory is the ceiling and especially the frieze in the "dyninge Chamber" completed in 1605. It is a tour de force of the plasterer's art with considerable hand modelling. The ceiling is divided into variously shaped compartments by enriched ribwork at whose intersections are pendant bosses. The panels formed by the ribs are smothered in branches of fruit and foliage and particularly by the spiral vine form already mentioned. Bunches of grapes, pendant from the spiral centres, are a novel touch. Free-standing heraldic lions supporting coats of arms are perched on the projecting cornice of the oak panelling. In the designs selected for the frieze, it is evident that Francis Gunby was running through his repertoire of drawings/engravings to achieve a varied and lively composition. Interspersed among the flowing vine stems, exotic fruits and leaves are dancing putto, birds and wild men clad in oak leaves. Some stems issue from traditional flower pots, others end in foliage or grotesque masks. Not only is the Savile owl present on more than one occasion but, most significantly, there are also freely-modelled mermaids with flowing hair [Pl.1.23], vividly recalling their mould-cast sisters who appear in Wakefield area houses of the early 17th century. Indeed, although some of the designs in this ceiling and frieze are later found in mould-cast work around the Wakefield area, the style of modelling in the frieze is a foretaste of the kind of work which was later to appear in York and Leeds (61).

Hand modelling which conveys something of the flavour of the work at Gawthorpe can be seen at Hawksworth Hall, Otley, built for Walter Hawksworth (d.1619). whose initials and the date 1611 are to be seen in the tympanum of the great chamber in association with the Hawksworth arms [Pl.1.24]. Figures of Fortitude and Temperance flank the family arms and are mirrored in the opposite tympanum by figures of Prudence and Justice, with their emblems flanking the royal arms. In similar fashion, the figures of Prudence and Justice flank the Shuttleworth arms in the "heigh most chamber in the west side" (1604)

at Gawthorpe Hall. An imperial crown above the royal arms at Hawksworth is virtually identical to that in the same position above the long gallery overmantel at Gawthorpe. The bar-C motifs in the long gallery frieze at Gawthorpe are hand modelled at Hawksworth with stemwork, fruit and leaves which, in two instances, terminate in grotesque heads. Small mould-cast crowns employed as accents above the letters IR appear to be cast from a mould which was later used at 36, Commercial Street, Rothwell in association with the wyvern and urn frieze cast from the same mould as Gawthorpe.

Around the chamber at Hawksworth runs the urn and wyvern frieze from a different mould used at Gawthorpe and, in this case, it is intersected by strapwork cartouches framing a series of human masks. This latter feature is a characteristic of a frieze at Goldsborough Hall, Knaresborough where masks on cartouches alternate with the winged double-tailed mermaid with flowing hair [Pl.1.25].

The vaulted ceiling at Hawksworth is divided by enriched ribwork into a geometric configuration including the star layout which replicates the ribwork pattern of the long gallery at Gawthorpe. Two of the pendants have suspended grape bunches recalling the same idea in the dining room there. The central pendant is set into a star panel of grapes and vine leaf with the stemwork not arranged into a spiral, as one might have expected, but into a double-heart shape. This stemwork design also appears at Goldsborough Hall in a ceiling panel and occurs later in the work of the Halifax group at Baildon Hall and, in an abbreviated form, at Oakwell Hall, Birstall. Cast enrichments in the ceiling at Hawksworth comprise a small ribbed cone which may be from the same mould as others at Gawthorpe, and a large fleur-de-lys which appears to be one of the motifs indicated in the drawing of the ceiling of the Wainscot Room, Gawthorpe.

It is apparent from the foregoing that there are several points of contact between Gawthorpe and Hawksworth. One further house can, perhaps, be added to the pair: Burton Agnes Hall, near Bridlington. Built by Sir Henry Griffith, a member of the Council of the North, in

the opening years of the 17th century, to a design by the famous Elizabethan surveyor, Robert Smythson (62), its interiors are believed to have been completed by 1610, the date on a wooden fireplace frieze. That being so, it neatly slots into the period of time between the completion of the Gawthorpe contract and the start of the work at Hawksworth Hall. The remarkable carved hall screen is an import to the house from Barmston Hall and the long gallery ceiling is a modern copy, but the decorative plasterwork which survives in the Queen's Bedroom is original. This features an all-over design of honeysuckle with the flower stems actually hanging free where they overlap. In this respect, it recalls the hanging grape clusters in the parlour at Gawthorpe. Beneath an elaborate cornice, a splendid hand-modelled frieze of figurative work set amongst vigorous foliage has no parallel other than the parlour frieze at Gawthorpe. Similarly, the waggon-vaulted ceiling in the gallery, which reproduces the original, could have served as the inspiration for the vaulted ceiling at Hawksworth. Yet the designs employed at Burton Agnes are new and are not seen again. Further evidence is needed before an attribution to the Gunby workshop can be made.

Following on from the late 16th century work of the Wakefield group, the early 17th century saw many other properties in the Wakefield/ West Yorkshire area being decorated with plasterwork. A number of these have already been mentioned in the comparative analysis of the Gawthorpe work but it is necessary now to examine them as an inter-related group in order to assess the spread of certain enrichments and thus, by implication, the extent of the Gunby brothers' workshop output.

Goldsborough Hall, near Knaresborough was built by Sir Richard Hutton in 1601. He had purchased the estate in 1598, having previously lived at Hutton Hall, Cumberland (63). Like so many builders of fine houses at the time, he was a successful lawyer, eventually becoming Recorder of York (1608), Recorder of Ripon (1610) and a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas (1617). His wife was sister to Lady Savile of Thornhill, and the Hutton's visits to the Saviles at Thornhill are recorded in the Thornhill household books (64). It is hardly surpris-

ing that the plasterwork at Goldsborough affords favourable comparison with that in other Savile-circle houses. Goldsborough Hall has two fine ceilings whose decoration firmly ties the house to the Wakefield plasterwork of the late 16th century. A few enrichments, such as the stylised pomegranate, are cast from moulds which had first been used in the 1580s in the Wakefield area but, overall, Goldsborough is important for the appearance of new moulds which rework old designs and, indeed, some new designs. Unfortunately for this study, a true assessment of Goldsborough is not possible since the long gallery ceiling was underdrawn in the 18th century. Nonetheless, from the original two rooms which remain, it is apparent that the mermaid motif, seen at Northgate, Wakefield in 1596, is worked up into an accomplished design of double-tailed mermaids, alternating with masks set in cartouches. In much the same way, a frieze design of scrolled strapwork, fruit and leaves, seen at Northgate, Wakefield (1596) and Horbury Nether Hall (1593), emerges in fresh form at Goldsborough, alternating with lion masks set in strapwork circles. The lion masks are also to be found at Todmorden Hall (1603), flanked by heraldic wyverns with front leg raised, strikingly similar to their Northgate predecessors [Pl.1.26]. What is immediately apparent from a comparison of the wyverns at Todmorden and the mermaid at Goldsborough is that the mould has been carved by the same hand: the scales and the fins on the fishtails of both are identical in treatment.

Todmorden Hall was built by Saville Radcliffe and his wife, Kathleen Hyde, in 1603, and the Savile family connection may yet again account for the superb plasterwork frieze (65). It occupies a comparatively small rear room in the east wing. Elsewhere in the house, only a carved wooden overmantel survives to indicate the high quality of the interior decoration that must have existed. The best chambers of the front of the house are now completely devoid of any original ornament. This is largely the case also with Woodsome Hall, Almondbury where three rooms only retain traces of their original plasterwork decoration. Yet, that which survives takes the trail in fresh directions. Woodsome Hall was extensively rebuilt in 1600 by Robert Kaye (66) and completed internally in 1602, according to a plaster date plaque (67). He was

second cousin to John Kaye who had built Heath Old Hall in the 1580s, and Robert's father, John Kaye (d.1594), had been godfather to Sir John Savile of Bradley's daughter, Jane, born in 1582.

For his work at Woodsome Hall, Robert Kaye was, therefore, able to avail himself of the mould previously used at Heath for the putto supporters to the Kaye arms. At Woodsome Hall, the coat of arms is surmounted by the Kaye crest, a goldfinch (68), and the whole panel is surrounded by a band of ornament previously noted as appearing at Gawthorpe Hall and Goldsborough Hall with the stylised pomegranate of the Wakefield group at the corners. In the room in which this ceiling panel appears is a frieze of opposed wyverns with raised front legs alternating with a merman holding hands with two mermaids. The wyverns are cast from a different mould than that used at Todmorden, yet the same hand is evident in the carving, just as the merman and mermaids composition is a new design but cast from a mould carved by the same hand that made the mermaid at Goldsborough. Once again, the distinctive scaling of the fishtails and fins affords the clue. The merman and mermaids frieze recurs near Wakefield in 1608 at Hatfeild Hall, Stanley [Pl.1.27], rebuilt by Gervase Hatfeild and his wife, Grace Savile. In the dining room there, at one point in the frieze, the merman is erased and a shield bearing the Hatfeild and Savile arms is superimposed with the flanking mermaids serving as supporters. The date 1608 and initials GH GH for Gervase and Grace Hatfeild surmount the arms. Just as at Woodsome, the wyverns alternate with the merman and mermaids in the frieze (69). One other instance only of the merman/mermaids design remains in situ at Piemont House, Lofthouse, the parlour of which was refurbished by Thomas and Anne Piemont (m.1593) very early in the 17th century (70). Fragments of the frieze were discovered in the reveals of a window some years ago and further examples remain hidden behind wooden window surrounds.

The parlour ceiling at Piemont comprises two square panels set diamond-wise with an outer border of the scrolling ornament already noted at Cross House, Wakefield and Humley Manor House. Alternating designs of fleur-de-lys and a stem of grapes, leaves and pomegranate enrich the

points of the squares. Within the square, a single pre-cast design occupies the centre. This consists of four linked fleurs-de-lys around a lobed central boss. It is a distinctive design which was also to be seen at Greenhead Hall, near Huddersfield in a ceiling installed by Robert and Lucy Hirst. It no longer survives but photographs show that it bore their initials and the date 1608, the same year as Hatfeild Hall's plasterwork (71). The design of the ribwork layout at Greenhead was exactly the same as that in the Huntroyd Room at Gawthorpe and Lady Betty's bedroom at Ledston. Apart from a lion mask enrichment not found anywhere else and a boss and leaves at ribwork intersections, the only other motif employed was an acorn with leaves. Both this and the four linked fleurs-de-lys are still to be seen, cast from the same moulds, at Lees Hall, Thornhill. One further building with plasterwork of the same period which may have shared motifs found at Hatfeild, Piemont and Greenhead was Milner's Court at Alverthorpe, near Wakefield. Demolished in 1937, this house had belonged to John Batty (d.1623), a chapman named in the wills of Thomas (d.1599) and George (d.1593) Savile and a co-founder with them of Wakefield Grammar School. Walker remarks that, "one of the rooms had a plaster ceiling with a handsome frieze, bearing the date 1605" (72), but no further details are known.

Returning to Woodsome Hall, the ground floor parlour ceiling features a stylised bunch of grapes as the only ornament in the centre of each compartment of a coffered ceiling. It vividly recalls the grape bunch which characterised so many buildings in the Wakefield area in the 1580s and 1590s. The same ornament can also be seen not far away from Woodsome at Wormald Hall, Almondbury in an upstairs chamber at the centre of a square panel bordered by a design of interlinked circles and rectangles [Pl.1.28]. This design is similar to border ornaments at Haselden Hall (73) and Carlton Hall, Rothwell. At the corners of the square panel, the familiar stylised pomegranate makes yet another appearance. However, the Woodsome ceiling itself has yet more to offer. On the soffit of the plasterwork beam casing forming the compartments is a running design of vine stem and various fruits. This design was employed as a frieze above a window with the date 1602 in another room

at Woodsome and also at Lees Hall, Thornhill in an upstairs chamber. It is also worth noting that the tiny ornament tucked into the borders of this vine stem frieze is also to be seen in the same position on the scrolling strapwork frieze at Gawthorpe, perhaps suggesting a common source of origin.

The link between Woodsome Hall and Lees Hall, Thornhill is enhanced by the survival of a portion of a further frieze at Woodsome in a downstairs room. It consists of opposed horned bulls, alternating with a cockatrice. The bulls each have a raised front leg - recalling the posture assumed by the wyvern previously mentioned, and the lion in the long gallery frieze at Gawthorpe. However, at Lees Hall the same cockatrice alternates not with horned bulls but with a unicorn and lion facing an oak tree. As the unicorn did not replace the Welsh dragon as a supporter of the royal arms until James I's accession, this frieze, representing the royal supporters as naturalistic creatures, must post-date 1603. Chevet Hall, near Wakefield, home of the Nevile family, once had this frieze in the parlour (74) [Pl.1.29]. So, also, did Barnbow Hall at Barwick in Elmet, home of the Gascoigne family, if Ralph Thoresby's casual comment in 1709 about "the ornaments of lions and unicorns in the great dining room" is correctly interpreted (75).

Lees Hall at Thornhill, whose plasterwork survives in the great chamber, is, perhaps, the central link in this particular chain of connections. Its direct relationship to Piemont House, Greenhead Hall and Woodsome Hall and its extended relationship to other buildings is apparent from the descriptive trail already outlined. It is, thus, a site of some importance to this study (76). The house belonged to the Nettleton family and, on the death of James Nettleton in 1578, the estate descended to his infant son, Edward. Some time after 1603, he inserted decorative plasterwork into the upper chambers of the house, probably to mark his marriage, since the arms of Nettleton and Drake appeared on a wooden overmantel in one of the rooms. Although his date of marriage is not known, the plasterwork must have been installed before Edward's death in 1612. Edward Nettleton's widowed mother re-

married, taking as her second husband George Kaye of the Woodsome Hall family. It is doubtless this connection which accounts for the similarities between the plasterwork at Lees Hall and Woodsome Hall.

The stone-built wing at Lees Hall, Thornhill, now bare of ornament, contained two chambers with plain ceilings enriched by friezes (77). One of these was the lion and unicorn frieze, another the running vine stem with various fruits as at Woodsome, and yet another was the wyvern and urn frieze cast from the same mould as the version found at Ledston Hall (1588). The timber-framed east wing at Lees Hall, Thornhill, however, contains the finest plasterwork: a first floor great chamber with ceiling and frieze intact [Pl.1.30]. The room consists of two bays of timber-framing, the arched tie beam of which divides the ceiling into two compartments. The lion and unicorn and cockatrice frieze runs not only around the room but also along the sides of the tie beam above a narrower band of conventional grapevine. The soffit of the tie beam is ornamented with a scrolling strapwork frieze of the same pattern as those at Gawthorpe Hall, Nether Hall, Horbury, and Northgate, Wakefield. The ceiling compartments are divided by ribwork into tight and regular geometric grids of lozenges, squares and diamonds, containing various enrichments. The four linked fleurs-de-lys centre-piece has already been noted at Piemont House and Greenhead Hall, as has the acorn and leaves device which also features at Greenhead. A diamond panel, containing a fleur-de-lys design, is strikingly similar to a version which appears at Goldsborough Hall and to the half-lozenge design which can be seen on the Ederthorpe overmantel. However, the most telling motif is that of a marigold flower set beween two flanking acanthus leaves. It is virtually identical to that seen at Gawthorpe Hall and is the precursor of another version later found in the work of the Halifax plasterers. In this way, Lees Hall, Thornhill, standing at the centre of a web of interconnections, provides a convenient vantage point from which to look back to the late 16th century plasterwork of the Wakefield area and from which to anticipate the work of the Halifax area in the later 1620s and 1630s.

With reference to the Halifax group, which will be considered next, one

further collection of buildings in this survey of early 17th century Wakefield group work needs to be noted as it provides the clearest evidence of a chain of connections between the two. The starting point is the left and right facing wyverns, seen at Northgate, Wakefield (1596), reappearing at Todmorden Hall (1603), cast from a different mould, and at Woodsome Hall (1602) and Hatfeild Hall (1608) from yet another mould. The products of this latter mould also appeared at Shibden Grange, alias Godley House, near Southowram, Halifax, as components in an undated frieze alongside a flowerpot with flowers and a large intricate fleur-de-lys (78) [Pl.1.31]. This flowerpot with flowers, which may owe its origin to an earlier version from the 1590s at Northgate, Wakefield and Ederthorpe, can also be seen at Shepley Old Hall in a ceiling and frieze dated 1609 of a house built by the Hepworth family. It also appeared at Kirklees Hall in a ceiling installed by John Armytage about 1610, according to the inscribed date on the north front. Fragments from this ceiling were discovered in excavations in 1863 (79) and later fixed in the walls of a room in the gatehouse at Kirklees. Two enrichments only are known: the flowerpot and the same large intricate fleur-de-lys as at Shibden Grange.

The flowerpot and the fleur-de-lys enrichments appeared once more in combination at Old Chamber, Erringden, near Hebden Royd in a frieze of alternating panels divided by S-curve flower and stem motifs. A date of 1664, which appeared beneath a hand-modelled mermaid added later to one end of this frieze, has, incorrectly, been taken to date the entire composition (80). It is possible that this small group of enrichments also appeared at Pegg Farm, Liversedge, since the date 1615, which featured in the ornamental plasterwork there, effectively marks the end of the time span during which they were being used in combination (81). No more instances of the flowerpot have been discovered but the intricate fleur-de-lys reappears in the work of the Halifax group at Marsh Hall, Northowram in 1635 and at Mulcture Hall, Halifax in 1637. In both cases it occurs in association with the left and right facing wyverns from the 1602 Woodsome Hall mould.

Whilst the reappearance of the wyvern can be noted in 1631 at Wormalds

Hall, Almondbury and in association with the fleur-de-lys at Langley House, Hipperholme in the early 1630s, their absence for more than a decade is significant. Indeed, other than the reference to the ceiling dated 1615 at Pegg Farm, no further plasterwork is known in the area until the late 1620s. It would appear that these old moulds, along with others from the earlier Wakefield group, were rediscovered many years after their last use. They, perhaps, lay disregarded in a workshop until brought to the attention of a plasterer with the ability to utilise them once again. That plasterer would appear to be a man named Francis Lee.

Footnotes to Chapter 1: The Wakefield Group

1. This is a subject which deserves further research. Useful material is contained in Ross,F.,'The Family of Savile', Old Yorkshire (ed. William Smith), 1890, 149-179, and Clay,J.W.,'The Savile family', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 25, 1920, 1-47.
2. However, see Nuttall,B.H., The Saviles of Thornhill: Life at Thornhill Hall in the reign of Charles I, Leeds, privately published, 1986, for details of the Saviles and their friends, from the Household Books of the 17th century.
3. Walker,J.W.,Wakefield: its history and its people, 2nd ed., Wakefield, privately printed, 1939, p.353.
4. Quoted in Walker, 649.
5. Clay,J.W.and Lister,J.(eds), 'Autobiography of Sir John Savile, of Methley, Knight, Baron of the Exchequer, 1546-1607', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 15, 1899, 420-427.
6. Haselden Hall, Wakefield. See Walker, 575-586.
7. See Chapter 10: Patterns and Design Sources.
8. Photographs of Methley Hall interiors are preserved at Temple Newsam House, Leeds and Leicester Museum. The hall screen survives in the stores at Temple Newsam House.
9. Whitaker,T.D., Loidis and Elmete, Leeds, Robinson, Son & Holdsworth, 1816. The "Boyne edition" in Leeds Reference Library is enhanced by original watercolour drawings, one of which is the hall at Methley.
10. Anon.,'Methley Park and Hall , Old Yorkshire (ed. W.Wheater), 1885, 290.
11. The Wortley coat of arms may also have appeared at Bradley Hall in the plasterwork there. Sir John Savile of Bradley was executor of Francis Wortley's will in 1583.
12. Wakefield Museum: McLean Family Papers. These contain the drawings (not indexed) prepared for Walker's Wakefield, 1st ed.
13. See Chapter 10: Patterns and Design Sources.
14. Hunter,J., South Yorkshire, Vol.II, London, 1831, p.249.
15. Cooper,J.P.(ed.), The Wentworth Papers, 1597-1628, Camden Miscellany, 4th Series, 12, 1973. Appendix, p.324 reproduces 'Extracts from Sir George Radcliffe's draughts for his Life of Strafford', where he remarks: "...George Earl of Cumberland, whose arms instead of the armes of Francis, his brother, Sir Thomas his father in law, were (I know not by what chance) set upon a chimney piece in the best lodginge chamber at Wentworth Woodhouse."
16. Oswald,A.,'Weston Hall', Country Life, 13 November 1958, 1112-1116.
17. Walker, 607.
18. Walker, 588 and Banks,W.,Walks in Yorkshire: Wakefield and its neighbourhood, Wakefield, Longmans, 1871, p.102.
19. Leader,J.D., Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity, Sheffield, Leader. 1880, p.317: Letter from Martin Birkhead to the Earl of Shrewsbury, 22 June 1582, mentioning Mr Wortley and Mr George Savile.
20. The ceiling from Martin Birkhead's house is crated up in Wakefield Museum's stores, and was inspected in 1984.
21. Walker, 597.
22. Banks, 238.
23. Banks, 239.
24. Oswald,A.S.,'Ledston Hall',Country Life, 10 December 1938, 580-585.

25. Walker, 524.
26. Banks, 496.
27. Banks, 498. Thomas Savile was second son of Mr George Savile of Haselden Hall, Wakefield.
28. Restoration work in 1991 uncovered the badly damaged remains of a ground floor ceiling, which was not saved. The first floor ceiling has been completely restored. See also Walker, 586-587.
29. Walker, 1st ed., 1934, 503. Walker does not repeat the information about the arms of Elizabeth when talking of the plaster ceiling in his 2nd edition, 1939, 586.
30. This has not been seen. No-one has gained admission to this house in many years. A report in the Barnsley Chronicle, 29 November 1985, p.43, states that "the fireplace in one of the bedrooms bears the royal arms ER". Mr Smethurst, 1 Wellhouse Lane, Penistone, confirms that the arms are made of plaster, and the owner of the property admits there is decorative plasterwork.
31. Clay, 425, n.9.
32. See Chapter 2, n.3.
33. Discussed in Chapter 2: The Halifax Group.
34. For a full account of Heath Old Hall see Weaver,O.J.,'Heath Old Hall, Yorkshire', in Apted,M.R. et al (eds), Ancient monuments and their interpretation, London, Phillimore, 1977, pp.285-301.
35. Walker, 620. These 4 coats of arms were the only ones still remaining in 1788, according to Walker. They, or their sources, may have served as designs for the plasterwork coats of arms of noble families worked by the Halifax group in the 1630s onwards.
36. Atkinson,D.H., Ralph Thoresby, the topographer: his town and times, Vol.II, Leeds, Walker & Laycock, 1887, pp.146-147.
37. The illustrations in the paper by Weaver are good, but show only a fragment of this frieze. Green,M., Old Hall at Heath 1568-1888, 2nd ed., Wakefield, W.H.Milnes, 1903, p.17 shows a line drawing which appears to be a rendering of the wyvern and urn design.
38. Clay, 45, and Walker, 639, where he incorrectly attributes this quotation to the will of George Savile, 1595.
39. Plasterwork fragments from Humley Manor House are stored in Wakefield Museum. The Yorkshire Archaeological Society has photographs taken in 1939 contained in two albums of photographs by J.W.Walker called Views of Wakefield.
40. National Monuments Record: A42/2149.
41. Thoresby Society, A short history of Garforth, Leeds, Thoresby Society, 1931, p.43.
42. Brears,P.C.D.,'Clarke Hall, Wakefield: architectural innovations in seventeenth century West Yorkshire',Post-Medieval Archaeology, 12, 1978, 86-100. The plasterwork fragments are stored in Wakefield Museum.
43. Walker, 1st ed., 1934, 514.
44. National Monuments Record: Photographs in Lincoln boxfile.
45. Palmer,J.H., Historic Farmhouses in and around Westmorland, Kendal, Westmorland Gazette, 1944, p.18.
46. Walker, 2nd ed., 1939, 586. The Cross Square ceiling was removed to Clarke Hall, Wakefield, about 1937. Gosney's Pie Shop was demolished in 1962 but plasterwork sections are stored in Wakefield Museum.
47. Palmer, 18.
48. RCHM(E), Rural houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760. London, HMSO, 1985, p.139 and Plate 45.

49. RCHM(E), 160 and Plate 46.
50. Harland,J.(ed.),'The house and farm accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe', Chetham Society Publications, 1st Series, 35, 1856, 125-174.
51. Francis Gunby was employed by Sir Arthur Ingram at Sheriff Hutton Hall, 1622-23, and Temple Newsam House, 1626-29. He is also recorded as having carved the choirscreen in Wakefield Cathedral. His work is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.
52. Dean R., Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire, London, National Trust, 1992, pp.49-50.
53. Girouard,M., Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House, London, Yale University Press, 1983, pp.191-192.
54. A similar example exists in the work of the Sheffield group (see Chapter 5) where a frieze repeatedly displaying the Rodes family crest is found at North Lees Hall, Hathersage, in a house built by the Jessop family. No family link is known.
55. Harland, 143.
56. After Gawthorpe, the same mould was used at Oakwell Hall, Birstall; 36, Commercial Street, Rothwell; Peel House, Gomersal; Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme; Marsh Hall, Northowram; Kildwick Hall. The Ledston Hall mould was also used at Lees Hall, Thornhill.
57. Photographs of the Horbury Nether Hall frieze exist at the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. The frieze from Mr Robinson's shop, Northgate, Wakefield, was not saved in the 1991 restoration.
58. Two more variants of this frieze exist: one at Goldsborough Hall, Knaresborough, in conjunction with a lion mask, and a smaller version as a beam soffit ornament at Lees Hall, Thornhill.
59. The date 1627 is attributed to the plasterwork at Spenser House by comparison with work at Jackson's Farm, Worsthorne. See RCHM(E), 175.
60. See Chapter 2: The Halifax Group.
61. See Chapter 4: The Leeds/York Group.
62. Girouard, 185-188.
63. Kitson,S.D.,'Goldsborough Hall', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 26, 1922, 256-258.
64. Nuttall, 19.
65. The Radcliffe family lived at Overthorpe Hall, Thornhill, and visited the Saviles of Thornhill Hall regularly. See Nuttall, 18.
66. Redmonds,G.,The Heirs of Woodsome, Huddersfield, G.R.Books, 1982, pp.6-11
67. This no longer survives, but a photograph exists in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society library with correspondence from Leigh Tolson to Mr Crossley, dated 13 November 1904.
68.This crest appears in the plasterwork of the Halifax group in the 1630s.
69. Walker, 601 for Hatfeild Hall. A drawing of the Hatfeild-Savile arms in plaster at Hatfeild Hall, together with other coats of arms which could be seen there, is contained in the archives of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society: MS338.
70. Walker, 591.
71. Photographs of Greenhead Hall are contained in an unsorted collection in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society library.
72. Walker, 651.
73. A section of this is in store in Wakefield Museum.
74. Ditto

75. Atkinson, 147.
76. For a study of this house see Manby,T.G.,'Lees Hall, Thornhill, a medieval timber-framed building in the West Riding of Yorkshire', Yorkshire Archaelogical Journal, 43, 1971, 112-127.
77. A comprehensive photographic record of the plasterwork at Lees Hall, Thornhill, is contained in the photograph files of the National Monuments Record.
78. Shibden Grange was demolished in 1955, but the plaster frieze was saved and is in store at the Bankfield Museum, Halifax.
79. These plasterwork ornaments "including a fragment of arms not before known" together with "a valuable sketch of these antiquities and a plan of the excavations" were exhibited in 1868 at the Annual Meeting and Conversazione of the Huddersfield Archaeological and Topographical Association, reported in the Huddersfield Observer, 23 January 1868.
80. Stell,C.F.,'Vernacular architecture in a Pennine Community', (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Liverpool), 1960, p.250.
81. Anon.,'Yorkshire ancient families: the Greene family of Liversedge , Old Yorkshire (ed. William Smith), 1883, 227.

CHAPTER 2: THE HALIFAX GROUP

Writing in 1922 in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, H.P. Kendall was the first person to call attention to the numerous examples of 17th century plasterwork to be found in the Parish of Halifax (1). His comprehensive survey of surviving evidence attempted to categorise the plasterwork into three periods: earlier (1630s), intermediate (1640s) - when he noted an outside influence, and later (1660 on). Although he was aware of a plasterer named Francis Lee "who appears to have died somewhere about the year 1638-9", he hesitated in ascribing work of the first period to his hand. In 1968 Kendall's pioneering work was re-examined by R. Bretton in a paper presented to the Halifax Antiquarian Society (2) in which he sought to update and extend the list of local examples and attempted to explain several instances of curious heraldry worked in plaster which had baffled Kendall. Like Kendall, he limited the scope of his researches to the Parish of Halifax. Yet he was aware that "there are specimens still existing outside our district" and mentioned Baildon Hall and Lees Hall, Thornhill but, seemingly, enquired no further.

Kendall's ability to see not only links between but also a pattern of development in the examples he had discovered was a brave attempt to impose order on his material. Yet he was unaware of the real extent of the geographical distribution of his subject matter and consequently drew conclusions based on insufficient evidence. For example, he attributed plasterwork dated 1596 at Barkisland Old Hall (3) to his earlier period and queried if it was as old as the date, simply because he was at a loss to account for such an early example. Evidently he was unaware of the widespread late 16th century plasterwork by a group centred on Wakefield of which this is a far-flung but typical example. He recognised what he termed "a purely local school of the craft" operating in the 1630s and, in this, he was substantially correct although work of this school can be

found in a number of places outside the Parish of Halifax.

In failing to appreciate that examples of the Halifax group's work might be found outside the parish boundary, he also failed to fully appreciate that some examples found within the parish might similarly be the work of outsiders. Thus a remarkable piece of dated 1630s workmanship at West Royd, Warley [Pl.2.1], which Kendall assigns to his earlier period, actually bears no relationship to the work of the Halifax group but is the product of a style of plasterwork practised in Lancashire (4). Such misunderstandings based on the large but limited example derived from fieldwork restricted by a convenient but artificial boundary meant that Kendall's attempts to ascribe a chronology to the surviving plasterwork was flawed from the outset. Nonetheless, his early work was a valiant effort to try to understand and account for the mass of plasterwork around Halifax and his careful research forms an immensely valuable record, particularly as much has been destroyed since his time.

From the foregoing, it will be obvious that any attempt to correctly identify a group of examples of plasterwork sharing common features and to construct a sequence of development for these examples will be hampered if the area under study is too confined. However, by looking at the whole of Yorkshire and the bordering part of Lancashire, it has been possible to identify the extent of the Halifax workshop's operating area (See Appendix 1, Map 2). Within the output of this group, as in the others, the individual examples of plasterwork relate to each other through a common vocabulary of enrichments cast from the same moulds, stylistic features and hand-working techniques. It is even possible to recognise the same plasterer's hand at work by noting features such as the way in which tendrils are curled or foliage stems arranged in a particular pattern.

The earliest dated example of decorative plasterwork belonging to the Halifax group was at High Hurst, Hebden Royd (1629).

Other dated examples are: Cinderhills, Northowram (1633); Bean Hole Head, Stansfield (1634); Norland Lower Old Hall (1635); Marsh Hall, Northowram (1635); Slead Hall, Brighouse (1636); Nos. 2-4, South Bank Road, Batley (1636); Marsh Hall, Northowram (1637); Mulcture Hall, Halifax (1637). To these can be added a number of undated examples which share common features: Baildon Hall; Weetwood Hall, Leeds; Old Cock Inn, Halifax; Oakwell Hall, Birstall; Highlee Hall, Brighouse; Lane Ends, Hipperholme; Copley Hall, Skircoat; Giles House, Lightcliffe. Doubtless there were many others now destroyed such as Upper Shibden Hall, known from a casual reference to:

> "the carved oak ceiling of the kitchen which had been completely whitewashed...in one corner of it [was] the form of a bird which she called the 'Shebden Hullett'" (5).

This information about the ceiling installed by James and Sarah Foxcroft in 1626, according to an inscription above the fire-place, is of considerable importance for mentioning the Savile owl tucked away in a corner - the normal position for this enrichment in the work of the Halifax plasterers. Indeed, references such as this increase the number of recorded examples from which it is possible, by comparative analysis and from the evidence of inscribed dates, to construct a sequence starting about 1627 and finishing about 1637.

Ceilings

The earliest ceiling of the group is to be found at Baildon Hall, put up shortly after Francis Baildon inherited and extended the property in 1627. It consists of an arrangement of circles and Greek crosses in ribwork with the spaces filled with curving stems bearing various leaves, flowers and fruit [Pl.2.2]. Three distinctive stylistic features are repeated in the ceiling: the curving stems emanate from lion masks in the main panels and from fleur-de-lys-like terminals in the side panels whilst

tightly curled tendrils are apparent throughout. A vine-trail frieze made up from the same leaves, flowers and fruits of the ceiling displays the initials FB for Francis Baildon and three fleurs-de-lys, the markings on his coat of arms, above the chimney piece. The use of pendants at the centres of the ceiling circles is somewhat old-fashioned but also a mark of the quality of this ceiling. Finally, the appearance in the side panels of a little owl along with other birds and a stag is worthy of note.

The arrangement of circles and Greek crosses in ribwork at Baildon Hall can also be seen at Weetwood Hall, Leeds, rebuilt by Daniel Foxcroft in 1625 in a ceiling dating from c.1630. He evidently employed the same Halifax plasterers who had installed the ceiling at Upper Shibden Hall for his brother, James, in 1626. As at Baildon Hall, the panels are filled with stems bearing leaves, flowers and fruits emanating from lion masks in the main panels and fleurs-de-lys in the side panels. A larger assortment of motifs is employed, including large lion and ring masks and rampant lions in the circular compartments. A narrow vine trail frieze runs around the room and on the sides of the ceiling beams. The beam soffits are covered with a cast-section floral frieze of a lion mask and vegetation frieze. Whilst the tendrils are not as tightly curled and the foliage stems not as plentiful as at Baildon, the effect is broadly similar, including the appearance of a little owl in the side panels [Pl.2.3].

One particular motif at Weetwood, that of a large rose made of six heart-shaped petals, can only be seen again on an overmantel in the Old Cock Inn, Halifax [Pl.2.4]. Here, all the other leaves, flowers and tendrils are exactly the same as at Weetwood Hall, as is the little owl surmounting the Savile arms. Before the removal and refixing of fragments of its plasterwork at Chantry House, Heptonstall, High Hurst, near Hebden Bridge featured a large mural panel, composed of circles and Greek

crosses [Pl.2.5] in the same fashion as Baildon and Weetwood. Dated 1629 in a panel above a doorway, it displayed the familiar leaves, flowers and fruits cast from the same moulds and, of course, the little owl in the top right hand corner [Pl.2.6].

The fine parlour ceiling at Oakwell Hall, Birstall was destroyed during a great storm in 1882 when the chimney fell through the roof but, fortunately, fragments survive to compare against a meticulous drawing of the ceiling made in 1878 (6). This shows an arrangement of ribwork based on circles with radiating five-sided panels and six-sided panels, filled with the familiar curving stems carrying leaves, flowers and fruits emanating from a lion mask. Curly tendrils are evident, as is the little owl tucked away in a side compartment. A repeat frieze of opposed wyverns and an urn covers the soffit of the spine beam [Pl.2.7]. John Batt, who installed the ceiling, was married before 1628 to Martha Mallory of Studley, near Ripon. He had been a ward under the guardianship of his mother and his sister's husband, George Parry, until 1631 when he inherited the property (7). As the parlour ceiling not only features the Batt arms and those of Batt and Mallory but also, in a subsidiary position, those of Parry and Batt, it can reasonably be inferred that the ceiling was installed to mark John's inheritance, and should be dated to c.1631. This being the case, the appearance of putto supporters to the Batt arms is noteworthy, since the mould from which they were cast is not known to have been used after its employment by the Wakefield plasterers in 1602 at Woodsome Hall, Almondbury. Still surviving within the window reveals of the parlour at Oakwell are mould-cast enrichments of the lion and ring mask, caryatid and exotic lady, the latter also having appeared in the ceiling [Pl.2.8].

The upper room ceiling at Copley Hall, Skircoat was destroyed in 1914 without it being recorded. However, a photograph survives showing a portion with the Savile arms and surrounding

fragments (8). The appearance of the initials TFS for Thomas and Frances Savile, together with the Savile arms and crest, caused Kendall to confidently date the plasterwork to shortly after 1632, the date of their marriage. However, in another room were the arms of Savile impaling Wentworth [Pl.2.9] for Sir George Savile of Thornhill (d.1614) and his wife, Anne Wentworth (d.1633), presumably installed to honour the senior branch of the family (9). Despite the evidence of these arms, which would suggest a date before 1633 for the work, comparative analysis of the plasterwork highlights features - notably the mantling around the helm and the detailing of the arch above - which elsewhere are dated 1636 and 1637. We have to be content to ascribe the Copley Hall plasterwork to the years 1632-37. The ceiling itself displayed curving stems of foliage and flowers branching from fleur-de-lys-like terminals in the same manner as a parlour ceiling which still survives at Marsh Hall, Northowram dating between 1635-37 [Pl.2.10]. Here, the distinctive tightly curved tendril makes another appearance along with familiar leaves and fruits and enrichments seen at Oakwell Hall such as the exotic lady. Once more, the beam soffit ornament of opposed wyverns and urn is employed alongside rampant lions as at Weetwood and fleur-de-lys as at Baildon. Marsh Hall is exceptionally rich in plasterwork by the Halifax group, having another room with elaborate heraldic mural decoration and two further ceilings. One of these picks up the Greek cross ribwork design but neither of them has the all-over geometric division by ribwork of the parlour ceiling.

The last ceiling belonging to this group is the one installed in Mulcture Hall, Halifax for John Power, bearing his initials and the date 1637 (10). The ribwork pattern is exactly the same as at Oakwell Hall with the compartments filled with familiar motifs such as the exotic lady, fleur-de-lys, and rampant lion [Pl.2.11]. Many other motifs normally reserved for mural plasterwork and overmantels are also crowded into the ribwork compartments but nowhere is there a curving stem with leaves,

flowers, fruits and tightly curled tendrils. This characteristic feature is no longer to be seen.

Mural decoration and overmantels

With the exception of the example at High Hurst, Hebden Royd, all the other mural panels and overmantels of the Halifax group feature coats of arms in association with strapwork and/or architectural features such as pilasters and arches. The royal arms, cast from the same mould, is found at Cinderhills (1633) (11), Bean Hole Head (1634) [Pl.2.12] and Norland Upper Old Hall (1635) [Pl.2.13] along with the "Dieu et mon droit" motto, worked by the same hand, lion and unicorn supporters, royal crown topped by a crowned lion and the initials CR for Charles Rex which are inadvertently rendered at Cinderhills as RC with the C reversed. To either side of this composition, a branching stem with tightly curled tendrils, bearing the national floral emblems of roses for England and thistles for Scotland, emanates from a lion mask at Bean Hole Head and a fleur-de-lys terminal at Norland. At Cinderhills, in place of thistles there are roses and where the roses should be there are pomegranates, yet each stem displays the characteristic curly tendril and emanates from a lion mask. Clearly these three examples are the work of the same plasterers although considerable freedom is displayed in adapting the composition to the motifs and space available. A floral frieze seen at Bean Hole Head is used as ornament within the pilasters enclosing the composition at Cinderhills, and as a running frieze above the coat of arms flanked by the royal supporters at The Old Cock, Halifax. In both cases, however, the royal supporters are incorrectly used since the arms they support are not the royal arms. It is an indication that the plasterer was either unaware of his error, did not care or simply used the lion and unicorn for their decorative effect. The latter is the most likely explanation, an impression given substance by the appearance of the lion and unicorn holding penants above coats of arms at Marsh Hall in 1637 and, again

with penants, as space fillers in the Mulcture Hall ceiling of the same year.

In association with the royal arms in the housebody at Norland Upper Old Hall is a decorative scheme running around the room. Within the pilasters, upholding a repeat frieze of arcading, are the putto which appeared as supporters to the Batt arms at Oakwell Hall. Beneath the arches so formed is the familiar exotic lady and a lion head and, at one point, the arms of the Dyers Company surmounted by a rose. Alongside the royal arms the caryatid and lion with ring mask are used in the same combination as in the window reveals at Oakwell Hall. In the parlour adjoining, putto, owls and disparate elements consisting of half a flower and leaf, and a half-lozenge and diamond filled with fleurs-de-lys in foliage are, apparently, used at random to fill blank spaces in the design [Pl.2.14]. Here, as at Bean Hole Head, are curious coats of arms set in elaborate strapwork surrounds.

Coats of arms

An early indication of the decorative treatment which was to develop can be seen at The Old Cock, Halifax where the shield bearing the arms is attached by thin straps to scroll-like elements with hanging tassels [Pl.2.4]. At Bean Hole Head, this arrangement is superimposed upon a flat strapwork surround with, in one case, trefoil strap ends. The same can be seen at Norland Upper Old Hall where the strapwork surround is made larger, permitting the straps holding the shield to pierce it and emerge beyond the scrolled elements in trefoil end pieces. This piercing of the surround also occurs at Highlee Hall, Brighouse (12) and at Nos.2-4, South Bank Road, Batley (1636), and Slead Hall, Brighouse (1636) where, in addition, hand-worked mantling with ropes and tassels sets off the visored helm surmounted by a coronet. The coronet had already appeared above a strange leaf-like ornament over the shield at Norland and Bean

Hole Head but the helmet and mantling is a further elaboration seen to advantage at Copley Hall and Marsh Hall.

Traces of this full-blown setting for the coat of arms can be seen in the heraldic panels of the ceiling at Oakwell Hall: a parchment-like scroll with hanging tassels and trefoil strap end in one case, and spreading mantling with ropes and tassels in another. Yet the strapwork surrounds, visored helms and coronets are missing. Instead, an important clue to the origin of this group is present in the form of putto supporters to the Batt family arms. Although the putti supporter is constantly seen in the work of the Halifax group, the Oakwell appearance is the only instance of the motif being used correctly in association with a shield. It had previously appeared supporting the Kaye arms at Woodsome Hall (1602) [Pl.1.21] and Heath Old Hall (1584) [Pl.1.13]. The armorial bearings on the shields at Oakwell are all correct and relate to the family which lived there, just as the three owls on a bend at Copley Hall relate to that branch of the Savile family which lived there. The crest above the arms at Copley is the Savile owl just as the crest above the arms at Oakwell is the Batt bat in most instances. However, for no apparent reason, the Savile owl is used as a crest in one case and jointly with the bat crest in another. We can discount the notion that the plasterer made a mistake because everything else is correct. The likely explanation is that the Savile owl appears as a mark of respect and loyalty to the premier family of West Yorkshire in the late 16th and early 17th century. Certainly, the Batt family was on intimate terms with the Saviles of Thornhill and visited them regularly (13). The appearance of the owl in a side compartment of the ceiling at Oakwell, just as at Weetwood, Baildon and elsewhere, is, I believe, further evidence of a widespread respect for or acknowledgement of the Saviles. Its appearance, tucked away in a corner, as at High Hurst in 1629, is amost like a signature. Perhaps it affords yet another clue to the origins of the Halifax group in that it suggests the plasterers

had created and used the owl mould in Savile property first of all.

The great Savile houses of Bradley, Methley, Howley and Thornhill have all disappeared, yet it is known that both Bradley and Methley contained splendid 16th century plasterwork (14). Whether Howley and Thornhill had any and, if so, when it was installed we do not know, although the appearance of the Thornhill Savile arms at Copley could indicate that the plasterer was working to a design he had previously executed at Thornhill. Apart from the Savile arms at Copley, their only other occurrence in plaster is in an upper chamber at The Old Cock, Halifax. The windows of this room contain painted heraldic glass from the 1580s, but the plaster overmantel dates from about 1630 and, whilst it is showy, it is a mongrel affair: the bend on the shield is the wrong way round and, worse still, the royal supporters are employed (with a hand-modelled unicorn rather than the usual mould-cast version). It would suggest that the plasterer was making up an heraldic show from bits and from memory - not for a Savile but for a less well-informed and exacting client who did not mind what the arms represented as long as they looked impressive.

By 1634, the plasterers had come across a pattern source which enabled them to offer a range of coats of arms to clients who did not bear arms themselves but who wanted to display arms to enhance their own sense of status, to simply impress their neighbours or mislead them into thinking they had illustrious connections. Thus, at Bean Hole Head, Stansfield, high up on the moors above Todmorden, a wealthy yeoman clothier named Robert Sutcliffe and his wife, Anne, displayed their initials and the date 1634 alongside the royal arms above the chimney-piece, together with three other coats of arms. One of these, wrongly supported by the lion and unicorn as at The Old Cock, Halifax bears the initials ED beneath the shield [Pl.2.15], another has DB and the third has MW in the same position. The

initials stand for the Earl of Derby, Duke of Buckingham and Marquis of Winchester, none of whom, needless to say, had any connection with the property. At Norland Upper Old Hall, built for George and Elizabeth Taylor, apart from the royal arms dated 1635 and the small shield in the frieze with the arms of the Dyers Company, the arms of the Earl of Derby with ED occur twice and the arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury with the initials BC for Bishop of Canterbury.

Marsh Hall, Northowram has claim to the finest display of these heraldic charges in an upper chamber dated 1637 with the initials IOM on a shield for John and Mary Oates. Around the room runs an arcaded scheme of decoration with the arms of Winchester, Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Derby, Kent and Shrewsbury. Beneath the shields, these names are spelt out in large letters with the letter N reversed in all cases and Winchester and Northumberland extending to a second line of characters above the first part of the name [Pl.2.16]. The charge of three daggers on the shield for Winchester is exactly the same as that at Bean Hole Head; that for Derby is the same as that at Norland Upper Old Hall, whilst the identical charge for Arundel can also be seen at Kirklees Hall on an overmantel refixed from Highlee Hall, Brighouse [Pl.2.17], undated and without any name or letters to aid identification. A barn at Highlee Hall is dated 1632, indicating building work went on there during the time these plaster coats of arms were being fashioned.

The arms at Slead Hall, Brighouse dated 1636 [Pl.2.18] display a chevron between three crosses forming fitchy for the Woodrowe family of Woolley, West Yorkshire but no family connection is known. In addition to these, three other unidentified coats of arms survive. One at 24 South Bank Road, Batley dated 1636 shows two crossed daggers to the same design as those on the Winchester shield. Two others at Lane Ends, Hipperholme are thought to be imaginary (15). The details of a further example of a coat of

arms in a small vernacular house on the Stanbury Moors above Howarth are not recorded and, unfortunately, the building was demolished some years ago (16).

There can be no doubt, judging from the widespread appearance of these noble family arms in the Halifax district, that their use was simply as a form of decoration which appealed to a certain group of yeoman farmers/clothiers who, perhaps, aspired to a higher social rank (17). Simply because they had no arms of their own, they may have felt constrained to adopt a coat of arms in much the same way as some 17th century cutlers in Sheffield displayed the arms of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire on door lintels with their own initials and date (18). Whatever the eventual explanation, the ability to work them in plaster provided a steady stream of commissions for the Halifax plasterers in the 1630s.

Who were these plasterers? Because no building accounts survive for any of the houses containing their work, it would appear that the identity of the plasterers must remain unknown. However, Kendall had come upon the name of Francis Lee, plasterer, (presumably in the Halifax Parish Registers) whom he thought had died about the year 1638-39 (19): in fact, Lee died 1 February 1638. His will, which was proved in July, 1638 (20) makes fascinating reading not least because in it he names his fellow plasterers to whom he leaves his tools and moulds: John Maude, Luke Dobson and Robert Wilson. Thus, in September, 1636, when Lee made his will, the team consisted of four men including himself as the master plasterer. He may not have been an old man when he died as he mentions no children but he does mention his wife, his brothers and sisters, and his uncle. There can be little doubt that Lee's team comprised the men responsible for the Halifax plasterwork. Or is it mere coincidence that Lee is on his deathbed in the same year 1637, that stylistic features such as curly tendrils and curving stems fail to make an appearance at Mulcture Hall? Surely, his must have been the

hand responsible for these characteristic tell-tale signs of the Halifax group, and his absence from the team that worked the Mulcture Hall ceiling is apparent. Although the layout repeats the ribwork design at Oakwell Hall the filling of the compartments with pre-moulded and squeezed motifs is a mechanical exercise with no attempt made to construct hand-worked foliage compositions. Only in the addition of wings to the pre-cast putto [Pl.2.19] and in the modelling of the central roundels of the ceiling compartments is there any evidence of hand-working and this is hesitant and inexperienced. The overall effect is, nonetheless, exciting due to the variety and crowding of motifs. Close inspection reveals that over fifty different motifs are used, some of which have never been seen before or since. It is as though the entire workshop stock of pre-cast enrichments had been brought to the site and deliberately used up in an attempt to compensate for Lee's absence and in order to create a suitably splendid ceiling for an important client.

Lee's career seemingly spanned a period of approximately ten years but there is no evidence of where he learned his craft other than the clues contained in his work. The clues take the form of enrichments used by the Halifax group which are known to have been part of the stock in trade of an earlier group of plasterers from Wakefield. Mention has already been made of the putto supporters which first appear at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield and at Woodsome Hall. To this early motif can be added a double-leaf with flower centre, first used at Lees Hall, Thornhill and a half-lozenge filled with a fleur-de-lys and foliage found at Norland Upper Old Hall [Pl.2.14] and Marsh Hall, Northowram but first used in the late years of the 16th century at Low Farm, Ederthorpe and possibly Methley Hall. A wyvern used extensively by the Halifax group first appeared at Hatfeild Hall, Stanley in 1608 and a floral fleur-de-lys used only once at Mulcture Hall, Halifax is found in several instances before 1620 (21). The appearance of these motifs points to a Wakefield area connection as they all belong to a group of motifs employed

by a team of plasterers working throughout West Yorkshire in the early 17th century which itself appears to have developed from a team based in Wakefield in the later 16th century.

However, the picture is further complicated. Another motif, that of the wyvern and urn frieze, which appeared on the beam soffit at Oakwell Hall and which first appeared in 1603-05 at Gawthorpe Hall and again at Hawksworth Hall in 1611, can be found carved in oak on the choir screen of Wakefield Cathedral (1634-35) and on the choir screen at St. John's, Leeds (1633-34) (22). There is evidently some connection between the plaster wyvern frieze used by Lee and these carved wooden ones in just the same way that there is some connection between the lion and ring mask used by Lee at Weetwood Hall, Oakwell Hall and Norland Upper Old Hall and the appearance of carved wooden versions, which are exactly the same, on the hall screen at Kirklees Hall. The connection is more than simply a common pattern source and the evidence is at St. John's, Leeds. There, the lion with ring mask stares down from the plasterwork ceiling panels above the choir screen with its wyvern and urn frieze. It is believed that a woodcarver and plasterer named Francis Gunby, probably in association with Nicholas Booth and others, was responsible for the interior decoration at St. John's, having worked for Sir Arthur Ingram at Temple Newsam House and elsewhere (23). As it would appear that motifs used by the Gunby/Booth team found their way into Lee's decorative vocabulary, it is hard to resist the possibility that Lee may have learnt the plasterer's art whilst working with them. Such an explanation would account for the appearance of the two motifs mentioned and for Lee s skill in ceiling layout and hand-working techniques and for creating new enrichments by carving new moulds. But it does not account for Lee's use of some old Wakefield area moulds unless he had acquired these after he left the Gunby/Booth workshop. It may be that one of the men who worked for Lee had inherited these moulds and a method of working from the early 17th century Wakefield group and that they deliberately

joined forces to tackle the commissions in the Calder Valley.

Leaving this hypothesis aside, let us now more closely examine the work done by Lee and his men to extract evidence of working practice. It has already been surmised that Lee was responsible for the intertwined stem work and foliage compositions and it can be advanced that his hand also made the tightly curled tendrils. At Marsh Hall, Northowram, the parlour ceiling which displays all these features in a carefully balanced and articulate piece of work is in somewhat stark contrast to a rudely fashioned plaque with the initials of John and Mary Oates and the date 1635 in another room [Pl.2.20]. The plaque sandwiches two putto supporters together, uses part of a lion mask and foliage frieze and incorporates two half-lozenges filled with fleurs-de-lys ornament, set at awkward angles on the corners. The lettering and date are remarkable for their clumsiness compared to those in the heraldic chamber at Marsh Hall dated 1637. Here, at least, the hand-worked mantling over the coats of arms as at Copley Hall, is likely to be the work of Lee himself since coats of arms which appear after 1637 never again display mantling of this sort.

It seems to be the case that, with Lee in charge setting out designs and hand-working, his men were assigned the less skilled jobs of casting enrichments from moulds and fixing them in place, occasionally being allowed to try their own hands, if somewhat unsuccessfully. Norland Upper Old Hall displays some of Lee's handiwork in the tight tendril floral sprays but in an upper chamber straggly stems with poorly curled tendrils on an over-mantel suggest this is the work of one of Lee's men attempting to follow his style. The same straggly stem and ill-formed tendril has already been noted both at Weetwood Hall and The Old Cock, Halifax where the same thistle and leaf as in the composition at Norland is found. At The Old Cock, the incorrect placing of the royal supporters, the ill-formed surround to the shield and the hand-fashioned unicorn point to a piece of work

unsupervised by Lee but for which he may have drafted the design for his men to follow.

The possibility that they were allowed to tackle some jobs on their own would account for the diversity of execution to be found, although the varying quality of workmanship is held together by the common range of motifs employed. Thus, Lane Ends, Hipperholme (24) displays a mural panel of poorly worked coats of arms combined with an eccentric placing of familiar motifs beneath the standard frieze of pre-cast arcading. Similarly, Cat Hill Hall, built in 1634 at Hoylandswaine , near Barnsley, had an overmantel which displayed a selection of the Halifax area enrichments. Although it was destroyed in 1980, photographs show it to have been a crudely assembled affair. One of Lee's men may have travelled from Halifax to undertake the work - certainly, the house itself features other Halifax area characteristics such as a wheel window - or cast enrichments may have been acquired for fixing by a local plasterer. Indeed, straightforward jobs involving the fixing of panels of cast enrichments as friezes or beam soffit ornament were no problem. But hand work required considerable skill as did the laying out of compositions to achieve balance and proportion within the available space. Lee's men had limited ability and experience in these aspects and must have been at a loss when he died in 1638.

Nonetheless, a description of a ceiling dated 1642 in the Queen's Chamber at the White Horse Inn, Adwalton evidently refers to their work and shows that the workshop style continued:

> "...the ceiling is ornamented with square compartments of raised mouldings, having figures of roses, birds and other devices, among which, that of a hawk upon a scroll or staff is predominant. The stone also bearing the date has over it a cherubim, roses and escalops at the angles, and a hawk, exactly in character with the other ornaments." (25)

The "cherubim" mentioned is, of course, the putti supporter,

and other enrichments are clearly discernible: the "hawk upon a scroll or staff" is recognisable as the bird on a perch which features in ceilings at Farrer Lane, Oulton and Priors Mead, Hipperholme and upon a corbel at Lumb Hall, Drighlington. This latter house, dating from the mid 17th century, has plasterwork beam casings of conventional vine scroll and a splendid vernacular overmantel containing an oval panel surrounded by stemwork with fruits and leaves flanked by reeded pilasters. As at the White Horse Inn, it, too, features "escalops at the angles".

Within Halifax town itself, other buildings noted as having decorative plasterwork may belong to this period. The upper room of the summer house in the bowling green in Swan Coppice was noted by Leyland as having "a richly ornamented ceiling in plaster" (26), whilst the Old Talbot Hotel had beam casing from the same moulds that had been used at Mulcture Hall in 1637 (27). This particular design of a lion mask and foliage was first used at Weetwood Hall, Leeds but the moulds continued in use for a very long time, making a last appearance at Norland Old Hall in 1672, in association with a griffin frieze seen at East Riddlesden Hall in the late 1640s. Fragments of plaster discovered at Kirkby Grange, Emley, whilst undatable, are clearly from the Halifax group and indicate the geographical spread of the workshop. In the same way, the former existence of a vine trail frieze in a small house at Frost Hole, Hebden Royd, evidently after the fashion of that at East Riddlesden Hall, helps indicate the range of commissions undertaken (28).

A reference to the decorative plasterwork which existed at Rawdon Low Hall where:

> "a curious frieze-like ornament runs round the upper portion of the walls and the mantel and overmantel is an exceedingly interesting specimen of old work" (29)

is, unfortunately, too vague for identification. However,

given the location of Rawdon, near Bradford, it is well within the area where the Halifax group's work can be seen.

The plasterwork at Kildwick Hall installed for the Currer family some time in the 1640s neatly displays the varying abilities of Lee's men. The familiar wyvern and urn frieze, from the same mould which had been used at Oakwell Hall and at Gawthorpe Hall before that, reappears in a parlour where the beam soffit enrichment is the lion mask and foliage design first seen at Weetwood Hall and which continued to be popular up to the end of the 1650s. This work, together with deeply moulded cornice, is very well done. However, an adjoining ceiling, now lost (30), was divided into four square panels, displaying a variety of styles. Two of these contained spiral designs of stemwork, fruits and leaves, very much like the porch ceiling panel at Oakwell Hall, Birstall, with a curly tendril much in evidence. The outer borders contained flattened blobs of plaster, seen later at High Hall, Appletreewick and at Elland New Hall in 1670. A quite different style of working, composition and range of enrichments marked the other two panels. Tiny fleurs-de-lys, which would appear to have been the same as those used by the Wakefield plasterers at Horbury Nether Hall in the 1590s, were used in conjunction with a leaf which formed part of the repertoire of a Lancashire-based plasterer whose influence will be discussed shortly. Also, roses and a sun motif were from the same source. These four panels betray a hesitancy in execution and, in one, the stemwork is thick and inelegantly disposed.

Such stumpy stemwork can also be seen at Kildwick Grange in the tympanum of an upper chamber which has a coved ceiling The house was built for William Netherwood in 1647, but the ceiling has no ornament beyond a pattern of ribwork. Whilst reminiscent of the coved ceiling at Hawksworth Hall dating from 1611, it also bears comparison with the vaulted ribwork ceiling which formerly existed in Ralph Thoresby's house in

Kirkgate, Leeds, dating from c.1660 (31). A further building displaying an unusual ceiling construction, which may have belonged to this group, was Usher Hall at Drighlington. Believed to have been built before 1678 by Dr. James Margetson, Archbishop of Dublin, the coved ceiling had, at its centre, "a sort of inverted cone of plaister richly ornamented", whilst over the fireplace:

> "a square compartment displays the arms of Usher - Ar 3 lion 's paws couped gu two and one. The shield is surmounted by the boar's head, with an apple or lemon in its mouth, and above it, again, is an helmet with a griffin's head and other fanciful work" (32).

Francis Lee's death in 1638 thus marked the end of a particular level of craftsmanship but not of a particular way of doing things nor of a distinctive style. By leaving the tools of his trade to his men, Lee ensured that the designs he employed, the motifs he used and his working methods would continue through them. Evidence for this continuity is seen most markedly in a series of ceilings which consist of a large geometric centrepiece divided by ribwork into panels in which the familiar vocabulary of cast and hand-modelled motifs appears. These particular ceilings were worked by Lee and his team at the same time as the more usual all-over patterned ceilings.

The first one in the series occurs at Weetwood Hall where the ribwork forms an endless knot of four loops around a square, with enrichments in the panels so formed. The same design appears at Farrer Lane, Oulton [Pl.2.21] but is embellished with leaves at the crossing of the ribs and is enclosed within a square. The parlour ceiling at Wormald Hall, Almondbury (1631) features the same design with ribs connecting the loops in a diamond arrangement, whilst one of two ceiling centres at Priors Mead, Hipperholme (c.1650) extends these diamond points into fleur-de-lys shapes.

A ribwork ceiling centre at Marsh Hall, Northowram (1635-37)

is based on the endless knot in a five square configuration which is further developed and contained within another square at Back Hall, Southowram (c.1645). In the housebody at Heckmondwyke Hall (c.1650) [Pl.2.22], a large ceiling panel with panels formed by loops attached to a square around a circle displays a double rib which can also be seen in another ceiling centre at Priors Mead, Hipperholme in a design consisting of circles and diamond points around a circle. At Fenay Hall, Almondbury [Pl.2.23], the same ribwork design appears with some of the diamond points extended into fleurs-de-lys shapes in the housebody ceiling dating from 1660. Finally. the series includes yet another housebody ceiling at Langley House, Hipperholme with the same fleur-de-lys ribwork outline in a design based around a square connected to circles. From the appearance of human busts as enrichments in this ceiling, which are also present on a mural panel dated 1658 at Woolrow Farmhouse, this ceiling, too, must be c.1660. Throughout this series of ceilings, the familiar vocabulary of pre-cast motifs of the Halifax group is found together with characteristic hand-modelled stemwork. For instance, at Wormald Hall, Almondbury, curled tendrils and bent-back stems imitate those in the fine ceiling at Weetwood Hall just as intertwined stems at Priors Mead and Langley House recall Lee's work at Marsh Hall and Oakwell Hall, Birstall. I believe this is evidence not just of a style of working but possibly of the existence of a pattern book. If further evidence for a pattern book is needed, then the ceiling at Fenay Hall provides it where stemwork emanating from a lion mask - a distinctive feature of Lee's work in the 1630s - is found again in an isolated instance dating from 1660. The hand which worked it is hesitant and the stemwork is thick but the design is immediately recognisable.

It is interesting that the three ceilings at Fenay Hall, Langley House and Heckmondwyke Hall occupy the housebody rather than the parlour and that at Fenay and Heckmondwyke the house-

body runs through two storeys as it did at Lower Hurst, Huddersfield where another housebody ceiling belonging to this series is known to have existed (33). A further housebody ceiling with a ribwork centrepiece used to exist at Ryecroft, Tong, near Bradford in the house built by Christopher Nettleton in 1669 (34). There were doubtless others. This double height housebody is a marked feature of Halifax area buildings of the mid-late 17th century and one which enjoyed a considerable vogue (35). Such a room was a showplace with elaborate fireplace, carved and turned wooden balustrades round the gallery at first floor level and, where possible, a brilliant display of decorative plasterwork on the ceiling, the design of which could be better appreciated when seen from a greater distance below.

Whilst Lee's men readily turned their hands to the housebody ceiling, they may have been forced to it in competition against much more skillful and assured workmanship which had appeared from outside the area and whose speciality appears to have been the housebody ceiling. Following Lee's death, the virtual monopoly which he and his men had enjoyed in the area was almost immediately challenged as two other plasterworkers arrived on the scene. One of these was responsible for the superb waggon-vaulted ceiling and overmantel at Lower Bentley Royd, Sowerby dated 1641. The other was responsible for the housebody ceiling and overmantel at Howroyd, Barkisland dated 1642.

The Lower Bentley Royd ceiling, recorded in Leyland's Halifax (36), was evidently a splendid affair, and a section of frieze and the overmantel preserved at the Bankfield Museum, Halifax serves to indicate the sculptural quality of this hand-modelled work. The fireplace overmantel displays the arms of Cecil with the motto, "Cor unum via una", but, like much of the Halifax area's heraldic work, the arms are merely used for decoration as there is no known Cecil family connection with Lower Bentley Royd nor with John and Ellena Dickson for whom the plasterwork was installed. The appearance of the many-headed hydra as a

large hand-worked beast amongst the ceiling foliage shows that the plasterer had access to printed patterns since a similar version by a different hand can still be seen at Lanhydrock, Cornwall. The Bentley Royd work features several cast enrichments too which owe their origins to Lancashire where examples can be seen at Greenhead Hall, New Laund and Spenser's House, Hurstwood (37).

Lancashire is also the source for the style of the second plasterer whose work appears at Howroyd, Barkisland in 1642 [Pl.2.24]. Some of the motifs used here, particularly a distinctive lion mask and a fleur-de-lys running ornament, had been employed on the mural decoration at West Royd, Warley in the 1630s [Pl.2.1], and had previously appeared at Gawthorpe Hall, near Burnley in the plasterwork installed by Francis Gunby in 1603-05 (38). West Royd at Warley had been built for Martin Milnes in 1624 and his initials and a damaged date of 163- appear in the plasterwork. This was undoubtedly a commission carried out by a Lancashire plasterer since, apart from the motifs already mentioned, a figure of St. Michael [Pl.2.25] and a running ornament of an urn and opposed beasts can be seen respectively at Spenser's House, Hurstwood and Watermeetings, Barrowford in Lancashire (39).

However, the hand at work at West Royd, Warley is not the same as that at Howroyd, Barkisland where the workmanship is far more assured and sophisticated. The housebody features a large octagonal ceiling centrepiece divided by ribwork into compartments around an eight-pointed star-shaped centre. This centre is filled with stems of fruit and foliage and the compartments are filled with a lion rampant set on a shield, a large and elaborate fleur-de-lys and a human mask. The border is made up of the lion mask rosettes and a double scroll ornament which is also used to fill the pilasters each side of the royal arms over the fireplace. This is exceptionally well done with hand-modelled supporters standing on the royal motto whose letters

are finely spaced. Around the top of the chimney breast runs a frieze of opposed winged griffins with a mask at the centre: both are ornaments which can also be seen at Greenhead, New Laund in Lancashire (40). The mask also features at the centre of a circular mural decoration carried out in 1658 at Bent Farmhouse, Sutton, just within the Yorkshire county boundary.

At Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby the housebody ceiling [Pl.2.26] is distinguished by a square panel divided by ribwork into compartments centring on an eight-pointed star as at Howroyd. Barkisland. Richard Dearden who installed this ceiling in 1649 was the son-in-law of John Harrison, the founder and benefactor of St. John's Church, Leeds where sumptuous plasterwork of the Leeds/York group survives from the 1630s. The plasterwork enrichments at Wood Lane Hall, with the addition of two or three more are, however, the same as at Howroyd. There is no doubt that the work is by the same hand. A virtually identical layout can also be seen on the housebody ceiling at Pollard Hall, Gomersal, dating from 1659, with many of the same enrichments once again [Pl.2.27]. Yet something interesting has taken place, since here can be seen familiar motifs from the Halifax group too. There has been a coming together - a fusion of both sets of motifs. This fusion is similarly apparent in the enrichments on an overmantel at Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme [Pl.2.28] where leaves, grapes and rampant lion on shield are from the Lancashire group, as is a figure of Saint Michael whose appearance has already been noted at West Royd, Warley. The little crowned lion, so familiar from Lee's heraldic work, is present together with the wyvern and urn frieze of the Halifax group and a strapwork infill to the pilasters which can only be seen elsewhere at East Riddlesden Hall, Keighley.

It is, in fact, at East Riddlesden Hall that the best evidence of this fusion or borrowing of motifs is apparent. The house was built by James Murgatroyd between the years 1642-49, so that the plasterwork would date from the later years after the

Howroyd (1642) contract had been finished. Its plasterwork consists of ceilings and friezes in two ground floor parlours and a frieze in the ground floor of an adjacent building. This latter frieze is made up of the strapwork pattern mentioned above at Wynteredge Hall with human masks as in the heraldic room at Marsh Hall and lion and ring masks as at Weetwood Hall, Oakwell Hall, Norland Upper Old Hall. The same strapwork frieze occurs as the beam soffit enrichment in one of the parlours, "James Murgatroyd his owne parlour" (1662) (41), with a running vine trail on the sides of the beam and a new deep floral and foliage frieze running round the room This frieze can also be seen above a chamber overmantel dated 1644 at Upper Cockcroft, Rishworth and at No.19, Towngate, Hipperholme along one wall with no other ornament.

This parlour ceiling itself is divided into squares and lozenges with a repeat cast motif of fleurs-de-lys set amongst foliage filling the spaces [Pl.2.29]. This motif, which has already been seen at Norland Upper Old Hall and Marsh Hall, originally belonged to the Wakefield group in the later 16th century. Another ceiling using these moulds existed at Barkisland Hall, built by John Gledhill in 1638, but, whereas the Barkisland ceiling had motifs to fit the oblong panels against the cornice, the oblong panels at East Riddlesden Hall are blank, perhaps indicating that the mould had been lost in the intervening years.

The ceiling of the adjoining room, known as "the Dineinge Parlour" (1662), at East Riddlesden Hall is divided into three compartments by two spine beams each of which is cased in plaster showing the opposed winged griffins as at Howroyd, Barkisland, and the fleur-de-lys running ornament as at Howroyd and West Royd, Warley. The compartments contain the new motifs of nail-head rosette, double rose and rampant lion on shield as well as the familiar double leaf and rosette, thistles, leaves, flowers and fruits of the Halifax school and, vividly recalling the 1630s work, the Savile owl tucked away in a corner [Pl.2.30].

A further ceiling, removed from East Riddlesden Hall in 1913 and re-fixed at Whinburn, Keighley, carries exactly the same enrichments as this parlour ceiling with frieze and beam ornaments to match. It is not known from which room it was removed but, in both this ceiling and the East Riddlesden "Dineinge Parlour" ceiling, several hands are discernible in the execution. Marble-sized balls of plaster stuck into spaces alongside cast motifs are a feature first found at East Riddlesden Hall but which effectively become the hallmark of the plasterer recurring again and again in the 1660s (42). A version of stemwork with leaves and fruits makes an appearance and, whilst it is stiff and sparse, it nonetheless recalls Lee's work in that the stems emanate from a lion's head and a fleur-de-lys-like terminal. Exactly the same handworked details and almost the same range of motifs is apparent in the Pollard Hall plasterwork of 1659.

This mixing of motifs from different sources, copying of patterns and evidence of different hands makes for a very confusing picture. Yet it is possible to make sense of this time of change in the 1640s. The injection of new blood provided by the Lancashire plasterer was quickly absorbed into the mainstream. However, at East Riddlesden, as in the other houses to be discussed shortly, there is no apparent guiding influence stamping his mark on each commission as Lee had done in the 1630s. Rather it is as though by leaving his tools three ways Lee unconsciously provoked the dissipation and fragmentation of his style since each man seems to have gone his own way, joining up again only for the really large jobs such as East Riddlesden Hall.

The plasterwork at East Riddlesden Hall is thus important for showing the state of the art between the years 1642-49, as practised by Lee's men. It displays several new motifs, resurrects a very old one, incorporates a number of new Lancashire motifs but also includes some from the familiar Halifax range. The style of hand-working and layout is undoubtedly that of the Halifax men and owes nothing to the Lancashire influence. It can be assumed that the Lancashire enrichments had been purchased or that the moulds had been acquired rather than that the Lancashire plasterer had joined up with Lee's men to undertake this

contract since any evidence of the consummate skill shown in the Howroyd and Wood Lane work is absent at East Riddlesden Hall.

East Riddlesden Hall also marks something of a crossroads from which different paths lead only to meet up, divide or peter out. It is true to say that the period 1640-60 is a difficult one through which to follow these paths as Lee's successors must have worked together on some contracts, carried out jobs on their own, developed their own individual styles of working, and trained up apprentices who, in turn, display a different hand. Yet all the time the motifs are a mixture of old and new and, as at Fenay Hall in 1660, old designs occasionally recur as Lee's pattern book is still plundered for ideas.

A chain of connections can be traced from East Riddlesden Hall in which diamond-shaped ceiling panels act as a common theme. The first instance of this device is at Headlands Hall, Liversedge [Pl.2.31] where the ceiling panel is bordered by leaves and a fleur-de-lys running ornament from the Lancashire group, whilst the opposed winged griffin frieze from the same group is employed around the room. These motifs are joined by a fleur-de-lys and vine trail - new motifs at East Riddlesden Hall - and familiar Halifax group enrichments, such as the fleur-de-lys stem terminal, fruit and flowers. A similar ceiling where the diamond panel was inset with a smaller diamond and the whole composition filled with vine trail and fruits could be seen in a house at 5, Old Crown Yard, Wakefield. The old photograph in Wakefield Museum which shows this ceiling is too indistinct to ascertain if the enrichments employed were the same as those at Headlands Hall and East Riddlesden Hall.

From written descriptions, three other properties would appear to have belonged to this group. Low Fold Hall, Roberttown had a first floor ceiling:

> "divided into 4 diamond-shaped compartments, enriched with shells, foliage and other devices. In the division and angles are vine leaves and grapes, lilies, roses, wheat ears and various kinds of fruit interspersed with figures of birds and animals suggestive of hawking and

of the chase" (43).

In the same way, Lower Hall, Hightown, Liversedge was described as having a ceiling:

> "thrown into 4 panels of plasterwork, and the sides of the beams are also ornamented. Each panel has a diamond-shaped centre, and is surrounded by vine leaves and fruit executed by a master hand. The bedrooms are divided by panels and one of them has a finely-executed ceiling, in which appears a variety of figures, such as martlets, lions and the royal arms, the whole intersected with excellent representations of vine leaves and fruit." (44)

Yet another diamond-shaped panel could be seen in the external pargetting of a house in Rothwell:

> "At each of the corners is placed an acorn, in the lower part a fleur de lis, and in the middle the Tudor rose (probably) and leaves. and a bunch of grapes finish the upper corner... Other simple markings such as scallop and scroll work etc. filled up the groundwork of the plaster at intervals." (45)

The enrichments on this frontage at Rothwell were considered, at the time of its demolition in 1882, to be the same as those in a ceiling which still survives further down the road at 36, Commercial Street, Rothwell [Pl.2.32].

Here, fruits and flowers from the same moulds as those at East Riddlesden Hall appear in a groundfloor parlour ceiling together with the same fleur-de-lys ornament as at Headlands Hall, Liversedge. The ceiling layout consists of squares and squares with scalloped corners joined by ribs with enrichments within the panels. This is, perhaps, the last known example of an all-over ceiling design and its old-fashioned layout is complemented by some apparently very old heraldic motifs forming a frieze in an alcove. Alongside a strapwork jewel pattern, fragments of flowers and the wyvern and urn motif extend the frieze around the chimneypiece [Pl.2.33]. This untidy and haphazard frieze is in marked contrast to the fine quality ceiling where hand-modelled leaves and a distinctive sliced stem end make their first appearance. In a back room of this building a diamond ceiling panel is

made up of the urn and wyvern frieze and flowers of the Halifax group, together with a small cast of the royal arms not seen before. A window soffit in the same room displays oak laves and acorns as in the parlour ceiling panels. In an upstairs room, along one wall, a frieze of strapwork, scrolls, foliage and fruit is from exactly the same mould that was used at Gawthorpe Hall in 1605. The Rothwell house thus displays a wide cross-section of motifs and some poor and some very good handworking. The overriding impression is that, having done the main ceiling, portions of enrichments that the plasterer had in stock were put up to embellish other rooms (46).

The chain of connections leads from Rothwell to the Nunnery at Arthington where the parlour ceiling is composed of three diamond-shaped panels and one circular panel, all of which are filled with stemwork, foliage, flowers and fruit. The stems display the distinctive sliced end and a pomegranate-like motif appears as at Rothwell. Most interestingly, Arthington marks the re-appearance of the tightly curled tendril, suitably modified, which had characterised Lee's work. This feature, plus the sliced stem end, also appears at Baxter Gate, Pontefract [Pl.2.34] in a diamond-shaped ceiling panel which is virtually identical to those at Arthington. It displays the same leaves, acorns, vine trail running ornament and handwork detailing. No other links with or progressions from this trail are known. The diamond-shaped panel noted here was a favourite device of the 1640s and 1650s and, other than the examples mentioned, it can also be seen in the work of the Leeds/York plasterers at the same time. A first floor room in a house in Ayr Street, Knottingley, built by Robin and Hanna Wrighte in the 1640s, has a ceiling featuring two diamond-shaped panels with fleur-de-lys terminals which, however, does not appear to be the work of either group.

The most long-lived series of interrelated plasterwork following on from East Riddlesden Hall centres around the development of the heraldic coat of arms. At Upper Cockcroft, Rishworth on an overmantel put up for John Bottomley, the clothier, in 1644 [Pl.2.35], the made-up coats of arms are set on shields on strapwork surrounds with scrolls,

tassels and trefoil strap ends just as in the 1630s. Even the coronet above the composition is there. What is different is the poor workmanship of the strapwork surround which is flat and ill-formed. Obviously, the plasterer was working to a pattern, using pre-cast elements, but did not have the hand skill to construct a convincing strapwork surround. The same cannot be said of the arms which appear, set within diamond-shaped ceiling panels, at Peel House, Gomersal. Formerly displaying the date 1651 (47) the parlour ceiling has only two panels which now survive. One of these shows a made-up coat set on an elaborate strapwork surround with all the familiar elements of scrolls, tassels and trefoil strap ends, together with incised ornament [Pl.2.36]. It is the last example of its kind. Alongside, in another ceiling panel, a new way of displaying a coat of arms appears [Pl.2.37]. The strapwork surround is little more than a scalloped plaque set beneath the familiar closed-visor helm from which bursts a great mass of mantling curling upwards to meet and enclose the helm and cascading downwards, ending in ropes with tassels which are held by a strapwork tab. The mantling is noteworthy for its incised lines and pierced holes. Mould-cast motifs of the Halifax group appear in the ceiling - a fleur-de-lys, exotic lady, fruits and the opposed wyvern and urn frieze, as at Oakwell Hall. Yet the surrounds to the ceiling panels feature the vine trail as at Headlands Hall: there is still a mix here of old and new in fresh combinations.

The same is true of an overmantel at Granny Hall, Brighouse. Bretton allocated this to c.1633 but ignored the appearance of several motifs which place it later (48). It shows the royal arms with lion and unicorn supporters from Lee's 1630's moulds but, unlike all other examples, the royal arms are not set flush into the plaster. Rather, the actual rim of the casting is quite clearly visible: in other words, it is poorly fixed. Other Halifax motifs include the caryatid as at Oakwell Hall the little crowned lion and the naked putto supporters with strange wing-like elements, reminiscent of the wings given them in the Mulcture Hall ceiling of 1637, fixed to the strapwork they hold in their hands. Lancashire motifs present include the mask as at Howroyd, Barkisland and a leaf and flowers as at Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme.

In place of the usual royal crown is a poor hand-worked affair from which springs mantling which is itself a poor version of that at Peel House, Gomersal. The overall impression is, once again, of a workman with pre-cast elements, working to a pattern but with little skill in composition or hand-modelling. The letters "CR" appear and, whilst these could relate to Charles I, they are just as likely to relate to Charles II, as did the "CR" at High Bentley, Shelf where the plasterwork was dated 1661, the year after the Restoration (49). Here, as at Granny Hall, the old Halifax moulds for the royal arms, supporters and crowned lion were used together with the caryatid casting in virtually the same composition. What was different was the appearance of hand-modelled angels instead of the putto supporters and the royal motto beneath the arms with reversed "N" set on a strapwork band. Below the royal arms was the coat of arms of the Wade family with two hand-worked seated figures and two hand-worked mermaids, recalling the mould-cast Halifax motif. These particular mermaids may, in turn, have served as patterns for the splendidly vernacular version, complete with mica looking glass set in her hand-mirror, formerly to be seen at Old Chamber, Erringden, dated 1664 (50).

To each side of the Wade arms were matching compositions of human mask and flowers. No Lancashire-derived motifs appeared in any of the work at High Bentley but the appearance of hand-worked detail and human masks link it to the work at Woolrow Farmhouse, near Brighouse. Here, a large overmantel, dated 1658, has all the flavour of the 1630s mural compositions. Yet, on closer inspection, apart from the arcaded frieze which has been seen before at Norland Upper Old Hall, Giles House, and Copley Old Hall, the motifs beneath the arches are new: an elaborate fleur-de-lys, a central flowerpot with a mass of flowers, human busts, flower sprigs and a dog and rabbit. It is, nonetheless, basically an old-fashioned composition with some new motifs which are not to be seen again.

The whole of the royal arms composition at High Bentley, Shelf rested above a protruding ledge and, in this feature, it relates to the arms at Fenay Hall, Almondbury, dated 1660, which also have a ledge beneath

[Pl.2.38]. Here, the appearance of the Halifax helm and virtually identical mantling confirm the connection, yet at Fenay ropes and tassels terminate the mantling with a strapwork tab previously seen only at Peel House, Gomersal. A further coat of arms which belonged to this late group could be seen at Whitebridge House, Seacroft, near Leeds, displaying the supposed arms of the Greene family, supported by winged goats which "may have been merely creations of the artist's fancy" (51). The style and shape of the helm and mantling was identical to that at Fenay Hall, with the winged goat supporters standing on a strapwork panel, reminiscent of that at High Bentley, set beneath the royal arms.

In Bankfield Museum, Halifax, a great mural panel rescued from the demolition of Binroyd, Norland provides evidence for the continuity of the Halifax group in the 1660s. Not only do the mould-cast caryatids seen in the compositions at Granny Hall and High Bentley recur, but also other familiar motifs such as the tassel ends to the strapwork, crowned little lion and the lion and ring enrichment. However, the royal arms, garter and supporters are new and, whilst the arms of Derby and Shrewsbury set alongside recall the 1630's vogue for such heraldic display, the workmanship is quite unlike the earlier style. Strapwork surrounds, ropes and tassels, and mantling with incised lines and pierced holes strongly recall the 1651 panels at Peel House, Gomersal but the Binroyd workmanship is more assured in execution and shows greater vigour and understanding in the layering of the mantling [Pl.2.39].

The style of stepped archway which characterises the overmantel at Binroyd, Norland can be found in three final examples which all share other features with Binroyd and thus form the last links in a long chain of connections with Lee's work of the 1630s. An overmantel from Highlee Hall, Brighouse [Pl.2.40], now refixed in an upper room at Kirklees Hall has sprays of acorns, leaves and stem work disposed in the spandrels of the composition in the manner of the work from Binroyd. Round balls of plaster are used as a decorative flourish on the points of the strapwork. At High Hall, Appletreewick, the parlour overmantel shares not only the

stepped archway but also mantling with incised lines and pierced holes, ropes and tassels as at Binroyd and flattened blobs against the curve of the archway, recalling those around the ceiling centrepiece at Heckmondwyke Old Hall. The last example is the housebody overmantel at New Hall, Elland [Pl.2.41], which is a sumptuous piece of workmanship with the familiar stepped arch and floral sprays in the spandrels. Curly strapwork on the panel containing the royal motto and tassels hanging from the mantling are just like the same features at Binroyd, Norland. Furthermore, the helm and royal crown appear to be from the same source. Interestingly, the initials CR, disposed each side of the lion surmounting the crown, appear without any numerals to indicate which King Charles is meant, just as was the case at Granny Hall, Brighouse and High Bentley, Shelf. However, the appearance of the date 1670 below the composition leaves no room for doubt. Once again, flattened blobs, following the curve of the archway as at High Hall, Appletreewick, feature as a decorative motif.

The scale of this housebody overmantel at New Hall, Elland is unprecedented in the work of the Halifax group. In this respect it serves, perhaps, as a fitting climax to a local style of plasterworking which literally seems, by 1670, to have outgrown demand.

Footnotes to Chapter 2: The Halifax Group

1. Kendall,H.P.,'Seventeenth century plasterwork in the Parish of Halifax', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 26, 1922, 144-152.
2. Bretton,R.,'Seventeenth century plasterwork', Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1967, 115-122.
3. This circular panel of plasterwork with the initials of Michael and Dorothy Gledhill and the date 1596 was removed from Barkisland Old Hall to The Greave, Luddenden and from there to a house at Halfpenny Stainton near Kendal, where it now is.
4. See RCHM(E), Rural houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760, London, HMSO, 1985, for occasional references to decorative plasterwork, and p.90, Plate 85 for plasterwork at Watermeetings cast from the same mould as was used at West Royd, Warley.
5. Dale,B.,'Shibden Dale', The Bradford Antiquary, New Series 1, 1900, 51-52.
6. The drawing, made by J.Swire in 1878, is displayed at Oakwell Hall. A photograph of the drawing appears in Woledge,G., Oakwell Hall, Huddersfield, Kirklees Libraries and Museums Service, 1978, p.29, Fig.10.
7. Woledge, 20.
8. Calderdale Archives: HAS/G7-11 for photoraphs of Copley Hall's plasterwork, and HAS/B118/204 for H.R.Kendall's drawing of the mural plasterwork.
9. For discussion of the appearance of coats of arms to mark a family connection see Chapter 10: Patterns and Design Sources.
10. This ceiling was removed from Mulcture Hall and refixed at the Bankfield Museum, Boothtown, Halifax.
11. The overmantel/mural panel from Cinderhills, Northowram is now preserved in the Bankfield Museum, Boothtown, Halifax.
12. This overmantel is now fixed in a ground floor room at Kirklees Hall.
13. Nuttall,B.H.,The Saviles of Thornhill: life at Thornhill Hall in the reign of Charles I, Leeds, privately printed, 1986, p.19.
14. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the decorative plasterwork in these houses.
15. Bretton, 119.
16. Information communicated verbally, September 1986, by Arthur Saul, former Director of Bradford Planning Department. He recalled that in 1978 a property existed having architraval mouldings and a coat of arms. All buildings on Stanbury Moor had been demolished by the Yorkshire Water Authority when I searched in 1986.
17. For the appearance of noble coats of arms in plasterwork in a Lancashire building, with similar suggestions regarding their significance, see Arrowsmith,P. and Hartwell,C.,'Kersal Cell: a House of the Lesser Gentry in Salford', Greater Manchester Archaeological Journal, 3, 1988, 88.
18. Two examples of these lintels are preserved: one in the Cutlers' Hall, another in the City Museum, Sheffield. A drawing in the City Museum collections by W.Topham of a house in Coal Pit Lane (c.1877), shows another.
19. Kendal, 145.
20. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Francis Lee, Halifax, July 1638. He may possibly be the same Francis Lee who was baptised 2 August 1590 in Halifax. See Crossley,E.W.

(trans.), The Parish Registers of Halifax, Co. York, Vol.I, Baptisms 1538-1593, Publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society, Vol.37,1910.
21. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the Wakefield group in the early 17th century.
22. Stocks,J.E.,'The Church of St. John the Evangelist, New Briggate, Leeds', Publications of the Thoresby Society, 24, 1919, 217 for a comparison and dating of these choir screens.
23. See Chapter 4: The Leeds/York Group.
24. The plasterwork is believed to have been destroyed in 1934: see Bretton, 119. A photograph survives in Calderdale Archives: HAS/B45.
25. Scatcherd,N.,The History of Morley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Morley, Stead, 1874, p.131.
26. Leyland,J.,Views of ancient buildings illustrative of the architecture of the Parish of Halifax, Halifax, R.Leyland, 1879, Plate XII.
27. Kendal, 152.
28. Illustrated in Stell,C.F.,'Vernacular architecture in a Pennine Community',(Unpublished MA thesis, University of Liverpool), 1960, p.337.
29. Healey,E.,A series of picturesque views of castles and country houses in Yorkshire, Bradford, T.Shields, 1885, unpaginated.
30. Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Correspondence and photographs from Mr John Brigg to Mr Crossley, 31 October 1907.
31. See Atkinson,D.H.,Ralph Thoresby the topographer, Leeds, Walker and Laycock, 1887, p.421. This ceiling was drawn by W.A.Hobson in 1878 before the house was demolished, and his drawing appears as No.67 in Mr Brown's album of photographs of old Leeds in Leeds City Library.
32. Scatcherd, 131.
33. This ceiling is mentioned in Ahier,P.,Houses in the Manor of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Advertiser Press, 1933, p.49. The house was demolished between 1946 and 1948,according to Mr Donald Whitaker of Hirst Farm, Outlane, who remembered the ceiling in the housebody and confirmed its similarity to photographs of the ceiling at Heckmondwyke during conversation in September 1986.
34. See Robertshaw,W.,'The settlement of Ryecroft in Tong', Bradford Antiquary, 8, 1936, opposite 146, for an illustration of this ceiling.
35. RCHM(E), Rural houses of West Yorkshire 1400-1830, London, HMSO, 1986, pp.57-61.
36. Leyland, Plate XXII.
37. RCHM(E), Rural houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760, 53, Plate 43 and 175, Plate 113.
38. See Chapter 1 for discussion of Gawthorpe Hall.
39. RCHM(E), Rural houses of the Lancashire Pennines 1560-1760, 175, Plate 113 and 90, Plate 85.
40. RCHM(E), 53, Plate 43.
41. The National Trust, East Riddlesden Hall: unpublished typescript for 1993 guidebook.
42. These plaster balls are arranged in rows as a frieze at Farrer Lane, Oulton beneath the ribwork ceiling. Similar work can be found in County Durham at Gainford Hall and Westholme Hall: see Chapter 3: The North Yorkshire Group.
43. Anon.,'Yorkshire ancient families: the Greene family of Liversedge', Old Yorkshire,(ed. William Smith), 1883, 225.
44. Ibid.,224.

45. Batty,J.,'Archaeological discovery at Rothwell', Old Yorkshire, (ed. William Smith), 1882, 30.
46. A similar scenario can be constructed for Unthank Hall in Derbyshire. See Chapter 5: The Sheffield Group.
47. A sketch by Dixon of the exterior of Peel House exists in the Thoresby Society library, endorsed with Dixon's note of 'I.P.1651' for John Peel of Gomersal.
48. Bretton, 119. Granny Hall was demolished early this century, but a photograph of the plaster overmantel survives in Calderdale Achives: HAS/A48. The plasterwork was saved and is in store at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
49. High Bentley's plasterwork was destroyed in 1968. A photograph exists in Calderdale Archives: HAS/E48.
50. This mermaid plaque is now fixed at The Chantry, Heptonstall.
51. Platt,G.M. and Morkill,J.W.,Records of the Parish of Whitkirk, Leeds, Jackson, 1892, pp.86-88.

CHAPTER 3:THE NORTH YORKSHIRE GROUP

In the later 16th century, plasterwork ceilings and friezes of a very high order were worked in a succession of houses throughout North Yorkshire by the same group of craftsmen. They were probably based in York, to judge from early commissions, but they ranged far and wide over the region - from Ripley in the south to Helmsley in the north, and then further north still into Co. Durham and Northumberland, and possibly over the border into Scotland. By the first quarter of the 17th century, their successors had settled in York where a cluster of buildings, sharing enrichments cast from the same moulds, testify to a prosperous workshop-based business in the city. Appendix 1, Map 3 indicates the geographical distribution of properties in this group.

The enrichments initially favoured by the plasterers and their clients for ornamenting ceilings and making friezes are primarily drawn from heraldry: coats of arms, family badges, crests and supporters. Such Tudor emblems as the rose, pomegranate and fleur-de-lys feature alongside the family devices, and this heraldic vocabulary is joined by floral and fruit sprigs culled from embroidery designs as well as serpents, sea monsters and the like, copied from popular bestiaries. No matter what the enrichment, however, they are all readily identifiable as having been cast from moulds carved by the same hand. The distinctive characteristic of the carver is his penchant for convolution: mantling twists and turns, serpents writhe and interlock, fish tails and wyvern tails tie themselves in knots. And somewhere, in virtually every composition, is a favourite detail - a strawberry-shaped fruit. All the enrichments betray a love of deeply-cut moulds with crisply carved edges and bold detail. It is vigorous work.

The clientele which sought the plasterer's art consisted of men either connected with the Council of the North based at the King's Manor in York or else those who moved in the same elevated sector of Elizabethan society. Decorative plasterwork is seemingly confined to the residences of this elite governing class and is rarely found in the houses of lesser gentry. Perhaps this is not so much a reflection of

the wealth of the client group, although this is undoubtedly a major consideration, but rather another instance of the demand from the leaders of society and the scarcity of the craftsmen able to do the work. These factors alone ensured that a single plasterworking team effectively enjoyed the monopoly of commissions within the region for a period of about twenty years.

By 1590, the long sequence of houses with plasterwork comes to a halt. The art-form with its range of enrichments does not re-appear until at least 1600, and even then to a standard which does not approach the quality of previous work. It can be surmised that the plasterer was dead by 1590 and that the moulds which had laid dormant for ten years were once again brought into service after 1600 by a less skilled plasterer. Alternatively, it may be the case that the client group who sought plasterwork in the 1570s and 1580s had been fully served, the fashion for it within their circle was over and that any new commissions which were forthcoming in the 1590s have subsequently been destroyed, thus distorting the overall picture.

The interplay of family and friendship which can be shown to account for the incidence of plasterwork in other parts of the region can have been no less a factor in the spread of the art form in the North Yorkshire area. Just sixteen properties can be identified as having or having had decorative plasterwork installed between 1570 and 1590 yet many more may have enjoyed this form of ornament and lost it since. Gilling Castle account books list the dinner guests over many years whom the Fairfax family entertained in their great chamber (1). Some at least must have been stirred by the sight of the wonderful pendentive plaster ceiling to commission the same plasterers to work something for them. Yet nothing is known of places such as Newburgh Priory where Sir Henry Belassis lived or of the earlier Beningbrough Hall, home of Sir Ralph Bourchier. Inevitably then, the sequence of properties which follows is only a part of the picture but enough survives to indicate the high quality and range of the plasterer's work. No building accounts survive for any of the houses concerned so the following chronological survey is based on the evidence of

inscribed dates, ownership initials, dates of inheritance, marriage and death and a comparative analysis of the plasterwork enrichments. Appendix 2, Table I charts enrichments against the properties in which they are found.

Heslington Hall, near York was completed about 1568 for Thomas Eames (d.1578), Secretary to the Council of the North (2). Today the only surviving Elizabethan ceiling is a superb pendentive creation for the hall which, viewed from the gallery, appears like a forest of stalactytes [Pl.3.1]. These pendants with their highly ornamented bosses mark the junctions in the web of ribwork. Around the room a simple repetitive band of nulling acts as a frieze. Other ceilings at Heslington were destroyed in the 19th century remodelling of the house, yet it is highly likely that these featured coats of arms amongst other heraldic ornament. Some impression can be gained from the brief description of an ornamental plasterwork ceiling in a house in Coney Street, York. Robert Davies, the York antiquarian, refers to "Sinclairs study - Coney Street - plasterwork ceiling" (3) where coats of arms, often repeated, occupied a conspicuous place. The house was known as Mr. Darley's and, whilst the arms of Darley of Aldby and Darley of Kilnhurst featured in the ceiling so too did those of Eames, and Eames quartering Gatacre (Thomas Eames' mother was Joyce Gatacre of Shropshire). Sadly, no information about the other ceiling ornaments is given and the ceiling no longer survives.

Thomas Eames died in 1578 yet not before his patronage of decorative plasterers had evidently influenced others within the circle of the Council of the North to follow suit. Sir Christopher Wandesford, together with his near neighbour, Sir William Bowes, was a Justice of the Peace for Richmondshire, a position which brought him into virtual daily contact with the Council of the North in York. In 1572, Sir Christopher and his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Bowes of Streatham, Co. Durham, began the building of Kirklington Hall (4). Of all the houses in which work by the North Yorkshire plasterers appears, Kirklington Hall must rank as having the most accomplished ceiling and frieze in its great chamber. The workmanship is a tour de force of the

plasterer's art, combining splendidly detailed cast enrichments with modelled, pierced and undercut pendants of great delicacy [Pl.3.2].

The ceiling is based around a central pendant from which ribs radiate outwards forming variously-shaped panels as they intersect other ribs emanating from subsidiary pendants positioned in each quarter of the ceiling. Two of the larger panels are occupied by the arms of Wandesford on a shield around which the tightly curling mantling descends to end in strawberry-shaped tassels [Pl.3.3]. Another two panels are filled with the arms of Wandesford impaling Bowes on a shield surrounded by a border of bobbin-reel ornaments which, together with the curliness of details and the strawberry-shaped motif, are to become the hallmarks of the North Yorkshire plasterers.

Elsewhere, the ceiling panels feature a riot of enrichments: scallop shell; grape cluster; fruit and foliage enriched square bosses; an acorn, grapes and pomegranate spray; foliage sprigs; four different fan-profiled sprays of foliage at pointed rib junctions; as well as lizards, entwined snakes, serpents and sea monsters. What sounds like an indigestible array is, in fact, beautifully set out to achieve a balanced and harmonious effect. Beneath an intricate double-dentilled cornice runs a frieze crammed full of devices: lion masks, sea monsters, birds, pomegranates and warty toads, alternating with the Tudor lion and dragon "supporting" an arch enclosing a shell or grape cluster [Pl.3.4]. In the frieze above the fireplace, Wandesford lions support the plaster arches enclosing Templar lanterns, whilst over a window the frieze features the initials CWE above a fleur-de-lys for Christopher and Elizabeth Wandesford.

None of the enrichments at Kirklington, either in the ceiling or frieze, is found elsewhere cast from the same moulds. Yet, the vocabulary and style of execution is such that they are immediately recognisable as belonging to the pattern book of the North Yorkshire plasterers by reference to their other work. One or two, such as the toad and snakes, appear in different versions at Ripley Castle but it would seem that the moulds for Kirklington were discarded once the contract was

finished. One particular feature of the frieze is of considerable interest: the arch supported by lions and dragons. This is made up of fruit and shell-shaped voussoirs carried on gadrooned columns and recalls a similar device in plaster discovered in archaeological excavation in 1962 at Cowton Grange (5).

Cowton Grange was originally a monastic grange of Fountains Abbey which, after the Dissolution, passed into the hands of Sir William Bulmer whose widow leased the property to John Rowce, a wealthy yeoman. About 1570, he undertook an extensive programme of refurbishment of the buildings, installing a decorative plaster frieze above the upstairs chamber chimneypiece. On the destruction of the buildings by fire towards the end of the 16th century, the site was abandoned and a new house built some distance away. As recorded in the drawings of 1962, the plasterwork consisted of an arch on gadrooned columns supported by what appear to be monkeys. Close scrutiny of the surviving fragments at Leeds City Museum suggests that the monkeys are probably heraldic lions like those at Kirklington. To each side of these supporters is a conventional urn of flowers but, most significantly, the space above the supporters and the arch is filled by a lizard or crocodile with curly tail, recalling the Kirklington sea creatures. Beneath the arch is a bust of a bearded man with flowing hair. From the evidence of these motifs, there can be little doubt that this fragment from Cowton Grange is contemporary with the work at Kirklington and is probably by the same hands. Portions of another frieze survive at Kirklington, now stranded above an inserted ceiling but identifiable as originally the frieze to the long gallery. The design is of a left-facing wyvern and a right-facing lion enmeshed in a fruit and foliage composition with the tell-tale strawberry-shaped fruits much in evidence.

In 1568, Sir Ralph Lawson married Elizabeth, the de Burgh heiress, and came into possession of Brough Hall, near Catterick (6). In the following years, Sir Ralph thoroughly revamped the old de Burgh tower-house to reflect his social rank. The ground floor hall is a most elegant room with sophisticated oak panelling set with pilasters and carved arcading. By displaying his coat of arms and family crest all

over the building on plaster ceilings and friezes, he vigorously stamped his ownership on his recently acquired property.

Brough is an important house for the study of North Yorkshire plasterwork as Lawson's pride and wealth enabled him to install five ceilings and associated friezes, most of which still survive. On the second floor, one chamber has a frieze made up of individual enrichments positioned alongside one another [Pl.3.5]: the Lawson coat of arms set on a shield with ornamental mantling and tassels after the fashion of that at Kirklington; the Lawson crest of a sun resting on twin towers flanked by supporting wyverns; the Lawson crest on its own; and a large fleur-de-lys, a badge of the de Burgh family. The second chamber on the second floor retains a portion of its ribwork ceiling with a distinctive ribbed and scalloped leaf, and the frieze introduces more family badges: the Lawson parrot, the Lawson pig, the de Burgh swan and a large coat of arms of Lawson impaling de Burgh, with a bobbin-reel border as at Kirklington.

On the first floor, a beautiful ceiling of interlocking quatrefoil ribwork displays both the Lawson arms and Lawson impaling de Burgh as before, as well as all the badges: parrot, pig, swan, towers supporting sun and a distinctive long fleur-de-lys for de Burgh [Pl.3.6]. The adjoining room has a ceiling of star-shaped ribwork enriched with suns and entwined snakes around a pomegranate. The ribwork junctions are marked by long cusped leaves between the ribs.

The ground floor is occupied entirely by the hall where the ceiling is divided into four compartments by three spine beams whose soffits are covered with the coats of arms and badges as before. Along the sides of the beams and running around the walls is a frieze of convoluted and opposed snakes with gaping mouths. The ceiling compartments each display the same complex ribwork pattern with the spaces filled by the familiar arms and badges. Alongside this battery of heraldic devices, however, are two stems of foliage with strawberry-like flowers and a mask of a crowned king with flowing beard and hair - a Neptune head - which may relate to the human bust in the frieze at

Cowton Grange [Pl.3.7].

Tradition has it that the plasterwork ceiling in the great chamber at Ripley Castle was installed in anticipation of a visit by James I in 1603 (7). If that were so, it might be expected to display more loyal and royal motifs than it does. The ceiling was installed by Sir William Ingleby (d.1618) and his wife, Catherine Smethley, some time after their marriage in 1570. It displays all the familiar characteristics of the North Yorkshire group, especially in its emphasis on heraldry. Within the panels formed by the ribwork design are the arms of Ingleby surmounted by the boar's head crest [Pl.3.8] and the familiar curly mantling ending in strawberry-shaped tassels. The arms of Smethley appear on their own and also impaled by those of Ingleby. As at Brough, the remainder of the ceiling enrichments consist of family badges displayed on shields: a lion's head erased, a starfish, a rampant lion, a boar's head erased for Ingleby and a unicorn head erased for Smethley. Other than these the only non-family devices present are an eagle, a lion, a fleur-de-lys, dolphin and the Neptune head as at Brough. The beam soffit ornament is another design based on gaping-mouthed snakes like those at Brough, with grapes, pomegranates and a warty toad like that in the Kirklington frieze [Pl.3.9]. From the general similarity of detail and approach, it would appear that Ripley and Brough had their plasterwork installed about the same time in the 1570s. Family acquaintance is probably responsible for this: indeed, Lady Catherine Ingleby and Lady Lawson were imprisoned together in Sheriff Hutton Castle, years later in 1592, for their recusancy (8).

In 1978-80, excavations in the ruins of Edlingham Castle, Northumberland unearthed fragments of an enriched plaster ceiling which had formerly occupied a first floor room, believed to have been a parlour (9). Sir Thomas Swinburne died at Edlingham in 1572 and his son, John, succeeded him. Whether it was father or son who installed the plaster ceiling is not known but, of the many examples of the two enrichments which can be identified from the fragments, one is the Neptune head as at Brough and Ripley, suggesting a date after 1572 for the ceiling. The other enrichment is, in fact, a frieze of opposed dolphin-like

creatures facing a beacon. It is not a design seen anywhere else in the North Yorkshire region: the nearest place where it occurs, cast from the same mould, is Haddon Hall, Derbyshire [Pl.5.9]. However, it can also be seen at Holcombe Court, Devon (1591) (10) and Poundisford Park, Somerset (c.1570) (11), and the distribution lends substance to the suggestion that pre-cast enrichments may have been available for sale from a particular workshop for fixing by local men (12).

Portions of ribwork excavated at Edlingham match the profile of the ribwork in one of the first floor chambers at Brough and also that in ceilings at Snape Castle, North Yorkshire. Snape Castle was re-constructed between 1577 and 1587 for Sir Thomas Cecil of Burghley, Lincolnshire who had married the Latimer heiress, Dorothy Neville (13). Thomas Cecil was the eldest son of Lord Burghley and, like his father, held office under Elizabeth I who rewarded him with the title of Earl of Exeter. In 1599, he was appointed to the Presidency of the Council of the North at the King's Manor in York. Just like Sir Ralph Lawson at Brough, Sir Thomas Cecil stamped his identity upon the old Latimer castle at Snape by a thorough modernisation programme. The medieval hall was floored over to create a great chamber and a withdrawing chamber on the first floor. These rooms still exist although now sub-divided by partitions to form bedrooms. Nonetheless, the ceilings of Cecil's staterooms are intact.

Chief among the enrichments of the great chamber are the arms of Cecil impaling Neville set on a shield with the familiar bobbin-reel border ornament [Pl.3.10], after the style of shields at Brough and Ripley The family badges or crests occupy the centres of surrounding panels: the griffin for Latimer and the lions and wheatsheaf for Cecil Long cusped leaves, as at Brough, occupy the spaces of ribwork intersections, and scalloped leaves from the same mould as those at Brough accentuate the ribwork junctions. In the centre of circular panels are distinctive roses having six outer petals around six inner petals surrounded by a wreath of shells and fruits after the style of the arches in the Kirk-lington frieze [Pl.3.11]. The withdrawing chamber ceiling has no arm-orial devices but is simply conceived as a network of interconnecting

ribs with ornaments at the intersections. These consist of the scalloped leaf already noted at Brough together with two different stems of foliage having strawberry-like flowers and a third stem displaying five pink flowers. Where the ribs meet to form squares, the centres are filled with a grape cluster boss having four strawberries and four fleurs-de-lys arranged compass-like.

Heraldic plasterwork after the fashion of Brough, Ripley and Snape was installed at Thornton Hall,near Darlington, Co. Durham for Ralph Tailbois (d.1591) (14). The great chamber ceiling of nine compartments still survives, each panel containing interlaced quatrefoil ribwork, as at Brough, with the coat of arms of Tailbois positioned centrally within the compartment [Pl.3.12]. Like all the coats of arms by the North Yorkshire plasterers, tightly curled mantling around the helm descends each side of the shield to end in strawberry-shaped tassels. In the panel near the window is a device of an anchor on a square and another of a scallop shell, the family badge. The ribwork profile is a round-bottomed stepped section with a further step where it joins the flat ceiling - the same as that in the hall at Brough and the great chamber at Ripley Castle. These parallels would seem to suggest a date in the late 1570s for Thornton Hall. A further comparison can be made between long fleurs-de-lys which enrich the pointed junctions of the ribs at Thornton, derived from the same pattern but cast from a different mould than that used at Brough Hall.

In the identical manner, fleurs-de-lys marked the rib junctions of a ground floor rectangular ceiling at a house in Church Street, Berwick-on-Tweed, now demolished and known only from a drawing by Bankart (15). Where the ribs intersect, the centres were enriched with rosettes and long cusped leaves like those at Snape and Brough. Bankart remarked that the ribs were semi-circular ended i.e. round-bottomed, and, in the context of the Scottish plasterwork with which he was concerned, the rib section appeared to be unique. In fact, from his drawing, it is clear that the rib is exactly the same round-bottomed stepped section as was employed by the North Yorkshire plasterers at Helmsley Castle. Gilling Castle and Hutton Hall in the 1580s. But before moving on to

examine these it is necessary first to take a look at the King's Manor in York (16).

Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, held the position of Lord President of the Council of the North from 1572-1595. The fashion for decorative plasterwork in the homes of his friends and colleagues during this period cannot have escaped his attention. Indeed, his official residence in York, the King's Manor, was modernised during his tenure, and the Huntingdon Room, as it is now called, was fitted up with a splendid plasterwork frieze [Pl.3.13]. It features Huntingdon's initials and a bull's head erased with a ducal coronet surrounded by the garter under an earl's coronet; the bear and ragged staff badge of the Dudleys for his wife, Catherine, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland; and the crest of Hastings, a pomegranate, supported by opposed wyverns. These three elements repeat over and over again around the great chamber. The wyverns are virtually identical to those already noted at Brough Hall and obviously derived from the same pattern. The frieze can be dated to 1580, shortly after the award of the Order of the Garter to Huntingdon in 1579. Indeed, the frieze may have been commissioned deliberately to mark the honour. No associated ceiling is known to have existed.

The bear and ragged staff badge of the Earls of Warwick, which was assumed by the Percys and which figures so prominently in the Huntingdon Room frieze, could also be seen in the exterior plasterwork of a house at the corner of Micklegate and St. Martin's Lane, York.

> "on the front of this house, towards Micklegate, we may still discern heraldic devices executed in the plaster, the most conspicuous of which is an achievement nearly effaced, probably representing the armorial bearings of Queen Elizabeth. The others are the Tudor Rose and the Bear and Ragged Staff - the well-known badge of the Dudleys." (17)

From this, it was surmised that the house had been the residence of some person connected with the Earl of Huntingdon. It may, of course, have been the town house in York of a member of the Percy family, for the badge also appeared in plaster at one of their northern residences,

Wressle Castle, now sadly a ruin.

Writing in 1754, Lady Elizabeth Smithson recounted to her mother, the Duchess of Somerset, a description of the castle where "all the ceilings are ornamented" (18). She goes on to describe the hall in which:

> "the ceiling is carved and, from thence, about 2 feet deep a line of coats of arms and other decoration, painted, carved and gilt, go quite round the room"

and ends by saying:

> "There are 2 other large rooms still entire, finished in the same taste as the hall, but not so richly."

What she is describing are, I believe, not carved ceilings - a common mistake - but decorative plaster ones with heraldic friezes. Further details of these friezes are given in a manuscript by "Mr Bell, the architect, imployed in restoring of Alnwick Castle, 1765" (19) where, in the "Dining Room at Wressel Castle", was a shield bearing the arms of Percy quartering Lucy accompanied by "devices" of fish tails for Lucy and the ragged staff for Percy. Another unusual "device" of a blue lion passant, Bell explains as a Percy badge noted in a survey of the estate of the Earl of Northumberland in 1586. "In the Great Room at Wressle Castle" were other ornaments, "probably not heraldic". One was "a sort of floral design, another has a tower within foliage, and a third bears a red heart within foliage which springs from it." If the presumption is correct that these descriptions are of plaster-work features, then it is fair to assume that the work was by the North Yorkshire plasterers since heraldic work was their speciality Certainly, the 1586 document can be interpreted as meaning that the Percy badge was already in existence by then, which would place the decoration neatly in the span of years during which the plasterers were operating.

At Helmsley Castle (20), Edward Manners. third Earl of Rutland (d.1587), engaged the services of the North Yorkshire plasterers to decorate the great chamber and withdrawing chamber, both of which were completed in

1582 from the evidence of dates in the carved woodwork. He was on good terms with the Cecils of Snape, where the plasterers had previously worked. Indeed, his only daughter, Elizabeth, married William Cecil, brother of Thomas Cecil of Snape, some years later (21). In the frieze at Helmsley, opposed wyverns cast from a slightly different mould than those used at the King's Manor and Brough Hall "support" the fleur-de-lys [Pl.3.14]. Beneath this element is a conventional mermaid with mirror and comb, accompanied by two sea creatures, one of which is a dolphin derived from the same design as that at Ripley Castle. This arrangement of motifs alternates with a large coat of arms surmounted by a coronet, which displays sixteen quarterings of Rutland impaling the arms of his wife, Isabel Holcroft. As at Snape and elsewhere, this coat of arms is bordered by a bobbin-reel ornament.

The ceilings at Helmsley are fragmentary but enough survive to indicate the design: the ribwork dissects the ceiling into a grid of lozenges and squares. At the centre of the squares are double roses virtually identical to those at Snape Castle but a new mould was evidently cut for Helmsley where the six outer petals surround a centre of four inner petals rather than the six previously seen [Pl.3.15]. One of the remaining squares is filled not with a rose but with a grape cluster and four leaves which are later found at Dromonby Hall. The lozenges are filled with a floral arabesque pattern centring on a small rose. This lozenge enrichment is also found at Dromonby as well as at Gilling Castle in a window bay on the second floor above the great chamber [Pl.3.16].

For his redecoration of Gilling Castle (22). Sir William Fairfax (d.1597), a good friend of the Earl of Rutland at Helmsley (23), obtained the services of the finest craftspeople available. His great chamber is one of the most impressive Elizabethan interiors, with floral marquetry panelling, painted frieze painted glass and a pendentive plasterwork ceiling. As at Heslington some years before, the plaster pendants are exquisitely modelled at the centres of a web of converging ribwork within whose panels heraldic beasts - lions, rams and talbot hunting dogs - are disposed throughout the ceiling [Pl.3.17].

A distinctive scalloped leaf, already noted at Snape Castle and Brough Hall, marks the ribwork junctions. The ribs themselves are the familiar round-bottomed stepped section as at Brough, Ripley and Thornton. Around the room runs a frieze of stylised wheatsheaf design. The oriel window ceiling is enriched with yet another lozenge and square arrangement of ribs. However, this time the lozenge is filled with a design of leaves and the initials WJ for William Fairfax and his wife, Jane Stapleton, who were married c. 1573. The plasterwork can be dated by association with the painted glass where the artist, Barnard Dininghof, signed his work with the year 1585.

The mould which was carved for the lion enrichment in the Gilling Castle ceiling was again used at Hutton Hall, Hutton Conyers, in a great chamber ceiling for Sir William Mallory. He died in 1602, having held the position of High Steward of the Liberty of Ripon for the Archbishop of York. The plasterwork, now relocated in the house, has an interesting quatrefoil ribwork layout like one of the ceilings at Brough Hall and that at Thornton Hall, Co. Durham with the fleurs-de-lys at the pointed ribwork junctions [Pl.3.18], and lions in the panels between. There are no other enrichments. The round-bottomed stepped profile of the ribs is exactly the same as that at Helmsley Castle, the upper bay at Gilling Castle and the house in Church Street, Berwick-on-Tweed. One other property which shares the Hutton Hall rib profile is the Dun Cow Inn, Gateshead. It displays the long cusped leaves at ribwork junctions like the Berwick ceiling and those at Brough and Snape but its vocabulary of enrichments, although fairly standard, do not appear in other North Yorkshire work of the Elizabethan period.

Perhaps at this point it should be noted that the fleur-de-lys used at Hutton Hall is strikingly similar in shape and detail to that which could be found at Clarke Hall, Wakefield [Pl.1.16] and to that at Levens Hall, Cumbria (24). The Hutton Hall fleur-de-lys is distinguished by mandorla-shaped panels on each side of the upright central petal filled with concentric rows of spots. The outer row contains seven spots, that at Clarke Hall eight spots and that at Levens ten spots. Whether or not they all issued from the same workshop cannot be

ascertained but the moulds were seemingly carved from the same pattern. Like the Berwick-on-Tweed property, Levens Hall also displays long cusped leaves at ribwork intersections which appear to be from the same mould as leaves at Brough Hall and Snape Castle. Further research might establish a connection which would account for this. A possible clue may lie in the fact that the Percys of Alnwick Castle in Northumberland who, no doubt, had decorative plasterwork owned property in the Lake District, with an agent's house, Percy House, in Cockermouth.

As noted earlier, evidence for work by the North Yorkshire plasterers in the 1590s is seemingly lacking for the possible reasons stated. However, it must be acknowledged that the typological evidence for ascribing properties such as Ripley and Brough to the 1570s may be in error and a late 1580s-early 1590s date could be proposed. Until further evidence comes to light, the question remains unresolved. What is apparent, however, is that some of the range of enrichments employed in the 1570s and 1580s re-emerge about the turn of the century but in work devoid of any heraldic character or context. The serpents, sea monsters and the like are absent too. No coats of arms, family badges or emblems are present to indicate ownership, suggesting a non-armigorous clientele, as the work of the plasterers in the region became more generally available.

A house at 79 Saddler Street, Durham has a ceiling [Pl.3.19] based on a star-shaped ribwork pattern with long cusped leaves at the centre junctions like Brough, Snape etc. The rib section is different from others in the group, having a triple-reeded bottom rather than the usual half-round bottom. The only enrichment cast from a mould used elsewhere is the Neptune head: otherwise all the enrichments are from fresh moulds but based on ones previously seen. For instance, the larger fleur-de lys is virtually identical to that at Thornton Hall: a foliage sprig is en-suite with those at Snape and Brough: a pomegranate with leaves recalls that at the King's Manor. A Tudor rose with five outer and five inner petals is new as is a twelve petal marigold, a rectangular panel of scrollwork and a tiny fleur-de-lys. The ceiling lacks none of the quality of execution of its predecessors yet the effect is

fussy and mechanical: the ribwork layout is rather too intricate for the space available and the enrichments are monotonously planted in the centre of the spaces. There is no focus of attention.

By contrast, the parlour ceiling at Dromonby Hall, Kirkby in Cleveland is rather spaced out in treatment [Pl.3.20]. The layout based on the quatrefoil, with a rib section the same as Brough, Ripley, Thornton and Gilling, has several panels empty of enrichments. However, of those present only one is new - a stem of grapes and leaves. A foliage sprig, pomegranate with leaves, tiny fleur-de-lys and Tudor rose are exactly the same as those at Saddler Street, Durham. Most interesting is the reappearance of the lozenge-shaped floral arabesque previously seen at Helmsley (1582) and Gilling (1585) but now cast from a slightly different mould and not set within a lozenge ribwork surround. A further link with Helmsley is the appearance of a square panel of grapes and leaves of which only one example is extant at Helmsley. The ceiling at Dromonby should be dated post 1603 from the appearance of the Stuart lion and unicorn set amongst oaks, acorn and fleur-de-lys in a repeat design on the soffit of the spine beam [Pl.3.21]. In his book, Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain, Laurence Turner illustrates a frieze identical to this, yet not cast from the same mould as there are minute differences. He does not state where it is from but the context of his script indicates that it is to be found in Scotland and "was modelled during James I's reign" when "the subject was probably suggested by the union of Scotland and England". A thorough search of photographic sources and extensive enquiries in Scotland have failed to locate the source of Turner's illustration. It may well be that the plaster frieze has been destroyed since his book was published in 1927. Consideration of a link between North Yorkshire plasterwork and work in Scotland is discussed in the section on craftsmen at the end of this chapter.

A further ceiling survived at Dromonby Hall until 1973 when it came crashing down as a casualty of dry rot. It was positioned in the chamber over the parlour and consisted of four panels separated by wide raised borders with leaf patterns covering the beams. No photo-

graphs exist but within these four compartments it is known to have contained "geometrical shapes with moulded borders containing motifs of varying sizes, heraldic, fruit and flower or animal" (26) and to have been "much more ornate" than the ceiling which survives in the ground floor room. Dromonby Hall was built by the Constable family of Burton Constable which was well acquainted with properties in which plasterwork by the North Yorkshire plasterers occurs. Catherine Constable of Burton Constable married Thomas, son of Sir William Fairfax of Gilling Castle, and correspondence survives from 1586 between Henry, Earl of Huntingdon and John Constable of Dromonby (27).

One further house belongs to this sequence of North Yorkshire properties. It is No.24 Coney Street, York where, on the second floor of this jettied timber-framed house built about 1600 (28), a coved plasterwork ceiling survives [Pl.3.22]. Part of the ceiling was destroyed when the jetty was cut back in the 19th century but sufficient remains to indicate the high quality of the workmanship. The ribwork section is the same as that used at Hutton Hall, Gilling Castle, Helmsley Castle and Dun Cow Inn, Gateshead. The ribs themselves are arranged in a pattern of quatrefoils set within a square trellis, having small square panels at the corners and diamond panels at the mid-points of the sides whose points connect with the lobes of the quatrefoils. The only enrichments employed are the rose with six outer petals and four inner petals as at Helmsley Castle and the fleur-de-lys as at Brough Hall. It is not known to whom this house belonged but, being located in Coney Street, the fashionable area of York in the 16th and early 17th century, it would have been the property of a well-to-do merchant or the town house of a noble or gentry family. Furthermore, as this ceiling survives in a second floor chamber, one can surmise, on the evidence of other York houses, that originally a first floor chamber with sumptuous plasterwork would also have existed before later remodelling destroyed it. One intriguing possibility is that the house may have been the city residence of the Manners family from Helmsley Castle. Not only is the rose cast from the same mould but the ceiling ribwork pattern and the placing of the enrichments are virtually identical to those in the long gallery at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire,

another Manners property. Both at Haddon Hall and 24 Coney Street, the ceilings are coved - an extremely rare feature - and, considering the range of ribwork layouts that could have been selected, the coincidences are remarkable.

Gainford Hall, Co. Durham was begun by the Rev. John Cradock in 1600 and finished about 1603 (29). Inside, a ground floor parlour displays a plaster frieze consisting of three bands of ornament [Pl.3.23]. The top band is made up of individually cast flowers and fruits set in random sequence: the middle band is made from a repeat cast of a mermaid flanked by winged cupids with bows and the bottom band consists of large leaves, fruits and sprigs in random sequence. The whole effect is jolly but crude with no attempt at regular spacing of the enrichments. The mermaid band is interrupted by the ceiling beam bearing into the wall but the plasterer simply misses out the top band and squeezes the other two bands into the remaining space as best he can. Judging from the poor execution of the whole, it is doubtful if the plasterer had been trained to do any more than run simple cornice moulding and position cast enrichments. Ceilings would probably have been beyond his capabilities. The interest in this frieze lies in the enrichments utilised. A floral stem which appears only once had previously been used at Snape Castle and at Dromonby Hall whilst another stem of foliage with strawberry flower is clearly derived from the same pattern as those to be seen at Snape Castle, Brough Hall, 79 Saddler Street, Durham and Dromonby Hall. The large leaf and pomegranate spray are evidently cast from moulds carved by the same hand as the enrichments already mentioned. A pattern source for all of these sprigs would most probably have been an embroidery sampler or an embroidery design book in the manner of that drawn up by Thomas Trevelyan in 1608 (30).

Not many miles from Gainford Hall stands Westholme Hall which John Dowthwaite purchased from Ralph Bowes in 1603 and promptly rebuilt. Dowthwaite's wife was Mary, daughter of George Scrope, but she died in 1606, one year before the house was completed. As a memorial to her, Dowthwaite incorporated the Scrope family arms on shields in a

plaster frieze running around the walls of the great chamber. (This room was subsequently destroyed by the removal of the floor to create a double-height galleried hall.) The plaster frieze [Pl.3.24] is unquestionably by the same hand as that at Gainford with exactly the same repertoire of enrichments, supplemented by an occasional acorn and honeysuckle flower, and the appearance of two birds as "supporters" to the Scrope arms. The initials IM for John and Mary Dowthwaite are clumsily inserted to the left of the Scrope arms, enclosed by a rope border. The frieze is in two bands: the bottom band is arranged after the fashion of that at Gainford and the top band again consists of the mermaid and cupids in a repeat format. Marble-sized blobs of plaster creating a necklace effect are fixed as two rows above and below the mermaid frieze but these blobs decrease in quantity around the room until only a single row of them exists just beneath the cornice. Again, it is poor workmanship and has all the hallmarks of an inexperienced hand with access to pre-cast enrichments but little notion of how to arrange them.

The final appearance of enrichments associated with the North Yorkshire group occurs in York in two different properties. In each case, the enrichments are associated with an array of new designs indicating that the plasterers were probably using up old castings found on the workshop shelves. The new enrichments are found in an extensive range of properties in York, often in association with high-quality panelling and carved woodwork. Unlike the earlier North Yorkshire group, however, decorative plasterwork in these post-1600 York houses is rarely worked on ceilings except as beam casings. The art of ribwork ceiling patterns filled with cast ornament is not attempted. Rather, the plasterers limit themselves to encasing structural timbers in ceilings, decorative friezes and overmantels. Thus, apart from the few enrichments serving as a link with the North Yorkshire group of the 16th century, there is no apparent continuity of workshop practice.

The controversy surrounding the demolition of nos. 29 and 31 Coney Street, York in 1981 (32) allowed time for both the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments and the York Archaeological Trust to photo-

graph the remains of the decorative plasterwork that was uncovered by the demolition workers. In all, five rooms of the house on three floors contained decorative plasterwork cast from moulds. On one overmantel [Pl.3.25], a rose with six outer and four inner petals surrounded by a wreath, as at 24 Coney Street and Helmsley Castle, provides one point of contact with the earlier North Yorkshire group, whilst a section of frieze above a doorway showing the mermaid and cupids forms a link with Gainford Hall and Westholme Hall in Co. Durham, as previously discussed. All the other decorative plaster mouldings constitute a new group of enrichments of very high quality in the cast detail, indicating a mould carver of exceptional ability.

A strapwork frieze with mice amongst the fruit and leaves is of great delicacy, as is a vine trail frieze of flowers and fruit. An arcaded section set with fruit and leaves is found en-suite with the latter on a fine overmantel enclosing the rose previously mentioned with the words "Laus Deo" in one arcade and a floral/fruit spray in another. This spray is not encountered again but it has strong similarities with other sprays found in properties in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (33). Above this overmantel runs a cast frieze of shields supported by a mermaid and merman enmeshed by foliage and flowers interspersed with birds, animals and fish.

This frieze occurred elsewhere in the house as beam casing in association with cast enrichments of a pelican in her piety, the arms of the Vintners Company, and a bird - possibly an eagle or falcon. Other than these, the only other enrichment which survived was a repeat cast of a narrow strip of flowers, fruit and leaves. It is not known for whom the house was built nor when the plasterwork was installed. However, plasterwork on three floors and the appearance of the Vintners Company arms would suggest it was the residence of a wealthy merchant in the early 17th century.

A house of similar high quality fortunately still survives in York, now known as the Herbert House in Pavement (34). It was owned by the Herbert family from 1557 until sold to Sir Roger Jaques by 1633. Sir

Roger Jaques was knighted by Charles I in 1639 on the latter's visit to York when he was entertained at this house in Pavement: Jaques was Lord Mayor at the time. An elaborate plasterwork ceiling originally existed in the first floor chamber fronting the street where the King's reception took place. However, this was deliberately removed in 1925 to uncover an earlier painted ceiling of the time of Christopher Herbert (c. 1557) (35). At the time, it was suggested that the plaster ceiling dated from about 1680. Yet, from a photograph of one of the larger fragments, it is clear that the strapwork and foliage design is one of those employed by the York plasterers in the early 17th century. It is, therefore, likely that the ceiling was installed in the 1630s by Jaques shortly after his acquisition of the property. In an adjoining room, two ceiling beams are encased in plaster decorated with the same narrow strip of flowers, fruit and leaves as at Nos. 29 and 31 Coney Street, flanked by fleurs-de-lys from the same mould as those in the ceiling of 24 Coney Street and Brough Hall. Just as the rose at 29 and 31 Coney Street is the last appearance of that particular device, so the fleur-de-lys of the North Yorkshire group takes its final bow at the Herbert House.

Not far from York, in the village of Skelton, the Manor House was the home of the Lovell family throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Thomas Lovell II (d.1603) had married Mary, daughter of Christopher Herbert of York (36), and it is likely that it was their son, Thomas Lovell III (d.1655), who installed the decorative plasterwork at Skelton. Whether or not he was aware of the plasterwork which Jaques had installed in Herbert House, his mother's family home, he certainly employed the same plasterers. The identical narrow strip of flowers, fruit and leaves as at Herbert House and 29 and 31 Coney Street is found on the soffit of the beams in the first floor chamber, whilst around the walls runs a frieze of shields supported by a mermaid and merman from the same mould as that at 29 and 31 Coney Street [Pl.3.26]. In addition, a slightly larger version of the narrow strip of flowers, fruit and leaves is employed on the sides of the chamber beams. Downstairs, the parlour beam has a vine trail design of fruit and leaves which is not found anywhere else but is clearly by the same hand.

Back in York, No.49 Stonegate (37), built in the early 17th century as a four-bay timber-framed house, still retains decorative plaster casing on its first floor beams. The design is the same vine trail frieze of flowers and fruit at 29 and 31 Coney Street and is found in only one other house in York - at 56 Low Petergate where it forms the lower band of a three band arrangement on an overmantel flanking the Stuart royal arms. It is known from a lease of 1630 that substantial alterations had been undertaken to the property just prior to this date (38) and the plasterwork is quite consistent with such a dating. The top band of ornament alongside the royal arms is the mermaid and merman flanking a shield which has already been noted at Skelton Manor and 29 and 31 Coney Street. The middle band of ornament is the strapwork frieze with mice, fruit and leaves, also seen at 29 and 31 Coney Street. One interesting observation is that all three of these bands of ornament are exactly the same length: in other words the woodcarver/plasterer was working to a standard length and fitting the design to that length when cutting his moulds. No doubt this length had been found to be the most satisfactory size for cast sections of plaster friezes when positioning and fixing them. The Stuart royal arms alongside these three bands of ornament is similarly cast from a mould. It is an excellent piece of workmanship yet no other example is known. It is inconceivable that a mould was specifically cut for this cast alone and, although other examples may have once existed, the possibility suggests itself that this plaster cast was derived from a cast iron fireback, perhaps using a glue and beeswax mould as described by Hugh Platt in his Jewel House of Art and Nature (1594) (39).

The frieze of a mermaid and merman flanking a shield, already noted at 56 Low Petergate, 29 and 31 Coney Street and Skelton Manor, made a further appearance at No.18 Micklegate, York (40) where it was employed as a frieze in a first floor room. Here, as elsewhere the ceiling beams were encased in plaster using a strapwork and foliage design for the soffits which could also be seen at the Herbert House, as previously mentioned. On the sides of the beams, a new running design of animals amongst leaves was used and the ceiling itself was

ornamented in a rudimentary fashion with simple linear ribwork forming diamonds at the intersections which contained a square panel of fruit and foliage. Tucked into the corners of the ceiling were square panels containing a horseshoe-shaped motif and an eagle with outstretched wings perched on the point of the square jutting into the flat ceiling.

Across the street, No.17 Micklegate (41) had a similar ceiling on its first floor. Here, too, the beam casing featured the strapwork and foliage design seen at 18 Micklegate and Herbert House, and corner panels in the otherwise plain ceiling containing the horse-shoe motif, as at 18 Micklegate. The only other ceiling enrichment was a large fleur-de-lys set within a square, not noted before. One further building, No.60 Stonegate, shares enrichments with 17 and 18 Micklegate. In common with both, it has the familiar strapwork and foliage beam soffit casing to its first floor chamber. The flat ceiling has a variety of enrichments set at random over its surface. One of these, the eagle with outstretched wings, could be seen at 18 Micklegate but all the others are new: rampant lion, imperial crown, lion passant and shield. A date of 1646 can be given to this ceiling from the evidence of an inscribed date in the structure (42).

Only one other instance of the strapwork and foliage frieze, noted as a beam soffit ornament in the previous examples, is still extant. It can be seen in Oliver Sheldon House, Nos.17 and 19 Aldwark, along the spine beam of a splendid ceiling set out with ribwork in the traditional manner. The cast enrichments in the panels comprise the eagle or falcon with its head to one side as at 29 and 31 Coney Street, the imperial crown as at 60 Stonegate, the large fleur-de-lys set in a square as at 17 Micklegate and two other enrichments: a Tudor rose and a lion mask with annulet and plaited mane [Pl.3.27 and Pl.3.28]. Finding such a good piece of workmanship in York after observing the previous list of mediocre examples which, nevertheless, employ some of the same enrichments, raises questions of authorship and chronology which will be discussed in the section of this chapter devoted to craftsmen.

In 1641-42, Sir Arthur Ingram of Temple Newsam House undertook a thorough renovation of New Park, near Huby, his hunting lodge in the Forest of Galtres (44). Decorative plasterwork ceilings, of which only one now remains, were installed by Thomas Ventris of York (45), incorporating a couple of familiar enrichments: the eagle and falcon with head to one side, as at Oliver Sheldon House and 29 and 31 Coney Street, and the imperial crown, as at Oliver Sheldon House and 60 Stonegate. These were set into the border of a diamond-shaped ceiling centrepiece alternating with two other enrichments: a wreath enclosing a roundel and a small shield set on a cartouche. The workmanship is poor, with enrichments apparently stuck to the ceiling plaster rather than bedded in it since the edges of the casts are quite distinct [Pl.3.29]. Elsewhere in the house, a distinctive leaf and berries frieze used as a beam soffit casing can also be seen at Thorpe Audlin Manor and could be seen at 3 Market place, Pontefract (46). Another frieze, apparently made up from the wreath and roundel and shield and cartouche enrichments seen in the ceiling at New Park, includes winged sea creatures from the same pattern source as others on an overmantel at Sheriff Hutton Hall, another of Sir Arthur Ingram's properties.

Sir Arthur Ingram (47), a London financier who held the post of Secretary to the Council of the North, began building Sheriff Hutton Hall in 1619 (48). Fortunately, the building accounts survive in the Temple Newsam Papers, making it possible to match surviving work with craftsmen and the payments they received. Three entire ceilings, dating from 1622-23, with associated friezes as well as overmantels and a frieze fragment survive, although the long gallery ceiling was destroyed in the remodelling of the house in 1730.

The Heraldic Room takes its name from the panels of arms and supporters which make up a frieze around the room whose ceiling is dotted with heraldic badges [Pl.3.30]. The ceiling is divided into panels by a broad flat-bottomed rib enriched on its soffit with a scrolling strapwork pattern. At the junction of curved sections, small cone-shaped

bosses and leaves cover the joint. Within the panels, the eagle with outstretched wings, as at 18 Micklegate and 60 Stonegate, makes its appearance. So does the small shield set on a cartouche previously noted at New Park and a rose from the same mould as that at 17 and 19 Aldwark. All the other enrichments are new: crowned winged cherub head, small fleur-de-lys, shield set within rectangular strapwork surround, four-winged cherub head, and bird with raised head. The panels forming the frieze feature griffins and horses as supporters to shields set on strapwork surrounds which are larger versions of those in the ceiling.

Only one other property has a ceiling which can stand comparison with the work at Sheriff Hutton. This is a house at No.2 Minster Court in York (49) where a similarly enriched flat-bottomed rib is employed to divide the ceiling into a network of lozenges and diamonds with small cone-shaped bosses, as before, set onto the soffit of the rib [Pl.3.31]. The same small shield set on a cartouche, as at Sheriff Hutton and New Park, appears within the ceiling panels, as does the eagle with outstretched wings, as at Sheriff Hutton, 18 Micklegate and 60 Stonegate, and the small fleur-de-lys, as at Sheriff Hutton. A rose with four layers of petals is new, as is a spray of leaves and fruits recalling that seen on an overmantel in 29 and 31 Coney Street. It is possibly from the same mould as others to be seen in the ceiling of a first floor early 17th century panelled room at No.58 Stonegate. Two different rectangular strapwork panels, set with a shield and an oval medallion respectively, vividly recall those at Sheriff Hutton. A further example of this device can be seen as ceiling centre panels in an upper room at the Black Swan Inn, Peasholme Green, in York. The similarity of treatment of these two ceilings at Sheriff Hutton and Minster Court would seem to indicate that they are the work of the same craftsmen. This observation is given strength by the notion that 2 Minster Court may be a surviving fragment of York House which Sir Arthur Ingram constructed on the site of the old Archbishop's Palace from 1619 onwards (50). By 1624, Ingram's plasterers were hard at work both in York and at Sheriff Hutton. Before discussing them and their work, however, a survey of the remaining plasterwork at Sheriff Hutton is essential.

The Oak Parlour on the ground floor at Sheriff Hutton is enriched by a ceiling with decorated flat-bottomed ribwork laid in a design almost identical with that in the Heraldic Room previously discussed [Pl.3.32]. The only point of difference is the extension of opposed curved ribs to form small squares. At the points of these squares, a spray of three flowers and leaves is repeated over the ceiling whilst the ribwork junctions are graced with small cones and the intersections with pendant bosses. A large fleur-de-lys occupies each of the side compartments and the main compartments are each filled with a panel of vine leaves and grapes arranged in a square around a central wreath. This panel strongly recalls that which could be seen in the first floor chamber of 18 Micklegate, York and, from the similarity of the leaf and fruit details, would appear to be from the same source. A deep frieze running around the room repeats the floral motifs in the ceiling and is of the same delicacy. However, the overmantel is of a different quality altogether [Pl.3.33]. A raised oval centrepiece surrounded by a wreath is set on a boldly modelled strapwork surround with shrimp-like scrolls. The whole is displayed between tapering pilasters ornamented with fruit-cluster pendants set on plinths with winged cupid heads and three-petalled flowers. The "capitals" display grotesque heads and the frieze between features double leaf and flower forms with a man's head on the central projection. This head and the two cupids are distinguished by long hair with a pronounced central curl above the forehead. The whole composition would appear to be hand-modelled throughout. Nothing like it has been mentioned so far and we shall return to this overmantel in due course.

The third room at Sheriff Hutton containing plasterwork is the Bird and Baby Room, so-called from the appearance of the Stanley badge of an eagle and child on the overmantel. The ceiling design is based on the eight-pointed star layout with a channelled rib set with a twisted cable in the channel [Pl.3.34]. Large bosses with pendant grape bunches, similar to those seen in the parlour at Gawthorpe Hall and the great chamber at Hawksworth Hall, mark the centres of the stars with smaller pendants at other ribwork intersections. The kite-shaped panels of

the stars are filled with graceful curling stems bearing leaves, fruits and flowers, fig, acorn, cherry cluster, pomegranate, six-petal flower, double marigold, lily flower, six-lobed leaf and spear-shaped leaf. A curled tendril identical to others in a ceiling at Bolling Hall, Bradford is worthy of note. With the exception of the cherry cluster and double marigold, these cast enrichments also appear in the deep frieze around the room where they are joined by a grape bunch, a spiky-edged leaf, a lion mask with open mouth (no annulet) and a distinctive scroll and lily flower panel. The design of the latter is based on a double S-scroll running ornament, ending in square enclosing the lion mask. It is a design which can also be seen at Gawthorpe Hall in the Huntroyde Room. However, whereas that at Gawthorpe is completely mould cast, this at Sheriff Hutton is hand-modelled and set with individual pre-cast enrichments. It is, in fact, the extent of hand-modelling - scroll-work, stemwork, tendrils and the like - which sets this ceiling and frieze apart from the other two ceilings at Sheriff Hutton. They are entirely composed of mould-cast pieces. There is a different hand at work in the Bird and Baby Room. Elsewhere in the house, concealed fragments of another frieze based on this double S-scroll motif appear to be hand-modelled: male and female masks on the stair arch also hand-modelled, closely resemble the workmanship of the Oak Parlour overmantel.

The names of the craftsmen employed by Sir Arthur Ingram at Sheriff Hutton Hall, New Park Lodge, York House and Temple Newsam House are known from the building accounts, receipts and correspondence contained in the Temple Newsam Papers from 1617 to 1642. These form an exceptional record for any study of building trade activities in the first half of the 17th century.

The first entry concerning a named plasterer at Sheriff Hutton Hall is 10 Jan 1622 when 6d was spent on acquiring 300 nails for Francis Gunbie. This is undoubtedly the same Francis Gunby who worked at Gawthorpe Hall 1603-05 (51). That he was already working for Ingram is clear from a letter dated 22 Oct 1621 in which Ingram is informed that "the fretter and his men be at York" because bad weather was

holding up the building work at Sheriff Hutton. On Feb 3 1622 "Francis Gunby the fretter" received 25/- "more in part of his bargain which maketh in all £17-18-4", and a further £3-15-0 "in full of his 3rd monthly payment" on March 1st. On 26 April 1622, he received 70/- "in full of his 4th payment" and in a letter of 15 May Ingram instructs his steward, Mattison, to "let the fretter make an end thereof". Unfortunately. the contract by which Francis Gunby had bargained with Ingram to undertake work at Sheriff Hutton Hall does not survive, but it is clear from these payments totalling £25-3-4d that the work in question was substantial. That this is so is borne out by later correspondence relating to a contract to plaster the ceiling of the long gallery at Sheriff Hutton for a mere £6-0-0d (52).

John Mattison, Ingram's steward,. was a meticulous record keeper and his accounts itemise small advance payments to Gunby who was seemingly always short of cash:-

19 Jan 1622 Lent Francis Gunby 5/-
2 April 1622 Lent Fra. Gunby till the pay 5/-

Some entries refer to the purchase of materials on his behalf:-

3 April 1622 3 sacks of lime for Gunby at Sheriff Hutton 2/-

On a few occasions, Mattison bought ale for Gunby and his fellow craftsmen at various inns and, even though Gunby ceased to be on Ingram's payroll at Sheriff Hutton after his final payment on 26 April 1622, he can still be found courting Mattison's company both at Sheriff Hutton and in York, no doubt in the expectation of further work:

26 April 1622 Spent at Wymans with and for Gunby. He came for money to me 1/6
11 April 1623 Spent at Dogg (York) for Wilson and Francis Gunby 4d
16 May 1623 To Sheriff Hutton...ale for Wilson, Gunby and Smith 4d
17 May 1623 Lent Francis Gunby all in purse 1/-

That Mattison was evidently prepared to lend Gunby small sums of money as required may point to an acquaintanceship of several years' standing. Francis Gunby's brother, Thomas, referred to as a joiner in his probate records (53), died at Hatfield, near Doncaster in 1620 where Ingram held the lease of the Lodge and Manor House from the Crown. Ingram purchased the Manor of Hatfield after 1626 from Cornelius Vermuyden, the Dutch engineer, to whom it had been granted by Charles I for his drainage of the lowlands around Hatfield. Surviving portions of a plaster cornice and decorative frieze above current ceiling levels at Hatfield Manor House indicate a remodelling of the medieval hall to form an Elizabethan/Jacobean great chamber at first floor level. No building accounts survive but the possibility exists that the Gunbys were employed on this site before Thomas's death in 1620 and before Francis went to work at Sheriff Hutton in 1621.

John Mattison may have known Gunby much earlier than this, however. Prior to his employment with Ingram, Mattison had worked for the Batt family at Oakwell Hall and his account books survive from 1609-11 (54). He had served the office of steward since 1604 during the period when Francis Gunby and his brother Thomas, are known to have worked at Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire. Previous to that and possibly afterwards, it can be deduced that they had been employed at several properties for the Savile family with whom the Batts of Oakwell were on intimate terms (55). Aware of the quality of their work, Mattison would have had no hesitation in recommending them to Ingram.

Further decorative plasterwork was installed at Sheriff Hutton Hall in the 1620s as the building work progressed. However Gunby was not re-employed. Instead Ingram turned to a plasterer by the name of John Burridge. Nothing is known of him before the accounts entry of 26 Nov 1622 when 2 bushels of hair were sent to Sheriff Hutton to "Burridge the fretter", except for an entry in the parish register of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York in 1621:

> "Thomas, the sonne of John Burrish, was baptised the xvth day of Apriell". (56)

A thorough search of the York parish registers has failed to throw up any further references to him around this time. Indeed, the surname, Burridge, does not appear in the York parish registers again until 1636 (57). That he was evidently in York in April 1621, eighteen months before being taken into Ingram's employ, would have provided ample time for other commissions and for his reputation as a plasterer of some ability to reach Ingram's ears. Like Gunby before him, Burridge was employed on a contract basis, being paid in instalments according to the terms of the agreed bargain. It may, of course, be the case that Gunby had also tendered for the plasterwork contract at Sheriff Hutton and been undercut by Burridge. Sir Arthur Ingram always sought after the cheapest possible job and drove hard bargains with his craftsmen.

On 7 Dec 1622, John Burridge received £2-10-0d "in part of his bargain for fretting" at Sheriff Hutton. The work he was engaged upon is made clear in a letter of 18 December 1622 where Ingram refers to "the Parlour below that was first fretted by Burridge" and goes on to instruct his steward that:

> "if Burridge have done the 2 rooms below I would have you agree with him for the doing of the 2 farthest chambers above".

Evidently Burridge accepted this further work as he continued to present bills and to receive payment until 13 June 1623. Thereafter, he is not mentioned until 2 April 1624 when Ingram writes to Mattison:

> "I pray you confer with Burridge the fretter at York and drive him to as low a price as you can to fret the Long Gallery that lieth upon the garden and send me word as soon as you can."

Mattison's reply on 11 April 1624 is most illuminating, not only in relation to Ingram s hard bargaining but in relation to the description of Burridge's work:

> "I received your letter 4 April... and being at York did confer with Burridge about fretting the long gallery and had much ado with him to bargain him to £6 to do it, for which sum he will with any fret you like that he hath done

> either at Sheriff Hutton or York, either with a round bottom fret or flat bottom fret as you shall appoint."

Whilst the long gallery at Sheriff Hutton no longer exists, Burridge did, indeed, carry out the work as evidenced from a payment of £3-0-0d on 31 July 1624 "To Jo: Berridge, fretter, in part of £6 for the gallery". No further references to plasterwork at Sheriff Hutton Hall occur after this date until fourteen years later on 14 July 1638 when William Robinson "fretter...with his labourer" was paid £8-11-11d for fifteen days' unspecified work.

The creation of Sir Arthur Ingram's great house in York on the site of the old Archbishop's Palace quickly followed on the heels of the completion of Sheriff Hutton Hall. On 6 Feb 1625 Mattison was able to inform Ingram that:

> "we purpose to set Rich. Wilson presently in hand to mend the house at York and till the wood work be finished we do not know how much of the frett work in the Great Room will be taken down.....Ventris, by report, ...hath so railed and abused your worship that he is not thought to be worthy to work anything more for you so I now purpose to use either Gumbie or Burridge for the work."

Thomas Ventris was primarily a carver of garden statuary, fireplace overmantels and other internal fittings (58) who occasionally turned his hand to plasterwork, as has already been noted at New Park, Huby in 1642. He was supplied with a small quantity (2 bushels) of plaster on 8 November 1628 at York House and again on 9 December 1629. Yet he was noted for his ill temper (59) and Mattison's remarks in the extract quoted above highlight his exasperation with Ventris and confirm that the choice of plasterer at York House lay between Gunby and Burridge. In the event, he had to wait until 1626 before his skills were once again sought by Ingram for major work at Temple Newsam House near Leeds.

John Burridge meanwhile seems to have secured the York House contract although evidence is lacking owing to the virtual absence of accounts between July 1625 and January 1628. In April 1625, Mattison

wrote to Ingram concerning the "new building at York" and how he "will send for Jo: Burridge about the fretting of the room you appointed." This room would appear to have been Lady Ingram's room in the new building as payments are listed dated 14 April 1625 "for a chalder of lime...to fret my lady's chamber" (60) and "...for 1 chalder of lime delivered at York for the cant [bay] window and for fretting the chamber in the new building". No other references survive until 1629 when, on 24 October, Burridge signed a receipt in acknowledgement of payment:

> "Received by me John Birridge, plasterer, at the hands of John Mattison, 20/- which maketh 40/- that I have had for plastering of certain rooms in the new building at York with lime and hair."

This does not sound like payment for decorative work but, rather, for plain plastering. He briefly reappears in the accounts at Temple Newsam in 1631: "To Burridge for plastering 14/-", and in April 1632: "To Burridge for plastering £1-3-2; to Turton for J: Birrage 9/2". Then he disappears altogether.

From the foregoing extracts from the accounts concerning York House and Sheriff Hutton Hall, it is clear that, apart from some incidental work by Thomas Ventris, all the decorative plasterwork at York House was carried out by John Burridge. The reference in Mattison's letter of 1624 inviting Ingram to select "any fret you like that he hath done either at Sheriff Hutton or York" would seem to suggest that Burridge had previously been employed at York House before his work there in 1625, although there is nothing in the accounts to confirm this. However, the accounts make clear that, at Sheriff Hutton Hall, Thomas Ventris had no involvement in the plasterwork (61) but that a single unspecified contract was undertaken by Francis Gunby in 1621-22 and a further three ground floor rooms, two chambers and the long gallery were completed by John Burridge between 1622 and 1624.

Several motifs in the frieze of the Bird and Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall are also found at Temple Newsam in the dining room, documented as having been plastered by Francis Gunby in 1626 (62). There

can be no doubt that Gunby was responsible for the Bird and Baby Room plasterwork, especially as the pendant grape cluster and double S-scroll devices which he had previously employed at Gawthorpe Hall are present. This being the case, it follows that the two other surviving ceilings at Sheriff Hutton, each having a "flat-bottom fret" and no evidence of hand-modelling, are the work of John Burridge.

Mention has already been made that 2 Minster Court, York may be a fragment of Ingram's York House. If this is so, and, knowing that Burridge was the only plasterer employed at York House, then the sharing of enrichments and the close similarity of treatment of the surviving ceiling with that in the Heraldic Room at Sheriff Hutton is explained. Furthermore, the appearance of enrichments noted at Minster Court and Sheriff Hutton in other York houses mentioned in this chapter may indicate the extent of Burridge's work throughout the area in the early 17th century.

Unspecified plasterwork by William Robinson in 1638 at Sheriff Hutton Hall (63) can tentatively be identified as the overmantel in the Oak Parlour and the Stair Arch, as both these areas are unlike anything else at Sheriff Hutton. They will be examined in relation to similar work elsewhere in due course.

In an attempt to find out more about Ingram's craftsmen, particularly his decorative plasterers, it is possible to draw up a list of 106 people from the Temple Newsam Papers involved in some way with the construction and fitting out of his various properties. Of these only 35 are described as masons, bricklayers, tilers, plasterers and fretters. The masons form the largest group with 12 names, followed by the bricklayers with 9 names to which can be added another 2 described as bricklayers and plasterers, another described as a bricklayer and tiler, and a further person described as a bricklayer, plasterer or tiler at different times. Tilers consist of 4 names plus one other referred to as a tiler and plasterer. Only one person is consistently identified as a plasterer, and 4 people are described as fretters.

The distinction between a fretter, that is a decorative plasterer, and persons engaged in plain plastering whose skills also embraced bricklaying and tiling, is quite clear from the confusion in describing them. Fretters were a distinct group: plasterers were not. In fact, in York plasterers were part of the larger grouping of bricklayers and tilers whose trade interests were protected by the Company of Bricklayers, Tilers and Plasterers and whose brethren had ability in all three fields.

Analysis of the surviving Call Books of the Company of Bricklayers, Tilers and Plasterers for the years 1644, 1650 and 1659, together with a Book of Receipts from 1589 which contains a Call Roll "of these that are brethren" (64), a Book of Accounts for 1661 and Elizabethan Ordinances of the Guild dated 1594, facilitate the compilation of a list of brethren. Fortunately, in drawing up the Call Books, the Clerk of the Company recorded the year in which a member had been "brothered" with a note subsequently added against the brother's name, giving the year of his death. By integrating all these records, it is possible to construct a list of 144 names with dates of brothering from 1604-1673. A comparison of this list of names against the Register of the Freemen of the City of York, 1559-1759 (65), reveals that 92 out of 144 were made Freemen, invariably in the year before or the year of their brothering. In describing the occupations of these 92, the Register of Freemen refers to 88 as bricklayers, 3 as tilers and one as a mason. Not a single person is described as a plasterer. Similarly, in the York Register of Apprenticeship Indentures, 1573-1688 (66), not a single entry is recorded of anyone apprenticed as or to a plasterer.

The picture which emerges is that plastering was a basic skill acquired in the normal course of apprenticeship to a bricklayer or tiler. Its elevated status as an occupation in its own right and the use of the descriptive term "plasterer" was reserved for the very few who had craft ability in decorative work. Indeed, only the skill to fashion decorative plaster was noteworthy for which the term "fretting" was commonly used. However, in all the foregoing records in the York

archives no-one is ever described as a fretter.

Of course, this does not mean that there were no decorative plasterers in and around York in the late 16th-mid 17th century. Numerous examples of their work have already been noted to counter such an impression and the names of fretters - Burridge, Gunby and Robinson - are known from building accounts at York House and Sheriff Hutton Hall. The answer, rather, is that the fretters had not served apprenticeships within the York Company and had not chosen to join it. The regulatory protection it offered to their craft against competition was not applicable since there was no competition. If any fretter had chosen to settle in York, then, by living in the Liberty of Petergate - a favourite place with building craft workers, he was automatically free of guild regulations. Interestingly, Ingram's York House was in the Minster Liberty which also afforded protection to Ingram s workmen from guild interference. The main point to note, however, is that none of the decorative plasterers working in York either originated there or seemingly settled there for any length of time.

Despite a reference to John Burridge in the Holy Trinity. Goodramgate parish register in 1621, he did not come from York as there are no other references to the surname before this date in the York parish registers. He probably originated in the Leeds area where the surname is quite common in the late 16th century and may be identified as the John Berige who was baptised 4 Feb 1594 at St. Peter's, Leeds. Similarly, Francis Gunby would appear to have come from Leeds originally where the surname is widespread and where he was involved in work in the 1620s and 1630s (67).

One other important plasterer can be noted in connection with York. His name was John Johnston who, in 1617, moved from York to Edinburgh to undertake decorative plasterwork at the castle in readiness for King James I's visit in 1619. The entry in the Master of Works Accounts reads:

> "17 Feb 1617. Item to Johne Johnstoun and his man plaistereris in consideratioun of his paynes in comeing

fra York to his work x lib." (68)

That £10 was spent in bringing him from York, plus the fact that he was selected to work for the king, indicates that he was considered an exceptional craftsman. A further 30/- was expended on 21st April 1617:

"To James Murray for going over the watter for the plaisteris mouldis" (69)

and an extra £8 was paid a week later

"To Williame Wallace, carver, for making the haill mouldis to the plaisterers..." (70)

Johnston remained at work on Edinburgh Castle throughout 1617 and 1618, "beam filling with lyme and hair the alring of the counselhouse"(71). He appears again in 1619 working at Holyrood House, "casting of the Lord Chancellaris roumes in the abay" (72) and again at Edinburgh Castle in 1623-24, "plaistering the riggings of lead in [the] new wark in the castell" (73). Nothing is heard of him again until 1633 when £8 was expended on "Johne Jonstoun plaisterer for his chairgis in coming and going to St. Jonston [Perth]" (74). A reference to "John Johnestoun, plaisterer" in a charter of 1 March 1643 at Perth (75) would seem to be the last mention of him.

In the Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 (76), Howard Colvin cites a John Johnson who "may have been an architect of importance in the north of England in the early seventeenth century", listing his involvement at The Castle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1620-21, and Bilston Hall, Northumberland in 1622. An undated drawing of a Jacobean doorway for Stockheld Hall, near Wetherby, annotated by "Johnson", survives in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's Library in Leeds (77).

Even if Johnston, the plasterer, and Johnson, the surveyor, are not the same - although the dated surveys neatly fit the time Johnston was absent from the accounts in Edinburgh - the fact remains that

Johnston, the plasterer, was in York in 1617. How long he had been there we do not know nor what work, if any, he had been engaged upon. However, were he to have been involved in the plasterwork at 24 Coney Street and 29 and 31 Coney Street with their display of enrichments from the North Yorkshire group of properties, then it might be argued that he had been associated at some point with the plasterer who carried out the North Yorkshire commissions in the late 16th century. If that were so, then the tantalizing possibility arises that the lion and unicorn frieze at Dromonby Hall may be the work of Johnston and that the design was carried by him in 1617 to Scotland where it was noted in 1927 (78).

Today, as far as can be ascertained, not a trace of plasterwork survives in Scotland that can be attributed to Johnston and which could be compared to the North Yorkshire and York plasterwork for similarities. However, in Edinburgh, John Knox House on the Royal Mile features a carved stone tablet, showing the hand of God reaching from the clouds, which is believed to have been carved about 1573 (79). It displays the characteristic twisting and curling style associated with the plasterwork of the 16th century North Yorkshire group. Further research may discover the connection.

Footnotes to Chapter 3: The North Yorkshire Group

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21. I'Anson, 333.
22. For a discussion of the decorations see Bilson,J.,'Gilling Castle', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 19, 1907, 143-148.
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24. See Chapter I: The Wakefield Group.
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51. See Chapter 1: The Wakefield Group.
52. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Letters, 11 April 1624.

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55. See Chapter 1: The Wakefield Group.
56. Cook,R.B.(ed.),The Parish Registers of Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate, York, 1573-1812, Publications of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 41, 1911.
57. A John Beridge married Margaret Jarrett at St.Mary Castlegate, York, 9 October 1636.
58. Gilbert,C.,'Newly discovered carvings by Thomas Ventris of York', Connoisseur, 162, 1966, 257-9.
59. Gilbert, 259.
60. A chalder was a measurement of weight, equal to 25½ cwt.
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63. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Accounts, 14 July 1638.
64. These documents are housed in York Minster Library: QQ/80BB.
65. Anon., Register of the Freemen of the City of York, from the City Records. Volume II, 1559-1759, Publications of the Surtees Society, 102, 1899.
66. York City Archives, D12: Register of Apprenticeship Indentures, 1573-1688.
67. No trace of Francis Gunby's baptism or burial can be found in the Leeds Parish Registers, which begin in 1571. He is likely to have been born in the 1560s if the supposition that he worked for the Saviles in the 1580s and 1590s is correct. See Chapter 1: The Wakefield Group.
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70. Imrie and Dunbar, 73. A William Wallace is listed as a Searcher in the Company of Joiners, Carpenters and Carvers within the City of York in 1567 [York Minster Library: Ancient Orders and Ordinances of the Company of Joyners and Carpenters, 1567], and a William Walys appears as a plasterer in the accounts for Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, May 1560. [Stallybrass,B.,'Bess of Hardwick's buildings and building accounts', Archaeologia, 64, 1913, 397].
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72. Imrie and Dunbar, 110.
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CHAPTER 4: THE LEEDS/YORK GROUP

In 1622, Sir Arthur Ingram, already owner of substantial properties in York and Sheriff Hutton, purchased the Manor of Temple Newsam for his principal residence in the county. He began a programme of redevelopment of the Tudor house of the Lennox family which was to last until 1638 (1). Familiar names of craftsmen, known from the building accounts of his other properties, make their appearance in the documentation concerning Temple Newsam (2).

The first decorative plasterer to be mentioned is Francis Gunby in a letter of 14 February 1626 from Sir Arthur Ingram to his steward, John Mattison, instructing him to arrange delivery of floorboards to Temple Newsam "to do the parlour below that Gunby hath newly fretted." This room, Sir Arthur's dining parlour, still retains its decorative plasterwork ceiling and frieze [Pl.4.1]. The ceiling ribwork is laid out in a pattern of large squares with semi-circular projections on each side. The larger panels so formed are further divided by central circles with spokes joining them to the centres of the side projections. The crossings of the ribs are marked by cone pendants and leaves whilst the regular ceiling panels have six-petal double roses and fleurs-de-lys at their centres. It is a restrained composition of the finest quality. Beneath a deep cornice, the frieze consists of the same double S-scroll running design and distinctive scroll and lily flower pattern as in the frieze of the Bird and Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall and is set with a selection of the same pre-cast flowers and leaves displayed there.

Alongside the parlour at Temple Newsam, a trapped ceiling [Pl.4.2] below the floor of the Chintz Room displays the same cone bosses, six-petal double roses and fleurs-de-lys as in the dining room, but this time set in panels formed by ribwork with a pronounced channel on its soffit. This rib section would appear to be the same as that employed in the Bird and Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton where the channel is filled by a twisted rope motif. There is little doubt that Gunby was responsible for this trapped ceiling at Temple Newsam. On 8 January 1629, Richard Lister, the clerk in charge of building operations at Temple

Newsam, furnished Gunby with a note for his payment by John Baker from Ingram's coffers in York:

> "This note is to certify you that the bearer hereof Francis Gunby, hath finished the second room of lime work according to the articles betwixt my maister and him, wherefore I would have you pay unto him the aforesaid Francis Gunby the sum of £5 which is due to him as his articles will show you."

Unfortunately, Gunby's articles of agreement do not survive, but his signed receipt for payment of £5 does, dated 4 days later on 12 January 1629, in which it is quite clear that this "second room of lime work" is the Withdrawing Room, which may be identified as the room with the trapped ceiling alongside the parlour, as noted above:

> "Received by me Francis Gunby of Templenewsam, joiner, this twelth day of January 1628 (sic) of John Baker for plastering the Withdrawing Room with frettwork at Templenewsam afforesaid the sum of £5."

It is interesting that in this receipt Gunby refers to himself as a joiner, the occupation by which his brother, Thomas, had been described in his probate records in 1620 (3). That he did joinery at Temple Newsam as well as plastering there can be no doubt for his articles of agreement exist, dated 18 February 1628:

> "to make and sett upp wherever the said Sir Arthur shall appoint fower hundred yearde of wanscott or seiling at the price of 12 pence for everie yeard thereof". (4)

This contract was carried out according to the agreed terms and, on 10 October 1628, Gunby received his final payment of £5 "according to his articles at the finishing of every room". Three months later, in January 1629, on receiving his payment for the Withdrawing Room plaster-work, he disappears for ever from Ingram's employment.

He reappears. however, in the Churchwardens' Records of All Saints Church, Wakefield in 1634 when £15-14-8d was paid "to Francis Cunby his men for makeing the ptition and other worke in the church" (5) and again in 1635: "this year the ptition betwixt the Quire and Church was

finished and cost £18-3-2"(6). Here, Gunby, as building contractor with "his men", is recorded as having built the wooden choir screen which still survives at Wakefield. Doubtless he was responsible for carving its oak frieze of wyverns and urn [Pl.4.3] which vividly recalls the plaster frieze of the same pattern which he had cast at Gawthorpe Hall in 1603-05 and where he was recorded as having carved his plasterworking moulds. He evidently was at home with wood as with plaster. The passing reference to "his men" is important evidence of the fact that at least by the 1630s Gunby was not working alone. He had acquired a team of men who would learn from him and carry on his style of working after his death. Appendix 1, Map 4 indicates the geographical extent of the Leeds/York group.

Writing in 1919, J.E. Stocks (7) argued that Francis Gunby would be the "master joiner who undertook the carving of the woodwork at St. John's, Leeds in or about 1633 and 1634", where the choir screen is a virtual carbon copy of the one in Wakefield. Although no records survive for the work at Leeds, there can be no doubt that it is by the same hand. Walker, writing in 1905 (8), pointed out that, in attempting to select a design for the Wakefield choir screen, the churchwardens visited Bradford and Doncaster and, although there is no reference to a visit to Leeds, it is obvious that the design of the new work there was the one chosen. The screen consists of finely carved tapering pilasters supporting an entablature carved with the familiar urn and wyvern frieze as at Gawthorpe Hall, Hawksworth Hall and elsewhere. Carvings on the wainscot panelling of the screen base feature the C-bar-C motif noted at Gawthorpe in the long gallery plaster frieze and in the tympanum plasterwork at Hawksworth Hall. No wonder that Tipping in his English Homes, remarking on this screen, says, "but the frieze above is much more elaborately designed and is curious as representing in wood what we generally find in plaster" (9).

St. John's Church was built and endowed by Mr. John Harrison, a very wealthy Leeds clothier and Alderman of the Corporation, and was consecrated in 1634 (10). Sir Arthur Ingram of Temple Newsam was one of the Vicarage Trustees (11) and may well have recommended Gunby's team

to Harrison whom he knew intimately. Certainly, between January 1629 when Gunby finished at Temple Newsam and 1634 when he appears at Wakefield, he and his team had ample time to undertake other commissions. One isolated reference in the Temple Newsam accounts on 23 October 1630 to a payment of £2-2-0d by George Atack, the master mason, on behalf of Sir Arthur Ingram to "the plasterers of Leeds, which I had of Mr. Bellasse" (12) may indicate a small commission undertaken by Gunby's team. However, even in the absence of documentary proof, the likelihood that Gunby and his men worked at St. John's, Leeds during this time can hardly be in question for the church ceilings there are completely smothered in hand-modelled decorative plasterwork [Pl.4.4].

These ceilings will be discussed fully later in this section in comparison with other related work. For the sake of the current argument, it is sufficient to observe that the only mould-cast enrichment which features in the ceilings is that of a lion's head with plaited mane holding an annulet in its mouth. This enrichment, cast from the same mould, has already been noted in the fine ceiling at Oliver Sheldon House, 17 Aldwark, York (13) [Pl.3.28] where the ribwork profile is identical to that employed by Francis Gunby in the Withdrawing Room ceiling at Temple Newsam House. The same lion mask can also be seen in a deep plaster frieze on the east wall of the Chapel Chamber at Temple Newsam [Pl.4.5], amongst a variety of cast enrichments set within swirling stemwork emanating from a ribwork C-bar motif.

It is not apparent from the Temple Newsam Papers who was responsible for this particular plaster frieze or when it was done. A reference in the accounts on 27 April 1636 to the plastering of 47 yards "in the chapel wall" is the only reference to plasterwork in this part of the house but the payment of a mere £0-9-9d for this work plus other "in the gallery, and the sides of the stairs and the partition in the end" indicates that the work in question was plain plastering. It is just possible that the payment of £2-2-0d in 1630, noted above, to "the plasterers of Leeds" for unspecified work relates to this frieze. In style it has considerable affinity with the work in the Bird and Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall. However, they share only one enrichment

cast from the same mould - a six-lobed leaf - and, although a cherry cluster is very similar, this frieze at Temple Newsam effectively introduces a new range of castings: maple leaf, scalloped leaf, five-petal rose, grape bunch, acorn, stylised fleur-de-lys and a distinctive double four-petal rose. In the circular centre of a fine strapwork cartouche is a superbly modelled human bust [Pl.4.6].

Whilst some of these mould-cast enrichments can be seen around the C-bar-C motif of a concealed frieze in the Darnley Room at Temple Newsam, others could be seen on a ground floor ceiling at Nos.5-7 Coney Street, York [Pl.4.7]. Photographs taken before the ceiling was underdrawn show it as having exactly the same ribwork layout as Francis Gunby worked in the dining parlour at Temple Newsam and the same cone-shaped bosses at ribwork intersections (14). The enrichments in the panels comprised the stylised fleur-de-lys and the double four-petal rose, as those in the Chapel Chamber frieze at Temple Newsam, and three new elements: a vine leaf and a small and a large mould-cast tendril. The beam soffit enrichment of hand-worked vine scroll displayed these new mould-cast enrichments and a grape bunch. Louis Ambler in his Old Halls and Manor Houses of Yorkshire remarked on the existence of another ceiling in this house. His description of it, "panelled by ribs forming squares, diamonds and quadrants" (15) sounds very like the ribwork lay-out of Gunby's Withdrawing Room ceiling at Temple Newsam. Although there is no longer any trace of the ceiling described by Ambler, upstairs in the house another ceiling still survives [Pl.4.8]. It features the same vine leaf, tendrils and grapes, noted in the ground floor ceiling, in a hand-modelled stemwork composition with the familiar scalloped leaf, lobed leaf, acorn and five-petal rose from the Temple Newsam Chapel Chamber frieze, along with other enrichments of grapes, cherry bunches, lily flowers and birds including a peacock. However, whereas the ground floor ceiling has an overall ribwork pattern - one of the last if not the last instance of this style of working - the upper ceiling is treated differently. It consists of two compartments in each of which modelled human busts are set in circular medallions at the centre of open strapwork arrangements from which a veritable riot of naturalistic foliage emanates. Not only do

the ceiling panels share enrichments with the Temple Newsam Chapel Chamber frieze, they also share the same style of treatment. It is as though the wall panel had simply been transferred to the ceiling. There can be no doubt both are by the same hand. The beam soffit follows the same fashion as the ceiling panels where, once again, the C-bar-C motif in strapwork occupies the centre. Around the room, a hand-modelled frieze utilising some of the cast foliage enrichments in the ceiling consists of a number of panels with different designs, separated from one another by plasterwork corbels.

In the frieze, one design shows yet another portrait bust set in a strapwork roundel at the centre of a C-bar-C design [Pl.4.9]. Others consist of a large shield amongst foliage, a heart-shaped shield amongst foliage, and a roundel containing a double-headed eagle flanked by parrot-like birds and large four-petal flowers. These flowers are made up from a stem junction ornament used elsewhere in the ceiling. In the use of individual self-contained designs set out in an unrelated sequence to form a frieze, the work recalls the frieze in the parlour at Gawthorpe Hall and in that in the Queen's Bedroom at Burton Agnes Hall. Nowhere else in the examples seen so far is this particular treatment of the frieze apparent. It was normal practice to repeat the same design over and over again around the room. Whilst the work, therefore, can be related to Gunby's design at Gawthorpe, it is clearly not by him. The quality of workmanship is not as crisp. Here, I believe, is an example of the work of Gunby's men, dating from the 1630s. Two particular characteristics are worthy of remark: one is the frequent use of a stiletto to pierce deep holes into round plaster blobs at the end of tendrils and such like; the other is the decorative way in which the cornice breaks forward at intervals above 'pilasters' and central elements in the frieze.

Whilst the former feature can be seen in a fragment of plaster from a destroyed ceiling at No.1 St. Martin's Lane, York (16), both of these characteristics recur in another ceiling in York, formerly at No.6 North Street, but now refixed at the King's Manor (17). The ceiling is divided into four large rectangular panels by two intersecting beams.

The design within each panel is the same [Pl.4.10] and consists of a central strapwork roundel from which four strapwork spokes extend, terminating in anchor-like devices, effectively repeating the strapwork design in the panels at 5 Coney Street. The strapwork is ornamented with a twisted rope or cable set in its central channel in much the same way as an indented feature fills the central channel of the Coney Street strapwork. The design is further elaborated by the introduction of animal heads as strapwork terminals with the curling stems of leaves and fruit, which fill the spaces, issuing from their mouths. Just as at 5 Coney Street, a couple of enrichments cast from the same moulds as those in Gunby's Bird and Baby Room frieze at Sheriff Hutton are apparent: a spiky-edged leaf and a bunch of grapes. The small cast tendril and cherry cluster, as at 5 Coney Street, are joined by a new maple leaf, narrow leaf and a large grape bunch. Apart from pierced holes, a tightly curled tendril is a consistent feature of the hand-modelled stemwork

Within the strapwork roundel at the centre of each panel is an elaborate boss consisting of a grape-like centre surrounded by a ring of twisted rope with a sunburst of fourteen leaf-forms around its circumference. It is reminiscent of a sunflower. The central portion of this is also employed on the soffit of the beam casing from where lengths of stemwork featuring the same enrichments as in the ceiling panels extend along the beams. The sides of the beams are encased with plaster featuring animal and foliage forms above which the elaborate cornice breaks forward at intervals where it is supported by a cherub head with wings [Pl.4.11].

This ceiling occupies a pivotal position in the interpretation of the plasterwork associated with the Leeds/York plasterers since distinctive features in it permit three associated sequences of development to be traced.

The hand-modelled cherub head with wings noted above has the same long hair and pronounced central curl on the forehead as heads on the over-mantel in the Oak Parlour at Sheriff Hutton Hall (18) [Pl.3.33]. This

work has been tentatively ascribed to William Robinson who appears in the Sheriff Hutton accounts on 14 July 1638 receiving payment of £8-11-11d for fifteen days' work. Grotesque masks which feature in the plasterwork of the Stairs Arch at Sheriff Hutton may also be Robinson's work from this time. By good fortune, another of these grotesque masks survives, refixed in the King's Manor, but originally from 6 North Street, York (19). That it is en-suite with the Sheriff Hutton examples is beyond question and lends weight to the argument that the same plasterer was involved at both sites.

A further piece of work connected with these examples can be found at 162 Westgate, Wakefield where a fireplace surround and overmantel still exists in a first floor room of a modest timber-framed town house [Pl.4.12]. Like the Sheriff Hutton overmantel, it features a wreath set in a strapwork surround flanked by pilasters. The wreath is composed of the twisted rope cable, as seen in the North Street, York ceiling strapwork. Also, familiar pierced holes in plaster blobs are apparent in the foliage ferules around the wreath. A plaster head at the centre of the composition has the same beard and forehead curl as the head in the frieze of the Sheriff Hutton overmantel. If further evidence for a link were needed, then it is available in the appearance of lion masks on the plinths of the pilasters. These are cast from the same mould as those in the frieze of the Bird and Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall.

It has already been noted that Gunby and "his men" were working at Wakefield in 1634 and 1635 on the choir screen "and other worke in the church". This other work may well have been the installation of decorative plaster ceilings in imitation of those at St. John's, Leeds. A passing comment in 1871 that, "In 1867...the plastered ceilings have also been knocked off the aisle roofs", may refer to such work (20). Whatever the truth, the fact remains that Gunby and his men were in Wakefield in 1634-35 and that the Westgate overmantel, which shows all the signs of their workmanship, was probably executed at the same time. As it is so close in style to the Sheriff Hutton overmantel, the reference three years later in 1638 to plasterworking activity there very

probably refers to the creation of the same. If this is so, then William Robinson, named as the fretter at Sheriff Hutton in 1638, must surely have been one of Francis Gunby's men.

Bolling Hall, Bradford was the home of the Tempest family in the 16th and 17th centuries. Richard Tempest III was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1621 and would have been well aware of the fashionable plasterwork being carried out around York and Leeds. The plasterwork ceiling in the Ghost Room at Bolling Hall may have been installed for him but, stylistically, a date after 1639 when his son, Sir Richard IV, inherited would be more appropriate [Pl.4.13]. In this ceiling, animal head terminals, first noted at Hawksworth Hall in 1611, are positioned at the ends of anchor-shaped sections of the strapwork ceiling layout. The arrangement strongly recalls that at North Street, York, particularly as stemwork with foliage and flowers issues from the animal mouths. Other features, including birds - one of which is a peacock - perched amongst the foliage, and human busts set in roundels in the frieze have parallels at 5 Coney Street, York whilst tendril work in the centre has parallels in the work at Sheriff Hutton Hall. Despite all the similarities noted above which place the Bolling ceiling firmly within the orbit of the Leeds/York plasterers, not a single cast enrichment from the Sheriff Hutton/ Temple Newsam/York work so far discussed can be seen. The reason for this is that virtually every detail in the Bolling Hall ceiling appears to be hand-modelled, thus marking a shift in technique away from a reliance on mould-cast enrichments.

This abandonment of cast detail in favour of hand-modelling is particularly notable in the ceiling panels of St. John's Church, Leeds, c.1633-34 (21), where the only cast detail is a lion mask, which has already received comment. The ceiling panels, which follow the slope of the roof, fill the rectangles formed by the purlins and the principal rafters [Pl.4.4]. From ridge to eaves there are three panels, the designs of which are repeated in every bay with different designs only in the shorter end-bay panels [Pl.4.14]. The topmost panel design is based on the familiar C-bar-C strapwork arrangement with curling

stemwork weaving through slots in the straps supporting cornucopia and distinctive fruit clusters recalling those on the pilasters of the Oak Parlour overmantel at Sheriff Hutton Hall. The middle panel features animal head terminals to the strapwork composition, holding lengths of floral stemwork in their mouths, as at 6 North Street and elsewhere. A central roundel in strapwork is flanked by short reeded pilasters within an involved interweaving design of straps and stems, bearing fruit clusters and flowers which evolve into half-human figures playing wind instruments. The bottom panel consists of a strapwork cartouche with central medallion displaying the mould-cast lion mask, enclosed by shrimp-shaped scroll work and a riot of straps and stem-work bearing fruit-form clusters, flowers and leaves. Within the design are peacocks, noted at 5 Coney Street and Bolling Hall, but this time holding wriggling worms in their beaks, and staring owls - a motif used by Gunby at Gawthorpe Hall.

The top and bottom end-bay panels are truncated variants of these but the middle panel is noteworthy for the appearance, once again, of the anchor shape in the strapwork. It is all vigorous and busy with the designs perfectly fitting the available spaces. A few hand-modelled versions of the usual mould-cast enrichments appear such as the cherry cluster and the five-petal rose. However, what is striking is the plasterer's tendency to gather up flowers and fruits into clusters or posies, and his use of curious forms related to paisley motifs, and still others seemingly derived form exotic fruits such as sweetcorn kernels and the like.

Despite the appearance of these new forms, the main design elements are clearly those from the Gunby team's repertoire. Whilst the method of working does not betray Gunby's own hand, details such as the fruit clusters and shrimp-shaped mantling compare favourably with the same motifs on the Sheriff Hutton overmantel, believed to be by William Robinson. A number of these motifs can also be found in documented plasterwork at Temple Newsam House, dating from 1633, carried out by a fretter named Nicholas Booth (22).

The work in question is the hand-modelled plaster frieze of the Long Gallery and its Withdrawing Room of which portions still survive in the roof void trapped behind later cladding [Pl.4.15 and Pl.4.16]. Motifs that are discernible comprise a strapwork roundel with shrimp-shape scroll work from which C-bar-C straps evolve into fruit and leaf clusters, short reeded pilasters, curling tendrils and exotic flower and fruit forms. As at 5 Coney Street, the frieze is not a repeat pattern but a series of different designs in a linked sequence. Nicholas Booth's unsigned and undated articles of agreement for this work are worth quoting at length:

> "Between Sir Arthur Ingram and Nicholas Booth, plaisterer. ...the sayd Nicholas Booth for himself doth promise by these presents to ffrett the Gallery with the same work that the parlour is fretted and to have the Archatrave, freaze and cornasse of a yeard deepe in the same Roome. And likewise to worke the drawing room with another frett but rather the better. And the said Sir Arthur is to pay for the same Twenty pounds after 20 shillinge a week till it be payd and the work finished the said Sir Arthur Ingram finding all materials. Item the sayd Nicho: Booth doth likewise promise ... by these presents to waynscott the Gallery with fir deals at Eleaven pence a yeard with such lyk work as is in the parlour. And the sayd Sir Arthur Ingram is to furnish all materialls and to pay weekly XXs as the work goes forward." (23)

That this contract was carried out there can be no doubt for the Long Gallery frieze cornice and architrave are, indeed, a yard deep and the specified payments by weekly instalments begin in the accounts on 19 October 1633 and go through to 14 June 1634. No payments were made in February 1634 but otherwise 33 weeks' work at £1-0-0d per week is listed, sufficient time to complete not only the plasterwork but also the wainscott panelling which, like Gunby before him in 1628, Booth's team was able to do.

The requirement for Booth to "fret the Gallery with the same work that the parlour is fretted and the drawing room with another frett but rather the better" is most interesting as it is known that Francis Gunby had plastered the parlour in 1626, Could Booth have been one of Gunby's men who helped install the parlour plasterwork and who, by 1633,

had left Gunby and formed his own team? A payment of 30/- in the Temple Newsam accounts on 30 July 1633 to "Nicholas Booth and his men" not only shows he had a team of workmen but that he had been employed in some capacity before he began the gallery contract in October of the same year. His contract negotiations with Ingram are probably alluded to by the cryptic reference in the accounts of 26 February 1633:

> "By your [Ingram's] appointment to the plaisterer for his charges when he came to you but did not stay 5/-".

If this interpretation is correct, then the fact that Booth did not stay and could not start until later in the year can be explained if he was already engaged at St. John's Church, Leeds, working in association with Francis Gunby. The similarity of design between the Temple Newsam gallery work and that at St. John's Church, the request for Booth to copy and improve on Gunby s work at Temple Newsam, and the knowledge that the work at St. John's was being carried out in 1633 prior to its consecration in 1634 would argue strongly for such a scenario.

On 20 December 1634 a reference to the purchase of 4,000 nails "which were fetched by Booth's man" indicates that his team was back at Temple Newsam engaged on other work. A payment on 10 January 1635 reveals what the work was:

> "Nicholas Booth for fretting 3 chambers £5-0-0...
> and in part of payment for the chimney pieces in the Gallery £3-0-0."

The chimney pieces no longer survive but very probably were in the fashion of those at Westgate, Wakefield and Sheriff Hutton Hall. Booth continued to work at Temple Newsam, being paid on 2 March and then from 4 April until 8 August - a period of 19 weeks - for unspecified work. Portions of friezes which survive in the Darnley Room and the withdrawing room to the Darnley Room as well as work on the north wall of the Great Chamber may belong to this time. Further small payments in November and December 1635 for Booth to buy glue and hair appear alongside other private expenses on his behalf:

25 Nov 1635 "For Booth with me to York, in all 2/10"
27 Feb 1636 "Nicholas Booth, lent him at York about his law business 5/-"

It has not been possible to discover what legal affairs Booth was involved in, but the references to him travelling to York are not without interest.

Until at least the early 19th century when they were recorded by Cave, several of York's timber-framed town houses were literally smothered in external decorative plasterwork (24). The designs, the scale of the work and the details are discernible in the engravings and exactly match the surviving fragments of Booth's great frieze in the gallery at Temple Newsam. In particular, the frontage of a house in Stonegate [Pl.4.17] displayed a series of friezes crammed with stemwork and fruit and flower-forms interrupted by strapwork medallions, the C-bar-C strapwork motif, plaster masks, winged heads and shrimp-shaped scroll work. Cave's description of this as:

> "a gable front bespread with a barbarous mixture of Grecian architectural ornaments and others neither Gothic nor Grecian; while an embroidery of foliage and scroll work appears to be crammed on every part susceptible of ornament"

is a wonderfully evocative description (25). However, it could just as easily have been said of the George Inn, Coney Street where an even more elaborate frontage could be seen, with the same scrolling stemwork and designs as before. Cornucopia, spilling with fruit-forms in a panel above the main entrance,recall this device in the panels at St. John's Church, Leeds. Inside, the George Inn also had decorative plasterwork in one of its chambers (26) where armorial window glass indicated the house had one time been the York residence of the Wentworth family (27). Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir Arthur Ingram were close associates: just as they both partronised Thomas Ventris for his carving of garden ornaments (28), it would appear they both sought the services of Nicholas Booth for his skill in decorative plasterwork.

Other pargetting which would seem to relate to the York work could be

seen in the main street, Rothwell on a house demolished before 1882. It was described as "a somewhat decorated frontage" whose main feature was a diamond panel containing acorns, fleurs-de-lys, Tudor rose leaves and grapes.

> "The whole grouping and arrangement is floriated and artistic after the Italian or Renaissance style... Other simple markings such as scallop and scroll work, etc., filled up the ground work of the plaster at intervals." (29)

Similar work was noted as then existing on an overmantel measuring 12 feet in length by 3 feet in depth at the Old Hall at East Ardsley, not far from Rothwell (30). It consisted of:

> "bold archaic representations of grapes, lilies and acorns, done into an entwined and flowing pattern. On each side of it is the bust of a human figure - female on the left and male on the right. They rest on a fanciful pedestal..." (31)

Bust and pilasters together with break-forward cornice work which still survives are all features encountered before. The depth of this frieze corresponded to that worked by Booth at Temple Newsam in the gallery and the reference to bold workmanship at East Ardsley and to scroll-work on the Rothwell house frontage may indicate that Booth and his men were involved at both sites. Certainly Temple Newsam is not far from Rothwell and a house at 35 Commercial Street still has two rooms with plaster friezes cast from the same moulds which Francis Gunby - Booth's predecessor at Temple Newsam - had employed (32).

Further payments for work at Temple Newsam House by Nicholas Booth were made on 18 March 1636. For another fifteen yards of panelling in the gallery he was paid £1-10-0d, and, on 2 April 1636 he received "£3 in part of £4 for fretting the Banquetting House at Temple." This building no longer survives and excavations in 1963 unearthed only two meagre fragments of its plasterwork, "one in the form of an apple and the other from a ceiling cornice" (33). No further work was done by Booth at Temple Newsam after April 1636 because the house was, by this time, largely complete. He was free to seek fresh work elsewhere.

One major commission which bears all the hallmarks of the work by the plasterers employed by Sir John Harrison at St. John's Church, Leeds in the 1630s is the entrance hall ceiling at Lazenby Hall, near Danby Wiske. This house was built by John Peirse (d.1658) who held the post of Gentleman Sewer in Ordinary to King Charles I (34). No building accounts exist and it is not known when the house was built. Architecturally, Pevsner ascribed it to the second third of the 17th century (35). In view of the workmanship and style of the elaborate plasterwork ceiling designs, a date in the 1640s or 1650s seems highly likely.

The ceiling consists of fifteen rectangular hand-modelled panels in a 5 x 3 arrangement, separated by intersecting beams whose soffits are covered with a mould-cast strapwork interlace with rosettes and floral motifs. A hand-modelled repeating frieze of S-scrolls and leaf forms runs around the room. Each of the ceiling panels contains a different design but the consistent use of strapwork and stemwork makes for an harmonious unity. Mounted within strapwork cartouches, one panel contains a portrait bust of King Charles I with "CR" set within an oval wreath; another contains a representation of the queen in a raised-edge medallion. Yet another contains a rose and thistles growing from the same stem beneath an imperial crown, whilst a fourth has a full length effigy of a man, presumably John Peirse. Further panels show a double rose beneath a crown, portrait busts of a man and woman, a shield of arms, rosettes and several winged cherub heads.

The strapwork arrangement within each panel is different except in one case only where the same arrangement is used twice. This is a strapwork medallion with shrimp-curl ornament and strapwork extensions forming the familiar C-bar-C motif [Pl.4.18]. It is exactly the same as the strapwork arrangement in the lower panels at St. John's, Leeds and features birds with wriggling worms in their beaks in just the same fashion too. The medallion portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria [Pl.4.19] is flanked by the same reeded pilasters as those in the middle panel at St. John's whose accompanying woodwind players can also be seen in yet another panel at Lazenby [Pl.4.20]. These similarities, combined with the use of strange fruit and flower-forms, place the ceiling firmly

within the workshop tradition of the Leeds/York plasterers.

Yet there are new hand-worked features here, particularly with regard to the medallion portraits where the way of representing hair in a series of curls is noteworthy. This self-same feature can be seen again at Bewerley Old Hall where a fine chamber ceiling as well as a ceiling in the entrance porch survive (36). The porch ceiling contains a panel featuring a full length figure of Faith holding her emblems - a book and chalice [Pl.4.21]. Her chubby face and hair in curls is immediately recognisable as the portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria at Lazenby. Even the necklace and hair ornament are comparable. However, as a figure, this representation is ill-proportioned with tiny feet - a caricature rather than a portrait. The figure calls to mind a description of plasterwork at the Vicarage House, East Ardsley. Built in 1653, a bedroom ceiling featured "a moulding, in fine relief, of a Savile, or, at least, a hunter with his spear and cup, surrounded by an ornamented circle" (37). Given the dating and the description of this ceiling, it is likely to have been by the same plasterers who worked at Bewerley. In the upstairs chamber at Bewerley Old Hall, the ceiling is divided into six compartments by intersecting beams. The four larger compartments contain square panels set diamond-wise in which two portrait busts in oval medallions on strapwork cartouches [Pl.4.22] are balanced by two angel busts similarly displayed. The two narrower compartments contain strapwork cartouches bearing the armorial achievement of the Hicks family for whom the house was built.

Once again, the portrait busts are comparable to those at Lazenby for the treatment of the hair, necklaces and a four-lobed brooch. Yet the portraits are badly executed as the plasterer has attempted to render them in half profile with poor results. The angels are better done but the hands of one are out of scale. The finely worked strapwork cartouches are, however, comparable with those at Lazenby: indeed, one has shrimp-shape scrolling. The design of one of these ceiling panels, featuring an angel, used to exist in a ceiling at Hole Bottom, Bewerley, in the entrance porch. Like the angels are Bewerley Old Hall, it was clearly derived from the pattern book of the plasterers at

Lazenby. There is little doubt that they were executed by someone associated with the Temple Newsam work of the first half of the 17th century since, at the points of the ceiling panels at Bewerley Old Hall, are fleurs-de-lys cast from the same mould which Francis Gunby had used at Temple Newsam in 1626.

If any further link between Lazenby and Bewerley is required, then a vine leaf and grape bunch running ornament on the beam soffit at Bewerley can also be found at Lazenby as a frieze on the hall fireplace surround [Pl.4.23]. This latter is a grand affair with a broken curved pediment displaying exotic female forms amongst stemwork and foliage in the spandrels. Above the columns flanking the fireplace opening are winged female busts which could also be seen in a cast frieze at Knostrop Hall, Leeds (38), the home of Adam Baynes, M.P. for Leeds in 1654 and 1656. Rectangular plaques of strapwork were set at intervals between the winged female busts in this frieze, recalling the same practice in the frieze at Lazenby Hall. The ceiling at Knostrop, like that at Bewerley, was divided by intersecting beams into compartments. In each of these, a diamond-shaped panel could be seen at whose points the same fleur-de-lys as at Bewerley and Temple Newsam was displayed. From old photographs, it is apparent that at least two of the diamond panels were filled with strapwork cartouches at whose centres were oval medallions. These contained finely modelled representations of birds, one of which was clearly a swan. The only other instance of this kind of ceiling panel is found in a first floor room at 17 Market Place, Ripon where the oval medallion containing a pelican in its piety is set on the familiar strapwork cartouche with shrimp-curl scroll work and stems of leaves and fruits.

No dates have been advanced for the Ripon work (39) nor that at Knostrop and Bewerley. Stylistically, all three follow the same fashion for placing the panel diamond-wise in the compartment and this practice is usually a mark of post 1650 work (40). Indeed, a further example of a diamond-shaped panel, but known only from an old photograph, could be seen at Horton Hall, Bradford, built by the Rev. Thomas Sharp in 1675 (41). Within the diamond, a splendid strapwork cartouche formed the

background to an oval medallion featuring a skull as the symbol of death. In just the same way, symbols of death are enclosed by an oval medallion bearing the words "Mementto Mori" and the date 1680, in an upper chamber at Lazenby Hall [Pl.4.24]. As at Horton Hall, the medallion is set upon a superbly modelled strapwork cartouche adorned with stems of flowers. This whole composition is contained within a diamond-shaped panel, enriched with a vine trail border ornament, whose points are marked by fleurs-de-lys in the usual way. The fleur-de-lys is vey similar to that found at Bewerley Old Hall and at Knostrop Hall but is cast from a different mould.

A photograph taken in 1942 of a ceiling in a house at Kirkgate, Otley shows the very same fleur-de-lys as the 1680s example at Lazenby but forming an enrichment in a ribwork ceiling (42). Whilst the rib profile appears to be the same as that in the withdrawing room at Temple Newsam, the ribwork layout and the positioning of the only two enrichments used - the fleur-de-lys and a double rose - is exactly the same as Francis Gunby's work in the parlour at Temple Newsam in 1626. Whilst the plaster diamond panels at Lazenby and Horton are evidently the last examples within this particular group, the lack of dated examples overall makes constructing a convincing chronology of the plasterers' work difficult. Part of the problem lies in there being too few examples spread over many years which is compounded by the consistent use of a set stock of decorative motifs for which, no doubt, a pattern book existed. Also, since the quality of the hand-modelling remains remarkably constant, it is not easy to see changes in working style which would indicate a different - and perhaps later - hand. Thus, whilst these examples can be shown to be directly related to the work of Gunby and his men, there are obviously great gaps in the timescale from the 1630s to 1680. These gaps cannot be satisfactorily accounted for by the Civil War and its aftermath since, although these factors may have had some adverse effect on the commissioning of decorative plasterwork in the Leeds/York area, this is not found to be the case elsewhere (43). Perhaps the destruction of plasterwork in succeeding ages is a more likely explanation.

It would be gratifying to be able to trace the work of Gunby's men and, in turn, their men, over this fifty year period with more precision. Some indication that dispersal of the workforce took place after mid-century can at least be gathered from two surviving examples. One is to be found at Middle Parks Farm, Ripon where the coat of arms of the Skelton family, granted in 1661, features on an overmantel in an upstairs room. The vase-like cartouches on which they are set, if turned sideways, recall the double S-scroll strapwork frieze in the Bird and Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton. Downstairs, the parlour ceiling is a very late example of a ribwork layout, based on an octagon pattern in which the rib section appears to be the same as that employed around the diamond panels at 17 Market Place, Ripon and Lazenby Hall. A double Tudor rose occupies the centre of each octagon, and cone-shaped bosses, always reserved for rib junctions in early work, are here used as central ornaments in cross-shaped sections. A narrow cornice runs above a blank frieze band. The fireplace is treated similarly to the hall fireplace at Lazenby, being surmounted by a huge broken curved pediment with three simple flower heads as the only ornament. The overwhelming impression is of a plasterer trying his hand at fashionable forms but constrained by his knowledge of traditional style and hampered by a lack of practice.

Workmanship more directly in keeping with that at St. John's, Leeds can be seen on a panel above a fireplace in Woodhall Manor House, Mickletown (44). The initials WRA for William and Alice Roberts, and the date 1677, are positioned centrally between the familiar shrimp-shape scroll work [Pl.4.25]. On either side, curling stemwork with unusual sunflower forms, cherry clusters and lily flowers - all featuring plaster blobs with pierced holes - complete the composition. It is so firmly within the workshop style of the plasterwork at St. John's, Leeds that the date could read 1637 rather than 1677, perhaps an indication that this is the work of an old man who in his youth had been part of Booth's team. Another decorative plasterwork overmantel which may have been by the same hand could formerly be seen at Lower Crow Nest, Hipperholme, bearing the date 1668 and initials for William and Mary Walker. Indeed, the fashion for plasterwork date plaques was

fairly widespread at this time. Further examples can be cited at Pug Cottage, Crigglestone, dated 1683 with the initials NSA, and at Low House, Addingham with the initials IGG and the date 1663.

A third group of hand-modelled ceilings, stemming from the work at North Street, York,can be traced in which the twisted rope motif occupies a conspicuous place. It has already been noted in Gunby's work at Sheriff Hutton and at North Street inlaid in the strapwork and encircling the ceiling bosses. The device comes into its own, however, in a remarkable piece of work in the Great Hall of the Archbishop of York's Palace at Bishopthorpe, executed between the years 1660 and 1664 for Archbishop Accepted Frewen whose coat of arms appears in the frieze (45) [Pl.4.26].

The ceiling is divided by cross beams into ten compartments, the central six being decorated with great ornamental oval wreaths. Three designs are each used twice. One design consists of a rope-twist wreath [Pl.4.27], as on the overmantel at Westgate, Wakefield, sporting pairs of winged cherub heads like some in the ceiling panels at Lazenby Hall. Each cherub has the distinctive long hairstyle with pronounced forehead curl already observed at Westgate, Wakefield, North Street, York and Sheriff Hutton Hall. The central pendant boss has a rope-twist collar and an outer wreath of broad leaves of pierced plaster blobs which resemble sweetcorn cobs.

A second design is based on an acanthus wreath like on the Sheriff Hutton overmantel with a central boss exactly like its companion [Pl.4.28]. The sweetcorn cob device is picked up in the sprays at the corners of the panel. The third design features an acanthus wreath with elaborate foliage ferrules and strapwork extensions. Once again, the central boss is formed like the others and further sweetcorn cob devices figure in the corners. In an adjoining room, a half wreath of acanthus fills a ceiling panel. The ornament on the beam soffit throughout the ceiling is a straightforward trail of hand-modelled leaves and pear-like fruits with much evidence of plaster blobs with holes as tendril terminals.

However, it is the deep frieze around the room which is of significance to this study. Like its predecessors at 5 Coney Street, the Temple Newsam Long Gallery and the external frieze work on the York houses, it consists of a variety of motifs set in an unrelated sequence amongst exotic flower forms around the room [Pl.4.29]. Here we see the entire repertoire of designs which had served Gunby and Booth so well many years before once again brought into play. The range of designs includes animal-head strapwork terminals framing a strapwork cartouche with medallion head at centre; a strapwork cartouche with C-bar-C extension set with a grotesque head; the same with shrimp-curls; double-headed eagle and shield; winged female busts; exotic birds holding string in their beaks and large sunflower forms flanking the Frewen Arms above the fireplace. The skill with which these motifs are disposed amongst fruit and foliage forms and large star-shaped imaginary flower heads is noteworthy. It is all boldly but gracefully executed.

It has been observed that this "rich plaster ceiling with a bold contemporary frieze of early 17th century character...was already old-fashioned when built" (46). Of this there can be no doubt: the familiar designs of the 1630s appear in abundance and the tapering pilasters alongside the Frewen arms are virtually identical to those of 1638 on the Oak Room overmantel at Sheriff Hutton Hall. However, there are new developments. Most noticeable is the variety of large flower heads, some of which are made up from leaf and fruit forms in rosette arrangements. From the centre of one of these double-sunburst flowers, a long tendril, curling like a tongue, extends into the border. Precisely this motif can be seen repeated four times over in the parlour ceiling dated 1680 at Clarke Hall Wakefield (47) [Pl.4.30].

That this ceiling is by a plasterer who had worked at Bishopthorpe twenty years earlier there can be no doubt. The design is based on a large oval bordered by rope-twist cabling in which exotic rosettes and sprays made from leaves and sweetcorn cob motifs are arranged. Deeply pricked holes in plaster blobs abound. Outside the oval, larger

rosettes and posies of fruit and leaf forms are disposed with stemwork projections terminating in the tendril-tongued flower head. In the window bay, a strapwork and foliage design encloses the date panel which marks the remodelling of the house by Benjamin and Priscilla Clarke who had purchased the property in 1677. In the adjoining hall, tapering pilasters with human masks and fruit clusters in the style of those at Bishopthorpe and Sheriff Hutton are positioned each side of the chimney piece.

In 1683 Helen Brooke, who had married John Townley in 1681, inherited Newhouse Hall, Huddersfield (48) on the death of her mother. Two plasterwork ceilings survive. That in the hall consists of an oval wreath surrounded by the familiar leaf and sweetcorn cob sprays. In the centre, two winged cherub heads, exactly like those at Bishopthorpe, are linked by rope-twist cable work to fruit and leaf-form swags [Pl.4.31 and Pl.4.32]. The parlour ceiling is, again, designed around an oval whose outer border features animal-head strapwork terminals with fruit and leaf clusters issuing from their mouths [Pl.4.33]. Inside the oval, more fruit and leaf clusters with shrimp-curl and scroll-work are linked to lion masks. The similarity to the work at Bishopthorpe and Clarke Hall is indisputable.

Huddersfield Local History Library has a series of old glass slides taken in 1915, on one of which is the description "old plasterwork in a cottage near Liversedge c.1682". By what means this date was ascribed is not known, but it is perfect dating for the plasterwork, only a portion of which is shown [Pl.4.34]. This consists of a vase filled with the usual fruit and leaf forms from which shrimp-scroll work, as at Newhouse Hall, cascades around the vase. Flanking panels whose borders are made of rope-twist cabling enclose fruit swags, marked by deeply pierced plaster blobs.

Many of these characteristic features can be seen in a frieze at Horton Hall, near Bradford built by Thomas Sharp in 1675: animal head terminals, vase and flowers, winged cherub head, fruit swags and sun-burst flower heads. Yet, the hand is not the same, although the decor-

ative vocabulary is consistent with the Bishopthorpe frieze and its successors. A further example of a ceiling of this period ornamented with an acanthus wreath can be seen at Gilesgate, Hexham in Northumberland. Here, the wreath encloses a central roundel set with a large five-petal rose. The oval is divided into four segments by ornamental bands and the quadrants so formed are filled with rosettes. No other work like this is known in the region and, whilst it is plainly not by the Bishopthorpe plasterers, it may owe its inspiration to the work there. The final instance of the style could be seen at Gardiner's House, Horsefair in Pontefract (49) [Pl.4.35]. Here, a deeply modelled oval wreath with fruit and leaf clusters, exactly as in the hall ceiling at Newhouse Hall contained the Gardiner coat of arms surmounted by a lion's head crest modelled from the same pattern as those in the parlour ceiling at Newhouse Hall. This lion mask would seem to derive from an engraved example ornamenting the keystone of an arch in Wendel Dietterlin's Architectura of 1598 (50).

The work at Horsefair, Newhouse, Liversedge and Clarke Hall is all very close in date - around 1680 - and is quite obviously by the same hand. That there are no other known examples before this time, except for Archbishop Frewen's ceiling in 1660-64 which, in turn, was executed twenty years and more after the Temple Newsam/North Street contracts, is something of a puzzle. In this respect, this chain of properties presents the same problem in accounting for apparent gaps between extant examples as did the Lazenby Hall group discussed earlier. I gain the impression that there were, indeed, these gaps between commissions - for whatever reasons - and, whilst some work will unquestionably have been lost, the overall picture is reasonably accurate.

Over this fifty year period, it is clear that the designs and style of working did not alter a great deal. What variety there is can be seen in the trails outlined above in which a preference for one or more particular motifs effectively distinguishes one group from another. These differences can, in turn, be explained as showing the hands of several plasterers. It would seem that Gunby's team split up about

1634. Perhaps he died shortly after the Wakefield Church commission. Nicholas Booth, who had probably trained with Gunby, continued the style. William Robinson, who may also have been one of Gunby's men, seemingly went his separate way too. Since there would appear to have been a sparcity of commissions until after the Restoration, and even then not a great many, when the plasterers were called upon to undertake decorative work they did so in the time-honoured way - the way in which they had been taught by Gunby - employing the old decorative vocabulary as before.

Footnotes to Chapter 4: The Leeds/York Group

1. Gilbert,C.,'Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's reconstruction of Temple Newsam,1622-38', Leeds Arts Calendar, 51, 1963, 6-12.
2. Leeds City Archives: Temple Newsam Papers. Entries relating to the decorative plasterwork begin 14 February 1626 and finish 27 April 1636.
3. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Gunby, Hatfield, 3 August 1620.
4. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers: EA/13/71/1, 18 February 1627 (1628).
5. Quoted in Stocks,J.E.,'The Church of St.John the Evangelist, New Briggate, Leeds', Publications of the Thoresby Society, 24, 1919, Appendix, 217.
6. Stocks, 217.
7. Stocks, 217.
8. Walker,J.W., History of Wakefield Cathedral, Wakefield, 1905, p.33.
9. Tipping,H.A., English Homes, Period III: Late Tudor and Early Stuart, 1558-1649, London, Country Life, 1927, p.1 and p.lvi, illus.1.
10. Stocks, 217.
11. Atkinson,D.H.,Ralph Thoresby, the topographer: his town and times, Leeds, Walker and Laycock, 1887, p.16.
12. Francis Bellase, Town Clerk of Leeds.
13. See Chapter 3: The North Yorkshire Group.
14. An illustration of this ceiling is shown in Ambler,L.,The old halls and manor houses of Yorkshire, London, Batsford, 1913, p.41, Fig.74, and in RCHM(E), An Inventory of the historical monuments in the City of York, Vol.5, The Central Area, London, HMSO, 1981, plate 164 (137).
15. Ambler, 39.
16. Yorkshire Museum, Basement Case 4, Exhibit 1. The house, on the corner of St.Martin's Lane in Micklegate was demolished in 1868-69.
17. No.6 North Street, York was demolished in 1963.
18. See Chapter 3: The North Yorkshire Group.
19. For illustration see RCHM(E), The King's Manor, London, HMSO, undated, Plate 61(b).
20. Banks,W.S., Walks in Yorkshire: Wakefield and its neighbourhood, Wakefield, Longmans, 1871, p.27.
21. See Stocks, 214.
22. Nicholas Booth first appears in the accounts 30 July 1633. The last mention of him is 27 April 1636.
23. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, EA/13/71/1, no date.
24. Cave,H., Antiquities of York, drawn and etched by Henry Cave, London, R.Ackermann, 1813. One of the houses shown, in Low Ousegate (Plate IV), has the date 1660 in the pargetting - the year before the great contract at Bishopthorpe for Archbishop Frewen.
25. Cave, 2, Plate II.
26. Davies,R., Walks through the City of York, Westminster, Nichols, 1880, p.67.
27. Hargrove,W., History and description of the ancient City of York, York, 1818, p.410.
28. Garden statuary which survives at Wentworth Woodhouse matches that which survives at Sheriff Hutton Hall, which is known to have been carved by Thomas Ventris. See Gilbert,C.,'Newly discovered carvings by Thomas Ventris of York', Connoisseur, 162, 1966, 257-259.
29. Batty,J.,'Archaeological discovery at Rothwell', Old Yorkshire,

(ed. William Smith), 1882, 30.
30. Batty, 30.
31. Batty,J.,'The Old Hall at East Ardsley', Old Yorkshire, (ed.William Smith), 1889, 17.
32. The friezes are the wyvern and urn frieze and a scroll-strapwork frieze, both of which Francis Gunby installed at Gawthorpe Hall, 1603-05. See Chapter 1: The Wakefield Group.
33. Wild,D.G. and Gilbert,C.G.,'Excavation of Garden Banqueting House [Temple Newsam], Leeds Arts Calendar, 60, 1967, 6.
34. For Lazenby Hall see McCall,H.B., Early history of Bedale in the North Riding of Yorkshire, London, Elliot Stock, 1907, pp.69-71, and Page,W.(ed.), Victoria History of the County of York: North Riding, Vol.1, London, Constable, 1914, p.421.
35. Pevsner,N., The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, The North Riding, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1966, p.137.
36. For Bewerley Old Hall, see Speight,H.,Upper Nidderdale with the Forest of Knaresborough, London, Elliot Stock, 1906, pp.283-284.
37. Scatcherd,N., The History of Morley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Morley, Stead, 1874, p.99.
38. Photographs of the interior of Knostrop Hall are held in Leeds City Library. Ambler, plate 24, illustrates the plaster frieze.
39. Harrison,B. and Hutton,B., Vernacular houses in North Yorkshire and Cleveland, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1984, p.195 refers to it as being "a late 17th century ceiling".
40. See Chapter 2: The Halifax Group, and Note 47. Peel House at Gomersal which has diamond-shaped ceiling panels, formerly displayed the date 1651.
41. An illustration of this ceiling panel is featured in The Bradford Pictorial, January 1965, p.19.
42. Photograph of ceiling in Old House, Kirkgate, Otley: National Monuments Record, Photograph Library, NBR/A42/2645.
43. In the Sheffield and Halifax areas examples of dated plasterwork are found in the 1640s, 1650s and 1660s. See Chapters 2 and 5.
44. See Darbyshire,H.S. and Lumb,G.D.(eds), The History of Methley, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 35, 1937, 28-30.
45. Gee,E.A.,Bishopthorpe Palace: an architectural history, York, Ebor Press, 1983, pp.23-24 and pp.59-63.
46. Gee, 23.
47. Brears,P.,'Clarke Hall, Wakefield: architectural innovations in 17th century West Yorkshire', Post-Medieval Archaeology, 12, 1978, 86-100.
48. Ahier,P., The houses in the Manor of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, Advertiser Press, 1933, pp.49-53.
49. Gardiner's House is demolished, but a photograph of the ceiling plasterwork was presented to Pontefract Museum in 1983.
50. Placzek,A.K., The fantastic engravings of Wendel Dietterlin, New York, Dover Publications, 1968, plate 192.

CHAPTER 5: THE SHEFFIELD GROUP

In 1960, writing in British Architects and Craftsmen, Sacheverell Sitwell remarked:-

> "There are... farmhouses, probably small manor houses in the first place, with wonderful plasterwork ceilings and mantelpieces, on the hilly country outside Sheffield, and into Derbyshire... Could their total be gathered up and illustrated, a most numerous body of witnesses would be assembled, not least when it approximates to peasant art." (1)

Some years earlier, in 1916, R. Murray Gilchrist, in a newspaper article entitled A little journey in Derbyshire, had made a similar observation, before embroidering a fanciful story in an attempt to account for the incidence of decorative plasterwork on the Sheffield hills.

> "Most of the old halls in this district are embellished with pargeted ceilings in the state rooms. It is possible that the humble esquires of Bess of Hardwick's time, being neighbours during her first brief period of wedlock with Robert Barley of Barlow, were permitted to see the ornate plasterwork at Hardwick Hall and so became stimulated with a desire to adorn their own withdrawing rooms and chambers in the same fashion. In one of the houses the work is declared by experts to be amongst the finest in all England. After Hardwick was completed it may be that the craftsmen were dispelled to the parishes of Barlow and Holmesfield. Records are silent concerning the strangers - it is not improbable that Smithson, the Cavendish's architect, brought them back from his Italian tour. They were, in all likelihood "boarded out" with the peasantry: in a small cottage on the 'Bank'... may be seen a piece of their interesting work." (2)

The "small cottage" is probably Tanyard Farm at Millthorpe where a naive hand-modelled flower pot adorns a wall at the top of the stairs.

Apart from the implausibility that the "humble esquires" of Bess of Hardwick's early years would still be alive to see Hardwick Hall built in the 1590s, the fact that the plasterwork at Hardwick is all hand-modelled in contrast to the largely mould-cast work of the Sheffield area, and the fact that Smythson never went to Italy let alone brought back plasterers who were then lodged in peasant houses in the wilds of Derbyshire, there is a grain of truth in all of this. Gilchrist's supposition that plasterers settled in the Holmesfield

area after the Hardwick contract was complete may be correct: Robert Scargill, listed as a plasterer at Hardwick in 1590 (3), may be the same Robert Skargell who was buried at Dronfield in November, 1633 and who had lived at Hallfield between Dore and Totley. However, in his probate records he is referred to as a yeoman and his inventory is purely agricultural (4).

Of the twenty-one plasterers named in the Cavendish accounts which survive from the building of Hardwick Hall and, before that, Chatsworth House, two other men can be noted (5). William Bell, plasterer, working at Chatsworth from May, 1560 may be the same person or a relation employed in the building of Ashbourne Grammar School in 1603 where entries such as "Paid to Bell for plaistering" occur (6). A plasterer by the surname of Thomson, whose christian name is not mentioned, appears in the Chatsworth accounts from June, 1560 and the same man may be identified with "Ralphe Tomeson the plasterer" who was employed in 1575 and 1576, "workeinge with lyme and heare" on William Dickenson's house in Sheffield (7). William Dickenson was bailiff to George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, whose principal residence was Sheffield Castle, with its associated hunting lodge known as Sheffield Manor in the Park. George Talbot's second wife, whom he married in 1568, was Elizabeth St. Loe, better known to history as Bess of Hardwick. She was married four times, firstly to Robert Barlow, secondly to Sir William Cavendish, thirdly to Sir William St. Loe and fourthly and finally to George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury. Her main residence, in which George Talbot enjoyed a lifetime interest under the terms of their marriage settlement, was Chatsworth House and it is here that the study of the Sheffield plasterwork group must begin.

Sheffield area plasterwork of the 16th century

Chatsworth House was begun by Sir William Cavendish and his wife, Bess of Hardwick, in the 1550s. In 1555, Sir William wrote, and then, in 1560, Bess wrote to Sir John Thynne at Longleat, requesting the services of his plasterer for the work at Chatsworth (8). Whether or not they were successful is not known but by June, 1560 the names of William

Walys, Thomson, Raffe Pyper and William Bell appear in the building accounts as plasterers although their work may, of course, have been confined to plain plastering (9). Twenty years later, in 1579, with Chatsworth still not finished, the accounts record payment on 26 May to "Jhon plasterer" for "the plasterer that he brought with him frm Kenelworth" (10). "Jhon plasterer" is probably John Marker who features at Chatsworth from August, 1579 and who went on to work for Bess at Hardwick Hall. The Kenilworth plasterer can perhaps be identified as Adam Onde who started work at Chatsworth in August, 1579 at the same time as a man called Norman who may have been his assistant (11).

Such scant records are all that survive to indicate that decorative plasterwork was undertaken at Elizabethan Chatsworth. Not a trace remains today as Chatsworth was effectively rebuilt and its original interiors gutted in the late 17th century (12). Nor does work survive at Kenilworth from which an impression of the work at Chatsworth could have been gained. Fortunately, however, one splendid example of work, contemporary with Elizabethan Chatsworth, does survive at Sheffield Manor to indicate the high quality of available craftsmanship in the area.

At the same time that Bess was busy completing her house at Chatsworth, her husband, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was involved in enlarging the site of his hunting lodge at Sheffield Manor. This was occasioned principally because of the need to accommodate Mary, Queen of Scots and her household whom Queen Elizabeth had committed to his custody in 1569. Apart from a new south range, the ruins of which still stand, references to the Queen's Kitchen and the Queen's Gallery serve to indicate the extent of the Earl's development of the site (13). Fragmentary building accounts survive from the 1570s and 1580s and these, taken with archaeological evidence, fill out the picture to a degree.

Of the archaeological fragments of plasterwork discovered, the earliest is a piece of impressed gothic moulding of a quatrefoil from the Wolsey Tower, believed to date from about 1520 (14). In style it is very

similar to a carved wooden design on the soffit of a ground floor window at the "Hawle at the Pondes", Sheffield, built about 1500. Ribwork, with a Tudor rose at the intersection of the ribs, was unearthed in the 1970s on the site of the Long Gallery where in 1875 it was noted, "a ribbed ceiling is visible in the living room of one cottage" (15), the gallery having by then been divided into a number of dwellings.

Today, the Turret House at Sheffield Manor is the only structure to survive intact. Built as a gatehouse and hunting tower, it contains on its top floor a banqueting room with decorative plasterwork ceiling, frieze and overmantel. Building accounts from November, 1574 refer to Turner and Rodes measuring stonework "at the Tyrrett" and to Robert Carver measuring there too (16). All three men were involved in the building of Dickenson's own house in Sheffield in 1575-76 where Ralph Tomeson, the plasterer, was employed and it would seem feasible that he, too, may have been involved in plastering at Sheffield Manor, especially if he is the same Thompson who had worked at Chatsworth in the 1560s. Whether or not he was responsible for the Turret House plasterwork is not known as the only surviving reference to plaster-working at the Manor does not occur until 1586 in a general payment to "the carpentry workers and plasters at the newe byldings at Sheffield Manor." (17)

The Turret House plasterwork dates from the mid-late 1570s when the building reference cited above indicates that the structure was being built. Decorative plasterwork on the fireplace overmantel features the garter arms of George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, flanked by talbot supporters. Above the arms is an earl's coronet and below is the Talbot family motto "Prest da' complir" on a strapwork band. The whole composition is framed by engaged Corinithian columns resting on the mantel shelf. The ceiling is divided by ribwork into star-shaped compartments whose panels contain floral motifs cast from moulds: acanthus, briar roses held in a hand, vine leaves and grapes, smaller acanthus with harebells and a leaf-enclosed bud on a stem. The central spaces between the stars contain a composition of talbot and garter surmounted by a coronet, with lion and annulet masks in attendance.

Fleurs-de-lys crown the points of the stars facing the walls whilst two large Etruscan masks stare down from the far end of the ceiling where other fleurs-de-lys should be [Pl.5.1]. Running around the room is a mould-cast frieze of S-scroll strapwork and lily flower [Pl.5.2].

Preserved at Hardwick Hall is an embroidered table carpet featuring similar Etruscan heads and the same border design as this plaster frieze. It is possible that the carpet once graced a table in this banqueting room, particularly as the carpet has the initials of George Talbot and his wife, Bess, entwined at its centre with the date 1579. This date can, perhaps, be taken as the completion date of the plasterwork in the Turret House. Etruscan heads are a curious piece of Renaissance ornament in an otherwise traditional heraldic scheme yet their appearance both at Sheffield Manor and at Chatsworth in the plasterwork of the domes of the Hunting Tower [Pl.5.3] is probably nothing more than a mark of fashion.

Less fashionable, perhaps, but more significant to this study is the appearance of a mould-cast fleur-de-lys in the Turret House ceiling which is virtually identical to others which can be seen at Haddon Hall in a room in the entrance tower [Pl.5.4]. Whilst not from the same mould, the similarity is remarkable and points to a common design source if nothing else. However, given that George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury was related through his first wife, Gertrude Manners, to the Manners of Haddon Hall, then the plasterers employed at Sheffield Manor may also have worked at Haddon.

The first floor ceiling of the entrance tower room at Haddon Hall is dissected by beams into four large compartments in each of which a ribwork layout centred on a square divides the space into variously-shaped panels. In the centre is a foliage boss within a strapwork square at whose points are tiny fleurs-de-lys, whilst the fleurs-de-lys in the Sheffield Manor design spring from the junctions of the ribwork square. A further foliage boss and a corn sheaf-like enrichment occupy the corners and the side spaces.

This foliage boss, cast from the same mould, is found in another room, probably a banqueting chamber, on the second floor of the tower entrance at Haddon [Pl.5.5], together with elaborated versions of the corn sheaf-like motif (18). These are set at the points of the cusps of the ribwork quatrefoils in each compartment of the ceiling An enclosing ribwork border has fourteen-petalled marigolds and stems of seed heads and briar roses at rib junctions. The briar rose and its stemwork has all the appearance of having been cast from a mould carved by the same hand which carved the foliage spray moulds for the Turret House ceiling. Indeed, the rose appears to be identical. The soffit of the beams is enriched with a bell-flower ornament whilst the sides are set at intervals with four-petal flower heads.

Many miles from Haddon at Whitley Hall, Ecclesfield, William Parker erected a stone-built house in 1584 alongside the scythe mill he operated there. He was a member of a family of land owners and scythe makers long established in the Parish of Norton to the south of Sheffield. He graced his new house at Whitley with an elaborate plaster ceiling in a first floor chamber [Pl.5.6]. In design it consists of a series of large ribwork circles intersected by rectangles and squares. The latter are notable for the way in which the sides are concave with the corners pulled out in extended points. Crowning the points is the stem of seed heads and briar roses, cast from the same mould, already seen at Haddon Hall. Not only this, but the ribwork section is exactly the same as the one at Haddon too. Furthermore, a ceiling centrepiece of an eight-petalled double rose surrounded by four fleurs-de-lys at Whitley is exactly the same as others to be seen in the ceiling of the great chamber window bay at Haddon Hall. Clearly, the same plasterers were involved at both places, and the 1584 building date for Whitley is important in fixing the decade in which the work was done. The particular enrichments noted do not occur anywhere else.

In 1584, Dorothy Vernon, wife of Sir John Manners of Haddon Hall, died. Two years previously, in 1582, payments to the Shrewsbury/Cavendish family's surveyor, Robert Smythson, for work in connection with the long gallery at Haddon indicate that substantial building operations

were in hand (19). Stained glass showing John and Dorothy's arms and dated 1589 would suggest that, by this time, the long gallery was complete, although wooden panelling with rose and thistle cresting would imply a date after 1603. However, it is probably the case that the wooden panelling is a later addition to the long gallery as its cresting effectively obscures the cornice to a remarkable plaster ceiling. The ceiling is coved at the sides and the ends, and its design consists of ribwork quatrefoils, as in the entrance tower banqueting room, linked to a grid of squares and diamonds. Within the quatrefoils are ribwork squares with the concave sides and extended corners as at Whitley Hall. The ribwork section is the same as that in the first floor room in the entrance tower at Haddon. The long gallery ceiling also matches those already discussed at Haddon in its restrained use and limited range of enrichments. Apart from the coat of arms of Manners impaling Vernon in the squares of the ceiling and the boar head and peacock family crests alternating within the quatrefoil centres, the only other enrichments are a fleur-de-lys at the points of the extended squares and a seed head and foliage spray at the points of the regular squares. Within the bays off the gallery, the ceilings feature the same enrichments plus a rosette with fleur-de-lys and an eight-pointed flower set within a beaded surround with four tiny fleurs-de-lys. The only enrichments which recur elsewhere in the house are the boar's head and peacock crests, set as motifs in the frieze of the state bedchamber.

The state bedchamber's most remarkable feature is a large hand-modelled plasterwork overmantel showing Orpheus charming the beasts [Pl.5.7]. It is a crowded composition, naive yet pleasing, and bears all the hallmarks of a plasterer who was familiar with the work carried out at Hardwick Hall for Bess of Hardwick in the 1590s, particularly the frieze in the high great chamber with its portrayal of animals of the chase (20). One of the caryatid figures flanking the Haddon overmantel has an arm raised holding a posy of flowers in much the same way as the figure of Flora in the Hardwick frieze. Not only this but, apart from the Manners peacock in the composition, there is a knotted serpent - the crest of the Cavendish family. Also a stag which appears

to be kicking another creature is actually in the pose adopted by the Hardwick stags supporting the coat of arms in the hall at Hardwick. The other similarity which this room shares with Hardwick is its perfectly plain ceiling. The ornament is restricted to the overmantel and the heraldic frieze and the side and soffit of the great window lintel. One of the window lintel patterns is composed of linked scrolling elements; another is a complicated ribbed strapwork interlace [Pl.5.8]. Both can be seen in the later work of the Sheffield area plasterers. If these patterns and the hand-modelled overmantel are by the same plasterer, then further weight can be added to Gilchrist's supposition that Hardwick plasterers were responsible for the Sheffield area plasterwork. Since the Hardwick plasterwork, with these parallels at Haddon, was not done until the mid 1590s, and the boar's head and peacock crests in the state bedroom at Haddon are from the same moulds as those in the long gallery which can be dated 1589, it seems fair to attribute a date of about 1600 to the state bedroom at Haddon Hall.

One further room at Haddon Hall shows the influence of Hardwick in its plasterwork - the great chamber. Here, in conscious imitation of the deep hand-modelled plaster friezes in the great chamber at Hardwick Hall and the forest great chamber at Hardwick Old Hall, Sir John Manners installed a series of mould-cast friezes in bands one above the other to the desired depth [Pl.5.9]. It is a rich and striking arrangement and one which is not found anywhere else in the country. However, the individual friezes which make up the composition are found elsewhere and it is, perhaps, a mark of the importance which was attached to this room that at least one frieze may have been deliberately purchased rather than relying upon the plasterers' stock alone. The frieze in question is a design of dolphins, beacons and winged cherub heads which occupies the top and middle bands at Haddon Hall. Fragments of this design from the same moulds have been recovered from the ruins of Edlingham Castle, Northumberland and the self-same design can still be seen at Poundisford Park, Somerset (21). Occupying the bottom band at Haddon is a frieze of scrollwork and pedestals, not seen again. The two remaining bands are, however, the important ones in helping to establish links and continuity. One consists of beak-headed creatures

set amongst foliage, supporting an urn with seed head, scrolling stems and leaves. This frieze also extends around the bay of the great chamber whose ceiling features, in addition to the eight-petalled double rose mentioned earlier, a conventional Tudor rose and a five-petalled boss set upon a collar. Both this five-petal boss and the urn and seed head element of the frieze recur in the 17th century work of the Sheffield area plasterers to be discussed later.

The other remaining frieze in Haddon Hall's great chamber consists of corn sheaf forms each side of a central urn with crescent-shaped straps enclosing the composition. This design, throughout cast from the same mould, can be seen in the little parlour at Tickhill Castle House, built for John Hansby who held the castle by lease from the Crown in 1585. It is not known when the plaster frieze was installed at Tickhill, but its use there is limited to an infill section above a window. The design which forms the main frieze to the room consists of a strapwork cartouche set amongst flowers, supported by a lion and dragon, the Tudor beasts, thus suggesting a date before 1603 for the work.

A further instance of this corn sheaf frieze can be seen at North Lees Hall, Hathersage, built for William Jessop of Broomhall, Sheffield after 1591, and incorporating the date 1594 in the decorative plasterwork of the ground floor parlour (22). North Lees Hall is very important to this study as it contains several examples of plasterwork which can or could be seen elsewhere. However, its plasterwork was restored in the 1960s when the house was rescued from dereliction. As early as 1936 it was noted that "much of the finely ornamental plasterwork in the principal rooms has now disappeared." (23) Fortunately, drawings made in 1868 (24) captured the detail of the plasterwork and it is possible to compare what currently exists with these. It is immediately apparent that the corn sheaf frieze which exists today as the beam soffit ornament in the first floor chamber is not original, but is restoration based on the surviving fragments [Pl.5.10]. The 1868 drawing of this frieze compares more favourably with that still extant at Haddon Hall in all its details, and it seems virtually certain that the mould used at Haddon was also employed at North Lees.

In the ground floor parlour a scaled-up version of the S-scroll and lily flower frieze, first noted at Sheffield Manor, runs around the room, with a smaller version on the beam soffit and in the window reveals [Pl.5.11]. This frieze, cast from the same moulds, also exists in the great chamber at Carnfield Hall, South Normanton, which Edward Revel (d.1633) installed after he inherited the property in the 1580s. His mother was Ann Eyre of Holme Hall, Chesterfield, and other branches of the Eyre family at Highlow and Padley were near neighbours of the Jessops at North Lees. It is probably this circumstance which accounts for the appearance of the S-scroll and lily flower frieze at Carnfield, especially when it is appreciated that the Eyres were apparently very fond of decorative plasterwork themselves. Although it is not known if there was such work at Highlow, Padley and Holme, there is still an overmantel with a hand-modelled version of the Eyre arms in a first floor chamber at Hassop Hall, and Hazlehead Hall, Penistone could boast the Eyre arms, crest and family motto, "Vincet Virtus", in plasterwork on the parlour overmantel (25). Long since destroyed, this overmantel was probably installed by Captain Adam Eyre's father, Thomas Eyre. The latter's wife, Ellen Ramscar, was sister-in-law to Michael Burton (d.1656) of Holmesfield where considerable 17th century decorative plasterwork survives at Cartledge Hall and Holmesfield Hall which will be discussed later.

No such family links as these, however, can be made to account for the appearance at North Lees in the first floor chamber of a frieze showing a cubit arm erect grasping an oak branch acorned, the crest of the Rodes family of Barlborough [Pl.5.12]. In this instance, it would seem that the plasterers were simply making use of an existing mould to fashion a suitably ornamental frieze, for neither a friendship nor business relationship can be traced between Rodes and Jessop. What is curious is that the frieze does not exist at Barlborough Hall, built by Justice Francis Rodes in 1582 as his family seat. However, the house has undergone many changes over the years and it is likely that the frieze did once exist there. Today, all that survives of its decorative plasterwork is a sea-horse frieze, probably the work of plasterers from

Wakefield (26), in an upper chamber, and a fine hand-modelled overmantel featuring the Rodes arms and crest between pairs of detached Corinthian columns in the little banqueting house in the grounds. The great chamber still retains a grand stone fireplace and overmantel, but the plasterwork ceiling is 19th century, possibly replacing a damaged original. Another house, Great Houghton Hall, Darfield, built by Sir Francis Rodes about 1580 for his son, Godfrey, is known to have had much ornamental plasterwork (27), and the Rodes-crest frieze may have featured here also. Great Houghton Hall was demolished in 1960 and no photographs of the interiors are known to exist.

Returning to North Lees, the first floor chamber ceiling is divided by ribwork into a design of squares and diamonds, recalling the arrangement in the long gallery at Haddon but without the quatrefoils. In the diamond panels are ribbed bosses, whilst the square panels are filled alternately by blank shields surrounded by tiny oval jewel settings and four large fleurs-de-lys with points touching. The intervening ceiling panels contain stags, harts and hunting dogs, with smaller fleurs-de-lys springing from the points of the squares [Pl.5.13].

None of these enrichments have been met before but, considering that two of the friezes are found elsewhere and another most probably could be seen at Barlborough and Great Houghton, it seems probable that these ceiling enrichments had also appeared before 1594. It would be easy to see the stag and hunting dog emblems of Hardwick and Talbot as having been used at Chatsworth or, indeed, Sheffield Manor. The large fleur-de-lys could conceivably have been cast from the same mould which furnished a badly eroded example on the ruined walls of Thorpe Salvin Hall built by Justice Francis Rodes of Barlborough's brother-in-law, Hercy Sandford, in about 1580. Whilst this is mere speculation, what is beyond doubt is that the small oval jewel settings recur in a larger format at several Sheffield area houses in the early 17th century. However, the truly important enrichment is the fleur-de-lys at the points of the squares. This, with the addition of strawberry projections easily cut into the existing mould, can be seen in the ceilings at Greenhill Hall and Brampton Hall [Pl.5.14]. The latter

also features strapwork interlace exactly the same as that on the window soffit of the state bedchamber at Haddon Hall. Brampton is thus where the threads linking together the area's 16th century plasterwork motifs meet and is also the starting point for understanding the Sheffield area plasterwork of the 17th century. Appendix 1, Map 5 indicates the geographical spread of the Sheffield group and Appendix 2, Table 2 charts enrichments against the properties in which they are found.

Sheffield area plasterwork of the 17th century

Before moving onto a detailed discussion of the decorative plasterwork of the Sheffield area in the 17th century, some general observations are necessary in order to give context and background. The presence in Sheffield of Mary, Queen of Scots from 1570 until 1584 in the custody of George Talbot and Bess of Hardwick can be shown to have been instrumental in introducing the Shrewsbury and Cavendish families to a fashionable range of continental engravings and pattern sources which were eagerly copied in embroidery, much of which can still be seen at Hardwick Hall (28). At the same time, these noble families were busy building and furnishing their many houses - Sheffield Manor, Worksop Manor, Worksop Manor Lodge, Tankersley Hall, Chatsworth House and Hardwick Hall - in the latest style. In turn, families within the Shrewsbury/Cavendish circle such as Rodes, Hewett and Frecheville, were busy emulating their superiors and so the movement continued down the social scale embracing others - Bullock, Sitwell, Spencer, Bright.

By the mid 17th century, the important land owners and industrialists of the Sheffield area had invested capital in the upgrading or re-building of their houses to match their perceived social rank, and had been able to call upon the services of craftsmen not only in plaster-work but also in high-quality joinery to enrich the interiors of their houses. These craftsmen had access to Mannerist patterns and designs, some of which had appeared in 16th century work carried out for Bess of Hardwick and which will be noted in the following survey. Therefore,

it follows that the Shrewsbury/Cavendish patronage of building crafts in the Sheffield area in the late 16th century encouraged not only a range of fashionable designs which persisted into the 17th century but also attracted the craftsmen able to do the work. The presence in Sheffield of skilled metalworkers able to produce a ready supply of good woodcarving chisels and plasterworking tools would be an added bonus.

The 17th century decorative plasterwork of the Sheffield area can be divided into three basic groups: ribwork ceilings, compartment ceilings and overmantels. Dated work is comparatively rare but it would appear that ribwork ceilings belong to the period 1600-1625 and compartment ceilings follow on into the 1660s. A plasterwork overmantel in the same room as a plasterwork ceiling would appear to have been a great rarity, occurring only at Attercliffe Hall and possibly Carbrook Hall. Generally, overmantels were carved in oak, en-suite with the wainscot panelling, in rooms with plaster ceilings. Plasterwork overmantels appear on their own in rooms with plain ceilings at least as early as 1618 in a local tradition continuing through to 1676.

A plasterwork overmantel in a ground floor parlour at Brampton Hall, Chesterfield displays the arms of the Le Caus family who were Lords of the Manor but became extinct in the 15th century (29) [Pl.5.15]. The scrollwork mantling around the helm and shield is from the same mould as the scroll work frieze in the state bedroom at Haddon Hall. Similarly, the strapwork interlace above the state bedroom window at Haddon Hall is used at Brampton Hall as a surround to the arms. However, the Brampton strapwork interlace design is an exact copy of an engraving for a knot garden by Thomas Hill, published in his Gardener's Labyrinth in 1571 (30) and, because of this, it may be that the Brampton work pre-dates the apparently derivative frieze at Haddon. In the adjoining parlour at Brampton is a splendid ceiling divided by a spine beam whose soffit is enriched with a bell-flower frieze pattern. The ribwork design in each half of the ceiling is different from the other but the ribwork profile is identical and, indeed, is the same as that in the great chamber bay at Haddon. One

other similarity with Haddon is the appearance of the ribwork square with concave sides and pointed corners. Striking though these similarities are, except for a fleur-de-lys which has already been noted at North Lees Hall, none of the enrichments have been seen before. There are twenty-four different enrichments used in this ceiling and as motifs at beam junctions in an upper chamber. They burst on the scene from nowhere.

Amongst this array of floral, fruit and foliage enrichments are two distinctive designs. One is of four entwined snakes set within a diamond-shaped ribwork panel which may have a Cavendish association; another consists of seven arrows enfiled with a mural crown, the crest of the Bullock family. Barbara Shawe of Brampton married Ralph Bullock of Unstone in 1595 and this date may indicate when Brampton Hall was built with the plasterwork being completed a few years later. Ralph Bullock's mother, Joan Parkin, was gentlewoman to Bess of Hardwick which may account for the entwined "Cavendish" snakes in the ceiling plasterwork.

The Bullock family (31) had been settled in Unstone since the 15th century but the present Unstone Hall, built in 1663, contains no decorative plasterwork. Whether a previous building did so is not known. Nor is it known what the interiors of Darley Abbey, another Bullock residence, were like in the late 16th/early 17th centuries. However, the likelihood is that there was considerable decorative plasterwork. John Bullock (d.1641) of the Inner Temple inherited Darley Abbey on the death of his father, a wealthy lawyer and Treasurer of the Inner Temple, in 1607. In 1608, he married Katherine, daughter of Thomas Fanshawe of Ware Park in Hertfordshire, and it would seem logical that this marriage provided the occasion to install decorative plasterwork at Darley. Although this is speculation, Katherine Fanshawe had been used to sumptuous interiors: the Great Bed of Ware still survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London to indicate the quality of the surroundings in which she had been brought up. This same John Bullock also owned Norton Hall (32), Sheffield which his father had acquired in 1585 where it was noted that "there

was upon the ceiling of one of the rooms the date 1620" (33). This date would doubtless have been in raised plaster numbers as part of a decorative ceiling where it can be imagined that the Bullock crest would have featured, as at Brampton Hall. Certainly this was the case at Greenhill Hall, not far from Norton, where James Bullock, first cousin to John Bullock of Darley and Norton, fitted out his parlour with a magnificent plasterwork ceiling, wainscot panelling, carved oak overmantel and overdoors.

James Bullock (d.1632), described as of Greenhill and Beauchief (34), inherited the Greenhill property from his father, James, who died in 1598. No doubt in emulation of his wealthier cousins, John and Ralph, he employed the finest craftsmen available to ornament the parlour of the new house which he built at Greenhill, incorporating a medieval doorcase salvaged from Beauchief Abbey as the front entrance. Greenhill Hall was demolished in 1964 but the woodwork and plasterwork of the Oak Room were rescued: the ceilings were installed at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield and the panelling and overmantel is in the care of Sheffield City Museums. The ceiling [Pl.5.16], as at Brampton Hall, is divided into two by a spine beam with the same bell-flower soffit enrichment. Each section of the ceiling has a different ribwork pattern but the square with concave sides and pointed corners is a significant feature. So is an oval which, as at Brampton, contains a distinctive floral fleur-de-lys. Around the rooms runs a frieze of rabbits, fruit and foliage with animal head terminals. In the window reveals are female Etruscan masks.

Fourteen separate enrichments fill the panels of the ceiling, and a further four can be found in a panel from the parlour chamber. Of these eighteen enrichments fourteen of them are also found at Brampton Hall. The new enrichments are the female mask, a spatulate leaf and a grotesque mask [Pl.5.17] which fills the concave-sided square. This mask is copied from a 16th century engraving in Rene Boyvin's Libro di variate mascare (c.1560) (35) [Pl.5.18]. It can also be found embroidered in stumpwork on an applique hanging dating from 1573 now at Hardwick Hall but probably sewn at Sheffield Manor in the Shrewsbury

household. A fourth new enrichment at Greenhill is a diamond shape of intricate and delicate strapwork [Pl.5.19] which can be found repeatedly carved in wood and fixed as an applied moulding in the Pillar Parlour at Bolsover Castle [Pl.5.20]. The panelling at Bolsover was installed about 1620 and is based on dated drawings made by John Smythson, Sir Charles Cavendish's architect, of panelling he saw at Theobalds in Hertfordshire in 1618 (36). However, the diamond does not feature in the drawings and, therefore, would appear to be an elaboration made when the panelling was being carved. The inescapable inference is that whoever carved the diamond may have previously cut the wooden mould for the plaster version. In any event, the motif was familiar to the Bolsover woodcarver just as the grotesque mask design was known to the Greenhill plasterers. Obviously some interplay between Cavendish family craftsmen and the plasterers and joiners employed by the Bullocks is apparent.

That this is the case is supported by the evidence of the decorative plasterwork at Barlborough Old Hall. Built in 1618 for the eldest son of Sir John Rodes of Barlborough Hall, it was being decorated at the same time as Bolsover Castle which is situated a few miles to the south. In the great parlour, a fireplace overmantel features plasterwork arabesque motifs cast from the same mould as those to be seen in the Star Chamber ceiling (c.1620) at Bolsover Castle. This particular motif occurs nowhere else and indicates that the same plasterers were employed at both sites. In an upper room at Barlborough Old Hall, the grotesque mask noted at Greenhill Hall appears set upon a shield on an overmantel in conjunction with a large stylized leaf which occurs in the Brampton Hall ceiling. Another overmantel displays an acanthus leaf which can also be seen at Brampton. Thus, plasterwork motifs used at Bullock and Cavendish properties are found together at Barlborough Old Hall, suggesting a common group of craftsmen.

Other motifs which can be seen in the Bolsover Castle panelling include wooden studs which are found in plaster in the Greenhill Hall ceiling, and curved strapwork projections which feature in the wooden overdoors at Greenhill. In fact, the woodcarving at Greenhill is some

of the finest with pilasters in the shape of flower heads with long stems of close-set leaves dividing up the sections of wainscot. The overmantel particularly is a tour de force in which the Bullock arms and crest occupy the central panel flanked by arcades and separated by columns covered with knobbly projections. Beneath is a frieze whose central panel features triangles in the strapwork. All three panels, along with the overdoors, are adorned with superbly carved human masks. Two of these overmantel masks - a wild man and a lady with ruff and widow's peak cap - can be seen in the plasterwork at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield [Pl.5.21]. The likenesses are exact. Whoever carved the wooden masks must have carved the moulds from which the plaster ones were made.

The plasterwork ceilings at Cartledge Hall were installed by Thomas Burton and his wife, Helen, who was the daughter of Anthony Bright of Dore (37). Thomas Burton's mother, Alice, daughter of Samuel Wolstenholme of Cartledge, continued to live at the hall after her husband's death in 1585. At what point in the early 17th century the ceilings were installed is not known, although a date of 1605 has been advanced but without supporting evidence (38).

The parlour ceiling, like Brampton and Greenhill, is divided into two by a spine beam, carrying exactly the same bell-flower ornament on its soffit. Only that half of the ceiling by the entrance door is original to the room: the fireplace half is one of the panels rescued from the demolition of Greenhill Hall in 1964. They match very well, however, as not only is the ribwork profile identical but the range of enrichments is a close match with twelve motifs being common to both halves of the ceiling. Once again, the ribwork square with concave sides and extended points is apparent, as is the diamond rib panel containing the entwined snakes. A kite-shaped panel is new, as is the enrichment it contains: a winged head, the source for which is another engraving in the Boyvin book of masks already noted. In an oval ceiling panel by the internal porch to this room is the intricate strapwork diamond seen at Greenhill and at Bolsover.

Around the room runs a remarkable frieze based on a goat's head mask flanked by squirrels sitting in foliage with beak-head terminals [Pl.5.22]. It is a typically Mannerist composition and is, in fact, an exact copy of a band of printer's ornament used by King James I's printers, Barker and Bill (39) [Pl.5.23]. Several books from 1619 to 1647 featuring this ornament exist in the Norton Parish Library in Sheffield but the earliest instance of its use would appear to be 1606 when Robert Barker, the printer, employed it as a page heading (40), thus providing a date before which the Cartledge Hall plasterwork frieze is unlikely to have been conceived. This frieze, cast from the same mould, can also be seen at Unthank Hall, to be discussed shortly, and was also fixed at New Hall, Castleton (41) along with the rabbits frieze from Greenhill Hall. New Hall, Castleton was the home of a branch of the Morewood family from whose ranks Ann Morewood married James Bullock of Greenhill in 1607. In turn, his son, John Bullock, married Elizabeth Morewood in 1627.

This connection between the Bullocks of Greenhill and the goat's head mask frieze is of considerable interest. A copy of a 1613 New Testament, published by John Barker, and featuring the goat's head mask ornament, survives in the Handsworth Parish Centre, Sheffield. It originally belonged to the Froggatt family of Greenhill and Norton, near neighbours to the Bullocks, whose family births are recorded in it from 1630. *It is an intriguing possibility* that this particular copy of the book may have provided the pattern source for the Cartledge Hall plaster frieze.

Nor is this possibility without foundation. Godfrey Froggatt, whose New Testament this was, is noted as holding extensive properties in Norton in the year 1628, yet he was actually a gentleman from Mayfield in Staffordshire (42). Needless to say, Mayfield Old Hall's parlour has a sumptuous plasterwork ceiling bearing all the characteristics and enrichments of the Sheffield plasterers. That Godfrey Froggatt was evidently prepared to pay the extra cost involved in employing the plasterers so far away from their normal territory is. perhaps, a mark

of the high regard he had for their work.

Mayfield Old Hall is thought to date from the 1620s (43) and its plasterwork ceiling would certainly confirm such a dating. It is divided into nine compartments by four intersecting beams whose soffits are ornamented with both a vine trail design and another of paired scrolls which also appears at Greenhill and Cartledge Halls. Within the compartments, ribwork designs are filled by enrichments. Notable amongst these are the same winged head as that in the parlour at Cartledge, the floral fleur-de-lys, a stem of grapes and leaves as at Greenhill, Brampton and Cartledge, plasterwork studs and the petal boss first noted at Haddon Hall. The central compartment contains the familiar concave-sided square with extended corners setting off a deep rose boss which can only be found elsewhere at Cartledge Hall in the parlour chamber.

The chamber over the parlour at Cartledge Hall contains a remarkable barrel vaulted ceiling [Pl.5.24], a rare feature in the region as the nearest parallel is at Hawksworth Hall, Otley with similar forms at Kildwick Grange and Burton Agnes Hall. Perhaps the Cartledge ceiling owes something to the coved work of the long gallery at Haddon Hall or to the coved ceiling in the guest wing at Ickles Hall, Rotherham, built about 1610 by Sir George Reresby. Before its demolition in 1939, "Lady Reresby's great chamber" still displayed in one or two places "traces of moulding on the ceiling" (44), no doubt installed by the Sheffield plasterers. Cartledge Hall's ceiling moulding in the parlour chamber has a design, however, which is quite unlike anything else. Down the length of the vault, the ribs gracefully snake along the surface, forming ogee oval panels as they meet and separate. It is sinuous work and is best compared to embroidery design such as that on the bodice of the dress worn by Mary, Queen of Scots in the so-called Sheffield portrait at Hardwick Hall. Panels formed by the ribs are filled with a galaxy of enrichments: the strapwork diamond, male and female masks as on the Greenhill overmantel, a scaled-up version of the oval jewel setting seen at North Lees, the floral fleur-de-lys already seen at Brampton and Greenhill, together with an array of leaves,

flowers, fruits and ceiling bosses common to all three buildings. The familiar rabbits frieze edges the vault whilst the panels above feature eagles perched on vine stems running behind the ribwork as though it were a trellis [Pl.5.25]. Vine leaves and grapes adorn the stems with one particular grape bunch having a cusped protective husk.

To the side of this vault is a section of coved ceiling which carries an all-over version of the strapwork interlace design already noted at Haddon Hall and around the Brampton Hall overmantel. It is skilled and assured workmanship with a variety of flower heads and rosettes filling the spaces. At the other side of the vault, the side space is occupied by vine trail issuing from a strapwork panel carrying a splendid cast of an heraldic lion mask whilst a small panel of ceiling above features the stylised leaf noted at Brampton and Barlborough Old Hall, amongst other ornaments. The tympanum beneath the vault has another vine trail composition issuing from behind a shield charged with the grotesque mask, as at Barlborough Old Hall, whilst to one side is a delightful mural composition of a squirrel (from the goat head frieze) sitting on a branch of oak tree leaves and acorns.

The wealth of plasterwork in this room is staggering. That it was installed for the Burton family is confirmed by the appearance of their crest - a winged dragon holding a cresset or beacon, set in plaster at the head of the main stairs. Altogether, forty-one separate enrichments appear in this room, of which a total of twenty-one have not been seen before. Inevitably, it has to be questioned if such a large number of new moulds would have been cut specifically for the Cartledge Hall contract. The likelihood is that many of these enrichments already existed and may have been seen at other Burton property in Dronfield and Totley. However, ten of the enrichments are never seen again and another nine appear once more only, so a considerable turnover or disposal rate of new enrichments can be postulated. This is borne out by a comparative analysis of enrichments at properties plastered by the Sheffield team (see Appendix 2, Table 2). Around a fluctuating core of common moulds, new enrichments appear and disappear with each new job. No doubt many of these were the product of the

Sheffield workshop but the appearance of enrichments used once only such as the heraldic lion mask at Cartledge Hall - a fine quality cast in a rather obscure position in the room - begs the question of whether or not at least some of the enrichments were purchased or acquired from a different source. Alternatively, such items may have been residual casts, left in the workshop from earlier jobs, being used up as occasion allowed. Both possibilities would seem to have some merit but, in one instance at least, the latter notion seems to hold good.

At Unthank Hall, not far from Cartledge, are three upstairs chambers containing plasterwork. One room features the Wright family coat of arms on the overmantel set off with scrolled mantling cast from the same mould as the scroll frieze in the state bedroom at Haddon Hall and the work around the overmantel at Brampton Hall. It is not seen again. The frieze along one wall of this room consists of the goat head and squirrels frieze as at Cartledge, interrupted at one point by the grotesque mask on shield. The same frieze is used at the side of the overmantel but the end wall features a different frieze of a mermaid, dolphins and pomegranates. The wall above the entrance door has no frieze. Instead, a Maltese cross with what appears to be a foliage ceiling centre enrichment occupies the space. The overwhelming impression is that, instead of a uniform scheme for the room, a remaining surplus of pre-cast enrichments from a previous job has been used up here. Certainly, the goat head frieze is never seen again. In an adjoining room, the rabbits frieze as at Greenhill and Cartledge is employed, with an overdoor panel featuring a large devil face mask [Pl.5.26]. A smaller version of this mask occurs elsewhere but this cast, along with accompanying flower heads, is not seen again. A further room at Unthank Hall originally had a sumptuous plaster ceiling, presumably like the parlour ceiling at Brampton, Greenhill and Cartledge, since the dividing spine beam is enriched on its soffit with the same bell-flower frieze.

The last appearance of the bell-flower frieze is at Attercliffe Hall, Sheffield, a house which was largely dismantled in 1868 and the remainder in 1934 (45). Fortunately, photographs of the plasterwork in

an upper chamber survive [Pl.5.27] and some actual fragments were rescued and fixed at Cartledge Hall, including a fine overmantel. Attercliffe Hall was owned by the Spencer family who were at the forefront of iron production in Sheffield. As wealthy industrialists, William Spencer and his eldest son, William, had the means to upgrade the timber-framed house at Attercliffe and, later, to build a new stone house at Bramley Grange, Rotherham. William Spencer senior died about 1622 and it is not clear whether he or his son was responsible for installing the plasterwork at Attercliffe. From the evidence of the enrichments, however, the work firmly belongs to the early period in which the Brampton/Greenhill/Cartledge work was executed.

The ceiling appears to have consisted of two large panels with a rib-work design based on circles in one and on squares in the other where the familiar concave-sided square with extended corner makes a further appearance. The enrichments for the most part are simple: roses, rosettes, fleurs-de-lys and leaves, all of which have appeared before. An unusual crescent-shaped device is new but is not seen again. In the gable ends of the room, strapwork mural decoration was enlivened by plaques in which were set some of the more distinctive enrichments: Etruscan lady mask, floral fleur-de-lys, grotesque mask, the wyvern crest of the Burtons (minus the beacon) and small plaster heads en-suite with those at Cartledge Hall and in the Greenhill Hall woodwork.

Enrichments from within this range also characterised the mural plaster decoration at Bellhagg Farm which was demolished in 1949-50 [Pl.5.28]. In the ruins of the house could be seen the floral fleur-de-lys as part of the ground floor parlour frieze whilst upstairs an overmantel, centred on the grotesque mask, had stems of oak leaves and acorns from the same moulds as those in the upper chamber mural decoration at Cartledge Hall. A family by the name of Cutt is noted as living at Bellhagg in the 16th and 17th centuries but Harrison s Survey of 1637 (46) refers to the tenant at will at Bellhagg Farm as being a Warren Scargill. He is undoubtedly the same Warren Scargill, yeoman, of Whirlow who, in 1633, helped appraise the inventory of Robert Skargell of Hallfields who may have been the plasterer of the same name

earlier in his life.

Identical fleurs-de-lys to those at Bellhagg are still to be seen in the mural plasterwork at Broomhall, Sheffield, home of the Jessop family previously mentioned in connection with North Lees Hall, Hathersage. The plasterwork is believed to have been installed by William Jessop (d.1630) who inherited the timber-framed H-plan house from his father in 1580 (47). No doubt he wished to upgrade the quality of his accommodation in line with that of his social contemporaries of the Sheffield area in the early 17th century. To this end, the plasterwork filling the spandrels of what was probably the great chamber features the floral fleur-de-lys; stems of grapes and leaves as at Mayfield, Greenhill, Brampton and Attercliffe; roses; the female Etruscan mask; rosettes and the familiar entwined snakes. Along the sides of the room, the rabbits frieze reappears [Pl.5.29] whilst on the soffit of the canted ceiling ridge the paired scrolls design, noted on the beam soffits at Mayfield Old Hall, takes pride of place.

This particular enrichment is also to be seen on an overmantel, far away from the local area, in Pontefract, West Yorkshire [Pl.5.30]. The overmantel was rescued from a first floor chamber in Bradley s Chemists in the Market Place before its demolition in 1967 and placed in Pontefract Museum. Not only does the paired scrolls design appear repeated as a pilaster ornament to each side of the central panel, but also female Etruscan masks crown the capitals of the pilasters. The paired scrolls are cast from a different mould than that employed in the Sheffield area but the mask appears to be from the same mould. In the centre of the overmantel, a splendid strapwork plaque is adorned with lions and small plaster heads, recalling those at Cartledge Hall. It is not known who commissioned the overmantel nor the circumstances behind the appearance of the Sheffield area enrichments, but building alterations would suggest it was installed after 1649 (48). Recessed panels along the top of the overmantel would support such a dating since this feature appears on a number of examples found in Sheffield about mid-century.

One further ceiling belongs to the early group which encompasses Brampton, Greenhill, Cartledge and Attercliffe. This is at Ecclesfield Priory where a branch of the Shirecliffe family lived in the 16th and 17th centuries. The death of Nicholas Shirecliffe in 1621 may have provided the occasion for the incoming heir to revamp the old house in the new local style. The form of the original ceiling is not known but the enrichments which adorned it survive in a 19th century barrel-vaulted room on the first floor (49). From these it is clear that the ceiling was in the mainstream of the early 17th century Sheffield area work as the rare strapwork diamond occurs along with the stem of grapes and leaves, sixteen-petal marigold, acanthus leaf and a large branched leaf seen previously only at Cartledge Hall. A new enrichment of a miniature pear tree with fruits is not seen again but the petal boss, already noted at Mayfield and Haddon, makes yet another appearance. The room in which the ceiling at Ecclesfield was originally installed evidently had fine wainscot panelling since the carved flower-headed pilasters, like those seen at Greenhill Hall, were obviously a feature at Ecclesfield too. Today, some of these pilasters are fixed as casing around tie beams in the barrel-vaulted chamber.

One feature at Attercliffe Hall which has not been discussed is the plasterwork panel which existed above the fireplace. Now refixed at Cartledge Hall, the panel bears the following verse interspersed with plaster studs like those at Brampton, Greenhill and Mayfield:

> "What soever thou dost take
> in hande thinke of the ende
> & seldom so shalt thou ofend"

Similar Puritan sentiment is apparent on another of these overmantel plaques from Dore Hall where the verse runs:

> "Ly downe to rest
> & thinke to have
> thy sleepe thy death
> thy bed thy grave"

As at Attercliffe, the plaque, now refixed at Trusley Old Hall, features plaster studs between the words, a sixteen-petal marigold

as at Greenhill, Brampton and Cartledge and a tiny five-petal rose. Dore Hall, dated 1623 over the door (50), was demolished in 1840 and it is not known if further plasterwork existed. The likelihood is that it did since the house was owned by the Bright family. Helen, daughter of Anthony Bright of Dore, was married to Thomas Burton of Cartledge. The Brights also lived at Carbrook Hall on Attercliffe Common where Stephen Bright was not only near neighbour to William Spencer of Attercliffe but also a business colleague and friend. Both were staunch Puritans who played leading roles in the establishment of Attercliffe Chapel in 1629. Like his neighbour, Stephen Bright engaged the services of the Sheffield plasterers to decorate the new wing he added to Carbrook Hall.

The stone-built wing of Carbrook Hall is traditionally dated 1623 from the former evidence of a cast iron fireback with the initials SB for Stephen Bright and the date 1623 (51). There is no reason to disagree with this dating, especially as the ribwork of the ceiling compartments, both in section and design, strongly recalls the Star Chamber ceiling at Bolsover Castle, completed in 1621. Both at Bolsover and Carbrook a channelled soffit rib mould is used in a continuous interlace pattern of circles and squares with ornament in the spaces so formed [Pl.5.31]. At Bolsover, arabesques and stars are the enrichments: at Carbrook, elaborate strapwork and naturalistic foliage is the preferred choice. In fact, the Carbrook ceiling and frieze marks a development in the style of the Sheffield plasterers - at least in this instance. Gone is the vast array of enrichments jostling for attention. Instead, more hand-modelling is evident in stemwork and strapwork with pre-cast *enrichments restricted in their* use. Large and small vine leaves, grape bunch, and seed head with protective husk, already seen at Brampton, Cartledge and Attercliffe, are the only small motifs. The large strapwork panels set in the ceiling centres are echoed in the frieze with the vine trail stems piercing the straps and curling around the room. This evident love of strapwork panels is something which has been seen only incidentally so far, at Cartledge Hall in the upper chamber, but at Carbrook it is a dominant motif and nowhere more so than in the parlour chamber.

Here, a truly grand plasterwork overmantel featuring a swan in an oval cartouche set on an elaborate mask and fruit-swag encrusted strapwork panel is flanked by male and female terms [Pl.5.32]. The design is taken from Jacob Floris' Compertimentorum quod vocant multiplex genus (1566) which also furnished the design for Bess of Hardwick's own bedchamber overmantel at Hardwick Hall in the 1590s and for a table carpet dated 1574 now at Hardwick but probably made in Sheffield. Once again, here is clear evidence of pattern sources utilised in the Cavendish/Shrewsbury households finding their way via the craftsmen into the homes of less illustrious patrons. The Carbrook overmantel is a remarkable piece of hand-modelling en-suite with the northern Renaissance work still extant at Hardwick. It is thought that the chamber originally had an elaborate ceiling (52), now gone, and this would have been perfectly in keeping with the decoration of the room. The panelling around the room retains its painted finish and two blocked windows still have plaster soffit enrichment. One window has a pear tree: another has an oak tree dropping acorns. The latter is derived from an emblem book of the period. Francis Bacon had the same device on an overmantel at Gorhambury with the motto, "Nisi quid potius" - Failing better things (53).

Clearly, the Carbrook work is of the best available and this is borne out by the quality of the parlour panelling and especially the carved oak fireplace surround. Just as at Greenhill and Ecclesfield flower head pilasters with long stems of close-set leaves punctuate the sections of wainscot, itself distinguished by a carved frieze, L-shaped panels and rich mouldings. The fireplace displays a carved representation of St. Anthony trampling on the devil in its central panel, flanked by coupled columns set off by elaborate strapwork with a tendril infill pattern highly reminiscent of carved work in the Pillar Parlour at Bolsover Castle. Graceful swan-neck elements connect turned terminals to a frieze panel bearing a carved design similar to that which John Smythson copied from the panelling at Theobalds in 1618. It is sumptuous craftsmanship of the same high quality which characterised the Greenhill Hall work.

The notion, already mentioned in connection with the carved wooden heads and strapwork diamond, that the carving and joinery found around Sheffield was carried out by the same men who did the decorative plasterwork is lent further support by the appearance of a particular design at Carbrook. On the beam soffit in the parlour, a plasterwork design of spindles, stems and stylised fan-shaped flower heads is almost exactly repeated in the carved oak fireplace surround from Norton House. Other than in its carved patterns, the Norton House fireplace surround is a virtual carbon copy of the one in the parlour at Carbrook Hall. It is exactly contemporary as it carries the date 1623 and the initials LEG for Leonard and Elizabeth Gill.

Norton House, built by Leonard Gill in 1623 (54), was demolished in 1868 and the fireplace removed to Derwent Hall. In 1919, it was acquired for the Master Cutler's room in the Cutlers Hall where it exists today. Other than the features already mentioned, the central panel is flanked by coupled columns with the same knobbly surface as those on the Greenhill Hall overmantel. Behind them is the familiar flower head on long stem with close-set leaves. Once more, it would appear that the same woodcarvers as at Greenhill, Ecclesfield and Carbrook were engaged at Norton: certainly, the same plasterers were. Fortunately, on demolition of the house, the plaster ceiling of this room was saved and eventually installed at Firth College, now Sheffield University.

The ceiling, now divided between the former Senior Common Room and the Vice Chancellor's Room, consisted of six compartments in each of which a different ribwork design could be found. In this arrangement, it recalls the Mayfield work and, just as at Mayfield, at least three of the ribwork designs involve the familiar concave-sided square with extended corners. Twenty-one different enrichments fill the spaces, notable amongst which are the strapwork diamond, floral fleur-de-lys, acanthus leaf, branched leaf, the seed head with pointed husk and the dolphin from the mermaid frieze at Unthank Hall. The petal boss, as at Haddon Hall, Ecclesfield and Mayfield, is also present. Most

striking, however, are elaborate strapwork panels in the centres of two of the compartments [Pl.5.33]. As at Carbrook, the strapwork is pierced by stems of fruits and leaves but there the similarity ends for, in the centres, are grotesque devil masks after the design of the one already noted at Unthank Hall.

The self-same mask as that Norton House can also be seen in the plaster frieze at Renishaw Hall, built between 1625 and 1627 by George Sitwell (55). The great parlour ceiling was, perhaps, already a little old-fashioned when installed for it consists of an all-over ribwork design when the trend was towards compartmented ceilings of the kind seen at Mayfield, Carbrook and Norton. Nonetheless, the ribwork layout is graceful, forming quatrefoils linked by squares and having squares at their centres. Needless to say, the squares have concave sides with extended corners crowned with enrichments. Amongst these are the floral fleur-de-lys, winged head, squirrels from the goat head frieze, dolphin and mermaid from the mermaid frieze, and oak leaves and acorns from the same moulds as those in the window soffit at Carbrook Hall.

The frieze around the room consists of strapwork plaques, after the fashion at Carbrook, pierced by vine trail bearing the same leaves and fruits, with birds perched pecking at grapes. The plaques are adorned with various masks: lion, winged head, devil and the female Etruscan mask, in much the same manner as masks were set on the strapwork at Attercliffe. One other feature worthy of note is the use of dentil moulding along the cornice around the room. Similar work is apparent at Carbrook Hall and at Dronfield Woodhouse where the coffering, rib-work and dentil moulding occurs on its own without any enrichments. The Renishaw parlour is now fitted out as a library but, along the walls at points between the bookcases, the familiar flower head and long stem pilasters remain to indicate the quality panelling which once accom-panied the ceiling.

Haworth Hall, which was situated between Tinsley and Catcliffe, was demolished in 1965 but it is known to have had two fine rooms with plasterwork ceilings on the ground floor and "good Jacobean" (56)

ceilings on the first floor. One of the ground floor rooms is noted as having had shields on the frieze, a description which strongly suggests the kind of strapwork cartouche and shield arrangement seen at Renishaw and Carbrook.

The 1620s was evidently a period of intense plasterworking and joinery activity around Sheffield, judging from the buildings so far discussed. For some reason, 1623 was a high point for not only does the work at Norton House, Carbrook Hall and Dore Hall belong to this year but also the remains of interior decoration at Totley Hall. Dated 1623 on the entrance door lintel, the house was built by George Newbould (57) who fitted out the interior in the latest fashion. Decorative plaster ceilings survived up to its conversion into a teacher training college in 1950 but all that now remains is a framed-up panel of fragments comprising the paired scroll motif seen at Greenhill, Cartledge, Mayfield and Broomhall and an heraldic charge of rampant lion and fleur-de-lys. Portions of carved frieze in the wainscot are of the quality of the work at Carbrook with one particular design of reversed scrolls resembling similar work in the 1627 dated panelling at Bishops' House, Sheffield.

Just as Totley has meagre fragments of plasterwork to indicate its former state, so has Barlow Woodseats Hall. It was built by Arthur Mower, one of whose family, Elizabeth, lived at Greenhill and married into the Burton family of Holmesfield. Dating from 1624, recorded in the plaster of the parlour overmantel, the house was struck by a bomb in 1941 and the only enrichment to survive was a Tudor rose, now set in a window bay. During emergency repairs to the roof, a page from a 1616 Dutch edition of Boethius De Consolatione Philosopiae was discovered (58) and, whilst this is unlikely to indicate that Dutch workmen were originally engaged in building the house, it does lend substance to the notion of Low Countries books with Mannerist printed ornament supplying design ideas to the craftsmen.

One final building belongs, at least stylistically, to this 1620s group. It is Bramley Grange, Rotherham, built by William Spencer,

whose initials and the date 1637 could, at one time, be seen on a brass tablet in the parlour overmantel (59). William Spencer - the same man who owned Attercliffe Hall - inherited Bramley on the death of his father, William, in 1622 When the plasterwork at Bramley was installed is not known, as the overmantel date may have been added later. None now survives in the parlour but an old photograph shows a vine leaf and grapes frieze as at Carbrook Hall [Pl.5.34]. Although a Hunter Archaeological Society visit in 1922 referred to an "ornamental plaster ceiling" in the parlour (60), the photograph shows no evidence of this beyond an elaborate cornice and a portion of beam soffit ornament of paired scrolls as at Totley and elsewhere. It may be that the ceiling was divided into compartments with ceiling centre enrichments not visible in the photograph.

The main focus of the surviving photograph (61), however, is the wooden fireplace surround which formerly existed in this room and was yet another example constructed to the same design as those from Carbrook Hall and Norton House. Today only the panelling survives in this room but it is not without interest since the flower head and long stalk pilasters are present. Also, the carved frieze design which consists of triangles and triangular berry clusters is one which can be found in plaster on the beam soffits at Holmesfield Hall which will be discussed shortly.

In an upper chamber at Bramley Hall, a remarkable plasterwork overmantel survives with two splendid strapwork panels containing the female Etruscan mask [Pl.5.35]. It is vigorous work with three hand-modelled statuettes of Faith, Hope and Charity supporting a deep entablature. The whole composition is carried on consoles either side of the fireplace and, in its sculptural quality, it strongly recalls the grand fireplace in the upper chamber at Carbrook. There can be little doubt that the same hands were responsible at each site. One other overmantel which may relate to these two could be seen at Brimington Hall before its demolition in 1931. Brimington was purchased from the Foljambe family by Colonel Gill of Norton in 1633. He installed a splendid hand-modelled plaster overmantel featuring a scene from

Quarles' Emblems between male and female terms, as at Carbrook, with a strapwork band recording his initials and the year 1639 (62) [Pl.10.5].

The ceiling at Brimington appears to have been quite plain, just as at Bramley, indicating that, by the 1630s, the fashion for ribwork arrangements had long since passed. Maybe, too, the craftsmen able to do such work were no more. Whatever the reason, compartmented or coffered ceilings are the only sort which are met with after 1630 where the ornament is confined to the compartment centres and the soffits of the beam crossing.

Holmesfield Hall has already been mentioned as having a beam soffit ornament of triangles to the same design as the carved wooden frieze at Bramley Grange. Despite a date of 1613 in an upper room at Holmesfield, Bramley's 1637 date would seem more appropriate for the plasterwork there. Holmesfield Hall was built for Michael Burton (d.1645), brother of Thomas Burton of Cartledge Hall. Michael Burton was High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1646, and the parlour ceiling at Holmesfield certainly reflects his status in society. It consists of six compartments, although there were probably eight originally before a later frontage to the house reduced the size of the room. As well as the triangles design on the beam soffit, the spindle and stylised fan-shaped flower head design seen at Carbrook Hall makes an appearance also [Pl.5.36]. Just two compartments retain their designs but within these a fleur-de-lys and a seed head, only found elsewhere at Renishaw, occupy the corners whilst the centres consist of a pyramidal boss and grape bunch boss, surrounded by compass point arrangements of the broad stylised leaf and fancy fleur-de-lys. These enrichments were the common stock of the Sheffield plasterers and can all be seen again at a house in St. Mary's Gate, Chesterfield.

Here, in the mid 17th century, the Heathcote family installed an eight compartment ceiling on the first floor of the house fronting the parish church. The ceiling follows the joists of the original timber-framed building, and great skill was shown by the plasterers in coping with the

structural irregularities. Unlike the compartment ceilings already seen at Holmesfield, Mayfield, Carbrook, Norton and Bramley Grange, there is no running enrichment on the beam soffit. Instead, a clustering of enrichments highlights the crossing of the beams: the petal boss and fancy fleur-de-lys, a fourteen-petal rose and broad stylised leaf. In the compartments, oval- and diamond-shaped ribwork panels alternate with one another and are filled with compass point arrangements of the pyramidal boss and scrolls, and grape bunch boss and fancy fleur-de-lys.

Similar work is believed to exist at Cutthorpe Hall which the Heathcote family of Chesterfield purchased from the Foljambes in 1614 (63). George Heathcote died in 1636, eight years after his father, and it may have been his widow who installed the plaster ceiling in a ground floor parlour as it was not until 1656 that her son, George, took possession of the house. The ceiling consists of six square compartments with ornaments at the crossing of the beams and enrichments in the ceiling compartments centring on the grape bunch boss. Nothing else is known about the plasterwork except that it has a striking similarity to a ceiling at Hathersage Hall.

On the first floor at Hathersage Hall, an intimate chamber contains a four compartment ceiling whose cornice mouldings are almost identical to those at St. Mary's Gate, Chesterfield. At the crossing of the beams is the grape bunch boss and broad stylised leaf whilst the ceiling compartments contain alternate squares and diamonds in rib-work with a cone and vine leaf arrangement in the squares and the four-teen-petal rose and fancy fleur-de-lys in the diamonds. The same four-teen-petal rose is the solitary enrichment which marks the crossing of the beams in a compartment ceiling at The Hagge, Handley, built in 1638 as a hunting lodge by Sir Peter Frecheville of nearby Staveley Hall. This rose, from the same mould, can also be found at the beam crossings of the great parlour at Bishops' House, Sheffield, a timber-framed house, extended and revamped in 1655 by William Blythe. Not only was a compartmented ceiling fitted into the parlour but it was also clothed in wainscot panelling and given a fine carved overmantel bearing William Blythe's initials and the date 1655. That this scheme was the

work of the Sheffield plasterers and joiners there can be no doubt since the flower head on long stalk pilasters framed the fireplace, and knobbly columns, as at Greenhill and Norton House, graced the overmantel (64).

Two more buildings have ceilings which belong to this group. One is Mosborough Hall where a ground floor parlour has a four compartment ceiling. At the crossing of the beams, a damaged grape bunch boss has the fancy fleur-de-lys at the compass points with little leaves in between [Pl.5.37]. A channelling along the soffit of the beams is terminated at both ends by a fan-shaped leaf, seen also at Holmesfield Hall, St. Mary's Gate and Hathersage Hall. The other example in this group is to be found far away at Riber Hall, Matlock, for many generations the home of the Wolley family (65). In 1661, Anthony Wolley added a new wing to the house, containing a parlour with a four compartment ceiling. During restoration work in the 1970s, a solitary vine leaf was rescued from the debris and is now refixed at the intersection of the beams. It was cast from the same mould as others on the beam crossings of the parlour chamber at Brampton Hall, installed about fifty years before.

At the same time that these compartmented ceilings were being installed, overmantels, utilising pre-cast enrichments, were also being created in a number of houses around Sheffield. At Barlborough Old Hall, built by the Rodes family in 1618, the parlour chamber was given a grand overmantel in 1633 probably to mark the visit of King Charles I to Welbeck Abbey nearby [Pl.5.38]. Between reeded pilasters whose capitals display the sixteen-petal marigold seen at Brampton, Cartledge and Greenhill, a design of hand-modelled branch work bearing large vine leaves encloses the familiar female Etruscan mask. Above this is a hand-modelled crucifix and the date 1633. The whole composition sits on a moulded plaster mantel shelf and is terminated at ceiling height by a deep cornice with moulded dentils.

Similar work can be found at Park Farm, Barlborough in a ground floor panelled parlour [Pl.5.39]. Once again, reeded pilasters frame the overmantel which features two stems of vine leaves and grapes. The

leaf is from the same mould as that used at Barlborough Old Hall, and the grapes are from the mould used at Carbrook, Renishaw and Bramley for the frieze work there. The central motif is missing from this overmantel but it is known to have been a cross or crucifix.

In complete contrast, a devil face or grotesque, after the design of those at Unthank, Norton House and Renishaw, is the central motif employed on a large two-panel overmantel at Bramley Hall, Marsh Lane. It carries the initials of the owner, Thomas Staniforth, in one panel and the date of its installation, 1638, in the other. Alongside the inscriptions, stems of vine leaves and grapes rise up to meet above the devil plaque which itself is ornamented with vine trail and fruits. Perched in the foliage above the plaque, are birds pecking at the grapes, just as in the frieze at Renishaw, and the distinctive berries with pointed husk as at Bramley Grange and elsewhere. To each side of the panels and between them are borders of scroll work whilst the frieze along the top consists of the dolphin, mermaid and pomegranate motifs, previously seen as individual enrichments at Renishaw and Norton and collectively as a frieze at Unthank Hall.

The hand-modelled stemwork which characterises these overmantels is something which could also be seen at Copley Hall, Birley Carr. This house, demolished in the 1960s, is believed to have been the home of Lionel Copley, a Sheffield ironmaster who, in 1646, managed several water-powered sites on the River Don at Wadsley, Sheffield. The house was dated 1649 on a stone in a gable wall, and a badly damaged decorative plasterwork panel inside had the numbers 6 and 5, perhaps indicating a date in the 1650s. The plasterwork in a ground floor parlour was rescued from off the floor where it had fallen and was presented to Sheffield City Museum (66).

Around the walls of the parlour, a splendid strapwork frieze, cast from moulds, had been run in conjunction with the same devil mask plaque noted above at Bramley Hall. Portions of the identical scroll work which fill the borders on the Bramley Hall overmantel were recovered, as was a section of urn and leaf frieze cast from the same moulds as

that installed at Haddon Hall in the great chamber frieze about the year 1600 [Pl.5.40]. However, the glory of the room had been its overmantel panel. Now restored, it features the birds as at Renishaw and Bramley perched on stemwork amongst vine leaves, grapes and the familiar pointed husk seed head. Above the date is a cherub's head with wings [Pl.5.41].

This same cherub head but with differently-shaped wings could also be seen above an overmantel at Bishops' House, Sheffield [Pl.5.42]. William Blythe, a wealthy farmer and scythe manufacturer, who lived there, added a stone extension to the timber-framed property about 1650 and installed plasterwork in three rooms (67). The little parlour chamber overmantel's cherub no longer survives but the rest of the design does. It consists of a central rectangular panel containing two dogs' heads facing away from each other beneath a large spray of leaves and seed heads. To either side of this, flanking pilasters feature the winged-head mask, as at Mayfield, Cartledge and Renishaw, above which are double split-bobbin devices. At the very top, paired heads with widows' peak caps and ruffs are from the same mould as those at Cartledge Hall and the same design as carved on the Greenhill Hall overmantel. Once again, this plasterwork at Bishops's House provides firm evidence for enrichments which were in use in the early years of the 17th century still being available in the 1650s. The central dogs' head device is, in fact, the crest of the Parker family of Norton Lees where Bishops' House is situated. As can be shown in other examples. William Blythe probably installed the Parker crest as a mark of respect to the Parker family and in acknowledgement of their prior ownership of the property. This crest, cast from the same mould, could also be seen until recently at Whitley Hall, Ecclesfield above a fireplace installed by the Shiercliffe family which had purchased the property from the Parkers in 1616. Substantial redevelopment of Whitley Hall in the 1960s also involved the loss of another fireplace overmantel but, fortunately, a drawing survives to indicate its design (68).

Dated 1660 on its cast iron fireback, the overmantel featured the same double split-bobbin devices in its side borders, as in the Bishops'

House example, with plaster heads - possibly the male head as at Cartledge Hall - above these. The frieze between them may have been the double scroll design. The central field was entirely filled by a complicated strapwork panel in the fashion of those on the Bramley Grange overmantel and, as at Bramley Grange, the female Etruscan mask occupied the centre.

This mask makes its final appearance on another overmantel in the Bishops' House parlour chamber, dating from 1655 when the house was extended and refurbished. It occupies the central position in a three-panel frieze arrangement above a three-panel arcaded design [Pl.5.43]. To each side of the mask, delicate stems of strawberries and leaves, like those which spring from the strapwork panels in the Norton House ceiling, fill the spaces. The outer frieze panels are filled with stems of vine and grapes with the familiar seed head with pointed husk much in evidence. The arcaded panels beneath contain delightful representations of trees in the manner of the Carbrook Hall window soffit work. Grapes and vine-leaf trees occupy the outer panels and a fig tree fills the central one whose leaves are to the pattern of those in the goat mask and squirrels frieze first seen at Cartledge Hall. Whilst these comparisons serve to relate the work to earlier examples, the appearance of rows of close-set leaves within the pilasters of the arcades are a feature which characterise later work.

They can be seen on an overmantel at Hallfield House, high on the moors beyond Sheffield in Bradfield Dale. The house was built between 1650 and 1660 by John Greaves whose family had lived there since the mid-16th century. In design, the overmantel consists of two panels as at Bramley Hall, flanked by pilasters containing rose heads on long stems with rows of close-set leaves [Pl.5.44]. There are nine leaves each side, just as in the pilasters at Bishops' House. Of course, this motif of flower head on long stalk with leaves is one which has been seen frequently as carved wooden pilasters. Its appearance in plasterwork is new but yet another instance of design transference between these media. The panels contain representations of pink plants, the flower

heads recalling others in the ceiling at Carbrook Hall, with stem bases modelled like the tree boles in the arcaded overmantel at Bishops' House. Completing the design, is the frieze of dolphin, mermaid and pomegranate, as at Bramley Hall and elsewhere.

The transfer of motifs between carving and plasterwork noted above is made abundantly clear by the existence of a wooden overmantel, originally from Mansion House Farm, Norton, but now at Wormhill Hall, Derbyshire (69). Mansion House Farm was formerly known as Gill House, after a branch of the Gills of Norton House that lived there. The overmantel consists of a triple arcade separated by pilasters, carved with the rose flower head on long stalk and rows of close-set leaves, just like the plaster versions. Beneath the arches are representations of flowers growing out of plant pots. The frieze contains this floral composition with stems terminating in carved versions of the plasterwork pomegranate seen at Hallfield and elsewhere. Mansion House Farm still displays one piece of decorative plasterwork - the grotesque face - mounted on a shield and positioned above an upper chamber doorway. There are no indications that any other decorative plasterwork ever existed in the house. So this solitary enrichment is something of a puzzle. One explanation may be that it was a spare cast lying around the plasterers' workshop and installed when Mansion House Farm was revamped in the 1660s, the likely date of the wooden overmantel.

One final example of decorative plasterwork remains with which to conclude this survey. It could formerly be seen in a small house built at Washford Bridge, Attercliffe in 1671 and took the form of an overmantel dated 1676 bearing the letters ER for Elizabeth Rhodes (70). As Elizabeth Barnsley, she had married John Rhodes, owner of Royds Mill, a water-powered grinding works on the River Don, in 1624. This was a time, as has been shown, of considerable rebuilding and interior decoration around Sheffield. John Rhodes died in 1635, leaving his wife to raise their children on her own. She never remarried but, on her retirement from managing the grinding works, she built the house at Washford Bridge and installed plasterwork after the manner of that which had been fashionable in her early married life.

The overmantel took the form of three panels separated by the rose flower head on long stem with rows of nine leaves each side, as at Bishops' House and Hallfield House. The central panel contained the initials and date whilst the others were filled by a tree motif in the style of those at Bishops' House and Hallfield House, bearing vine leaves, grapes and seed heads with pointed husks [Pl.5.45]. A frieze along the top of these panels consisted of the urn and leaves design, noted at Copley Hall but first seen at Haddon Hall in 1600. It was cast from the same mould as that at Haddon Hall, but seventy-six years later the plasterer evidently did not understand the design since at Washford Bridge it was fixed upside down.

The plasterers

The names of several plasterers who might have been responsible for some of the Sheffield area's decorative plasterwork are known from local records. Other than Robert Scargill, one of the Hardwick Hall plasterers mentioned at the beginning of this section who may, perhaps, be identified with a Robert Skargell of Hallfield, near Dore who died in 1633, no named plasterer is known before the Civil War.

Thomas Goodyear, who married Margaret Machon in 1654, is the first recorded plasterer in the Sheffield Parish Registers (71). The baptisms or burials of five of their children are recorded between the years 1655 and 1668. The 1665 Hearth Tax for Sheffield (72) lists a Thomas Goodyear with one hearth, whilst the Cutlers Company apprenticeship registers (73) record that, in 1668, " Goodier John, son of Thomas, plaisterer" was apprenticed to a cutler, James Webster. In 1672, his wife was buried, but he lived until January, 1688. Letters of administration in which he is referred to as a "plaisterer" were granted to his only surviving son, Thomas, described as a cutler, and the inventory of his goods in which he is referred to as a "lim-worker" was taken on 23 January, 1688 (74).

Other than this bare outline, little is known although, fortunately,

building accounts which survive for repairs to Pittsmoor Hall, 1669-71, include his signed receipt for "A bill of worke done about Pittsmore Hall by Thomas Goodier" and several other accounting references (75). What is apparent from these papers is that, although he had the assistance of a labourer - his "servant" - at a daily rate of 12d, his own rate of 14d a day was little better. He was evidently engaged in plain plasterwork only at Pittsmoor Hall as the reference to "126 yards of lyme worke and rough cast at 3d the yard" would indicate. Whether or not he had undertaken decorative work there or anywhere else or, indeed, was capable of it is not known.

His inventory lists "certaine lime" to the value of 6 shillings "in the Backside" of his house which consisted of a fire-house, buttery, chamber and shop. Whilst it is not known where this dwelling was sited, it may have been in the Wadsley/Birley Carr area since lands there were held by the Goodyear family. This supposition is prompted by references in the 1637 Survey of the Manor of Sheffield to Lime Kiln Field at Owlerton and Limestone Green, near Beeley Wood, places where limestone was processed (76). The latter is still marked on the map as Limestone Cottage, with its fields at Limestone Cottage Lane on the banks of the River Don. In 1637, although Limestone Green was in the tenure of James Lister, lands alongside were held by a John Goodyeare, and a Nicholas Goodyear of Byreley Carr left a will in 1617. What relationship these men had to Thomas Goodyear is unclear: if he is the Thomas Goodyear who was baptised in Sheffield in 1632, then his father was another Thomas who married Anna Hatfield in 1622.

Although this line of enquiry has not borne fruit, references in Thomas Goodyear's inventory to a certain Andrew Dyson, who not only had been lent 18s2d by Goodyear but also acted as one of the appraisers of his estate, is not without interest. In 1685, the Sheffield Burgery accounts refer to repairs to the Vicarage House:

> "To Andrew Dyson for plaister work there 11s6d" (77)

whilst the Cutlers Company apprenticeship registers refer to a John

Dyson, plasterer - possibly his brother - in 1705. John Dyson married Elizabeth Milnes in 1688 and she, "wife of John Dyson plaisterer", was buried in 1723. Andrew Dyson married a widow, Martha Staniforth, in 1682 and a son and daughter were born before her death in 1686. It is possible that she was the widow of Thomas Staniforth, a plasterer living at Carter Hall in the Parish of Eckington when his son, William, was apprenticed to a cutler in 1663.

Despite the conjectural nature of family ties in the above, and the scant evidence for pursuing the enquiry further, it is quite plain that at least Thomas Goodyear and the Dysons were practising plasterers who knew one another. Whether Thomas Staniforth was involved with them is not known. He is a shadowy figure in much the same way as Robert Stephenson, a plasterer buried in Sheffield in 1662, "sonne of vid' Stephenson".

The names of these plasterers, whilst attesting to the fact that there was a plasterwork trade in Sheffield at least from the 1650s onwards, are of little use in accounting for the decorative plasterwork known to date before that time. Indeed, it must be acknowledged that the finest examples belong to the early 17th century when no names of plasterers, other than the supposed Robert Scargill of Hallfield, are known. However, one further plasterer's name is known from the later 17th century - Thomas Rose, and his family may eventually prove to be the important one in accounting for the Sheffield area's decorative plasterwork.

Thomas Rose of Sheffield died in 1672, leaving the "tooles and bookes that appertaine to or concerne my trade" to his brother, John, who was seemingly a plasterer too (78). Unfortunately, no inventory of his goods is extant which might have specified the contents of his work-shop and dwelling which in the 1672 Hearth Tax was assessed on one hearth only. In his will he makes bequests to his brothers, Anthony and Joseph; his mother, Elizabeth; his sisters and his brother, John's, children; and appoints his wife, Mary, as his sole executrix. In the event of her being pregnant at his death, he bequeaths £50-0-0d to the

child and a further £10-0-0d is bequeathed to his wife as the outstanding payment due to him from Sir Ralph Knight "for work that I have lately done for him". Sir Ralph Knight lived at Langold on the Nottinghamshire border where he was assessed for fourteen hearths in 1672 (79). Clearly, Thomas Rose had undertaken considerable work there, especially when compared with the 14d a day rate which Thomas Goodyear received in 1670 at Pittsmoor Hall and the 11s6d payment Andrew Dyson received in 1685 at the Vicarage House. It is tempting to postulate that Thomas Rose was employed by Sir Ralph Knight for decorative work, the more so when it is appreciated that Joseph Rose senior and Joseph Rose junior, eminent decorative plasterers of the 18th century, were his descendants (80).

However, Thomas Rose was only 34 when he died in 1672 so he cannot have worked the fine ceilings and overmantels around Sheffield which date from the early 17th century. He was baptised at Norton Church in 1638 (81), the son of John and Elizabeth Rose who lived at Parkstile in some degree of comfort to judge from the three hearths on which they were taxed in 1670 (82). John Rose's occupation is not known but it is a fair guess that he, too, was a plasterer or a carpenter/joiner. He was baptised in 1605, the son of John Rose of Greenhill, woodman, whose brother, Christopher, also lived in Greenhill and worked as a woodman or carpenter. Their father, John Rose of Woodsetts Dale, was referred to as a woodman in 1567 on his marriage and as a carpenter in 1570 at his son, John's, baptism.

The inventory of John Rose of Greenhill· carpenter, taken in April, 1615 (83), is not without interest since not only did he own "carpenter toyles" but also "14 joyner planes ... one hollowe chisle a levell with turninge tooles and other litle tooles". Clearly, his skills extended beyond mere carpentry into the finer woodworking areas.

This long line of woodmen/carpenters in Norton evolving into decorative plasterers fits the profile of craftsmen able to carve wooden moulds for decorative plasterwork and to produce wainscot panelled rooms with carved woodwork from the same range of designs.

Perhaps the fact that so many of the Sheffield area properties with plasterwork cluster around Norton rather than Sheffield is more than mere coincidence. Perhaps, too, the carved flower head which features on its long stem in the woodwork and plasterwork of the area is no coincidence either. More often than not, it is a five petal rose.

Footnotes to Chapter 5: The Sheffield Group

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2. Gilchrist,R.M.,'A little journey in Derbyshire', Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 2 September 1916, 6.
3. Stallybrass,B.,'Bess of Hardwick's buildings and building accounts', Archaeologia, 64, 1913, 397.
4. Lichfield Joint Record Office, Probate Records: Robert Skargell, Hallfields, 5 December 1633.
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7. See Wigfull,J.R.,'House building in Queen Elizabeth's Days', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 3, 1929, 66-73.
8. Extracts from the relevant letters are quoted in Beard,G., Decorative Plasterwork in Great Britain, London, Phaidon, 1975, pp.26-27.
9. Stallybrass, 397.
10. Beard, 28.
11. Stallybrass, 397.
12. Decorative plasterwork survives in 3 domes of the Hunting Tower in Chatsworth Park, dating from 1581, and probably installed by a plasterer named Abraham Smith. See Girouard,M.,'Elizabethan Chatsworth', Country Life, 22 November 1973, 1669.
13. The extent of the buildings at Sheffield Manor can be gained from "An Inventorie of all the Household Goods and Furniture belonginge to George Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Castle and the Lodge A'o 1582" [College of Arms, G.,ff.150 et seq], printed as Appendix II in Tucker, S.I.,'Descent of the Manor of Sheffield', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 30, 1874, 251-263.
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15. Hadfield,C.,'The restoration of the Lodge at Sheffield Manor', Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1875, 109-118.
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17. Sheffield Record Office, Arundel Castle Manuscripts, S115 : Account Book of William Deckenson 1583-89, 17 July 1586.
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21. See Chapter 3 and notes 9 and 10.
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23. Excursion Report, 19 September 1936, Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 4, 1937, 374-375.
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27. Excursion Report, 29 May 1920: Darfield Church and Great Houghton Hall, Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 2, 1924, 210.
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29. For a discussion of the appearance of coats of arms in plaster see Chapter 10: Patterns and Design Sources.
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31. See Newton,S.C.,'The gentry of Derbyshire in the 17th century', Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, 86, 1966, 14-15.
32. Craven,M. and Stanley,M., The Derbyshire Country House, Derby, Breedon Books, 1991, p.151.
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34. Wilson,R.E.,'The coat of arms of the Bullock family of Greenhill Hall and the Bullock family', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 9, 1969, 4.
35. A copy of this book of engravings is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.
36. Girouard,M.,Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House, London, Yale University Press, 1983, p.250 and Illus.160.
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46. Harrison,J., An exact and perfect survey and view of the Manor of Sheffield with other lands (transcribed and edited by J.G.Ronksley), Worksop, privately printed, 1908, p.21 and p.117.
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50. Cobby,W., A Walk round Ecclesall and a talk about Dore, Sheffield, Pawson & Brailsford, 1873, p.34.
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52. British Archaeological Association, 128.
53. Aubrey,J., Brief lives, London, Folio Society, 1975, p.42.
54. Armitage,H., Chantreyland, London, Sampson Low, 1910, pp.160-163. For an illustration of the oak parlour at Norton House, drawn by Wainham Topham, see Sheffield Weekly Independent, 2 March 1889, Section 6.
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56. Department of the Environment: Listed Buildings Register, Rotherham, April 1978.
57. See 'Totley Hall', Totley Independent, No.43, February 1981, 1.
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59. Wild,H.W., Rambles in Ivanhoe Land No.2, Rotherham, Wild, 1896, pp.13-22.
60. Excursion Report 1 July 1922: 'Roche Abbey and Bramley Grange', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 2, 1922, 390.
61. The original 19th century photograph is in the possession of the owner of Bramley Grange. A copy was made in 1982 and deposited in Rotherham Library.
62. A photograph of the Brimington Hall overmantel is in the possession of Mr D. Coke-Steel, Trusley Old Hall, Derbyshire.
63. Stubbs,J., A history of Cutthorpe Village, (no publication details) 1984, p.27. The current owners of Cutthorpe Hall will not allow inspection of the plasterwork ceiling.
64. A drawing of Bishops' House parlour c.1880 exists in Sheffield City Libraries, Local Studies Department: B5.5/3. The overmantel is illustrated in The Connoisseur, March 1922, 36.
65. Craven and Stanley, 176-177.
66. Copley Hall was not recorded before its demolition. However, notes made in 1958 by Mrs Sylvia Cooper: 'Old Copley Hall', exist in Sheffield City Libraries, Local Studies Department, together with 3 photographs: B5.6/189. The plasterwork was rescued by the late Richard Doncaster.
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69. The overmantel belongs to the Bagshawe family, formerly of Oakes

Park, Norton. It is referred to in the guidebook: Oakes Park, Derby. English Life Publications, 1976, 2.
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75. Sheffield Record Office, Bright Papers, Br185(b)iii, Items 7, 11 & 12.
76. Harrison, 92 and 255.
77. Leader,J.D., The Records of the Burgery of Sheffield, commonly called the Town Trust, London, Elliot Stock, 1897, p.227.
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82. Edwards,D.G.(ed), Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments, 1662-70, Derbyshire Record Society, 7, 1982. p.164.
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CHAPTER 6: PATRONS

The earliest recorded reference to decorative plasterwork within the region is contained in a letter dated 30 March, 1555 from Sir William Cavendish at Chatsworth House in Derbyshire to Sir John Thynne at Longleat House, Wiltshire. He writes:

> "Sir I understand that you have a connyng plaisterer at Longlete which haith in your hall and in other places of your house made dyverse pendaunts and other prettye thynges. Yf yor busynes be at an ende or will by the next sommer after this that comyth in I woold pray you that I myght have hym in to Darbyshere for my hall is yet onmade." (1)

Cavendish was evidently unsuccessful in persuading Thynne to send his plasterer for five years later his wife, known to history as Bess of Hardwick, was writing in similar vein. Her marriage to George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1568, however, brought her into the upper echelons of Elizabethan society where plasterers were more readily available. Certainly, by 1579, she had secured the services of a skilled practitioner from Kenilworth (2).

It is abundantly clear from the surviving evidence that in the 1570s in Yorkshire, decorative plasterwork was a medium patronised only by those of high rank. The 1574 work at Sheffield Manor carried out for the Earl of Shrewsbury can be paralleled only by the work for members of the Queen's Council of the North: the Earl of Huntingdon at the King's Manor, York; the Earl of Rutland at Helmsley Castle; and Sir Thomas Eames, Secretary to the Council, at his residence, Heslington Hall.

As the art-form patronised by the nobility was seen by a wider audience of men employed by or connected to them, so it rapidly disseminated throughout the region. Peer group conformity and social aspirations were potent influences at work. By the 1580s, a whole host of properties in the North Yorkshire area whose owners were connected one way or another with the Council of the North began to sport plasterwork: the Fairfaxes at Gilling, the Cecils at Snape, the Inglebys at Ripley and

the Lawsons at Brough. In the same way, Sir Francis Rodes, firmly placed within the orbit of the Earl of Shrewsbury in the south of the county, installed decorative plasterwork at his new house built in 1582-83 at Barlborough, Derbyshire. Sir Francis Rodes was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and it is this class - the wealthy lawyers with their new houses - who were the foremost patrons of decorative plasterwork in the 1580s.

In 1580, Sir John Savile, Baron of the Exchequer, moved into his newly-built rooms, decorated with plasterwork ceilings, at Bradley Hall, Halifax, whilst in 1584 Martin Birkhead, Queen's Attorney at the Council of the North, installed a fine plasterwork ceiling in his town house in Wakefield. Sir John Kaye, Deputy Steward of the Honour of Pontefract, covered virtually every ceiling in his new house at Heath with decorative work. Rapidly their family and friends followed suit so that the 1580s and 1590s witnessed a real surge in the popularity of the medium, particularly in the Wakefield area. Much of this, as has been shown, was evidently due to the patronage of the Savile family and their friends. In particular, wealthy clothiers such as Mr. George Savile of Wakefield set a trend amongst their business associates which resulted in the widespread adoption of decorative plasterwork ceilings in halls throughout the area of the Manor of Wakefield. Thus, in 1598, when Richard Hutton from Gray's Inn, London, a Sergeant at Law and, later, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas (1617), purchased Golds-brough Hall, he had little option but to install fine plasterwork ceilings if he was to rank alongside his legal contemporaries and their families in Yorkshire society.

Possibly by 1600 and certainly by 1620, patronage of the art-form had ceased in North Yorkshire. No class lower than the gentry, represented by families such as the Constables of Dromonby, evidently had the funds or social aspirations to seek out plasterers to undertake decorative work. Thereafter, the craft seems to have centred on York with several town house commissions being undertaken in the period 1600-1620. The patronage of one man, Sir Arthur Ingram, after 1620 at his properties in York, Sheriff Hutton and Temple Newsam seems to have been

the sole impetus which kept the art-form alive and encouraged others such as Sir Roger Jaques (3) to follow his example. Nonetheless, by the 1640s, the craft was finished in York. Archbishop Frewen's dining room ceiling at Bishopthorpe, installed in 1661, was a rare commission, crowded with designs which had been long out of fashion.

In the Wakefield area by 1620, the Savile patronage had effectively ceased since the more prominent members of the family and their social peers such as the Kayes of Woodsome had already installed their decorative plasterwork schemes. The centre of activity shifts away from Wakefield to Halifax in the 1620s as a new generation of patrons, on reaching their majority and inheriting family property, emerges, leading to a resurgence of interest in plasterwork. Houses such as Baildon Hall, built for Francis Baildon, and Oakwell Hall, refurbished for John Batt, belong to this category.

By 1630, the Calder Valley area was fully in the grip of building fever as the new-found wealth of the yeoman clothiers was translated into stone (4). Riding on the crest of the new building activity, the plasterworkers received a steady stream of contracts. Significant commissions were undertaken for patrons such as John Power at Mulcture Hall, Halifax in 1637 and John Harrison, the clothier of Leeds, who built and endowed St.John's Church with its fine plaster ceilings in 1634. The fashion for plasterwork continued unabated into the 1640s but emerged after the Civil War with fewer commissions being undertaken until the trend petered out in 1670 at Elland New Hall.

The Sheffield area presents the same sequence of development. Patronage by the Shrewsbury/Cavendish family in the early 17th century was quickly followed by that of families within their orbit such as the Brights of Attercliffe. As leading dissenters and wealthy iron masters, their example was soon emulated by business associates of the gentry class: Spencers of Attercliffe, Bullocks of Norton, Sitwells of Renishaw, Burtons of Holmesfield. The trend continued down the social scale so that, by the 1640s and 1650s, prosperous yeoman farmers/ industrialists such as the Blythes of Norton Lees and the Staniforths

of Bramley Hall, Marsh Lane could at least afford to upgrade their dwellings with ornamental plaster overmantels. A steady trickle of patronage through to 1676, however, barely kept the tradition alive.

If, as can be shown, the late 16th century patronage of plasterwork is clearly confined to the nobility, the prominent lawyers and the leading gentry throughout the county, 17th century patronage is dispersed across the social classes with the main bulk of commissions being undertaken for the lesser gentry/industrialists, clothiers and yeoman farmers. Even so, taking the county of Yorkshire as a whole, the actual number of properties in which plasterwork is known to have been installed is not great, amounting to no more than 250 examples. Were this figure to be doubled to account for the unrecorded loss of plasterwork down the years, it is still tiny in comparison to the total housing stock, as indicated by the 17th century Hearth Tax returns. The popularity of decorative plasterwork as a fashionable treatment for interiors, when seen with hindsight, may be more apparent than real, but then other factors such as cost and availability have bearing on the issue.

One seeming paradox with regard to the distribution of decorative plasterwork in the 17th century is its absence from houses where it might be expected to occur and its surprising appearance in others. For example, judging from the ornate exterior of High Sunderland, Halifax, built by Abraham Sunderland in 1629, it could be imagined that the interiors would have been similarly elaborate and that decorative plasterwork would have formed a major feature. However, written accounts of this demolished house (5) make no reference to plasterwork any more than written accounts or interior photographs of Norton Lees Hall, Sheffield, built by the Parker family, refer to or show any decorative plasterwork. This latter instance is all the more puzzling as plasterwork still survives in another Parker house at Whitley Hall, Ecclesfield and the Parker family crest is displayed in a bed chamber at Bishops' House, Norton Lees, installed c.1655. On the other hand, some obscure cottages such as one at Tanyard Farm at Millthorpe, near Sheffield and Far Deanfield at Oakworth, near Keighley are graced with decorative plasterwork. Admittedly, the Millthorpe example, located at

the top of the stairs, is hand-modelled, not mould-cast as was common in the area, and would appear to be the work of an unskilled man trying his hand at a decorative feature - in this case, a stylised pot of flowers rendered in outline by applied plaster strips. Similarly, high on the Oakworth Moors, a plaster plaque to be found in a building now serving as an outhouse, but possibly the parlour of the original longhouse, is a crude hand-modelled affair of leaves and floral devices with the date 1626. In other dwellings such as Mansion House Farm, Norton, near Sheffield, a single mould-cast enrichment, fixed above an upstairs door, is all that is known, just as 19 Towngate, Hipperholme has a strip of frieze along one wall, and Lower Field Farm, Shelf had some mould-cast enrichments above a wall cupboard.

Whilst it is relatively easy to account for the appearance of hand-modelled plasterwork in smaller dwellings as the work of unskilled men "having a go", and perhaps fulfilling the same function for their clients as the men who worked the external plaster date plaques on houses around Troutbeck in the Lake District, it is not as easy to account for the appearance of mould-cast work in modest houses. One theory which can be advanced is that mould-cast enrichments could be purchased from a local workshop and fixed by plain plasterers in much the same way as semi-skilled odd-job men can today purchase ready-made items for fixing. Another possible explanation is that small-scale decorative plasterwork commissions may relate to the closing years of the local tradition when the workshop was called on to supply outmoded designs to a less discerning and less wealthy clientele.

Indeed, in those instances throughout Yorkshire where fireplace over-mantels and mural decoration alone are found, it may well be the case that many of the patrons could not afford to have more extensive work undertaken. The incidence of plasterwork as an indicator of wealth just as much as a mark of personal taste or fashion consciousness is an important consideration. Thus, the small overmantel proudly incorporating her initials and the date 1676 which widow Rhodes installed at Washford Bridge, Sheffield (6) in her retirement served not only to indicate her social aspirations but also, perhaps her

financial inability to commission anything more elaborate. By contrast, the sheer number of plasterwork ceilings and friezes installed at Sir Arthur Ingram's several properties vividly served to indicate his wealth. Nonetheless, he was a shrewd businessman. On 4 April 1624, he writes to his steward:

> "I pray you confer with Burridge the fretter at York and drive him to as low a price as you can to fret the Long Gallery that lieth upon the garden and send me word as soon as you can." (7)

Ingram's unwillingness to pay even a fair rate for the very best plasterwork available marked him out as a mean patron.

In accounting for the absence of decorative plasterwork in some of the smart newly-built houses of the early to mid 17th century - built at the time of the medium's heyday - in West and South Yorkshire, factors such as affordability and personal preference were, no doubt, of considerable moment. However, given that decorative plasterwork, as in the Elizabethan period, continued to function as a symbol of social rank, fashion consciousness and wealth, those houses which did not have it most probably missed out simply because their owners could not find anyone able to install it at the time they wanted it since the only plasterers available were already committed to a string of commissions.

Footnotes to Chapter 6: Patrons

1. Quoted in Beard,G.,Decorative plasterwork in Great Britain, London, Phaidon, 1975, p.26.
2. Beard, 28.
3. Sir Roger Jaques installed a fine plasterwork ceiling in the Herbert House, Pavement, York, probably in 1639 when he was Lord Mayor, in readiness for the reception of Charles I there in that year.
4. See RCHM(E), Rural houses of West Yorkshire, 1400-1830, London, HMSO, 1986, Chapter 4, pp.106-132.
5. Linstrum,D., West Yorkshire architects and architecture, London, Lund Humphries, 1978, pp.56-57.
6. Shaw,A.B.,'The old house near Washford Bridge', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 2, 1924, 62-64.
7. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts, Letters: 4 April 1624.

CHAPTER 7: PLASTERERS

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, decorative plasterers were very few and their services seem to have been eagerly sought. This is particularly true of the 16th century and the letter quoted earlier which showed Sir William Cavendish appealing to Sir John Thynne for the services of his "connyng plaisterer" is indicative of the scarcity of such craftsmen. Bess of Hardwick, writing to Thynne in 1560, pleads:

> "...spare me your plaisterer that flowered your halle whom I wold gladly have furthwith to be sent...to my howse at Chattesworthe...I pray you yf your man can not be had to spede me yet some oother...for that my howse is much imperfit in that respect an lacks mete men for the same." (1)

Her difficulties in acquiring a competent plasterer were matched by those of Sir Arthur Ingram in 1633 when the Temple Newsam Papers record:

> "By your appointment to the plaisterer for his charges when he came to you but did not stay 5s0d." (2)

By 1636, however, the entry:

> "To a plasterer that young Ventris sent to my Mr from Northampton 6s0d" (3)

shows he was still seeking skilled plasterworkers. Young Ventris, together with his father, Thomas Ventris, were primarily carvers who occasionally undertook some decorative plasterwork for Ingram (4). Yet he had difficulty retaining Thomas Ventris's services, probably because he was such a mean patron. On 31 May 1630, the receipt books for Ingram's York House record:

> "Received by me Edward Maudery, locksmith,...
> for 1 lock to the chamber door where Ventris lies,
> else he would be gone, 12d".

Clearly, locking up your craftsman was one way of ensuring retention of his skills.

That decorative plasterers were eagerly sought after is confirmed by occasional references to their travelling considerable distances. Bess of Hardwick's plasterer who went to Chatsworth from Kenilworth in 1579 and Ingram's man who travelled from Northampton to York can be paralleled by the case of John Johnston of York who, in 1617, was engaged to undertake work at Edinburgh Castle in preparation for King James I's visit. The accounts for 17 February 1617 record:

> "Item to Johne Johnstoun and his man plaistereris in consideratioun of his paynes in comeing fra York to his work x lib." (5)

Equally, Francis Gunby who worked for Lawrence Shuttleworth at Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire in 1603-05 can be found working for Sir Arthur Ingram at Sheriff Hutton, east of York in 1620 and at Wakefield in 1634. This itinerancy of plasterers is confirmed to some extent by the appearance in different houses, sometimes separated by considerable distances, of plasterwork enrichments cast from the same moulds. For example, a frieze featuring an Etruscan mask which could be seen at Heath Old Hall, near Wakefield can still be found, cast from the same mould, at Levens Hall and Yanwath Hall in Cumbria, whilst another frieze containing a mask employed at Heath Old Hall can still be seen at Deloraine Court, Lincoln. A particularly striking instance of the use of the same mould over great distances, discovered during research into the distribution of the North Yorkshire plasterwork group, is the occurrence at Edlingham Castle, Northumberland of a frieze featuring a beacon and stylised heraldic creatures which can also be found at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire and as far south as Holcombe Court in Devon and Poundisford Park, Somerset, all apparently cast from the same mould. If the same plasterers were responsible, then they were prepared to travel great distances in pursuit of lucrative commissions.

These examples of itinerancy are largely 16th century and relate to patronage by wealthy, top-society clients. By the early years of the 17th century, once the leaders of society had interchanged their skilled plasterers and had their commissions fulfilled, there is a

marked reduction in the distances between which plaster from the same moulds is found. Effectively, the early years of the 17th century witness a concentration of plasterwork, utilising the same designs and moulds, within much more localised areas. By 1630, three groups of plasterers based respectively around Sheffield, Halifax and Leeds, are, effectively, the only practitioners of the art-form at work in Yorkshire. Decorative plasterers were, indeed, rarely-found craftsmen.

Of the small number of named decorative plasterers known from building accounts and parish registers, only three have left probate records: Thomas Rose of Sheffield (1672) (6), Thomas Goodyear of Sheffield (1687) (7) and Francis Lee of Halifax (1637) (8). In addition, Thomas Gunby, joiner (9), brother to Francis, the plasterer, left a will in 1620. Whereas the plasterwork at Gawthorpe Hall is known to be that of Francis Gunby, working alongside his brother, Thomas, and the plasterwork of Francis Lee can be identified in the houses of the Calder Valley, none of the plasterwork in the Sheffield area , presumably done by Thomas Goodyear and Thomas Rose, can be specifically attributed to either or both of them. Indeed, other than references to Goodyear working for the Bright family in 1669-71 (10) and Rose being owed money by Sir Ralph Knight in 1672 (11), no provenanced work is known. The anonymity of much surviving plasterwork is matched by the paucity of detail concerning the plasterers.

Whilst, on the one hand, the scarcity of wills made by plasterers serves to indicate how few of them there were, on the other hand, perhaps, it indicates that as a group they were not sufficiently wealthy to leave wills. Francis Lee's will proves that he was not very well off: other than a bequest of 20 shillings yearly out of his freehold lands in Halifax to his brother, Thomas, other bequests to his brothers, Thomas and Samuel, and his sister, Susan, Uncle Gilbert and father-in-law, Samuel Brodley, amount to 10 shillings apiece with provision for any godchildren of 1 shilling each. Similar sums feature in Thomas Rose of Sheffield's will of 1672 where he leaves 20 shillings each to his brother, Joseph, and four sisters, 10 shillings to his sister-in-law and 5 shillings each to his brother s four children. However, he

bequeaths £20 to his mother, £10 to his wife and a sum of £50 to be found out of his estate to any child reaching the age of 21 with whom his wife may be pregnant on his decease. Thomas Briggs,a plasterer from Nottingham, who died in 1677, was seemingly better off (12). He left £5 each to his three grandchildren, 10 shillings to the supervisor of his will and 20 shillings to the poor of the parish of St. Luke. Thomas Goodyear of Sheffield did not leave a will when he died in 1687 but his household inventory amounted to only £9-16-8d. However, a further £4-6-1d was owed him by various parties and "money due to Thomas Goodeare by bond" amounted to a considerable £54-10-0d.

From an analysis of building accounts, it would appear that as a group plasterers were paid widely differing sums, a fact that is not explained by assuming that the less well paid were plain plasterers and the better paid were decorative plasterers. Rather, the explanation may lie in the relative wealth of the client and, where high rates are paid, the relative quality of the work undertaken. The daily rate paid at Hardwick Hall in the 1590s to plasterers was 6d (13), a sum on the whole equivalent to that received by the masons and carpenters there, and comparing well with the 5d and 6d a day Francis Gunby received at Gawthorpe in 1603-05 (14). The plasterers' labourers and plain plasterers at Gawthorpe received between 2d and 3d daily, only half the rate of the skilled plasterers.

In contrast, the rates paid to John Johnston and his two men from York for their work at Edinburgh Castle appear generous. On 16 August 1618, the accounts record:

> "Item to Johne Johnstoun plaisterer and his
> tua men for beam filling with lyme and hair the alring of
> the counselhous, 2 dayes wark to them iii lib xii s." (15)

Nor is this seemingly a special payment since in 1619 the accounts record:

> "Item to Johne Johnstoun plaisterer and to tua men with him
> for poynting and casting of the Lord Chancellaris roumes
> in the abay [Holyrood House] 2 dayes iii lib. (16)

In 1633, "in consideratioun of his weikis wadgis" he received £2-18-0d. Clearly, Johnston was exceptional in the payments he received from the King's Master of Works. For, in the same year, 1633, Nicholas Booth was working for Sir Arthur Ingram at Temple Newsam House for exactly £1 per week wages (17). Booth continued to receive this weekly rate right up until August, 1635. In 1638, William Robinson, a decorative plasterer working for Ingram at Sheriff Hutton Hall, received with his labourer £8-11-11d for 15 days' work which equates to £2-17-4d per week, only 8d short of the weekly sum which Johnston received in 1633 at Edinburgh.

At Elland New Hall in 1659, Josiah Mitchell, a plasterer engaged mostly on plain work, received on 27 February "21 shillings for his men playstering at New Hall" (18). On 5 March he received 5 shillings more, followed by several other weekly payments of 5 shillings - effectively, 12d per day for him and his men. Ten years later in 1669, Thomas Goodyear of Sheffield received 14d per day and another 12d per day for his servant on his work at Pitsmoor Hall for the Bright family (19). Goodyear continued to receive the same daily rate throughout 1670 and 1671. It was not handsome pay compared with that received by Ingram's plasterers some years earlier but it may indicate that, like Mitchell at Elland, Goodyear was not being paid for fancy work.

The picture with regard to wage rates and relative "professionalism" is made all the more difficult to interpret by the fact that decorative plasterers, like other people, sometimes entered into a contract with the client to undertake the work for a fixed sum. For example, James Booth contracted with Bess of Hardwick in 1581 to work frieze and cornice in the Turrets in the Mount at Chatsworth from moulds supplied by Abraham Smith for payment "at the end of the bargayne xxvis viiid in full payment of this bargayn" (20). This form of contract, often paid in stages as the work progressed, is a regular feature in the Temple Newsam accounts where plasterers such as John Burridge, in 1624, agreed to a bargain of £6 to plaster the long gallery ceiling at Sheriff Hutton Hall (21). In the same way, Josiah Mitchell at Elland Hall was paid 10 shillings on 22 October 1659 "so that I have payd him in all

£3-10-0 according to our last Bargaine, which is all that I owe him to this day" (22). Mitchell had been contracted by Henry Power to "crest my parlour", showing that a plain plasterer was capable of undertaking decorative work on occasion.

The other method of employment, if not by contract or by daily rate, was by piece work. Thus, in 1635, at Temple Newsam the accounts record payment to Nevison and Godson:

> "...for latting and plastering only overhead the 3 rooms next Chapel and a part of the passage next to it in all 231 yards at 2d the yard 50 shillings". (23)

Similarly, Thomas Goodyear from Sheffield, working at Pitsmoor Hall in 1669, was paid for "126 yds of lyme work and rough cast at 3d the yard" (24). Many accounts however, offer no breakdown of the money paid to the plasterers. The Ashbourne Grammar School accounts for 1603 contain general entries such as "Paid to Bell for plaistering £4-0-5d" (25) with no indication of what the work entailed, just as in 1685 the Sheffield Town Burgery accounts record payments "about the viccaridge house To Andrew Dyson for plaister work there £0-11-6d" (26).

By the same token, in 1672, Thomas Rose of Sheffield's will contains the following bequest:

> "Item I give unto my said wife tenn pounds that is now oweing to me by the right worshippful Sir Ralph Knight for work that I have lately done for him." (27)

What the work was is not known but, since building accounts invariably specify and record separate payments for materials distinct from wages, the £10 owing will have been for wages, thus indicating a substantial job at good rates. Indeed, Sir Ralph Knight was assessed on 14 hearths in the 1672 Hearth Tax returns (28). It can be surmised that the work at Langold for Sir Ralph Knight was decorative work since the patron is unlikely to have sought a plasterer from Sheffield for plain work. Were he to have wanted a plain plasterer, then the daily rates of Thomas Rose's contemporary and fellow Sheffielder, Thomas Goodyear, at 1s2d a day in 1671 were far more competitive.

Footnotes to Chapter 7: Plasterers

1. Letter dated 25 April 1560, quoted in Beard,G., Decorative plasterwork in Great Britain, London, Phaidon, 1975, pp.26-27.
2. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Accounts, 26 February 1633.
3. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Accounts, 30 December 1636.
4. Gilbert,C.,'Newly discovered carving by Thomas Ventris of York', Connoisseur, 162, 1966, 257-259.
5. Imrie,J. and Dunbar,J.G.(eds), Accounts of the Master of Works for building and repairing Royal Palaces and Castles, Vol.II, 1616-1649, Edinburgh, HMSO, 1982, 66.
6. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Rose, Sheffield, plasterer, 20 November 1672.
7. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Goodear, Sheffield, March 1688.
8. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Francis Lee, Halifax, July 1638.
9. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Gunby, Hatfield, joiner, 3 August 1620.
10. Sheffield Record Office, Bright Papers, Br185(b)iii:7,11 &12.
11. In his will Thomas Rose refers to £10-0-0 which Sir Ralph Knight owes him.
12. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Briggs, Nottingham, plasterer, 23 December 1680.
13. Stallybrass,B.,'Bess of Hardwick's buildings and building accounts', Archaeologia, 64, 1913, 397.
14. Harland,J.(ed),'The house and farm accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe', Chetham Society Publications, 1st Series, 35, 1856, 155-162.
15. Imrie and Dunbar, 103.
16. Imrie and Dunbar, 110.
17. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Accounts, 19 October 1633 - 8 August 1635.
18. British Museum, Sloane MSS 1351-1358: Memorandum Books of Henry Power, M.D. of New Hall, Elland, p.25.
19. Sheffield Record Office, Bright Papers, Br185(b)iii:7.
20. Stallybrass, 376.
21. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Letters, 11 April 1624.
22. British Museum, Sloane MSS, 1354 p.46.
23. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Accounts, 4 April 1635.
24. Sheffield Record Office, Bright Papers, Br185(b)iii:7.
25. Sadler,E.A.,'Earliest records of Ashbourne Grammar School', Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, New Series, 5, 1931, 87.
26. Leader,J.D., The records of the Burgery of Sheffield, commonly called the Town Trust, London, Elliot Stock, 1897, p.227.
27. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Rose, Sheffield, plasterer, 20 November 1672.
28. Hey,D.(ed), Hearth Tax returns for South Yorkshire: Lady day 1672, Sheffield, Division of Continuing Education, University of Sheffield, 1991, p.45.

CHAPTER 8: THE PLASTERWORK TRADE

Analysis of the 16th and 17th century papers of the York Company of Bricklayers, Tilers and Plasterers, previously discussed in Chapter 3, reveals that the plasterers - by which is meant those capable of plain plastering of walls and ceilings and screeding of gypsum plaster floors - no longer existed as a group separate from the bricklayers and tilers. Whilst the 1368 Account Roll of the York Merchant Adventurers survives (1) in which plasterers are distinguished from other building craftsmen, by the late 16th century, plastering was a skill practised by the bricklayers and tilers as part of their work. This observation is borne out by the Temple Newsam Papers with references such as that in 1635 to "Godson and Nevison, bricklayers" being paid for considerable yardage of plain plastering (2). In the London Company, however, the distinction between bricklayers and plasterers continued to be made: an agreement of 1579 ruled that bricklayers were not to use hair in any plaster. They were allowed to "rough cast, pargett walls with Lyme and Sand so that it be without haire". However, if "the owner will have the same done with Lyme and hayre, Then the Playsterers to doe the same. And if he minde to have it done with Lime and Sande Then the Bricklayers to do it..." (3). In York, such nice demarcations were unknown. Indeed, the ancient ordinances of the Company of Plasterers, Tylers and Bricklayers of the City of York, revised on 15 May 1594 (4), make no reference to the use of hair, nor attempt to distinguish between the trades. All members were evidently involved to some extent in plain plastering since Clause 4 of the ordinances was careful to restrict the use of plaster to Company members only:

> "Item that whatsoever he be that shal burne any plaster and put lyme emongst the same and doo sell thee same to any person or persons shall forfaite everie tyme that hee offendeth herein v s to the use of thee Chamber and occupacion aforesaide equallie to be devided".

Yet no-one within the Company regarded himself primarily as a plasterer. Whenever any member of the Company was admitted as a Freeman of York, he was always referred to as either a bricklayer or a tiler and never as a plasterer (5). Indeed, the York Register of Apprenticeship

Indentures 1573-1688 contains not a single entry to anyone being apprenticed as or to a plasterer (6).

Decorative plasterers, although often referred to simply as plasterers in correspondence and accounts, were the small group of men known more accurately as fretters, after the fretwork designs made with ceiling ribs or frets. It would appear that the training and background of these decorative plasterers owed nothing to the plasterers/bricklayers/tilers fraternity since none of the known decorative plasterers working in and around York throughout the period appear as members of the Company or as Freemen. It might be expected that at least one or two plasterers would have been admitted as Freemen, if not obliged to join the Company. Certainly, the case of an incoming glass painter, Barnard Dininghof, shows how he was required to join the Guild of Glaziers in 1589 (7), having been admitted as a Freeman of the City in 1586. Like the decorative plasterers, his work took him all over Yorkshire. His skill in painting glass was such that he received important commissions, such as that at Gilling Castle in 1585 for the Fairfax family (8). Perhaps the fact that he represented a threat to the glass trade in York ensured that he was forced to join the ranks of the Guild and abide by their rules in order to practise his craft.

A similar scenario cannot be drawn for a single decorative plasterer, presumably because such men presented no threat to any organised trade in York. Not only this, there were so few of them. They enjoyed the patronage and, by extension, the protection of influential men and could seemingly operate as free spirits without being obliged to become Freemen. Those who worked for Ingram at his house in York were actually operating within the Minster Liberty and thus did not need to be Freemen of the City to work there. In York, then, there was seemingly no organisation to protect the interests of decorative plasterers: certainly, the Company of Bricklayers, Tilers and Plasterers was not the representative body which might have regulated the trade. In the absence of comparable Guild and Freemanry records from other towns in Yorkshire, no corresponding assessment can be made of situations elsewhere. However, the apprenticeship records of the Cutlers' Company in

Hallamshire have proved useful in eliciting the names of plasterers who put their sons to the cutlery trades. The names of four plasterers only are listed between 1624, when the registers begin, and 1710, indicating that in the Sheffield area too plasterers formed a very small group (9).

Such evidence as there is indicates that decorative plasterers were drawn not from the ranks of the traditional building craft trades but from the occupations of joiner and carver. Unfortunately, the surviving records of the York Company of Joiners and Carpenters (10) are few and do not contain lists of brothers in which the names of known decorative plasterers might have featured. However, other evidence is forthcoming in support of this notion.

Francis and Thomas Gunby who carried out the plasterwork at Gawthorpe Hall in 1603-05 were paid for cutting their own wooden moulds there. When Thomas died in 1620, his will referred to him as a joiner whilst Francis is known to have carved the wooden choir screen in Wakefield Cathedral in 1634 (11). Although Francis was primarily employed in creating plaster ceilings at Temple Newsam, he also provided wooden panelling and described himself as a joiner in his signed receipt for payment on completion of a plasterwork commission:

> "Received by me Francis Gunby of Templenewsam, joiner, this 12 day of January 1628, of John Baker for plastering the Withdrawing Room with frettwork at Templenewsam afforesaid the sum of £5." (12)

Both men were skilled in wood as well as plaster, just as Thomas Ventris who worked plaster ceilings for Sir Arthur Ingram at New Park, Huby in the 1640s was referred to as a carver in 1615 on his admission to the Freemen of York, and was still noted as such in 1637 when "Johes Thomson filius Thomae Thomson de Ingleby, subter Arnecliff, joiner" was apprenticed to "Thome Vintresse de Civitate Ebor carver" (13). Ventris was responsible for carving large quantities of garden statuary, a number of wooden chimney-pieces and much other work, some of which involved the use of plaster, for Sir Arthur Ingram between the years 1620 and 1642. For example, the accounts record on 30 March

1622 "for iiii sacks of lime to Ventris 2s 8d", and on 9 December 1629 "white plaster to Ventris about the chimney piece 2s 0d". In the south of the county, Thomas Goodyear, described as a plasterer in Sheffield on his marriage in 1654 (14) and still noted as such in the letters of administration granted after his death in 1687, may have been related to the Jonathan Goodyear, carver, who worked under William Thornton, the York-based joiner at Wentworth Castle, Barnsley and died in 1732 (15). In much the same way, Thomas Rose of Sheffield, plasterer, who died in 1672, came from a long line of carpenters in the adjoining parish of Norton (16).

That plasterers were drawn from the ranks of the carvers/joiners can be surmised from the evidence of carved woodwork and plasterwork ornamented with the same designs. In the Sheffield area, a carved lozenge design found repeatedly in the panelling of the Pillar Parlour at Bolsover Castle can be seen as plasterwork enrichment in four houses: Cartledge Hall, Greenhill Hall, Norton House and Ecclesfield Priory. In the same way, plaster versions of carved wooden heads on a fireplace overmantel from Greenhill Hall, Sheffield can be found at Cartledge Hall, Attercliffe Hall and Bishops' House. The carved oak hall screen at Kirklees Hall in West Yorkshire has lion masks with exactly the same plaited manes as others to be seen in plasterwork at Oakwell Hall, Birstall and elsewhere, just as the carved wyvern and urn frieze on the gallery at Woodsome Hall can be paralleled by plaster versions at Gawthorpe Hall in Lancashire and several West Yorkshire properties.

This interrelationship of designs carved in wood and cast in plaster which may argue for the same craftsmen certainly indicates a close working relationship between the trades of woodworking and decorative plasterwork. Of this there can be little doubt since many of those houses with plaster ceilings also sport fine wainscotting. In the North Yorkshire area during the 16th century, plasterwork at Brough, Helmsley and Ripley, all by the same craftsmen, is found in association with excellent panelling and with distinctive arcaded overmantels carved in oak to the same pattern. A further overmantel in this group

at Farnley Hall, Otley inscribed with Sir Richard Hawksworth's name, features cherry clusters which can also be seen in the woodwork at Skelton Manor House and 56-58 Stonegate, York. This relationship can also be noted in the Sheffield area where Carbrook Hall, Norton House and Bramley Grange all display plasterwork by the same workshop in ground floor parlours with carved wooden overmantels to the exactly identical design. The wainscot panelling of these rooms relates to that in several other houses: in all cases, a distinctive pilaster motif of a flower on a long stem is found. In turn, this motif appears in plasterwork on overmantels at Hallfield House and Washford Bridge.

Such connections between internal woodwork and decorative plasterwork that can be observed at several properties indicate that not only were close working relationships involved between plasterers and joiners to execute the scheme satisfactorily, but that there must have been a scheme leader. If the plasterer was also the joiner, then overall control of the job was in his hands alone. This was the case with Francis Gunby, the plasterer, who covenanted with Sir Arthur Ingram on 18 February 1628:

> "to make and sett upp wherever the said Sir Arthur shall appoint fower hundred yeards of wanscott or seiling at the price of 12 pence for everie yeard thereof." (17)

Gunby was to find:

> "all manner of substances and utensills thereunto for making and setting upp the same (nayles and deals onlie excepted)".

Similarly, in 1633, Nicholas Booth, the plasterer, agreed to fret the gallery and drawing room for £20 at £1 per week and to "waynscott the Gallery with fyr deals at elevven pence a yeard." (18) Several references to named plasterers also include the phrase "and his men". While the references in 1658 at Elland New Hall "to Jos Mitchell ... for his men playstering at New Hall" (19) and in 1603 at Ashbourne Grammar School to "Bell and his man for flooring and whiting ye rooms" (2) are quite specific, such references are not common. More often a simple accounts statement such as on 27 February 1636:

"Nicholas Booth's men for their pains 6d"

or on 30 July 1633:

"Nich Booth and his men 30 shillings"

is all that appears. Whilst one would normally assume that "the men" were labourers and fellow plasterers, the phrase may, on occasion, disguise the fact that the related trade skills of carving and joinery were represented in the team. One documentary reference only has been discovered which may lend some support to this notion. The Temple Newsam Papers record that Thomas Ventris, Sir Arthur Ingram's carver, was assisted from time to time by "his man". The identity of this man's occupation is revealed in the following accounts entries. On 14 November 1641 payment was made to "Ventris and his man", and on 21 November 1641 payment was made to "Ventris and his joiner this week". How far the named plasterer was more than a skilled worker - perhaps a contractor offering a range of building skills within his team to his client - is difficult to say. Certainly, Booth and Gunby are found taking only specific contracts for plasterwork and joinery. There is no evidence of them undertaking other kinds of building trade work or acting as agents to supply such. This may not, however, be the case with John Johnston, the plasterer from York (21), if he can be identified with John Johnson who surveyed Dilston Hall, Northumberland in 1622 reported on the state of the castle at Newcastle in 1620-21 and whose annotated drawing of a Jacobean gateway survives in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's archives (22). He was evidently well versed in the building arts in much the same way that Barnard Dininghof, a glass painter by profession, could act as architect and building contractor for a Mr. Lumsden at Sheriff Hutton. Not only did he design a new gatehouse at Sheriff Hutton Castle for his client, but in a letter of 11 October 1618 he offered to provide all the necessary trades:

> "...to take down and build up again according to the plat. Also slater's work and plumer's worke, plastner's worke and all manner of carpenter's worke thereto belonging... I to find glass, lime and all manner of workmanship and all labourer and workmen toward the finishing of the said building fashionable to the plot for the sum of £440." (23)

It is possible that Dininghof had Francis Gunby, the plasterer, in mind when he offered to provide the plastering skills needed for Mr. Lumsden. Certainly, Gunby worked at Sheriff Hutton Hall and Temple Newsam House and so did Dininghof (24). Perhaps they had met earlier at Gilling Castle where Dininghof had painted the glass in 1585.

To what extent the famous Smythsons, masons turned surveyors/architects, in the employ of the Cavendish/Shrewsbury circle in the south of the county, offered a similar service to Dininghof in providing craftsmen for their clients is impossible to say. Yet it is significant that the following properties, attributed to the Smythsons (25), contain decorative plasterwork evidently worked by the same team of plasterers. North Lees Hall, Hathersage has plasterwork put up in 1594 where a frieze design featuring the Rodes family crest was probably first used at Barlborough Hall, built in 1582 for Sir Francis Rodes. At Barlborough, a chamber displays a sea horse frieze which can also be found on an overmantel at Barlborough Old Hall, built in 1618 for Sir Francis's grandson. In the centre of this same overmantel is a floral arabesque design, also found repeatedly in the ceiling of the Star Chamber (1621) at Bolsover Castle. From this evidence, it could be inferred that the architect knew the plasterer and was able to recommend him to his patrons. However, considering how scarce decorative plasterers were, it is just as likely that the patrons had very little choice, if any, and had to take whichever plasterer was available.

At Sheffield Manor during the 1570s and early 1580s, an embroidery workshop was brought into being to create soft furnishings for the new rooms at the Manor and Chatsworth House (26). Skilled professional embroiderers were brought together: Ambrose Skarr from York (27), William Barlow from London and others whose origins are not known. In

much the same way, Ingram's plasterers at Sheriff Hutton, York and Temple Newsam comprised men gathered together specifically to complete a certain project. Skilled men like Gunby from Leeds, Booth and Burridge from York were engaged at different times to work alongside plain plasterers such as John Wilton (1630-31) or John Hunter (1628). Knowledge of one's colleagues and potential rivals may have led to teaming up on big jobs such as St.John's Church, Leeds or Lazenby Hall, Danby Wiske, the loan or interchange of workers on some jobs and, indeed, the trading of cast enrichments on some occasions. Plain plasterers like Mitchell who agreed to crest the parlour at Elland New Hall in 1658 may have been able to acquire cast enrichments to fix themselves on occasion. In these ways it becomes possible to account for the unusual combinations of plaster enrichments on some sites such as Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme and inexperienced workmanship as at Cat Hill Hall, Hoylandswaine, near Penistone.

The decorative plasterwork trade as such was organised in small workshop units, as has been noted, with a master and his men. Sometimes these workshops were family affairs, as in the case of the Gunby brothers, and sometimes extending over several generations, as in the case of the Rose family from Sheffield which blossomed into one of the leading workshops in the 18th century under Joseph Rose senior and Joseph Rose junior, both of whom achieved widespread fame as plasterers (28). Close companionship within the workshop team can be deduced from the will of Francis Lee who left the "tools and implements belonging to my trade" to his workmen: John Mawde received half; so did Luke Dobson. Robert Wilson, perhaps the apprentice, was left three trowels(29). When Thomas Goodyear, the plasterer, died in Sheffield in 1687, one of the appraisers of his inventory was Andrew Dyson, another plasterer who, in 1682, had married Martha Staniforth, widow - possibly of Thomas Staniforth, a plasterer living at Carter Hall in 1663. Again, friendship and the close association of these craftsmen may indicate that they formed a workshop team (30). Certainly, what little evidence there is for decorative plasterwork in the Sheffield area after 1650 would indicate that only one workshop was responsible for the output.

The continuity of these family workshop practices, as indicated above, is a feature seen in other parts of the country during the 16th and 17th centuries. In Devon and Somerset, the Abbott family's workshop was responsible for decorative plasterwork over three generations. Their tools and, more importantly, pattern books survive in the Exeter Record Office and the freehand designs contained in these books have been matched against extant work (31). Whilst Francis Lee of Halifax's will makes no reference to pattern books, that of Thomas Rose of Sheffield (1672) specifically mentions "all my tooles and bookes that appertaine to or concern my trade" (32). Such books, like family recipe books, acted as a repository of ideas and designs particular to the workshop and their very existence ensured some degree of house style as they were consulted over the years. Although no pattern books have survived in Yorkshire, it can be postulated that the Halifax workshop had one. Hand-modelled stemwork forming inverted heart shapes enclosing lion masks at Fenay Hall, Almondbury in 1660 repeats a design found only in other work of the group carried out in the 1630s. On the same basis, it is highly likely that the Gunby workshop also kept a pattern book since designs/motifs seen in the parlour frieze at Gawthorpe in 1603 recur at 6 North Street, York in the 1630s and again in the great dining room frieze at Bishopthorpe in 1661.

A workshop's continuity of style was assured not only by the existence of pattern books but also by the survival and use over many years of a distinctive range of moulds. Sometimes it is possible to trace the use and re-use of a mould over several generations. For example, mould-cast putto supporters to a coat of arms set on a strapwork surround are found, for the first time, at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield in the 1580s. They recur as supporters to the Kaye arms at Woodsome Hall, Almondbury in 1602, and again as supporters to the Batt arms at Oakwell Hall, Birstall c.1630. By 1635, the putto reappear at Marsh Hall, Northowram, holding their bits of strapwork which resemble cupid bows, but no longer in association with coats of arms. They could be found in similar pose at Granny Hall, Brighouse, perhaps as late as 1660, having made an appearance with the addition of hand-modelled wings, in the Mulcture Hall ceiling, Halifax in 1637 (33). This span of sixty years and more

during which the mould was employed is not exceptional. Indeed, a frieze ornament of an urn and foliage first seen in Haddon Hall c.1600 could be found at Copley Hall, Sheffield in the 1630s and finally at Washford Bridge, Sheffield on an overmantel dated 1676 (34). Thus, whilst the appearance of the same mould-cast enrichments at different sites helps in identifying the geographical distribution of the workshop practice, such evidence in association with dated fabric also helps identify each workshop's output and development over time.

Footnotes to Chapter 8: The Plasterwork Trade

1. See 'York Merchant Adventurers: The Account Roll 1368', pp.16-26, in Sellers,M.(ed), The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917, (Publications of the Surtees Society, 129), Durham, Andrews & Co., 1918.
2. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Accounts, 4 April 1635.
3. Quoted in Beard,G., Decorative plasterwork in Great Britain, London, Phaidon, 1975, p.28.
4. York Minster Library, Company of Bricklayers, Tilers and Plasterers, Elizabethan Ordinances of the Guild, 1594.
5. Anon., Register of the Freemen of the City of York, from the City Records, Vol.II, 1559-175, Publications of the Surtees Society, 102, 1899.
6. York City Archives, Register of Apprenticeship Indentures, 1573-1688, D12.
7. See 'York House Book 30, 1588-1590', 146r, 6 November 1589 in Sutton,D.(ed), York Civic Records, Vol.IX, Leeds, Yorkshire Archaelogical Society, (Record Series, 138), 1978.
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9. Leader,R.E., History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York, Vol.2, Sheffield. Pawson and Brailsford, 1906. Appendix 17, 'List of Apprentices and Freemen', pp.105-408, *mentions* four plasterers only between 1624 and 1710: Thomas Staniforth, Carterhall (1663); Thomas Goodyear, Sheffield (1668); John Dyson, Sheffield (1705); Christopher Saxton, Barlborough (1708).
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CHAPTER 9: THE PLASTERER'S CRAFT

Chamberlayne, writing in 1687, in Angliae Notitia or the Present State of England remarked how:

> "...the Rooms within...are ceiled with Plaister, excellent against the rage of fire, against the cold, and to hinder the passage of all dust and noise". (1)

Leaving any aesthetic considerations aside, the practical advantages of plastered rooms were well known and appreciated by the later 17th century. But the actual process of plastering was a messy business and some householders who lived on site whilst the plasterers were at work seem to have grown tired of the disruption. Pepys, in his diary for 24 September 1660, remarks:

> "All day at home to make an end of our dirty work of the playsterers"

although he adds that the room:

> "...is now so handsome that I did not repent of all the trouble that I have been put to to *have it done*". (2)

In May, 1622, Sir Arthur Ingram at Sheriff Hutton Hall gave instructions:

> "...and let the fretter make an end thereof." (3)

It was a familiar cry. Twenty years later, his accounts for New Park, Huby record payments from 4 May 1642 to "Old Ventris", the plasterer:

> "...about ending the fretwork in the Great Chamber."

Yet he continued to plaster for another month until, finally, Ingram's steward, seemingly exasperated, recorded on 3 June 1642:

> "Ventris for 3 days to end all the fretwork at Park 4s0d."

Plastering was the general term used in the 16th and 17th centuries to describe the application of any lime-based mix. An alternative, and

more accurate, term encountered in building accounts in Yorkshire is "lime-working". For example, on 8 January 1629, the Temple Newsam Papers note that Francis Gunby "hath finished the second room of lime-work", whilst, in 1687, Thomas Goodyear of Sheffield is referred to as a "lim-worker" in his probate inventory (4).

Plastering, then, was done with a mixture of slaked lime, sand and hair. If a base coat was needed to fill up irregularities, then this basic mix could be bulked with chopped straw, pulverised coal and brick dust. Where a fine quality plaster was required for the better rooms, then pure gypsum plaster could either be added to the basic mix or applied in a thin layer on top as a finishing coat. From references in the building accounts which survive, it is possible to glean a considerable body of information on how the plasterers went about their work. The basic raw material, limestone, was purchased from the quarry, delivered to site and then burnt to produce quick-lime, or else ready burnt quick-lime was purchased directly from merchants. The Ashbourne Grammar School accounts of 1603 (5) record payments for:

"2 horseloads of lyme from Criche"

and

"For 2 load of coales to burne lymestone with"

and

"To Bell for tending the lyme Kilne".

In much the same way, the Gawthorpe Hall accounts record payments for huge quantities of lime:

"1604 sixscore and seventine loud of lyme for plasteringe (le loud viid) iij li xix s xj d". (6)

But no indication is given from where it was obtained. The Elland New Hall accounts make reference to a "load of Wakefield lime" in 1661 and itemise payment to:

"Rich: Nailor of Heckmonwike this 16 July 1659 twenty shillings towards payment for lime." (7)

However, neither Wakefield nor Heckmondwyke have limestone deposits so the lime must have been purchased from merchants. Certainly, this was the way in which Sir Arthur Ingram's plasterers acquired their lime, principally from Robert Radley, the lime-merchant in Tadcaster in the 1620s and from Andrew Potter and William Clarke, other Tadcaster merchants in the 1630s. An occasional reference to Thomas Bywater of Great Preston for lime indicates a further source of supply in the 1630s. However, during the building of Sheriff Hutton Hall, on 8 August 1617 a payment of £4-14-0d was made for the:

> "Leading of 21 loads of lime from Clifton to Sheriff Hutton at 4s6d a load" (8)

and, on 20 October 1619, George Hall of Bilbrough, lime carrier, was employed to transport 18 chalder of lime at 10s8d the chalder. Seemingly, the lime would be transported by road from the docks at Clifton on the Ouse and Tadcaster on the Wharfe to its destination. A reference on 9 November 1641 to "the carriage of it [lime] out of boats" suggests this.

In all these instances, the lime referred to would be quick-lime since the Elland Hall building accounts make no mention of limestone being burnt and the Temple Newsam Papers refer to the burning of limestone only in July, 1631 at Ingram's almshouse in York. An accounts entry for 13 October 1631 confirms this:

> "Andrew Potter...for Tadcaster lime for the hall to lay the lead gutters having none burnt of our own 9s4d".

Such quick-lime was converted on site into a lime-putty by slaking it with water, as is indicated by the accounts for the repair of Tanghall in York, contained in the York Chamberlain's Books for July, 1617:

> "Item for sexe sackes of lyme
> Item paid William Heweson for sleckinge of itt iiid". (9)

The Hardwick Hall building accounts from the 1590s refer to the sources of supply as Skegby, near Mansfield for limestone, and Crich for ready

burnt lime (10). The plasterers in the south of Yorkshire similarly obtained their lime from the Derbyshire hills. Although no documentary evidence is known, analaysis of fragments of decorative plaster from several sites in and around Sheffield by the University of Sheffield's Department of Ceramics, Glasses and Polymers showed this to be the case (11). It may be assumed that quarried limestone was brought into Sheffield where it was then burnt to make quick-lime. In this respect, the 1687 inventory of Thomas Goodyear's possessions is of some interest (12). It is not known where he lived but "in the Backside" of his premises was "certaine lime" to the value of six shillings. There are no references to a lime kiln or to limestone, yet Harrison's Survey of 1637 (13) makes mention of several places in Sheffield bearing such names. Of these Lime Kiln Field at Owlerton is significant, the more so, perhaps, since it was sited no great distance from Limestone Green on the bank of the River Don. Whilst such field names generally indicate nothing more than the widespread use of lime for agricultural purposes, nevertheless, it is interesting to note that lands adjacent to Limestone Green were noted in the survey of 1637 as being in the possession of a John Goodyear who may have been the father of Thomas Goodyear, the plasterer.

Occasionally, in the building accounts, there are references to the burning of plaster. For example, the Temple Newsam accounts record on 14 June 1631:

> "To Jo: Smith for burning the old plaster with 10 tons of new with it 10s0d and carrying it out of the kiln to the house 2s0d"

and again on 26 June 1631:

> "Old Dickson of Overton for the leading of 1 great load of fire wood to burn the plaster at Hospital 2s6d".

Plaster must not be confused with lime. By the term "plaster" was meant plaster-stone, that is alabaster, a stone that was burnt to make gypsum, principally used for laying floors. A 1683 grant of lands in Derbyshire refers to:

"Plaister pitts and plaister stone in Russhay" (14)

and Leland noted:

"...plentiful quarres of alabaster commonely there caullid plaster" (15)

in his journey through the Isle of Axholme in the 16th century. In May, 1631, Robert of Thorne was paid 27s4d:

"for 8 ton of grey plaster and 2 ton of white delivered at Marie Gate end at York" (16)

for Ingram's workmen. The plaster, when burnt, was mixed with broken brick, sand and water to form a stiff paste. This was then spread over riven oak laths or bundles of reeds fixed to the floor joists of upper rooms. When set, the resulting hard, shiny floors were much admired and easy to maintain. When repairs were called for, they were easily effected. At York House, 12 May 1632 Ackroyd, a bricklayer, was paid 1s4d:

"for 3 bushels of plaster to mend places in the chamber at lane before there was new matts".

The actual process of laying the plaster mix was known as 'shooting'. On 8 September 1604, John Jakes was paid 20d for:

"...showittinge the floors in the chambers" (17)

at Gawthorpe Hall, whilst the Temple Newsam accounts record on 12 July 1634:

"For burning plaster and for laying the Gallery floor in part of payment £2-0-0d
To the plasterman for shooting the gallery being the last payment in full £2-9-0d."

Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire has plaster floors, and walls and ceilings plastered with lime and hair. Sometimes, in quality work, a thin skim of white gypsum plaster might be put over ordinary lime and hair

plaster as a final wall surface finish. This distinction is nicely summed up in a Hardwick Hall account entry for 14 November 1588 when James Hindle was paid for doing:

> "...the roms at the steare at the cominge in at the gallery dores both with plaster and lyme and heare." (18)

The hair mentioned in all accounts was invariably cow hair and was mixed with the slaked lime to act as a binding agent and to reduce cracking as the lime plaster dried out. The Sheriff Hutton Hall accounts record the purchase for 8d on 26 November 1622 of:

> "2 bushels of hair to send to Sheriff Hutton to Burridge the fretter"

whilst the Gawthorpe Hall accounts mention the source of supply in May, 1603:

> "To the tanner in Whalley for 3 score stoune of hear to make plaster with xxs" (19).

Before the lime plaster could be spread on ceilings and partition walls, great quantities of riven laths nailed in place were required as a structural surface. This work was done by the plasterers themselves. The Gawthorpe Hall accounts refer to the purchase of "ij thowsand of plasteringe lattes" from Thomas Bailey in Halifax in June, 1605, besides those made on site by "...a wright...clevinge lattes" (20).

In May, 1603 "xviii thowsand of small lat naylles xxviijs" and "ii thowsand of the gretter sort of lat naylles iiijs" (21) were purchased for the work at Gawthorpe.

Another raw material frequently encountered in building accounts is leather "spetches" - offcuts of leather which could be rendered to make size. At Temple Newsam on 22 February 1635, Richard Lister was given cash "to buy leather spetches for size". In 1639, an unrecorded quantity cost 3s0d whilst, at Gawthorpe Hall, in December, 1604 4s4d was paid for:

"xiij pecks of petches to be syes for the plasterers (le pecke iiijd)" (22).

The size was mixed with the white gypsum plaster to retard the set and thus extend the time that the plaster could be modelled. Modelling was done with a variety of tools - leafs, trowels and the like - although these are rarely mentioned. Apart from a "pootying trowel and two pointing trowels" named in Francis Lee's will in 1637, his other tools are grouped under the phrase "all the tooles and implements belonging to my trade" (23). It is as unenlightening as the phrase in Thomas Rose's will in 1672 to "all my tooles...that appertaine to or concerne my trade" (24), or the possible reference in Thomas Goodyear's inventory of 1687 to his tools as "a box of severall other odd things" (25).

Whilst the plasterers provided their own tools, it is interesting to note that, on several occasions, building accounts record payments for equipment used in the processing and transport of the lime on site which was, presumably, an accepted and customary practice. For instance, on 15 September 1604, John Jakes at Gawthorpe received 4d "paid to him for a sieve to sieve lime with". Similarly, on 6 September 1632, the Temple Newsam accounts record a payment of 6d for "a riddle for lime" and further expenditure in May, 1632 "for a shovel for lime ls2d" and, on 4 August 1634, for "2 scuttles for the plasterers".

Of all the tools used by decorative plasterers, the most important and most prized were their moulds. Reference has already been made to plasterers cutting or carving their moulds and, whilst none are known to survive, it is possible to distinguish the different kinds used by examining completed plasterwork. Profile moulds, employed in running cornice and ribwork were the most straightforward to create but required great skill in their use. Moulds for enrichments took several forms. The simplest were those where a shallow design was cut in reverse into a block of wood and the mould used like a butter-print upon a flat surface of freshly screeded plaster. Examples of this kind of work can be seen above a doorway at Haddon Hall in Derbyshire and

further south in the county at Wirksworth at several houses. Within Yorkshire, this butter-print work seems to have been confined to the Halifax area plasterers who used the technique in conjunction with mould-cast enrichments. Another example, unrelated to any other work in the county, can be found at Parceval Hall, Appletreewick.

Moulds from which enrichments could be cast either in the workshop or on site formed the major group. Some of these were quite large, judging from the 18" diameter casts of the royal arms encircled by the garter used by the Wakefield plasterers and the 3' long sections of repeating frieze ornament employed by the Sheffield plasterers. A certain standardisation of frieze section at 3' x 9" is apparent in the work of the York-based plasterers also and is well illustrated at 56 Low Petergate, York where three different frieze designs, each to exactly the same length and depth, are set one above another as mural decoration.

In making the moulds, one technique was to carve the required ornament in reverse relief into the block of wood without any undercutting or else the plaster cast would be impossible to remove. A good example of a mould prepared in this manner can be judged from a cast of a devil's head found at Copley Hall, Sheffield where most of the carving was "V"-shaped into the wood, producing pronounced ridges in the cast [Pl.9.1]. One interesting example of the product of a reverse-relief mould can be seen at Lees Hall, Thornhill where the carver evidently copied his design of a lion and unicorn exactly as he saw it. Consequently, when plaster was put into the mould, the resulting cast emerged as a mirror image of the design with the lion and unicorn in reversed heraldic positions [Pl.1.29].

The other way of creating a mould was to carve the desired enrichment in relief and then form a mould of beeswax and glue around it from which plaster replicas of the carved wood enrichment could then be cast. This was a method advocated by Hugh Platt in his Jewel House of Art and Nature (1594):

> "Note also yt when you have molded any gentle pattern in glue, you may open the moldes by slitting of them, or bowing them backwards therby the esilyer to get out the patterne without danger of breaking it, and yet the mold will returne to his first shape...Note that you may dissolve your moldes of glewe againe, and cast often in them according to the manner before set downe." (26)

That this was, perhaps, a method practised by plasterers in Yorkshire is suggested by payments in the Temple Newsam Papers for 1 lb quantities of glue in December, 1633, November, 1635 and October, 1636 for Nicholas Booth, the fretter. In the Sheffield area, the existence of plaster casts of female and male heads at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield and Bishops' House, Sheffield, which exactly replicate carved wooden heads on an overmantel formerly at Greenhill Hall, Norton, may argue the case for glue moulds having been formed around the wooden heads from which the plaster ones were cast. If this was not so, then, at least, the same wood carver using the same design was involved in the manufacture of both.

The actual process of making a decorative plasterwork ceiling is not mentioned in extant records beyond such generalised statements as:

"...beginning to work the hall overhead"

"...working at the plastering at the top of the new hall"

or

"...working at the roof in the dining chamber" (27).

However, examples of damage to plasterwork seen in the course of the research have allowed a fairly accurate picture to be drawn of how the work was done. Having nailed the supporting riven laths to the ceiling joists, spine beams and cornice blocks, the whole area was covered by a layer of lime-plaster and hair to serve as a base coat for the decorative ceiling. At Barlborough Old Hall, this base coat to a plain ceiling was then sealed with size before the thin top coat was applied - presumably to assist adhesion and reduce suction. Where decorative ceilings were concerned, however. the evidence of a badly damaged ceiling at Northgate, Wakefield shows how the backing layer was scored

or indented all over to form a key for the top layer of plaster. At the same time, the position of the ribwork pattern was carefully marked into the soft backing plaster using dividers to form the semi-circular arcs [Pl.9.2]. This was a precise and demanding job to ensure the ribwork layout exactly filled the available space. In the case of Carlton Hall, Rothwell, guidelines must have been drawn between the diagonal corners of the rectangular ceiling panels as the applied enrichments rigorously follow such an alignment.

Once the ribwork pattern and positions for the enrichments had been marked the actual assembly of decorative elements could take place. From the evidence of portions of plasterwork rescued from the demolition of Greenhill Hall, Sheffield in 1964, the ribs themselves consisted of a core of pre-formed material which was literally stuck in place according to the inscribed layout by a thin layer of pure gypsum plaster. The necessary mitring of angles was evidently carried out during this stage before the final contour of the ribs was formed by the application of gypsum plaster over the cores run to shape by a profile mould.

Meanwhile, the enrichments to adorn the ceiling spaces between the ribs were cast from their moulds. Many of these must have been cast in the workshop from gypsum plaster and stored there until required. The reverse of some frieze sections rescued from Greenhill Hall clearly show scoring, indicating that the cast panels had been prepared in this way to be fixed when they had turned hard and rigid. They were evidently meant to be stuck to the wall plaster either by an intermediate skim of gypsum or else bedded directly onto the wet backing plaster. Enrichments used at New Park, Huby in the 1640s were not set into the ceiling plaster but on it and clearly show the regular edges of the moulds from which they had been pre-cast [Pl.3.29]. Similarly, cracking around enrichments in a number of ceilings shows they were fixed when hard and the surface plaster screeded around them. Rescued pieces from Hutton Hall, North Yorkshire and Greenhill Hall, Sheffield had broken cleanly away from their ceilings along the edges of the casting. Enrichments discarded at Clarke Hall, Wakefield

during the creation of its 16th century ceiling prove that pre-cast material was in use there. Several fleurs-de-lys casts [Pl.1.16] not only have a regular diamond-shaped mould outline but the reverse is distinguished by the plaster having been pinched to form a lug for pushing into the soft ceiling plaster to assist in fixing. Ceiling cones or pendants were found to have been prefabricated, consisting of an outer collar or ring with a separate plug or pendant which slotted into the hole for assembly [Pl.1.15].

Such pre-casting in the workshop meant that plaster enrichments could easily have been transported, traded and sold. Evidence for this practice is suggested by the existence of plaster-cast medallion heads in several Scottish properties which also appear in buildings around London (28). If glass from Silkstone glasshouse in South Yorkshire could be transported all the way to Elland New Hall in 1659 (29), then plaster casts could just as easily have been carried from Halifax to Cat Hill Hall, Hoylandswaine, not far from Silkstone, where plaster enrichments of the Halifax group were to be found. Although no documentary evidence is known, this practice would help explain why enrichments used by one workshop are sometimes found in association with those of another, as on an overmantel at Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme (30), and why some enrichments are found in places far removed from the originating workshop's operating area, such as an Etruscan mask from the Sheffield plasterers' mould on an overmantel at Pontefract. Moreover, instances of early enrichments being used in later work can be explained by conceding that the casts may have remained on the workshop shelves for a number of years before being used.

However, not all enrichments were cast in the workshop and brought to site. The Gawthorpe Hall accounts' reference to the plasterers cutting their moulds (31) is evidence for on-site casting just as the practice of re-using existing moulds on site is indicated by a reference in the Edinburgh Castle accounts of 21 April 1617:

> "To James Murray for twua going over the watter for the plaisteris mouldis xxxs" (32).

Two examples from the work of the North Yorkshire plasterers are worth citing in this connection. At Hutton Hall, only two designs were employed as enrichments and the casts were used when hard, suggesting they had been made in the workshop and brought to site. In contrast, Kirklington Hall features hand-modelling as well as a large array of cast enrichments, strongly indicating that the workshop itself had been brought to the site. On-site casting meant that enrichments need not have been used hard. The size which was used as a retardant in the gypsum surface plaster also conferred some degree of plasticity to the mix. Consequently, on-site casting and direct fixing of soft enrichments was possible. Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield and Barlborough Old Hall both have examples of decorative cast friezes bent around corners, evidently whilst the plaster was still flexible.

Once the enrichments were ready, they were then pressed into the top layer of fine gypsum plaster which had been screeded between the ribs. The edges of the cast could then be smoothed into the flat surface using trowels. If any butter-press moulds were to be used, then blobs of extra plaster could be added to the surface to receive the impression and the excess trowelled away. In the same fashion, any hand-modelling of tendrils, stemwork and the like could be effected and applied to the moist surface. The marble-sized balls of plaster seen on the friezes at East Riddlesden Hall and Gainford Hall, Co. Durham were fixed in this way. Where large areas of hand-modelled plasterwork were concerned, such as at Lazenby Hall or Bishopthorpe, the process was one of building up the design with retarded gypsum plaster and modelling tools. To complete the job, the plasterers would give the whole assemblage a few coats of white limewash which helped in disguising any blemishes or imperfections. In November, 1605, the Gawthorpe Hall accounts record a payment of 4s3d to:

> "...a plasterer 8 days and a half whytting of the dyning chamber roofe (1e day vid)"

whilst, on 7 March 1625, the Temple Newsam Papers record a payment of 2s6d to:

> "Jo: Burridge in part of 6s8d to wash the gallery and new room"

and on 8 June 1640:

> "...for a bushel of lime to make whiteing to wash the rooms which are to be done 4d".

That plasterwork was finished white and not coloured is attested by references such as these. It was admired for its ability to reflect light as much as for any artistic worth and, when redecorating was required, then it was whitewashed once again. During refurbishment of Lady Ingram's apartments at York House in January, 1631, Sir Arthur wrote to his steward:

> "I would have you get Hunter or somebody else to new white the fret ceiling in that Chamber" (33).

Only rarely was colour or gilding applied to plaster. Mercer cites the use of blue in the plasterwork of the great chamber at Greenwich in 1579-80, and a payment of 5 shillings to Thomas Joyce in 1593-95 for "colouring the fret in the Privy Chamber" at Woodstock (34). However, such references are exceptional, even amongst the accounts of the royal palaces. In Yorkshire, no references to painting of plasterwork occur in extant building accounts, and only Temple Newsam House retains traces of original paintwork and gilding on a section of decorative wall plaster (35). Whether the accounts entry on 30 May 1632 to "40 books of gold of which 10 were given to Richard Lister for Templenewsam work" is a reference to this is unknown.

A plaster plaque, featuring a mermaid and the date 1664 at Old Chamber, Erringden, was noted in 1960 as having auburn-painted hair which appeared to be original (36), but no other contemporary painted work is known from the Halifax area. Similarly, amongst all the output of the Sheffield plasterers, only work at Barlborough Old Hall has been found to retain some original paintwork. On an overmantel dated 1633, cornice work and rosettes were picked out in red, pilasters in blue-green and leaves in green. Another overmantel has fruits painted red

alongside a painted frieze of crocus, whilst yet another overmantel has blue-painted capitals and traces of several colours on the central coat of arms. Indeed, if any painting of plasterwork was done, it would appear that it was confined to overmantels such as that in the great chamber at Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire and to coats of arms where the correct heraldic tinctures were indicated. Whilst the removal of later whitewash and paint might reveal further examples of painted work in Yorkshire, it should be noted that the cleaning of the royal arms from Horbury Nether Hall by Wakefield Museums Service failed to uncover any trace of colour. The hand-modelled figurative frieze in the high great chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, which has an overall painted scheme, would appear to be a unique case.

It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that, as with colour, the use of other materials in association with decorative plasterwork is rarely encountered. Yet, curiously enough, the mermaid at Old Chamber, Erringden, referred to above, holds a mirror in one hand in which is set a panel of mica as the looking glass, whilst the 1633 overmantel at Barlborough Old Hall has the numerals formed in lead. The gilded stars in the ceiling of the great chamber at Bolsover Castle, worked by the Sheffield plasterers in 1621, are also made of lead, but no other mixed-media compositions are known within the region.

One final observation must be made regarding the plasterer's craft and this concerns the practice of pargetting. Originally used as a term to describe the daubing or plastering of the inside of chimney flues to reduce the risk of houses catching fire, it has come to mean external decorative plasterwork. Examples of this can still be seen, particularly in East Anglia, but the practice could also be observed in parts of Yorkshire during the 17th century. References to external work at Rothwell (37) and Normanton (38) attest to this, as does Davies' passing remarks about a house in Coney Street, York (39). However, the best evidence is contained in several fine engravings of properties in York made by Henry Cave and published in 1813 (40). The George Inn in Coney Street and another house in Stonegate were both encrusted with exterior plasterwork, following designs still

to be seen amongst the remains of the internal plasterwork of the long gallery at Temple Newsam House, dating from the 1630s (41). A similar observation about the external use of cast decorative plaster enrichments, normally found inside, was noted by Puloy in her Hertfordshire survey in 1982 (42). In the case of these York properties and the Temple Newsam work, there can be no doubt that the same craftsmen were involved.

Footnotes to Chapter 9: The Plasterer's Craft

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24. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Rose, Sheffield, plasterer, 20 November 1672.
25. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Records: Thomas Goodear, Sheffield, March 1688.
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28. See Touche, J.E.D. 'The Worthies and the Regalia: a linked series of plaster ceilings 1599-1665 [in Scotland]', (Unpublished typescript, RCHM[Scotland]), 1973, pp.5-30.
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CHAPTER 10: PATTERNS AND DESIGN SOURCES

The decorative plasterers working throughout Yorkshire in the 16th and 17th centuries were able to call upon a diverse range of printed designs for ideas for their work. In some cases, it is possible to identify the source by comparison with the finished product. The initial task in the commissioning of decorative plasterwork and especially ceilings was the selection of an overall design: the shape and configuration of the ceiling with its ribwork layout. If a vaulted or coved ceiling were decided upon, then this would naturally involve special carpentry at the house building stage. Sir William Cavendish comments upon this in his letter from Chatsworth to Sir John Thynne at Longleat in 1555 when, in requesting the loan of his "connyng plasterer", he remarks:

> "And therefore nowe myght he devyse with my own carpenter howe he shuld frame the same, that it myght serve for his worke..." (1)

In other words, the selection of the design preceded the carpentry construction of the supporting structure. The vaulted ceiling of the great chamber at Cartledge Hall, worked by the Sheffield plasterers, has very fine square-section curved ribs, like an up-turned boat, to support an immense weight of decorative plasterwork. Similarly, the hall ceiling at Heslington Hall and the great chamber ceiling at Gilling Castle, with their deep pendants, are built up over precise structures of wood with iron armatures.

Where great expense in structural work as a preparation for the decorative plasterwork was involved, there can be little doubt that the patron was responsible for the choice of overall design. Sir Arthur Ingram's concern at having to leave some of the design decisions concerning his great chamber at York House to his steward is evident in his letter of 22 February, 1625 from London. He writes:

> "For the Great Room at York, I pray you make all the haste you can, the manner for the welldoing and the handsome doing of it I must refer unto you. I pray you remember those things that you took a note of when you were here and let them be all done accordingly." (2)

However, if there was no specific design brief and unless specific decorative details were required - family badges and the like, the plasterers seem to have been able to draw upon their stock range for the enrichments. That this was so can be judged from the incidence of the same enrichments being used at different houses. Yet, since different combinations of enrichments are found, it seems likely that the client must have had a voice in selecting from the plasterers' patterns. An example of this in operation is evident from the Temple Newsam Papers when Ingram's steward, Mattison, informs him that John Burridge will plaster the long gallery ceiling:

> "...with any fret you like that he hath done either at Sheriff Hutton or York, either with a round bottom fret or flat bottom fret as you shall appoint." (3)

Yet there were other times when, and other clients with whom, plasterers evidently had a free hand. For instance, it is hard to believe that the Reverend Lawrence Shuttleworth deliberately chose a frieze design which incorporated the Savile family crest for his long gallery at Gawthorpe any more than William Jessop chose a frieze with the Rodes family crest for his new house at North Lees, Hathersage. In both cases, the moulds, having been cut for previous commissions, were again used by the plasterers. Generally speaking, how much client choice was involved is difficult to say but it is worth noting that no particular combination of enrichments or, indeed, overall design is ever found repeated.

Ribwork layouts for a ceiling could be copied from a variety of design sources. For example, The Gardener's Labyrinth by Didymus Mountain (Thomas Hill), published in 1571, contains a number of knot garden layouts which could be adapted to suit a plasterwork ceiling. Certainly, the outer border of one of his designs was copied by the Sheffield plasterers for a strapwork surround to an overmantel at Brampton Hall, Chesterfield (4). By 1611, the English edition of Sebastiano Serlio's Architecture was available, containing a number of geometric layouts which found favour. A copy of this edition is still in the library of the Foljambe family from North East Derbyshire (5). One of the layouts,

based around an octagon, was used at East Riddlesden Hall in the 1640s, having been previously used in 1638 at Barkisland Hall by the Halifax plasterers. However, the design had already appeared as early as 1600 at Goldsborough Hall in the work of the Wakefield plasterers and also at Helmsley Castle and Gilling Castle in the 1580s in work by the North Yorkshire plasterers, suggesting that the original Italian edition had been in circulation.

A pattern source of considerable influence, published in 1615, was Walter Geddes' Booke of sundry draughts, principaly serving for glasiers: And not impertinent for plasterers, and gardiners be sides sundry other professions. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, is known to have had a copy of this and may have consulted it for the plasterwork at Wentworth Woodhouse (6). Besides printed works such as these, ideas for ribwork layouts appear to have been gleaned from all over. The serpentine ribwork ceiling in the great chamber at Cartledge Hall perfectly copies the embroidery on the bodice of the Sheffield portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots (7), whilst the interlacing ribwork of the ceilings at Bolsover Castle and at Carbrook Hall, Sheffield is derived from Cosmati mosaic pavements such as that in Westminster Abbey.

Documentary evidence for the plasterer or client choosing or devising a ribwork design for a ceiling is unknown but, at Baildon Hall in West Yorkshire, a panel of backing plaster survives in which two designs for ribwork ceiling layouts have been scratched. They are dated 1618 and, whilst the parlour ceiling at Baildon Hall does not follow either of these designs, nonetheless they perhaps show preliminary ideas discarded in favour of the final choice. One of these designs, however, comprising two intersecting rectangles with semi-circular projections inside the frame, may well have suggested the ribwork ceiling layouts still to be found at Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby, and Pollard Hall, Gomsersal [Pl.2.26 and Pl.2.27]. Although executed some years later, the existence of a workshop pattern book would not preclude such a possibility.

As with ribwork layouts, the choice of particular ornamental patterns and enrichments for plasterwork was greatly helped by the existence of printed designs. This is not to say that such designs were slavishly copied and that no original or creative work was done. However, printed herbals, bestiaries and the like could so readily be plundered for their representations of flora and fauna. The variety of water-loving creatures - serpents, whales, toads, sea monsters, shells and even a mask of King Neptune - used by the North Yorkshire plasterers at Kirklington Hall and elsewhere argues for a printed book of illustrations as the source, just as the small panes of embroidery worked by Mary, Queen of Scots and Bess of Hardwick in the 1570s in Sheffield and featuring birds, plants, animals and fish can be traced to continental printed books on natural history by Gesner, Mattioli and Belon (8). From the mid 16th century onwards, new pattern and ornament derived from classical sources increasingly found its way into England from the continent. Whether in the form of books of engraved plates such as Rene Boyvin's Libro di variate mascare (9) used by the Sheffield plasterers or as incidental "printers' ornament" - strips of engraved design used as chapter headings or tailpieces in a book, a rich vocabulary of new, exotic, exciting and fashionable design was brought to the attention of the literate classes. Renaissance ornament was also to be found on imported continental wares, embroidery, glassware, engraved gold and silver plate. For example, an embossed brass Nuremburg alms dish in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow has a figure with wings and fishtail to the same design as plaster ornament on an overmantel in the Heraldic Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall. Not only this, but continental craftsmen visiting or settling in England brought the new designs with them. Thus, in Yorkshire, Esdras Browyns and Anthony Rayskaert, Dutch arras-workers, who settled in York in 1570 (10), no doubt brought continental designs with them, just as Barnard Dininghof, the glass painter who enjoyed the Fairfax family patronage, came armed with a portfolio of the latest strapwork designs which he worked in the windows of the great chamber at Gilling Castle in 1585 and at Fountains Hall, Weston Hall and elsewhere thereafter(11). In much the same way, Bess of Hardwick's Flemish painter, John Balechouse, who worked at Hardwick in the 1590s,

together with Mary, Queen of Scots' cosmopolitan household based in Sheffield from 1570 to 1584, ensured a plentiful supply of continental Renaissance imagery was available in the south of the county.

Where decorative plasterwork is concerned, the fashionable Renaissance ornament was only gradually and partially incorporated into the vocabulary of the plasterers in Yorkshire. Indeed, whilst Dininghof's stained glass at Gilling Castle is a tour de force in the new style, the plaster ceiling above is still gothic with its ribs and pendants and medieval with its enrichments of animals of the chase. Stags and hunting dogs are also to be seen in the ceiling at North Lees, Hathersage, executed by the Sheffield plasterers in the 1590s but set off by a Renaissance frieze of S-scrolls and flowers [Pl.5.13 and Pl.5.11]. In just the same way, the Renaissance-mask frieze in the great chamber at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield bore no stylistic relationship to the ribwork ceiling of that room other than in the appearance of putto supporters to the Kaye arms. Similarly, the 1570s plasterwork decoration in the Turret House at Sheffield Manor, whilst sporting columns with Corinthian capitals on the overmantel and Etruscan masks in the ceiling, still clings to a heraldic and medieval vocabulary of family badges and coats of arms.

It is this very mix of designs from various sources and traditions which makes the plasterwork of the period so intriguing and gives it its special character. Yet, for all the diversity which can be seen, a source of design greatly favoured by the plasterers and their clients was heraldry. Family coats of arms, heraldic supporters, crests and badges were all worked in plaster to adorn ceilings and overmantels. The fashion for this style is particularly noticeable in the work of the North Yorkshire plasterers. For example Ripley Castle has not only the arms of the Inglebys in its ceiling but all the elements which make up the arms - stars, unicorn heads erased etc.- employed as individual enrichments within the ribwork panels. The Sheffield plasterers worked in this fashion at Haddon Hall where the gallery ceiling displays not merely the family arms but also the Manners peacock and the Vernon boar's head crests. The work of the

Wakefield plasterers similarly features family insignia but, in the absence of family arms, recourse was had to the royal arms and badges. Thus, a town house in Northgate, Wakefield could feature the arms of Elizabeth I and Tudor badges such as a rose and crown and fleur-de-lys [Pl.1.8]. In other instances where family arms were lacking, then a proud client might choose to display the arms of the profession to which he belonged. Just as some Master Cutlers displayed the arms of the Cutlers Company carved in their door lintels in Sheffield, so George and Elizabeth Taylor from Norland Upper Old Hall had the Dyers Company arms set in plaster in the housebody there and a town house at 29 and 31 Coney Street, York once displayed the arms of the Vintners Company in plaster friezes there.

In 1584, George Savile of Wakefield installed a ceiling in his house which featured not just the Savile arms and the royal arms but also those of the Wortley family, to whom he was connected, and the arms of his illustrious cousin, Sir John Savile of Methley. This display of the arms of a senior family member or of another family connected by marriage is commonly found in the plasterwork of the period in Yorkshire. For instance, at Wentworth Woodhouse, Thomas Wentworth put up the arms of George, Earl of Cumberland in plaster in the Clifford Lodgings. It can be assumed that Sir John Savile of Methley similarly displayed the arms of the Nevile family in plaster in "Neville Chamber" in the new rooms he built at Bradley Hall in 1580. The arms of Sir John Savile himself feature on the great chamber overmantel at Barlborough Old Hall, put up by John Rodes to show his Savile family connections and to honour his guardian.

Bolsover Castle in Derbyshire features the arms of the Shrewsbury family carved in marble on the great chamber overmantel. Whilst the Cavendish family who built Bolsover Castle in the early 17th century was related through marriage to the Shrewsburys and, no doubt, wished to honour them, the arms also served to acknowledge prior ownership of the Castle by the Shrewsbury family. In the same way, the Bullock family placed the arms of the Le Caus family in plaster above the parlour fireplace at Brampton Hall, Chesterfield to acknowledge their

former ownership, whilst at Bishops' House, near Sheffield William Blythe installed the crest of the Parker family of Norton Lees in plaster above his new chamber fireplace in 1655, probably for the same reason. Clearly, from these examples, care should be exercised in attributing ownership of a property to the family whose arms are displayed in the absence of any other supporting evidence.

Where none of these situations applied - when there were no family arms, no relatives through marriage who bore arms, no professional arms and no arms of a former owner - then only the royal arms were legitimately available to display loyalty. However, such legitimate display of arms was seemingly of little concern to the Halifax plasterers and their clientele, particularly in the 1630s and 1640s. The arms of noble families - Arundel, Winchester, Derby etc. - appear in mural plasterwork in the houses of yeoman clothiers, simply as decoration (12). The lion rampant badge of the Shrewsbury family is found in the plasterers' stock range of enrichments in use as late as 1659 at Pollard Hall, Gomersal, whilst the arms of the Earl of Derby re-emerge as late as 1670 at Binroyd, Norland. Such a vigorous preference for the display of arms in a localised society which was not armigerous says much about the aspirations of the families which commissioned such work. Also, the long-lived tradition for heraldic display in the Calder Valley, in contrast to other areas such as Sheffield or Leeds/York, argues for a certain conservatism if not cultural isolation from the mainstream. There may be some truth in Leyland's contention (13) that the appearance of royal and noble coats of arms indicated loyalty to the Crown during the Civil War, but insufficient examples were actually installed during this period for the argument to be convincing. Comparative analysis of enrichments and style of workmanship shows that undated overmantels at Granny Hall, Brighouse and High Bentley, Shelf with the royal arms and the initials CR, formerly believed to refer to Charles I, do, in fact, relate to Charles II (14).

Possible sources for the Halifax area's noble coats of arms are few. Although wine bottles are found with the seal impressions of the family that ordered them from the glasshouse (15) and legal documents

survive with wax seal impressions, these tend to be those of local families. In much the same way, coats of arms painted in the frieze of the great chamber at Gilling Castle are restricted to those of the Yorkshire gentry just as were the painted arms in the windows of the long gallery at Methley Hall, remarked upon by Thoresby in 1709 (16). However, Heath Old Hall, Wakefield did have noble family arms - Cecil, Rutland, Bedford, Cumberland - in the coloured glass of the hall windows (17) which could have served as patterns for the Halifax plasterers: some plaster enrichments seen at Heath found their way into the repertoire of the Halifax group (18). Yet, the most likely source for this noble heraldry is probably the printed maps of the counties of England featuring the coats of arms of the principal land owners, as drawn by the cartographer, Christopher Saxton. Interestingly enough, Saxton came from the Wakefield area and served his apprenticeship under the cartographer, John Rudd, in Dewsbury (19). Several of Saxton's local plans are known, including fulling mills on Luddenden Brook, near Halifax, a survey of the Snapethorpe Hall Estate, near Wakefield, made in 1601, and a plan of the Savile's Thornhill Hall Estate in 1602 (20). John Speed's county maps of the early 17th century are noteworthy for their elaborate strapwork cartouches in which the county names are displayed. These may have served as models for the strapwork surrounds to the Halifax area coats of arms. His 1610 map of Yorkshire shows the royal arms with mantling in the fashion affected by the Halifax plasterers. Beak head terminals and trefoil strap ends occur not only on maps such as that by Wencelaus Hollar of the northern shires (1644) but also in the work of the Leeds/York plasterers found at St. John's Church, Leeds, and Lazenby Hall. Shrimp-curl mantling surrounding the arms of Lord Fairfax on Richard Blome's map of Yorkshire (1670) (21) can be paralleled in plaster on a plaque dated 1677 at Mickletown, Yorkshire [Pl.4.25].

One particularly rich quarry evidently used by the Yorkshire plasterers for patterns was textiles. At East Riddlesden Hall, the dining parlour frieze is an all-over design of naturalistic fruit, flowers and leaves, so close in feel to embroidered and padded panels of fine linen "frost work", often used as bed valances. The urn and wyvern frieze seen at

Ledston Hall in 1588 is possibly another design taken from a textile source, in this case the early drawn-thread work known as reticella lace imported from Italy in the 16th century. Exotic flower and fruit enrichments which feature in the plasterwork of the Gunby brothers and also in that of the Halifax workshop are clearly derived from oriental "Paisley" patterns, just as the strapwork infill ornament employed at Gilling Castle, Helmsley Castle and Dromonby Hall by the North Yorkshire plasterers has a decidedly Moorish quality. A floral arabesque seen at Bolsover Castle and Barlborough Old Hall would appear to derive from a Persian carpet motif which is not without interest, considering that Sir Charles Cavendish travelled to Constantinople and is believed to have brought back oriental carpets, three of which still survive at Hardwick Hall (22).

Embroidery pattern books and embroidered samplers - both strip and spot samplers - provided the source for many of the enrichments and a number of plaster friezes seen in the county. Thomas Trevelyon's Miscellany (1608) (23) features many designs for borders, and one of these is found adapted as a plasterwork frieze at Lazenby Hall, Danby Wiske [Pl.10.1 and Pl.10.2]. Enrichments similar to his designs for floral sprays can be seen in the work of the Sheffield plasterers at Haddon Hall and in ceilings constructed by the North Yorkshire plasterers. No doubt the existence of several professional embroiderers in the region helped in the dissemination of designs just as the movement of furniture from the joinery workshops assisted in the transmission of carved patterns. George Owen in Chesterfield is the only named embroiderer known to have been operating in the south of the county in the 1630s (24). However, in York, between the years 1587 and 1659, thirty-seven named embroiderers are listed in the Register of the Freemen of the City of York (25), with the families of Gillott, Holdsworth and Harvey operating workshops over three generations. Arthur Cady, the only named embroiderer working for Sir Arthur Ingram, was also York based. So, too, was Ambrosius Skarr, perhaps to be identified with 'Ambrose' who, together with a London embroiderer, William Barlow, worked with others in Sheffield in the 1570s and 1580s, producing professional work for the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury's houses (26). Similar arrange-

ments may have existed in other Yorkshire households, although, in the absence of professional embroiderers, the ladies of the family with their staff, would be expected to work cushions and the like, utilising designs contained in samplers. The example of Lady Anne Savile of Thornhill Hall who, in 1624, kept six seamstresses is a significant illustration of this practice (27).

The pattern transference from engraved continental sources via embroiderers to plasterers is best illustrated by reference to Sheffield. Here, in the 1570s, the embroidery workshop in the Shrewsbury household at Sheffield Manor produced a table carpet dated 1574 with an oval panel at its centre, containing a scene showing Paris and the three godesses (28). The whole design was taken from a Mannerist engraving by Jacob Floris in his Compertimentorum quod vocant multiplex genus (1566) (29). In the 1590s, another design in the same set of engravings was worked in plaster on the overmantel in the Countess of Shrewsbury's bed chamber at Hardwick Hall, whilst, a few years later, yet another engraved plate was faithfully copied as a plasterwork overmantel in the great chamber at Carbrook Hall, Sheffield [Pl.5.32]. This set of engravings was not in wide circulation. The only other instance of a plate from it being used by plasterers is an overmantel, formerly at Dunster Castle, Somerset, worked by the Abbott family (30).

The Sheffield embroidery workshop also created a set of five applique hangings, representing classical heroines and their virtues, in the 1570s and now preserved at Hardwick Hall. Ideas were culled from a variety of sources, one of which was Rene Boyvin's Libro di variate mascare (1560) (31) [Pl.5.18] for the ornamental masks which act as keystones to the arches above the figures. The mask above Lucretia can be found in plasterwork dating from the early 17th century at several sites around Sheffield [Pl.5.28], as can another plasterwork mask of a winged head [Pl.5.42] taken from the same book of engravings [Pl.10.3]. Once again, plasterwork representations of these masks are rare. The engravings were employed by plasterers at Aston Hall, Birmingham for the great chamber ceiling there (32) but, seemingly, nowhere else. It

would appear that, in both the instances cited above, the engravings used by the Sheffield embroiderers stayed in the vicinity to be utilised by the Sheffield plasterers for ideas some years later.

Other than Serlio's book on architecture mentioned earlier, architectural treatises do not seem to have acted as an important source for plasterwork ornament. The plasterers working at Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire in the 1630s utilised engravings in Vredeman de Vries Architectura (1578) for friezes in the Riding School viewing chamber and, as late as the 1670s, the plasterer at New House Hall, Huddersfield and Horsefair, Pontefract appears to have taken his design for lion masks from one engraved in Wendel Dietterlin's Architectura (1598) (33) [Pl.10.4]. However, no further architectural borrowings have been identified, and the situation with regard to emblem books is broadly similar. The Elizabethan and Jacobean interest in emblem books (34) led to some splendid plasterwork featuring designs from this source in many parts of the country. Most famous, perhaps, is the long gallery ceiling at Blickling Hall, Norfolk (1619-20) for the series of panels showing scenes from Henry Peacham's Minerva Britanna (1612) (35). In Yorkshire, only the Sheffield plasterers appear to have culled designs from emblem books, and then not very frequently. The first-found example is that of a hand clutching a spray of flowers in the ceiling plaster of the Turret House at Sheffield Manor, possibly derived from an engraving in Paradin's Devices Heroiques (1557) (36). Other than this, a representation of an oak tree with falling acorns at Carbrook Hall is an emblem noted also in Francis Bacon's house at Gorhambury in the early 17th century with the accompanying motto, "Nisi quid potius" - failing better things (37). Hand-modelled plaster figures of Faith, Hope and Charity on an overmantel at Bramley Grange, Rotherham [Pl.5.35] are conventional emblematic representations as is the figure of Faith with her chalice in the porch ceiling at Bewerley Old Hall [Pl.4.21] and the figures of Fortitude, Temperance, Prudence and Justice at Hawksworth Hall, Otley [Pl.1.24]. The only direct copying of an emblem book engraving is that which could be seen on an overmantel at Brimington Hall [Pl.10.5], worked by the Sheffield plasterers, showing a scene from Francis Quarles'

Emblemes (1635).

By far the most popular source of Mannerist ornament copied by the plasterers was that to be found as printers' devices. Sometimes an entire title page border might be copied or adapted, as seems to have been the case with the Halifax plasterers'strapwork cartouches derived not only from Speed maps but also from the title pages of Walter Geddes' Booke of sundry draughts (1615) [Pl.10.6]. In Title page borders used in England and Scotland 1485-1640 (38), McKerrow and Ferguson illustrate male and female engraved ornament (plate 48) which can be seen in a plaster frieze at Shepley Old Hall (1608), worked by the Wakefield plasterers, and a fleur-de-lys (plate 214), very similar to examples used by the Sheffield plasterers and the Leeds/York plasterers. Such conventional ornament as fleurs-de-lys and two-handled vase and flowers are frequently encountered in printed books of the period and there can be little doubt that the spread of designs generally was directly related to the spread of printed books. Details such as a mermaid with mirror, seen in the plasterwork of the Sheffield area, and in the Halifax area as late as 1664 at Old Chamber, Erringden, can be noted in several printed title pages such as the Historia brevis Thomae Walsingham (1574) where, incidentally, the strapwork interlace is set with ornament, very much in the manner of the flat-bottomed plaster rib-work seen in York at Minster Court and Sheriff Hutton Hall by John Burridge (39). Exactly the same engraved plate of ornament was used for the title page of Holinshed's Chronicles three years later in 1577, thus providing further opportunity for such designs to be seen and copied.

In 1588, a book entitled Various and ingenious machines by Agostino Ramelli was published in France. The page marking Chapter 74 is decorated with elaborate fleurs-de-lys [Pl.10.7] in the style of enrichments to be seen at Haddon Hall and elsewhere, worked by the Sheffield plasterers. The decorative border around this page is made up of a C-bar-C motif which had been employed two years before in 1586 as the border ornament in Geoffrey Witney's A choice of emblemes (40). This C-bar-C motif is commonly found in the plasterwork of the Leeds/York

area, in carved wooden panelling as at Wade Hall, Leeds and even carved on mid 17th century tombstones in Batley churchyard (41). The pattern would seem to derive ultimately from the border ornament of Kashan Mohtasham carpets from the Middle East.

This interplay of designs between one medium and another is characteristic of the period and the same motifs occur over many years. For example, Anthony Farindon's Thirty sermons lately preached at the Parish Church of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, published in 1647 (42), contains three pieces of ornament of which plasterwork versions exist. The title page shows a mermaid - the fabulous Melusina - with double fish tail, which can be seen in a chamber frieze at Goldsborough Hall [Pl.1.25] about 1605, and the title page to Sermon 21 has an ornament strip of two putto cavorting amongst foliage in the identical posture of plaster versions to be seen in the parlour frieze at Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire (1605). At the head of the title pages for Sermons 1-17 is a strip of ornament featuring a goat's mask and squirrels [Pl.5.23] which was perfectly reproduced as a cast plaster frieze by the Sheffield plasterers about 1620 [Pl.5.22]. As all these instances pre-date the publication of the book, then, clearly, the same engraved ornament had long been used by printers in other works. That this is so can be proved in numerous examples by comparing the publication dates of books in which a particular engraved ornament is used. In the case of the goat mask and squirrel ornament, this can be traced back to Robert Cecil's An answere to certaine scandalous papers, scattered abroad under colour of a catholicke admonition, published in 1606 by the King's printer, Robert Barker (43). One striking instance of the continued use of the same printers' ornament can be seen in a book published in 1646 in which the royal arms still feature the Tudor dragon as supporter (44), even though the unicorn had replaced it in 1603.

The wealth of incidental ornament contained in printed books was a treasure trove for decorative plasterers. In particular, engraved strips of ornament were easily adapted for decorative plaster friezes. The work of the Sheffield plasterers contains high-quality Mannerist

frieze design such as the goat mask and squirrel ornament noted above, and a rabbits, foliage and beak-head frieze [Pl.5.25] which is obviously taken from a page border. Although the source has not yet been traced, a cast plaster frieze of mermaid and merman supporting a shield and surrounded by fish, birds and foliage [Pl.3.26], used by the North Yorkshire plasterers at Skelton Manor and in York, is undoubtedly taken from a page border too. Furthermore, the urn and wyvern frieze [Pl.1.19], so beloved by the Wakefield plasterers and the Gunby workshop, will probably turn out to have been taken from a printed ornament strip also.

Reference has already been made to the interplay of designs across different media and to the close relationship of decorative plasterwork to fixed carved woodwork. An awareness of this relationship and of its extension to movable artefacts ornamented with the same or similar designs is an important finding of this study. The British antiques trade has effectively dispersed regional furniture throughout the land and overseas during the past 150 years or so. Yet, where fixed woodwork remains in-situ - fireplace overmantels, carved panelling, pews, pulpits and such like - and where provenanced items of furniture can be located, it is often noticeable that the carved decoration bears a direct resemblance to designs in the decorative plasterwork of the area.

The C-bar-C motif mentioned in relation to the Leeds/York plasterers can be found carved not only on fixed woodwork but also on furniture, such as on the seat rail of a bench at Cannon Hall museum, near Barnsley. Similarly, a 17th century wooden box in the furniture collection at Temple Newsam House (45) and a wainscot chair at Conisborough Church are carved with profiles of a creature virtually identical to plaster versions at West Royd, Warley [Pl.2.1]. In West Yorkshire, a number of wainscot chairs and chests of the 17th century survive where the panels are carved with a lobed pattern based on quatrefoils and diamonds with intermediate fleur-de-lys-like projections (46). This layout and variants upon it can be seen in several ribwork arrangements of plaster ceilings in the area, such as Heckmondwyke Old Hall [Pl.2.22].

In the south of the county, a scroll and flower frieze found at Sheffield Manor in decorative plasterwork of the 1570s [Pl.5.2] can also be seen on an embroidered table-carpet, dated 1579, at Hardwick Hall and on an Elizabethan centre table, now used as an altar, in Sutton Church, near Chesterfield. A bell-flower frieze in plaster, formerly to be seen at Attercliffe Hall, Sheffield and elsewhere [Pl.10.8] can also be found carved on a court cupboard, now at Blakesley Hall, Birmingham but originally from Brookhill Manor, Pinxton in Derbyshire [Pl.10.9]. The Coke family who lived at Pinxton also owned Brimington Hall, near Chesterfield and Dore Hall, near Sheffield. Another plasterwork frieze, at Holmesfield Hall, features a triangle in the design [Pl.10.10] which can also be seen in carved panelling at Bramley Grange, Rotherham [Pl.10.11]. The triangle appears carved in strapwork in the wooden overmantel from Greenhill Hall, Sheffield and occurs on a press cupboard recently sold in Bakewell, and on a chest dated 1671 in Bishops' House museum, Sheffield (47). This same chest features the familiar flower head on long stem seen in plasterwork and carved panelling of the Sheffield area. It was also carved into the stiles and muntins of the headboard of a tester bed formerly at Bradfield, near Sheffield (48). Recently, a chest was for sale in Bakewell (49), carved with these familiar flower heads which also appear on their own in plasterwork, as in the Bishops' House parlour plaster ceiling. Evidence may still come to light to show that the workshops of men like Francis Gunby in the Leeds area and, perhaps, Thomas Rose in Sheffield were not only involved in decorative plasterwork and the carving of fixed woodwork but also influenced the production of carved furniture in their respective areas.

These examples amply illustrate the fact that local pattern books of designs are locked into the decorative plasterwork and fixed woodwork within the region, and that, by decorative comparison, furniture discovered in different places throughout the country may be attributed to its place of origin. By this means the potential for local history research to re-assemble the work of provincial joinery workshops, embroidery ateliers, brass engraving works and the like is considerable. Taken together with the documentary evidence contained

in building accounts and craftsmen's wills and inventories, such an approach can only serve to enhance our appreciation and deepen our understanding of the diversity of regional material culture.

Footnotes to Chapter 10: Patterns and Design Sources

1. Sir William Cavendish to Sir John Thynne, 30 March 1555, quoted in Beard,G., Decorative plasterwork in Great Britain, London, Phaidon, 1975, p.26.
2. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Letters, 22 February 1625.
3. Leeds City Archives, Temple Newsam Papers, Pawson Transcripts: Letters, 11 April, 1624.
4. See Chapter 5: The Sheffield Group.
5. This book, at FF5, is in the library of Mr Michael Foljambe, Osberton Hall, Worksop.
6. Sheffield Record Office, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Pamphlets, Literary and Miscellaneous: 3.
7. This portrait, Painting 11, hangs in the long gallery at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire and is believed to have been painted in 1578. See National Trust, Hardwick Hall, London, National Trust, 1989, p.62.
8. See Swain,M., The needlework of Mary Queen of Scots, Bedford, Ruth Bean Publishing, 1986.
9. Boyvin,R., Libro di variate mascare, c.1560. A copy of this is held in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings.
10. They were both enrolled as Freemen of York in 1570. See Anon., Register of the Freemen of the City of York, Vol.II 1559-1759, Publications of the Surtees Society, 102, 1899.
11. See Bilson,J.,'Gilling Castle', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 19, 1907, 106-192. and Brighton,J.T.,'The enamel glass-painters of York, 1585-1795', (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of York), 1978.
12. See Chapter 2: The Halifax Group.
13. Leyland,J., Views of ancient buildings illustrative of the architecture of the Parish of Halifax, Halifax, R.Leyland & Son, 1879, p.viii.
14. See Chapter 2: The Halifax Group, and Kendall,H.P.,'Seventeenth century plasterwork in the Parish of Halifax', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 26, 1922, 150, where he allocates the work at High Bentley to his 'Earlier Period'.
15. See Ashurst,D.,'Excavations at Gawber Glasshouse, near Barnsley, Yorkshire', Post-Medieval Archaeology, 4, 1970, 125-126.
16. Crump,W.B.,'Methley Hall and its builders', Publications of the Thoresby Society, 37, 1945, 321.
17. Walker,J.W., Wakefield, its history and its people, 2nd ed., Wakefield. privately published, 1939, p.620.
18. See Chapter 2: The Halifax Group.
19. Marcombe,D.,'Saxton's apprenticeship: John Rudd, a Yorkshire cartographer', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 50, 1978, 171-175.
20. For illustration see Nuttall,B., The Saviles of Thornhill: life at Thornhill Hall in the reign of Charles I, Leeds, privately printed, 1986, p.8.
21. See illustrations in Rawnsley,J.E., Antique maps of Yorkshire and their makers, 3rd ed., Leeds, Rigg, 1983, pp.18, 37 and 55.
22. Beattie,M.H.,'Antique rugs at Hardwick Hall', Oriental Art, 5, 1959, 10-12.
23. Nevinson,J.L.,'The embroidery patterns of Thomas Trevelyon', Walpole Society, 41, 1968, 1-38.

24. Leader,R.E., History of the Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire in the County of York, Vol.II, Sheffield, Pawson & Brailsford, 1906. Appendix 17, List of Apprentices and Freemen lists 'Owen, Francis, son of George, imbroyderer, Chesterfield ... 1639'.
25. Anon., Register of the Freemen of the City of York from the City Records, Vol.II, 1559-1759, Publications of the Surtees Society, 102, 1899.
26. See Kirke,H.,'An aristocratic squabble', Derbyshire Archaeological Journal, 35, 1911, 36, for names of the embroiderers.
27. Nuttall, 11 and 12.
28. This is now displayed at Hardwick Hall in the Paved Room.
29. A copy of this is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings.
30. This plasterwork overmantel is now at Handforth Hall, Cheshire.
31. A copy of this is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Prints & Drawings.
32. See Fairclough,O., The Grand Old Mansion: The Holtes and their successors at Aston Hall, 1618-1864, Birmingham, Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery, 1984, p.66. plate 37.
33. Placzek,A.K., The fantastic engravings of Wendel Dietterlin (Reprint of 1598 edition of Architectura), New York, Dover Publications, 1968, plate 192.
34. Freeman,R., English emblem books, London, Chatto and Windus, 1967.
35. Peacham,H., Minerva Britanna or a garden of heroical devices, furnished and adorned with Emblemes and Impresas of sundry natures, (Facsimile of 1612 ed.), Leeds, Scolar Press, 1966.
36. Paradin,C., Devises heroiques, (Facsimile of 1557 ed.), Leeds, Scolar Press, 1971.
37. Aubrey,J., Brief lives, London, Folio Society, 1975, p.42.
38. McKerrow,R.B. and Ferguson,F.S., Title page borders used in England and Scotland 1485-1640, London, Bibliographical Society, 1932.
39. See Chapter 3: The North Yorkshire Group.
40. Whitney,G., A choice of emblemes and other devices, (Facsimile of 1636 ed.), London, Reeve, 1866.
41. Brears,P.C.D.,'Heart gravestones in the Calder Valley', Folk Life, 19, 1981, 84-93, Fig.1.
42. A copy of this is in Sheffield City Library, The Norton Library, Vol.N103Q.
43. Listed in F.S.Ferguson's card index: 'Collections of English Books to 1640 arranged by town and printer', British Library, London.
44. Sheffield City Library, The Norton Library, Vol.N102, Leigh,E., Critica Sacra: or Philologicall and Theologicall observations upon all the Greek Words of the New Testament in order alphabetical, 2nd ed., London, Thomas Underhill, 1646.
45. Illustrated in Chinnery,V., Oak furniture: the British tradition, Woodbridge, Antique Collectors Club, 1979, p.366, Fig.3:391.
46. Wells-Cole,A., Oak furniture from Yorkshire Churches, (Catalogue of an exhibition held at Temple Newsam House), Leeds, 1971, pp.21 & 32.
47. This chest is inscribed 'Ellen Torr 1671' and was made as a dower chest. Ellen Bagshawe married Richard Torr of Goosehill Hall, Castleton on 1 April 1671 at Chapel en le Frith.
48. Anon.,'The late Rev. Reginald Gatty's collection of ancient local furniture', Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 1, 1913, 94-101, Illus. p.99.

49. March, 1993: Michael Goldstone Antiques, since purchased for Barlborough Old Hall, Derbyshire.

CONCLUSION

Through this survey of decorative plasterwork within the county of Yorkshire, it has been possible to distinguish the different workshops which were in operation during the period, and to indicate how these developed over time. The vogue for installing such fancy work neatly coincides with the period in which substantial stone buildings were being erected and architectural developments taking place. In this respect, decorative plasterwork is but part of the wider house-building scene. However, its appearance serves to indicate not merely an increasing trend towards comfort and cleanliness, but also assumes the role of status symbol for those able to afford it. Even well-to-do yeomen of the second half of the 17th century gave a plasterwork over-mantel pride of place, with their initials, date and other *insignia* clearly displayed.

The fashion for decorative plasterwork which began in the last third of the 16th century, being patronised primarily by the nobility and high-ranking lawyers, has been shown to quickly disseminate throughout the upper echelons of society at county level, due to family intermarriage and business and social contact. As the lesser gentry followed the fashion in the later 16th and early 17th century, similar inter-connecting webs of social alliances can be shown to be responsible for the spread of the art-form, especially at a local level. In the same way that Mark Girouard has shown the Smythson family of architects were employed in designing buildings for a close-knit and inter-related group of patrons, so also the plasterers were introduced to new commissions through the social network. Indeed, one of the interesting observations of this study is how closely integrated the families were.

A notable feature of the properties linked by family connections is the appearance of the same enrichments in the plasterwork as the plasterers re-used existing moulds and utilised the worksop's pattern book for its repertoire of designs. The appearance of enrichments, cast from the same moulds, in properties separated by considerable distances can be accounted for by the fact that decorative plasterers were itinerant

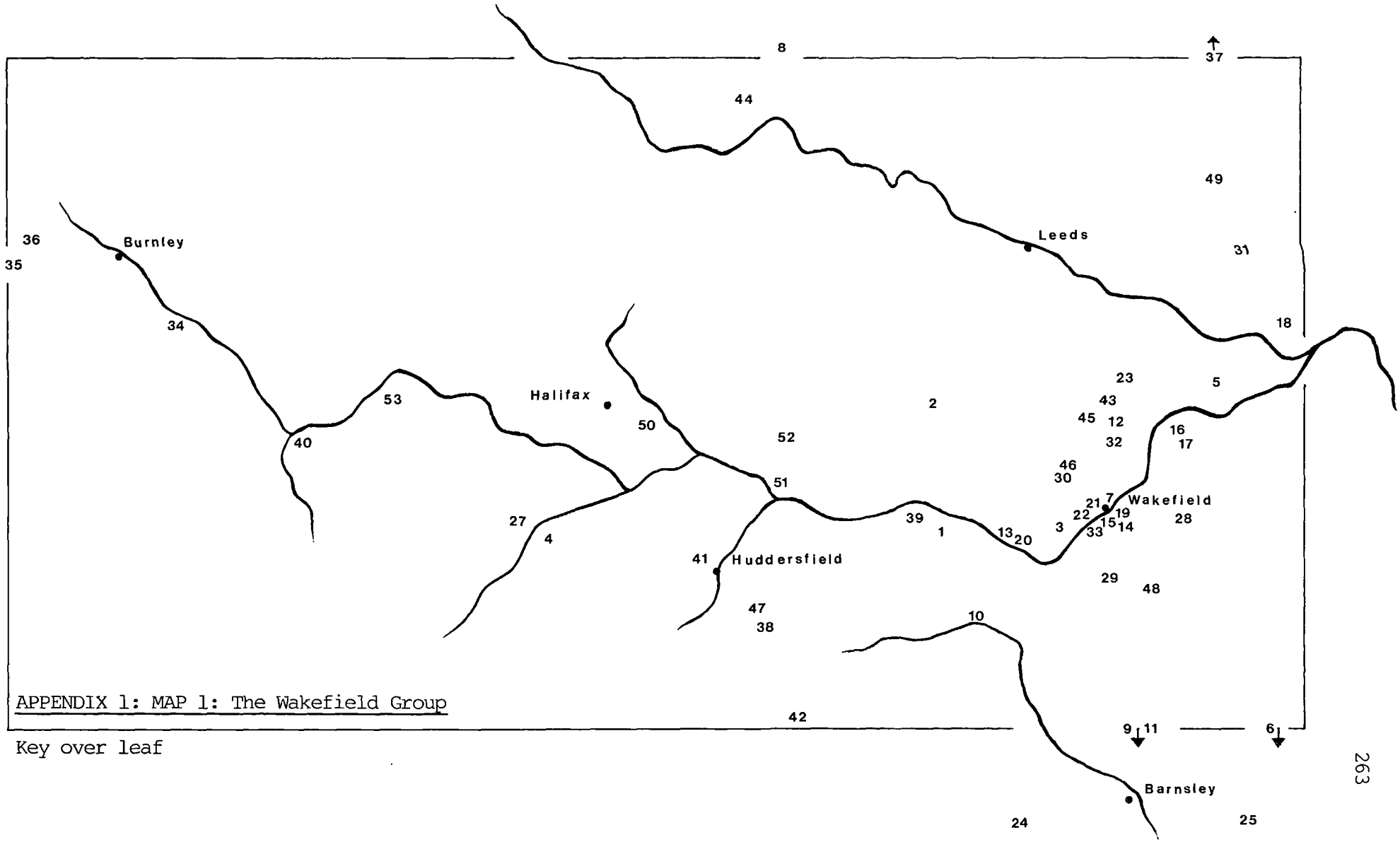
craftsmen. This aspect of their working practice is amply attested by documentary references. However, the evidence would also seem to suggest that a trade in cast enrichments produced by the workshop for fixing by local men may have existed. Parallel studies of the plaster-working craft in other regions of the country are needed which may show this to have been the case. In the same way, further research is needed in the whole area of the building craft trades of this period, partly to discover the names of craftsmen whose work output might then be reassembled from building accounts and the like. One observation, noted in the documentary research for this thesis, has been the way in which the same surnames recur within the building craft trades. This may point to the existence of craftsmen families extending over several generations, like the Acroid family of masons in the Halifax area in the 16th and 17th century. Certainly, this is undoubtedly the case with the Rose family of joiners and plasterers in the Sheffield area.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this research has been that, in several cases, named decorative plasterers were also practising joiners or came from families in which joinery or carpentry featured as the occupation of brothers and fathers. This fact alone may explain the complete absence of any apprenticeship records for decorative plasterers since it would appear that apprenticeships were served within the wood-working trades, and that the skills of carving, modelling and working decorative plaster would have been learnt there. However, few such broadly-based workshops existed and, consequently, the number of people able to execute decorative plasterwork was very small. As a result, those that could were much in demand, particularly during the medium's heyday from the 1570s to the 1630s. Thereafter, it has been shown, the incidence of decorative plasterwork diminishes as the client groups which sought it were served and the fashion for the product waned. In some cases, considerable time-gaps appear between related commissions. These gaps can be satisfactorily explained when it is appreciated that the workshop would have been busy on woodwork when not called upon to undertake plasterwork.

Whether or not the workshops were involved in the production of carved

oak furniture is not yet known. However, the designs found in plasterwork and fixed woodwork also appearing carved on items of regional furniture would seem to suggest this as a strong possibility. Further research into maker's stamps on furniture and the identification of provenanced examples of furniture from household accounts and inventories is needed. In the area of designs utilised by decorative plasterers, it has been shown that considerable borrowing from engraved ornament in books took place. Whilst this was, perhaps, the primary source of design ideas, the influence of craftsmen involved in other areas of building ornamentation, such as painters, glass painters and embroiderers, can be shown to have played a part in the introduction of Mannerist ornament into the plasterers' vocabulary.

This survey of decorative plasterwork throughout Yorkshire has revealed not only evidence of regional craft practice and design utilisation but also how the incidence of decorative plasterwork can serve as an indicator of the relative wealth, fashion-consciousness and social standing of the client groups. It is hoped that the evidence presented here may serve as useful material for others engaged in broader studies of social and economic history within the Yorkshire region.

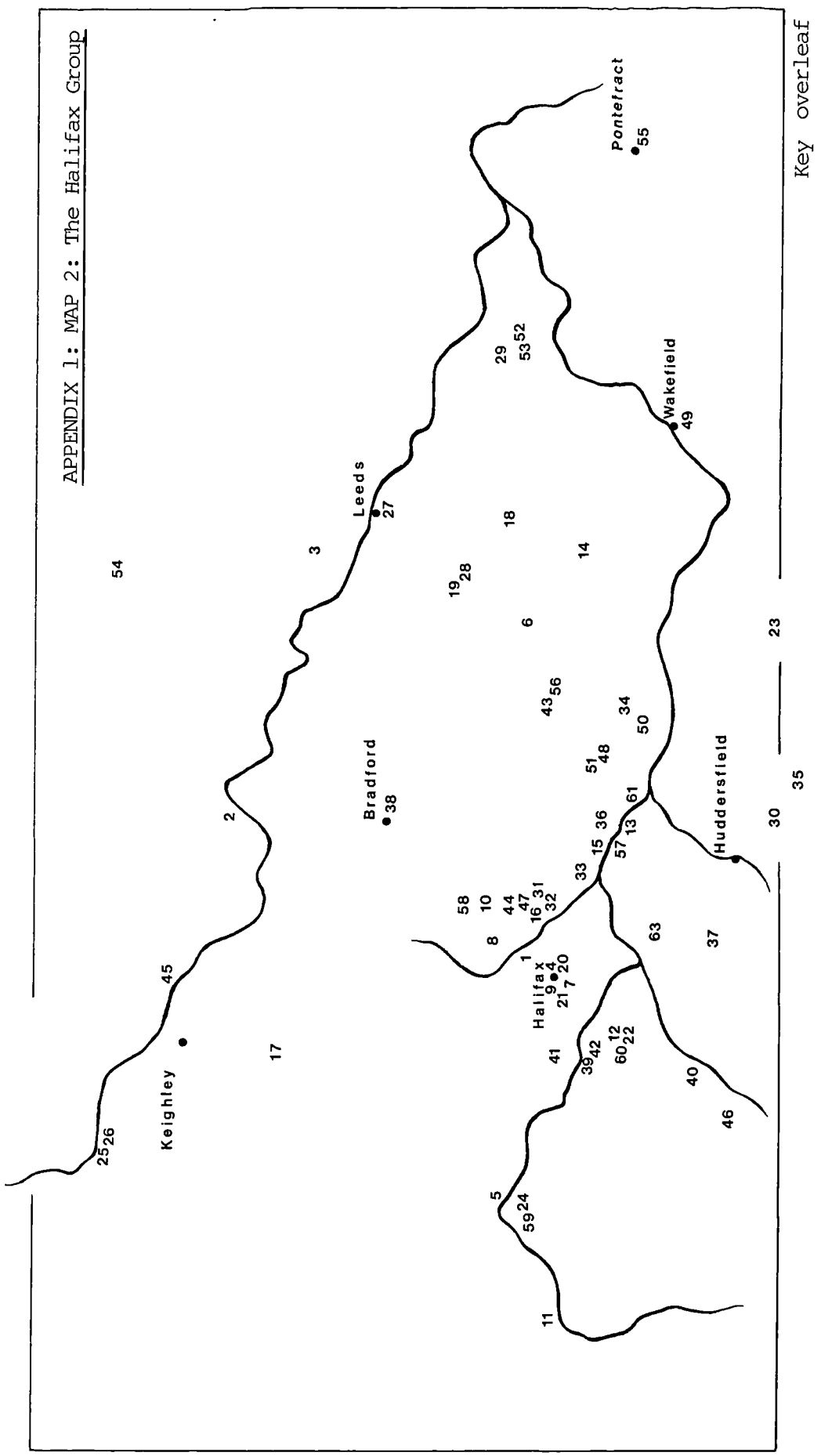


APPENDIX 1: MAP 1: The Wakefield Group

Key over leaf

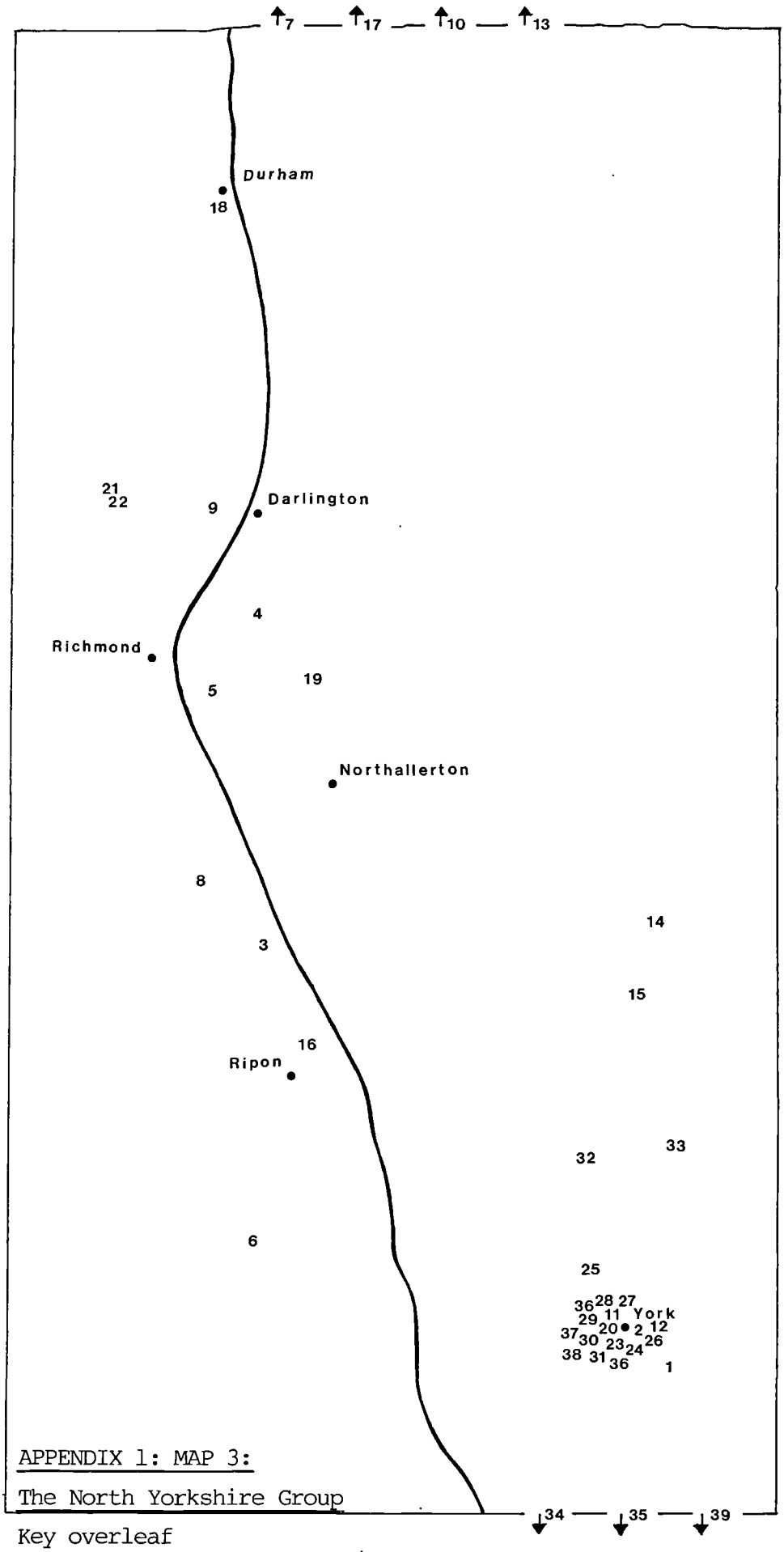
APPENDIX 1: MAP 1: KEY

1. Thornhill Hall
2. Howley Hall
3. Lupset Hall
4. Bradley Hall
5. Methley Hall
6. Barlborough Old Hall
7. Haselden Hall, Wakefield
8. Weston Hall, Otley
9. Tankersley Hall
10. Bretton Hall
11. Wentworth Woodhouse
12. Stanley Hall
13. Horbury Hall
14. Martin Birkhead's house, Wakefield
15. Rectory House, Wakefield
16, Altofts Hall
17. Frobisher Hall, Altofts
18. Ledston Hall
19. Cock & Swan Inn, Wakefield
20. Nether Hall, Horbury
21. Mr Robinson's, Northgate, Wakefield
22. Gosney's Pie Shop, Wakefield
23. Carlton Hall, Rothwell
24. Knabbs Hall, Silkstone
25. Low Farm, Ederthorpe
26. Barkisland Old Hall
27. Barkisland Upper Hall
28. Heath Old Hall, Wakefield
29. Humley Manor House, Newmillerdam
30. Flanshaw Hall
31. Garforth Old Hall
32. Clarke Hall, Wakefield
33. Cross Square, Wakefield
34. Barcroft Hall, Cliviger
35. Stockbridge House, Padiham
36. Gawthorpe Hall, Ightenhill
37. Goldsborough Hall
38. Woodsome Hall, Almondbury
39. Lees Hall, Thornhill
40. Todmorden Hall
41. Greenhead Hall, Huddersfield
42. Shepley Hall
43. Piemont House, Lofthouse
44. Hawksworth Hall
45. Hatfeild Hall, Stanley
46. Milner's Court, Alverthorpe
47. Wormald Hall, Almondbury
48. Chevet Hall, Wakefield
49. Barnbow Hall
50. Shibden Grange, Halifax
51. Kirklees Hall, Brighouse
52. Pegg Farm, Liversedge
53. Old Chamber, Erringden


APPENDIX 1: MAP 2: The Halifax Group
Key overleaf
Keighley
Bradford
Leeds
Halifax
Huddersfield
Wakefield
Pontefract
62
64

APPENDIX 1: MAP 2: KEY

1. Upper Shibden Hall, Halifax
2. Baildon Hall
3. Weetwood Hall, Leeds
4. Old Cock Inn, Halifax
5. High Hurst, Hebden Bridge
6. Oakwell Hall, Birstall
7. Copley Hall, Skircoat
8. Marsh Hall, Northowram
9. Mulcture Hall, Halifax
10. Cinderhills, Coley
11. Bean Hole Head, Todmorden
12. Norland Upper Old Hall
13. Highlee Hall, Brighouse
14. 2-4 South Bank Road, Batley
15. Slead Hall, Brighouse
16. Lane Ends, Hipperholme
17. Far Deanfield, Keighley
18. White Horse Inn, Adwalton
19. Lumb Hall, Drighlington
20. Swan Coppice, Halifax
21. Old Talbot Hotel, Halifax
22. Norland Old Hall
23. Kirkby Grange, Emley
24. Frost Hole, Hebden Royd
25. Kildwick Hall
26. Kildwick Grange
27. Thoresby's house, Leeds
28. Usher Hall, Drighlington
29. Farrer Lane, Oulton
30. Wormald Hall, Almondbury
31. Prior's Mead, Hipperholme
32. Langley House, Hipperholme
33. Back Hall, Southowram
34. Heckmondwyke Hall
35. Fenay Hall, Almondbury
36. Woolrow Farm, Brighouse
37. High Hurst, Huddersfield
38. Ryecroft, Bradford
39. Lower Bentley Royd, Sowerby
40. Howroyd, Barkisland
41. West Royd, Warley
42. Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby
43. Pollard Hall, Gomersal
44. Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme
45. East Riddlesden Hall
46. Upper Cockcroft, Rishworth
47. 19 Towngate, Hipperholme
48. Headlands Hall, Liversedge
49. 5 Old Crown Yard, Wakefield
50. Lowfold Hall, Robertown
51. Lower Hall, Liversedge
52. Commercial Street, Rothwell
53. 36 Commercial St., Rothwell
54. The Nunnery, Arthington
55. Baxter Gate, Pontefract
56. Peel House, Gomersal
57. Granny Hall, Brighouse
58. High Bentley Hall, Shelf
59. Old Chamber, Erringden
60. Binroyd, Norland
61. Kirklees Hall, Brighouse
62. High Hall, Appletreewick
63. New Hall, Elland
64. Cat Hill Hall, Penistone



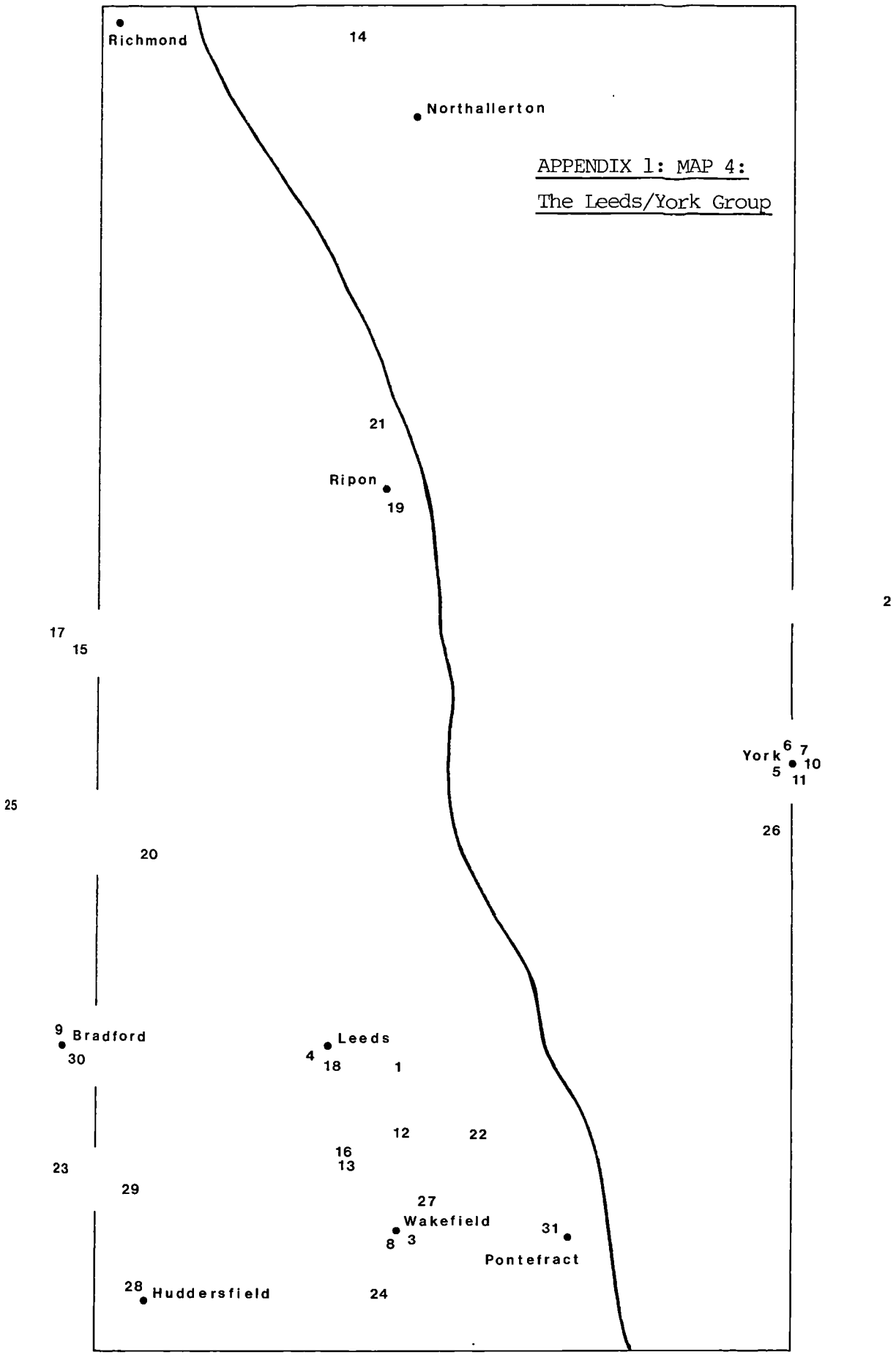
APPENDIX 1: MAP 3:

The North Yorkshire Group

Key overleaf

APPENDIX 1: MAP 3: KEY

1. Heslington Hall
2. Coney Street house, York
3. Kirklington Hall
4. Cowton Grange
5. Brough Hall, Catterick
6. Ripley Castle
7. Edlingham Castle
8. Snape Castle
9. Thornton Hall, Co. Durham
10. Church Street, Berwick-on-Tweed
11. King's Manor, York
12. Micklegate house, York
13. Wressle Castle
14. Helmsley Castle
15. Gilling Castle
16. Hutton Hall
17. Dun Cow Inn, Gateshead
18. 79 Saddler Street, Durham
19. Dromonby Hall
20. 24 Coney Street, York
21. Gainford Hall, Co. Durham
22. Westholme Hall, Co. Durham
23. 29/31 Coney Street, York
24. Herbert House, York
25. Skelton Manor House
26. 49 Stonegate, York
27. 56 Low Petergate, York
28. 18 Micklegate, York
29. 17 Micklegate, York
30. 60 Stonegate, York
31. 17/19 Aldwark, York
32. New Park Lodge, Huby
33. Sheriff Hutton Hall
34. 3 Market Place, Pontefract
35. Thorpe Audlin Manor
36. 2 Minster Court, York
37. 58 Stonegate, York
38. Black Swan Inn, York
39. Hatfield Manor House



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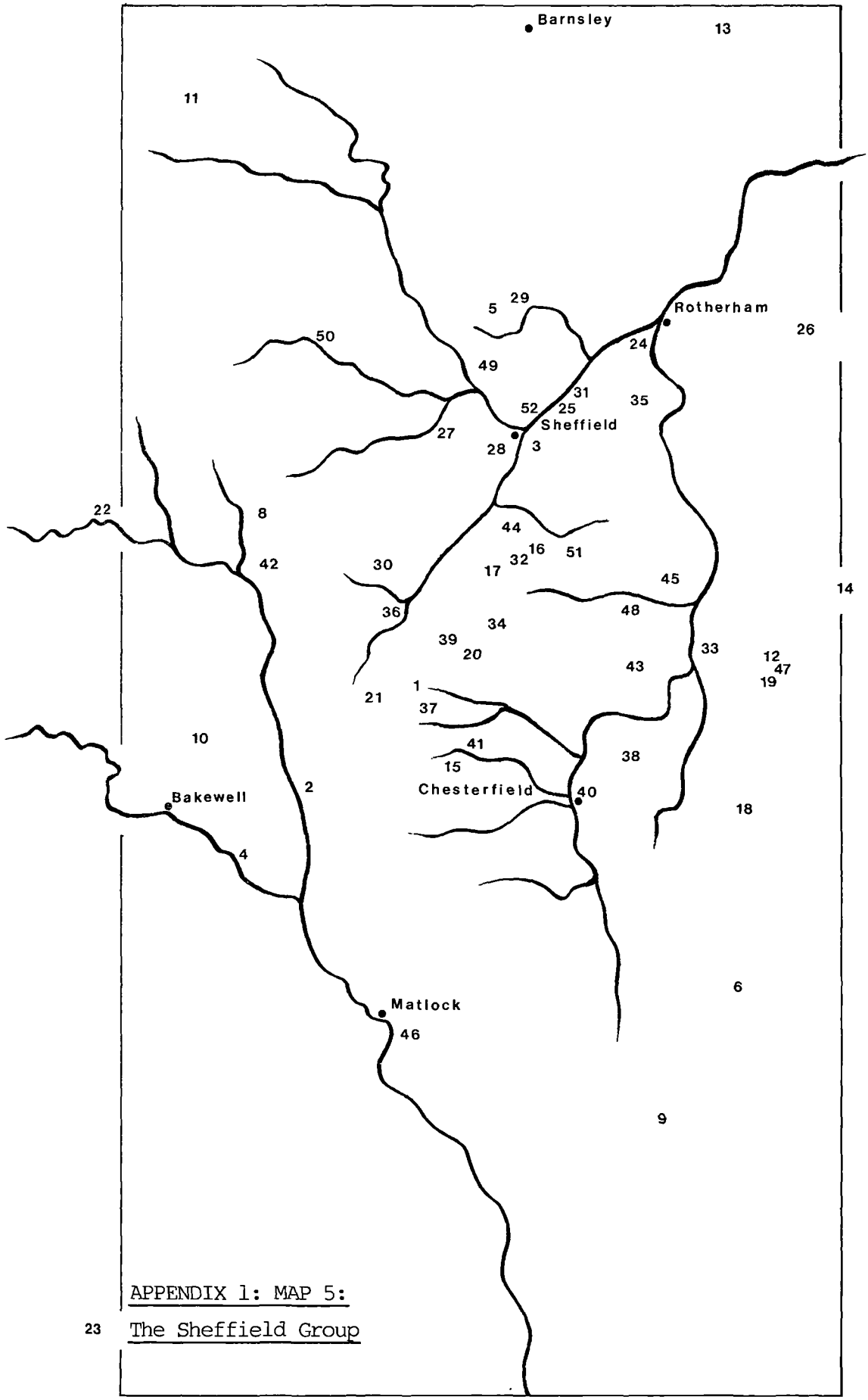
APPENDIX 1: MAP 4: KEY

1. Temple Newsam House
2. Sheriff Hutton Hall
3. All Saints' Church, Wakefield
4. St. John's Church, Leeds
5. 5/7 Coney Street, York
6. 1 St.Martin's Lane, York
7. 6 North Street, York
8. 162 Westgate, Wakefield
9. Bolling Hall, Bradford
10. Stonegate house, York
11. George Inn, Coney St., York
12. Pargetted house, Rothwell
13. Old Hall, East Ardsley
14. Lazenby Hall, Danby Wiske
15. Bewerley Old Hall
16. Vicarage House, East Ardsley
17. Hole Bottom, Bewerley
18. Knostrop Hall, Leeds
19. 17 Market Place, Ripon
20. Kirkgate, Otley
21. Middle Parks Farm, Ripon
22. Woodhall Manor House, Mickletown
23. Lower Crow Nest, Hipperholme
24. Pug Cottage, Crigglestone
25. Low House, Addingham
26. Bishopthorpe Palace, York
27. Clarke Hall, Wakefield
28. Newhouse Hall, Huddersfield
29. Cottage at Liversedge
30. Horton Old Hall, Bradford
31. Gardiner's House, Pontefract



APPENDIX 1: MAP 5:

The Sheffield Group

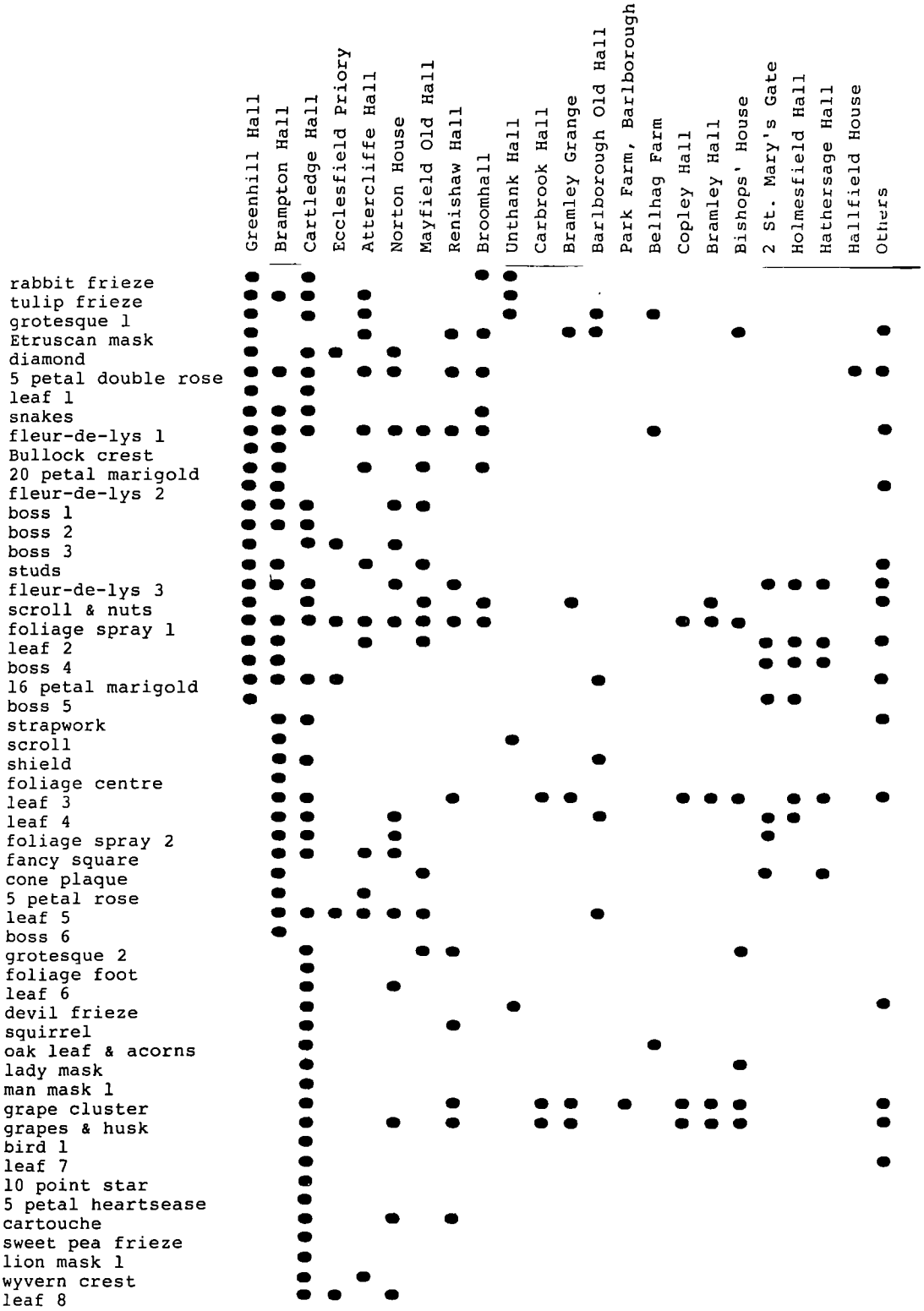
Key overleaf

APPENDIX 1: MAP 5: KEY

1. Tanyard Farm, Millthorpe
2. Chatsworth House
3. Sheffield Manor
4. Haddon Hall, Bakewell
5. Whitley Hall, Ecclesfield
6. Hardwick Hall
7. Tickhill Castle
8. North Lees Hall, Hathersage
9. Carnfield Hall, South Normanton
10. Hassop Hall
11. Hazlehead Hall, Penistone
12. Barlborough Hall
13. Great Houghton Hall
14. Thorpe Salvin Hall
15. Brampton Old Hall
16. Norton Hall
17. Greenhill Hall, Norton
18. Bolsover Castle
19. Barlborough Old Hall
20. Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield
21. Unthank Hall, Holmesfield
22. New Hall, Castleton
23. Old Hall Farm, Mayfield
24. Ickles Hall, Rotherham
25. Attercliffe Hall
26. Bramley Grange, Rotherham
27. Bellhag Farm, Sheffield
28. Broomhall, Sheffield
29. Ecclesfield Priory
30. Dore Hall, Sheffield
31. Carbrook Hall, Sheffield
32. Norton House
33. Renishaw Hall
34. Dronfield Woodhouse Hall
35. Haworth Hall, Tinsley
36. Totley Hall, Sheffield
37. Barlow Woodseats Hall
38. Brimington Hall
39. Holmesfield Hall
40. 2 St. Mary's Gate, Chesterfield
41. Cutthorpe Hall
42. Hathersage Hall
43. The Hagge, Staveley
44. Bishops' House, Sheffield
45. Mosborough Hall
46. Riber Hall, Matlock
47. Park Farm, Barlborough
48. Bramley Hall, Marsh Lane
49. Copley Hall, Birley Carr
50. Hallfield House, Bradfield
51. Mansion House Farm, Norton
52. Washford Bridge, Attercliffe

APPENDIX 2: TABLE 1: ENRICHMENT CHRONOLOGY

The North Yorkshire Group



APPENDIX 2: TABLE 2: ENRICHMENT CHRONOLOGY

The Sheffield Group

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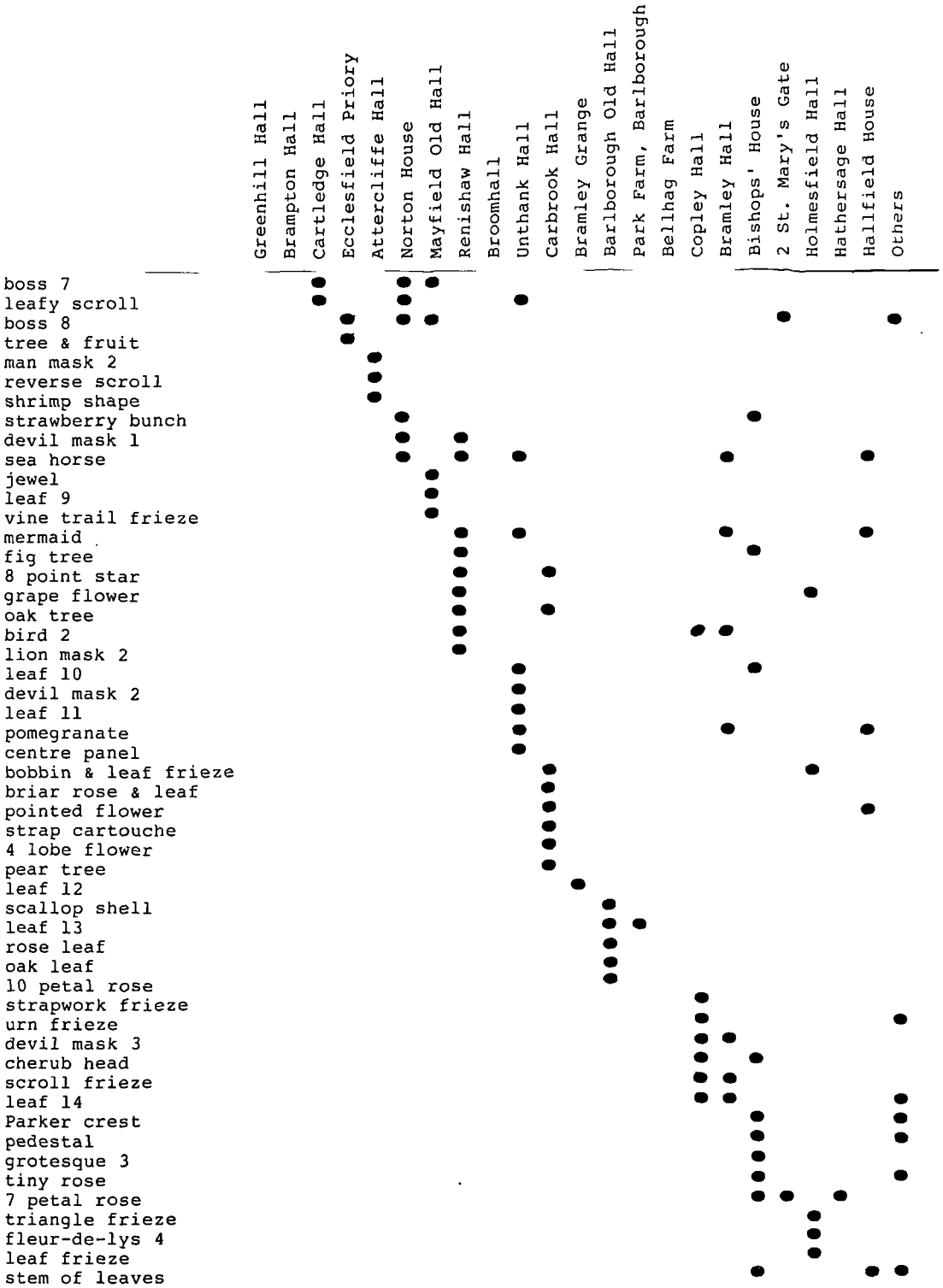
Greenhill Hall
Brampton Hall
Cartledge Hall
Ecclesfield Priory
Attercliffe Hall
Norton House
Mayfield Old Hall
Renishaw Hall
Broomhall
Unthank Hall
Carbrook Hall
Bramley Grange
Barlborough Old Hall
Park Farm, Barlborough
Bellhag Farm
Copley Hall
Bramley Hall
Bishops' House
2 St. Mary's Gate
Holmesfield Hall
Hathersage Hall
Hallfield House
Others
boss 7
leafy scroll
boss 8
tree & fruit
man mask 2
reverse scroll
shrimp shape
strawberry bunch
devil mask 1
sea horse
jewel
leaf 9
vine trail frieze
mermaid
fig tree
8 point star
grape flower
oak tree
bird 2
lion mask 2
leaf 10
devil mask 2
leaf 11
pomegranate
centre panel
bobbin & leaf frieze
briar rose & leaf
pointed flower
strap cartouche
4 lobe flower
pear tree
leaf 12
scallop shell
leaf 13
rose leaf
oak leaf
10 petal rose
strapwork frieze
urn frieze
devil mask 3
cherub head
scroll frieze
leaf 14
Parker crest
pedestal
grotesque 3
tiny rose
7 petal rose
triangle frieze
fleur-de-lys 4
leaf frieze
stem of leaves

APPENDIX 3: Buildings in Yorkshire with decorative plasterwork unrelated to the identified groups

1. Appletreewick, Parceval Hall: Diamond-panel butterpress moulding applied as a frieze.
2. Aske Old Hall: frieze of lion masks and putto supporting shields after the fashion of those at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield and fleurs-de-lys and cone-shaped bosses fixed alternately on a window soffit.
3. Conistone, Tophams Farm: overmantel showing stylised tree, date 1697 and ownership initials.
4. Halifax, Shibden Hall: lion mask enrichment in ceiling of room above entrance porch, c.1574.
5. Kilnsey Old Hall: First floor room with fragments of a plaster frieze of conventional flowers and foliage, with the numerals 16 and letter W.
6. Kirkheaton, Whitley Beaumont Hall: ceiling of c.1600 displaying repeat enrichments of a hart and leaf, now preserved in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield.
7. Redmire, Lightfoot Hall: overmantel formed of eight identical moulded panels with geometric design.
8. Richmond, Bowes Hospital: Two portions of frieze in ground floor room showing putto supporting shield in like manner as that at Aske Old Hall. Eleanor Bowes of Aske founded the hospital in 1607.
9. Richmond, 22 New Biggin: ceiling panel of broad channelled ribwork forming a circle within a square, with cast of double rose at the centre.
10. Scarborough, 23 Harbour: ceiling of ribwork design with large ten petal rose and sinuous leaves. Strapwork panels filled with parrots. Overmantel has ogee panel containing emblematic figure and strapwork, above which are knotted serpents and foliage.
11. Sexhow Hall Farm: beam soffit plaster casing of a design of griffins, pedestals and foliage. It may relate to the beam-soffit work of the post-1600 York houses.

12. Steeton Hall: moulded ribwork ceilings, one of which is dated 1662 with the initials WG (West Yorkshire Archaeological Service information).
13. Wakefield, 116 Westgate: plasterwork fragments of a Prince of Wales feather and motto 'hic den', and stars and suns, now in Wakefield Museum. Labelled as 17th century, but probably earlier.

APPENDIX 4: Buildings in Derbyshire with decorative plasterwork not belonging to the Sheffield Group

1. Beeley Hill Top: great chamber plasterwork ceiling, frieze and overmantel. The overmantel has James I's arms whilst the ceiling and frieze are of strapwork with studs and masks. A high quality piece of work unrelated to anything else in the region. Installed by the Greaves family c.1603.
2. Chapel-en-le-Frith, Bradshaw Hall: ribwork ceiling with central rose, and frieze containing inscription. It may relate to a similar plasterwork inscription at North Lees Hall, Hathersage.
3. Cromford Bridge House: frieze made of repeat casts of strapwork and foliage panels.
4. Matlock, Snitterton Hall: unusual moulded plaster profiles on ceilings by windows.
5. Kniveton, Woodhead Farm; Wirksworth, Babbington House; Wirksworth, 1-3 Green Hill: all three houses have butterpress moulds of birds and creatures set in rectangular panels. 1-3 Green Hill had the date 1631 in plaster, also.
6. Carsington Old Manor; Wirksworth, Hope and Anchor Inn; Wirksworth, Marsden's Hardware Shop; Wirksworth, Old Manor House: all four buildings have ribwork ceilings c.1600 with mould-cast enrichments which have an affinity with the decorative plasterwork in the entrance tower rooms at Haddon Hall.

APPENDIX 5: Repositories with plasterwork fragments from demolished buildings

Bankfield Museum, Boothtown, Halifax : Binroyd, Norland
Cinderhills, Coley
Mulcture Hall, Halifax
Bentley Royd, Sowerby
Shibden Grange, Halifax

Leeds City Museum : Cowton Grange

Pontefract Museum : Bratley's Chemists, Market Place, Pontefract

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England : Edlingham Castle

Sheffield City Museums : Copley Hall, Sheffield
Greenhill Hall, Sheffield
Sheffield Manor

Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield : Whitley Beaumont Hall

Victoria & Albert Museum, London : Copley Hall, Halifax

Wakefield Museum : Chevet Hall
Clarke Hall, Wakefield
Cock & Swan Inn, Wakefield
Haselden Hall, Wakefield
Hatfeild Hall, Stanley
Heath Old Hall, Wakefield
Nether Hall, Horbury
Humley Manor House, Newmillerdam
Martin Birkhead's House, Wakefield
116 Westgate, Wakefield

York Archaeological Trust : 28/31 Coney Steet, York

Yorkshire Museum : St. Martin's Lane house

1.1 See p.21
The Royal Arms of Elizabeth I from a ceiling at Haselden Hall, Wakefield, installed by Mr George Savile in 1584, and now to be seen in Wakefield Museum.

1.2 See p.21
A plaster plaque from the ceiling of Haselden Hall, Wakefield, bearing the initials G & MS for George and Mary Savile and the date of installation, 1584. The owl perched on a barrel - a 'hasel' on a 'tun' - is a pun on the name Haselden.

1.3 See p.21
Plaster date plaque of 1584 from Haselden Hall, now in Wakefield Museum. Plaster date plaques with a pelleted surround, such as this, are a recurrent feature in the work of the Wakefield plasterers.

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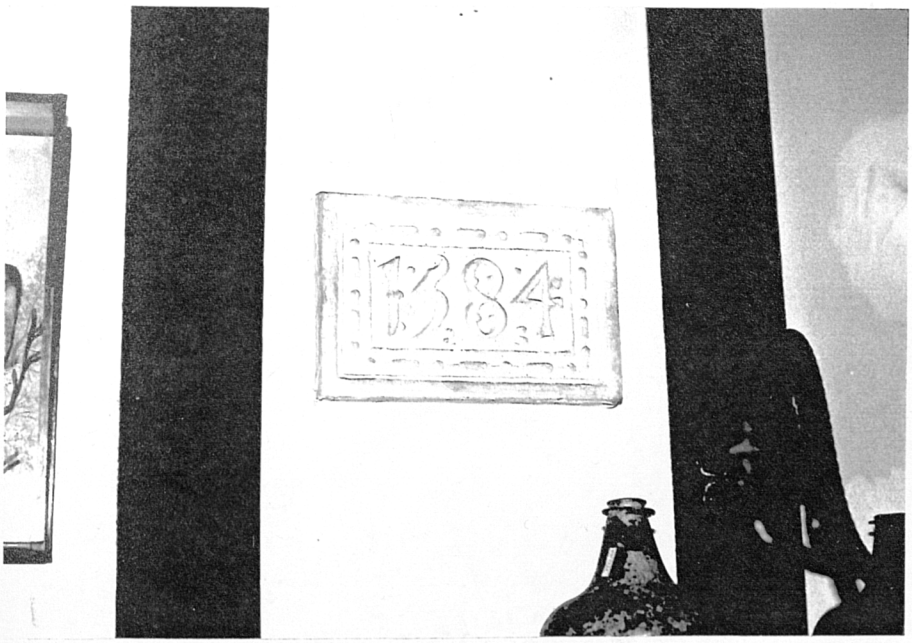

1.4 See p.22
The great chamber overmantel at Barlborough Old Hall, Derbyshire, c.1618, displaying the arms of Sir John Savile and his wife Jane Garth. The mould from which this armorial was cast had previously been employed at Haselden Hall, Wakefield, in 1584, and was probably originally created for work at Bradley Hall near Halifax in 1580.

1.5 See p.23
Plaster panel showing a stylised bunch of grapes from the former parlour ceiling at Horbury Hall, installed for Thomas Savile, the son of Mr George Savile of Haselden Hall, in 1595.

1.6 See p.24
Arms of the Birkhead family, flanked by the initials MB for Martin Birkhead, installed in 1584 at his house in Wakefield. The ceiling is now stored in wooden crates in Wakefield Museum.

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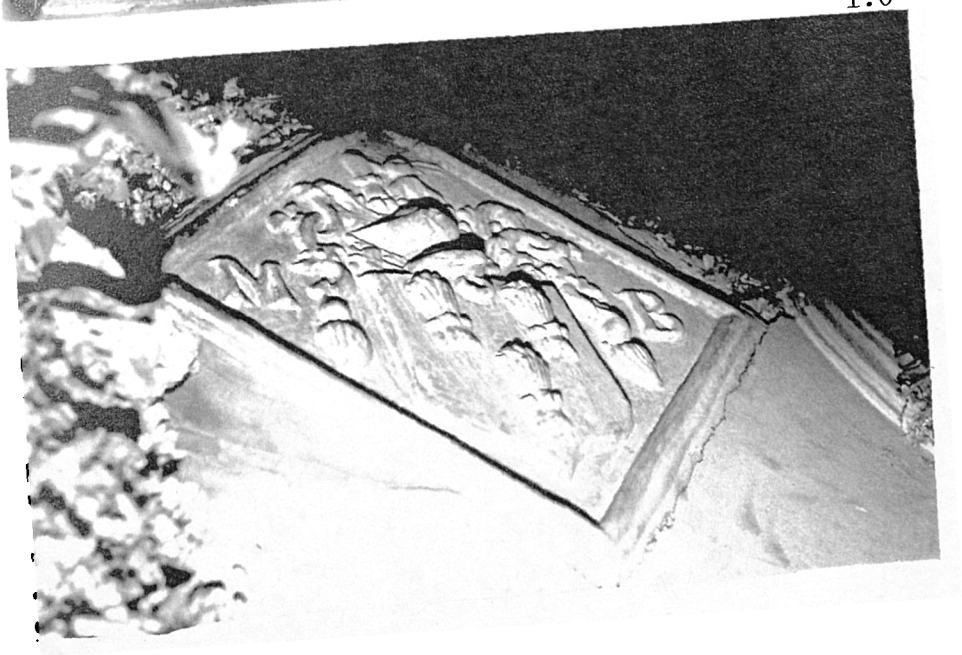

1.7 See p.25
The Royal Arms of Elizabeth I; with the initials ER, rescued from a ceiling dated 1593 during the demolition of the Cock & Swan Inn, Wakefield, and now displayed in Wakefield Museum

1.8 See p.26 and p.246
Ceiling dated 1596 in Mr Robinson's shop, Northgate, Wakefield before restoration in 1992. Enrichments shown include the Royal Arms of Elizabeth I, the Tudor rose surmounted by a crown, fleurs-de lys, 1596 date plaque and the stylised grape-bunch from the same mould employed at Horbury Hall in 1595.

1.9 See p.26
Plaster frieze in Mr Robinson's shop, Northgate, Wakefield, before restoration in 1992, featuring a flowerpot with flowers, right and left facing wyverns, and two mermaids with a scallop shell between.

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1.10 See p.27
Overmantel from Low Farm, Ederthorpe, installed for Sir John Jackson and his wife Elizabeth Savile. It features the Royal Arms of Elizabeth I flanked by a pair of flower pots and half-lozenges. The appearance of the Savile owl crest would indicate that the moulds from which these enrichments were cast had previously been employed in the great Savile houses in West Yorkshire.

1.11 See p.27
Circular ceiling panel from Barkisland Upper Hall, dated 1596 and bearing the initials MG & DG for Michael and Dorothy Gledhill. The stylised grape-bunch, tiny fleur-de-lys and floral device are all found in other Wakefield area plaster-work.

1.12 See p.27
Fragments from the parlour ceiling installed by the Halifax plasterers c.1630 at Oakwell Hall, Birstall, and destroyed in the 19th century. The lion mask on the right previously appeared above the half-lozenge on the Ederthorpe overmantel (Pl.1.10) in association with Wakefield area enrichments.

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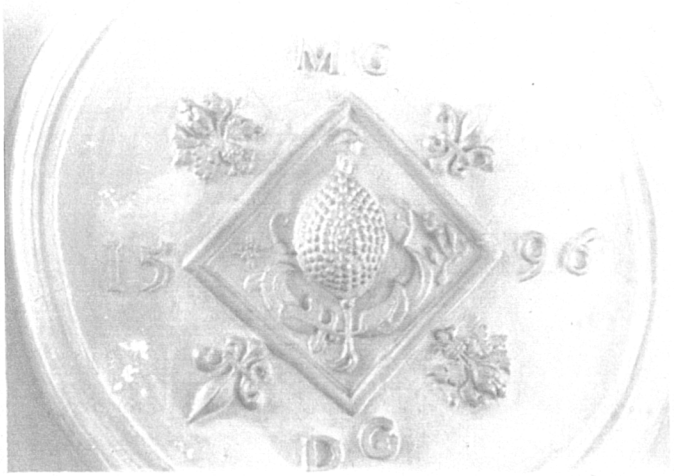

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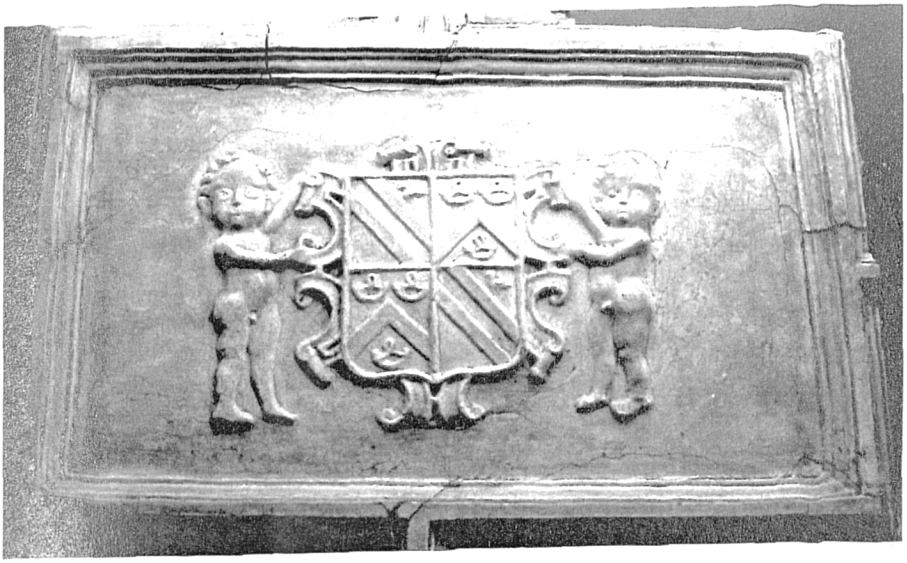
1.13 See p.28 and p.59
Arms of John Kaye of Dalton quartered with Jane Dodsworth of Shelley, supported by putto, from the great chamber ceiling at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield, c.1584.

1.14 See p.28
The Kaye family crest of a griffin holding a key in its beak from the great chamber ceiling at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield, built for John Kaye between 1580 and 1584.

1.15 See p.30 and p.234
Circular boss, consisting of an outer collar or ring and an inner plug or pendant, pre-cast for assembly on site, found amongst the debris of the 16th century ceiling at Clarke Hall Wakefield. It appears to match others to be seen in photographs of the demolished Heath Old Hall, Wakefield.



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1.16 See p.31 and p.234
Fleurs-de-lys castings from the ceiling at Clarke Hall, Wakefield. These are virtually identical to fleurs-de-lys in the ceilings at Levens Hall, Kendal, Cumbria.

1.17 See p.31
Spiral grape vine design, formerly from a house in Cross Square, Wakefield, now installed at Clarke Hall, Wakefield. The design relates to similar work at Bleaze Hall in Westmorland.

1.18 See p.31
Vine trail frieze fragment from Gosney's Pie Shop, Wakefield, featuring leaves cast from the same mould as others at Bleaze Hall, Westmorland.

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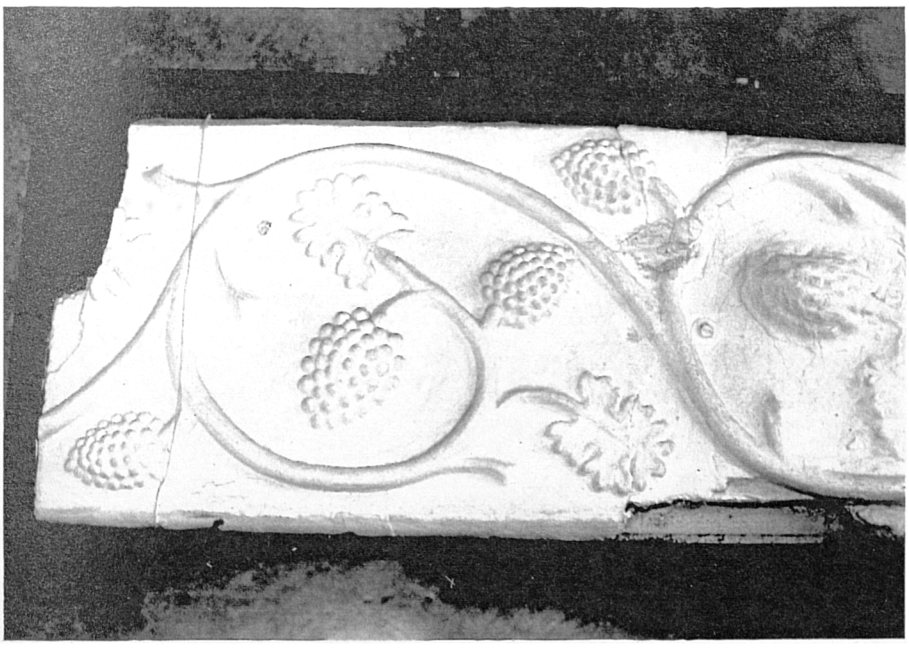
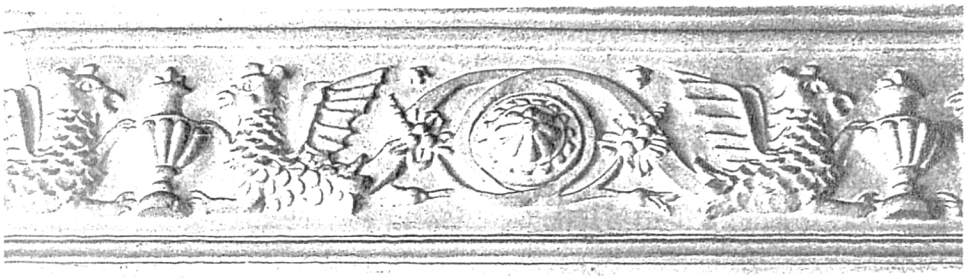


l.19 See p.33 and p.254
Frieze of wyverns and urn at Gawthorpe Hall, 1604, which may have previously featured in the plasterwork of the great chamber at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield, c.1584.

l.20 See p.34
Fireplace overmantel dated 1603 in the long gallery at Gawthorpe Hall. The ornamental band beneath the dentilled cornice is from a mould previously employed at Woodsome Hall Almondbury in 1602.

l.21 See p.35 and p.59
Ceiling panel at Woodsome Hall, Almondbury (1602), featuring an ornament strip and stylised pomegranate used at Gawthorpe Hall in 1603, and putto supporters previously seen at Heath Old Hall, Wakefield, 1580-84.



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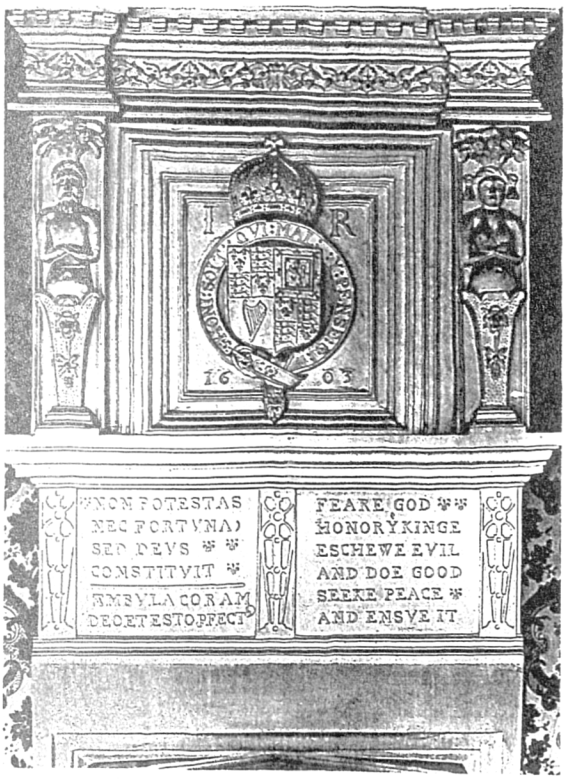
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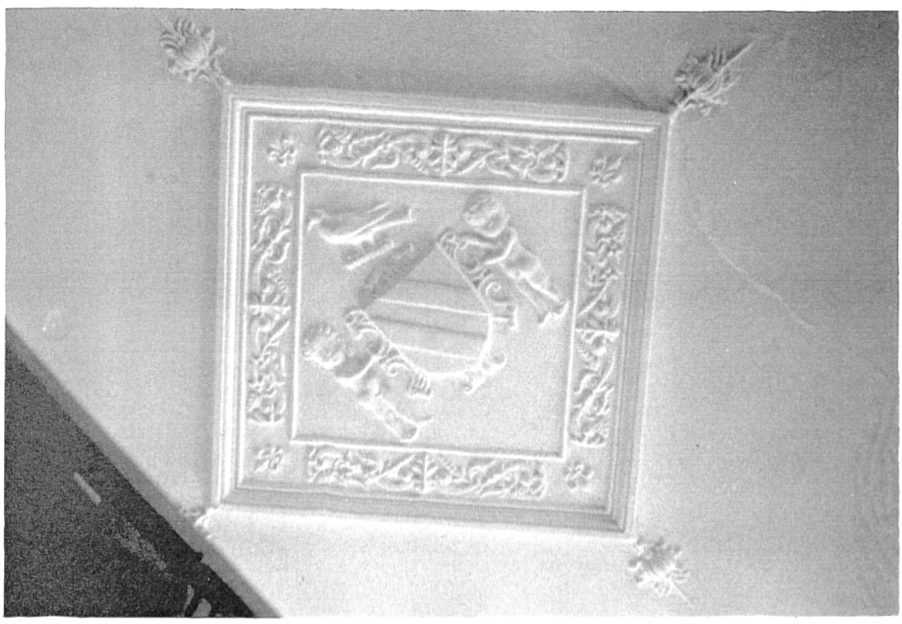
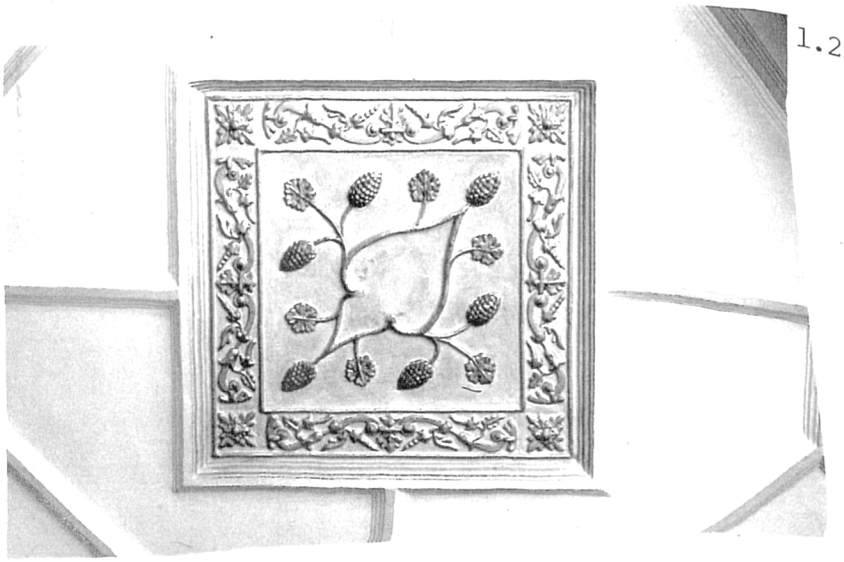


1.22 See p.35
Ceiling panel at Goldsborough Hall (post 1600) featuring an ornament strip used at Gawthorpe Hall in 1603 and Woodsome Hall, Almondbury, in 1602.

1.23 See p.37
The hand-modelled plaster frieze of Gawthorpe Hall's 'dyninge chamber', completed in 1605, featuring mermaids with flowing hair derived from earlier versions in Robinson's shop, Northgate, Wakefield [see Plate 1.9]. Similar mould-cast mermaids feature in Wakefield area work of the post-1600 period [see Plate 1.27].

1.24 See p.37 and p.251
Plasterwork in the tympanum of the great chamber at Hawksworth Hall, Otley, featuring Walter Hawksworth's initials, arms and the date 1611. The figures of Fortitude and Temperance recall figures flanking the Shuttleworth arms at Gawthorpe, whilst the wyvern and urn frieze beneath is a variant of a frieze also found at Gawthorpe.

1.22



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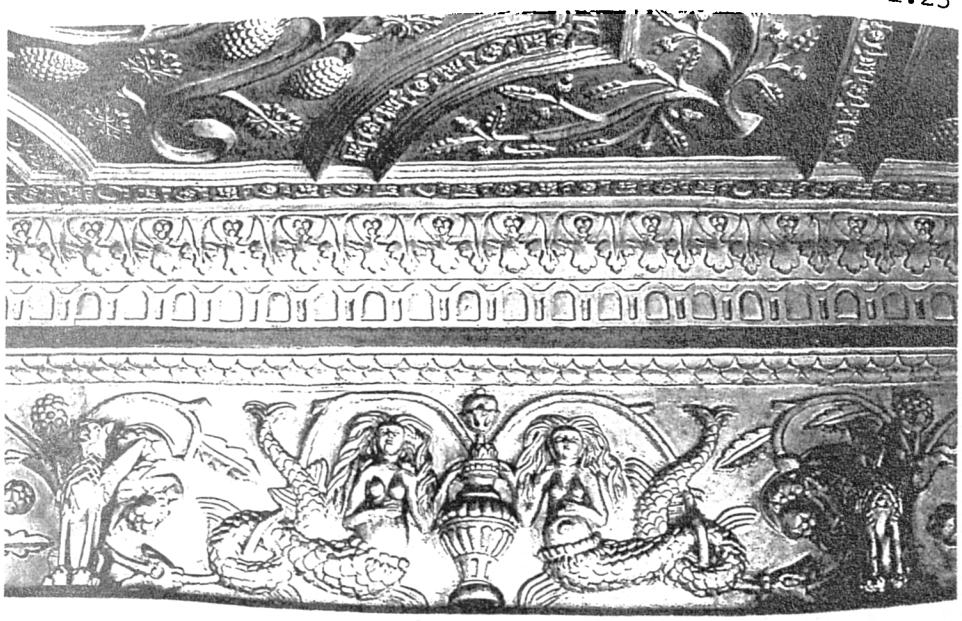

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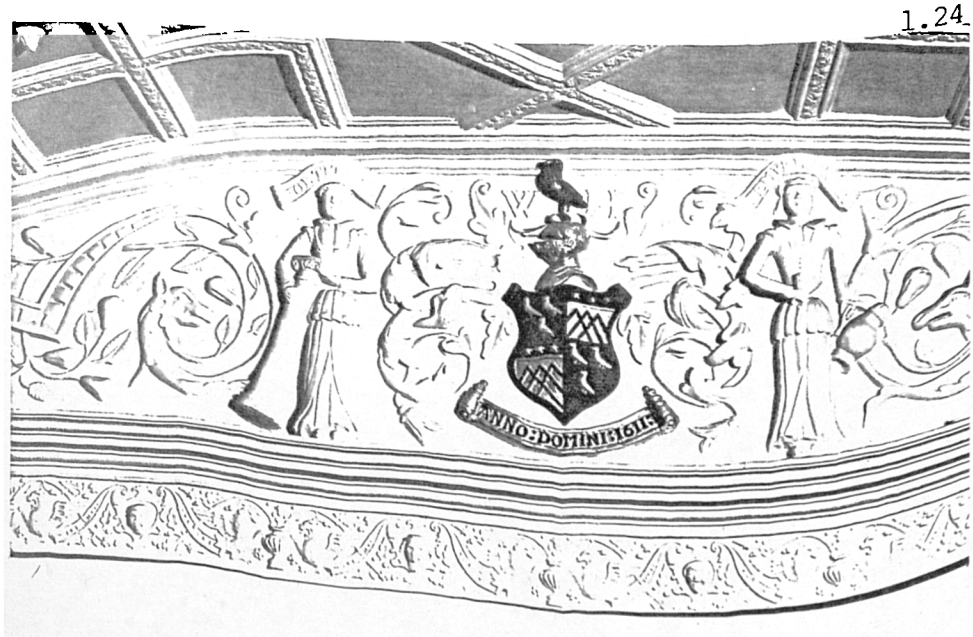
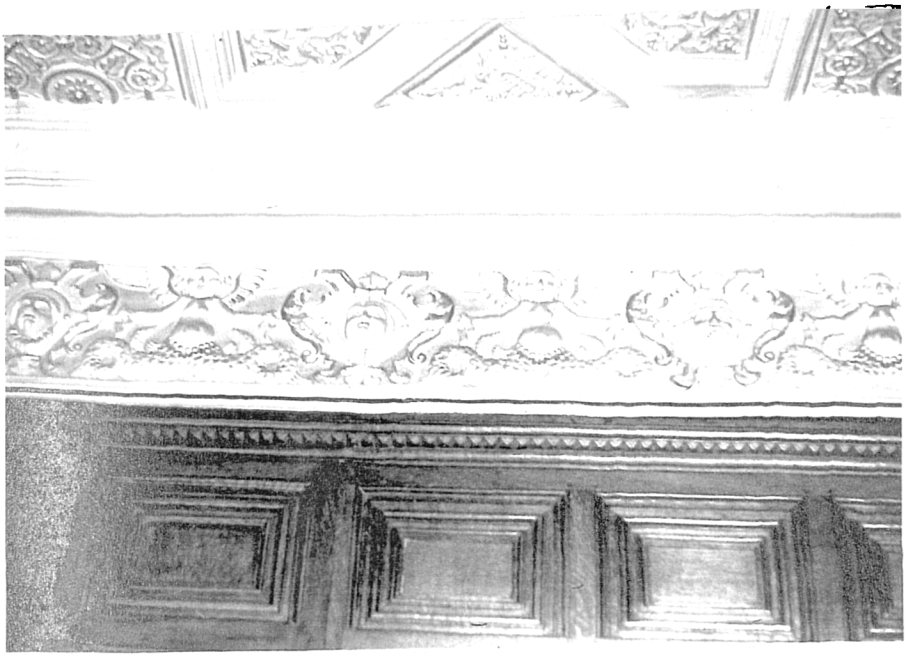


1.25 See p.38 and p.253
Frieze at Goldsborough Hall, Knaresborough, featuring a series of masks set on cartouches alternating with a winged double-tailed mermaid with flowing hair.

1.26 See p.40
Plaster frieze at Todmorden Hall showing lion masks set in strapwork roundels supported by heraldic wyverns. The wyverns are possibly derived from earlier versions at Robinson's Shop Northgate, Wakefield [see Plate 1.9].

1.27 See p.41
Merman and mermaids frieze from Hatfeild Hall, Stanley, rebuilt by Gervase and Grace Hatfeild in 1608. The same mould was used at Piemont House, Lofthouse, for the parlour frieze.



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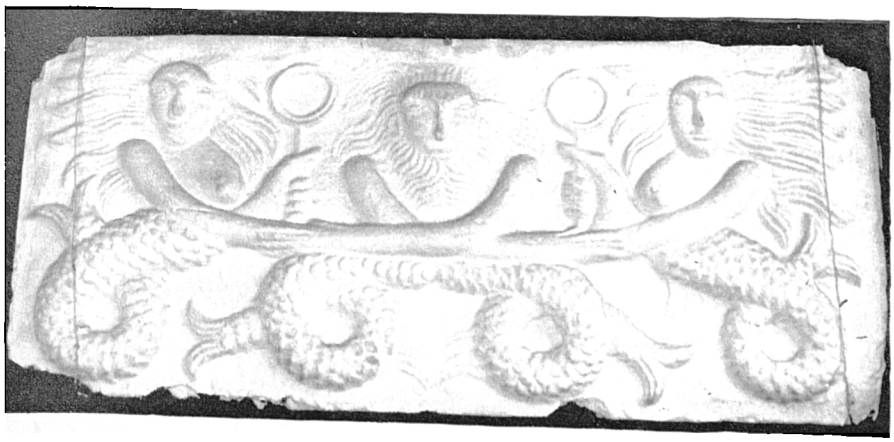
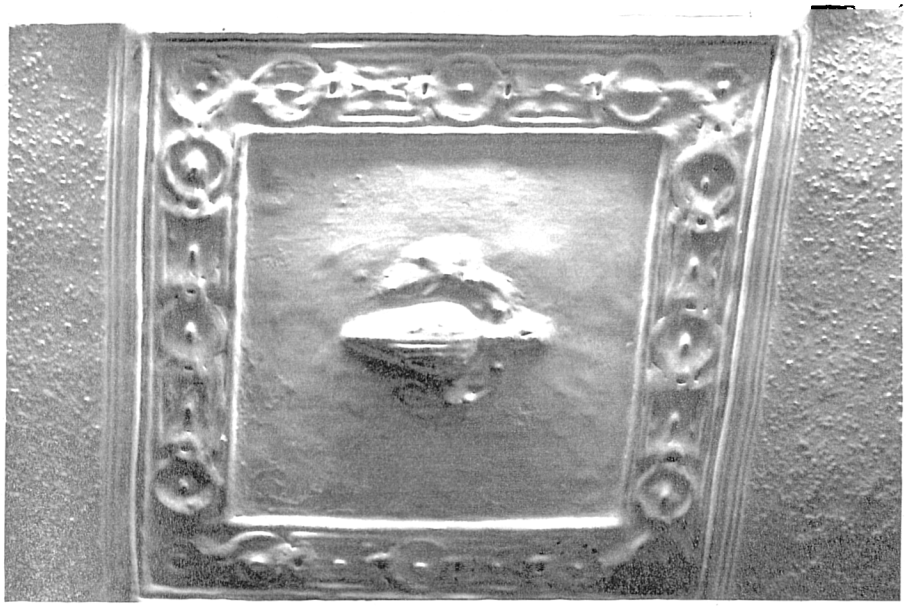


1.27

1.28 See p.42
Ceiling panel at Wormald's Hall, Almondbury. The stylised grape-bunch is from a mould employed at Woodsome Hall nearby in 1602, whilst the border design is similar to one at Carlton Hall, Rothwell, and another which existed at Haselden Hall, Wakefield.

1.29 See p.43 and p.231
Section of frieze from Chevet Hall, Wakefield, c.1603, showing the Stuart supporters, the lion and unicorn, facing an oak tree. Their reversed heraldic position is due to the wooden mould having been carved in reverse relief whilst copying from the pattern.

1.30 See p.44
The great chamber ceiling and frieze at Lees Hall, Thornhill installed for Edward Nettleton between 1603-1612. The frieze features the lion and unicorn from the same mould as had been used at Chevet Hall, Wakefield, whilst the ceiling features a panel of 4 linked fleurs-de-lys from a mould previously employed at Piemont House, Lofthouse. The marigold set between 2 acanthus leaves is a design previously seen at Gawthorpe Hall, 1603-1605.



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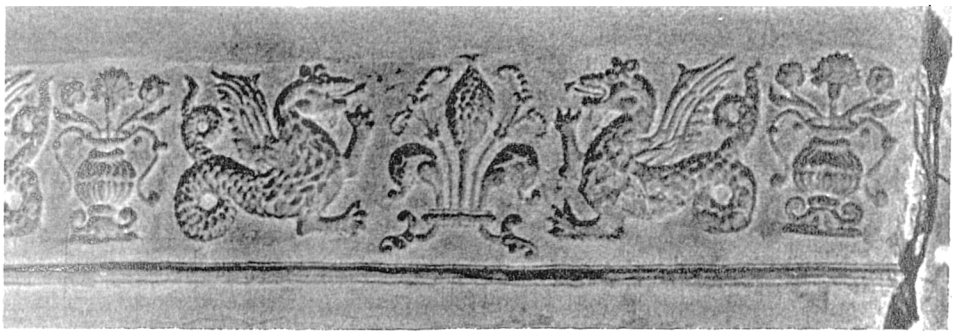
1.31 See p.45
Frieze from Shibden Grange, Halifax, now displayed at the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, consisting of a flower pot device, intricate fleur-de-lys, and wyverns from the mould used in 1608 at Hatfeild Hall, Stanley.

2.1 See p.52, p.72 & p.254
Mural plasterwork at West Royd, Warley, installed for Martin Milnes in the 1630s. The lion mask is from a mould which had been used at Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire, in 1603-05. The opposed creatures and urn, at bottom right, is another Lancashire motif, seen also at Watermeetings, Barrowford.

2.2 See p.53
Ceiling at Baildon Hall c.1627, displaying a ribwork arrangement of circles and Greek crosses. The stemwork which fills the compartments is characterised by a tightly-curled tendril, one of the mannerisms of the plasterer, Francis Lee (d.1638).



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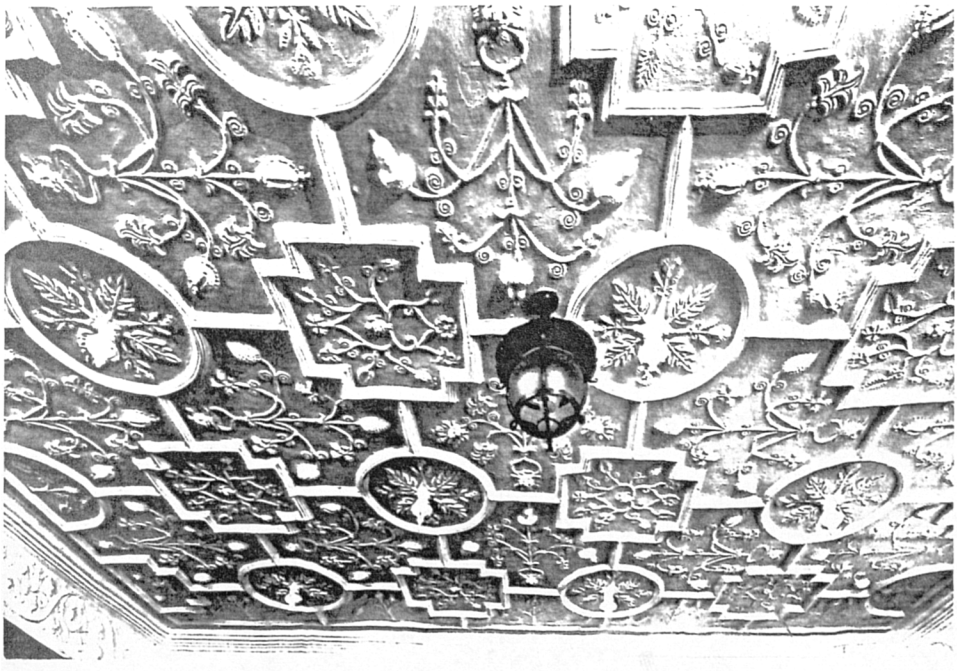
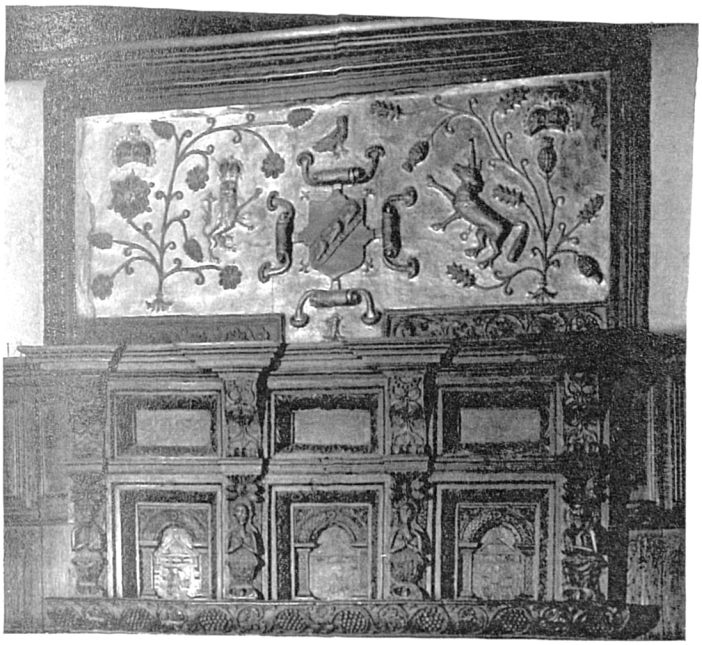


2.3 See p.54
Portion of the parlour ceiling at Weetwood Hall, Leeds c.1630, showing the Halifax group's 'trademark' of the Savile owl tucked into a side compartment, and a distinctive flower with six heart-shaped petals.

2.4 See p.54 & p.58
Overmantel in the Old Cock Inn, Halifax, featuring the flower with six heart-shaped petals and the Royal supporters incorrectly flanking the Savile arms with the bend on the shield in reverse position.

2.5 See p.55
Mural plasterwork from High Hurst near Hebden Bridge, 1629, in an arrangement of circles and Greek crosses after the ceiling layouts at Baildon Hall and Weetwood Hall.

2.3



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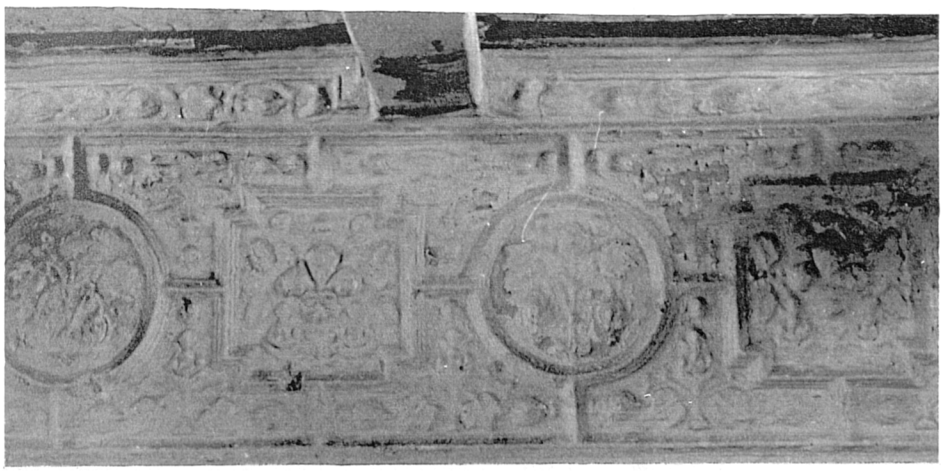
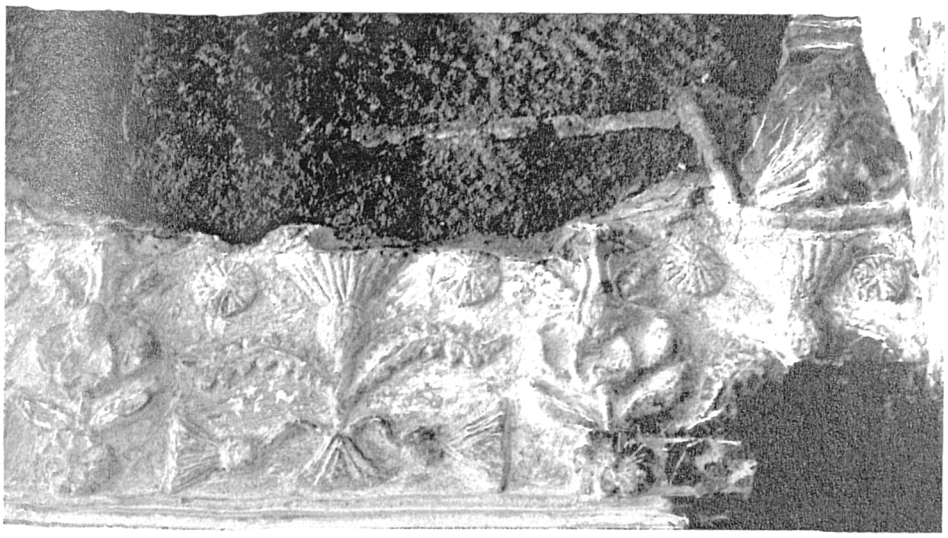


2.6 See p.55
Detail of the High Hurst mural plasterwork showing floral motifs and the Savile owl tucked into a little square panel at top right.

2.7 See p.55
Fragments of the beam soffit ornament from the parlour at Oakwell Hall, Birstall c.1631, showing the wyvern and urn frieze from the same mould which had been used at Gawthorpe Hall in 1604. Compare with Plate 1.19.

2.8 See p.34 & p.55
Mould-cast plasterwork in the window reveals of the parlour at Oakwell Hall, Birstall, showing a lion mask with annulet, caryatid figure and exotic lady enrichments.



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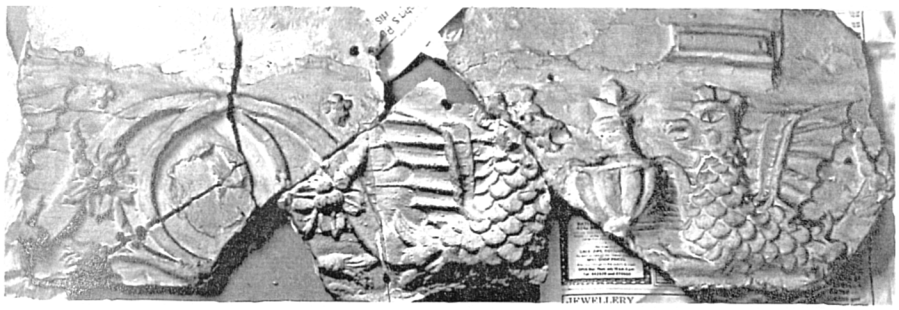

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2.9 See p.56
Coat of arms of Sir George Savile of Thornhill (d.1614) and his wife, Anne Wentworth (d.1633), from a mural panel formerly at Copley Hall, Skircoat.

2.10 See p.56
Portion of a plaster ceiling at Marsh Hall, Northowram, installed between 1635 and 1637 for John and Mary Oates, and featuring the exotic lady as at Oakwell Hall (see Plate 2.8) and curly tendrils as at Baildon Hall (see Plate 2.2).

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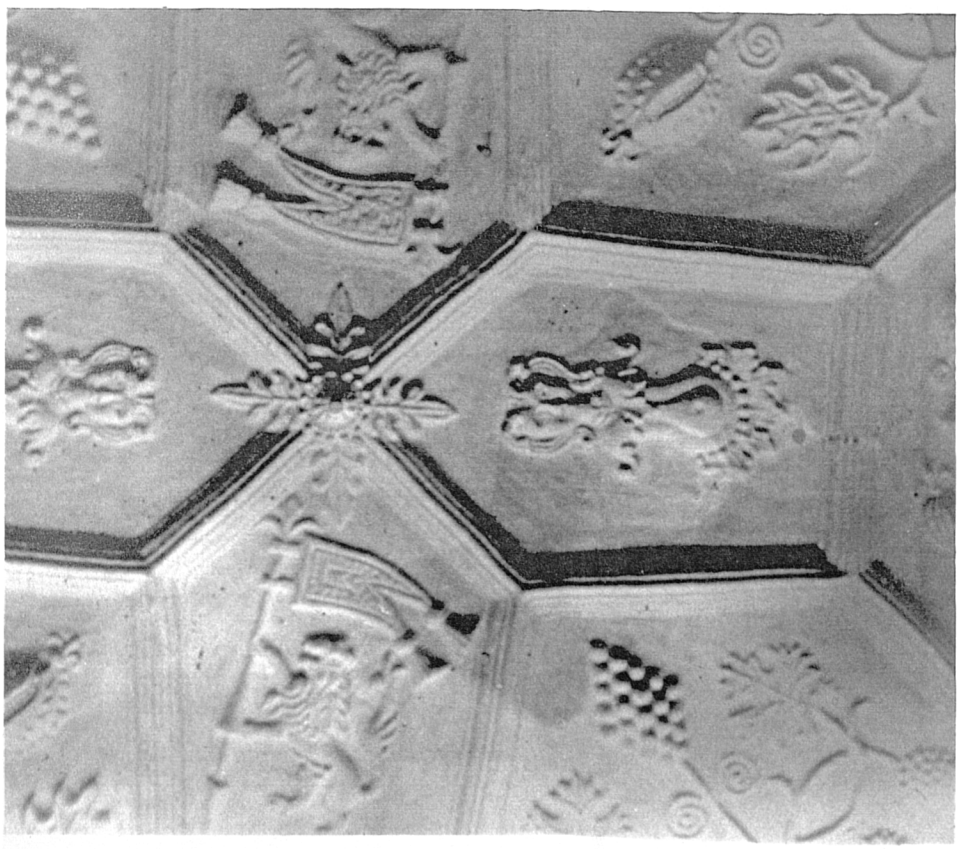
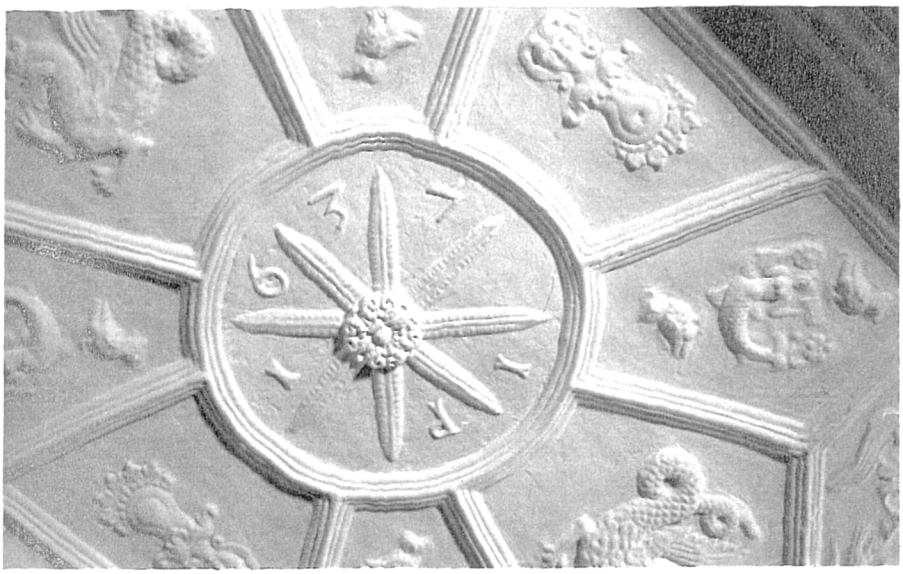


2.10

2.11 See p.56
Portion of a plaster ceiling from Mulcture Hall, Halifax, installed for John Power in 1637. Now refixed in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, it displays familiar enrichments, such as the exotic lady, Savile owl and heraldic wyvern.

2.12 See p.57
Overmantel at Bean Hole Head, Stansfield, with the Royal Arms dated 1634 and the tightly-curled tendril much in evidence.

2.13 See p.57.
Overmantel at Norland Upper Old Hall. This 'carbon copy' of the Bean Hole Head work is dated a year later, 1635.



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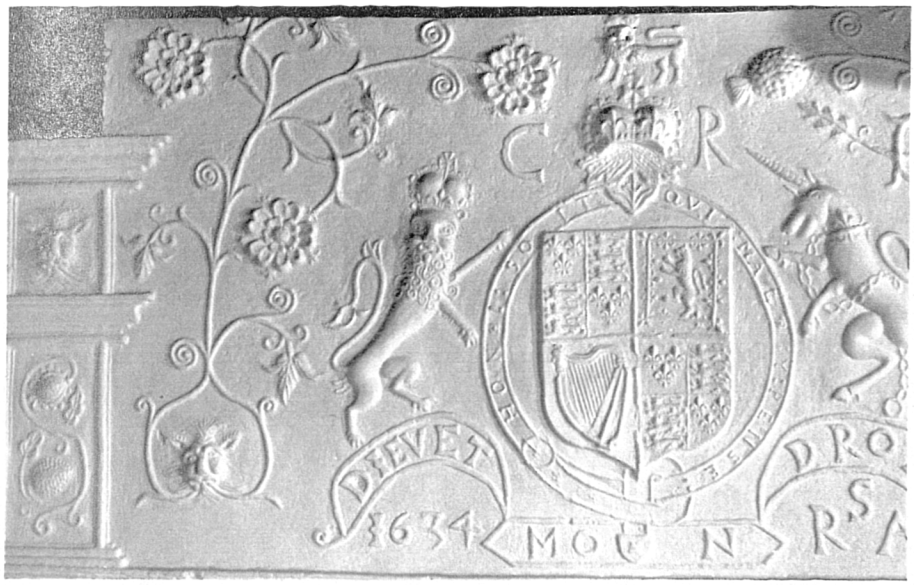

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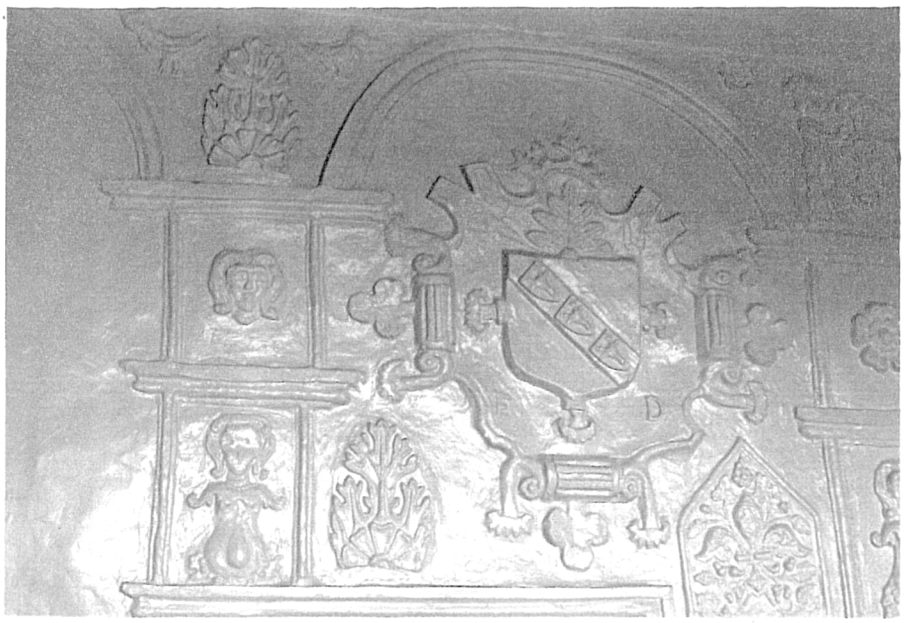
2.14 See p.58 & p.63
Mural plasterwork at Norland Upper Old Hall, 1635, utilising disparate enrichments at random to fill the design. Once again the exotic lady makes an appearance. To her right is a half-marigold and acanthus leaf, previously seen at Lees Hall, Thornhill (see Plate 1.30) and a half-lozenge with fleur-de-lys infill, previously noted on the Ederthorpe overmantel (see Plate 1.10).

2.15 See p.60
Mural plaster panel at Bean Hole Head, Stansfield, 1634, showing the arms of the Earl of Derby flanked by the Royal supporters.

2.16 See p.61
Heraldic plasterwork at Marsh Hall, Northowram, 1637. This photograph, showing the arms of Northumberland, is but one portion of an extensive mural. Below the arms, the name is spelt out in letters extending to a second row of characters with the 'N' reversed in all cases.



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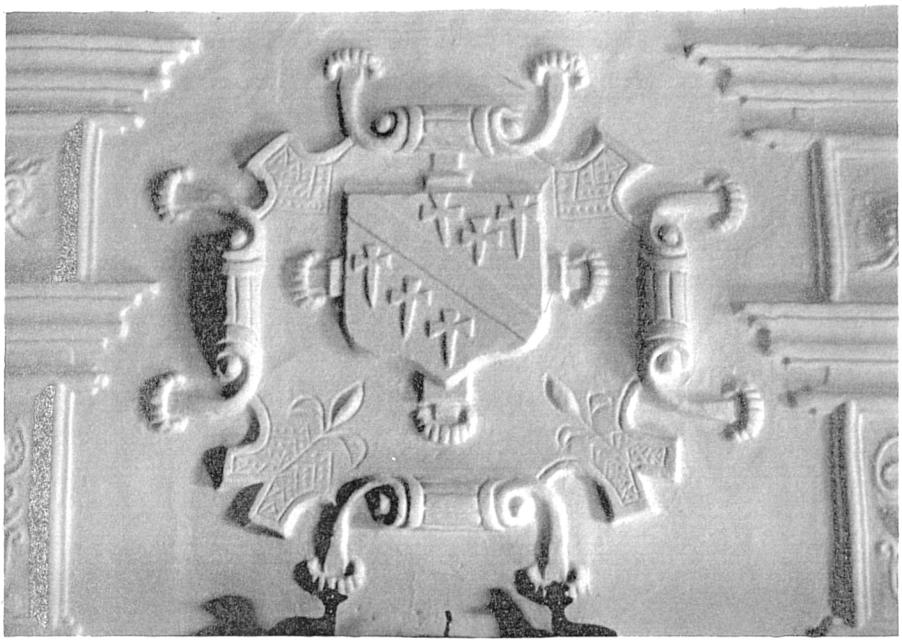
2.17 See p.61
Arms of Arundel on an overmantel at Kirklees Hall, refixed from Highlee Hall, Brighouse, c.1632.

2.18 See p.61
Arms of Woodrowe of Woolley at Slead Hall, Brighouse, dated 1636. The use of trefoil strap ends, coronets and incised decoration on the strapwork cartouches is a consistent feature of these heraldic panels.

2.19 See p.63
Section of ceiling from the Mulcture Hall, Halifax, 1637, showing the re-use of the Heath Old Hall putto mould (1584) with the addition of wings. The putto holds strapwork which had formed the surround to the Kaye arms (see Plate 1.13).



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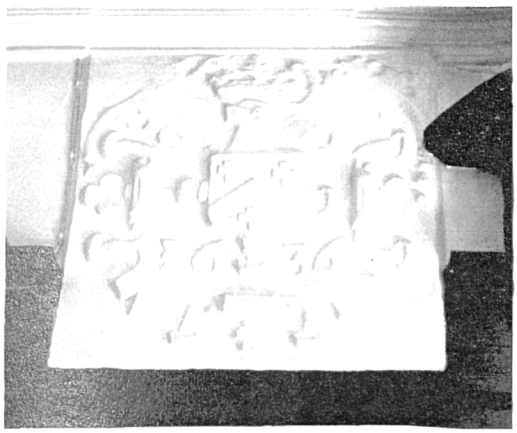


2.18

2.19

2.20 See p.65
Plaster plaque at Marsh Hall, Northowram, featuring the initials of John and Mary Oates with the date 1635. The familiar putti, wyverns and half-lozenge feature along with a lion mask set in foliage seen at Weetwood Hall, Leeds, c.1630 as a beam soffit ornament.

2.21 See p.69
Ceiling panel in a house at Farrer Lane, Oulton, where the endless-knot ribwork configuration consists of 4 circles around a square. The enrichment in the circular compartment on the left is a bird on a perch which also features at Lumb Hall, Drighlington, and Priors Mead, Hipperholme.

2.22 See p.70 & p.254
Housebody ceiling panel at Heckmondwyke Hall c.1650. The ribwork layout recalls incised and carved designs in West Yorkshire wainscot chair backs of the later 17th century.

2.20

2.21

2.22

2.23 See p.70
Detail of the housebody ceiling design at Fenay Hall, Almondbury, 1660. Familiar Halifax-area enrichments such as the crowned lion and lion mask are evident alongside 'new' characteristics such as plaster blobs outlining the compartments.

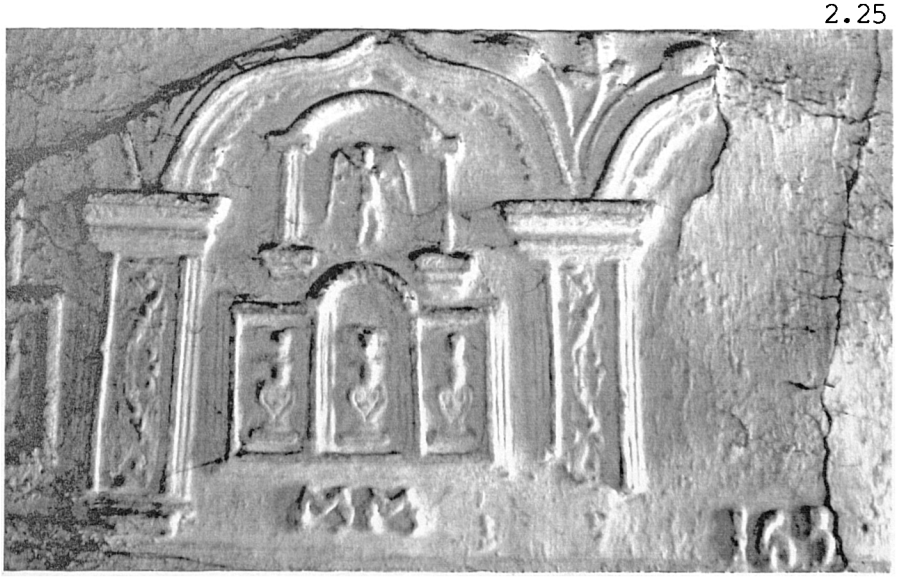
2.24 See p.72
Ceiling at Howroyd, Barkisland, 1642, featuring enrichments such as a lion mask in the outer border from a mould used previously in Lancashire at Gawthorpe Hall, 1604, and West Royd, Warley in the 1630s (see Plate 2.1).

2.25 See p.72
Section of mural plasterwork at West Royd, Warley. installed for Martin Milnes whose initials and the date 163- appear below the composition. The winged figure of St.Michael beneath an arcade is a Masonic emblem and derives from a Lancashire plasterer whose work can also be seen at Spenser's House, Hurstwood, Lancashire.

2.23

2.24

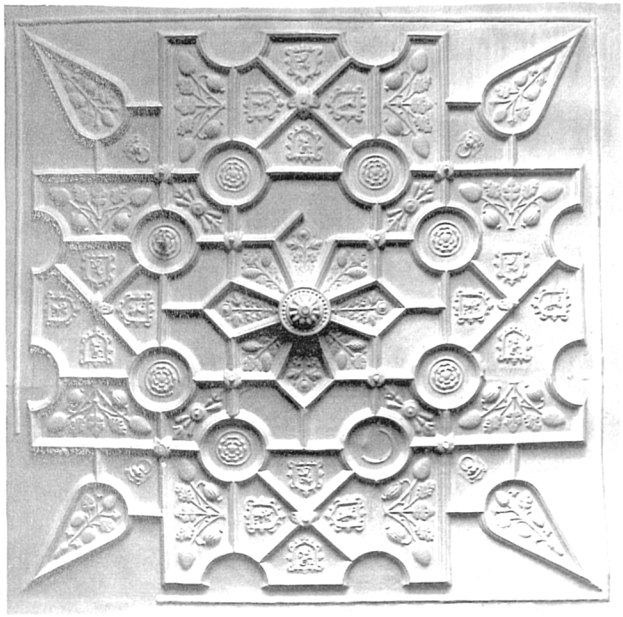
2.25



2.26 See p.73 & p.243
Housebody ceiling at Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby, installed for Richard Dearden in 1649. Several enrichments, such as the Shrewsbury lion crest on shield, are from the same moulds as those seen at Howroyd, Barkisland (see Plate 2.24).

2.27 See p.73 & p.243
Housebody ceiling at Pollard Hall, Gomersal, dating from 1659. The ribwork layout is virtually identical to that at Wood Lane Hall, Sowerby (1649) and employs several of the same enrichments (see Plate 2.26) in conjunction with older Halifax-group motifs.

2.28 See p.73
Overmantel from Wynteredge Hall, Hipperholme, displaying the fusion of Lancashire-derived motifs, such as the St.Michael figure and Halifax-group motifs such as the little crowned lion. The wyvern and urn frieze is from the 1604 Gawthorpe Hall mould (see Plate 1.19).



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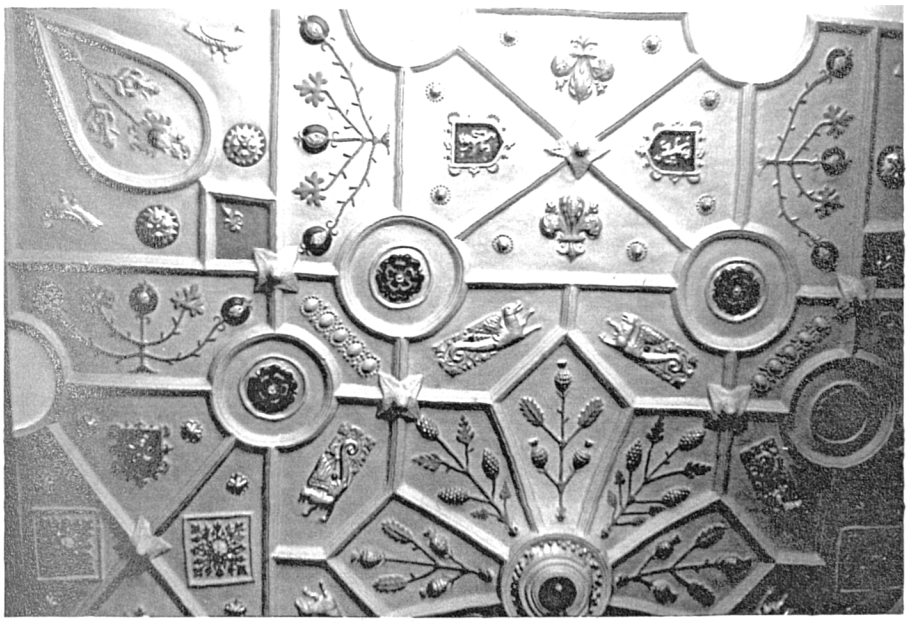
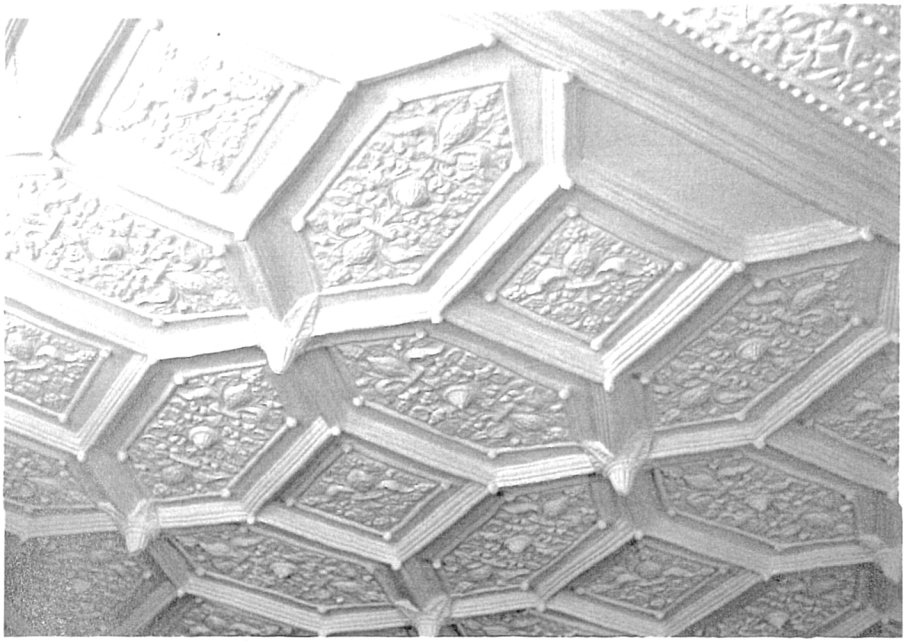


2.28

2.29 See p.74
Parlour ceiling at East Riddlesden Hall (1642-49) employing moulds en-suite with the half-lozenge noted at Norland Upper Old Hall (see Plate 2.14), Marsh Hall, Northowram (see Plate 2.20) and Low Farm, Ederthorpe (see Plate 1.10).

2.30 See p.74
Dining Parlour ceiling at East Riddlesden Hall. Detail showing the familiar Savile owl crest tucked into a corner compartment.

2.31 See p.76
Central portion of the ceiling panel at Headlands Hall, Liversedge (c.1650), showing a border ornament which can also be seen as infill to the pilasters on the mural plasterwork at West Royd, Warley (1630s), (see Plate 2.25).



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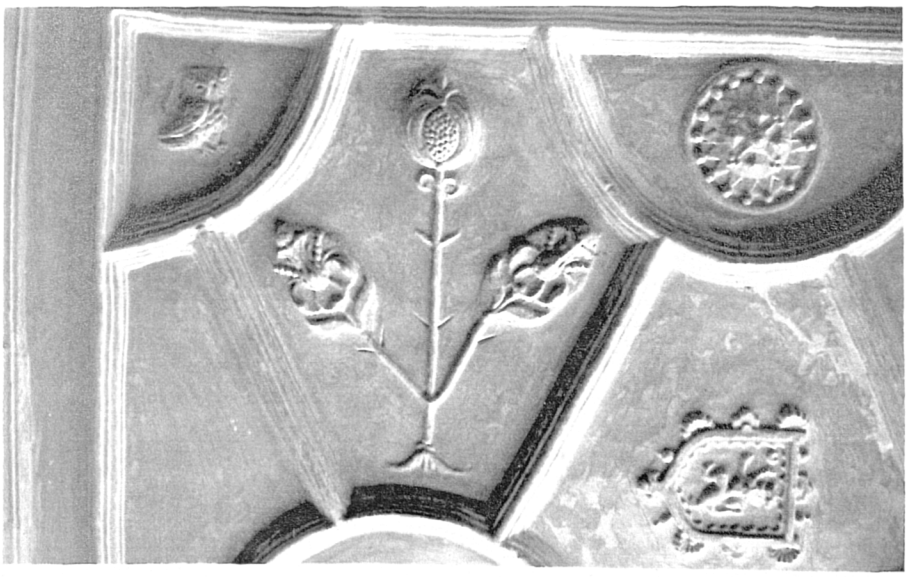

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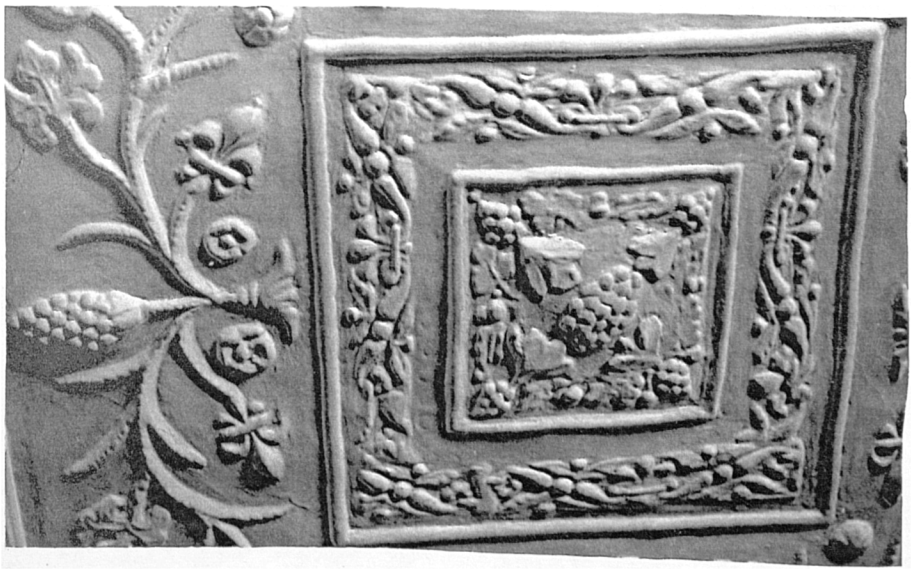
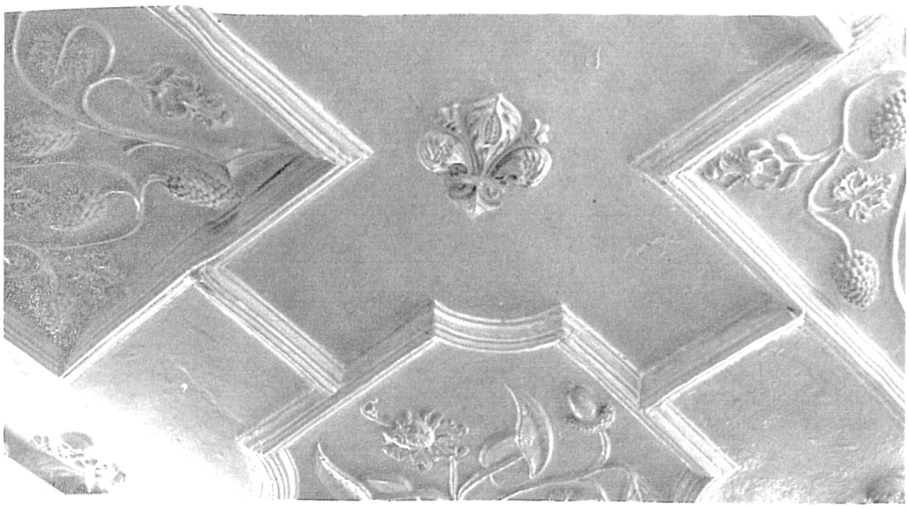


2.31

2.32 See p.77
Detail of the parlour ceiling at 36 Commercial Street, Rothwell, featuring flowers, fruits and leaves seen at East Riddlesden Hall. Compare the floral device in the right-hand segment of the photograph with the same device, cast from the same mould, in the central segment of Plate 2.30, showing a portion of a ceiling at East Riddlesden Hall.

2.33 See p.77
Section of wyvern and urn frieze at 36 Commercial Street Rothwell, cast from the same mould which had been employed at Gawthorpe Hall in 1604 (see Plate 1.19).

2.34 See p.78
Ceiling panel in the ground floor parlour at Baxter Gate, Pontefract, displaying a distinctive sliced stem end as in other work at 36 Commercial Street, Rothwell (see Plate 2.32) and The Nunnery, Arthington.



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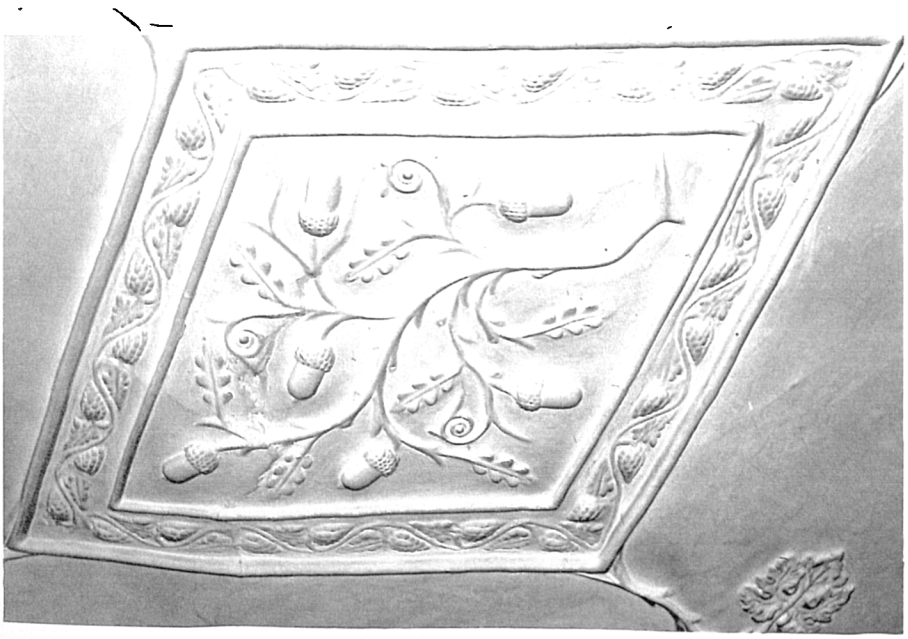


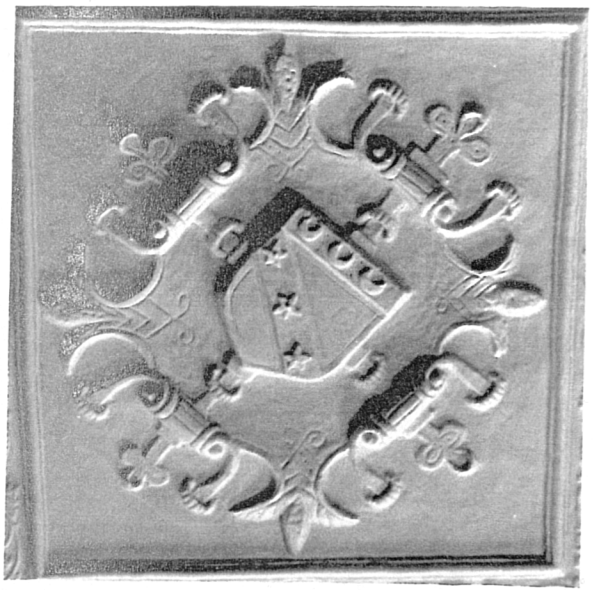
2.34

2.35 See p.78
Overmantel at Upper Cockcroft, Rishworth, installed for John Bottomley in 1644. The imaginary coats of arms, simply contrived for effect, are surmounted by a frieze of the same design as that in the parlour at East Riddlesden Hall.

2.36 See p.79
Ceiling panel at Peel House, Gomersal (1651), in the style of the heraldic panels of the 1630s. Compare with work at Bean Hole Head (plate 2.15) and Highlee Hall (Plate 2.17).

2.37 See p.79
Ceiling panel at Peel House, Gomersal, showing a development in the setting of the coat of arms, with curling mantling and tassels held by a tab.

2.35

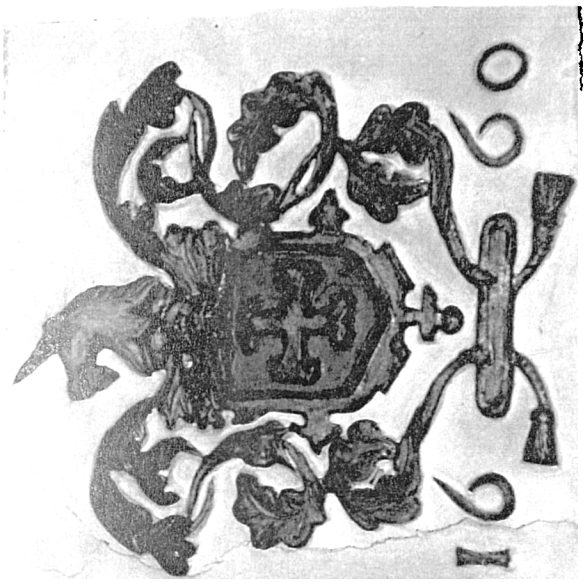


2.36

2.37

2.38 See p.80
Armorial panel dated 1660 at Fenay Hall, Almondbury, with tab and tassels seen previously only at Peel House, Gomersal.

2.39 See p.81
The Royal Arms from a great mural panel rescued from the demolition of Binroyd, Norland, and now displayed at the Bankfield Museum, Halifax. This 1660s work still features mould-cast enrichments, such as the little crowned lion and caryatid seen on the right-hand side, which were in use in the 1630s.



2.38

2.39

2.40 See p.81
Overmantel from Highlee Hall, Brighouse, with coat of arms set beneath an arch, and foliage compositions in the spandrels as at Binroyd, Norland.

2.41 See p.82
The housebody overmantel at New Hall, Elland. Dated 1670, this is the last-known work by the Halifax plasterers.The flattened blobs around the inside face of the arch are like others in the same position at High Hall, Appletreewick.

2.40

2.41

3.1 See p.88
The hall ceiling at Heslington Hall installed for Thomas Eames, Secretary to the Council of the North, c.1568. This is the earliest and finest pendentive ceiling in Yorkshire and may have served as the model for that at Gilling Castle (see Plate 3.17).

3.2 See p.88
Sumptuous hand-modelled and mould-cast plasterwork in the great chamber ceiling at Kirklington Hall, installed for Sir Christopher Wandesford c.1570, with designs taken from bestiaries and embroidery sources.

3.3 See p.88
The arms of Wandesford in the ceiling of the great chamber at Kirklington Hall. The shield is surounded by convoluted mantling and strawberry-shaped tassels - distinctive features of the North Yorkshire plasterers.

3.1

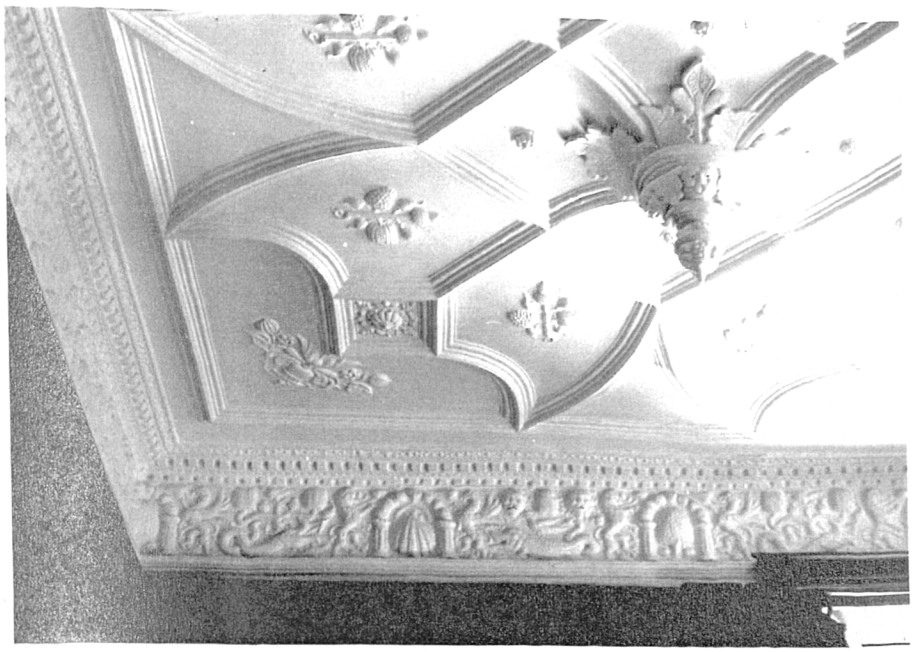
3.2

3.3

3.4 See p.89
Section of ceiling and frieze in the great chamber at Kirklington Hall. The frieze is crammed with sea creatures, toads and watery emblems such as the scallop shell.

3.5 See p.91
Second-floor chamber frieze at Brough Hall near Catterick, showing the Lawson family coat of arms alongside the Lawson crest of a sun resting on twin towers flanked by supporting wyverns.

3.6 See p.91
First-floor chamber ceiling at Brough Hall with ribwork interlace based on the quatrefoil. The enrichments are heraldic: Lawson arms and Lawson impaling de Burgh surrounded by family badges.



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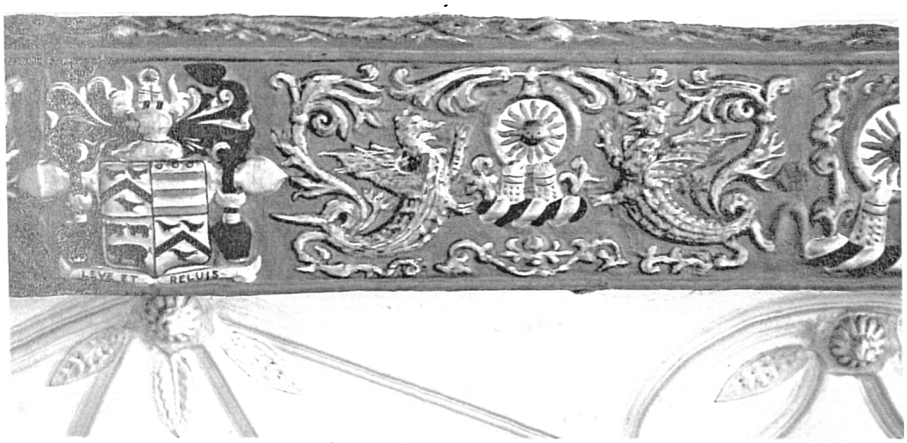

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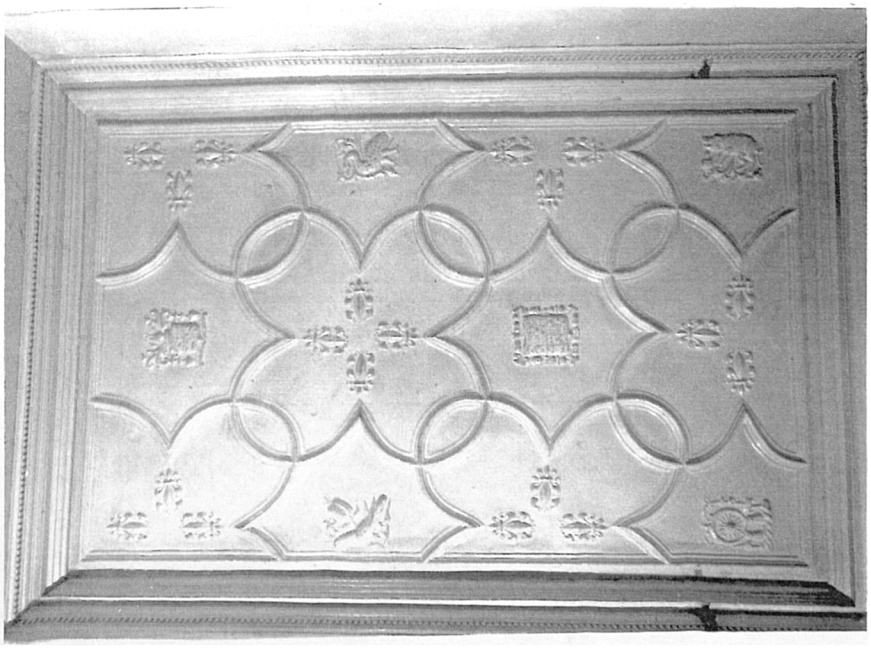
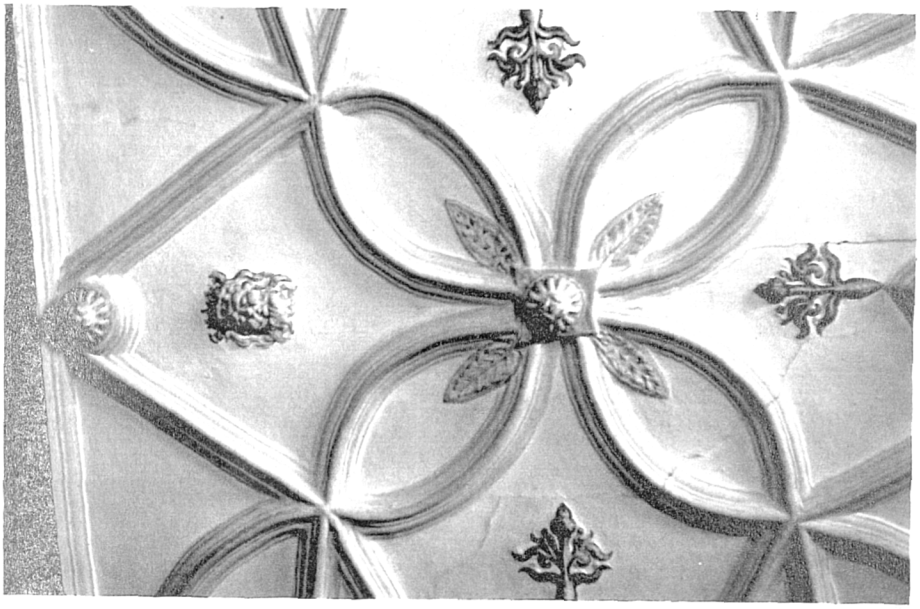


3.6

3.7 See p.91
Ground-floor ceiling at Brough Hall with, at left, a mask of King Neptune.

3.8 See p.92
The arms of Ingleby surmounted by the boar's head crest in the great chamber ceiling at Ripley Castle.

3.9 See p.92
Beam soffit ornament of entwined snakes and warty toads at Ripley Castle, recalling the reptiles at Brough and Kirklington, with the mask of King Neptune in a ceiling panel.



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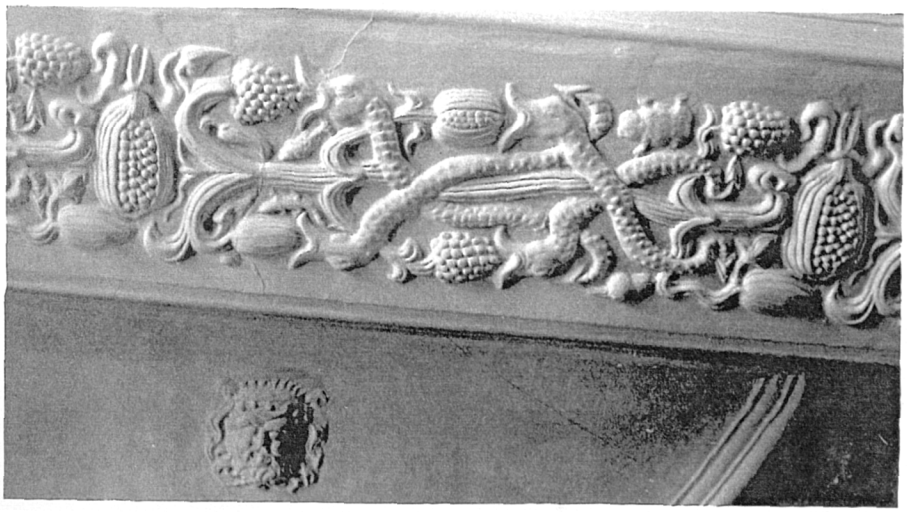
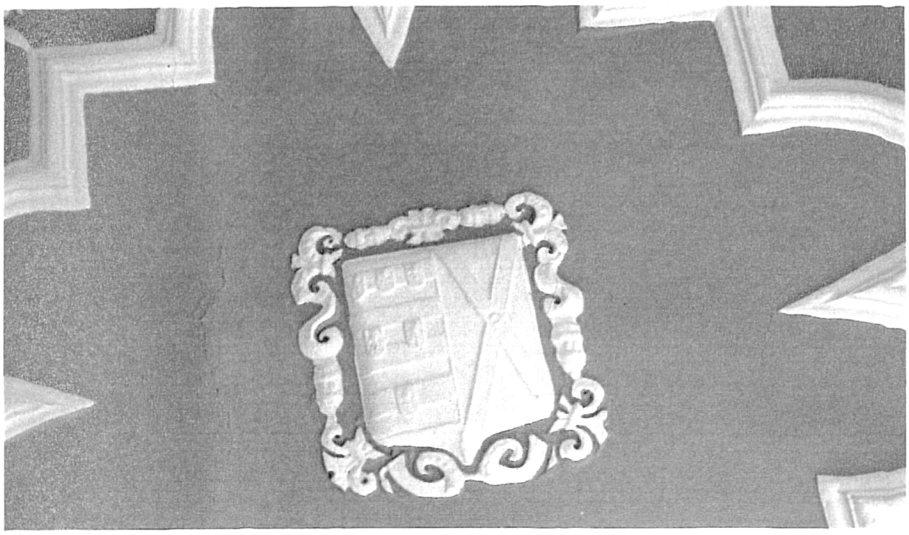


3.10 See p.93
The arms of Cecil impaling Neville in the great chamber ceiling at Snape Castle, installed for Sir Thomas Cecil c.1587.

3.11 See p.93
Detail of the great chamber ceiling at Snape Castle. The rose set within a collar of shells and fruits is the first instance of this distinctive enrichment of the North Yorkshire plasterers.

3.12 See p.94
The Tailbois coat of arms from the ceiling of the great chamber at Thornton Hall near Darlington, Co. Durham.



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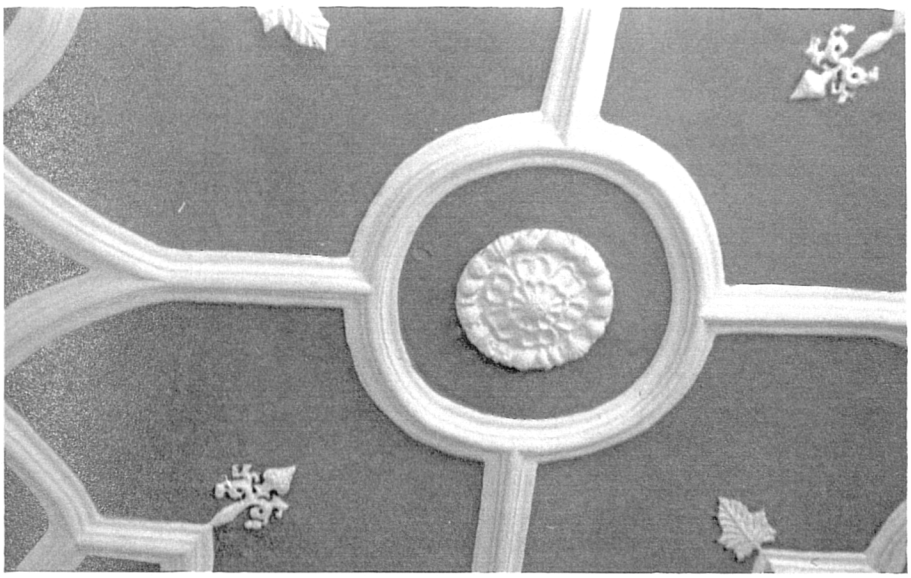

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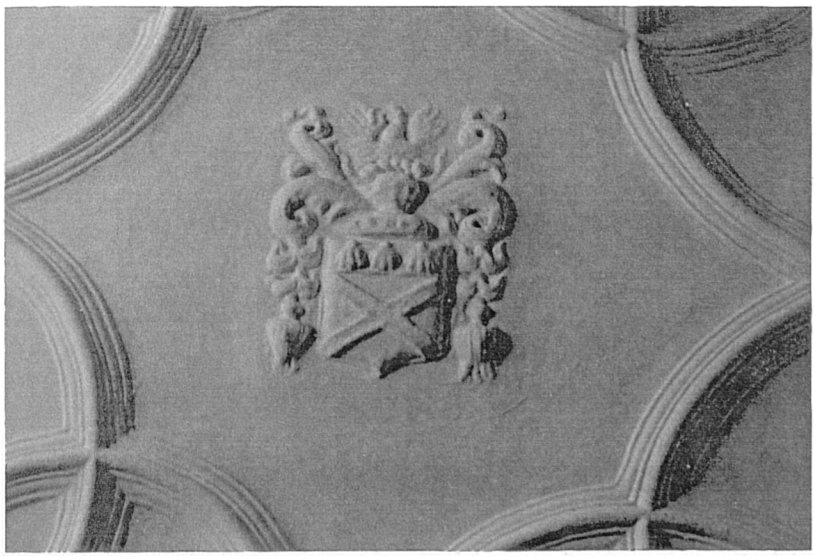
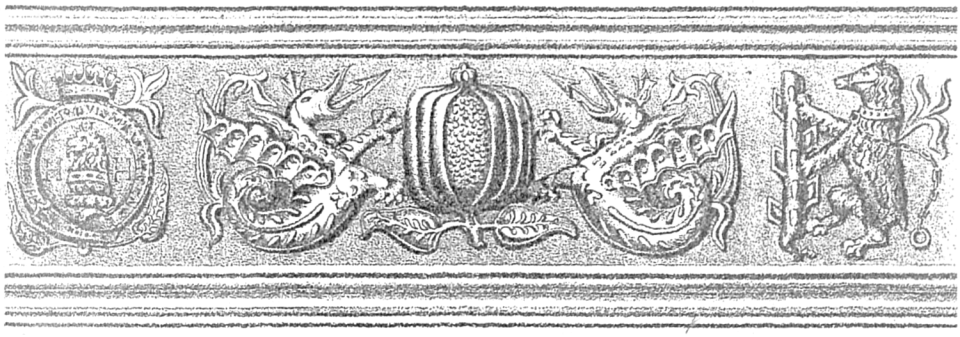


3.12

3.13 See p.95
Plaster frieze in the Huntingdon Room of the King's Manor, York, installed after the award of the Order of the Garter to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1579, when he was Lord President of the Council of the North. The frieze displays his initials and badge, the bear and ragged staff of the Dudleys for his wife, and the pomegranate badge of the Hastings family.

3.14 See p.97
Frieze in the Rutland suite of rooms at Helmsley Castle, installed c.1582. Opposed wyverns 'support' the fleur-de-lys in the top band: the lower band features two sea creatures and a mermaid with comb and mirror.

3.15 See p.97
Ceiling at Helmsley Castle showing a floral arabesque pattern in the lozenges and a 6-petal double rose as at Snape Castle, but from a different mould.



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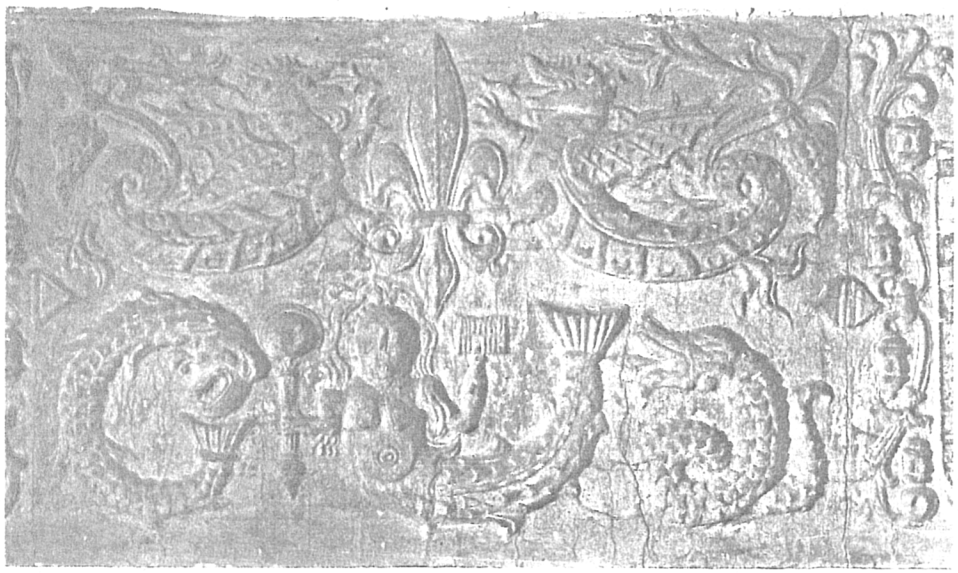

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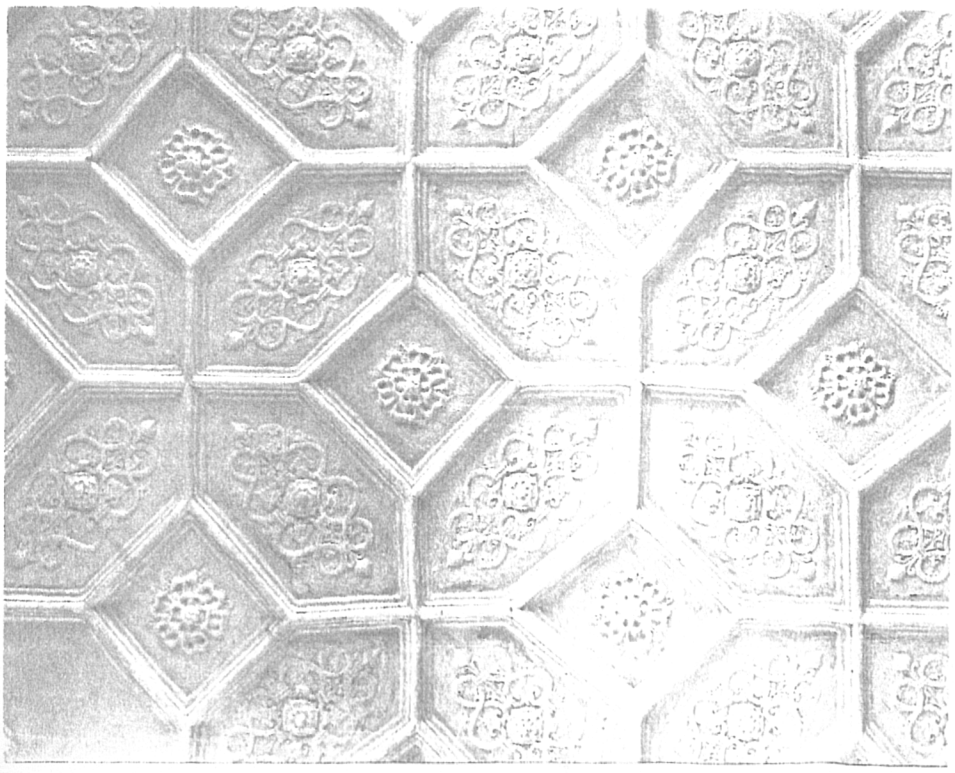


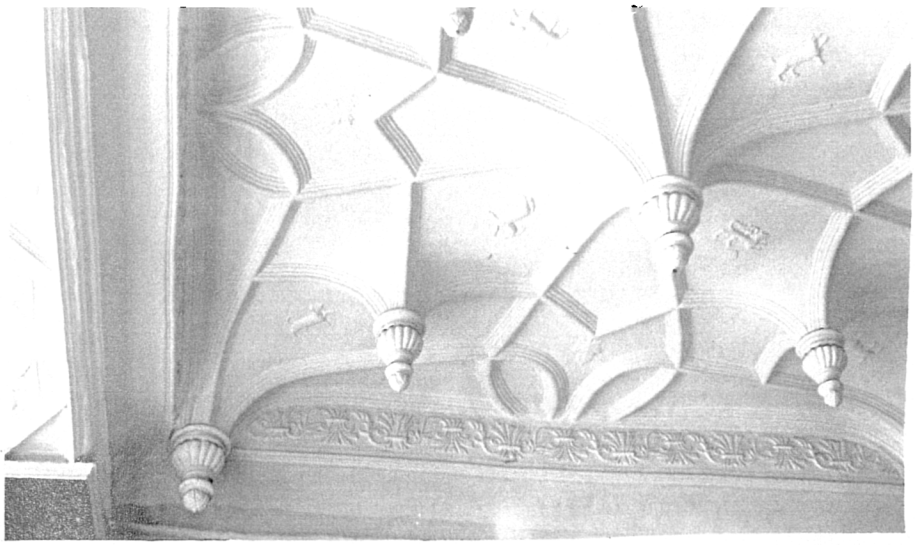
3.15

3.16 See p.97
Detail of the plasterwork in the bay window ceiling above the great chamber at Gilling Castle, employing the same lozenge infill design as at Helmsley Castle (see Plate 3.15).

3.17 See p.97
Corner of the great chamber pendentive ceiling and frieze at Gilling Castle, installed for Sir William Fairfax c.1585. Animals of the chase disport among the ceiling panels, and a stylised "wheatsheaf" design fills the frieze.

3.18 See p.98
Detail of the fleurs-de-lys at the junctions of the ribwork in a ceiling at Hutton Hall, installed for Sir William Mallory. Compare to the fleurs-de-lys at Clarke Hall, Wakefield (Plate 1.16), for similarity of design.

3.16



3.17

3.18

3.19 See p.99
View of a ceiling at 79 Saddler Street, Durham, with a range of new motifs but, like the rose and floral sprig in the foreground, based on earlier designs. The only re-used mould is that of the King Neptune mask.

3.20 See p.100
Parlour ceiling at Dromonby Hall, Kirkby in Cleveland, installed for the Constable family. On the left of the photograph is the floral arabesque design previously seen at Helmsley Castle and Gilling Castle (see Plates 3.15 & 3.16).

3.21 See p.100
Beam soffit ornament of lion and unicorn at Dromonby Hall, suggesting a date after 1603 for the installation of the plasterwork.

3.19

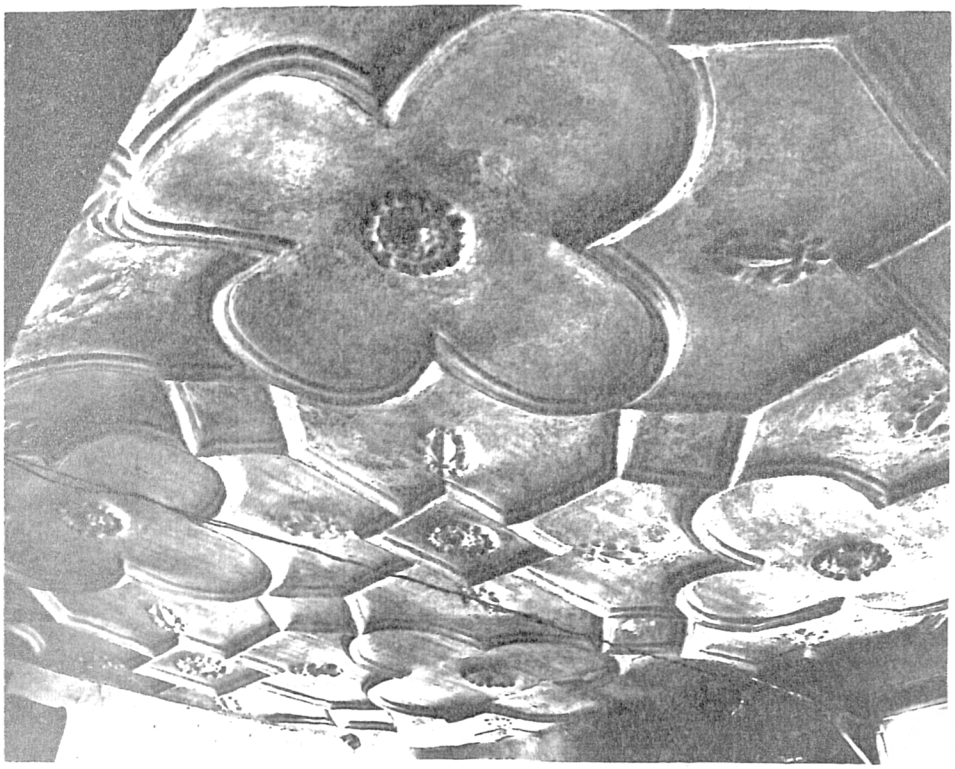
3.20

3.21

3.22 See p.101
Coved ceiling on the second floor of No.24 Coney Street, York. The only enrichments employed are a 6-petal double rose as at Helmsley Castle (see Plate 3.15) and a fleur-de-lys as at Brough Hall (see Plate 3.6).

3.23 See p.102
Frieze at Gainford Hall, Co. Durham, installed for the Rev. John Cradock, between 1600 and 1603. The top band of the frieze is formed of floral and foliage sprigs with a middle band of mermaid and flanking cupids. The bottom band features floral and fruit stems clearly en-suite with others to be seen at Snape Castle (see Plate 3.11) and 79 Saddler Street, Durham (see Plate 3.19).

3.24 See p.102
Frieze at Westholme Hall, Co. Durham, installed for John Dowthwaite between 1603 and 1607. The elements are from the same moulds that had been used at Gainford Hall, with the addition of rows of hand-made plaster blobs to fill the design.



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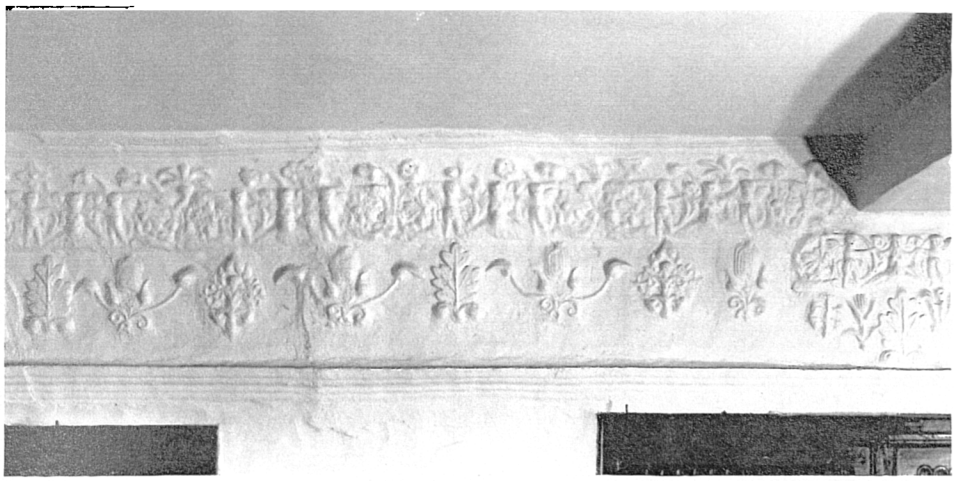

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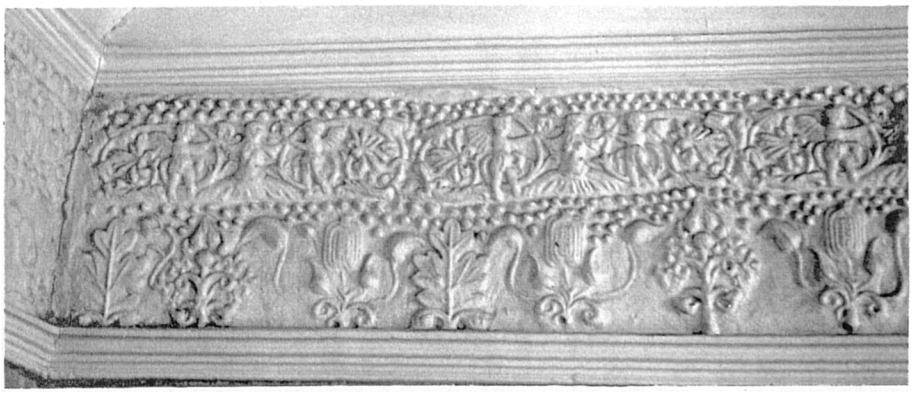


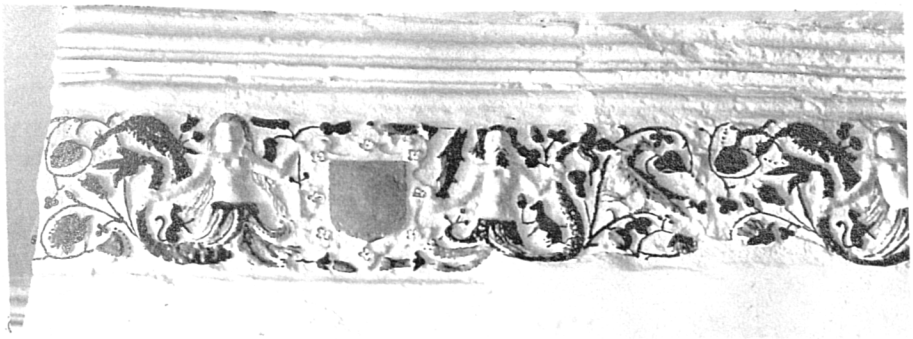
3.24

3.25 See pp.103-104
Fireplace overmantel formerly at Nos.29 & 31 Coney Street, York. The wreathed 6-petal double rose is from the same mould which was used at 24 Coney Street, York, and Helmsley Castle (see Plates 3.22 and 3.15).

3.26 See p.105 & p.254
Plaster frieze at the Manor House, Skelton, probably installed for Thomas Lovell III. The mould for this merman and mermaid design was also used at Nos.29 & 31 Coney Street, where it can be seen above the overmantel in Plate 3.25.

3.27 See p.107
Ceiling detail in Oliver Sheldon House, Nos.17 & 19 Aldwark, York, showing the imperial crown, Tudor rose and eagle enrichments which occur in other York properties.

3.25



3.26

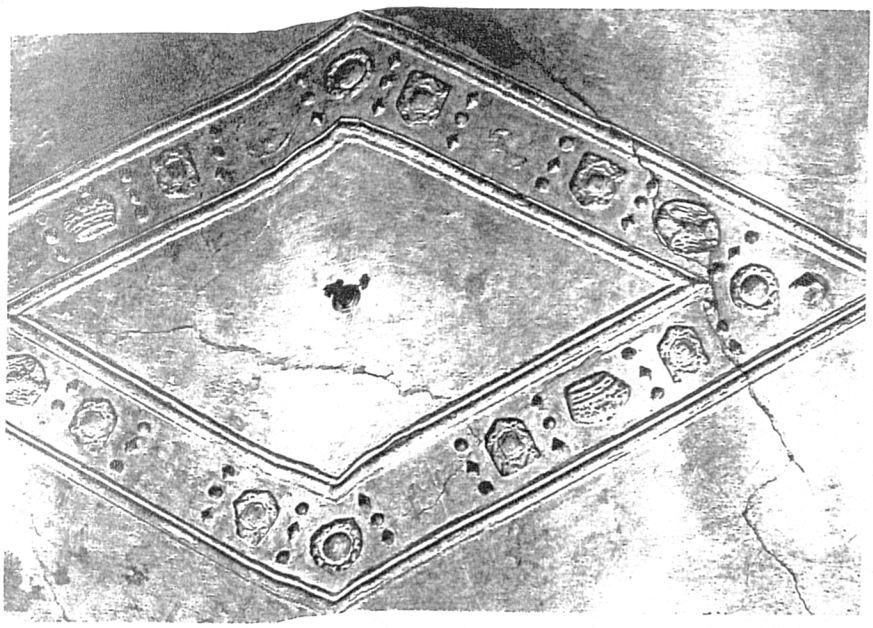
3.27

3.28 See p.107 & p.129
Oliver Sheldon House, Nos.17 & 19 Aldwark, York. The lion mask with annulet and plaited mane is an enrichment favoured by the plasterers who worked at Temple Newsam House, Leeds, where it occurs in a mural panel (see Plate 4.5).

3.29 See p.108 & p.233
Ceiling centrepiece at New Park, Huby, installed 1641-1642 by Thomas Ventris of York. The pre-cast enrichments are stuck to the ceiling surface rather than bedded in the plaster, indicating poor workmanship.

3.30 See p.108
Detail of the Heraldic Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall, built for Sir Arthur Ingram 1622-23. The ceiling is probably the first instance of the use of a flat-bottomed' rib with enriched soffit in Yorkshire.

3.28



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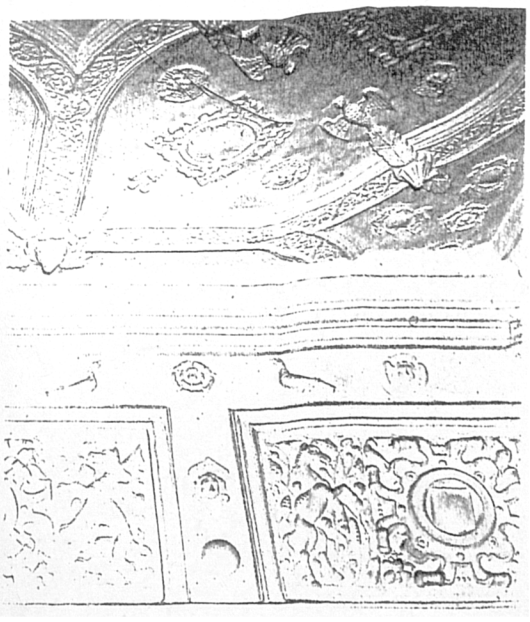
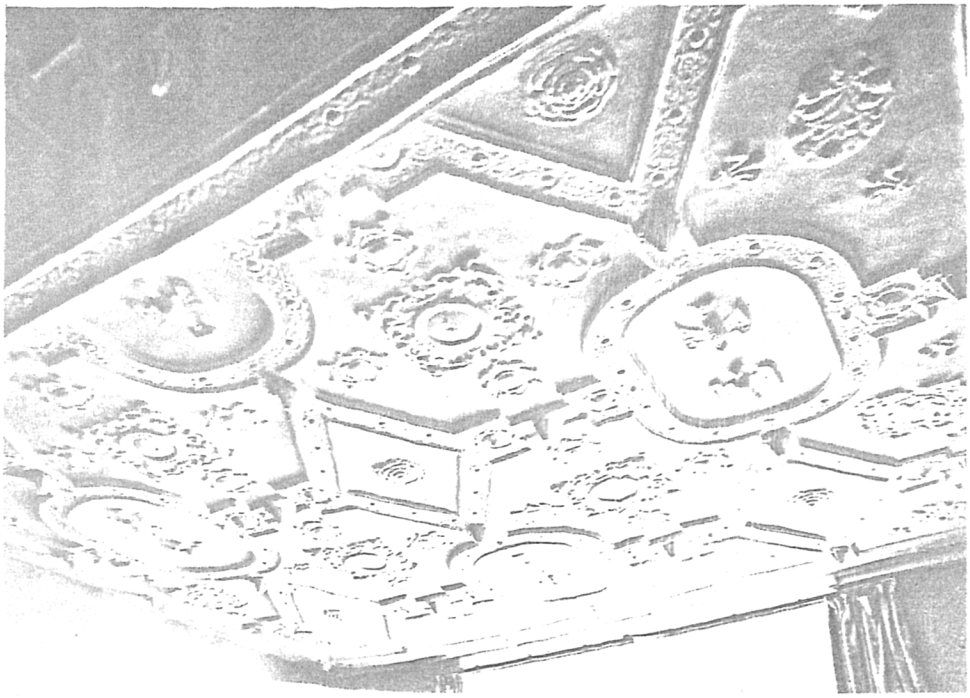


3.30

3.31 See p.109
Ceiling at No.2 Minster Court, York, having a flat-bottomed rib similar to that at Sheriff Hutton Hall and several cast enrichments from the same moulds.

3.32 See p.110
Ceiling in the Oak Parlour at Sheriff Hutton Hall. The ribwork layout is virtually identical to that in the Heraldic Room there. See Plate 3.30.

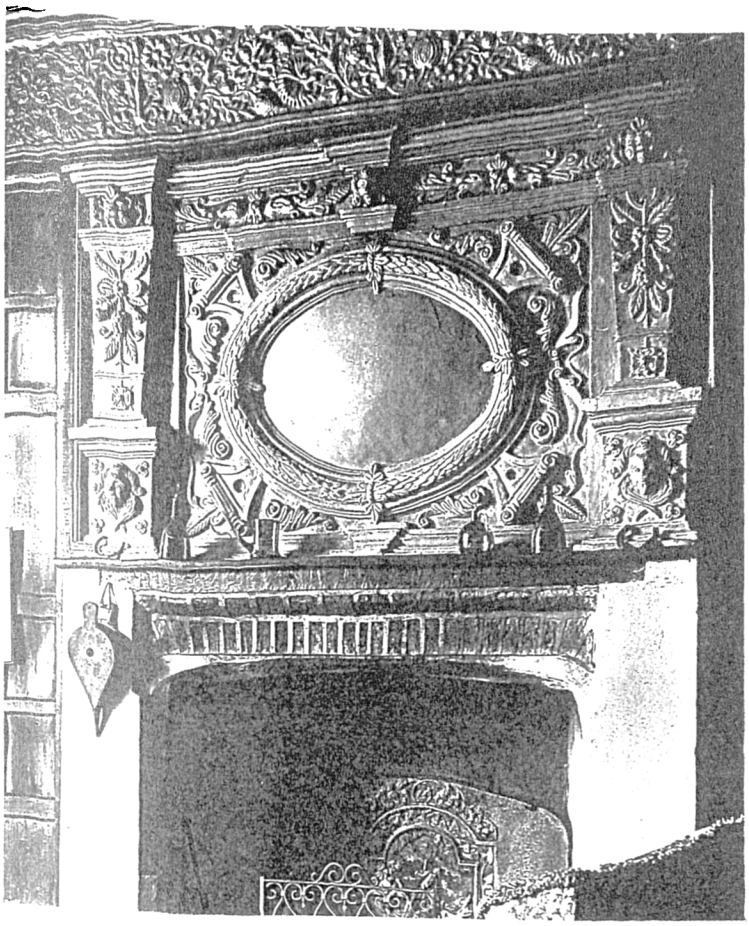


3.31

3.32

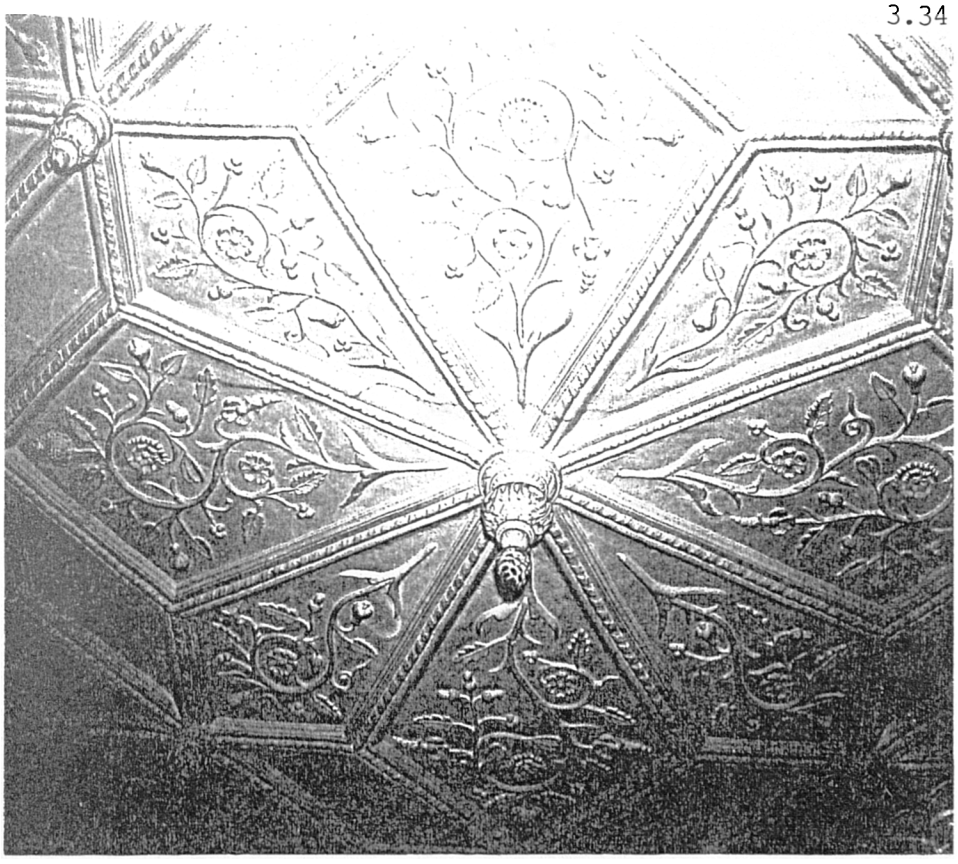
3.33 See p.110
Overmantel in the Oak Parlour at Sheriff Hutton Hall, showing hand-modelled plasterwork. Fruit swags, acanthus wreaths and shrimp-scrolls are characteristic features of the Leeds/York workshop operating in the 1630s.

3.34 See p.110
Ceiling in the Bird & Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall, with the first instance of a twisted cable ornament in the channel of the ribwork. Pendant grape clusters on the ceiling bosses recall similar features at Gawthorpe Hall, Lancashire, and Hawksworth Hall, Otley.



3.33

3.34

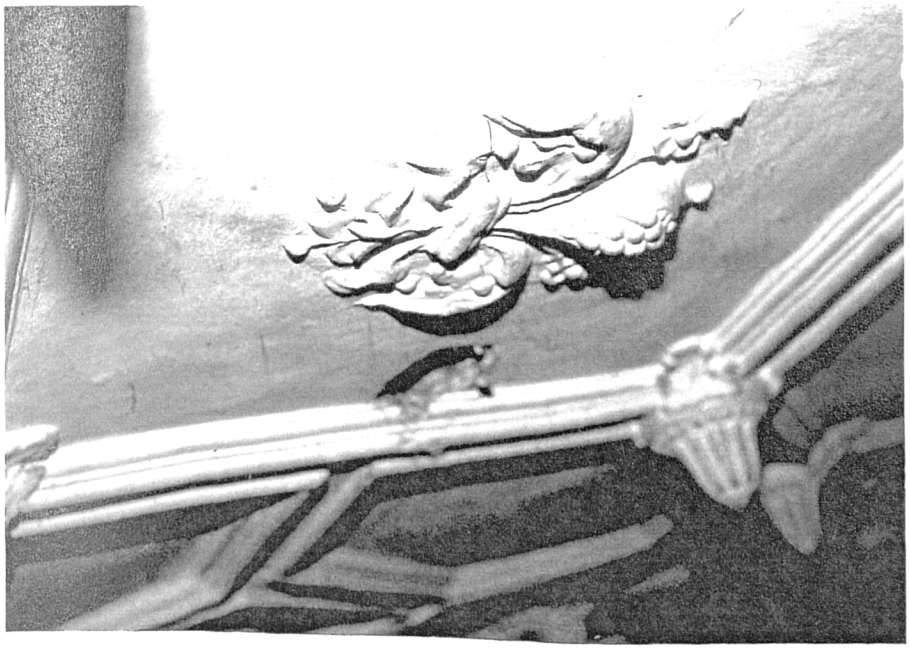


4.1 See p.126
Sir Arthur Ingram's dining parlour at Temple Newsam House, c.1626. The frieze design repeats the central element of the frieze in the Bird & Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall.

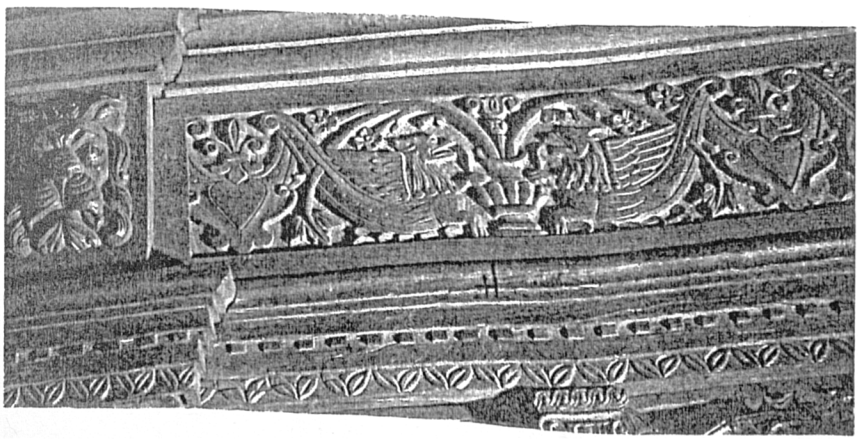
4.2 See p.126
Detail of the trapped ceiling at Temple Newsam House, probably to be identified as the Withdrawing Room, with fleurs-de-lys enrichments from the same mould as those in the adjoining dining parlour ceiling.

4.3 See p.128
Detail from the carved oak choir screen in Wakefield Cathedral executed by Francis Gunby's workshop in 1634-1635. The design of an urn flanked by opposed wyverns is one which Gunby had worked in plaster at Gawthorpe Hall in 1604 (see Plate 1.19).

4.1



4.2

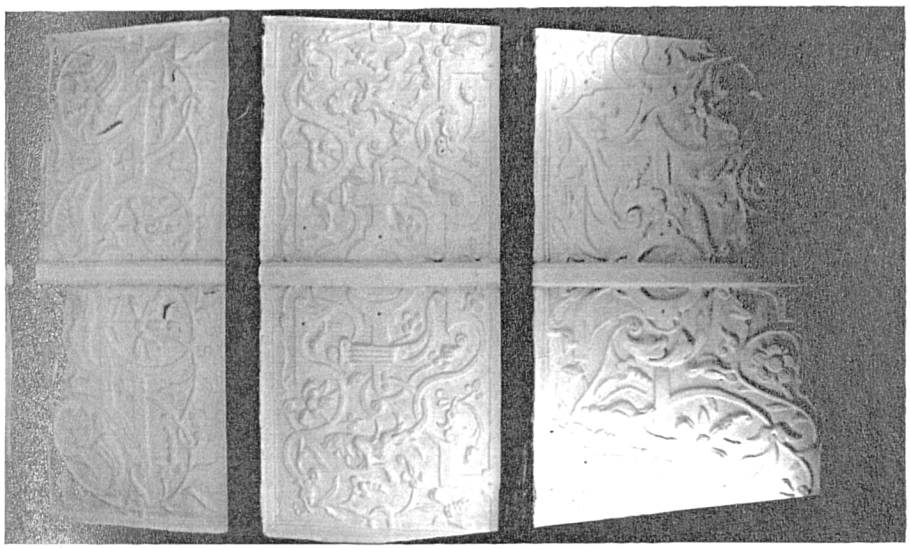


4.3

4.4 See p.129 & p.134
One bay of St.John's Church, Leeds, consecrated in 1634, showing the elaborate hand-modelled plaster panels carried out by Francis Gunby's workshop. The timber braces which now help support the plaster panels unfortunately obscure the lion mask in the central strapwork roundels.

4.5 See p.129
Detail of a mural plasterwork scheme in the Chapel Chamber at Temple Newsam House, with the lion mask set amongst mould-cast leaves, fruits and flowers in a vine-trail composition.

4.6 See p.130
Finely modelled bust set within a strapwork cartouche in the Chapel Chamber plasterwork at Temple Newsam House. The cartouche is a forerunner of others which are found enclosed within diamond-shaped ceiling panels (see Plates 4.22 & 4.24).



4.4

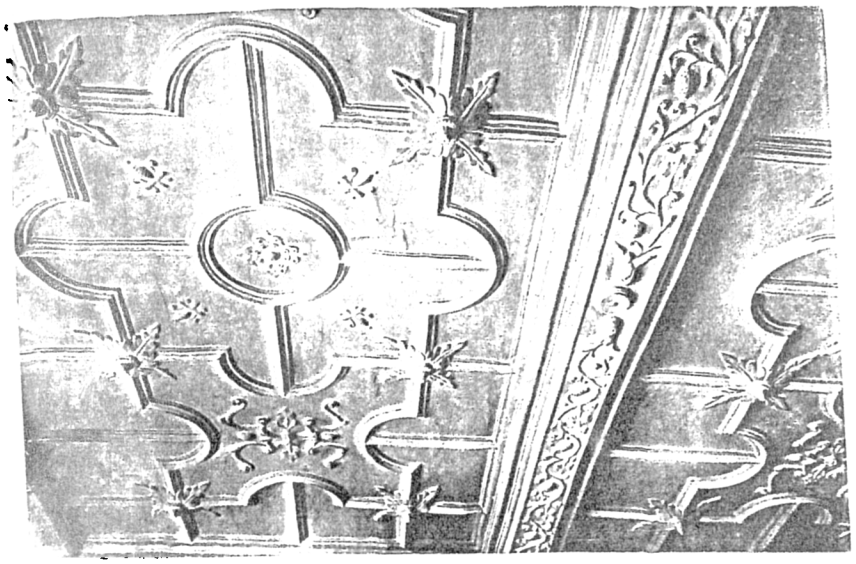
4.5

4.6

4.7 See p.130
Photograph taken before this ceiling was underdrawn at 5-7 Coney Street, York. The ribwork arrangement is exactly the same as that in the dining parlour ceiling at Temple Newsam House (see Plate 4.1).

4.8 See p.130
Detail of the ceiling in Nos 5-7 Coney Street, York. showing mould-cast leaves, fruits and flowers set into a hand-modelled stemwork and strapwork composition.

4.9 See p.131
Frieze detail in Nos 5-7 Coney Street, York, showing a portrait bust set in a strapwork roundel from which bar-C elements extend, ending in stemwork, foliage and fruit. The breaking forward cornice is a feature of the 1630s work of the Gunby workshop.



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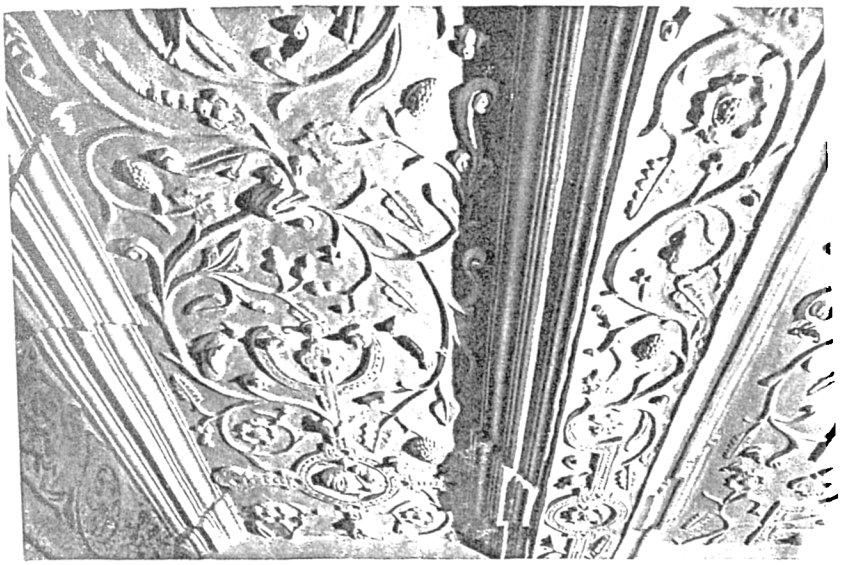


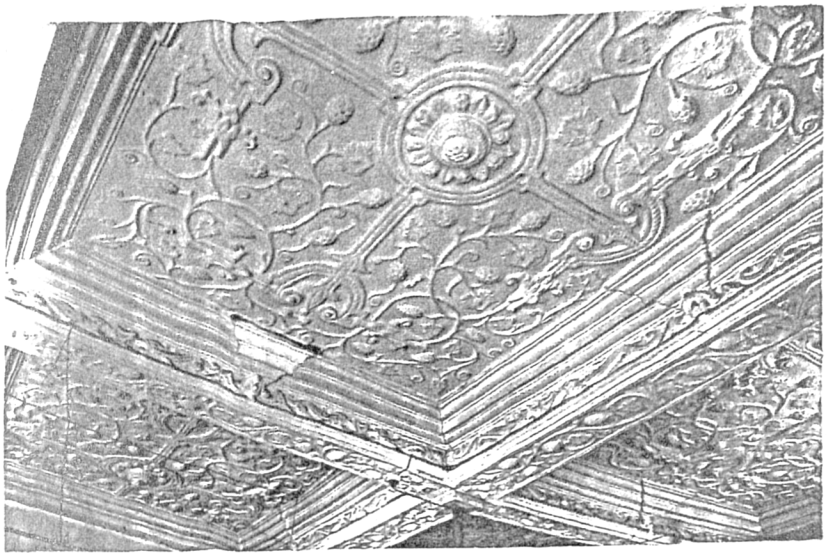
4.8

4.9

4.10 See p.132
General view of a ceiling from 6 North Street, York, now refixed in the King's Manor. The break-forward cornice and the cabled strapwork ending in anchor-shapes recur in later work of the Leeds/York group.

4.11 See p.132
Detail of the beam casing at 6 North Street, York. showing a cherub-head with wings supporting the cornice. The cherub-head is distinguished by a pronounced central curl on the forehead, after the fashion of heads on an overmantel in the Oak Parlour at Sheriff Hutton Hall (see Plate 3.33).

4.12 See p.132
Overmantel in a first-floor room at 162 Westgate, Wakefield. The central head has the forehead curl seen at Sheriff Hutton Hall and 6 North Street, York, whilst the lion mask on the pilaster plinths is cast from a mould used for the frieze in the Bird and Baby Room at Sheriff Hutton Hall.



4.10

4.11

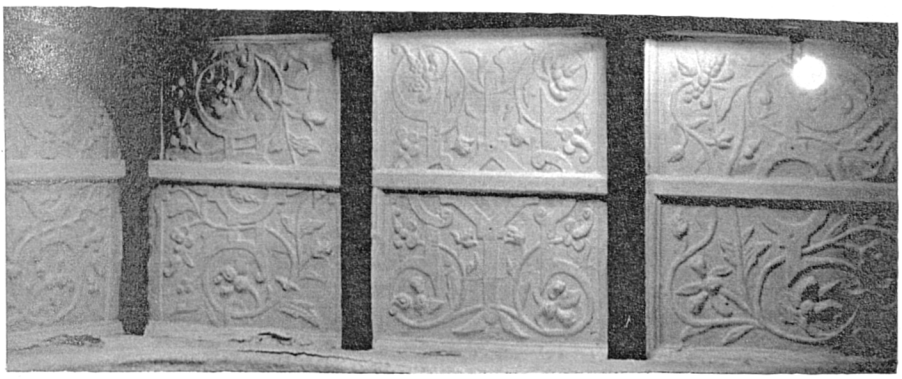
4.12

4.13 See p.134
Ceiling in the Ghost Room at Bolling Hall, Bradford, probably installed after 1639 for Sir Richard Tempest IV. Animal head terminals to the anchor-shaped ribwork layout recall the same feature and arrangement at 6 North Street, York (see Plate 4.10).

4.14 See p.134
End-bay ceiling panels at St.John's Church, Leeds, showing the roundel with strapwork bar-C device evolving into stem-work and foliage. The anchor-shape is noticeable in the strapwork of the second panel from the right, now divided by a supporting brace.

4.15 See p.136
Section of the long gallery frieze, now trapped behind later cladding, at Temple Newsam House, Leeds, executed by Nicholas Booth in 1633. The shrimp-scrolls, each side of the oval strapwork medallion, and the bar-C motif are clearly visible.

4.13



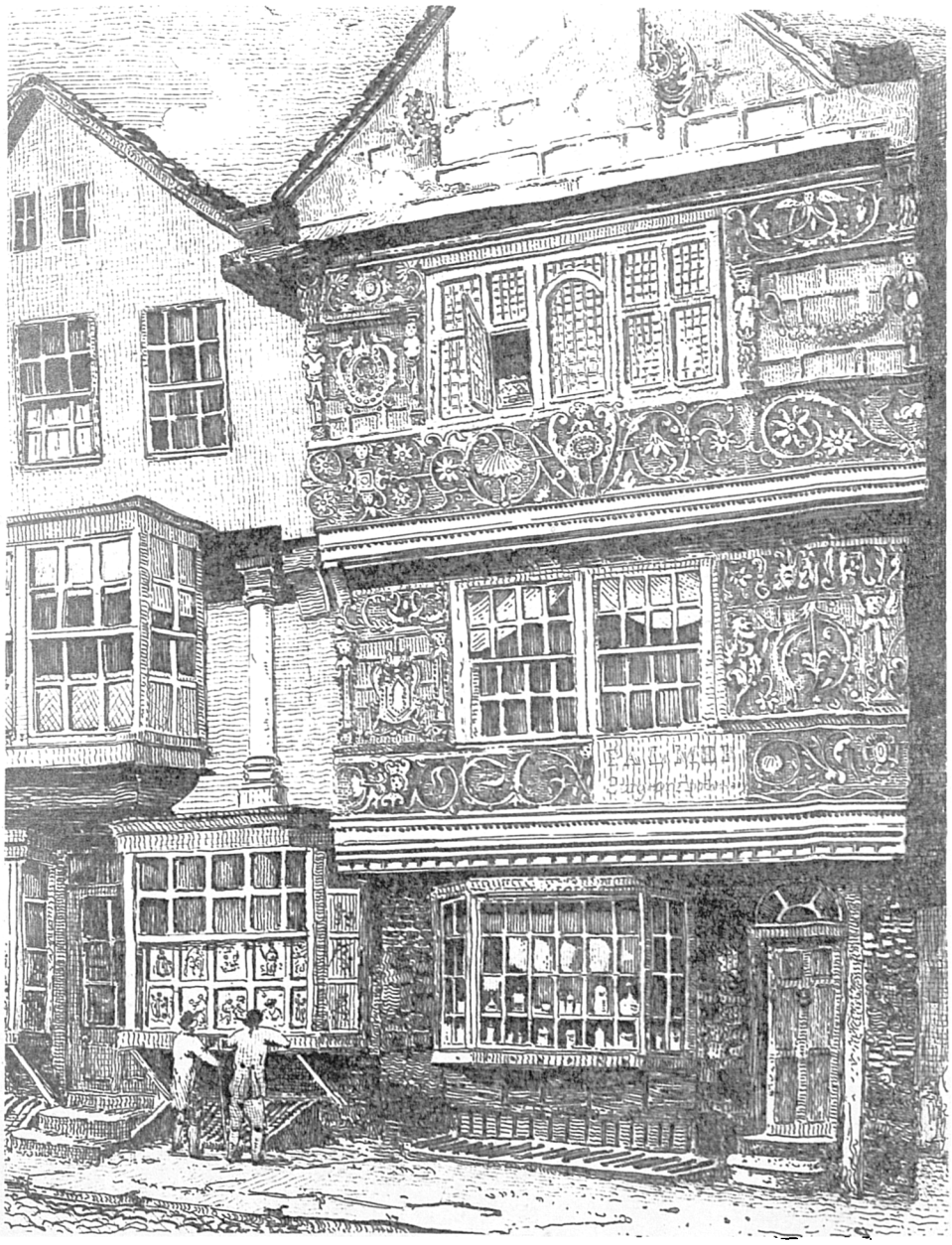
4.14

4.15

4.16 See p.136
Detail of the Withdrawing Room frieze at Temple Newsam House, showing hand-modelled stemwork, fruit, leaf and flower forms.

4.17 See p.138
Frontage of a house in Stonegate, York, recorded by Henry Cave in 1813. The exterior plasterwork utilises designs employed in the long gallery plaster frieze at Temple Newsam House (see Plate 4.16 for comparison).

4.16



4.17

4.18 See p.140
Plaster ceiling panel at Lazenby Hall, Danby Wiske, installed for John Peirse probably between 1640 and 1650. The shrimp-shape scrollwork and bar-C strapwork are recurrent motifs. The design is virtually identical to the right-hand panel of Plate 4.4 showing the ceiling of St.John's Church, Leeds.

4.19 See p.140
Plaster ceiling panel containing a portrait bust of Queen Henrietta Maria at Lazenby Hall. The flanking reeded pilasters are similar to others in the ceiling at St.John's Church, Leeds. Compare to Plate 4.4, middle section.

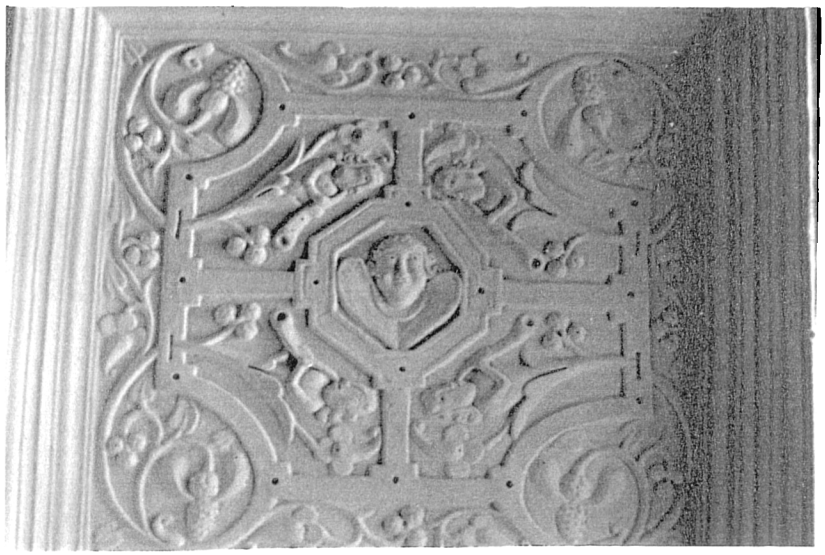
4.18

4.19

4.20 See p.140
Plaster ceiling panel at Lazenby Hall showing woodwind instrument players emanating from the foliage in the strap-work quadrants. Similar figures can be seen in the plasterwork at St.John's Church Leeds. Compare to Plate 4.4, middle section.

4.21 See p.141 & p.251
The figure of Faith with her emblems, the book and the chalice, on the entrance porch ceiling at Bewerley Old Hall.

4.22 See p.141
Ceiling panel in an upper chamber at Bewerley Old Hall showing the familiar shrimp-shape scrollwork of the strapwork cartouche.



4.20

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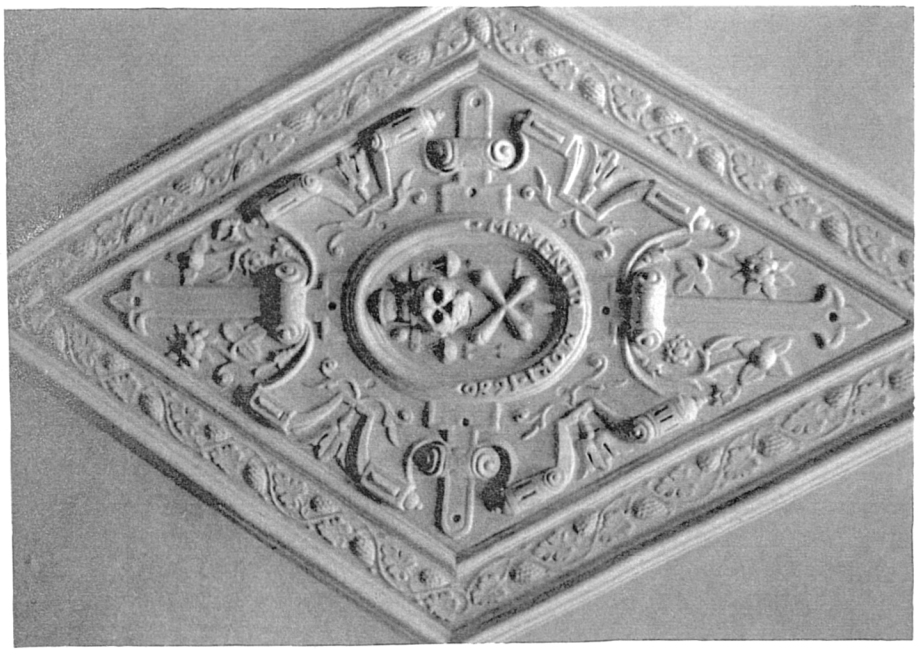
4.23 See p.142
Fireplace in the hall at Lazenby Hall. A vine-trail ornament employed as a frieze on the overmantel can also be seen as the beam soffit ornament in an upper chamber at Bewerley Old Hall.

4.24 See p.143
Diamond-shaped ceiling panel in an upper chamber at Lazenby Hall, with emblems of death and "mementto mori" 1680 around the central oval.

4.25 See p.144 & p.248
Plasterwork plaque at Woodhall Manor House, Mickletown, with the initials WRA for William & Alice Roberts and the date 1677 flanked by shrimp-shape scrollwork and fruit and flower forms.

4.23



4.24

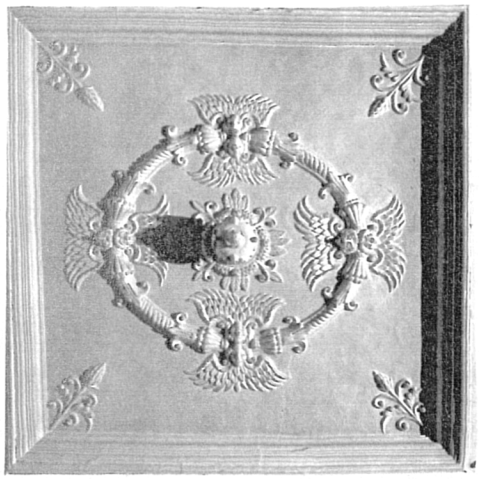
4.25

4.26 See p.145
Detail of the ceiling and frieze in the dining hall of the Archbishop of York's palace at Bishopthorpe. The frieze carries the arms of Archbishop Accepted Frewen for whom the plaster-work was carried out between 1660 and 1664.

4.27 See p.145
Ceiling compartment at Bishopthorpe showing a cable-moulded wreath set with winged cherub heads having pronounced fore-head curls.

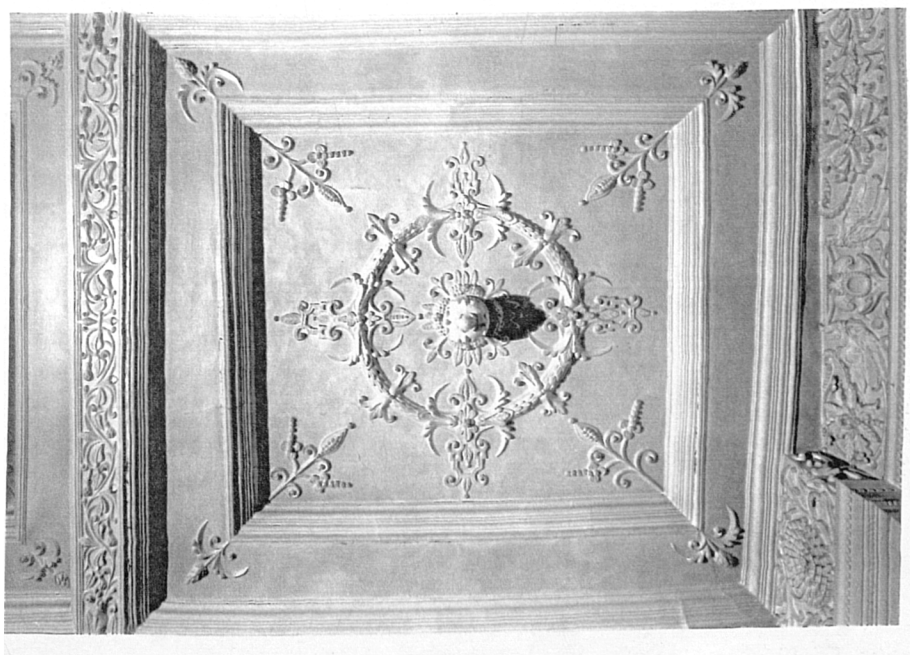
4.28 See p.145
Ceiling compartment at Bishopthorpe with sweetcorn-cob devices prominent amongst the stylised foliage forms.

4.26



4.27

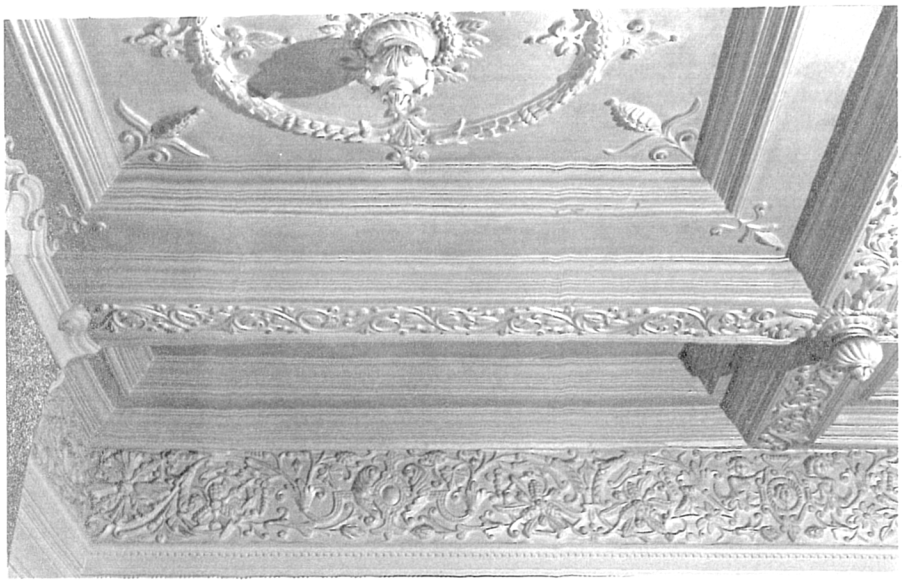
4.28



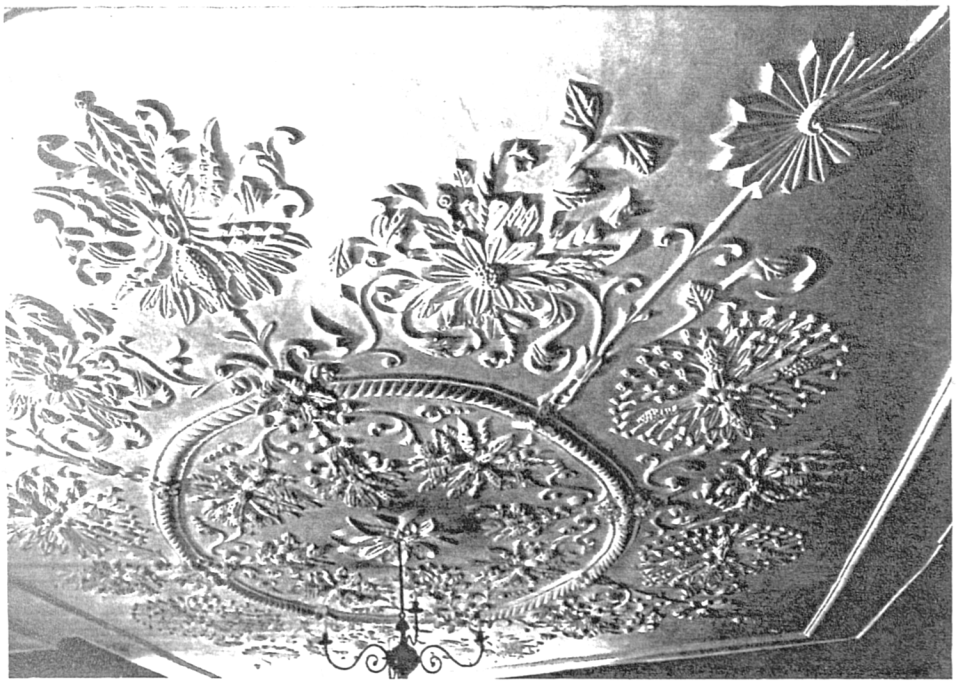
4.29 See p.146
Detail of the frieze in the hall at Bishopthorpe showing shrimp-shaped scrollwork each side of a strapwork cartouche, and sweetcorn-cob forms amongst the foliage.

4.30 See p.146
The parlour ceiling at Clarke Hall, Wakefield, installed for Benjamin Clarke in 1680. Notable within the design is a cable-work oval, sweetcorn-cob forms and sunburst flowerheads, of which that in the top right of the photograph has a tongue-like tendril.

4.31 & 4.32 See p.147
The hall ceiling at Newhouse Hall, Huddersfield, c.1683, showing winged cherub-heads like others at Bishopthorpe, and sweetcorn forms like others at Clarke Hall.



4.29



4.30

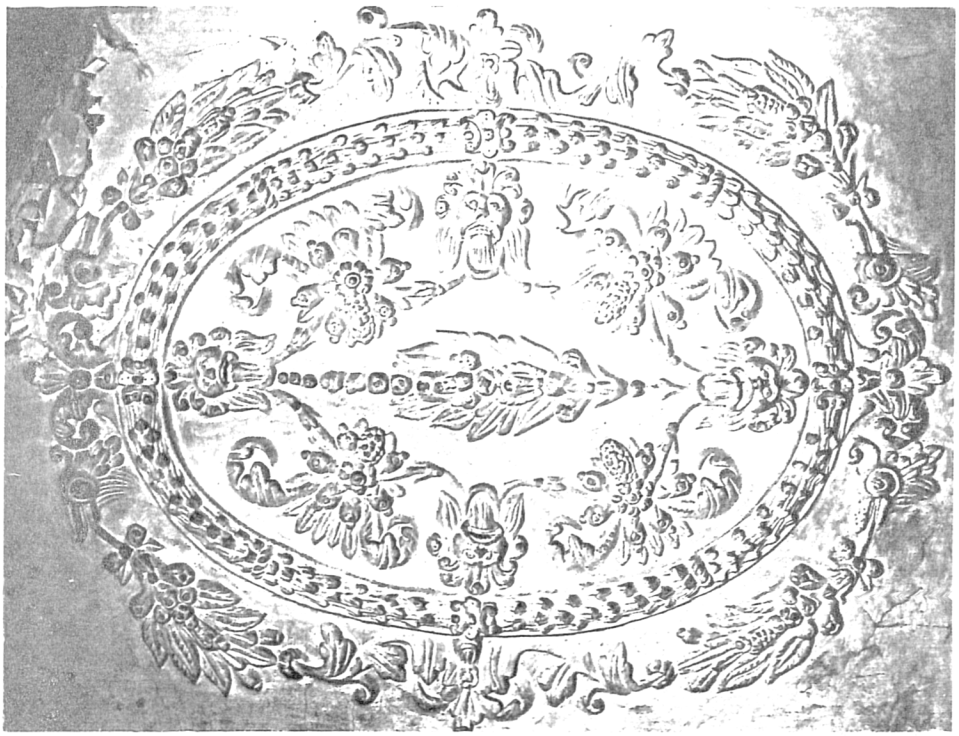
4.31

4.32

4.33 See p.147
The parlour ceiling at Newhouse Hall, Huddersfield, c.1683, with sweetcorn forms, shrimp-shape scrollwork, animal-head terminals and lion masks.

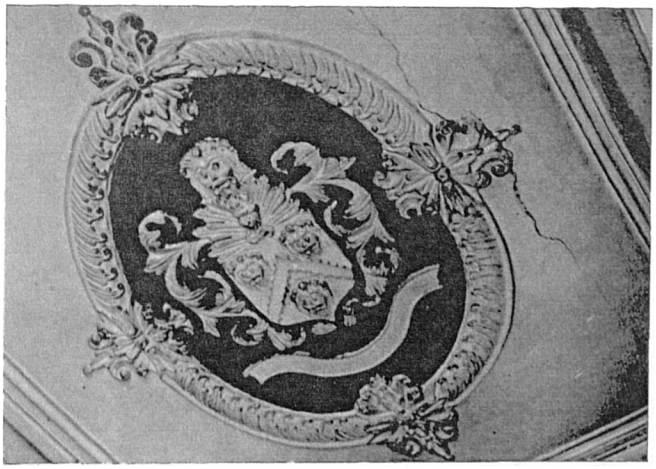
4.34 See p.147
Plasterwork formerly in a cottage in Liversedge, c.1682, with cable-work, fruit swags and scrollwork after the fashion of that at Newhouse Hall and Clarke Hall. Compare to Plate 4.33 and Plate 4.30.

4.35 See p.148
Plasterwork ceiling oval formerly in Gardiner's House, Horsefair, Pontefract, with fruit clusters and a wreath like that at Newhouse Hall. Compare to Plate 4.32.



4.33

4.34



4.35

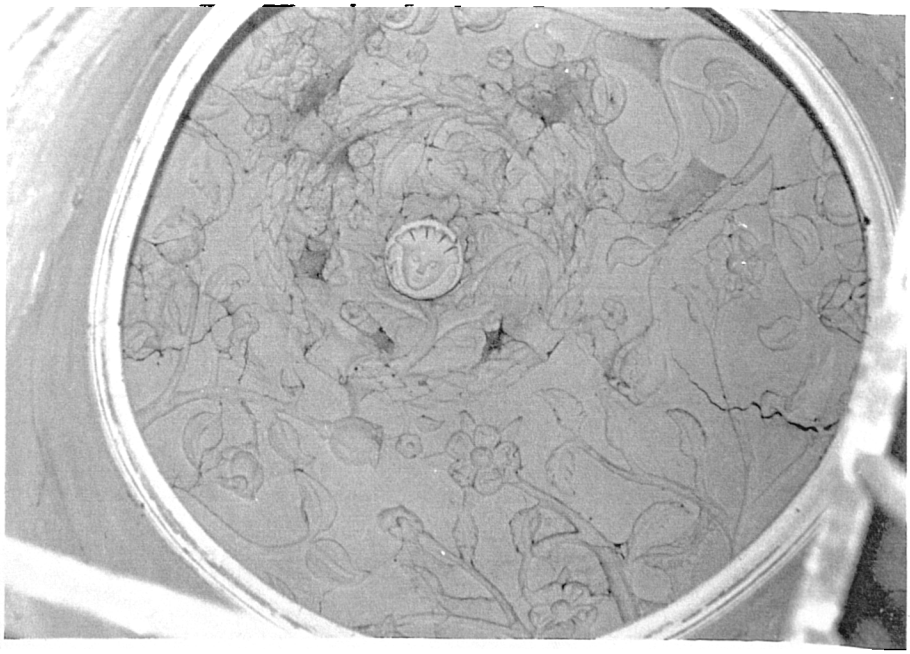
5.1 See p.156
Etruscan mask in the ceiling of the banqueting room of the Turret House at Sheffield Manor, installed in the late 1570s for George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury and his wife, Bess of Hardwick.

5.2 See p.156 & p.255
Plaster frieze in the banqueting room of the Turret House at Sheffield Manor, consisting of S-scrolls and stylised tulips.

5.3 See p.156
Plasterwork in the domed ceiling of one of the turrets of the Hunting Tower at Chatsworth, Derbyshire, c.1582, featuring an Etruscan mask on the ceiling boss, surrounded by a classical laurel wreath amongst flowers.

5.1

5.2

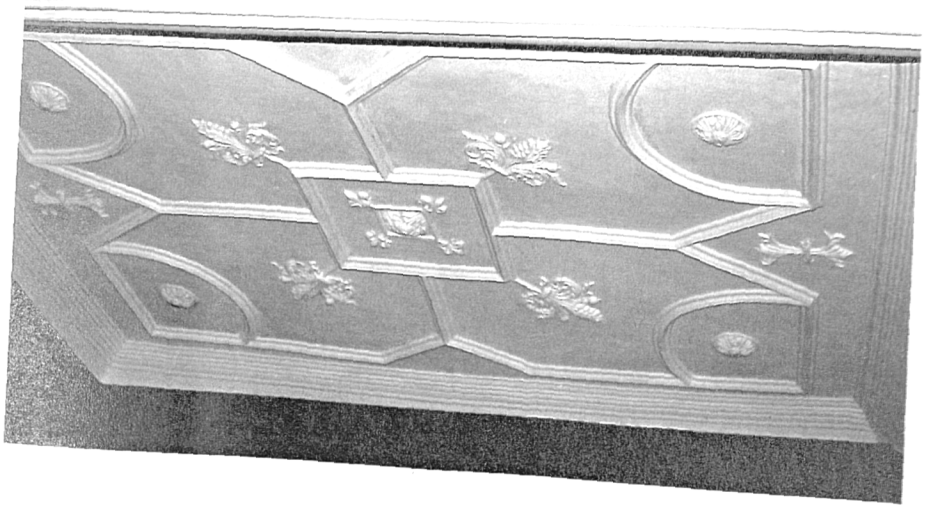


5.3

5.4 See p.156
Ceiling panel in a first-floor room in the entrance tower at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire. The fleurs-de-lys at the points of the ribwork square are virtually identical to others in the Turret House ceiling at Sheffield Manor.

5.5 See p.157
Ceiling in the second-floor room of the entrance tower at Haddon Hall, with corn-sheaf-like motifs on the cusps of the quatrefoil, and stems of seed-heads and briar roses on the re-entrant corners of the ribwork border.

5.6 See p.157
Ceiling in a first-floor chamber at Whitley Hall, Ecclesfield, installed for William Parker c.1584. The stem of seed-heads and briar roses noted at Haddon Hall can be seen, cast from the same mould, at the extended points of the squares in the ribwork layout.



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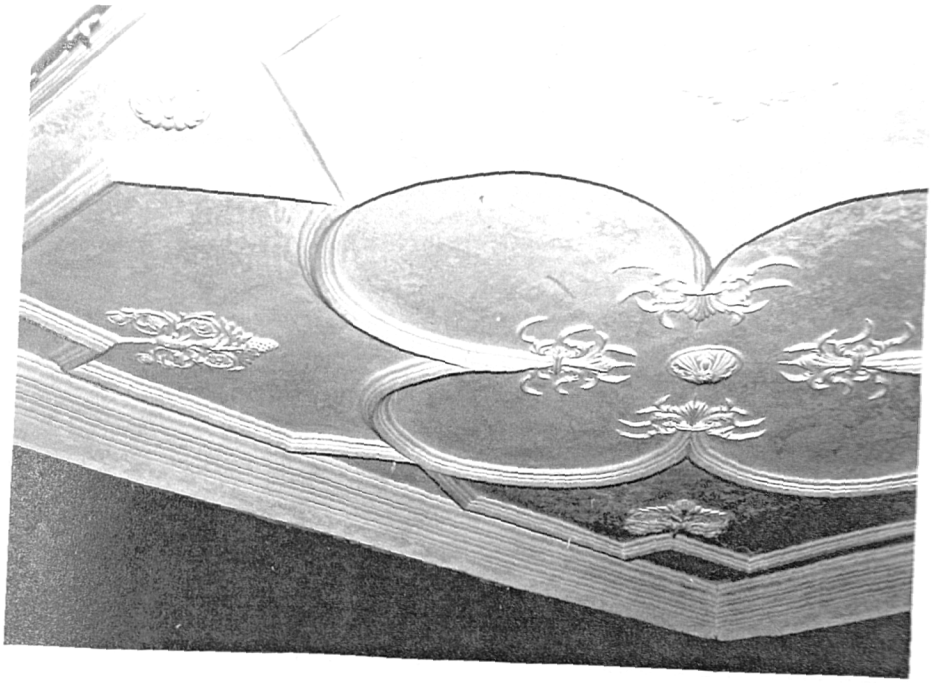

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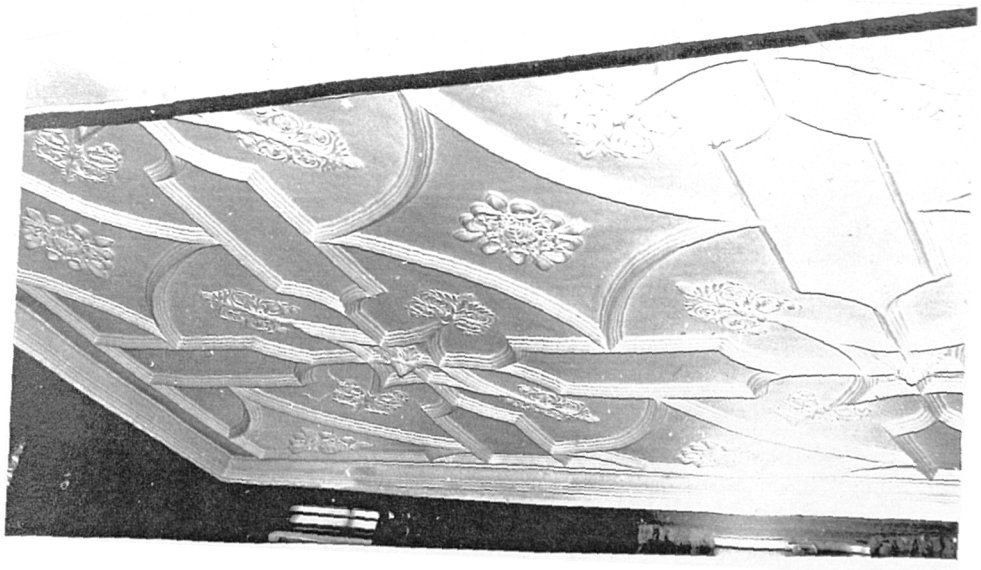
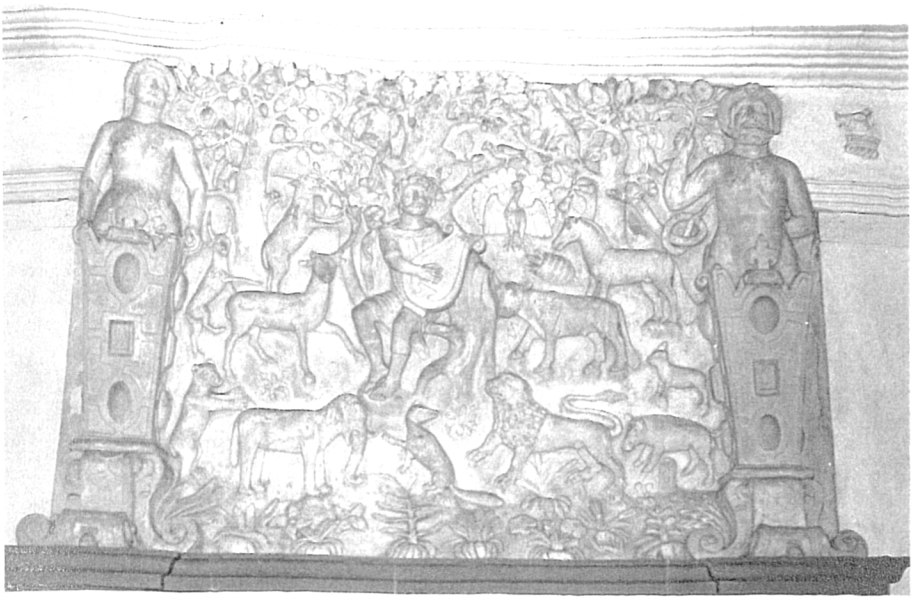


5.6

5.7 See p.158
Hand-modelled overmantel in the state bedchamber at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, showing Orpheus charming the beasts. Notable within the composition is the heraldic stag supporter of the Hardwick arms, on the left, and the knotted serpent - the Cavendish crest - on the right.

5.8 See p.159
Plasterwork casing on the window lintel of the state bedchamber at Haddon Hall. The strapwork interlace is later found at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield and Brampton Hall near Chesterfield (see Plate 5.15).

5.9 See p.159
Multiple bands of cast friezes in the great chamber at Haddon Hall, installed for Sir John Manners c.1600. The top and middle bands, featuring dolphins and beacons, can also be seen at Poundisford Park, Somerset.



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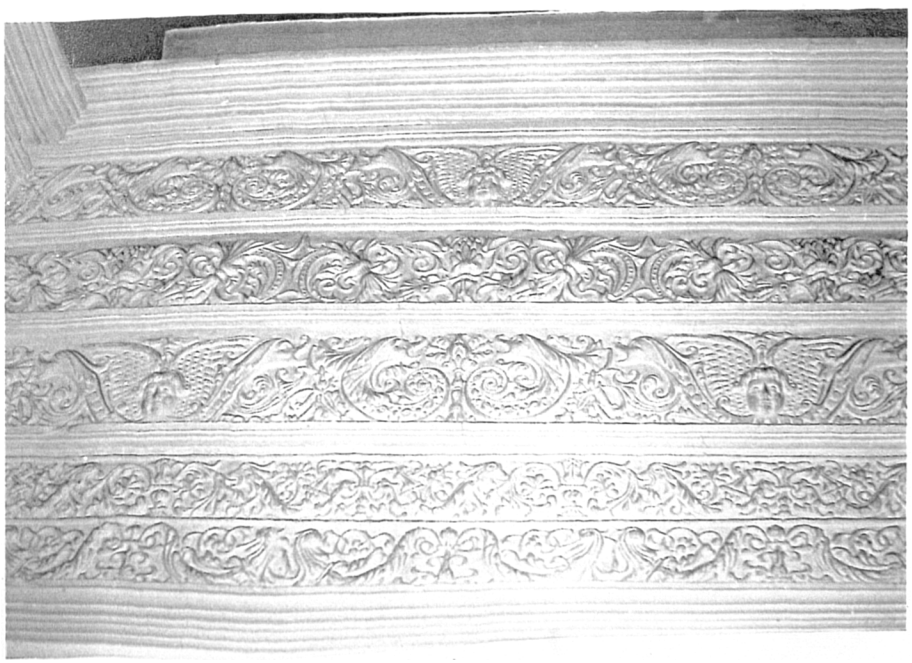


5.9

5.10 See p.160
Corn-sheaf frieze at North Lees Hall, Hathersage. Compare with the same design, shown as band 2 in Plate 5.9, in the great *chamber frieze at Haddon Hall.*

5.11 See p.161 & p.245
S-scroll and lily/tulip frieze in the ground-floor parlour at North Lees Hall, Hathersage. This is effectively a scaled-up version of a frieze in the Turret House at Sheffield Manor (see Plate 5.2).

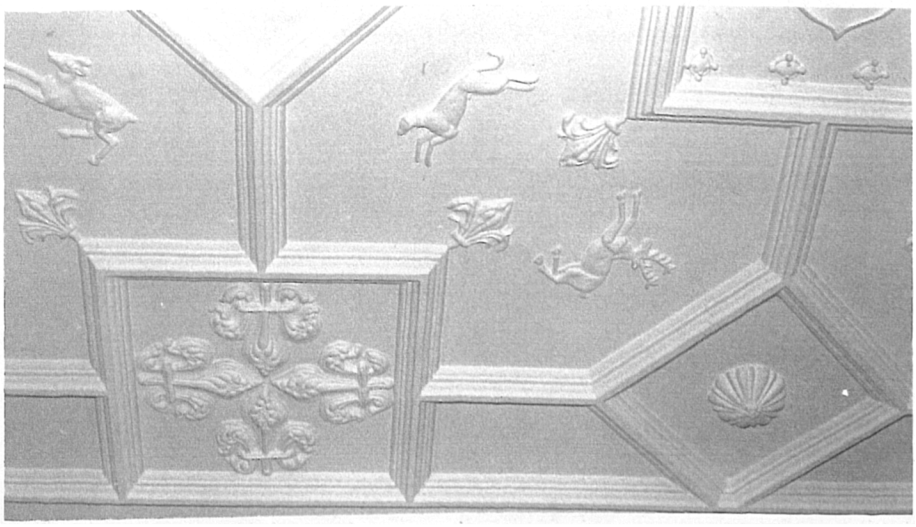
5.12 See p.161
Frieze in a first-floor chamber at North Lees Hall, Hathersage, showing the crest of the Rodes family of Barlborough: a cubit arm erect grasping an oak branch acorned.

5.13 See p.162 & p.245
First-floor chamber ceiling at North Lees Hall, Hathersage, showing 'Talbot' hunting dog and 'Hardwick' stag, and a small fleur-de-lys at the points of the squares which is found (modified) in the 17th century plasterwork of the Sheffield area. (Compare to the fleur-de-lys in Plate 5.14)

5.10

5.11

5.12



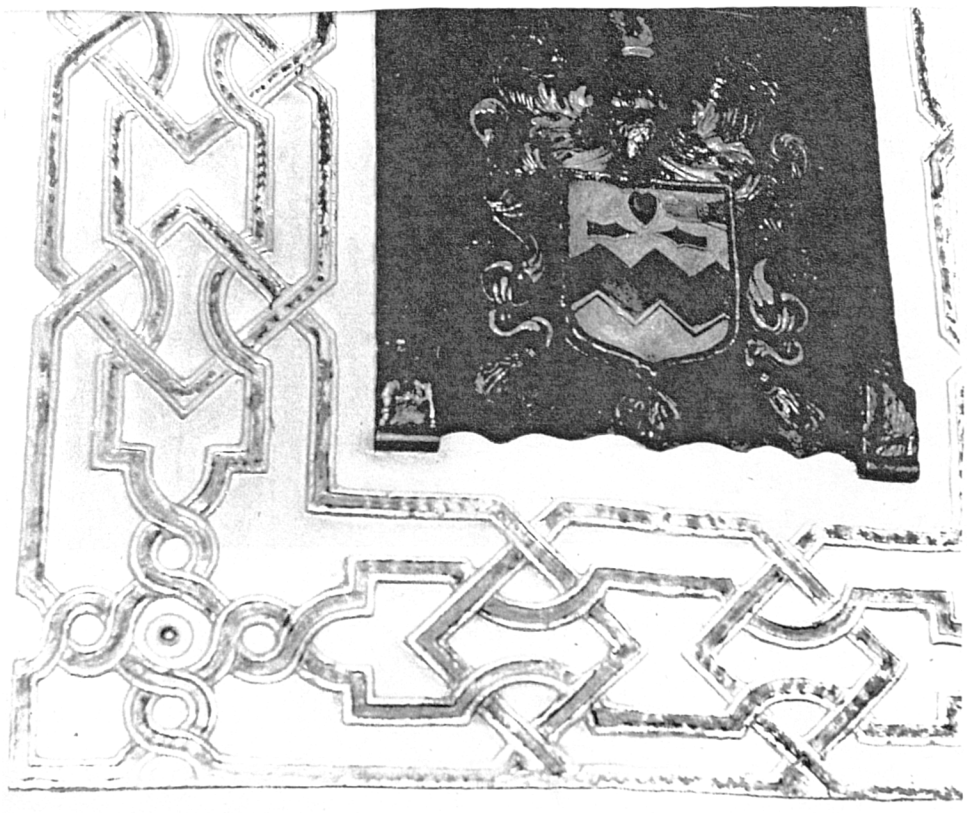
5.13

5.14 See p.162
Parlour ceiling at Brampton Hall, near Chesterfield, installed for the Bullock family c.1600. The fleurs-de-lys, top left in the photograph, are derived from those to be seen at North Lees Hall, Hathersage (see Plate 5.13). The ribwork square with extended corners is a favourite device of the Sheffield plasterers.

5.15 See p.164
Plasterwork overmantel at Brampton Hall near Chesterfield, showing the arms of the Le Caus family. The interlace border is taken from a design for a knot garden by Thomas Hill (1571).

5.14

5.15



5.16 See p.166
The Oak Parlour ceiling from Greenhill Hall, Norton, installed for James Bullock in the early 17th century, and now relocated at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield. Once again, the ribwork square with extended corners is clearly evident.

5.16

5.17 See p.166
Grotesque mask in one of the extended-corner ribwork squares of the Greenhill Hall ceiling.

5.18 See p.166 & p.250
Engraving of a grotesque mask from the **Libro di variate mascare** (c.1560) by Rene Boyvin, which served as the design source for the Sheffield-area plasterwork version.

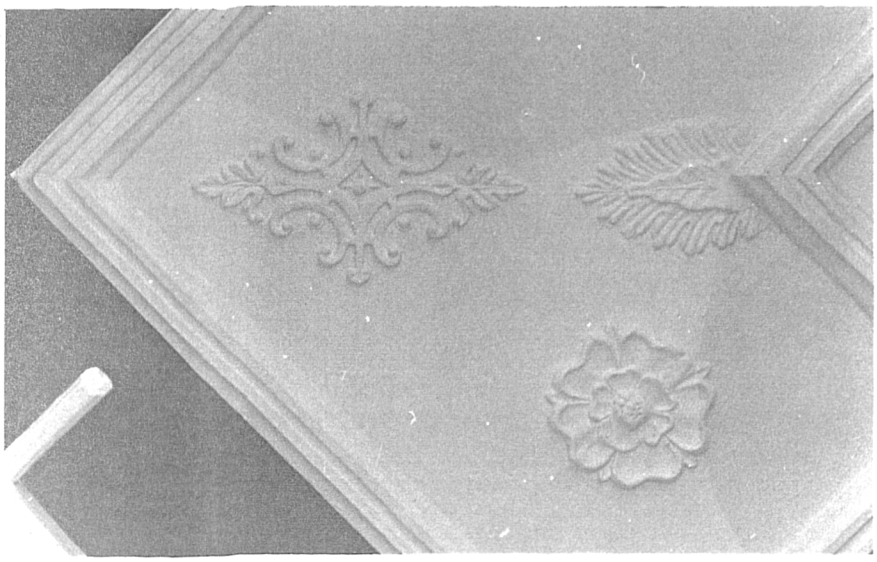
5.17

5.18

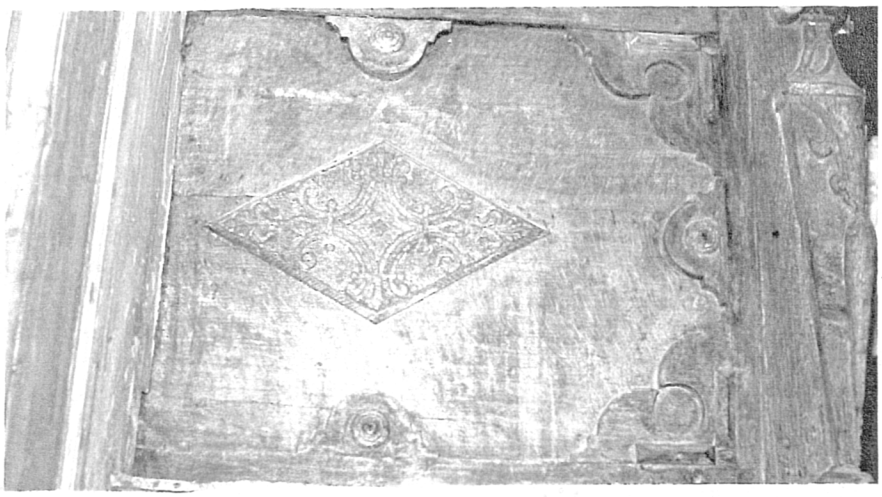
5.19 See p.167
Detail of a first-floor ceiling panel from Greenhill Hall now refixed as the entrance porch ceiling at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield. The strapwork diamond enrichment also features at Cartledge Hall, Norton House and Ecclesfield Priory.

5.20 See p.167
Detail of the wooden panelling in the Pillar Parlour, Bolsover Castle, c.1620. The carved wooden diamond is virtually identical to the plaster version. Compare with Plate 5.19.

5.21 See p.168
Plaster head at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield, to the exact pattern of a carved wooden head which can be seen on an overmantel from Greenhill Hall, now relocated in Bishops' House, Sheffield.



5.19



5.20

5.21

5.22 See p.169 & p.253
Goat's head mask and squirrels frieze, installed for Thomas and Helen Burton in the early 17th century, in the parlour at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield.

5.23 See p.169 & p.253
Dedicatory page of the King James Bible, published by Robert Barker in 1619, featuring the goat's head and squirrels ornament from which the plaster version was copied.

5.22

5.23

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, IAMES BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF GREAT BRITAINE, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

THE TRANSLATORS OF THE BIBLE, wish Grace, Mercie, and Peace, through IESVS CHRIST Our LORD.

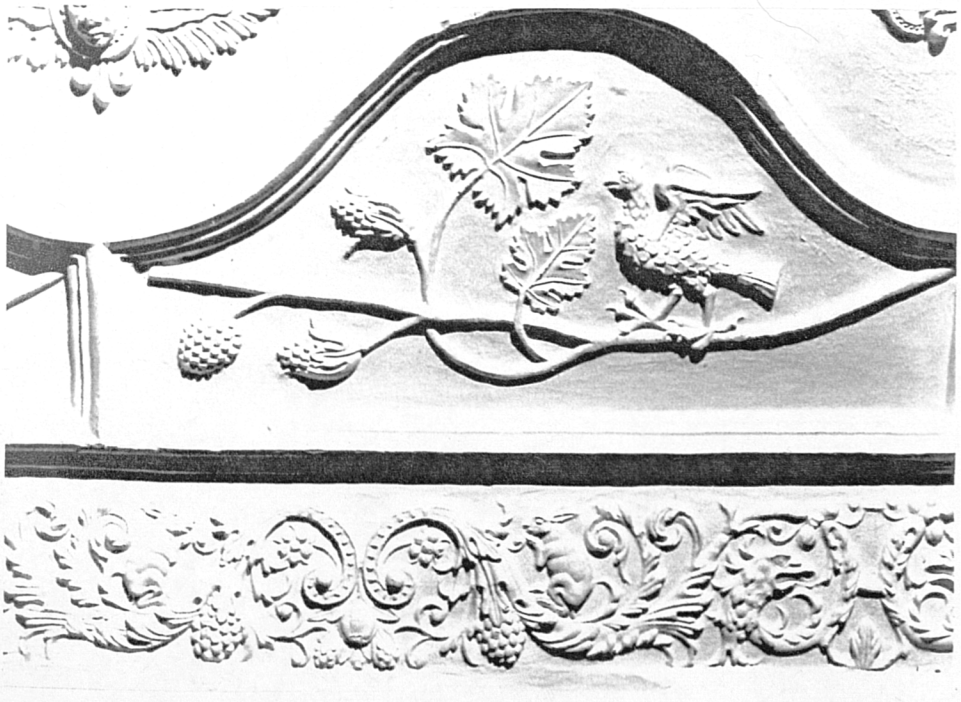
GREAT and manifold were the blessings (most dread Soueraigne) which Almightie GOD, the Father of all Mercies, bestowed vpon vs the people of ENGLAND, when first he sent your Maiesties Royall person to rule and raigne ouer vs. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well vnto our SION, that vpon the setting of that bright Occidentall Starre Queene ELIZABETH of most happie memorie, some thicke and palpable cloudes of darkenesse would so haue ouershadowed this Land, that men should haue beene in doubt which way they were to walke, and that it should hardly be knowen, who was to direct the vnsetled State: the appearance of your MAIESTY, as of the Sunne in his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gaue vnto all that were well affected, exceeding cause of comfort, especially when we beheld the gouernement established in your HIGHNESSE, and your hopefull Seed, by an vndoubted Title, and this also accompanied with Peace and tranquillitie, at home and abroad.

But amongst all our Ioyes, there was no one that more filled our hearts, then the blessed continuance of the Preaching of GODS sacred Word amongst vs, which is that inestimable treasure, which excelleth all the riches of the earth, because the fruite thereof extendeth it selfe, not onely to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men vnto that Eternall happinesse which is aboue in Heauen.

5.24 See p.170
Barrel vaulted ceiling in the great chamber at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfield. The floral fleurs-de-lys in the ceiling compartments at the top of the photograph are commonly found in the work of the Sheffield plasterers. See Plates 5.14, 5.16 & 5.27.

5.25 See p.171 & p.254
Detail of the coved great chamber ceiling at Cartledge Hall, Holmesfeld, showing the rabbits frieze above which is an eagle perched on a vine stem with leaves and fruits, two of which display a cusped protective husk.

5.24



5.25

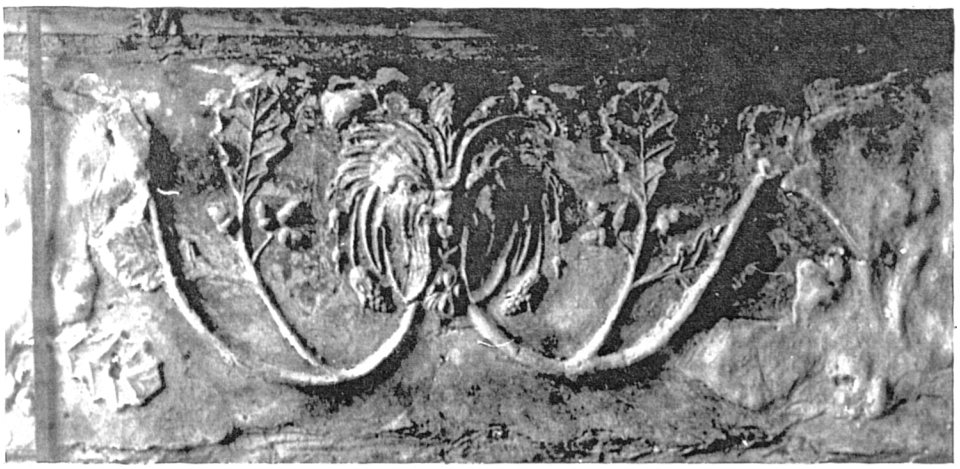
5.26 See p.172
Overdoor at Unthank Hall, Holmesfield, showing a large devil mask, with the rabbits frieze above. See also Plate 5.25 and Plate 5.29 for other examples of the rabbits frieze.

5.27 See p.172
Part of the upper chamber at Attercliffe Hall before its demolition in 1934. Decorated for the Spencer family in the early 17th century, it displayed a mould-cast bell-flower frieze beneath the hand-modelled mural plasterwork.

5.28 See p.173 & p.250
Overmantel formerly at Bellhag Farm, Sheffield, featuring a grotesque mask amongst oak leaves and acorns. See Plates 5.17 & 5.18 for comparison.

5.26

5.27



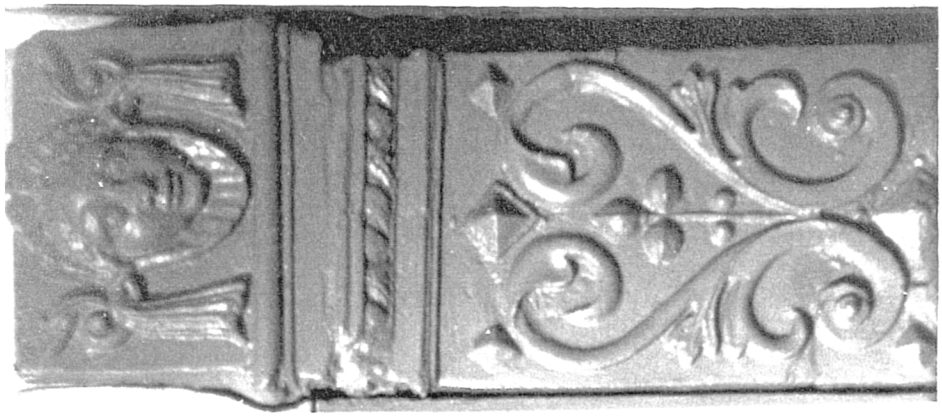
5.28

5.29 See p.174
The rabbits frieze in the great chamber at Broom Hall, Sheffield, home of the Jessop family.

5.30 See p.174
Detail from an overmantel formerly in Bradley's Chemists, Pontefract, showing the Sheffield-area designs of a female Etruscan mask and paired scrolls. Compare the mask to those shown in Plates 5.35, 5.38 & 5.43.

5.31 See p.176
Section of the ceiling in the parlour at Carbrook Hall, Sheffield, installed for Stephen Bright in 1623. The interlacing channel-soffit ribwork layout recalls the design of the Star Chamber ceiling at Bolsover Castle, completed in 1621.

5.29



5.30

5.31

5.32 See p.177 & p.250
Fireplace and plasterwork overmantel in the great chamber at Carbrook Hall, Sheffield, copied from an engraving in Jacob Floris' **Compertimentorum quod vocant multiplex genus** (1566).

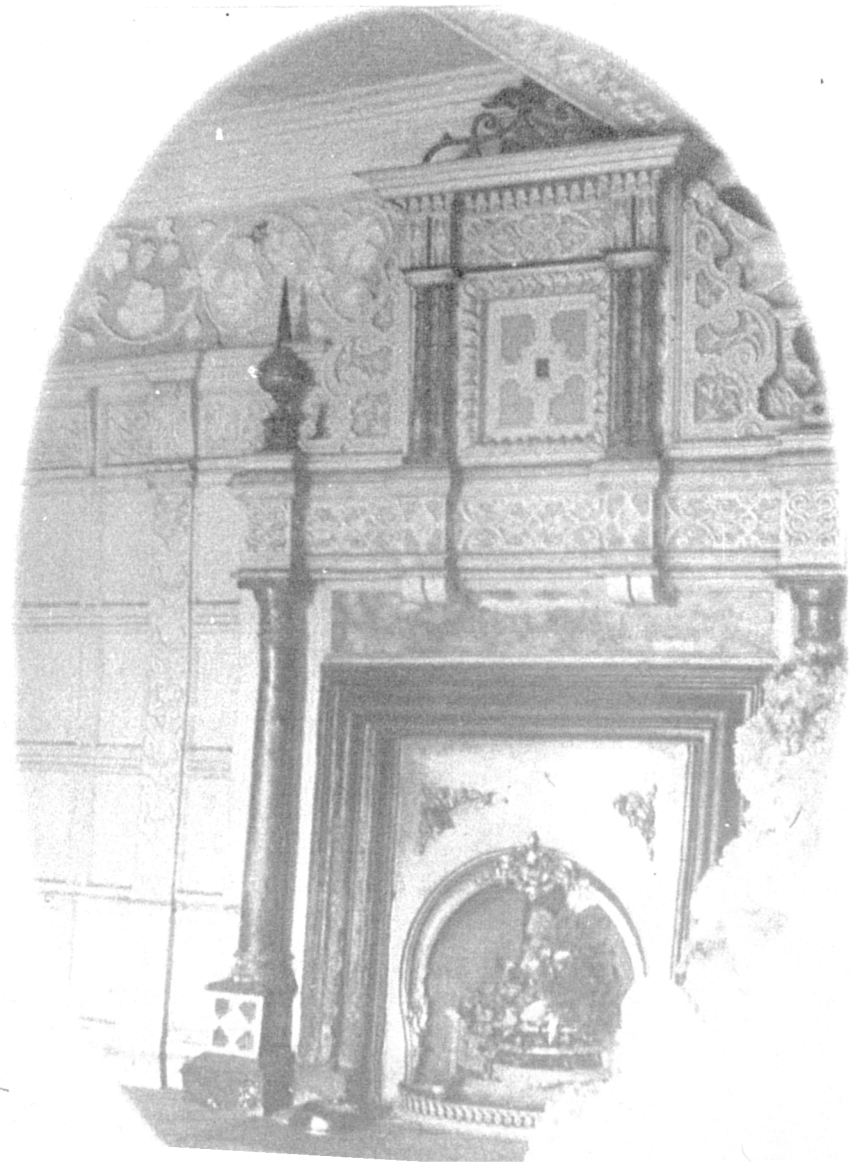
5.33 See p.179
Strapwork panel from a ceiling compartment formerly in Norton House, Sheffield. Installed for Leonard and Elizabeth Gill in 1623, the devil mask at the centre of this panel is from the same design as that at Unthank Hall (see Plate 5.26).

5.32

5.33

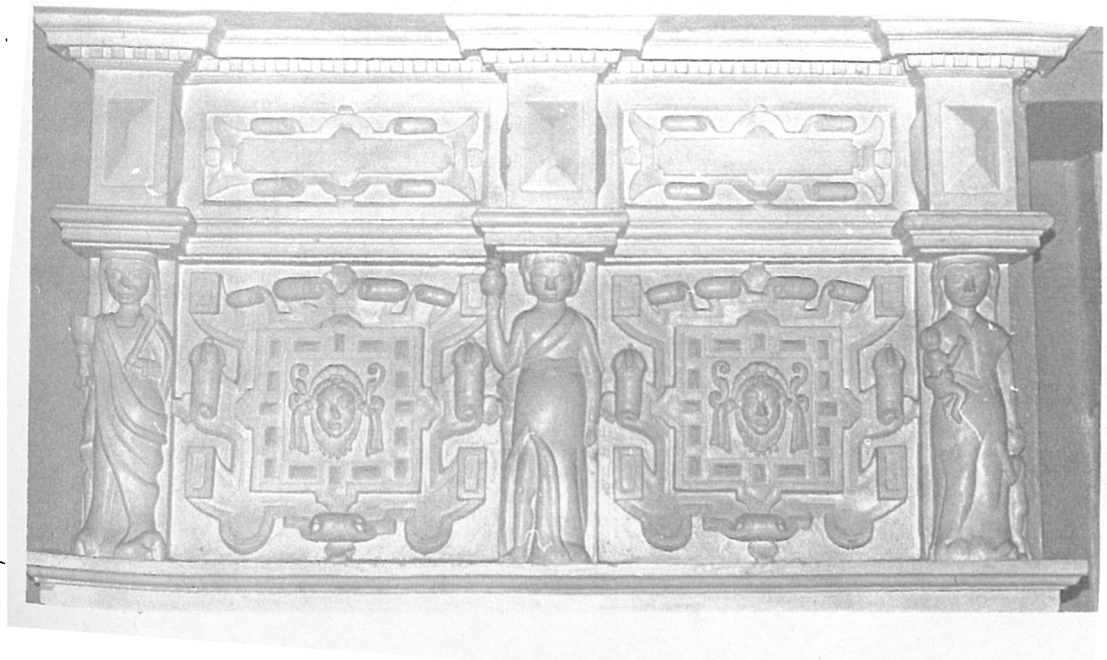
5.34 See p.181
Photograph of the former parlour overmantel at Bramley Grange, Rotherham, dated 1637 in the square brass tablet in the centre of the central panel. The plasterwork frieze consisted of enrichments previously employed at Renishaw Hall and Carbrook Hall (see Plate 5.31).

5.35 See p.181 & p.251
Upper chamber overmantel at Bramley Grange, Rotherham. Hand-modelled figures of Faith, Hope and Charity flank elaborate strapwork panels with the female Etruscan mask at their centres.



5.34

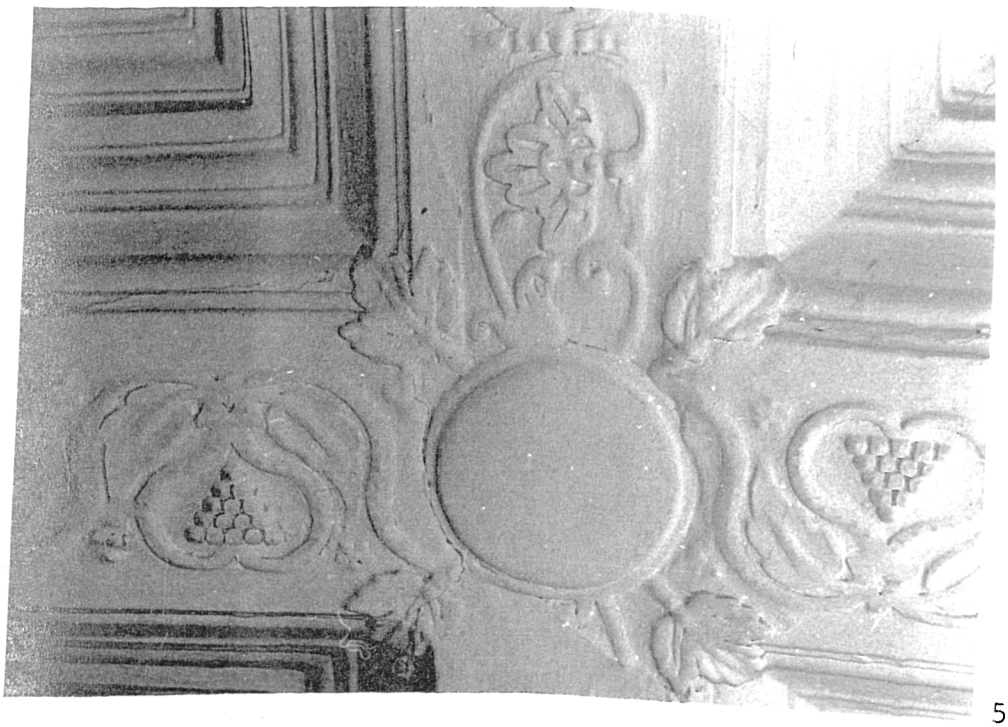
5.35



5.36 See p.182
Beam soffit enrichment in the parlour at Holmesfield Hall, featuring stylised triangular grape bunches and fan-shaped flower heads as at Carbrook Hall (see Plate 5.31, middle left, for this ornament on the beam soffit).

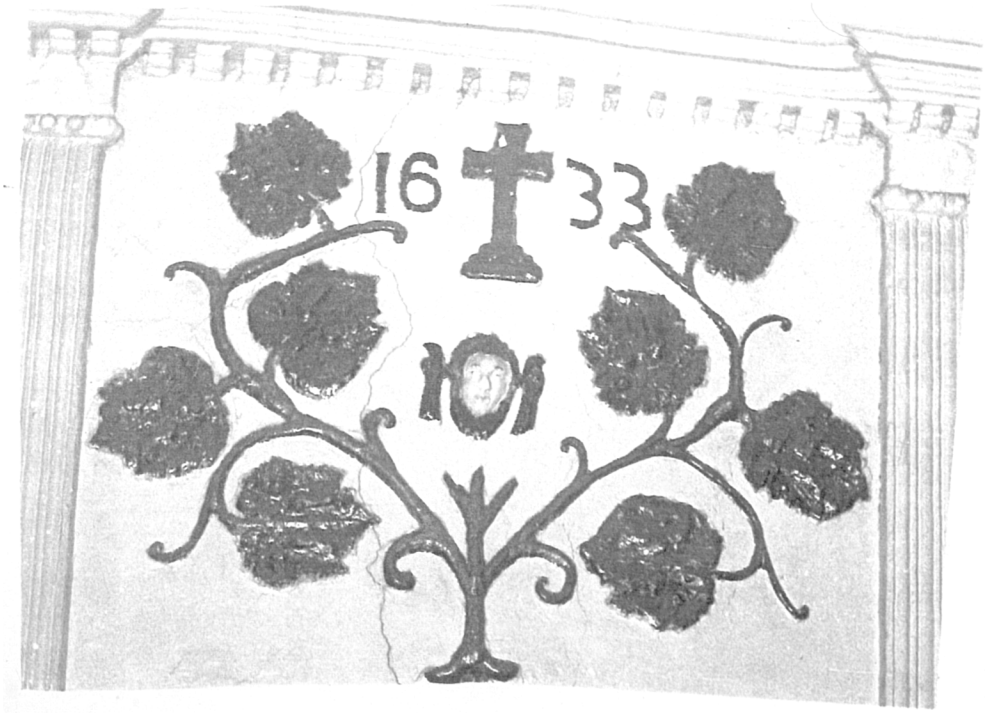
5.37 See p.184
Ornamental plasterwork on the soffit of the beam crossing in the parlour at Mosborough Hall. The positioning of the same enrichment at the compass points of the beam crossing is frequently found in post-1630 work of the Sheffield group.

5.38 See p.184
Parlour chamber overmantel at Barlborough Old Hall. The female Etruscan mask (see also Plates 5.30 and 5.35) is set in a composition surmounted by the date 1633, possibly to mark the visit of Charles I to Welbeck Abbey nearby.



5.36

5.37

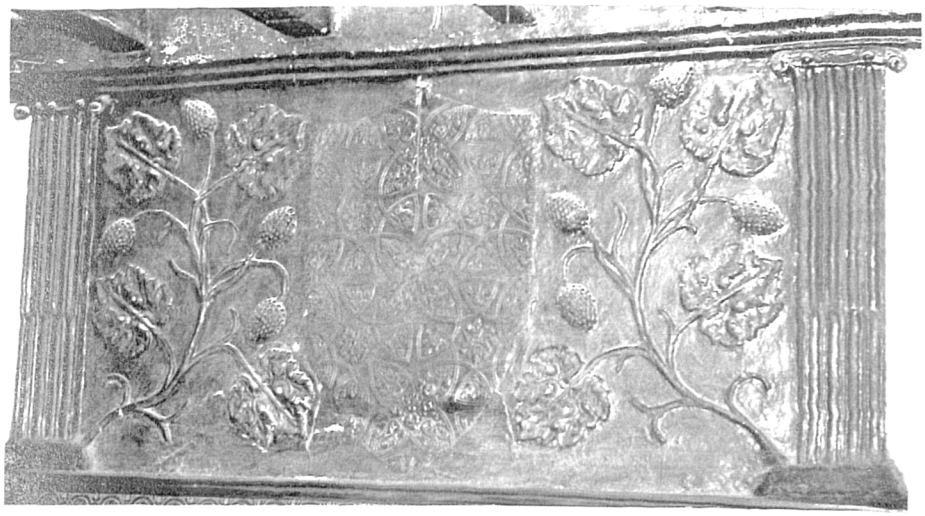


5.38

5.39 See p.184
Ground floor parlour overmantel at Park Farm, Barlborough, which is contemporary with the 1633 overmantel at Barlborough Old Hall, and utilises the same mould for the leaves.

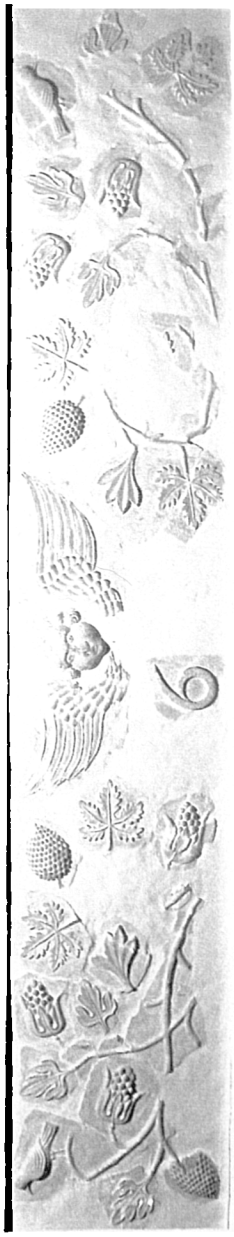
5.40 See p.186
Section of urn and leaf frieze (c.1650) rescued from the demolition of Copley Hall, Sheffield. It is cast from the same mould that was used in Haddon Hall's great chamber (c.1600). See Plate 5.9, bottom bands.

5.41 See p.186
Overmantel rescued from Copley Hall, Sheffield, featuring pointed-husk sheathed fruits, leaves, birds and a winged cherub head at centre.

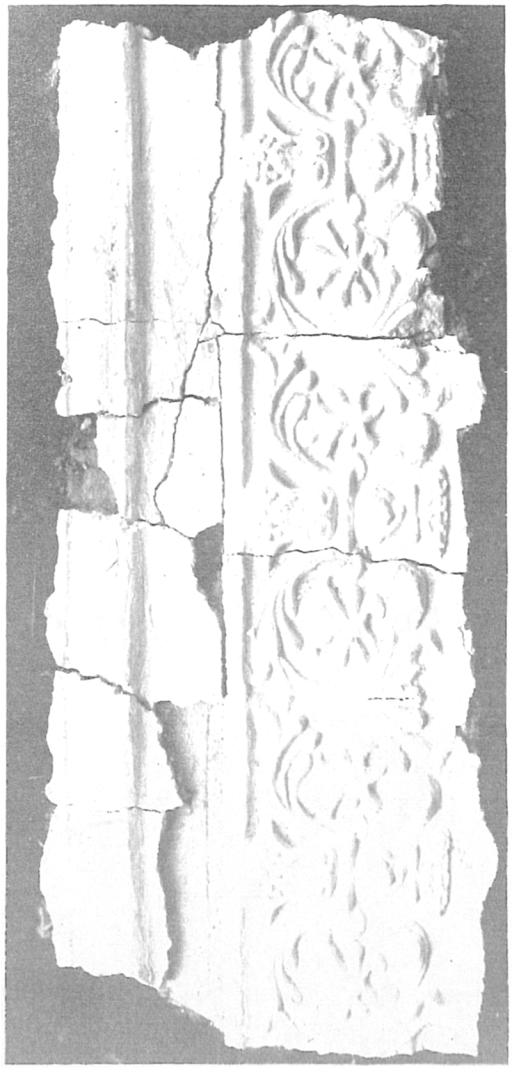


5.39

5.41



5.40

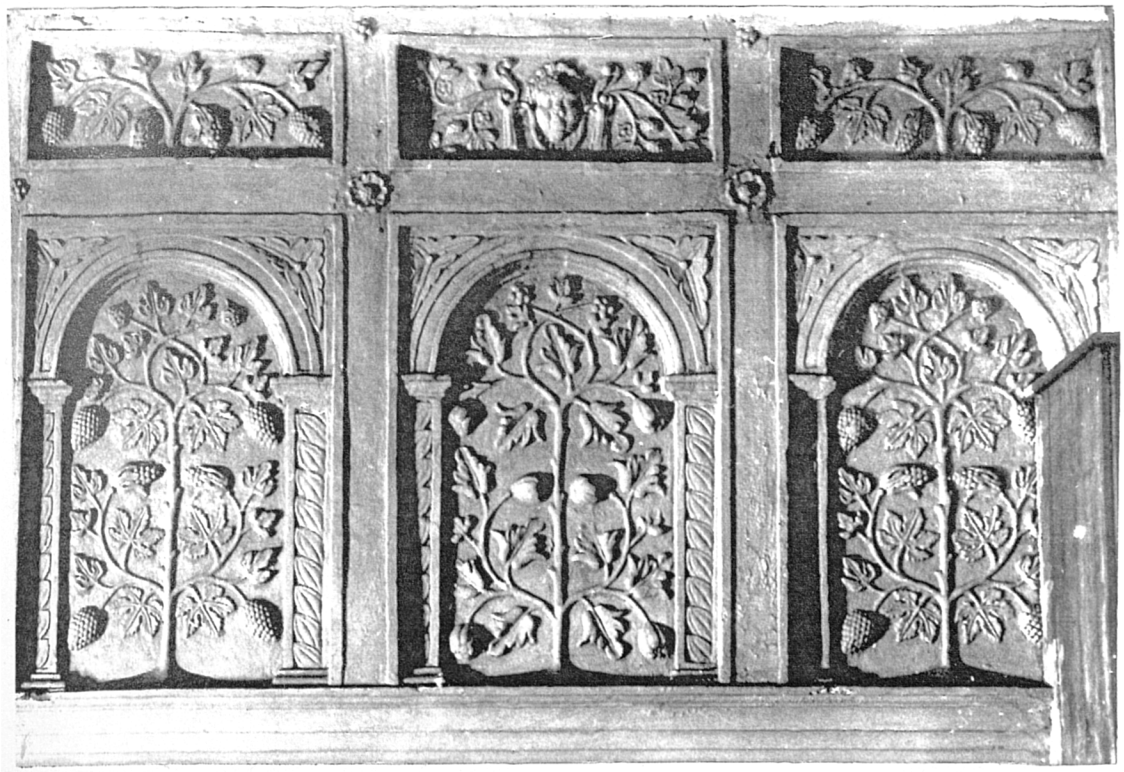


5.42 See p.186 & p.250
Photograph of a chamber overmantel at Bishops' House, Sheffield, installed for William Blythe c.1655. The central device features the dog's head crest of the Parker family of Norton Lees, where Bishops' House is situated.

5.43 See p.187
Overmantel in the parlour chamber at Bishops' House, dating from 1655. It features the female Etruscan mask in the central section at top, above a 3-panel arcade enclosing representations of grape vines and a fig tree.

5.42

5.43

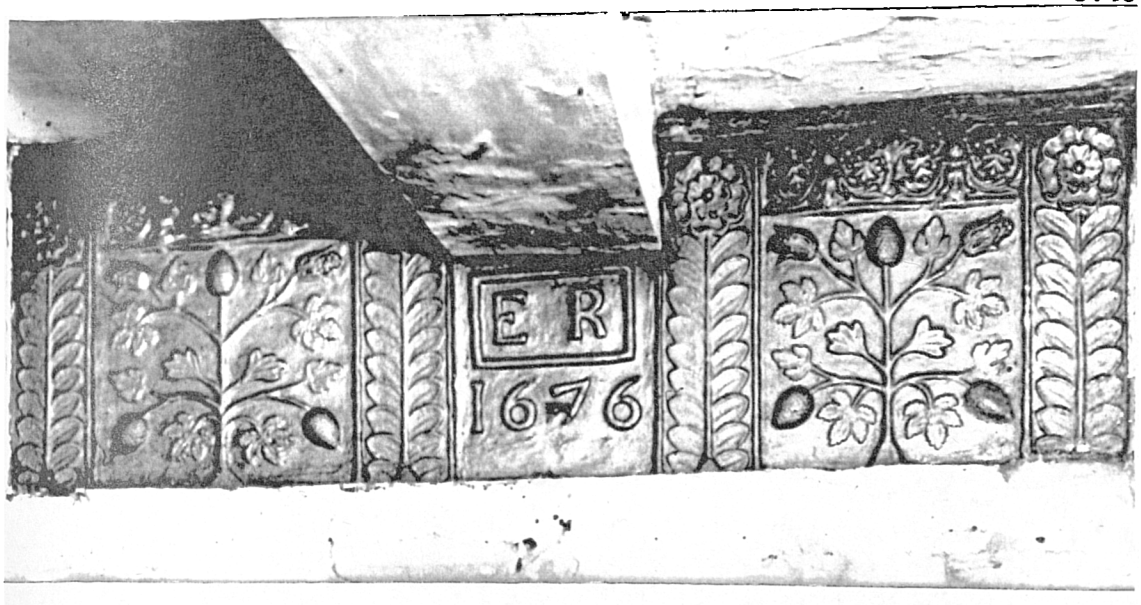


5.44 See p.187
Overmantel at Hallfield House, Bradfield Dale, installed for John Greaves between 1650 and 1660. It features tree forms in the panels, after the fashion of those at Bishops' House, between "pilasters" of flower heads on long stems with close-set rows of leaves.

5.45 See p.189
Overmantel installed in a house at Washford Bridge, Sheffield, for Elizabeth Rhodes in 1676. It features the rose head on long stem with close-set leaves and, above the panels, the urn and foliage frieze from the same mould that was used at Copley Hall (see Plate 5.40).

5.44

5.45

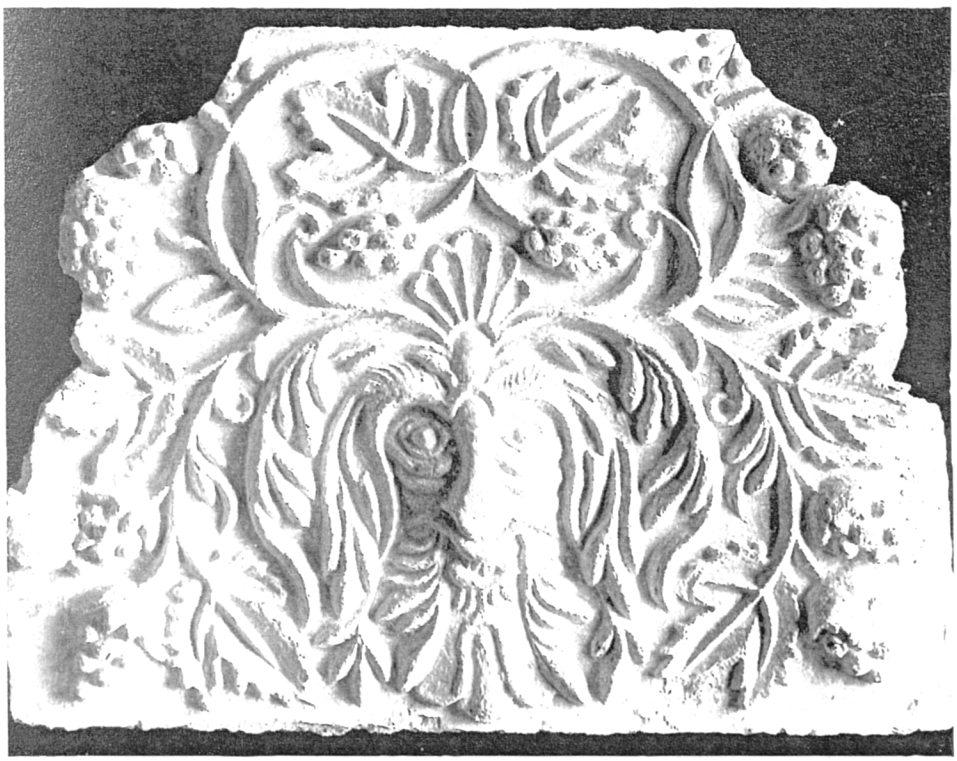


9.1 See p.231
Devil mask from Copley Hall, Sheffield, displaying pronounced ridges as a result of V-shaped carving into the wooden block to form the mould.

9.2 See p.233
Damaged ceiling at Northgate, Wakefield, showing evidence of scoring of the backing plaster to form a key for the surface layer, and also scribe lines for positioning the ribwork marked out by dividers.

9.2

9.1



10.1 See p.249
Design of honeysuckle and S-scrolls for an embroidery border from Thomas Trevelyon's **Miscellany** of 1608.

10.2 See p.249
Plaster frieze at Lazenby Hall, Danby Wiske, possibly derived from an embroidery pattern source similar to that shown in Plate 10.1.

10.3 See p.250
Enraving of a winged mask from Rene Boyvin's **Libro di variate mascare** (1560) used as a pattern source by the Sheffield plasterers. Compare with the plaster version shown in Plate 5.42, bottom left and right.

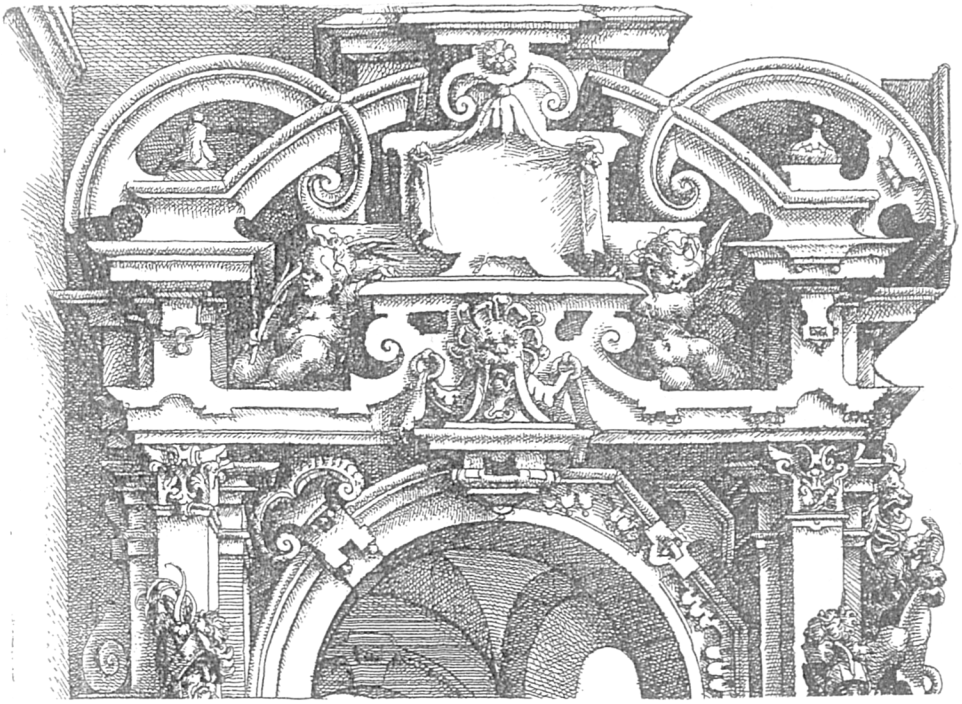
10.1

10.2

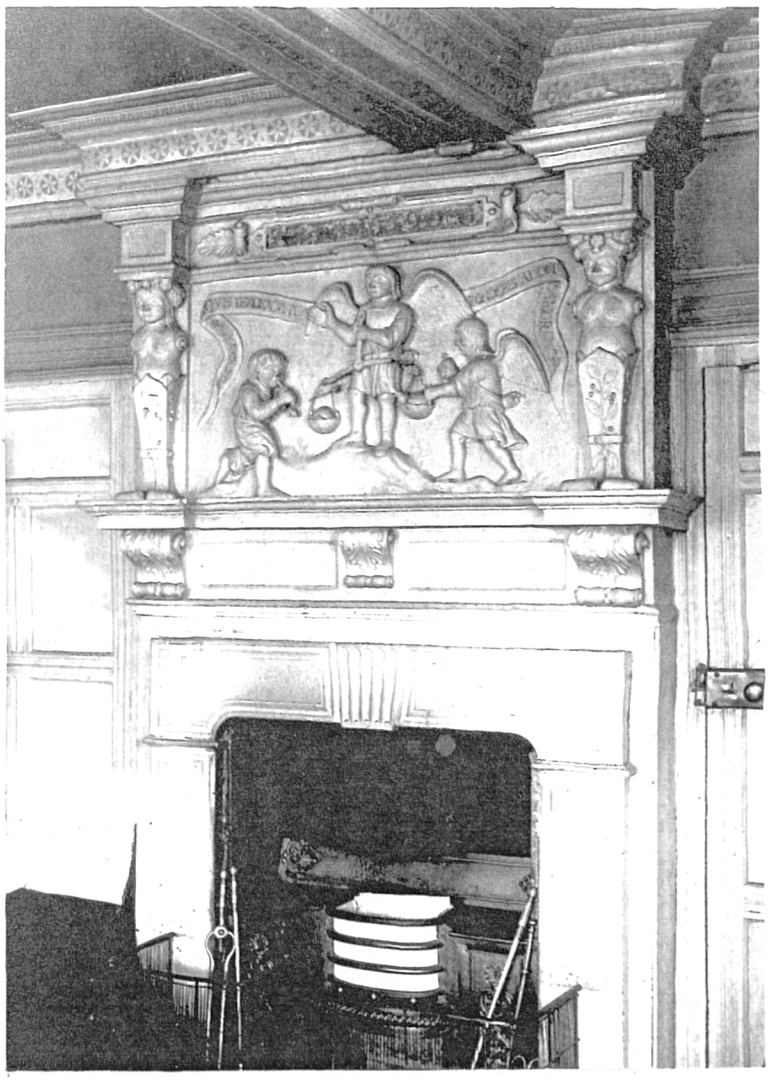
10.3

10.4 See p.251
Engraving of a lion mask as a keystone above an archway from Wendel Dietterlin's **Architectura** (1598), possibly used as the pattern source for plasterwork lion masks by the Leeds/ York plasterers. Compare with the plaster versions in Plates 4.33 and 4.35.

10.5 See p.182 & p.251
Plaster overmantel formerly at Brimington Hall, Derbyshire, worked by the Sheffield plasterers, showing a scene copied from Francis Quarles **Emblemes** (1635).



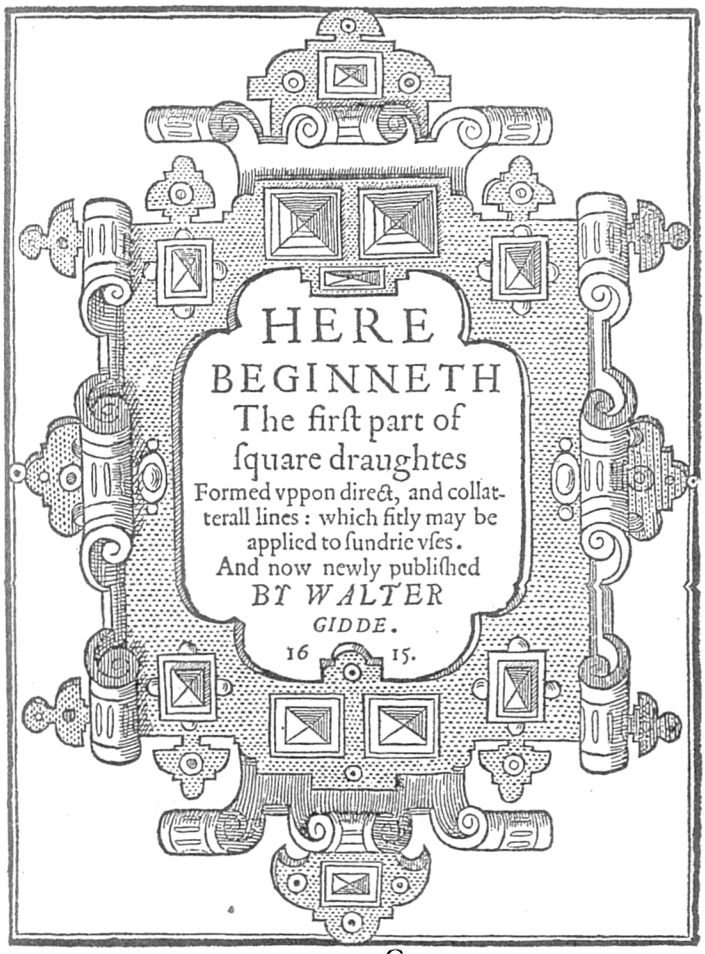
10.4



10.5

10.6 See p.252
Title page border from Walter Geddes' **Booke of sundry draughts** (1615), showing an elaborate strapwork cartouche of the kind favoured by the Halifax and Leeds/York plasterers.

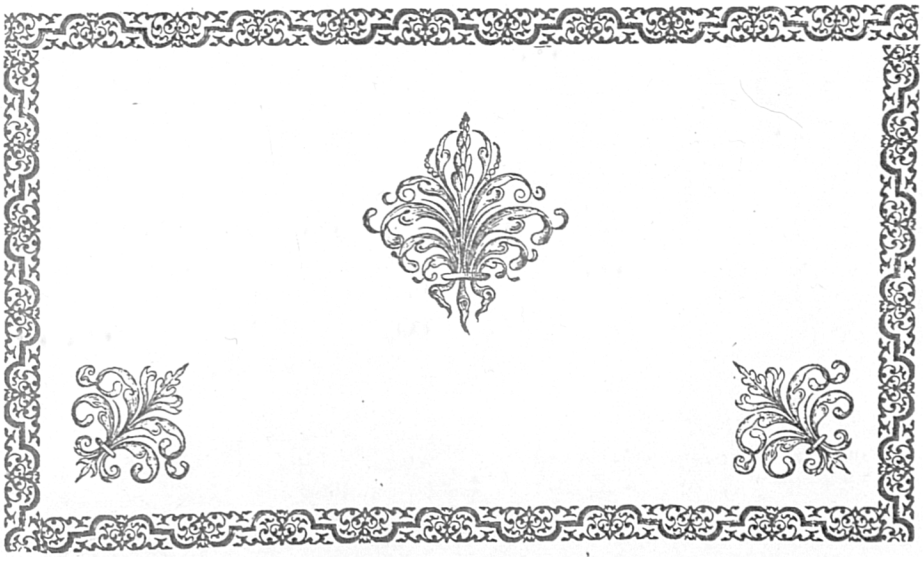
10.7 See p.252
Engraved ornament from Agostino Ramelli's **Various & ingenious machines** (1588), showing the C-bar-C motif so favoured by the Leeds/York plasterers, and elaborate fleurs-de-lys in the style of those worked by the Sheffield plasterers (see Plates 4.9, 5.4 & 5.5).


HERE
BEGINNETH
The firſt part of
ſquare draughtes
Formed vppon direct, and collat-
terall lines: which fitly may be
applied to ſundrie vſes.
And now newly publiſhed
BY WALTER
GIDDE.
16 15.

10.6

C3.

10.7

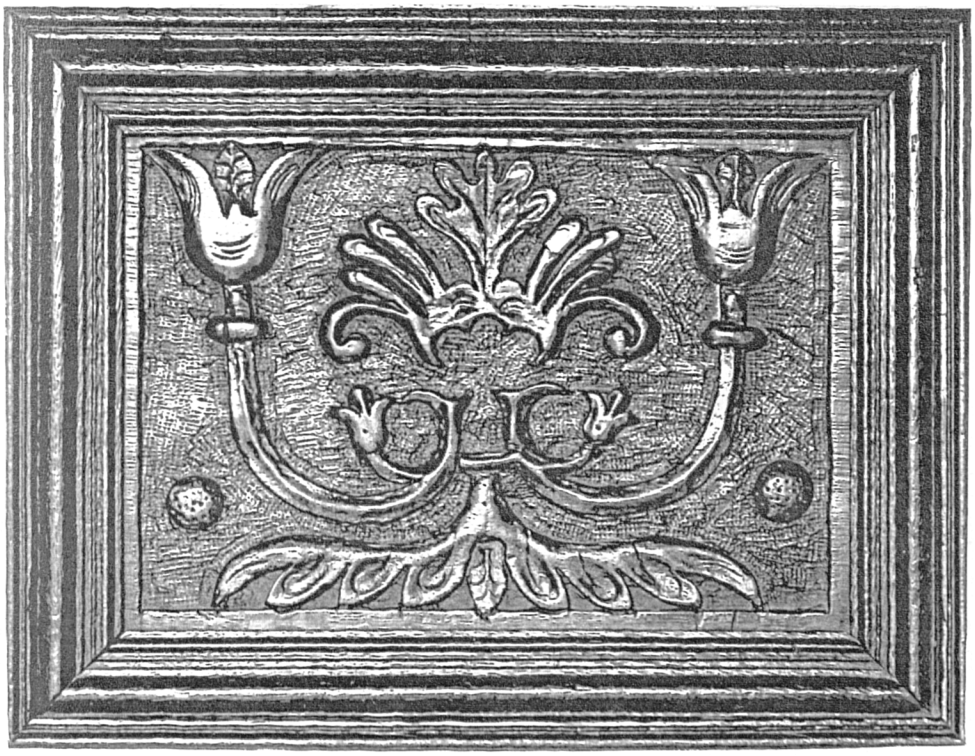


10.8 See p.255
Bell-flower plaster frieze from Attercliffe Hall, Sheffield, with upturned tulip heads and broad-spreading foot.

10.9 See p.255
Bell-flower design carved in oak as a panel in a cupboard now at Blakesley Hall, Birmingham, but formerly at Pinxton Hall, Derbyshire.

10.8

10.9



10.10 See p.255
Beam soffit plaster ornament at Holmesfield Hall, featuring stylised triangular grape bunches and strapwork triangles.

10.11 See p.255
Oak panelling at Bramley Grange, Rotherham, with the design of triangles and grape bunches shown in Plate 10.10 employed as a carved frieze.

10.10

10.11

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Sheffield Manor
L.H.Butcher Archive: survey drawings and photographs of Bellhag Farm, Crosspool
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