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Bambrough, Mark (2026) *Recovering the 'ingenious' Mr. Gyles (1645-1709): glass painter, printer, virtuoso, and entrepreneur in the age of enlightenment*. PhD thesis.

Volume 2

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RECOVERING THE ‘INGENIOUS’ MR. GYLES (1645-1709):

GLASS PAINTER, PRINTER, VIRTUOSO, AND
ENTREPRENEUR IN THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Volume Two

(Two volumes)

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of PhD

School of Culture and Creative Arts

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

March 2025

VOLUME TWO

Figures

Appendices

FIGURES

Figure 1 Unknown, *Labours of the Month – October*, c. 1480, leaded clear and coloured glass with painted detail in brown/black pigment and yellow stain, height 29.2 x width 32.9cm. C.134-1931, © Victoria and Albert, Museum, London.



Figure 2 Unknown, *The Triumph of Fame*, c. 1530-40, clear and coloured glass with painted detail in brown/black pigment and yellow stain, Lowlands, approx. 30cm. C.38-1983, © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 3 Benedict Horsley, *The Ichnography or Ground Plot of Ye City of Yorke*, 1694, map -copperplate engraving, London, Pierce Tempest, height 44.4 x width 62.3 cm. ID R4X84J, © British Library, London. Showing Micklegate-ward outlined in blue.



1. 68 Micklegate, Henry Gyles house.
2. St. Martin-cum-Gregory church.
3. St. Michael-le-Belfrey in York at the top of Stonegate, where Martin Lister lived from 1672 -83.
4. St. Mary's Bishophill Junior.
5. The Parish of St. Lawrence, where Catherine Greenbury lived.
6. Home of Martin Lister 1670-72.
7. King's Manor, the home of Francis Place from 1693.
8. St. Mary's Bishophill, Middleton association.
9. Buckingham House, townhouse of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham.

Figure 4 Artist unknown (possibly William Lodge), *South-West Prospect of York*, unknown date, painting, oil on oak, York, height 74.9 x width 133.9 cm. YORAG: 954, York Art Gallery, ©York Museums Trust, York.



Home of Martin Lister 1670-72

Fig. 5 John Speed (1551/52 -1629), *Theatrum Imperii Magnae Britanniae*, 1611, London, John Sudbury and George Humble, 1611, size unknown. Maps C.7. c.20. (2.), © British Library, London.

Buildings
removed
by 1694.



Figure 6 Author's own, 68 Micklegate, York.



Figure 7 Jost Amman, *Book of Trades*, p 23, 1568, woodcut on paper, Frankfurt am Main, Der Buchdrucke, height 7.9 x width 6.1cm. 1904,0206.103.2, © British Museum, London.

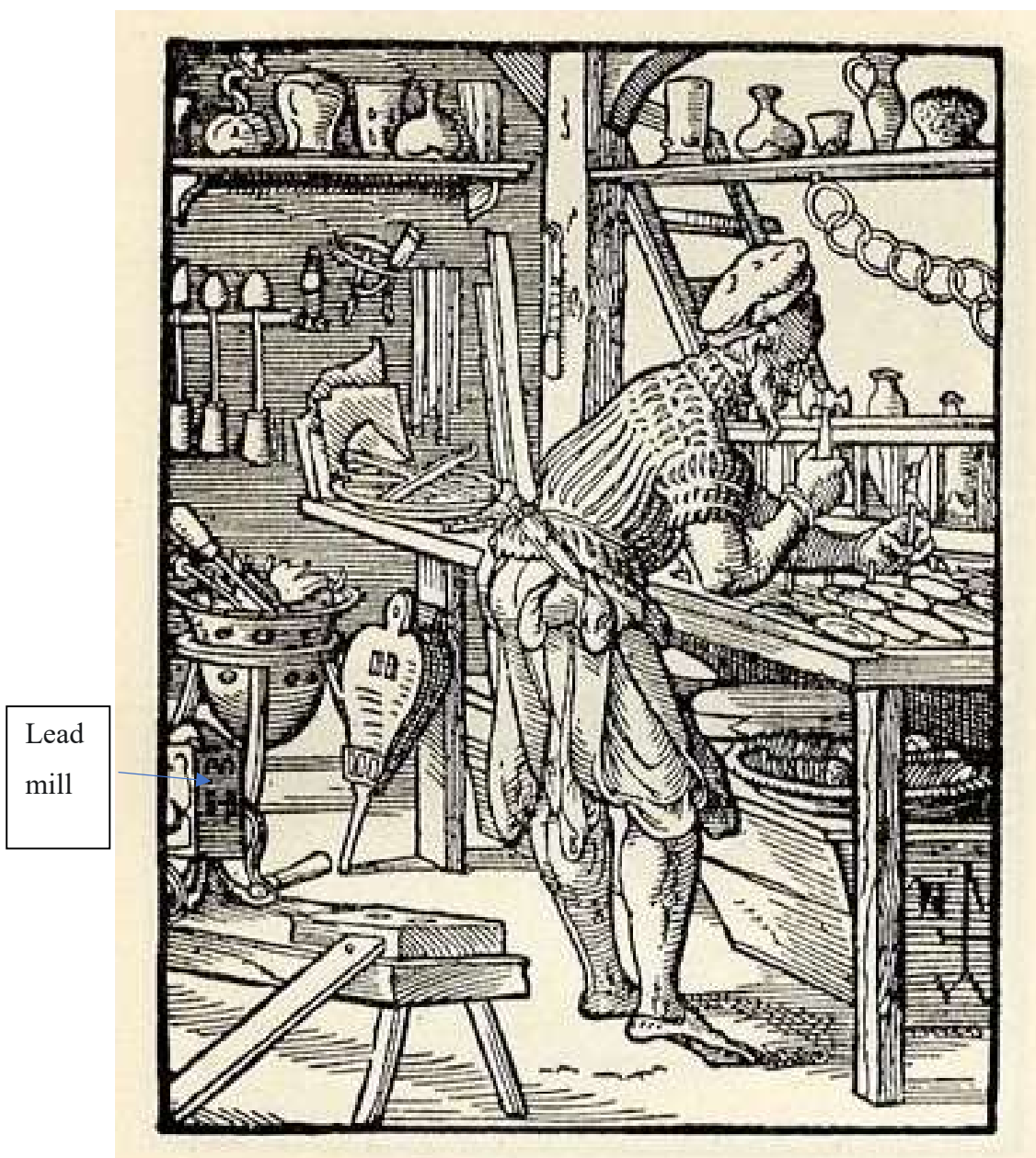


Figure 8 *Edmond Giles of Yorke 1665*, c.1664, impressed name stamp in lead mill cheeks from a Gyles commission for Tong Hall in Yorkshire. C.85-1953, © Victoria and Albert Museum. See also, John Knowles, “Henry Gyles, Glass-Painter of York” *The Walpole Society*, 11 (1922-1923): 60.

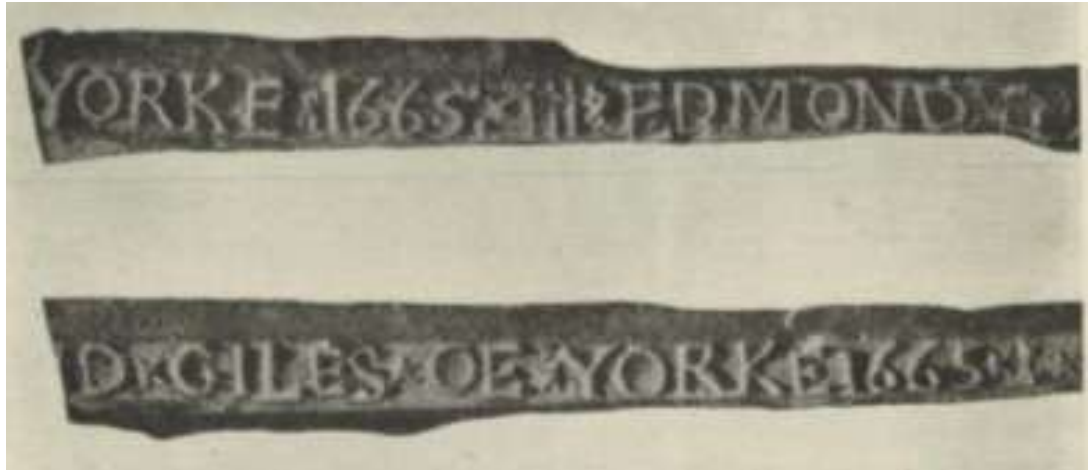


Figure 9 Edmund Gyles (Giles) signature, *Guild of Glaziers and Plumbers new ordinance* 1634. Par. 67361, Duncan 15491. NK5344.Y6. G95, © Corning Museum of Glass, New York.

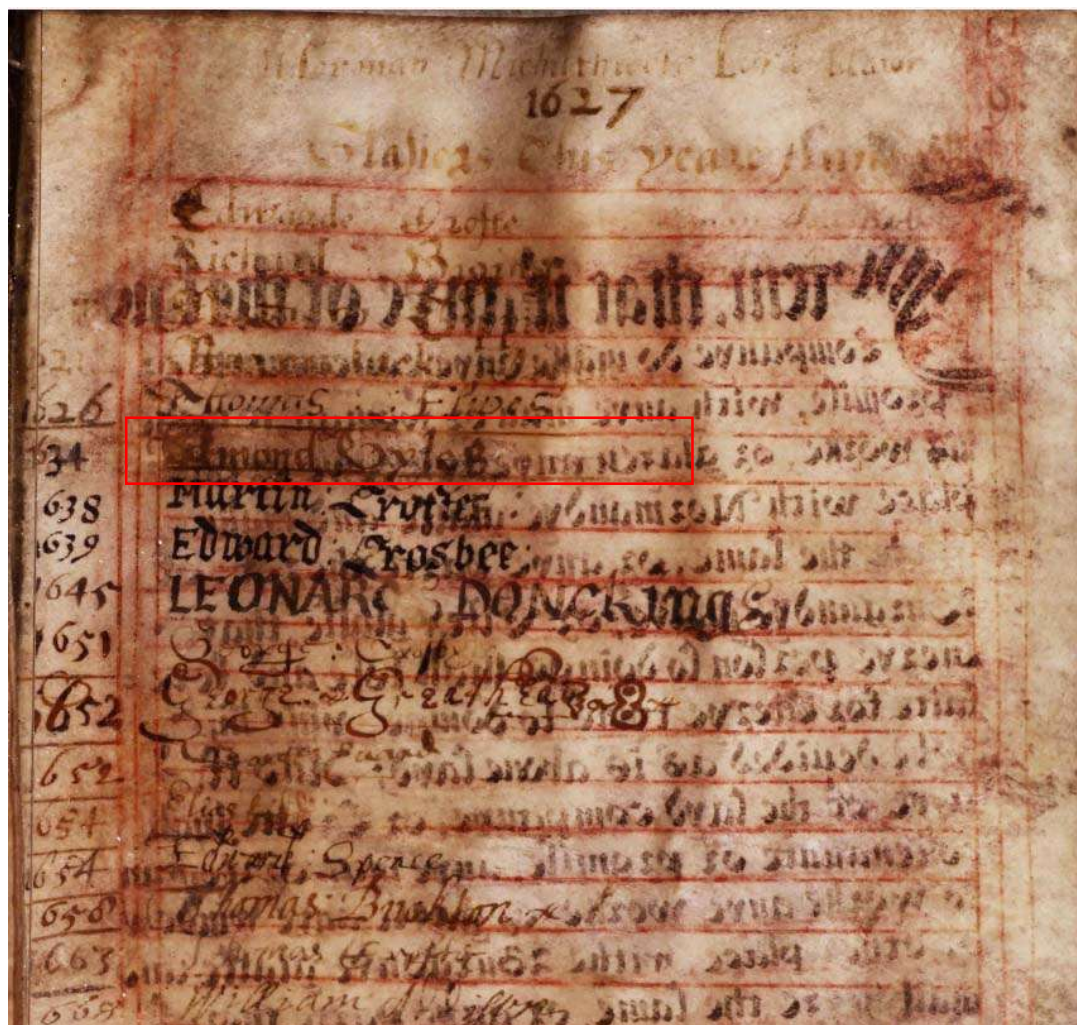


Figure 10 Change of Guild name from Glaziers and Plumbers to Plumbers and Glaziers, between 1679 and 1704. Par. 67361, Duncan 15491. NK5344.Y6. G95, © Corning Museum of Glass, New York.

Item that no manner of person
~~or person whatsoever shall work~~
 the occupation of glaziers and
 plumbers within this city suburbs
 or liberties thereof but such the
 free brethren of the same + fellowship
 or their assigns upon paine of + the
 pounds to be forfeited for every
 offence to be divided as aforesaid

Memorandum that (Tho: Hains) was
 admitted a fre Brother in to y^e Company
 of plumbers & glaziers the seventh day
 of february on the sixth six hundred ninety
 nine

Memorandum that Samuel Barker was
 admitted a fre Brother in to y^e Company
 of plumbers & glaziers the twenty eight
 day of November in the year 1704

Figure 11 Robert Hudson, "Personal notes", 1890, ink on paper. See Tom Parker, *St. Stephen's Church, Acomb* (York: privately published, 2012), 16. Robert Hudson's handwritten note confirming the contents of the St. Stephen's east window in 1890.

New Glass to East
Window 1890
given by Mr. Hale

Lych Gates 1882
given by Mr. Hale

In 1890 the present Glass
of East Chancel Window
was put in the gift of Mr. Hale
and Miss Charles Cordell.
Arms was removed to Window
over Vestry door previously;
this was the only Coloured Glass
in the Church all other Glass
being of clear Diamond
Shaped panes in Lead

Church paths laid
with Cement Tiles

1892

Figure 12 Henry Gyles, *family pedigree window*, 1665, leaded clear glass with painted detail in brown/black pigment. Collection number not identified, © York Museum Trust collections. See also John Knowles, "Henry Gyles, Glass-Painter



Figure 13 *Register of Apprentices Indentures 1573-1688*, ink on paper. D12, f.94, York City Archives.

Willus Addison cum consentu
 amicorum suorum se Apprenturum Edmundo Gylt de
 Civitate Eboracensi sibi servandum a se et suis
 de pte die Julij Anno Dni 1659 pro primo octo
 annorum ex tunc pro de sequentibus profut et quodam
 Inductu Inductat quodam die et Annis predictis
 placitas liquit et apparuit:
 W. Gylt de Ebor 1660

Thomas Richardson filius de
 Civitate Eboracensi se Apprenturum Edmundo Gylt de
 Civitate Eboracensi sibi servandum a se et suis
 de pte die Julij Anno Dni 1659 pro primo octo
 annorum ex tunc pro de sequentibus profut et quodam
 Inductu Inductat quodam die et Annis predictis
 placitas liquit et apparuit:
 W. Gylt de Ebor 1660

Figure 15 Henry Gyles Will, 1709, proven March 1721/2, Probate 76, f. 55.
Borthwick Institute Archive, University of York.

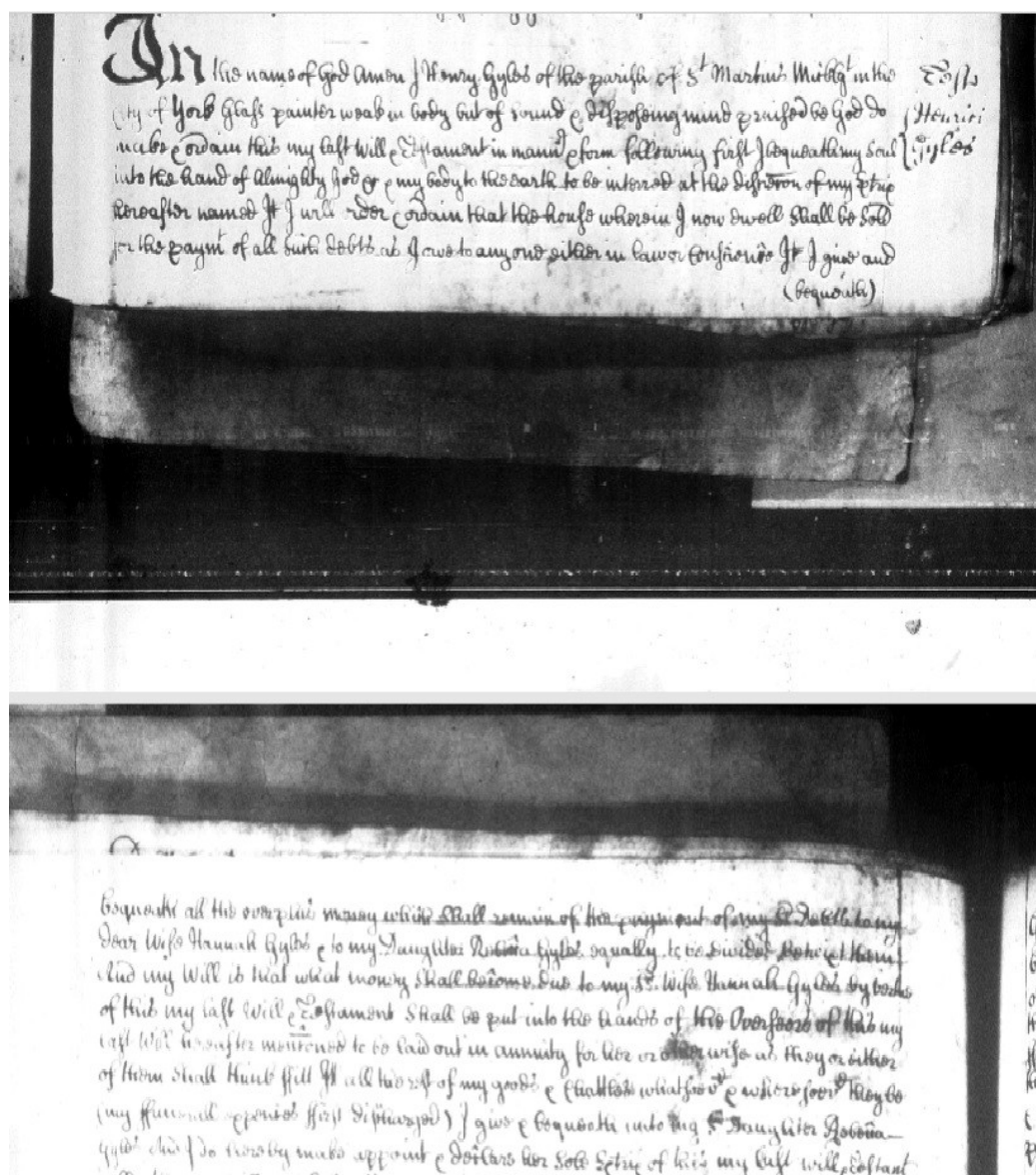


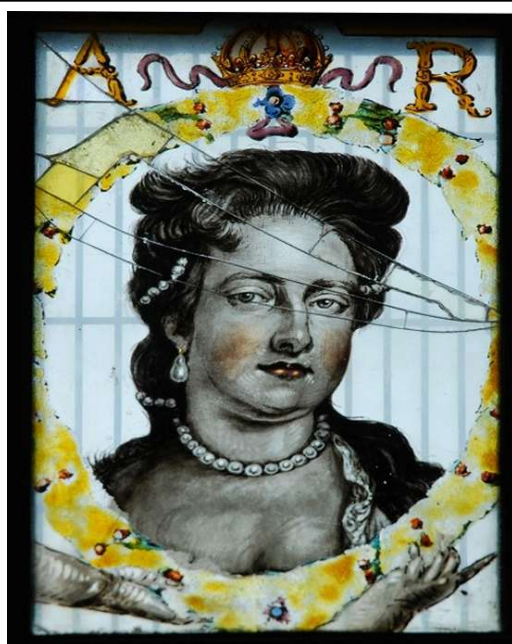
Figure 16 Unknown, *Anatomical cup with case and box*, c. 1720, England, cup height 5.5cm, diameter 7cm. Accession number 1370A to D-1900, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 17 Richard Greenbury, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria*, 1633, leaded glass with black/brown pigment with enamel and stain, Great Hall, Magdalen College, Oxford. Image author's own.



Figure 18 Image A: Henry Gyles, *Queen Anne*, 1702, leaded clear glass painted in black/brown pigment with enamels and stain, Merchant Tailors' Hall, York; Image B John Smith after Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Queen Anne*, 1702-1714, mezzotint on paper, height 362 mm × width 266 mm. NPG D32795, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



A



B

Figure 19 Henry Johnston, drawing detailing Henry Gyles' involvement in the Petty window aged 16. See David O'Connor, "John Petty, glazier and Mayor of York: an early 16th –century memorial window formerly in the south transept of York Minster". *The Journal of Stained Glass*, 29 (2005): 30.

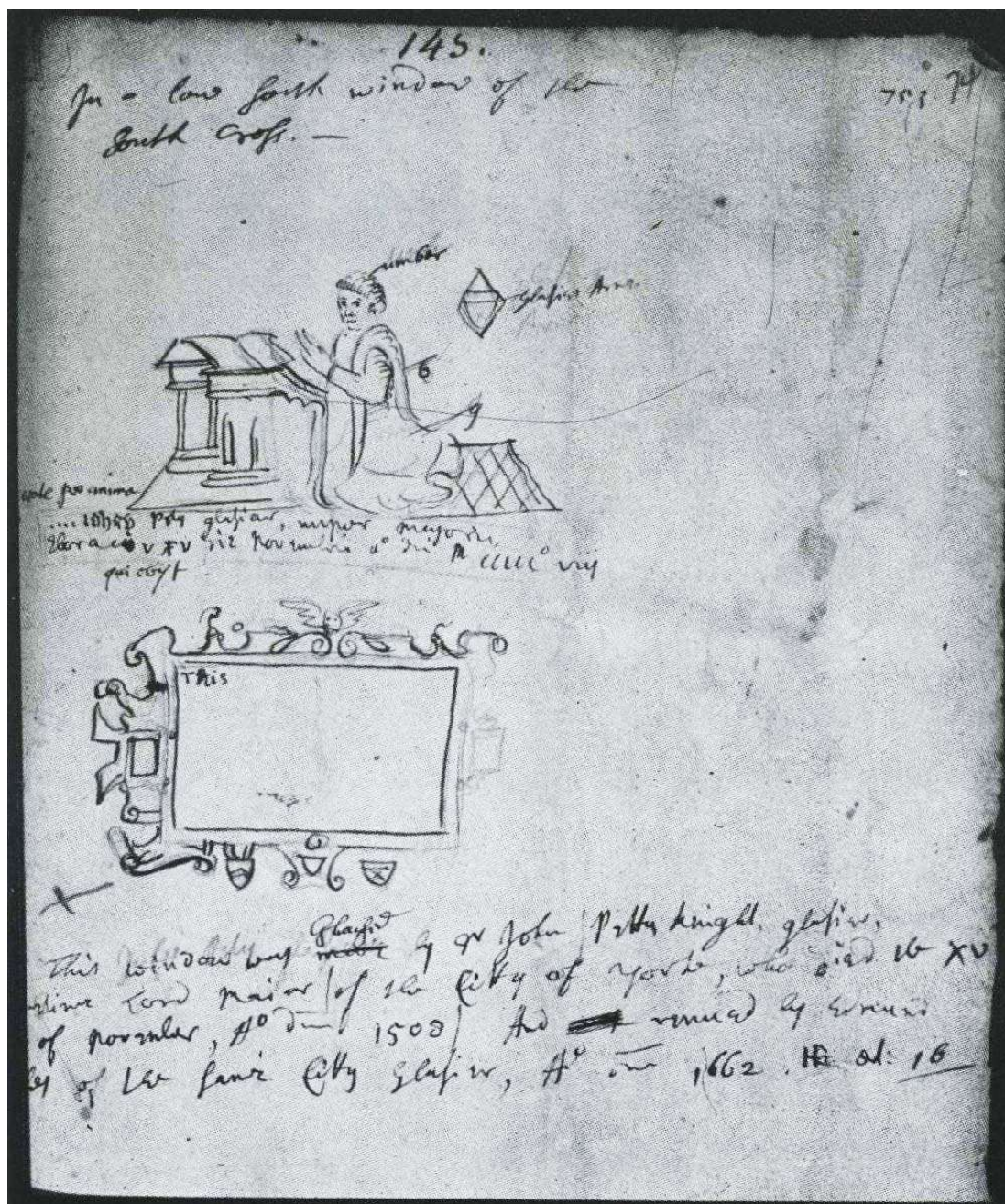


Figure 20 Edmund Giles signature, *Guild of Glaziers and Plumbers of the City of York Ordinances etc...* (41), 1662. Par. 67361, Duncan 15491. NK5344.Y6. G95, Corning Museum of Glass, New York.

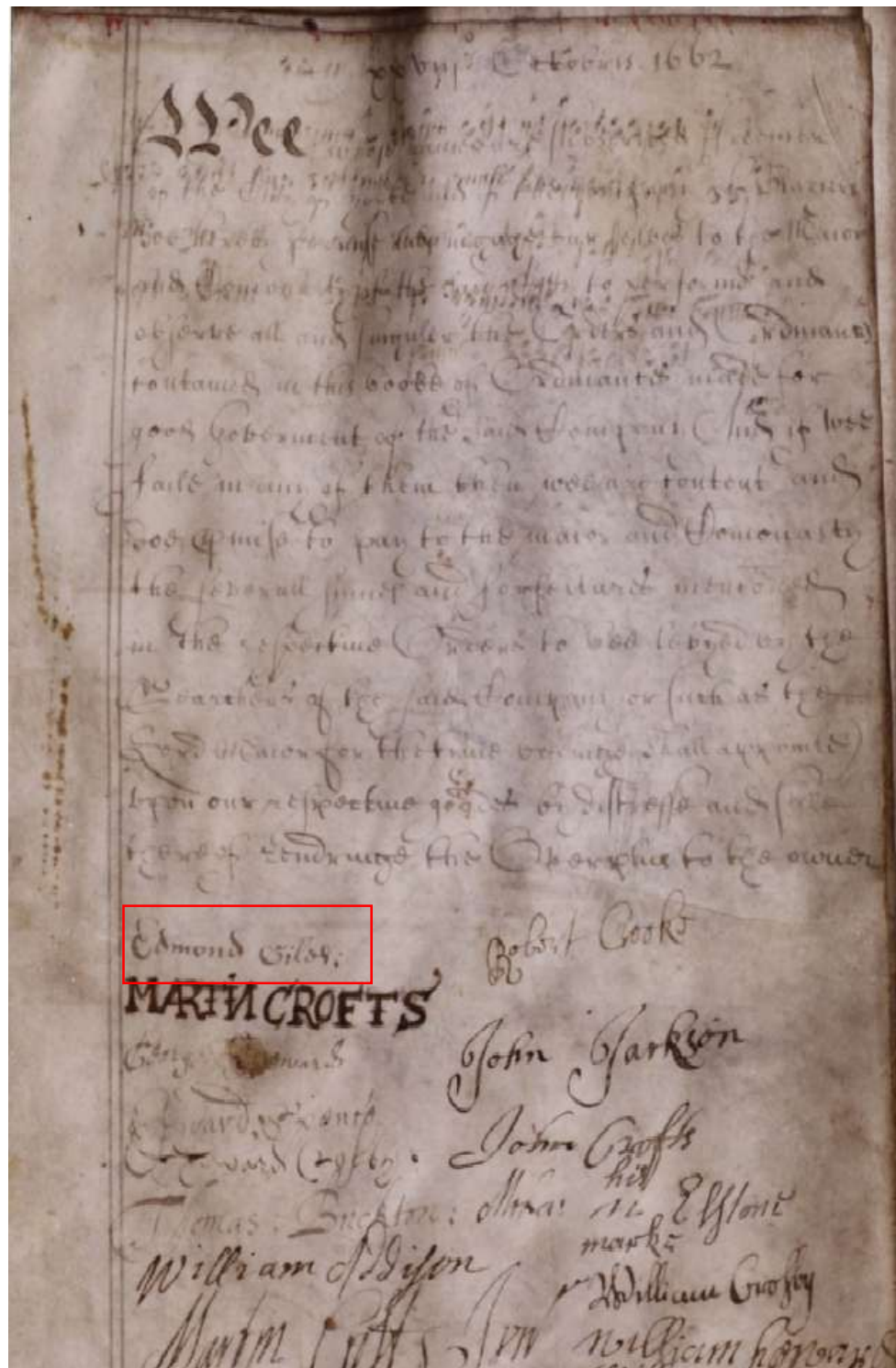


Figure 21 Abraham Blooteling (Bloteling), after Mary Beale, *John Wilkins*, c. 1670, line engraving, height 2. 9 x 2.0 cm. NPG D39236, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 22 Henry Gyles to Sub-Dean Drake, (c. 1664), ink on paper. Ms 1980/1/86, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

Ripon 86

Mr Drake

my Lord Darci's Armes which were done
at London: Contain only 28 feet of
Glaspe, which after y^e. rate of 9 shill
p foot (which I am confident was the
very least) amounts to Thirteen-pounds
beside y^e. Charge of there Carriage from
London & of setting up: Now the
Window of my Lord of Aylbourn, Contain
Fifty one square feet & $\frac{1}{2}$ which after
y^e. same Rate would amount to 23.4^{sh}
which is 12. in a foot cheaper then my
usuall Rate: and which I never thought
to have a like. But in regard
that Mr. Norton knows I know no more
of my Lord of Bowdwater then 20.
I should be content wth so much, &
I must beo of you to be instrumental
in persuading him to it, for y^e which
I shall very gratefully appear y^r
very Humble Serv^t H. Gyles

Be please to send y^e. bill of mine to him and
say what you think most fitting

Figure 23 Image A, Henry Gyles, *Temperance*, c 1690, leaded clear glass painted in brown/black pigment with enamel and stain, Gray's Court, York. Image B, Jan Saenredam, after Hendrick Goltzius, *Temperantia*, 1593, paper, engraving, height

A



B



Figure 24 Henry Gyles, *Sundial*, 1670, leaded clear glass painted with grisaille pigment and stain, height 79.0 cm x width 48.5 cm. YORAG 1420. A, © York Museums and Gallery Trust 2020.

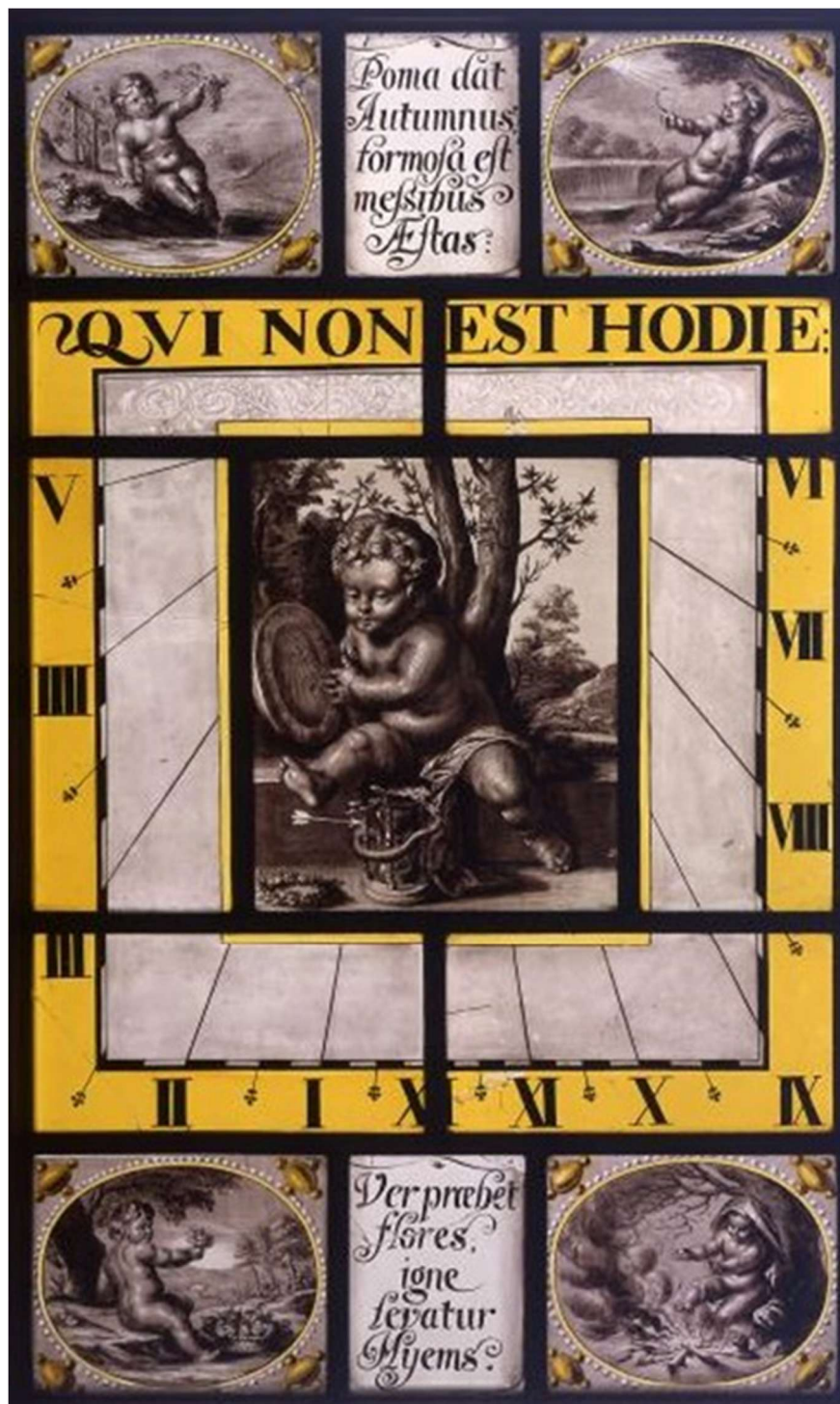


Figure 25 Bernard Dininckhof, *Sundial*, 1585, lead and glass painted in black/brown pigment with stain, Gilling Castle, North Yorkshire. See John L. Carmichael, *Sundials/Stained Glass/sundials_SGS2.html*.



Figure 26 Images A and B: Richard Greenbury, *Saints*, 1637-42, leaded clear glass painted in black/brown pigment, Antechapel, Magdalen College, Oxford. Image C: Albrecht Dürer, *Austrian Saints*, 1515 – 1517. 1975.653.90, © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

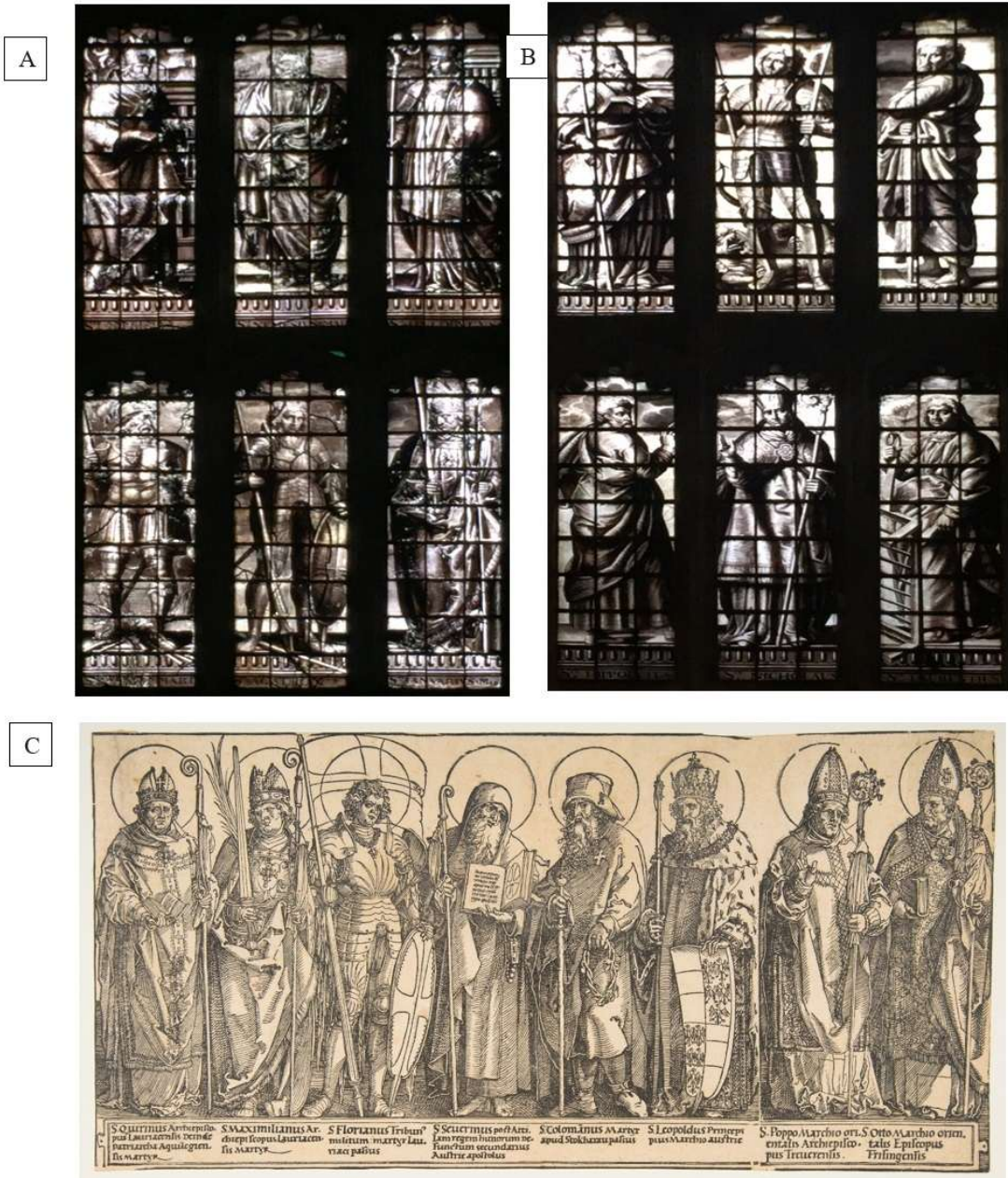
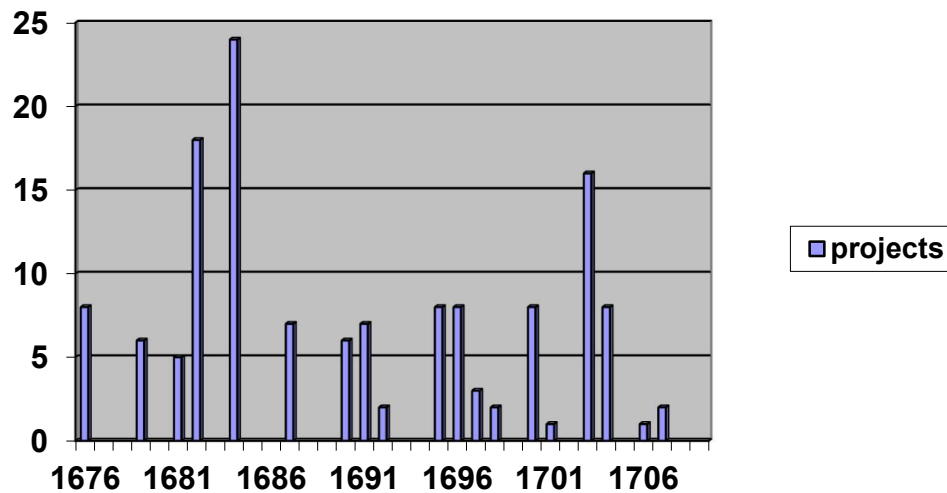


Figure 27 Daniel Mytens, *Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel*, date unknown, oil on canvas, height 207.0 x width 127.0 cm. NPG 5292, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 28 Analysis of Gyles' stained-glass commissions.



This chart illustrates that Gyles had:

- No more than two years of glass painting work from 1676 to 1682, leaving a deficit of four years.
- From 1683, about one and a half years of glass painting work, which lasted until mid-1684, leaving a six-month deficit.
- From 1684 about two years of glass painting work until 1687, leaving a deficit of about two years.
- From 1687 to 1692, Gyles had only two years of glass painting work, leaving a three-year deficit.
- From 1692 to 1695, only two months of glass painting work were left, a deficit of about two and a half years.
- 1695, eight months of glass painting work left, a deficit of four months.
- 1696, eight months of glass painting work left, a deficit of four months.
- Between 1697 and 1700, there were only five months of glass painting work, with a deficit of two and a half years.
- From 1700 to 1704, two and a half years of glass painting work, leaving a deficit of one and a half years. From 1705 until Gyles' death in 1709 only one year of glass painting work, a deficit of at least three years

Figure 29 Henry Gyles, Arms of *Archbishop Thomas Lamplugh*, 1691, leaded clear and coloured glass with painted detail in brown/black pigment, enamel, and yellow stain, York Minster. Image author's own.

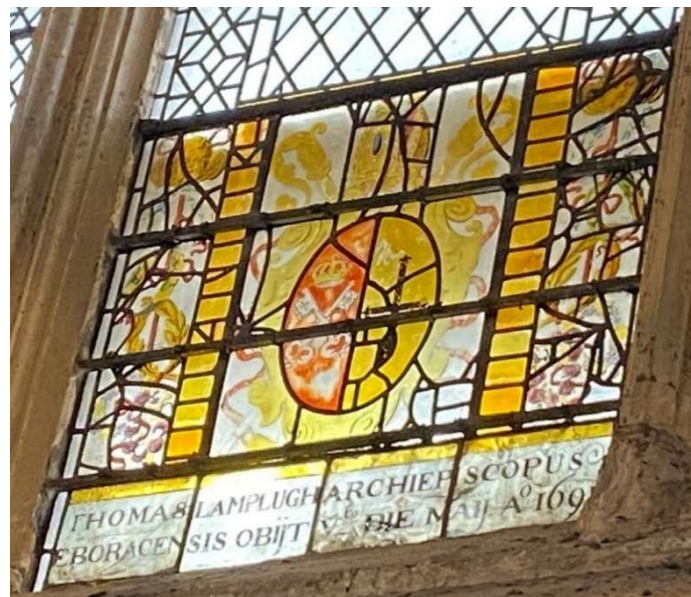


Figure 30 Portraits of prominent members of the York virtuosi: Ralph Thoresby, Martin Lister, John Lambert, Francis Place, Pierce Tempest, Grinling Gibbons, Henry Gyles, and George Villiers.



Ralph Thoresby, NPG D6954, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Martin Lister attributed to Charles Jervas (Irish, b. ca. 1675-1739),



John Smith, after John Lambert, *John Lambert*, mezzotint, 1697. NPG D3523, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Francis Place, *self-portrait*, oil on canvas, height 20.3 x width 16.5 cm. H5555, Hospitalfield Collection.



Pierce Tempest, possibly by Francis Place, after Egbert van Heemskerk the Younger mezzotint. NPG D30985, © National Portrait Gallery,



Grinling Gibbons after Sir Godfrey Kneller, c. 1690. NPG 2925, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



Attributed to Francis Place, *Henry Gyles*, c. 1670s, red, black, and brown chalk on buff paper, height 31.3 x width 22.7 cm. 1852,0214.372, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London.



Isaac Beckett, after Simon Verelst, *George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham*, mezzotint, 1681-1688. NPG D1130, © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Figure 31 Athanasius Kircher, *Magic Lantern*, 1671, metal/glass, *Ars magna lucis et umbr...*, (Amstelodami: Apud Joannem Janssonium à Waesberge & Haerdes Elizaei Weyerstraet, 1671), 768.

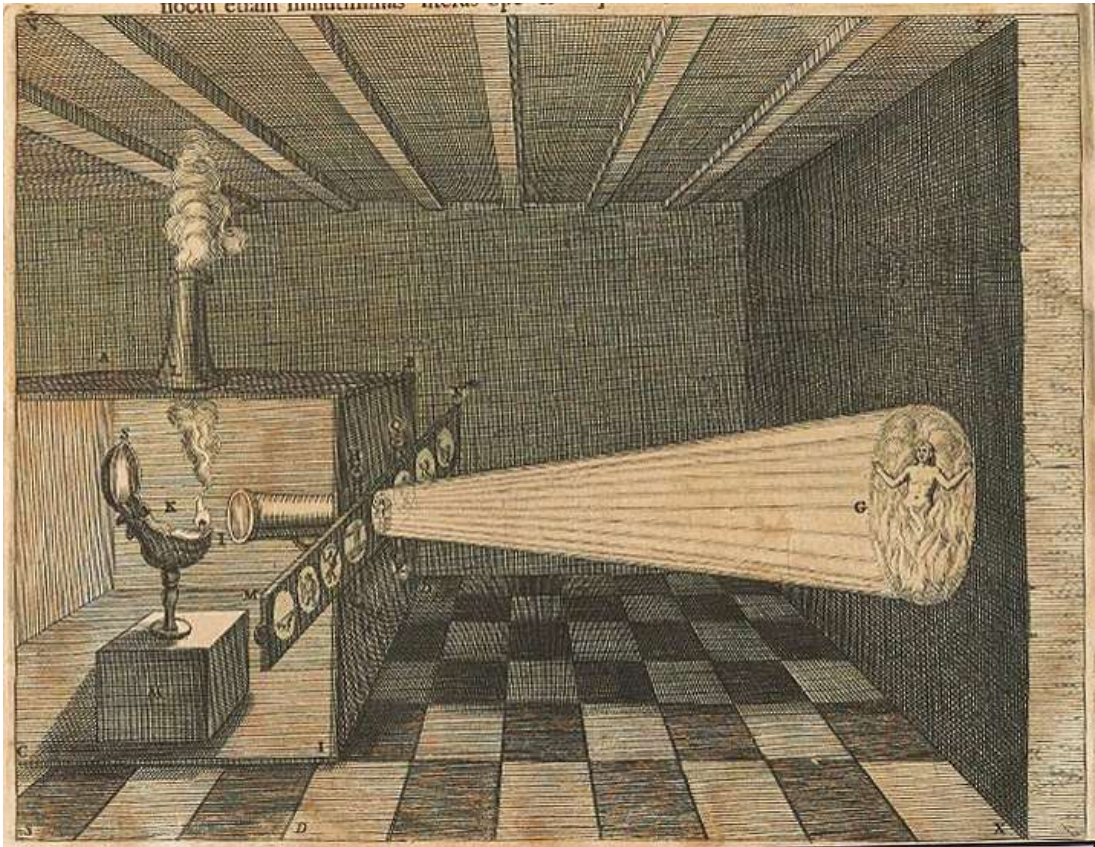


Figure 32 Pier Mirror, *Blue Drawing Room*, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, photograph c. 1980, glass backed with tin.



Figure 33 Francis Place, *St Mary's Abbey, York*, 1647-1728, pen and ink drawing, height 18.9 x width 31.3 cm. 1850,0223.841, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London.



Figure 34 William Lodge (plate 2), possibly Francis Place (plate 6), 1678, intaglio on paper, *Historiae animalium Angliae tres tractatus* (London: The Royal Society, 1678), 111 and 205.

Plate 2 shells with hatched shading.

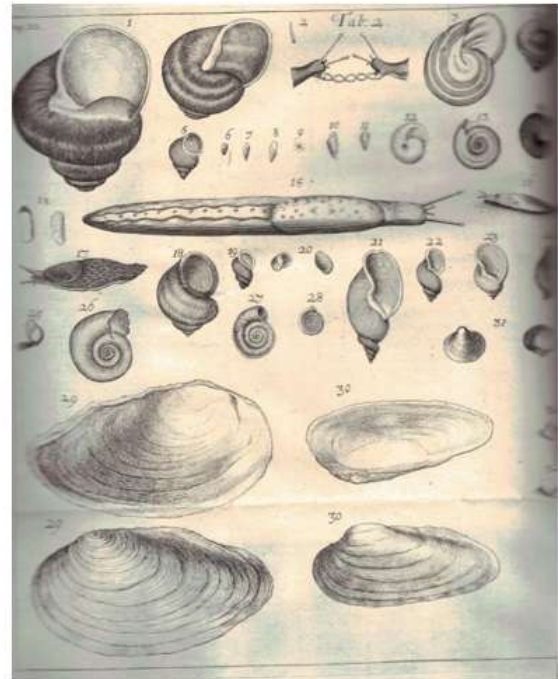


Plate 6 ammonites with toned shading.

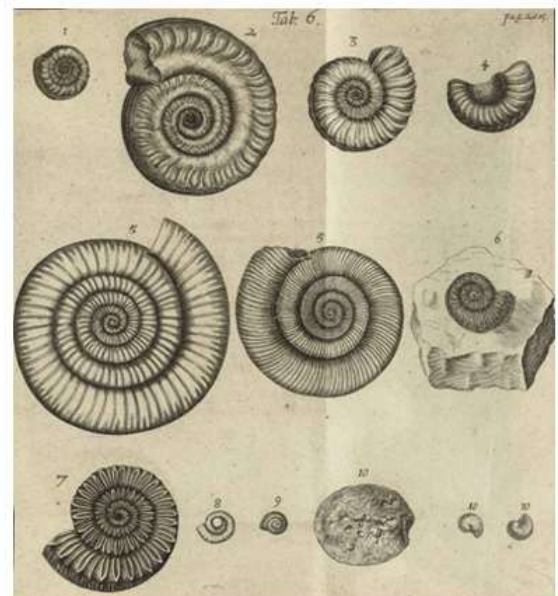


Figure 35 Image A: Francis Place, *Henry Gyles*, c. 1670s, red, black, and brown chalk on buff paper, height 31.3 x width 22.7 cm. 1852,0214.372, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Image B: Francis Place, *Henry Gyles Trade Card*, mezzotint on paper, height 11.7 x width 8.2 mcm, NPG D2541, © National Portrait Gallery, London.



A



B

Figure 36 Francis Place, *Henry Gyles* (called Portrait of a Lady), c. 1676-80, engraved copper plate. Rawlinson g.192, Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Figure 37 Wilson's annotations in Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis* (London: 1715), 52. Ms A321.10, The Leeds Library.

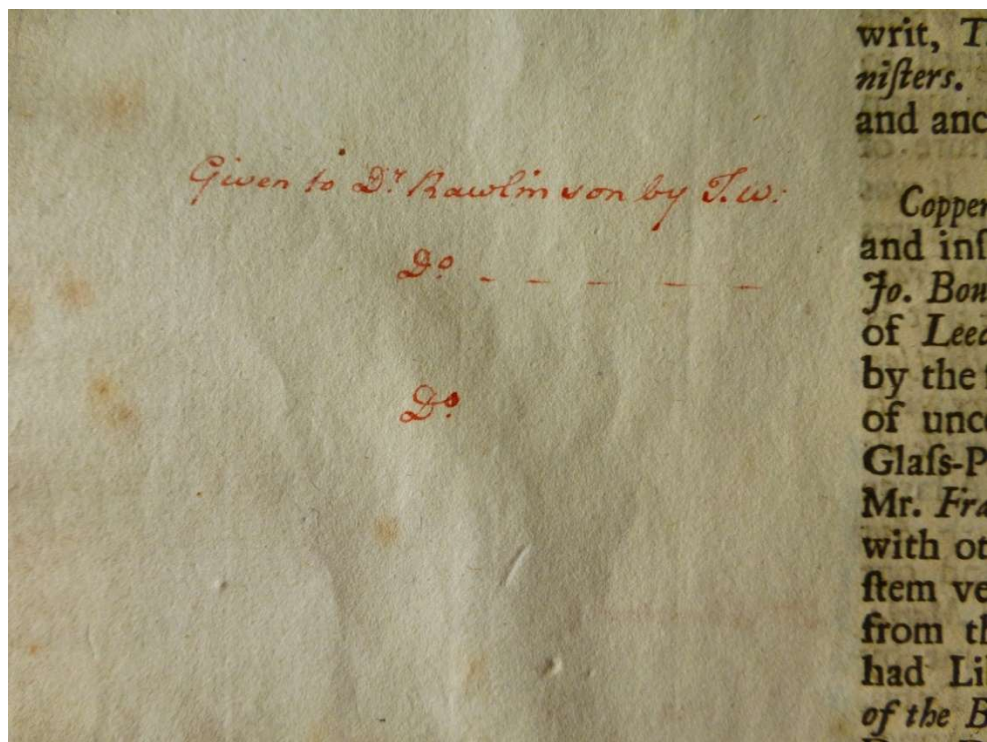


Figure 38 Abraham Blooteling after Sir Peter Lely, *Portrait of Charles II*, height 21.8 x width 185cm, drawing on paper. Gg.1.460, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London.



Figure 39 Experiens Sillemans, *Ships near a Harbour*, 1649, painting, panel and ink, height 77 x width 106 cm. SK-A-1366, © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 40 Unknown, *handwriting examples*, date unknown, height 20.5 x w:15.0 cm, *Some Rules for Painting upon Messo Tinto, Justly Imparted*. Add.4024. folios 2, 3 & 21, The University Library, Cambridge.

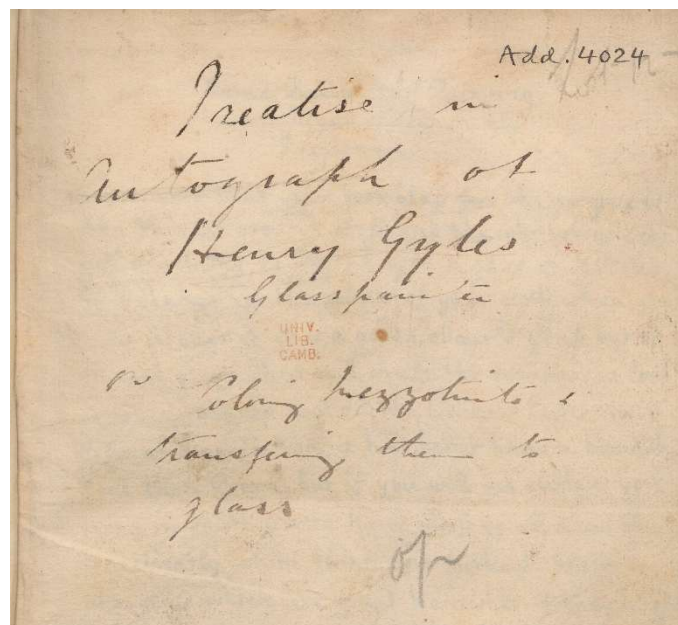
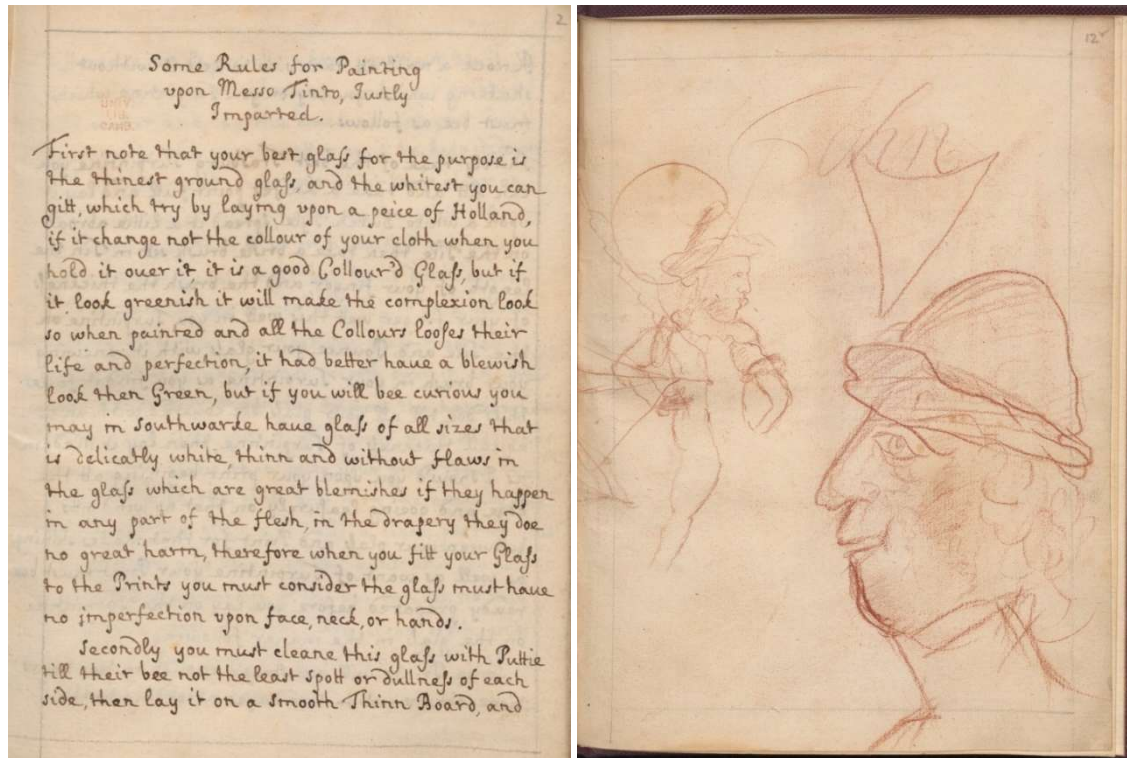


Figure 41 Henry Gyles, *Arms from Belsay Hall by Henry Gyles*, date unknown, dimension unknown, leaded clear glass painted in black/brown pigment, enamel and stain. See David Dungworth and Susan Harrison, *Belsay Castle, Belsay, Northumberland: Scientific analysis and historic interpretation of decorated window glass by Henry Gyles of York*, vidimus.org/issues/issue-80, © English Heritage/ Bob Smith.



Figure 42 Image A: A. Blooteling after J. van Neck, *Three nymphs bathing*, c.1670-90, intaglio print on paper, height 29.3×width 33.2 cm. 1873,0510.3578, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Image B: A. Blooteling after Gérard de Lairese, *Hercules and Omphale in a classical landscape with a putti carrying the club and a trumpeting Genius*, c.1670-90, height 28.4 x width 33.5 cm, intaglio print on paper.1924,0512.15, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London.

A



B



Figure 43 Sir Hugh Pratt, *Painted window 'sashe,'* print on paper, *The Jewel House of Art and Nature*, (London: Elizabeth Alsop, 1593), 72 and 73.

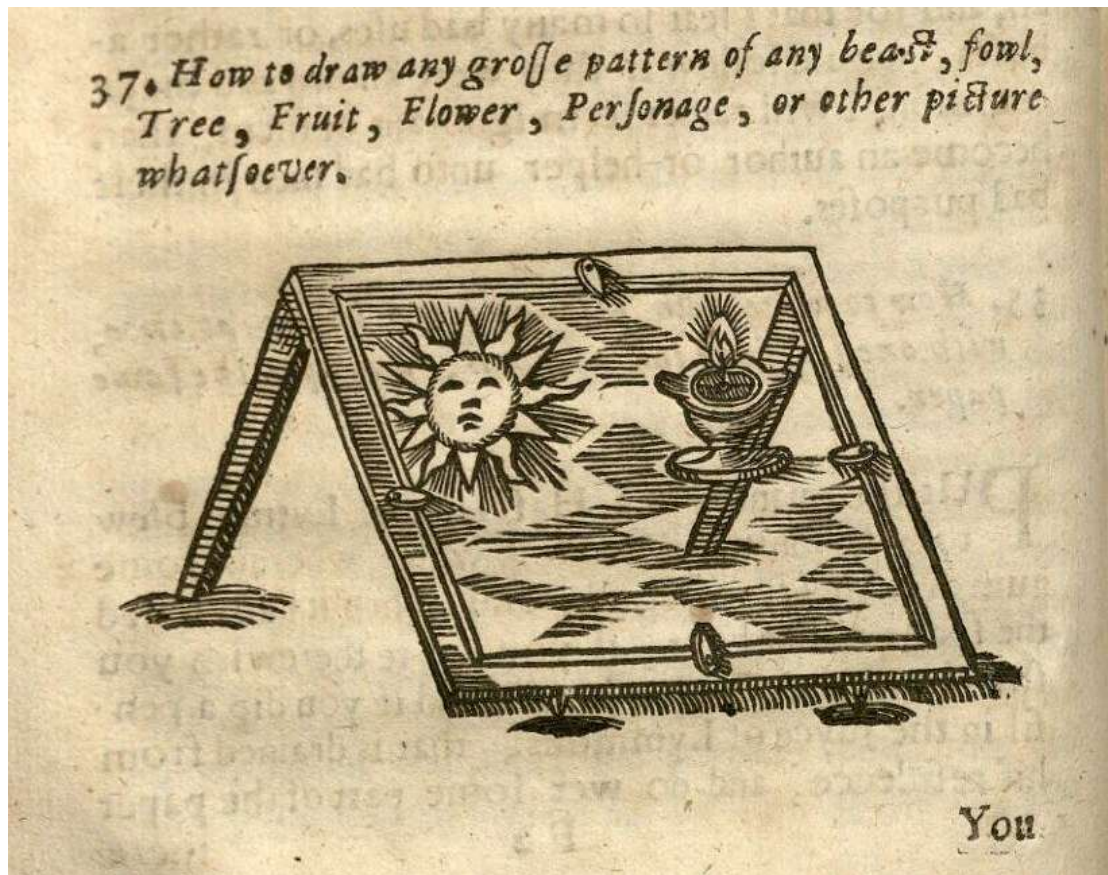


Figure 44 Image A: Erasmus III de Pannemaker (1627-1681), *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, c. 1660 - c. 1670, tapestry, wool and silk, height 282.0 x width 424.0 cm. NT 348294.5, © National Trust, Cotehele, Cornwall. Image B: Unknown, *The Parable of the Prodigal Son*, c. 1650, painted and stained hanging cloth. Private collection,

A



B

Figure 45 Image A: unknown, *Woman and Four Young Girls Seated Knitting at a Window*, seventeenth-century, red chalk on paper, height 35.8, width 28.8 cm. 1854,0628.5, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Image B: Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564-1638), *The Village Lawyer's Office*, c. 1620. Tempera on panel, height 71.1 cm x 104.1 cm. Catalogue number 6696, © Museum of Fine Arts, Ghent. Antwerp, Belgium.

A



B



Figure 46 Shinton (publisher), *Pheasant Shoot and Duck Shooting*, 1808, glass print, pigment on glass. Balcaskie House, Scotland.



Glass print in normal day light



Glass print in strong face light



Glass print in transmitted light

Figure 47 Henry Gyles, *Stonehenge*, c. 1670-80, red chalk on paper, height 8.4 x width 21.7 cm. Catalogue number T08901, © 2020 Tate, London.



Figure 48 Image A: Unknown, *A Lady and a Gentleman seated*, Chinese export reverse glass painting, c. 1760, pigment on glass, height 45 x width 35 cm. <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5674943>. Image B: Unknown, *Antwerp cabinet*, (c. 1640-60), oak carcass veneered in ebony and ebonised wood, set with oil-painted panels, height 152.5 x width 101.0 x depth 46.0 cm. Catalogue number w61.1 to 3-1923, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



A



B

Figure 49 Image A: William Hogarth (printer) after Francis Place, *Henry Gyles' trade card*, date unknown, mezzotint on paper, height 14.5 x width 11.0 cm.

Heal,90.42, © The Trustees of the British Museum, London. Image B: Francis Place, *Henry Gyles' trade card*, 1676-1680, mezzotint on paper, height 14.5 x width 11.0 cm. Catalogue number 1881,0611.299, © The Trustees of the British



A



B

Figure 50 Unknown, *Henry Gyles portrait and attribute*, Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. 11, (London: Strawberry Hill Press, 1765), 18.



Figure 51 After John Vanderbank (1694-1739), engraved by John Faber the younger (ca. 1695-1756), *George Lambert*, 1727, mezzotint print on paper, height 32.3 x 25.6 cm. Catalogue number 12/2357, © The Royal Academy of Arts,



APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 GLOSSARY

Terms and phrases used within this thesis carry the same meaning as when used in the seventeenth century. Although these terms were not always precise and can be problematic when used in current academic discourse, they are authentic to the period. The following are examples of seventeenth-century terms used within this thesis:

Mechanick - as defined by Nathan Bailey, as someone who worked within the mechanical arts, separate from the gentlemanly purist of the liberal arts.¹

Mezzo-tinto - has two meanings: the first, as defined by Edward Norgate, is a middle tone within a drawing or painting, and the second is a mid-seventeenth-century printing technique in which tone replicates chiaroscuro to enhance the ‘naturalistic’ illusion.²

Glass painting is preferred to ‘stained glass’, as glass painting was not termed stained glass until c.1760.

¹ Nathan Bailey, *A Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London: J. Darby, 1726), unpaginated.

² Edward Norgate, *Miniatura; or, The Art of Limning*, ed. by Jeffrey M. Muller & Jim Murrell (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997), 93.

First section on transferring the mezzotint onto glass:

First note that your best glass for the purpose is the thinnest ground glass, and the whitest you can git, which try by laying on a piece of Holland, if it change not the colour of your cloth when you hold it over it, it is a good colour'd Glass, but if it look greenish it will make the complexion look so when painted and all the colours loses their life and perfection, it had better have a blewish look than green, but if you will be curious you may in Southwarke have glass of all sizes that is delicately white, thin and without flaws in the glass which are great blemishes if they happen in any part of the flesh, in the drapery they doe no great harm, therefore when you fit your Glass to the prints you must consider the glass must have no imperfection upon face, neck or hands.

Secondly, you must clean this glass with Puttie till their bee not the least spot or dullness of each side, then lay it on a smooth thin board, and knock a nail at each side to hold it without shaking whilst you lay on your turpentine which must be as follows.

Thirdly take of the best Trasburg Turpentine you can git and take a knifes point full and lay it upon a white Dutch Tyle, spread it a little abroad on the tile, then that a bris[t]le brush set in Tin the length of your finger, and the brush the thickness of your finger, wet this well in your Turpentine on the Tile and Pounce your glass with it renewing your brush in your Turpentine as you find it fails thus do till all your glass be covered with an equal thickness of Turpentine, then lay it Madam as I show'd you upon your print, beginning at the edge and going leasurely on that no wind gits between your glass and Print for that makes shining's as well as want of Turpentine your Print must be ready prepared before you lay on the Turpentine on the glass in the maner following.

Some prints will be steep'd enough in two hours time, others not in two days according to the difference of Paper therefore you must do it according to your descretion, soak your prints in cold water and lay the black side of your print downwards and pour water upon it to keep it down under the water, and when your print looks clear on the back side so that you can see the perfect figure of it you may take it up or if you find the paper tender let it lye no longer but let it drain as you hold it at each corner and lay it on a clean looking glass the face next your glass, then lay a soft cambricke hankercher smooth over it, and draw your hands over it gently to keep the hankercher smooth and close upon it, as it wets the hankercher take a dry place, then take your print from the glass and wipe the glass and turn the backside the print next the glass, and take a clean part of your hankercher and lay over the print and do as before until you print bee so dry you can see no dew on it, then cover it with a dry clean cloth and proceed to lay your Turpentine on your glass as I before derected you

Observe to keep your breath off your glass whilst you lay on the Turpentine else it will make a dullness not to be taken away which will bee a great blemish.

When you have laid it thus on press it gently to the glass with you finger and thumb all over till you see there be no shining's, when it tis thus done take a piece of soft clean sponge, wet it well in water and squeeze it out that it remain only moist and so rub your paper off it equally alike and if the print dry in doing then wet the sponge again but take heed you rub it not so near to be in holes, but as thin as tis possible, when it is rubbed thus delicately thin let it lye till it bee as dry as it can be then varnish it with the clear turpentine varnish thin over and let it dry, and when it tis so if it do not look very clear varnish it over a second time and let it dry three or four days where there is no dust or nothing to touch it, then when it tis dry paint it over and mix your colours with as much exactness and Curiosity as if you wear to paint by the life...³

³ Henry Gyles, *Some Rules for Painting upon Messo Tinto Justly Imparted*, Add.4024, University Library, Cambridge.

APPENDIX 3 ATTRIBUTION OF *SOME RULES...* TO HENRY GYLES

3.1. Handwriting analysis

Gyles' earliest letter, written in 1677 to Sub-Dean Drake, when compared to *Henry Gyles Booke...* (from page 109) and his later letters from 1698/9, shows that his handwriting changed little over the years. Although characterised as 'Secretary', when compared to exemplars in Billingsley's *The Pens Excellencie*, Gyles' hand' also contains elements of cursive ('joined up or running' hand) and italic where, on occasions he uses the Italic 'a' instead of the early humanist form of minuscule 'a'. Billingsley notes that the Secretary's hand was the 'common hand...because it is the onely usuall hand in England, for dispatching of all manner of business for the most part, whatsoever'.⁴ The 'Secretary' hand was common throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Typically, the downstrokes are thicker than the upper strokes. Many of Gyles's majuscules (uppercase letters) are not just flourished but also curlicued. His vertical linear ascenders and descenders also extend well above and below the framing line.

3.2 Title page: *Treatise in Autograph of Henry Gyles, Glasspainter, Coloring Mezzotints & Transferring Them to Glass*

The handwriting on the title page is flowing cursive italic without flourishes, a style that came to England during the late sixteenth century and eventually replaced the older Secretary style.⁵ Regarding the title page signature, *Henry Gyles*, the style was compared to other writing samples: his earliest mentioned above from 1677, his oldest from 1702, the signature in *Henry Gyles Booke*, his glass painting, and *Some Rules*. The signature in *Some*

⁴ Martin Billingsley, *The Pens Excellencie or the Secretaries Delighte* (London:1618), 9.

⁵ *A Brief History of post-Medieval Handwriting in England*, LIMA: Handwriting Analysis Warwick University Centre for the Study of the Renaissance, 2. Accessed 14.9.2019.
<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/archive-research-old/lima/handwriting/>

Rules... leans to the right without flourishes; the capital letters of H and G are particularly plain. In *Henry Gyles Booke*, the spelling of his name differs, with the front page being spelt 'Gyles' and the back page spelt 'Giles'. The signature on the front page is dated 1702 and is less flamboyant than the earlier Giles signature, which is more like the 1683 signature at the end of *Henry Gyles Booke*.⁶ The other 1702 signature in *Henry Gyles Booke* is consistent with Gyles' signature in a letter to Ralph Thoresby dated 1700.⁷ Whereas the earlier signature in *Henry Gyles Booke...* dated post-1683 is almost identical in form and style to that found in a letter to Mr Tempest dated 1682 but spelt with a 'y'.⁸ In conclusion, none of Gyles' signatures matched the title page.

3.3 'Trasburg Turpentine' and the long 's'.

The treatise discusses 'Trasburg Turpentine', a misspelling of Strasburg Turpentine, a product similar to Venice Turpentine.⁹ The text extract uses the minuscule 's' as in the spelling of Messo Tino and the long 's', suggesting the author was familiar with, but not consistent in, using the minuscule 's'. This suggests the treatise was written at a transitional point in the author's writing. Therefore, Brighton's comment that the hand is juvenile is correct, as it has a youthful quality. Collectively, this evidence demonstrates that Henry Gyles did not write the main treatise text.

⁶ *Henry Gyles Booke*, Harley MS 6376. f. 143. Further, f. 130 records a recipe received by Gyles which extends to f. 134 and is dated 1683; therefore, Henry Giles' signature with a 'i', not a 'y', must be on or after this date.

⁷ Letter from Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby, (1702), Ms 7 f. 157, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

⁸ Gyles to Tempest, (1682), Ms. 3, f.61.

⁹ Ralph Mayer, *The Artists Handbook of Materials and Techniques*, 5th ed. (London: Faber & Faber, 1991), 239.

3.4 Painting Technique

The text in *Some Rules* describes how to paint highlights in oil upon a mezzotint transferred onto glass. This is not a glass painting technique, but a limning technique as described in other seventeenth-century treatises such as Lemery's *Recueil de Curiositez* (1684) and in the second edition of Smith's *The Art of painting in Oil* (1687). The treatise does, however, describe one glass painting technique for the laying on or 'striking' of turpentine with a bristle brush by wetting it well in turpentine and then 'Pounce[ing] your glass with it ...till all your glass be covered'.¹⁰ In glass painting, the technique is used to lay in darker tones, while in limning, it is used to apply a varnish.

3.5 Use of putty as a method for cleaning glass

The treatise states that 'you must clean this glass with Puttie till their bee not the least spot or dullness of each side.' This cleaning technique is known only to glass painters and possibly painter stainers.

3.6 The spelling of the word mezzotint

The most repeated word in the treatise is mezzotint, meaning *mezzo* (half) and *tinta* (tone).

¹¹ The title page spelling of the word is written in the nineteenth-century italic style, which is now the conventional spelling of the word, suggesting that it was not copied from the

¹⁰ Henry Peacham, *The Art of Drawing with the Pen, and Limning in Water Colours [...] with the True manner of Painting upon Glasse, the ordering of making Your Furnace, Annealing etc...* (London: Richard Braddock, 1606), 69.

¹¹ Elizabeth E. Barker, "The Printed Image in the West: Mezzotint", accessed 18th September 2019, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mztn/hd_mztn.htm.

main treatise and so can, therefore, be discounted. The Mezzotint originated in Europe in c. 1642 but was generally unknown in England until 1669.¹² Documented spellings of the word from 1669 to 1758 demonstrate the change in the spelling of the word:

- 1669 *Albert Dürer Revived* - Metzo-Tincto
- 1669 Alexander Browne, *Ars Pictoria* - Mezo Tinto
- 1675/6 Mezzo tinto¹³
- 1683, Edward Lutterell, unpublished manuscript - Mezzo-Tinto
- 1684, Nicolas Lemery, *Recueil de Curiositez* - describes the process without naming it
- 1687, John Smith, *The Art of Painting in Oil*, second edition - Mezo Tincto
- 1688, John Stalker and George Parker, *Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing* - Mezzo-Tinto in the main text and Mezzotinto as a title
- 1688, Thomas Radcliffe and Daniel Thomas, *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil*, second edition - Mezza-tinto
- 1701, William Salmon, *Polygraphice* - Mezzotinto
- 1758, Robert Dossie, *Handmaid to the Art* - Mezzotinto

This analysis shows that, up until c. 1688, the word Mezzo Tinto was two separate words, though with some spelling variations. At some point between 1688 and 1701, the two words became one. In Stalker and Parker's *Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing* (1688), the word is spelt in two different ways, suggesting a point of transition. Interestingly, in Radcliffe's *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil* (1688), a lower-case 't' is used for 'Tinto', possibly signifying a lowering of status, paving the way for both words to be joined. Therefore, the construction of the word contained within *Some Rules*...most likely falls between 1669 and 1688.

¹² Alexander Browne, *Ars Pictoria* (London: F. Redmayne, 1699), 110.

¹³ Tempest to Place, (1675/6), Stowe Ms. 746, f. 98.

3.7 Artist supply shops in the seventeenth century

Central to the glass print process was painting in colour. *Some Rules....* states ‘There are three or four more colours which I cannot now call to mind but at any shoppes where they sell colours you may have all ground in Oyle’.¹⁴ The author does not specify the type of shop, but from the latter part of the seventeenth century, stationers (1662), print sellers (1680), and booksellers (1681) sold artist colours, with some also selling Mezzotints, frames, and glass for making glass prints.¹⁵ Other references to colour shops appear, first in *Albert Dürer revived* (1679) and then in Stalker and Parker (1688), who state that ‘they are commonly sold, ready prepared’.¹⁶ Also, by Radcliffe (1688), who, in discussing white varnish, states that ‘you may have at the Colour-shops...’.¹⁷ Regarding printshops, by 1684 Alexander Browne was advertising Mezzotints and ‘all manner of Limning Colours for sale’.¹⁸ Then in 1686 Edward Cooper of Covent-Garden published ‘the Portraicture of their Majesties and... all necessary for Painting or Glass or otherways’.¹⁹ These early publishers capitalised on the growing public demand for prints, as Griffith notes, ‘it is not until the end of the 1670s that we find evidence for significant activity in publishing Mezzotints in London’.²⁰ *Ars Pictoria* (1669), collaboratively published by the print seller Richard Tompson, Alexander Browne and Arther Tooker, was the first book to discuss the process of printing a mezzotint. Tompson’s printshop dated from c.1667, as evidenced in the diary entries of Samuel Pepys and Robert Hooke, who both bought prints.²¹ The fashion for colouring mezzotint transfers onto glass amongst the social elite in England was one of the subjects of John Smith’s second edition of *The Art of Painting in Oil* (1687). In addition to portraits, sellers offered other genres, such as mythological scenes, landscapes, and flower prints.²²

¹⁴ Gyles, *Some Rules* Add.4024: f.6. (noted as page 4).

¹⁵ Stationers, "Advertisements and Notice". In *Kingdomes Intelligencer*. Primary Source Media, October 13, 1662 - October 20, 1662. 17th and 18th Century Burney. Print Sellers, *Smith's Currant Intelligence*, 13 December 1680. The art world in Britain, 1660 to 1735. Booksellers, "News". *London Gazette*, April 25, 1681 - April 28, 1681. 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection.

¹⁶ Stalker and Parker, *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing*, 70.

¹⁷ Newman, *The Excellency of the Pen*, 81.

¹⁸ Alexander Browne, "News." *London Gazette*, April 10, 1684 - April 14, 1684. 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection.

¹⁹ "News." *London Gazette*, August 19, 1686 - August 23, 1686. 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection.

²⁰ Griffiths, "Early Mezzotint Published in England": 131.

²¹ Blackett-Ord, "Early Mezzotints: 6.

²² Blackett-Ord, "Early Mezzotints: 9.

3.8 Glassmaking in Southwark during the seventeenth century

For mezzotint transfer, the treatise recommends a glass type, where to buy it, and what properties it should have. Although well documented by others, the development of the glass industry is complex, both locally in London and nationally. *Some Rules*...states that: ‘First note that your best glass for the purpose is the thinnest ground glass, and the whitest you can get’ [...] you may in Southwarke have glass of all sizes that is delicately white, thin and without flaws’. Although Southwark is mentioned, the location can be narrowed down further. The treatise discusses two glass types, ‘ground’ and ‘looking glass’, the latter being cited later. Therefore, the author clearly knew the difference between the two and where to obtain them. ‘Ground’ glass was recommended to fix the image onto. The ‘looking glass’ was recommended simply as a working surface. The instructions also state that the glass should be ‘delicately white, thin and without flaws’.

Four glass types were made during the seventeenth century: broad, crown, blown plate and cast plate. Only two of these four meet the treatise’s criteria, the blown plate and the cast plate. Although the French were acknowledged as the first to achieve real success in the casting of plate glass, blown plate manufacture in England began in 1621, when Mansell, with the assistance of Italian glassmakers, began making mirror plate at the Vauxhall Glasshouse in Southwark.²³ Founded by Sir Edward Zouche, the company later passed to Sir Robert Mansell, Lord High Admiral, before George Villiers, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, took ownership in 1663. Unfortunately for Mansell, production of this highly lucrative product ceased with the English Civil War in 1642 and did not resume until after the Restoration. In 1676, Evelyn noted that ‘We saw the Duke of Buckingham’s glass work where they make huge vases as clear, ponderous and thick as crystal, also looking glasses far larger and better than any that came from Venice’.²⁴ Plate Glass manufacture in Southwark was first recorded in 1667/8 by Gustav Jung whilst on a Swedish State Scholarship. Jung visited over one hundred glasshouses throughout Europe and England.

²³ T.C Barker, *The Glassmakers, Pilkington: 1826-1976* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 13. Abraham Thévart was granted a Patent in 1688, which gave him a monopoly on glass manufacture.

²⁴ *John Evelyn Diary*, 3, ed. E. S de Beer (Oxford: University Press, 1955), 629.

One of the locations he most likely visited was The Bear Garden Glasshouse in Southwark. In their joint article on Finland's oldest glass furnaces, Matiskainen and Haggren state that:

Of special interest are his drawings of two different furnace types. The first clearly shows a winged furnace which became common in the glass industry in England and Western Europe around the beginning of the century... The furnace shown in the illustration is probably from England... Notes survive concerning three sites, which Jung called the "Sudriks" mirror-glass works, the "Tur glasshouses in "Lunh" (London) and the Commoncard mirror-glass works...²⁵

This suggests that Jung witnessed the furnaces of the Bear Garden Glasshouse in 'Sudriks' (Southwark) being built or perhaps even being rebuilt. Most interestingly, Jung records mirror glass being made in Southwark as early as 1667-1668, mirror glass made from blown plate. In addition to Vauxhall and the Bear Garden Glasshouse, other makers like Thomas Tilson also made crystal glass and looking plates.²⁶ By 1702/3, the Bear Garden Glasshouse had become one of the leading plate glass sellers in the country, selling nearly 75% of its output abroad.²⁷ It produced, 'Looking Glass Plates blown from the smallest size upwards to 90 inches, with proportionable Breaths, of lively colour, free from Bladders, Veins and Foulness, incident to the large plates hitherto sold'.²⁸

In 1691, Robert Hooke and Christopher Dodsworth obtained a patent for 'the Art of Casting Glasse and particularly Looking Glasse Plates much larger than was ever blowne in England or any Forreigne Parts'.²⁹ Whilst in June of 1692, other London glasshouses were advertising 'all sorts of exquisite Looking Glass Plates, Coach Glasses, Sash and other lustrous Glass for Windows and other Uses'.³⁰ Cast and blown plate glass were luxury products because they required intense labour to produce, and London was the primary market. Plate glass manufacturing required the purest ingredients to prevent

²⁵ H, Matiskainen and G, Haggren. "Finland's oldest glass furances", *Annales du Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre*, 13 (AIHV, 1996): 449-451.

²⁶ Thomas Tilson, *Crystal Glass and Looking Plates*, Patent no. 140, (November 10th, 1661).

²⁷ Louw, "Window-Glass Making in Britain": 50. Citing ASPD. *Architectural Dictionary* III (1887) under section: Glass, 46.

²⁸ "News." *London Gazette*, January 15, 1702 - January 19, 1702. 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection.

²⁹ Hooke and Dodsworth, *The Art of Casting Glasse*.

³⁰ "News." *London Gazette*, 1692.

discolouration or other noticeable defects. The other glass type mentioned in *Some Rules* ..., looking glass, was made by hand-grinding a thicker glass with sand, before polishing it with rouge to create an even and lustrous surface. Mansell was the first to bring this type of manufacture to England, employing upward of five hundred people.³¹ It was not long, however, before mechanical methods challenged the handmade processes of grinding and polishing; how successful the new machines were is unknown, as it took another two hundred years for the technology to be perfected. By 1706, the English Glassmakers were claiming that their glass products were held in ‘great Esteem in Foreign parts’ and that even the Venetians were ‘buying these plates and preferred them to their own’.³² Plate glass was used for purposes other than mirrors and coaches. By the 1660s, Plate was used for windows, and from the 1680s, its use became increasingly common in wealthy residences, encouraging manufacturers to cater specifically to that market.³³ The aristocracy also used mirrors (or looking glasses) in windows.³⁴ Therefore, both Southwark and the Vauxhall Glasshouses produced different types of glass, blown and cast plate, at different periods throughout the seventeenth century. Although the Vauxhall Glasshouse closed for the duration of the Civil War and beyond, there is no evidence that the Bear Garden Glasshouse did. Also, it is to be noted that both glasshouses avoided the Great Fire of London (1666), as both were on the south side of the Thames. The Bear Garden Glasshouse in Southwark was the only one to make plate glass throughout the second half of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century. Both glass types recommended in *Some Rules*... would, therefore, have been available from The Bear Garden Glasshouse in Southwark. Although this analysis does not narrow down a time frame for when the treatise may have been written, an examination of Blooteling and his prints does.

³¹ Barker, *The Glassmakers*, 12.

³² Barker, *The Glassmakers*, 14. Citing a broadsheet published during a dispute between two London glasshouses.

³³ Louw, “Window-Glass Making in Britain”: 50.

³⁴ Fiennes, *Through England*, 48-49.

3.9 Blooteling: engraver and mezzotinter

Some rules... folio 9 states:

Those prints that have the greatest varieties is the best for this kind of painting as where there is figures of men and Beasts Trees and Temples or stone work in one print or the very fine soft mezzo Tinto prints of fair Ladys look very finely if skillfully painted, but more particular derictions for Blootelings prints are the best Landskapes.

Abraham Blooteling or Bloteling (1640-1690) was a draughtsman, portrait engraver, and print seller who helped introduce the mezzotint into England. In 1660, Blooteling first appears in Paris.³⁵ Griffiths believes that Blooteling probably made his first mezzotint around 1665, upon his return to Amsterdam.³⁶ Wuestman, however, is of the opinion that *'The flute-player'* (1667) was Blooteling's first mezzotint.³⁷ Blooteling came to London on 14 January 1672/3, possibly at the invitation of Charles II, along with other Dutch mezzotint engravers following the outbreak of the Franco-Dutch War (1672–78).³⁸ Blooteling then, with Lely's help, entered into partnership with Valck before they decided to return to Holland.³⁹ During his time in London, he engraved a series of admiralty portraits; otherwise, no further information survives about his two- to three-year stay.⁴⁰ By 1678, he was back in Amsterdam for the christening of Valck's son, and in the following years he appears to have divided his time between London and Amsterdam. Therefore, Blooteling had left England by 1677. Hind notes that the most likely date for Blooteling making mezzotints in England was around 1671, when he made and dated two small portraits of Erasmus and Frobenius after Holbein.⁴¹ Many of Blooteling's prints are unsigned and stored in collections under the names of publishers like Tompson and

³⁵ "Abraham Blooteling (Biographical details)", British Museum. Accessed 17 September 2019. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=131971.

³⁶ Griffiths, "Early Mezzotint Published in England": 138.

³⁷ Gerdien Wuestman, "The Mezzotint in Holland: 'Easily Learned, Neat and Convenient,'" *Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 23, no.1 (1995): 71.

³⁸ Wuestman, "The Mezzotint in Holland": 71.

³⁹ Griffiths, "Early Mezzotint Published in England": 138-140.

⁴⁰ Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of painters and Engravers*, ed. Robert E. Graves, 1, (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1886), 139-140.

⁴¹ Arthur M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching* (Dover Fine Art, 2011), 266.

Browne.⁴² Blooteling's engravings begin to appear from 1665 and include portraits, biblical scenes, mythological scenes, and genre subjects, as well as six views of Amsterdam after Jacob van Ruisdael. To illustrate the time frame for Blooteling's landscapes as referenced in *Some Rules...*, two collections have been used:

- The Harvard Art Museum holds a collection of Blooteling prints after Israel Silvestre (1621 – 1691), the *Fontana de Dragoni, a Tivoli* and *Veduta de la Vigna de Medici, Fontana alla Vigna Aldobrandini a Frascati* and *Fontana alla Vigna Aldobrandini a Frascati* are from *Some Views of Gardens and Fountains of Rome and Tivoli*. All are dated 1646. These landscapes are engravings, not mezzotints, and therefore may not be the ones referred to in *Some Rules*.
- The British Museum holds eighteen relevant Blooteling prints of landscapes after Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Blooteling and Robert Robinson.

The British Museum also contains another series of Blooteling prints, the Amstel Gesichjes collection (views from the Amstel), printed between 1663 and 1690, but these landscapes are line engravings, not mezzotints. Towards the end of his life in 1690, Blooteling became more of a publisher than an engraver.⁴³ It would therefore be fair to assume that he probably stopped making engravings and mezzotints around 1685. Although the treatise *Some Rules* recommends using Blooteling landscapes. Wuestman makes a more general point about mezzotints:

The virtual absence of landscapes is particularly striking, especially when compared to the more traditional techniques. Wallerant Vaillant was one of the few who made landscapes, but even he seems to have lost interest after a few trials.⁴⁴

Evidently, the small details in landscapes did not translate successfully into the mezzotint. This analysis shows that Blooteling copied Old Testament and allegorical pastoral subjects, set into Italianate and Dutch classical landscapes from 1640 -1690, and some occasional

⁴² Wuestman, "The Mezzotint in Holland": 70- 72.

⁴³ "Abraham Blooteling (Biographical details)", British Museum. Accessed 17 September 2019. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=131971.

⁴⁴ Wuestman, "The Mezzotint in Holland": 80.

topographical prints after Jacob van Ruisdael, c. 1663 -1690. Therefore, the landscapes referred to in *Some Rules* could have been produced as early as 1665, but these were line engravings, not mezzotints. Blooteling's mezzotint landscapes appear in the British Museum collection and date to 1674.

APPENDIX 4 COMPARISON OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TREATISES AND
PUBLISHED TEXTS TO *SOME RULES*.

4.1 THOMAS JENNER/ JOHN GARRETT, *ALBERT DÜRER REVIVED* (1679): *or, a book of drawing, limning, washing, or colouring of maps and prints: and the art of painting, with the names and mixtures of colours used by the picture-drawers. with directions how to lay and paint pictures upon glass.*

The 1679 edition is the first publication to describe the process of making a glass print in England. *Albert Dürer Revived* is thought to have been first published by Thomas Jenner (1621-1672) in 1652 under the title *A Book of Drawing*, with two other editions appearing in 1660 and 1666, none of which discussed glass prints. Following his death, the print seller John Garrett (1669-1718) took over the business and published further editions from his print shop, including *Albert Dürer Revived*, which describes ‘How to lay Pictures upon Glass to be painted’:

Take a Print done; in Metzo-Tinto, (the best Choice of which you may have where this Book is sold, vis. at the Print-shop next the Exchange-Stairs in Cornhill) lay the Print in Water in a Skillet, or any other Vessel, and let it boil over a gentle Fire about two or three Hours, but if the Paper be very thin, it need not boil for long, and against the Print is boiled, -which you may perceive by its sinking to the Bottom, then take a Piece of Looking-Glass Plate, or a Piece of the whitest Crown-Glass, and set it against the Fire to keep it warm, then take a little Venice-Turpentine, and set it in a Gally-pot on the Fire to make it liquid ; then having taken your Print out of the boiling Water, lay It between two Sheets of Paper, till you with a pretty large Pencil, lay the Venice Turpentine all over the Glass, which must be laid very even; then the right-side of the Picture lying uppermost, lay the Glaſs upon the Print, then lay a Piece of paper upon the Print, and smooth it down with the Palm of your Hand, so long till it stick close all over, without having any Blister upon it; and then rub the back-side of the Print with your Fingers, and you will find the Paper to rowl off, which you must rub so long, till 'you find but as it were a thin Skin of the

Picture to remain upon the Glass ; but you must be sure to take Care that you do not rub Holes in the Picture ; and after it is dry, you must varnish it over once with some white Varnish, by which Means it will appear very transparent, and so paint it with Oil-Colours, as your Fancy shall direct you.

Another Way to prepare the Picture without boiling in hot Water.

Take a Print done in Metzo-Tinto, and lay it in a Tray or any other Thing, wherein it may lie smooth, and put into much Water as may cover it all over, and let it lie in the Water two, three, or four Hours, till the Picture sinks to the Bottom, and it seems to be - Rotten, and then prepare your Glafs, and order the Print as in the former Direction.

To lay Prints on Glass, that so you may rowl off all the Paper

Soak the Print in Water, and dry it in a clean Linnen-Cloth, and then do it over with Oil, Mastick, and some Venice-Turpentine, and lay on the Print, smoothing it down as before, and when it is almost dry, brush-off the Paper, and so you may paint it as you think fit.

Your Picture being fixt upon the Glass, take four: Pieces of thin slit Deal, about an Inch and half broad, and about eighteen Inches long, and so with a Gimblet make Holes in them about an Inch Distance, and so pin them together with little wooden Pegs, that so you may put them closer or wider, according to the Bigness of the Print you paint, and setting the Glass shelving upon this Frame, lay a clean Sheet of white Paper behind the Picture upon the Table, which will cast a white Reflection through the Glass. ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Thomas Jenner/ John Garrett, *Albert Dürer Revived* (London, John Garrett, 1679), 17-18.

The addition of directions for ‘how to lay and paint pictures upon glass’ in *Albert Dürer Revived* was probably more concerned with promoting mezzotint sales than revealing a process likely known for many years. Although the text has similarities to *Some Rules* in discussing Metzo-Tinto and the Looking-Glass Plate, and in using the whitest glass, the description of paper removal, the methods of sealing the print to the glass, and the painting of the glass differ. There is no direct copying of one to the other, and *Albert Dürer Revived* is not as expansive as *Some Rules*. A significant difference is that *Albert Dürer Revived* recommends using linseed and nut oil only, whereas *Some Rules* states that some colours are to be ‘dry’ without oil.

4.2 JOHANNES KUNCKEL, *ARS VITRIARIS EXPERIMENTALIS*, (1679)

The first treatise to describe the process of making a glass print outside of England:

To peel a piece (item or print) of art from a copper to which it abides, by removing the white paper and apply it to glass so that afterwards it can be gilded from behind with metals and all kinds of colours. When you take your first actual print from a copper piece or item it therefore is not completely dried up so it is very easy and amenable to peel the paper off where the print is, but the process will take a long time to form or do. Place the copper piece (print) which is to be as big as the glass in a basin of hot water and let it soak for half an hour, afterwards lay it out onto a pure white cloth so as to pull the water out (of the print). In the meantime, take clear hot Venice or Cypriote turpentine and draw thinly it over the glass and then place the copper piece print onto the glass; so that the paper everywhere receives the turpentine, then let the glass through being gently warmed, harden completely. Afterwards wet the paper again, and with the finger rub the white down but have great patience and diligence to not injure the black of the print [...] when this be over, cover from behind with clear turpentine [...] and put the gold, silver or metal thereon, so that the gold shineth through the glass and the copper print appears

printed in gold. Then with glue water or Gesso sprinkled with sand to prevent anything showing through.⁴⁶

The description of paper removal, drying of the print and the application of turpentine are similar but not the same as that described in *Some Rules*. While *Some Rules* recommend *Trasburg Turpentine* (Strasbourg), Kunckel suggests *Venice or Cyprus turpentine*, which would have been equally effective. Kunckel does not mention a mezzotint but describes the creation of an engraving to be covered in either gold or silver, reminiscent of ‘gamelierung’, a subdivision of ‘hinterglasmalerei’ in which gold and silver leaf were applied for reflective decoration. As both have differing objectives, they are not comparable.

4.3 EDWARD LUTTRELL, *AN EPITOME OF PAINTING*, (1683)

Edward Luttrell (c. 1680-1724) was an English engraver, portrait painter and an early pioneer in mezzotint engraving. This unpublished treatise appears to be in Luttrell’s own hand except for a later addendum. As with other treatises, Luttrell gives instructions for various branches of the art of painting, including portraiture, limning and painting mezzotints to transfer to glass. Luttrell’s reference to ‘madam’ in his effusive dedication, ‘To his much honored and most ingenuous kinswoman madam Dorothy Luttrell’, although not expressed in the same way as in *Some Rules*, creates a similarity between the two treatises. Luttrell’s description states:

Take a good mezzo Tinto print and boyle itt a little while or steep it as you would wet paper for printing. Then take a clean piece of glass and lay some fine Venice turpentine thin over it then stick the print upon it with the face of the print on the turpentine, then with a clean sponge wet in fair water rub it gently on the back side and roule off all the paper of the print so that the last skin of the paper only remains on the turpentine with the print, let this dry very well and then varnish it with

⁴⁶ Johannes Kunckel, *Ars vitriaris experimentalis*, section 2, (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1679), 41-42.

turpentine varnish, which will make it appear transparent. When that is dry paint it on the back side with oil colours flat for the print shadows them of itself. The colours you paint it with ought to be tempered a degree lighter then you intend they shall appear because the glass deadns the colour.⁴⁷

The treatise contains both ‘The true way of laying a ground on a copper plate for working in mezzo tinto’, in which the process of making an engraving is described on folio 45, whilst the process of transferring the mezzotint to glass is described earlier on folio 41. Luttrell’s description of softening the print and removing its backing paper before applying turpentine varnish is very similar to others. Here, Luttrell is clearly describing a wall-mounted picture as he refers to lying ‘*leaf gold behind itt [which] twill reflect very curiously through.*’⁴⁸ To reinforce this effect, Luttrell also suggests tempering all the colours with white, which would, of course, produce an opaque appearance. He then describes how to remove the painting from the glass by glueing cloth to the back and heating it over a fire, which would allow the picture to be peeled off. Following this, he states that the picture should be framed and possibly enhanced by applying ‘*shell gold and shell silver to add to ittse variety where you fancy*’⁴⁹ This treatise has many similarities to Kunckel’s 1679 treatise, but it has little to do with Gyles’ *Some Rules*.

4.4 NICOLAS LEMERY, *RECUEIL DE CURIOSITEZ...* (1684)

Lemery’s *Recueil de Curiositez...* is a compilation of recipes. The text is short, only one page in length and is confused with the making of an ‘old sweet painting’ seem new and ‘fresh’. The text does not describe removing the backing paper from the image, so it could be presumed that this process leaves the backing paper on. The description uses the term ‘intaglio’ rather than ‘mezzotint,’ which refers to a family of incised printmaking techniques, including etching, engraving, dry point, aquatint, and mezzotint. Although the

⁴⁷ Edward Luttrell, *An Epitome of Painting* (1683), 41. Call no. NE1815.L88E65, Yale Centre for British Art, central New Haven, Connecticut, USA.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

print might have been a mezzotint, it may also have been another incised process. The treatise states:

You should take your intaglio by the edges of the white paper, as a frame when you make a window, and before the colour, you should moisten and splash with water so that the ensemble dries on the frame. Then take oil of turpentine or one that is yellow and dot in and out of the intaglio: being fresh when applied (will take) the colours crushed (ground) in oil, & lying flat and gently size from behind as if you wanted to paint on a canvas, except that it must rest. All colors must be laid flat without shade so they may have their effect. Also, the side of the graver must be nicely dry, where color is to be laid, and Venice or white lacquer is to be rubbed or lightly sprayed to give a glass like effect of a real picture painted on canvas.⁵⁰

This process describes an engraving being used without any glass at all, set into a stretcher, ‘as a frame when you make a window’. Here, the print is treated like a painting on canvas, and it seems this technique removes no paper. Once the surface has been impregnated with oil, it is then painted with flat colour and treated once again with oil to ‘give a glass-like effect of a real picture painted on canvas’. Only the 1684 edition of Lemery’s *Nouveau Recueil de Curiositez* contained these instructions; the earlier 1681 and later 1688 editions do not. This text is too brief, imprecise and conflicts with the description in *Some Rules*.

4.5 JOHN SMITH, *THE ART OF PAINTING IN OYL...*, (1687)

In the text, Smith, a clockmaker and a compiler of information, freely admits that his information came from the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* and Lemery’s *System of Chemistry*. As Smith’s description of the process is too long to cite in full, only the relevant parts are presented here. Although his 1701 edition provides a more detailed description of removing the backing paper, the 1687 edition is more precise in describing how to make the print look like glass. It emphasises the use of ‘oyl’ to:

⁵⁰ Nicolas Lemery, *Recueil de Curiositez...*, (Leiden, 1684), 285.

make your print transparent withal... for the clearer the oyl is, the better will the gloss of each particular colour be discerned through it, for paper prints thus ordered, if done well, will be as clear as glass, and the colours will be seen through them well.

Smith refers to this process as a secret which he is revealing. His text is extensive and very detailed. It also refers to the use of a mezzotint. Smith's account has similarities to Kunckel's *Ars vitriaris experimentalis* in that he also recommends using 'venetian or Cyprus turpentine dissolved in oyl of turpentine'. The text further notes that the print is painted on a stretcher. It is almost the same as the description in *Lemery's Recueil de Curiositez* He notes that the pictures are generally pasted onto glass and then coloured over when dry. It is only at the end of his description that he notes when the prints are to be fixed upon the glass:

Take good Strasburg turpentine, and warm it in a spoon, then with a fine pencil, let the glass be thinly spread over with it, upon which lay your print first made transparent, press it down close and even, let it dry, and then colour it over.⁵¹

Like Lemery, Smith does not remove the backing paper, instead recommending prints fixed to thin paper. Importantly, the text describes a print on a backless stretcher. Smith's description is not the source of Gyles' *Some Rules*.

⁵¹ John Smith, *The Art of Painting in Oil* (London: Samuel Crouch, 1687), 88-91.

4.6 THOMAS RATCLIFFE, *THE EXCELLENCY OF THE PEN AND PENCIL...*,
(1688)

Only the second 1688 edition discusses mezzotints and their application to glass. Radcliffe states that:

You must get your Best looking-glass, and best Venice Turpentine; then take your print and lay it in water for about Two to Three hours; then take it out and lay it flat before a clean Cloth, and warm as much of the Turpentine as you think you shall use, and warm the glass a little like-wise; then with a large brush, lay your Turpentine even all over the Glass, your print lying the Right side uppermost, lay your Glass from one side by de-grees upon the Glass; by which means you keep the Wind from raising Blisters in your Print; then Rub with your Finger, gently dipping your Finger in Water now and then, and you will find the paper to Rub off; but have a Care of Rubbing holes quite through the Print, for you must leave only a thin film of Paper, and when it's dry, varnish it over with White Varnish, which you may have at the colour-shops; then it is fit to work upon.⁵²

There are some similarities in phrasing between this treatise and *Some Rules...* which may indicate that Gyles was aware of it, such as:

Some Rules – ‘your best glass’

The Excellency – ‘your Best looking-glass’

Some Rules – ‘Some prints will bee steep'd enough in two hours time, others not in two days according to the difference of Paper’

The Excellency – ‘lay it in water for about Two to Three hours’

The Excellency, like *Some Rules*, also suggest buying colours from a colour shop. Differences remain, though, such as the description of how to prevent drafts or air from getting between the glass and the print, which is expressed very differently. *Some Rules*

⁵² Thomas D. Ratcliffe, *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil* (London, Dorman Newman, 1688), 80-81.

state that ‘no wind gits between your glass and Print for that makes shinings’, while *The Excellency* stresses the need to find a way ‘by which means you keep the Wind from raising Blisters in your Print’. The most substantial difference between the two descriptions, however, is the length and detail of the text. The information in *The Excellency* is very light in comparison to that of *Some Rules*, which is meticulous in describing both process and technique. When it comes to describing how to paint the print, however, the reverse is the case. Nevertheless, when considering the processes described, *Some Rules* exhibits greater practical knowledge, as in its discussion of painting a landscape. *The Excellency* treatise is clearly derived from other sources and is not close enough to *Some Rules* to be its reference point.

4.7 JOHN STALKER AND GEORGE PARKER, *TREATISE OF JAPANING AND VARNISHING*, (1688)

This text discusses the process as a lady’s pursuit, which *Some Rules* also echoes in addressing a lady to give instruction. In this, Stalker and Parker discuss the lady or ladies in the third person:

First let your prints be steeped in warm water flat-ways, for four or five hours; or more, if the paper be thick; provide then a thin pliable knife, with it spread Venice Turpentine thin and even over the glass, and with your finger dab and touch it all over, that the Turpentine may appear rough. Next take the print out of the water, lay it on a clean napkin very evenly, and with another press every part of it lightly, to suck and drink up the water of it; afterwards lay the print on the glass by degrees, beginning at one end, stroking outwards that part which is fastening to the glass, that between it and the print no wind or water may lurk and hide it self, which you must be carful of, and never fail to stroak out. Then wet the backside of the print, and with a bit of sponge or your finger rub it over lightly, and the paper will roll off by degrees; but be carful, and avoid rubbing holes, especially in the lights, which

are most tender; and when you have peeled it so long, that the print appears transparent on the backside, let it dry for two hours.⁵³

This publication is in two sections: the first relates to the transfer of a print onto glass, which has similarities to *Some Rules*, and the second, on how to fix a print to a stretcher, which is reminiscent of both Lemery's *Recueil de Curiositez...* and John Smith's *The Art of Painting in Oil*. The description of paper removal is quite close to that in *Some Rules*, both in process and detail, even down to ensuring that holes are not produced by excessive rubbing. This description, however, is considerably shorter and less detailed than that of *Some Rules*, omitting important details about why a particular process must be done in a particular way; something *Some Rules* is solid on. Importantly, the text discusses two processes that *Some Rules* does not: the polishing after varnishing of prints not fixed to glass and then the adorning of the picture with an 'Embroidery, Fringe...' etc. The point was to fool even limners into believing the print was a real painting. The text also recommends that colours should be applied 'without skins [...] on the backside', and that the pictures should then be varnished and polished, 'like Japans'. This process clearly describes the japanning technique. The main text on mezzotint transfer, which makes up most of the section, seems somewhat out of place in the context of the japanning process, as if an afterthought. In the context of japanning and creating transparent pictures within strainers, the treatise describes a picture intended to deceive the viewer's eye. This account is like *Some Rules* but does not go into the same depth or detail. *Some Rules* exhibits a greater understanding of materials, whereas Stalker and Parker's treatise has a borrowed feel.

4.8 WILLIAM SALMON, *POLYGRAPHICE*, (1701)

Eight editions of *Polygraphice...* were published between 1672 and 1701, but only the 1701 edition contains a chapter called *Laying Prints upon Glass*, which is very similar to that of Stalker and Parker's text. The first 1672 edition, however, does contain an extensive

⁵³ John Stalker & George Parker *Treatise of Japanning and Varnishing* (Oxford: John Stalker & George Parker, 1688), 69-79. Chapters xxiii-xxv include discussions on glass transfer painting.

section on ‘ways to paint on glass’. Again, the text is too long to be cited in full. Salmon discusses preferred print and paper types for transfer, as well as glass grade. He also discusses the frames for attaching the transfer, noting that ‘for those prints you paint without glass are called straining frames’. Salmon also goes into detail about using both transparent and opaque colour to overpaint the print: the former ground in nut oil and the latter in gum and water. His description of removing the backing paper from the print is very similar to *Some Rules*, but not the same; one is not a copy of the other. To prepare your prints without glass or straining frames:

First steep your print in warm water flat ways for 4 or 5 hours or more, if the paper be thick when it is sufficiently steeped, lay it smooth on a wet table, with the print side downwards, and rub it carefully and lightly with a bit of sponge, rubbing it off and peeling it so long, till the print appears transparent on the backside: this done, with common paste do the back of your frame and paste your print upon it whilst wet.⁵⁴

Salmon next discusses how to polish and finish a picture which is not laid upon the glass and how to adorn the picture with either gold or silver, to make it look like ‘a piece of real painting’. The varnishes Salmon describes differ from those in *Some Rules*, although the application process is similar. This treatise appears to be a reworking of Stalker and Parker’s. Salmon does not discuss how the work is to be finished or mounted, and so, like other treatises, it is ambiguous. He is unambiguous, however, in distinguishing between the making of a picture without glass, to be framed in a strainer, and the fixing of a picture to glass. [...] There are three similarities between Salmon and Gyles’ *Some Rules*: the description of how to paint detail, which colours should be laid first, and the description of the glass type to be used. Although there are similarities, one is not a copy of the other.

⁵⁴ William Salmon, *Polygraphice* (London: A & F Churchill, 1701), 930-36.

4.9 JOHN SMITH, *THE ART OF PAINTING IN OYL* (1701)

This third edition of John Smith's treatise is a reworking of his earlier 1687 edition, which still incorporates Lemery's descriptions. In general terms, this text appears quite close to Gyles' *Some Rules*, although it uses different vocabulary and discusses the processes in a similar sequence. On closer examination, however, many differences emerge. Moreover, the text in *Some Rules* is far longer and more detailed, and Smith does not mention any glass types. Again, the descriptions in *Some Rules* demonstrate practical knowledge of the process, whereas Smith's description provides the bare minimum required to undertake the work.

APPENDIX 5.0 SOME RULES AND MEZZOTINT PAINTING: A COMPARISON TO OTHER TREATISES

In addition to mezzotint transfer, *Some Rules* also includes another section on mezzotint painting, which requires comparisons. Although the post-1688 treatises are most pertinent to the discussion, other relevant texts are also discussed.

5.1 PAINTING PALETTE

In discussing a mixing palette, Gyles differs from other writers: ‘First mixe all your Colours severally Upon white Dutch Tyles, which you designe for the garments of your figures, which may be done with great varietys,’ whilst others recommend the use of a wooden palette or shells. This difference probably reflects the fact that other authors were not writing from personal experience, whereas Gyles was. Therefore, it provides an insight into how Gyles also undertook his glass painting.

5.2 COLOUR TYPES

Concerning colours used, it appears the author of *Some Rules* did not copy from another source, as he states that ‘To the best of my remembrance’. This suggests he had certainly read about the colours before, perhaps from his copy of *Miniatura*. The author then goes on to say that ‘There are three or four more colours which I cannot now call to mind but att any shopes where they sell colours you may have all ground in Oyle’, then proceeds to describe colours that must be purchased dry, ‘Uttra Marine, Fine Brise, Smalt, Carmine, Lake, Vermilion, Masticose, Verdegreece distilled’, which separates dry watercolours and

oil colours. *Albert Dürer Revived* (1679) recommends ‘For your Colours to paint Pictures on Glass withal, which you may buy cheapest at the Colour-Shops’:

They are, White-Lead,' or Flake-White, Yellow and Brown-Oker, Dutch-Pink, Brown, or Glazing-Pink,” fine Lake, Yellow-Oker burnt makes a good Red, Terravert, distilled Verdigrice, Umber, Cullens-Earth, Ivory-Black, or Printers-Black; other Colours are to be mixt on your Pallat, as you shall have need-to use them, they being in Powder, as Vermillion, fine Smalt, Caramine,” Yellow and Pale-Masticote, Red-Orpiment, to be mixt with drying Oil.

These colours recommended in *Albert Dürer Revived* were intended to be mixed with linseed oil. When we consider the other treatises, they collectively describe painting in either transparent or opaque colours, both of which oil can facilitate. As an example, Salmon’s *Polygraphice* describes the painting to be done with:

with colors either transparent or opake. The transparent colors are chiefly carmine, fine lake, brown pink, fine smalt, distilled verdigrise and ultramarine [considered the riches blue in the world at this time], The chief opake colors are flake white, yellow or Dutch pink, light and brown red, Terra-vert, umber, cologne earth, ivory black, blue black, vermilion, blew bice, masticot yellow and pale, red orpiment.

Based on this information, *Some Rules* recommends eight transparent and eight opaque colours, whereas the other treatises recommend about twenty transparent colours, and about twenty-six colours ground in oil. Although comparable colours are mentioned, that’s where the similarity ends.

5.3 PRACTICAL SEQUENCING

In *Albert Dürer Revived*, as in the texts by Radcliffe, Smith, and Salmon, the authors describe how to paint portraits and landscapes like those discussed in *Some Rules*. The

treatises also describe how to blend one colour into another to create gradations of colour in the same area. By comparison, *Some Rules* mentions this only briefly. The main difference, however, between these other treatises and *Some Rules* is in the sequencing of processes, how to apply the colours and which should be applied first and second, etc. Although others discuss this, only *Albert Dürer Revived* comes close to *Some Rules*.

Some Rules...

The eyes are usually done first put in the sight with silver and then the pupil of the eye, and then fill up the sight of the eye with either white or blew, or else with Umber and White... The Lipes, Doe the midle line with Lake, and Umber, then Lake and Vermilion next to the midle line and the full part of the Lipe add a little more White, the cheeks are made by mixeing only a little more Carmine, or Lake and Vermilion, with your flesh Colour, and take care to sweeten it in so as it may join with an Aire not to bee deserned where the Redness breaks off; where the eye brows of the print are very faint you must supply its defects by drawing a small stroake along of Cullens Earth and White, the hair if brown Cullens Earth, White, and a little Umber; if flaxen, white and a little Cullens earth and Yellow Oaker these must bee mixt as you cause....The chin and over the eyebrows may be made a little more redish than the pailer parts of the face.

Albert Dürer Revived -To paint a Face or Garment:

Touch your deep Shadows with Lake, or Brown-Pink mix'd with Varnish, and then the white, Ball of the Eye with White, the Lips with Vermillion, or Caramine, or Lake, and so do the dark Shadows with Brown-Pink, or Vermillion, or Yellow-Oker, as' the Complexion is you design to paint. Use Terravert mixt with Linseed-Oil in the Veiny Part, as about the Temples and Neck. But take this for a general Rule, use the darkest Colour first, a lighter Colour next, and a pale Colour, or White only in the Lights, which must be observed both in Faces and in Garments. For it is a general Error in most Prints I have seen painted upon Glass, as a red Garment they lay it all over Vermillion, a blue Garment they lay it all over Smalt, and never regard the Lights, Folds, nor Pleats of a Garment, to heighten them with deeper Colours in the Darks, and to soften them with White or Light Colours in the Lights, as the Print is. If you would do a Gold-Fringe upon a Garment, take some Shell-

Gold and mix it-with Gum-Water, and work it, and let it be dry before you. lay on your Oil-Colours upon the Garment.

Stalker and Parker:

In painting a face, the first thing required is if there are any deep shadows, to glaze and touch them thinly with Lake, brown Pink, and Varnish; also with the white speck and black, ball, or sight of the eye, as the Print will direct you; round the white ball of a convenient colour too. If you make the lips of a delicate red, glaze them with Caramine, or Lake: For the rest of the face, begin with the dark side and paint the shadows with a colour more red.

Ratcliffe:

Take a White and a little Lake, and some Red Lead mixed, you may make it light or red as you please, by adding more or less White in shadowing the Cheeks and other places, if you would like a swarthy complexion; and to distinguish the mans flesh from the Womans, mingle a little yellow Oker among your flesh...

Smith editions 1687 and 1701:

For faces that accounted fair, take white lead, a little vermillion and a very small touch of lake. For the lips take more of the vermillion and lake than you did for the face. For a brown face take burnt oaker and white. For a tawny moor, take cullens earth, a little burnt oker, and a little white.

Salmon:

Glaze and tough the deep shadows thinly with lake, brown pink and varnish; and the white speck and black ball of the eye, as the print shall direct you: also the round white ball of a convenient color. Make the lips of a fine red with carmine or red lake: the dark side of the face shadow with vermillion, yellow pink and white. Give some touches on the strongest lights of the face, as top of the nose, forehead, by the eyes, mouth and chin, with a colour made of white, pale masticot or yellow

oker, and a little vermillion, mixed as you shall see fit. Then mix it a little darker, and lay it over the face not painted before, but the mouth and cheeks make somewhat redder.

This comparison shows, particularly in painting the eyes, that Stalker, Parker, and Salmon are identical, and that Smith and Ratcliffe do not mention the eye at all. Whereas *Some Rules* is unique in recommending that the eye be highlighted with silver.

5.4 VEHICLES

When we look at the vehicles used to mix the colours, *Albert Dürer Revived*, like *Some Rules*, recommends the use of nut oil:

You may mix all your Colours with Lisfeed-Oil, except White, - which is to be mixt with Nut-Oil only ; and indeed most People use Nut-Oil with all their Colours, and some mix their Colours, because to have them dry soon, with fine white Varnish,

Salmon also notes that ‘all the transparent colors must be ground in nut oil.’ Stalker and Parker also recommend nut oil and linseed oil colour, whilst Lemery describes using turpentine, not nut oil, and gives virtually no information on the use and type of colours. So, other than Lemery, all other writers on the subject recommended the same vehicle for painting mezzotint transfers as *Some Rules*.

5.5 MANNER OF PAINTING

When it comes to the manner and description of the painting itself, there is considerable variation across all treatises. Luttrell contains even less information than *Some Rules*; John

Smith describes the process in full terms, whilst Radcliffe states that the technique for painting is the same as for oil painting. Gyles' description, however, provides more detail than all the others.

This analysis concludes that Gyles was not recommending anything different from the other writers; his colours were neither more transparent nor opaque. Like the others, his treatise could be regarded as giving direction for a wall-mounted picture. The main difference, however, is that only Gyles recommends using ground glass and silvering the eye. Also, *Some Rules* contains more information about processes than the others.

APPENDIX 6 RECOMMENDED GLASS TYPES BETWEEN THE TREATISES'

Some Rules says to 'First note that your best glass for the purpose is the thinnest ground glass, and the whitest you can git, [...]'. The others treatises suggest something else: Luttrell writes 'take a clean piece of Glass'; Emery and Smith do not recommend any glass type at all; *Albert Dürer Revived* suggests 'Looking-Glass Plate or a Piece of the whitest Crown-Glass'; Ratcliffe says 'You must get your Best looking-glass'; Stalker and Parker write that 'Your glass ought to be thin, white and well polished such as is made for looking glasses'; and Salmon writes that 'The glass you make use of ought to be true ground looking glass, white well polished and not thick...'. Clearly, Salmon is an adaptation of Stalker and Parker's treatise, which is consistent with previous discussions regarding the two treatises. The *Albert Dürer Revived* (1679) and the three post-1688 treatises, Ratcliffe (1688), Stalker and Parker (1688) and Salmon (1701) all specify 'Best looking-glass'-polished plate glass made by grinding and polishing. Whereas Gyles' *Some Rules* recommends only ground glass, not polished.

From 1699, advertisements promoting crown glass to make glass prints (pictures) began to appear: 'The best sort of Window-Glass for Sashes or Pictures, commonly called Crown or Normandy Glass, is made in greater Perfection than formerly at the Bear-garden Glass-house in Southwark, and sold at reasonable Rates'.⁵⁵ Barker writes that crown glass was introduced into England from Normandy in the 1560s, but the process did not catch on and died out. Then, in 1679, Henry Richards was sent to Normandy solely to learn the art... of making Normandy or 'crown glass' and, so he claimed, brought that invention into England.⁵⁶ Although crown glass was not made in England during this period, it was still imported from France to such an extent that, just after the Restoration, it was regarded as the finest window glass on the market.⁵⁷ Henry Richards may have been an employee of John Bowles, the owner of the Bear Garden Glasshouse, Bankside, Southwark, because it

⁵⁵ "Advertisement". *London Gazette*, January 23, 1699.

⁵⁶ T.C Barker, *The Glassmakers*, 25. Citing *Collections of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 15 May 1696.

⁵⁷ Louw, "Window Glass making in Britain": 47-49.

was at Bankside that the first crown glass was sold in England from 1684, with diameter sizes ranging from 4 feet to 5 feet, less than five years after Richards's trip to France.⁵⁸

From the perspective of making glass pictures (glass prints), this advertisement is significant because it confirms that, even though all the treatises specified polished plate, the glasshouses were selling crown glass instead, probably as a cheaper alternative for making pictures. Bowles left the Bear Garden Glasshouse in about 1691 to take over the Nazeing Glassworks, which later became Dawson, Bowles & Company. It is possible that he then went into business with John Dawson, a former apprentice in c. 1680, to manage the Duke of Buckingham's Vauxhall Glassworks.⁵⁹ Importantly, by 1696, this development meant that five glasshouses around London were making crown glass.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Ibid. Citing Francis Buckley, "Old London Glass Houses I: Southwark", *Transactions of the Society of Glass Technology*, 14, (1930): 139.

⁵⁹ Nazeing Glass Works - History 1612-1928. [www.Nazeing Glass Works](http://www.NazeingGlassWorks.com).

⁶⁰ Barker, *The Glassmakers*, 25.

APPENDIX 7 UNPUBLISHED LETTERS RELATED TO GYLES

Stowe Ms 744 f. 71 - vol. 2. (ff. 172), British Library.

Sylvanus Morgan to Henry Gyles London the 17th of March A^d 1663/4

Mr Gyles

Mine and my wives love to your father and mother and your self remembered together with Mr Pickerings sons also: this is to let you understand that I received you peec (piece) of work in glass as with my thanks for it so I am very glad to see you are grown so good a(nd) proficient in your work that it hath the aprobation [sic -approval] of workmen heare though it be with somkind [sic] of backward acknowledgement from Mr Hall which is a usual disease [sic] amongst artists.⁶¹ However to give you your due tis possible they could not mend it in the colouring but I shall make much of it for your sak[e] and wheras [sic] you write to me concerning the last over account that I had in my hands when I receaved [sic] the fower [four] pounds which was seaven [seven] shillings I shall given you this account of it: M^r [Ch.....] that sold the prints borrowed two shillings of M^r pickering and writes us that he would account with you for it and for the remaining part ther[e] is for the Red lead and pensills halfe a crown more and for half a pound of copper wyer two shillings and concerning the glass you write for I have here inclosed the note of the perticulars [sic] for which I have receaved [sic] of Mr. Canton two pounds one shilling and have sent them by sea so that in all there was two pounds eight shillings laid out all which I acknowledge this receipt of and an now on an even account hoping what I have done done is to your desire presuming my friend with whom I dealt with for the glasses hath set you down both the cheapest rakes and the best of that commonly you can buy any where for owne part I have noe skill in them but am willing to serve you in any civil respect and so to rest.

Your servant

S Morgan

⁶¹ Lane, "A World Turned Upside Down": 58. Lane has documented that in 1639 An[d]rew Hall was termed a Glasspainter and this correspondence shows that he was also acquainted with Morgan, presumably for heraldic designs as Gyles was.

Add. 78684, 15r-v, British Library.

Henry Gyles to Roger Geldart (1690)

Addressed to:

Mr. Roger Geldart at Mr. Anthony Cornwells M^t: near Billinfgate London

These post p^d 3^d

York 24th September 1690

Dear Geldart

I Red y^{rs} of y^e 15th instant and thank you for y^e great care still for me, and wish good successe to Mr. Swan and y^t I may hear those 20 plates have gott through the [Fieir], and indeed my desiring you to give him ye whole 50 shill was for his greater incouragement consuer[n]ing of a greater quantity of plates were asoon made up a [feir]: I hope however he will blow out what [mettle] he makes and may tell him if these 20 plates proves to my purpose I may be his chapman for y^e remainder, but Dear Roy^{er}: do comand y^r prudence however in not giving him y^e whole sum till something be scene: and I pray God it may be to my expectation. for this last weeke my lord Fairfax gave me his final orders to paint y^e East Window of his family chappell at Denton against y^e next spring y^t he brings downe his Lady, so woud [faine] be at worke. My Lord has pitcht upon a var[ity]- designe among many others I shewed him (var. y^e Lower part of y^e window is to be wholly taken up w^{ith} King David singing to his harpe and 12 Angells Daincing in a ring aboute him, two other Angells over there heads on y^e wing displaying of musical papers truly prickt w^{ith} Anthems to y^e Praise of the great Jehova, and in y^e clouds above all a farr – greater number of other figures playing on all sorts of muficall instrum^{ts} the inscription at y^e Bottom of y^e window in Roman Cappitalls of these words, out of y^e 148 Psalm IUVENES ET VIRGINES SENES CUM IUNIORIBUS LAUDENT NOMEN DOMINI. So I shall need these plates to cutt out some draperies for this heavenly consort, and my Lord – hopes this window will not be called Popery by any PresG: spectator (there being ringing of Psalms in it) but of this pray mr. Geld^t say no thing to any one till you heare I have don it the Fig^{urs} in my window will be each about 4 foot high and I hope to make it a good piece of worke but yet alas I am forced to do this in hopes of more considerable incouragement for my gaining will not be much. I was in hopes of having some good busin[ses] from y^e Earl of Kingston

but I heare he dyed of late very suddenly so y^t is at an end, some gentleman also have made me hope y^e Earle of Devonshire might be induced to imploy me for his chappell at Chatsworth: but alas I cannot see anything will be done till God sends up a better settlement in y^e publick: can I but live to see y^t and have a stock of coloured glass by me something may be done/ I have sent you a present of 10 papers by Jo: Bacon, but I suppose he is still at Hull, one of them is a K: William of Mr. Places doeing cost me 2 shill, y^e reft you will pleasure y^r yorke acquaintance with all, and have some times been sold for 2 shill 6d and 2 shill [PP?] peiar, I have 18 or 20 of those still by me which I bestow now and y^u uppon y^e worthy authors – acquaintance / pray when you see Rich: Lodge tel wee shall ere long have [our] Legacies, y^e chancellour having undertaken to see Mr. Lodge will perform'e otherways nothing wou'd have been done: pray give Mr. Swan one of y^e veiwes of York and one of my pictures, I am glad he tooke nothing from you. Last letter I pray do [get?] him to let me know w^t sizes their picture glass carrys and y^e rates & this I would know before my coloured plates come y^t so I may order a [plate] to be put up with them, I would desire him also to give me y^e lowest rates of all sizes of Looking glass plates both plain and dimond cutt, as well before they by foiled of after. I have not as yet heard either from Mr. Swan nor J: Smyth / is Mr. Wormall y^e druggist y^t Mr. Wilkinson ordered to pay James a 2d 16shill soon after he had rec^d y^e first 10 shill of him so it was James fault not to go and demand it in time, I am sure he had notice of it from me both in yo^r letters and my owne: James is me thinks a little too satyricall uppon Jacob Simpson (who had been so much his benefactor) having these words in his last letter to me that when I told a story to such shallow pales as him to fix it [orll] in when they had a great [ir]ay to ride else a trotting horse would shake it and make it muddy, His Fathers-

Second folio

Fathers [symbol] ry was in II an Aery signe his [symbol] is in me→ a watery signe & c - they had lately a letter from And: Taylor dated in y^e sound: Yo^r account of Tho: Williamson is very surprising y^t he shou'd be so accepted, for no boddy knows what, I am sure if it were for his painting it was not for want of ignorance and I doubt not but he will come as wife downe as he went up. Mother Mary ^{tp} picture is painted as large as y^e life by Mr. Lumley (Mr. Places man) who says he will also do it in Mezzo Tint; assoone as he gets a Copper plate, when done I will purchase one for you and paint it, but have long since given over y^r foolishoray, will do one also for Mr. Cormell, if he please to accept of it; but we must first of all see y^e print publisht which will be of 12^d price, Mr. Place does now

with his wife and family live in y^e Mannor and is set up for [face] painting, has done two large pictures of Mr. Gil: Metcalfes children and is to do there owne and severall others this Winter, he paints very fine and after an exterordinary way, but had few spectators y^t either understanding it or Valleurs to its worth. / I can now tell you some newes of y^{rs} Sneakeing Person at Steeton (as J had it from Mr. Dairwy y^e Apothecary y^s mourn:) about a month agoe he had got a [surfeit] by eating too much puddin, which coft y^e Honeft Potheary divers journeys to sort him right again, yet grudged mightily to give him a moderate sattiffaction for his paines, so bid him to another Shop y^e next occasion & the last Satterday y^e Parsons wife dies, and was buried at Bilbrough Sneaking enough y^e Cormudgeonist affording a glove to y^e Bearers &c. Dairwy say of her Physition a dutch doctor, he believes was trying to pickle her up for Duck sauce for he was inform'd she had taken a whole quart of Onions with white wine propor honorable Brandy & - but y^e day before she dyed. Sharpe putts y^e finger in y^e eye amaine & says he had lost his best friend./ A sad thing hapned on [circle with a dot in middle) laft at 2 m the Afternoone one of y^e Sherriffs of o^r Citty hanged himselfe in his owne house (viz.^t Thorpe in upperousegate) and on Monday way o^r Election day for new Sherriffs, Clarke y^e bookseller, and Mr. Tho: Bradley in Bishophill being elected, and y^s day they are a chufeing another Sherriff in Thorps stead to serve out wth Barstow till Michallmas: as for the news of [the Azzyfes] which you defire, I know not much for never looket out of my owne house all y^e time: but yesterday was y^e Execution day where 2 suffered a man & a [woam]- y^e first for murder and y^e 2^d for killing her child, there are 2 men more to be gibbited for Murders at y^e places y^e facts were committed at, all more J: [will] tell you is y^t Judge Dolben was very angry wth all mankind he conversd wth Especially y^e Attourney's, which made me [j] durst not give him a Due for 5^{ll} he has ought me y^s 10 yeares. What will you give me Rog^{er} to resigne it to you/

I am yo^r Oblidged Friend and Servant H:G

My L^d Fairfax settts out to day for Lond: wth y^e addresse o^f grandjury and y^e Gentleman signed at y^e Azzyses.

One piece of news which is very odd and y^t happn'd lately I will tell you: a large spaniell Dog: following some people to y^e top of o^r Lantern, [per] sueing a Ratt underneath y^e Leads, y^e thin boards of y^e Cannope breaking, he fel downe to y^e pavement of the Church and was pasht all to pieces, mist very little a Gentleman was walkering in y^e same place.

Just now Mr Wilkinson cald of me and tel me Mr. [Prastle] tel him Mr. Wormall has pd 10
 shill to J: S: pray advise James to give his thanks and to [tel.....] mfou some[chirishy]
 newes &c.

Folio 3

I am just now told y^r Frank Hall y^e Sylk weaver in upperous[egt] and Wilson y^e Ailes
 weaver in y^e water laine were y^e 2 [finers] at y^e Elechon of [t^e] Sherriffs and Mr. Drury if
 elected y^e Sherriff in Thorpes Stead, will not cost him a penny (a burning shame) and is to
 be continued hereafter in his Squires place, which makes people grudge a little as y^e ill
 managem^t of o^r grandees, Foster y^e maltman in North street proferd 20 ^l to ha been a sheriff
 for 6 dayes, but they say have refeind him to a better shott & C. I think I never told you y^t
 at Mr. Wyrells death All: Ramsden offered to get me his place if I wou'd ha' given over
 my imployment and after y^t againe he wou'd have had the receavers place settled uppon
 me I being but ill capacitated for either/ and wou'd never give over ye Art I proffess/ and
 besides the All: being but in halfe- earnist, I humbly declined all, but wisht y^t you had been
 yⁿ m Yorke and y^t you might ha' beene made choice on for both places, w^[as] they say is
 worth 40 ^e [per] An: & y^e L^r maiors Table. After y^s I named Jo Weddall to y^e Alderman
 who promisd him all assistance, especially for the receavcers place, Sallery 10 ^{ll} per An:
 but Rowly Watson got both y^e places, and so he woud if I had [shrd int] for all All R:
 proffers of Kindness his way being comonly to leave his friend in the lurch.

Mr. Geldart

I give many thanks for y^s notice & advice concerns my daughter, I hear by John she is
 minded to come by water; if Will: Radley be not got forth, she may take y^e opportunity, &
 I thinke it will be y^e best way for her socurity from wet & coled & therefore I advise aer to
 it. & I Should be willing & glad to serve you whilst.

John Woddoll

Honest John comeing in you see he is as short to you as I am Long, and have now thought
 of saying some n^t more to you which is y^t I have made a piece of glasse fit for my furnace
 wth Mr. Swanns name on it and a piece for you and woud make one for Mr. Cormwell (but
 don't tell him so much) I desire you me yo^r next to tell me Mr. Corn: christen name: and I

desier if W. Radley be not yet comed out y^t you'd either direct him or go along wth him to y^r shop where you bought y^e brick Quarries y^t Jo: Bacon brought me, and y^t he woud by me 18 quarriers exactly of y^s dimetion viz^t 8 inches and 3 q^{ts} square and one inch & a q^{tr} thick: there was 2 of these came downe in y^e for me [per] all, which I have by me and can make no use of: now 18 more to these 2 woud be of good use to me: I have foregott y^e rates of those Quarries which you told me but were very cheap pray get me a new note of there Sizes and rates and I knew Will R: will both pay for these and bring downe for me, if he be comd out I desire they may come by Jo: Bacon: Will Radleys wife is nice./ I have one farther trouble to you and y^e will ha'done which is y^e first time you go to the [Chainge]youd please to give my service to Mr. Sylvanus Morgan Arms painter at the Camdens head in Thredneedle Street and desire him to looke in his bookes for a Coate by the name of Boham; I think of Oxfordshire: if y^e wife of Mr. Lamplough o^r Archbishops Son: ye: Coat as they shew me cutt on a Seale is 2 barrs each barr charged with 3 martletts; but they know not the colouring: I have done Mr. Lamploughs Arms with y^e Coate impaled, which I would present to him, but cannot finish til I know y^e Colours of his ladies Coate: I cannot find it[no]nor of o^e bookes at Yorke so I hope Mr. Morgan will get it for me wth out a fee, to whom my humble service and prey send it me asoone as you get it, & if you have time to drinke a dish of Coffee with he old Gent: he will be worthy y^{or} acquaintance & c. Rip row rd Drury will be laid aside for oth mace Brazen [pray Rog.^r think if it come to be so: do you worke y^s very [use 1 poft to tele]: Thomson to be your friend Rolles W: wil [ref Lue]

Ms 3 f. 38b, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Abstrupus Danby to Henry Gyles

20th April 1695

Mr Gyles

My Sone goes for Eaton for a year or two & afterwards for Oxford, but I will take [...] care to recommend you to Trinity Coll: y^r owne workes already done at University Coll: praise you beyond any mans recomendacous. As to y^e house my mother is much out of health & desires to soone as she is able to se it before she takes it, if you let it: in the interim, she wishes you a good tenent. I am

Your very Lo: friend Ab: Danby.

20th April 1695

Ms 7 f. 112, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

York ye 4th of July 1700

Good S^r.

I Rec^d. yo^{rs}. y^s. morning, but cannot tell when I shall be at Leeds; for have beene —ever since I see you laid up in y^e. Goute, so as am hindred from all buisness- and truly S^r. since Martinmas last, have not had 3 weeks respitt of ease to fall to my businesse, I pray God to help me wth better health & c. But Deare S^r here is a sad City of o^{es} y^s day for y^e. Death of Mr Henry Thompson of Eskrigg (o^e late Lrd Maior) a Person of y^t integritie, & conduct, good and just every way; an accomlisht Gentleman and the Honour of his Country; and my p^{er}ticular losse y^e. greater because I rekon'd him my best friend in our majestracy: and if it had pleasd God to have spared his Life he woud have promoted my businesse: P^{er}ticularly aboute 3 weeks agoe he proposed to do a publick piece of Worke, and offerd his own 10 guineys./ But Dear S^r. I have lost so many good friends since: I knew how to prise men, y^t. this is not strainge for me to be still disappointed. / I pray give my humble service to Mr. Thornton and shall be proud to serve him when he pleases to give me orders. I have sent ^{yor} 2 Romaine pieces to Neals Inne in Coppergate, and am Deare S^r. y^r. Humble Ser^{vt}. H: Gyles

Ms 10 f. 136, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

No date, c.1700

Those being seene up: woud bring on y^e. remainder; so pray at y^e. first opportunity more this to y^e. Alderman, wth. my most humb: service: I have speak to my nephew S.S. to bring y^e. [cortea hedtill] wth. him he stays but one night in Leeds, you will reclaime also by him some other drawings of M^r. Lodge, y^t. of y^{rs}. Town of Leeds so fair as it is [funsht] being incomparably handled his exceint pen, and worth its weight in gold, wth. twice over, scetch of St. Maries Abby is also rare because a great deal of it is puld downe sinced y^e. time M^r. Lodge drew it./ y^e. monument at Warwick is of M^r. Hollar hand, but my nephew being just taken my horse; at the time shall conclude and am Deare S^r. y^{rs}. oblidedg Humb: Serv^t. H Gyles

Ms 7 f. 110, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

30th Sept. 1700

Dear Sir

Whitson, Monday 1700

Having ye Conveniency of y^e Bearer Mr. Stockvaile; I thought presnt my salutes and to beg y^{rs} pardon in not giving you w^t account I could remember of Mr. Lodges Works, & C. My Extraordinary Afflichons y^s 5 months past haveing un hing'd me from all thoughts; and even broake me to pieces: but I hope Mr. Place has ere this given you an account of what you desired, (because he knew all the pieces Mr. Lodge did. S^r I thank God I am now on y^e mending hand and if I find any thing among my papers of Mr. Lodges, shall lay y^m by for you and have here inclosed; on left you will think worthy reposeling: onely I beg you wou'd cause a fair – coppy to be transcribed from it and send back to me. I am Dear Sr y^r most Humble Servant H: Gyles

Mr. Lambert is now wth me and sayes he will looke out some old letters and will send to you: he is for London To Morrow.

Ms 10 f. 133, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

No date. C.1702

Indeed S^r. I am a [promare]. / Mr. Townsly says will M^r. Thorsby never come to Yorke againe when you do yⁿ. shall tell you how I have been dealt wth. / The affaire I told you y^t. I have with M^r. Mallwerer or M^r. Craister if y^s. M^r. Mallwerers son promised a Guinea forwards y^e. Queens Arms, so M^r. Rud advises me to entreat his father to pay his [signed] subscription, M^r. Craister subscribed also his Guinea and M^r. Rud sayes he will not refuse it, so forgive last becomes to Cote: M^r. [Dowly] promised me to speak to m^r. Mallwerer but if you be acquainted wth. him 2 strings to a bow for me will do not harme – I wish M^r. Plaxton wou'd by y^e. Libberall Arts of me, he showd home y^e. Gramatica w^{ch}. L have done as good as y^t. I have set up in yo^{rs}. school house, Sir you will still excuse this and better heare from you for I am yo^{rs}.⁶² HG

⁶² Mallwerer may be Massanger the maker of '6 etching sticks' with 'fine needles' purchased by Gyles for Lister. See page 158.

Ms 12 f. 73, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

No date, c.1702

My letter as to y^r. part: I wou'd indeed carry y^e. afflache for yo^r. Library in y^e. point if possable, tho' it were to my losse: so pray S^r. be pleasd still at all lopper lemites be endeavoring for it, for surly S^r. thou I blame me selfe in doeing those at randome and wth. out any Order. Yet if I had not made all those barduerings about y^m. to fit y^e. windows, I shoud y^e. losse care; because if you have em' not all those barduerings will be lost: I hope y^t. w^t. Gentlemen have already promised there helper, will not go back = and to keep on I desire you to beg of Alderman Lawson y^t. I may joyne wth. So I will now noal how fare Ben.factory goes in this inclosed paper: by w^{ch}. You will see wee have 6^e. only remaining to be subscribed, and which I hope by good managem^t. you will endeavo^r. to get. I hope I shall see M^r. Kirke at o^e. Assizes, yet let not y^t. hinder you y^e. first time you meet at Leeds to solícite him for me to use his interest wth. yo^r. Leeds gentlemen: for Deare S^r. there [...] attaswe for it if you know all: but y^e. Benifitt which might accrew to me, by having those scene, I hope I woud be more yn. all so yt. if alderman Lawson wou'd be pleasd to give Leave to have so many put up as ye. hither to Subscriptions amount to, I am confident those

Ms 7 f. 148, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

9th Oct. 1702

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

Mr. Thorsby

The conveniency of my lose Stockdailes Brother occasions this. Tho very unfit, being lame of both hands and feete. at prest Lab^r. under many difficulties both of boddy & mind, I pray god in his due time to reseine me. I sent you by my lose Sam: Smith last Tuesday but went by into Lancashire / and will call at Leeds at his returne soone, he will give you a waxen Impression and also an account of it and here inclosed you will have a letter of M^r. Loggans wth for y^e pretty hand writing is worth yo^r taueing as w.ll as far ye Anuthors sake who was an excillt graver and artist: I am Deare S^r yo Es H: Gyles

Ms 10 f. 135, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

No date, c. 1703

S^r. Since my last to you Cosen Stockdale I found those papers of M^r. Lodges owne writing which suppose he had form'd in to Tables in order to have Drawne y^e. severall species of Spiders, a specimen of one K me I have of M^r. Lodges hand so Curiously done, as I am sure cannot be bettered, by any hand which I will show you. if you please to remember me y^e. first time I sent yo I have also sent you one other letter writt to M^r. Lodge when he was w[ith] J Hally: and y^s. other paper, is a fragmt, of D^r. Lysters, owne hand, which if it or y^e. other may be acceptable to you shall be glad for am D^r. S^r. y^{rs} most Humble Serv^t. H. Gyles

I desire a copy of y^e. former Letter, (describing y^e. via Appia betwixt Naples and Rome may be sent one....

I have sent 3 letters more after the writing of this.

Ms 7 f. 167, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

8th June 1703

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

Dear Sir

I give you my harty thanks for y^{or} paine for me, L desire if you heare any further talke of Mr. Lawsons Arms, being two Deare of 40 shill may assure y^t. I wou'd not do y^e like again under 3 pounds', and y^t. L have always one Guinea for a Coate of Arms of y^e 3. part this bisnesse & C.

Y^{or} Humble Serv

H:G

Tuesday Morn

8 June 1703

Ms 10 f. 134, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

No date. c.1704

Hon^{red}. S^r. I pres^t. my humble services. Tho' laime of my right hand and have sent you by my nephew a Coate by y^e. name of Payett wth. a K: at Armes [liard] of it, the Party y^t. owes it askes y 5 shill for it; and says he doubts not but got more to any of y^e. same name I tell him he shall have half a Crown for it, so if you please to give so much I will see if y can make him take it: who will pray returne it by my nephew, who will tell you of my manifold afflictions y^s. 3 months past and still continues (I pray God to heale and strengthen me, if it be his blessed will.

I am Dear S^r. y^{or}. Humb: Persⁿ. H, Gyles

Ms 10 f. 131, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

17th Jan (1704/5)

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

Dear S^r. I rec^d yo^{rs} of the 15th wch found me in a bad condition, so as can not write much to you: only y^t. have sent my daughter wth yo^{rs} enclosed to M^r. Townley, & to tell you y^t. at 10 a clock y^s. morn: M^r. Place & D^r. Ashenden cald of me in there Journey to Cookridge: I suppose y^e. they will be at M^r. Boltons, & tomorrow at Cookridge./ as to y^e. Roman Ston wth. Geny loci Felici, y^e. ownwr is persuaided not to part with it, and I was lately told has fixt it on y^e. side of his house (y^e Inscription out most) so when you come to York may see it,/ I am in great trouble for my Dear Friend Mr. Kirk, I desire you wou'd do me y^e. favour to convay y^e inclosed to Leathley, after you have perused and seald it, and of yo^r. leisure wou'd p^{er}mitt you to meet y^e. 2 Gentleman above at Cookridge, M^r. Place I am sure wou'd be glad to see you./ he intends to be at York again on Satteday, my respects to Honest Jackson if ase More from Dear S^r.

Y^r. most Humble Ser^t.

H: Gyles

Ms 8 f. 42, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

10th May 1706

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

Dear Sir

I rec^d. yo.^{rs} of y^e. 29th. Of Apr: but ysterday, tho' indeed had an account from Tho: Maele, the next day after my Best Friend Tho: York Esq. Died w^{er}. Caused a many showers of tears frome me as I are also y^e. parnsall of yo^{re}. / Well he is gone and wee must follow, he sent me word he was getting start of me, I hope he is happy, he continued firm in his frindship to me to y^e. last, after almost 40 years – acquaintance, you tell me of his pretty expressions y^t (My Faith I thank God is Firm - & my Repentance I hope Sincere) words that deserve to be Remmbred: he always brough Balme to my troubled spirits by good Discourse & C. and he and I have often had very serious Descourses of o^r latter Ends, so y^t. his words and Actions, smell sweet in Death, and will I hope Blossom in y^e. Dust, The Righteous says of y^e. Prophit David) shall be had in everlasting remembrance, and y^e. memory of y^e. just shall be Blessed, a good name is better than presous Ointment & C. such y^m. as God would have Hono^r. should be Transmitted wth. A Character of honour to Posterity and their names shou'd survive there Funerall Solemnities, let my Dear Friend be always Remmbred by me wth. y^e. greatest Hono^r. for he was an Excillent Person; O' M^r. Thorsby what comfortable letters have I had often from him which if I time to see you at Yorke cou'd show you, and y^e. last time I was at Cookeridge, he was saying how many hundreds of letters had past betwixt us which says he will be conremment to put to y^e. Fire, and y^e. next time I come to Yorke will bring all theme wth. me and have done, and I desired he wou'd burn all mine just y^r. w^{ch}. I wish to God they had, but to Burn M^r. Kirks letters now he has gone, I will never do it. / I cou'd write abundance to you of Deare M^r. Kirke, but woud be too tedious; so will reserve till I see you at Yorke which I hope will be after my Lrd Archbishop is come downe. So at This time will add no more but y^t. I am yo^r. most Humble and Affectionate Friend and Servant H: Gyles

Pst. S

S^r. as to my state of Health it is very badly still wth. me; I get no strength y^t. I am God Knowes, (wth. out God's infinite Mercey to me) utterly disabled both of mine Arms and leggs, for can neither walk abroad, nor help my self either wth. my Cloths on or off, nor git either hand to my head, nor have been able to sitt to my businesse y^s. 10 months and more, I can you see Write [but wretchedly] and is also very painfull to me, I pray S^r. y^e. First time you see Mr. Jackson of Adle, my Services to him, as also to Mr. Plaxton (whom I not know whaether he was acquainted with M^r. Kirk or not my good Friend D^r. Fairfax, told me y^e. other day y^t. he design'd to give M^r. Plaxton a visit y^s. next weeke, S^r I hear that honest Major H: Fairfax is now at Leeds, I pray when you see him my humble services & C. and I prey S^r. bee you so kind as to continue a correspondence wth me, a little time and wee shall all be laid as lowe as Deare K is Adieu.

I pray that when you see Tho: March remember me to him and that I wish I were capable in any thing to serve him, it shall not be in wanting, for his honest and true Serveing his Good Master, & C.

Sir just as I was goeing to seale up y^s. Mr. Place came in to whom I shewed yo^r. letter and also Dr. Ashenden who gives both there service to you, and M^r. Place tells me y^t. Dick Herritt told him M^r. Tho: Kirke was com'd from London &c. I pray S^r. give me a time or hour things are at Cookeridge, you cannot confide in a more rusty heart yⁿ. I have some say y^e. Estate is to be sold & c. I should be glad to heare how things are & c.

S^r. y^e inclosed pieces of Deare M^r. Kirkes letters, I desire you to p use, and returne me, being a Specimen of his common way of writing to me & c. and pray good M^r. Thorsbie tell me w^t. will become of his fine closet of Bookes & c. there was a curious Indian Bow & Arrowes I gave M^r. Kirke I wish now weare in yo^r. possession, There was a small booke in a Parchm^t. covere, about y^e size of y^e whole Duty of Man of y^e. Life of S^r. William Wallace, in Stcottish Verse, w^{ch} M^r. K: only borrowed from me: also a booke of Painting of Paules Lamatins – which I should be glad to have againe, but of these I would not have say ought till wee heare how things goes.

Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS), Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Ms8
f.125

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

1st March 1707/8

My good friend M^r. Thorsby

It is now 2 months since I write to you and shou'd ha' been glad to have had a line or two from you bye now; my Nephew S:S told me he see you and that was all: I am still a languishing pooer man in great paine and trouble and sometimes in great Terroue wth. my W: Ebriely, who is now all wais distracted wth. it; and if I say to her call uppon God she replyes in such sad words as thsie – God Dam me 20 times over, there is no God, God has nothing to do wth. me, & c. That good M^r. Thorsby I am y^e. saddest man in y^e. world and now no boddy comes at so y^t. I am miserable wth.out God in Great Mercy releife me, wth. y^e. refreshings of his holy Spirit. She has so much and so often abused all my Friends and acquaintances y^t I am left destitute- I am pooer & desolate, y^e. good Lord be my helper. I pray remember me in yo^r. prayers, and I pray let me heare from you surely there is something in my last to you y^t. you may answer &c.

My Cosen Beckee Smith is now at Leeds if she comes home B^y. Coach, I pray see to send me y^t. Boxe safly packt & co.ded as I formerly desired you, and if you please to get y^t. Box of M^r. Cook from Cosen Ellis has a piece of glasse to send me in it y^t. I have a Chapman for, I cannot enlarge any farther the sorrow of my heart are so great save to Subscribe my selfe yo^{rs}. H:G

March y^e. 1st 1707/8

Met ? C: Townley y^e. other day shewed me a Silver me... made at y^e. Beitr? of o^r. late K. james, which he said is at yo^r. service when you come to Yorke, I pray S^r. lett me know if you tooke a Walke to M^r. Plaxton in y^e Frost &c [...]

{I pray also tell me if you have seene Permerteer since my last to you

A friend of mine sent me 2 Bookes to diver time wth containing a new View of y^e Citty of London, like Steines Survey in ?: Elesabeths times, & just now I read Mille Modis morimue mortals nafcirnueuno Sunt hominum sed morbid mille una salus.

Ms 8 f. 57, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

6th April 1707

I rec^d yo^s yesterday and do assure you for all this fine Weather yet do get little amendment, it being now 5 months have been confined to my weary room and have such great weakness uppon me y^t. my weak leggs will not beare my poore Carcase over y^e. flower; tho' on Fryday last I adventured into y^e. street but to my sorrow for my poore knees let me quite downe, y^t I was glad to be brought in againe – I have given last S: Smith yo^s. inclosed and tomorrow he will go to M^r. Baxters with it. I think I told you y^t. Tho: Kirke cald of me, and after y^t. I was told he rod prst to Durham y^t. very day, but how he has succeeded in his amoure I know not, but you write as if it prosperd and you may be sure, I shall rejoyce at it as much as any man for his girl fa: cause I hear his Aunt and Sister way in York. This last w: buying new cloths, and y^t. they were a going into the north & C. I pray when you heare any thing farther lett me know it; and I pray if you have yet learnt it out who got my Paules L'omashes or gersinmo abaea of Herauldry also y^e. life of W^m. Wallace to let me know. I doubt S^r. Godfrey Copley rib^d. y^m. up./ I shall be glad to see you at Yorke uppon any occasion and if you come by y^e. coach pray be so kind as baring my 6 pieces of glass wth. You packing y-em. Firmly up wth. Soft Hay and covering a Lidd close on y^e. Box and let it be sett in y^e. coach on an edge./ If I get y^s. relick of y^e. great Montrosse will be carfull of it till you further order, so wth. Respects to M^r. Jackson (who y desire to heare frome, I am Deare Sr yor^s

Henry Gyles

Ms 8 f. 64, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to? Most likely Fairfax

7th May 1707

May it please yo^r. Lord Sp:

I humbly beg leave to acq^t you at this sad consideration under a confiem^t. which I never knew in all my Life before, being lately aeesled by a Creditor woud no longer spare me this offere him sufficient security, but nothing would sattisfie but preg^t. monies, w^{ch}. I cannot progrese by any means, and my sad infermities continually upon me has brough me so poore y^t. I cou'd not have subsisted but for y^e. charities of some good Disposed Gentlemen: having also been utterly disabled from dearing any business this long time it is wth. great difficulty I get Bread to my poore Family.

I humbly bey yo^r. Lrd.ships favo^r and compassion to me in Odering w^t. is remanting for y^e. windows at Denton, an account whereof is here inclosed, the remaining being 39^e: 25:0, which if yo^r Lrd.ship wou'd be graciously pleased to order to me, it would keep me from goeing to Jayle: W^{ch}. If I be laid there am afraid the frost might will be my Last on this world. M^r. Sherriff Scoefr^d has been pleasd yo mak: me his Prisner for a weeke or 10 days; agoo = I am may it please yo^r. Lrd.ship yo^r Lrd.ships most Humble supplyer and serv^t.

H:G

May y^e 7th 1707

0000 till I had him to write to those y^t owe me monies.

Ms 10 f. 132, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

No Date c.1708

P.S

M^r. Thorsby; all these should ha' Come on Satterday: but the coach in w^{ch}. Sarah Smith came was gone ½ a quarter of an hower sooner yⁿ. I expected I evid no he him A? Sent you Mr. Townle's letter. I desire y^e.first time you see Mr Plaxton to pres^t. my service and if you repres^t. to him my sufferings he may probably remember me for he has g^v. som times w^t. shall I give the or w^t. shall I send the [...] I was telling Dr. Ashenden on't and he advised me to ask some corn& coals: which indeed wou'd be well of it were not too impident a request for indeed S^r. I have no monies to buy either Coales of Corn for o^r. Winters store, never was so bare in all my life not never in greater straites, I was forced to borrow 60 ^{ll} to pay of a debt to an ingrullful fellow or else had gone to jayle; and my Lrd. F: for all he has some times prompts faire yet performes nothing now S^r. I leave it to y^{or}. Prudence w^t. to say to M^r. Plaxton x and indeed M^r. Av..n & M^r. D...y told me plainly my Lrd. p' no boddy

Ms 8 f. 138, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

9th May 1708

Dear Sr. I have yor.s of y^e. 28th of Apr: but rec^d y^e. box 3 days before w^{ch}. When open'd found 2 bordure pieces crakt but no fault of yo^{rs}. it was y^e. coach mans fault that had not plac'd y^e box in y^e. right position for y^e. running of y^e. coach; for had he plac'd it an Edge to have stood so next his horses all had been safe (but it is well I have y^m. as they are) he had set the Box on its Edge but yⁿ. y^e. flat side of y^e. Box stood next his horses so y^t. y^e. glass Sway'd too & fro and indeed it was a wonder no more hurt was don./ Deare Sr. I think as you do y^t. it is a great comfort under my afflictions to heare from my friends, but indeed mine are at a low Ebb now a days, you are y^e. only one that keeps firm & c. I am glad you were at Cookeridge but you say nothing of y^e. Lady; M^r. Kirk indeed did promise to send me all my lett^{rs}. and a character of Scotland but fayld me, but I hope I shall see him at y^e. Election: a weeke agoe o^r neighbor Mary Milburne was for secur-ing 2 Birds for her guests. I sent her word of you & M^r. Kirke come it should be don, not els / I shou'd be glad to see one of those letters of M^r. Sharps, because I have heard to much of y^m. but never see his hand, as to my books I despair now of getting y^m. so must be content and for my letters I wish M^r. Kirk wou'd burn y^m. for his good father allowed me too much liberty in my Writing to him &c. I pray when you see M^r. Dr..ly to remind him to get y^e. guinea of M^r. Mallinerer and to bill him of y^e pretty pedigree I have./ O^r friend Mile Gale is yesterday for Lond: to place a Sonn wth. an Em....? And intends to call at Cambridge Trinity, to supplicate y^m. to consider me in]kemg] up y^e deficiency dow to me for there .le 2 Armes, I wish it may succeed, for [latly] Sir I am in very low Circumstances as [.....] it acquaint you when wee meete, for [...id] of 10 Guineas dew to me at Camb: there is [....] at Oxford & 40 ^{ll} from my Lrd. Fairfax w^{ch}. [...ee] Sumes if I had con'd weith [Inridia] remind [him]. I doubt I shall never live to see y^m disability from doeing any business (and – [...] of no businesse to be done is cause of many a [...] heart: I wou'd gladly be out of Debt before [...] ye to w^{ch}. End woud sell my house but cannot [et] w[?]. a chapman y^t. will give halfe y^e. [... lue], I wish it stood in Leeds, it woud turn [...] letter account. / I know not wheather I told you y^t. at o^r last assise Mr. Plaxton did not see [...] but afterwards M^r. Perrot y^t. lines

some times Barrick? Wth. him gave me a visit and gave [me} halfe a crown from Mr
 Plaxton for w^{ch}. [esred] him to give my humble thanks, but [...] –Corne & Coals, wch
 You told me urself [...] owne proposeing would have beene W.ll

[...] I hope he may do it afterwards_

I am Deare S^r y^{or}. Most humb: Servant

H: Gyles

[...] in shill so laim as not able to [...] over my Roome and so y^e years goes and wth me y^e.
 Lord he my Support of ever more

Ms 9 f. 47, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Henry Gyles to Ralph Thoresby

22nd June 1710

Sir Pray lett me know y^r resolution asto e^e walk this afternoon I could not possibly meet
you as I designd y^s HG

22nd June 1710

APPENDIX 8 INVENTORY, OBLIGATION AND WILL OF SARAH GYLES 1686

File name: BIA23242486_Will_Inv_Sarah_Gyles_Yorke_Sep_1686, Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York.

folio 1

1868

I: Sara Gyles [peia] 8th Martini in Micklgate [...]

I [...] Ebor Eq. Henry Gyles fil at [...], [Ex...]

[...] Walkinson Comisssione –

Sept. 1686

folio 2

A true and perfect Inventory of all Goods & Chattells

Of Sara Gyles widow deseased and

Late of Saint Martins parish in

Micklgate in York appraised and valued by

us Richard Coulton, Joseph Naylor

John Adamson, Roger Geldart this

18th Sept 1686

p. s. d

In [p...] her purse and Apparrell

03-0-0

In the little parlr It. A feather bed pillows

with Bedstead Curtains & other furniture thereto belonging	01-13- 4
It. A Truckle Bedstead with a flockbed & other furniture	0-6s-8
It. Two Chests, trunks & one little Desk with Linen	0-13s -4
It. One range with Runners, Gallo'Balk and Reckons ⁶³	0-3-4
In the Dining Roome – It. One table, it. Doz. Chaires & one carpet	01-0-0
And other Implement _	
It. The great chamber – it and bedst[stead]:	
Curtains feather bed and furniture	04-10-0
Belongings [...]	
It. 6 chairs and range fire shovel	
Tongs [...]	00-13-4
It. The little closet. It one black table [...]	00-01-6
It. The kitchen chamber. It one Bedstead [...]	
Feather bed bolster & pillows A table	
And 3 leather chaires [...]	01-15-0
In the Bottom Chamber – It and Bedstead feather bed hangings	04-0-0
In the Wainscot Chamber item one bedstead One bedstead	
leather curtains coverings and 6	
green chairs – and a little range fire shove and tongs	04-13-4
In the great Garrett A flockbed	
Bolster and feather pillows	
Bed clothes and leather chairs	00-16-00

⁶³ Gallo'balk is gallowbalk : An iron bar in the chimney from which pots could be suspended
- <https://yorkshiredictionary.york.ac.uk/words/gallow-balk>

In the street Garrett item one table with a drawer	00-04-00
In the little chamber Garrett item a flockbed bolster	
three feather pillows blankets	00-13-00
In the sellar item a hogsheds a Gantrey	
And a tray and funnell	00-3-4
Item one lead brewing vessel and etc	
Table	01-03-4
In the kitchen item a little silver tankard 5 silver spoones	
and silver tumbler	05-0-0
Item Pewther and Brasse	03-01-0
Item one jack spitt ra_ks dripping	
Pan frying pan one grid Iron	
Range fire shovel and tongs	00-16-00
Gallo Balke	
Item A Dresser table, a table one chain [frosterley marble?] ⁶⁴	
4 buffett stooles and a Beris	
Troushers and other implements	00-6-6
Debts owing to the Testatrix [a woman who has made a will or given a legacy]	
Upon [...] £ 40	
But disposed off in her Will	
Debts owing by ye Testatrix £18	

⁶⁴ Frosterley marble is a distinctive, fossil-rich limestone from County Durham, England that's known for its white fossil corals set in a dark matrix. Christine Pearson also notes that there is a frosterley marble chimney piece in the house, although of a later date to the dressing table.

folio 3 proved almost impossible to read

Let the whole world know that Henry Gyles [...] [up the gift?] at York and Joesph Naylor
[...] yourself with a gift [...] you are firmly bound to the rolls of men.

In detail

[I hurt Giles?] [.....] York & [...] anyone

[.....]

[.....rain] flowed itself [.....] say

[----- in] harassment - good books and legal currency in

England shall pay the same sails to the men of their interest

Attorney for the Executor, Administrator, Successors or Assignees

We oblige ourselves to make this payment well and faithfully

both of us by themselves for the whole and solid, our heirs Executors & Administrators
firmly by the present, seals

Under our seal, Given on the twenty-first day of the month of September, in the year of our
Lord six hundred and twenty-sixth.

[....] deliberates in the presence

Rebb Thorp,

Henry Gyles

josphuius Naylor

folio 4

The condition of this obligation is suth[such] that is the witness of [...] [...] [...]

Henry Gyles executor of the last will and testament of Sarah Gyles

late of the citye and Dioses of York did reside doth ... and truly

executor and this said will [...] [...] [...]

And do pay [her] debts and legacies, so far as her goods will extend and law
 shall bind him if also he do exhibit into the Exchequer office of the
 Archbishopric of Yorke a true and perfect inventory
 Of all and singular the good rights credits, Cattells and Chattles of
 The so deceased, and do make a true and just accompt [account] of the Same when he
 Shall be thereunto lawfully called. And moreover (: if need required)
 Enter into such further Bond with more sufficient sureties for performance of the premisses
 as the judge of the so court for the time being
 Shall think requisite and needfull And lastly doe save defend and harmless
 Keep the within named *The Dean and Chapter* [...] *Comission*
 And all other his and there officers and ministers against,
 All persons by reason of the premises. Then this present obligation to be
 void, and of none effect, or else remain in full force strenyth and virtue.

folio 5

Sarah Gyles Will and Testament

In the name of God Anon I Sarah Gyles of the City of York widow being sick and weak in
 body but sound and [disposing?] in memory do make this my last Will and Testament
 imprimis [in the first place] I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God and as for
 my Temporal Estate I dispose thereof as follows first I give [Revise?] and bequest unto my
 Son Henry Gyles and his heires [Assignuees?] for over All that messuage or Tenement
⁶⁵with [thaips?] house whereon I now live situated in Micklegate in Ye City of Yorke. To
 hold to his and his heires Assignuees for ever item I give and bequeath [...] the said Henry
 Gyles all and every the goods and Chattles in the said Messuage or Tenement now being
 [...] the two Bedds after bequeathed with the furniture therewith belonging, item I give and

⁶⁵ 'Messuage or tenement with homestead and appurtenances and cottage or tenement with appurtenances,
 and close of pasture called the Hall Close (2ac.)'. The National Archives,
<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/f4d060ff-7031-44c3-96eb-66c80c95a7cc>

bequeath unto my Grandchyle Isabell Smyth one feather bed and Green serge curtains and vallance Two blankets with baluster pillows Cowe Rugg and to my Grandchyld Rachell Smyth one other feather bed with printed stuffe Curtains and Vallance Two blankets with Boulsters and Pillows and one Rugg. And Whereas James Smyth was indepted to mee in Fifty pounds by Bond for which my son in Law Samuel Smyth stands bound ten pounds past whereof is already payd and his bond remains in my said Son in Laws hands now in Case I dye of the sicknesse wherewith I am now visited I do give and bequeath the remaining forty pounds due upon the said bond unto Samuel James Isabell Rachel Sarah and Rebbecca Children of the said Samuel Smyth to be equally divided amongst them. Reserving to myself the power of falling all or any past of the same in is I shall [...] of this sickness All the rest of my Estate reall or [xsouall] my depts being payd and funeral discharged I give and bequeath unto my said Son Henry Gyles whom I make Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament reserving all other former Wills by there made in which [esse?] whereof I have hereth sett [...] hand and seald the one and Twentyeth day of May in the yeare of our Lord God one Thausand Six hundred Eighty ffive.

And published

Sara Gyles

[...ton]

her mark

& Son of Theo: Thomson.