

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the
Institute of Historical Research
University of London**

**Mary Beale (1633-1699) and her ‘paynting roome’ in
Restoration London**

by

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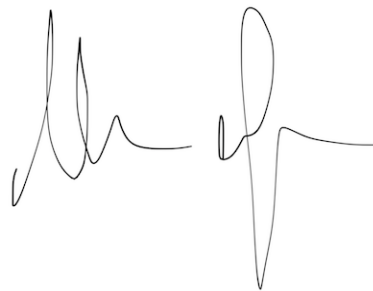
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DECLARATION

by

Helen Draper

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Helen Draper', centered on the page.

ABSTRACT

In the history of British art, Mary Beale's was the earliest documented professional studio led by a woman artist. There were other female painters, but only Beale (1633-1699) established a successful business and maintained it for over twenty years, all without benefit of formal training, guild affiliation or court patronage. Mary's surviving body of work comprises self-portraits, likenesses of family and friends painted for love, and portraits painted on cash commission from 'persons of quality'. Gentlewoman Beale was also a writer whose works include the manuscript *Observations by MB in her painting of Apricots* (1663), the earliest known guide to painting with oils by an artist practising in Britain. Mary's work as a portraitist in London's fashionable West End supported her 'middling' family of four, with husband Charles (d.1705) acting as her studio manager. Their friends were courtiers, tradespeople, intellectuals, clergymen, artists and lawyers, and included figures obscure and prominent within and beyond the metropolis. Despite her exceptional role in art and history, and a wealth of largely unpublished primary source material, studies to date are limited to brief exhibition catalogues.

In examining Beale, her career, family and circle, I ask whether she was an aberration, or truly a woman of her time. Does Mary's example suggest that gentlewomen's lives were *not* wholly dictated by domestic duties and the rhetorical expectation of female modesty, reclusiveness and silence? Her experience certainly calls into question current sociological distinctions between 'private' and 'public' spheres in women's lives, and blurs the line between what was amateur and professional in their work. My research poses new questions about this particular artist and, in answering them, the thesis sheds important light on Restoration women's contribution to commercial, intellectual and cultural life, while challenging our understanding of gender roles, families and class in early modern London.

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Chapter One

Introduction

In the history of British art, Mary Beale's was the earliest documented studio led by a woman artist. Beale was not the only, or first, female painter working in England, as is confirmed by the example of fellow portrait painters - gentlewomen Joan Carlile (c.1606-1679), Mary More (1633-1716) and Anne Killigrew (1660-1689), and the miniaturist Susannah-Penelope Rosse (d.1700).¹ Only Beale can thus far, however, be said to have established an independent commercial studio, and to have maintained it successfully for more than twenty years without the apparent benefit of formal training, court patronage or guild affiliation. Beale was also a writer who published her work in manuscript and print. One of her manuscripts, *Observations by MB in her painting of Apricots in August 1663*, is the earliest known text in English about the act of painting written by a female artist, and one of the first pieces of instructive writing by any female painter.² Furthermore, *Observations* is one of the earliest English instructive texts about painting in oil, by a working artist of either gender.³ In just over two hundred and fifty words, Beale proclaimed herself an artist and revealed something of her thoughts on painting, a statement which appears all the more remarkable for being written when contemporary rhetoric had it that women should be modest and remain virtually silent. Mary's text is not modest: it is an authoritative exemplar for others to follow, and it represents the painter's implicit acceptance of her place in an artistic continuum, past, present and future. Although subsequent biographical narratives on Beale took their cue from writings by her male circle, and from eighteenth-century commentators George Vertue (d.1756) and

¹ Sir William Sanderson listed five women artists - Beale, Carlile, 'Madam Caris', 'Mrs Brooman' and 'Mrs Weimes' - in his *Graphice. The use of the Pen and Pensil. Or, the most excellent Art of Painting: in two parts* (London, 1658), p. 20. See Arianne Burnette, 'Carlile, Joan (c.1606–1679), portrait painter and copyist', (2010), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [online] <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4681>>; Margaret Ezell, 'More, Mary (d. c.1713 [sic]), writer and artist', (2014), *ODNB*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/68257>>; David Hopkins, 'Killigrew, Anne (1660–1685), poet and painter', (2004), *ODNB*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15530>>; and John Murdoch, 'Rosse [née Gibson], Susannah-Penelope (c.1655-1700)', (2004), *ODNB*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10633>> [all accessed 07 August 2019].

² Mary Beale, 'Observations by MB in her painting of Apricots in August 1663' in Charles Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets found out in the way of my owne painting', (1647/8-1663), Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, MS Ferguson 134, fols 24r-24v. See also Helen Draper, 'Mary Beale and her painting of Apricots: the invisibility of Mary Beale (1633-1699)', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 48:4 (2012), pp. 389-405.

³ Henry V. Ogden & Margaret S. Ogden, 'Bibliography of seventeenth-century writings on the pictorial arts in English', *Art Bulletin*, 29:3 (1947), pp. 196-207; Mansfield K. Talley, 'Portrait painting in England: studies in the technical literature before 1700', (unpublished PhD thesis, New Haven, CT, Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art, 1981), [printed privately, 1981].

Horace Walpole (d.1797), *Observations* is one keyhole through which we can espy her more directly.⁴

Mary Cradock Beale (1633-1699) was a practising artist by the 1650s, but it was not until 1670 that she became an overtly professional portraitist whose work largely supported her family. After a brief stint as a civil service clerk, husband Charles Beale (1631-1705) became Mary's studio assistant and managed their household. The couple, with their two sons, ran a sociable and prolific family-based studio in fashionable St James's, on the western fringe of Restoration London. As well as numerous portraits painted on cash commission from 'persons of quality' (as Charles termed them in his studio notebooks), Mary's extant body of painted works is comprised of self-portraits and intimate likenesses of family and friends. The Beales' circle of acquaintance included artistic and literary figures, courtiers, intellectuals, clergymen, lawyers and tradespeople; and, with the closest of these friends, Mary and Charles exchanged likenesses, letters, poems and other kindnesses. Despite her exceptional role in British history and an unusual wealth of related primary source material, there has been limited research into Beale's work; or into the position of women amid the interconnected networks of artists, sitters, suppliers, guilds, courtiers, writers, scholars and natural philosophers who peopled the London art world in the seventeenth century.

Art historical context

Although there is a small body of existing Beale scholarship, and almost an excess of associated primary sources to draw on, telling the story of her achievements and significance has become a repeated act of conscious 'recovery'.⁵ Periodically, in the

⁴ George Vertue, engraver and antiquarian, 'Vertue Note Books', vols I, II, IV & V, *Walpole Society*, [vols] 18 (1929-30), 20 (1931-32), 24 (1935-36), 26 (1937-38)); Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford, art historian and politician, *Anecdotes of painting in England; With some Account of the principal Artists; And incidental Notes on other Arts; Collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; And now digested and published from his original MSS. By Mr. Horace Walpole*, 4 vols, (Twickenham: Strawberry Hill, 1762-71).

⁵ Elizabeth Walsh & Richard Jeffree, *The Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, [exhib. cat.], (London: ILEA [Inner London Education Authority], 1975), [72 pp]; Christopher Reeve, *Mrs Mary Beale, Paintress 1633-1699*, [exhib. cat.], (Bury St Edmunds: Manor House Museum, 1994), [19 pp]; Tabitha Barber [& Mary Bustin], *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699). Portrait of a seventeenth-century painter, her family and studio*, [exhib. cat.], (London: Geffrye Museum, 1999), [87 pp]. Women apprentices of the Company of Painter Stainers are referred

more than forty years since the first Beale exhibition at the Geffrye Museum, London, in 1975, her name has come briefly to prominence before falling back once again into semi-obscurity. In the context of this unsustained interest in Beale, I suggest that three main factors inhibit its retention - the limited number of her works on permanent, or even periodic display in public institutions; the lack of a scholarly art-historical monograph; and the comparatively low prices her paintings have usually made at auction - all of which have served to make her an unpromising investment to dealers, writers, collectors and publishers with an interest in promoting artists. Historically, both the artistic and commercial 'value' of art has all too often been assessed on the basis of a narrow, self-serving range of criteria, disadvantaging those artists who did not have access to the resources, or even the space to develop and show an artistically evolving, critique-able, marketable body of work. And, even when they persevered, all too often their innovations and influence on the work of others went unrecognised or was, and is, consciously denied. This process of lionising some artists and neglecting others has tended overwhelmingly to disadvantage and dismiss women more than men. Moreover, there has been a long-standing reluctance within auction houses, museums and galleries, and academic art history, to re-appraise and re-insert successful women like Mary back into the History of Art. One of the most powerful forces at work is the history itself, one which privileges public artists acting on a wide stage within pedagogic and networking institutions so long the province only of men.⁶

From the mid- to late-twentieth century this status quo was attacked by feminist art historians from two broad standpoints. The central premise of Linda Nochlin's influential essay, 'Why have there been no great women artists?' (1971), is that art making 'is not a free, autonomous activity of a super-endowed individual', but occurs within a particular social structure determined by specific social institutions.⁷ Women were hampered, she argued, by a conditioned sense of self-inferiority, and

to briefly in Richard Johns, 'Framing Robert Aggas: the Painter-Stainers' Company and the 'English School of Painters'', *Art History*, 31:3 (2008), p. 331.

⁶ One highly influential account, used for decades as a textbook of art history in schools and universities, contained no mention of women in its first or subsequent editions, see Holst W. Janson, *A History of art: a survey of the visual arts from the dawn of history to the present day*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1962).

⁷ Linda Nochlin, 'Why have there been no great women artists?' *ARTNews*, [January] (1971), pp. 22-39 & 67-71. Digitised [unpaginated] at: <http://www.writing.upenn.edu/library/Nochlin-Linda_Why-Have-There-Been-No-Great-Women-Artists.pdf> [accessed 20 December 2019].

were denied access to the infrastructure required to devote themselves to the pursuit of ‘greatness’. An oft-cited example of the institutional barriers placed before women, as quantified by Nochlin and later discussed by Germaine Greer in her book *The obstacle race* (1979), is that neither professional nor academic training were open to them, thereby preventing them from studying the nude human form and developing the concomitant skills and insight necessary to create ‘great’ art.⁸ Following that logic Nochlin accepted the statement, embedded in the title of her article, that ‘there have been no supremely great women artists’, and condemned attempts ‘to “rediscover” forgotten flower painters’, or to discern a ‘different kind of “greatness” for women’s art’, as merely reinforcing the negative implications of the question itself.⁹

While agreeing on the apparent lack of ‘greatness’ amongst women, Greer was careful to dissect the concept of the ‘great artist’, and to explore different forms of transcendence in art.¹⁰ There are two aesthetics, she argued: the imposing, heroic, ‘interested’ or political sort most associated with men’s work; and the ‘pure aesthetic of the perfect’ found, she observed, in many works by women. The former meets the milestone-seeking criteria of the historian, while the latter appeals to ‘the connoisseur’.¹¹ Greer also agreed with Nochlin’s analysis of the social and institutional mechanisms which so often prevented or discouraged women, but one aim of her book was to ‘repeople the historical artscape’ by recovering the lost biographies and oeuvres of female artists who had managed to negotiate these obstacles to some extent and had created a body of work.¹² Writing eight years earlier, Nochlin had condemned such scholarship as an exercise in ‘puffing mediocrity’, recommending instead that women should work to create new, egalitarian institutions for all art and artists. In 1976-7, however, Nochlin and Ann Sutherland Harris co-curated *Women artists: 1550-1950*, the first international exhibition devoted to the work of women, shown at the Los Angeles County

⁸ Nochlin, ‘Why have there been no great women artists?’, [online, unpaginated] <http://www.writing.upenn.edu/library/Nochlin-Linda_Why-Have-There-Been-No-Great-Women-Artists.pdf> [accessed 20 December 2019].

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ ‘Introduction’ in Germaine Greer, *The obstacle race: the fortunes of women painters and their work*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1979), pp. 1-11.

¹¹ Grace Glueck, interview with Germaine Greer on publication of *The obstacle race*, *New York Times*, 28 October 1979, section BR, p.1.

¹² Greer, *The obstacle race*, pp. 1-11.

Museum of Art, indicating that the value of recovery as a tool of feminist criticism had, to some extent, been re-evaluated.¹³ Broadly speaking, these partially dissimilar approaches have continued to figure within ideological debate on the subject, particularly on how gender imbalance in the recorded history of western art should be tackled, if at all. Setting aside the vexed and highly subjective question of individual ‘greatness’, a constructed status virtually unattainable to most male and female artists of any period, two broad alternatives present themselves: to recover women and their work from obscurity in order to re-insert them within the established art historical narrative - with all the difficulties that entails; or, to create ‘new’, alternative narratives. Taking here the former approach, Beale, unlike her less well-documented near-contemporaries Joan Carlile and Anne Killigrew, presents an ideal case-study for full and permanent recovery.

Research goals, methodology and sources

In many ways Beale - a prominent and prolific artist in her own time, commended by her contemporaries and documented by subsequent writers on British art - appears to defy Nochlin and Greer’s interpretation of most historical women artists having been profoundly hampered and compromised in their attempts to create an oeuvre and forge a reputation. No one, as far as we know, tried to prevent Mary from painting, in fact she was encouraged in its pursuit, probably from childhood, and she achieved professional status independently of formal training or apprenticeship. Beale competed successfully with male contemporaries to produce a veritable mountain of work to commission; commanded high prices during her lifetime; and bequeathed us a significant oeuvre. In these terms she could be categorised - within the parameters of both traditional and feminist debate - as one of the few female exceptions who proved the rule. She certainly enjoyed at least two prerequisites of exception-hood, that of the father-painter on hand to ‘teach’ her, albeit briefly; and the support of a respectable husband willing and able to ‘spare’ her at least some of the routine work of household and child-rearing. More significantly, perhaps, she does she appear to have been inculcated with any sense of personal or technical inferiority, nor did she allow herself to be prevented by social convention or institutional restrictions from

¹³ Linda Nochlin & Anne Sutherland Harris, *Woman artists: 1550-1950*, [exhib. cat.], (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum of Art & Alfred A. Knopf [New York, NY], 1976).

becoming a commercial artist. Many questions remain, therefore, over precisely *how* Beale, a married, country gentlewoman of comparatively modest means, managed to forge an active, public career in London; and how she did it *when* she did - early modern women having faced many social and practical obstacles to self-expression, let alone self-determination. It is the answers to these questions which form the basis of the thesis, not least of which entails an examination of the period in which she lived, one characterised by waves of both fundamental social disruption, and profound religious, political and cultural innovation.

To place Mary Beale's recovery on a permanent basis, and to situate it within this social milieu, I have concentrated on expanding and reinvestigating her biography, using a methodology designed specifically to compensate for the lack of a surviving first person account of any period in her life - a dilemma common to the study of many early modern figures, particularly women. While capitalising on all surviving primary and secondary accounts of Beale made by others, I have supplemented these incomplete and not altogether impartial sources by drawing on documentary material, the wisdom of senior researchers working in other fields, and scholarly commentaries written from historical, literary, sociological as well as art historical perspectives. Using this interdisciplinary approach I have been better able to interpret the Beale circle sources, to formulate my research questions - many of which have not been addressed thus far - and to answer them. As a tool of biography, used with full academic rigour, this methodology has proved stimulating and revelatory when exploring, for example, the educational practices and intellectual currents which undoubtedly shaped the abilities and preoccupations of both Mary and Charles Beale. In circling around a subject in this way one cannot hope - *and is not attempting* - to examine her milieu 'through her eyes', but rather in the light of an enriched understanding of the ideas, places, people, and wider society amongst which she flourished. In the context of education, as will be discussed in chapter two, the approach generated comparative material which informed discussion of the avenues to learning open to Mary in the 1630s and 40s, rather than presenting a supposition on exactly how she achieved the level of literacy and erudition obvious in her written texts. This methodology is particularly useful for the study of early modern creative women who, like Beale and writers Aphra Behn (d. 1689) and Katherine Philips (d. 1664), each left behind a substantial body of work but little in the way of

autobiography, nor were they documented in near-contemporary biographical publications in any depth or, in Behn's case, with much accuracy.¹⁴ One drawback, however, is that I have not been able to concentrate, in purely art historical terms, upon Beale's paintings in as great a depth and breadth as I would have liked, but the themes which run through them, and all her other works, do take centre stage.

What then do Mary Beale's portraits, *Observations* on painting, and her writing on friendship tell us about what she valued and aspired to? Were her portraits the product of artistic compulsion - the need to put paint to canvas, or of financial imperative? Were they tangible expressions of friendship, each likeness a slice of immortality? Were they courtly gifts with which to create friendly obligation and obtain patronage, or commodities for sale in a burgeoning proto-capitalist economy? I will argue that Mary's portraits, like her texts and personal friendships, were complex mixtures of all these things and, as a result, there can be no separation of Beale's life from her works. Her husband, Charles Beale, first wrote about art in 1648 when, in a notebook entitled *Experimentall Seacrets found out in the way of painting*, he described the various visual effects that can be simulated in paint, including the glistening flesh of a newly skinned 'Rabit'.¹⁵ Charles went on to fill this book with recipes and instructions for making pigments. From the 1660s, he started to cram the blank leaves of his annual copy of William Lilly's printed almanac, *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris*, with descriptions of family life and the activities in Mary's 'painting roome'. Charles' approach to recordkeeping was fastidious and distinctly empirical, the results of each experiment having been analysed carefully. Beale saw himself not as an artisan, but as a gentleman engaged in the Baconian fields of intellectual investigation that occupied the minds and hands of his more socially elevated contemporaries and, I will argue, this projected cultural identity would become a vital tool in enabling Mary's studio to flourish.

Although written entirely by Mary, the manuscript of her *Observations* appears at the end of Charles Beale's book of *Experimentall Seacrets*, making the volume as a

¹⁴ As Janet Todd has pointed out, when 'she wrote her fiction *Oroonoko*, Behn created a more elevated identity for herself as narrator, and her first biographer, author of the 'Memoir' (published with the 1698 edition of her histories and novels), accepted it as fact', in 'Behn, Aphra (1640?-1689)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), [online] <[http://www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.urls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/1961](http://www.oxforddnb.com/catalogue.urls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/1961)> [accessed 21 January 2015].

¹⁵ Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets', f. 5.

whole a unique example of husband and wife collaboration in the history of technical literature on painting. And, as we shall see, collaboration in marriage, friendship and business is a central theme in the Beales' story. Together, the couple provide a valuable example of working gentlefolk in the city, but were they unusual in participating in a manual trade, and especially one many perceived to be little more than a craft? How did Charles and Mary manage their domestic gender role-reversal, and did it affect his social standing among his peers? What contribution did gentlewomen make to economic and professional life in the latter half of the century and was it managed, and therefore recorded, in the same way as men's work? How many other married women pursued work in creative or luxury trades and services, and how does their experience compare with Mary's - how did she, for example, manage the conflicting demands of family life and work?

My research poses fundamental questions about this particular woman artist and, by extension, the nature of early modern women's involvement in cultural, commercial and intellectual life in Britain. I want to know *why* and *how* Mary Beale became a professional artist. Was she an aberration in seventeenth-century society, or was she a woman of her time? Do Mary's achievements suggest that the scope of gentlewomen's lives was *not* wholly dictated by domestic duties and the rhetorical expectation of female modesty and silence? Does the existence of Beale's domestic yet commercial studio call into question the prevailing but undoubtedly artificial distinction between the 'private' and 'public' spheres in early modern women's lives? Does the mutual exchange of paintings and texts made by Beale and her friends - often given as payment in kind - blur the line between what was amateur and professional in cultural life and, if so, how may that inform our understanding of creative work made by early modern women? The evidence I will present suggests that the answer to these last three questions is 'yes' and, I will argue, confirms that active, curious, expressive Mary Beale was indeed very much a woman of her time.

In this thesis I will suggest that the story of the Beales, their work and marriage, is a continuous narrative of personal and collective self-fashioning designed to achieve specific creative and commercial ends. In order for Mary to work, and for her household to prosper financially, it was a matter of necessity that she and Charles each foster a respectable, creditable public persona with which to protect themselves

from social disapproval. The Beales, and their wider circle, found both utility and security in pooling their various resources, and in acts of collaborative self-promotion. I will demonstrate *how* Mary Beale became a commercial painter; how she and Charles made their seemingly unconventional household artistically and socially viable; and how their friends both helped and benefited in the process. The circle promoted themselves and each other using literary works and painted portraits; capitalised on the courtly practice of gift exchange; and, in Mary's domestic studio, created a sociable but respectable place in which the conduct of commerce, friendship and family life could coincide. In examining the ways in which Beale achieved professional standing as a painter, I will also shed new light on women's work, class and social mobility, and on family life in early modern London.

Mary Beale is known to us today because she was a painter and writer. The works and places associated with Mary's talent became central, not only to her own marriage and household, but to interactions within and beyond her wider circle and, as a result, her life is comparatively well documented. Charles' notebook of 1647/8-63, and his annotated almanacs for 1676/7 and 1680/1 each include references to the couple's artistic lives, Mary's sitters, her portraits and materials. In the books there are notes on works of art owned or seen by the Beales; the pigments Charles made and sold; and some details of their domestic household.¹⁶ Several literary works including Mary's discourse on *Friendship* and dozens of letters written to the couple by friends also survive.¹⁷ Friend and kinsman Samuel Woodforde (1636-1700/1) was a prolific diarist when he and his wife, Charles' cousin Alice, lodged with the family.¹⁸ Twentieth-century historiography of Mary Beale includes pioneering biographical research and a wealth of information on the subjects and provenance of

¹⁶ Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets'; 'Notebook 1676/7', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson, 8o 572; 'Diary 1680/1', London, National Portrait Gallery [Heinz Archive & Library MS] CB [previously MS 18], [transcription and pagination of the last two by the present author].

¹⁷ Mary Beale, untitled ['Discourse on Friendship'], c.1666/7, British Library, Harley MS 6828, ff.510-523; & Mary Beale, 'A Discourse of Friendship by Mrs Mary Beale', c.1667, Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS.V.a.220. Sixty-six letters [c.1663-c.1672] to Charles and Mary Beale at Allbrook and London from friends Thomas Flatman (d.1688) and Francis Knollys (d.1695) [Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Rawl. letters 104]; and from John Cooke (d.1691) [Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Rawl. letters 113].

¹⁸ Samuel Woodforde, 'Lib. primus' [diary], (1662), New Haven, CT, Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Osborn Shelves [MS] b41; *Liber Dolorosus* [diary], (1663-65), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. 381; 'Memoires of the Most remarkable passages of My Life long since collected & now this 5th of September 1678 begun to be entered in this book [...]', bound together with the author's annotated copy of his own published work *A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David*, 2nd ed., (London, 1678), Oxford, New College, Archive MS 9494.

Mary's portraits presented by Walsh and Jeffree in their exhibition catalogue of 1975.¹⁹ In her 1999 catalogue Tabitha Barber examined Mary's manuscript discourse on *Friendship*, for the first time, relating its themes to the relationship between the couple and their friends, and to contemporary Protestant theology in England.²⁰ Conservator Mary Bustin contributed a technical essay to the latter publication examining, for the first time in print, Charles' book of *Experimentall Seacrets*. My transcription and analysis of these and previously unknown Beale circle manuscripts is central to my research, and one annotated example, her *Observations* (1663) on painting apricots, is transcribed on in chapter three (page 85). The manuscripts are essentially autobiographical, and are examined partly from a literary perspective, and always in conjunction with documentary material and critical analysis.

The Beale circle is fairly well documented in the official records of government and parish, and comparative primary evidence from a variety of sources has been used to place my case study of the Beales in the wider context of early modern cultural and commercial life. Evidence supporting my analysis comes from the records of taxation; the Crown and guilds; contemporary wills and indentures; probate and studio inventories; trade tokens and cards; catalogues of art collections and auctions; and modern painting conservation records. Biographical information on the Beale circle - collated in a set of databases - is used to describe a commercial network related to the patronage, production, acquisition and sale of works of art in and around London, and its links with other networks. More than 150 paintings have been attributed to Mary Beale thanks to the near contemporary art historical scholarship of George Vertue, and that of his successors.

In Chapter Two, *Mary Cradock and Charles Beale*, my subjects' early lives in rural England are placed in the context of the protracted religious, political and social revolutions through which they lived. I discuss their separate education in light of contemporary challenges to the nature of learning, and consider how, where and from whom Mary and Charles each learned to paint. The chapter briefly introduces an amateur, domestic model of painting, established early on, which was later adapted so that Mary could work from her home without being accused of

¹⁹ Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, pp. 68-72.

²⁰ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 23-42.

impropriety, an idea developed further in succeeding chapters. Important new evidence of Charles' early training is introduced, as well as material that demonstrates that a significant and hitherto unexamined number of women worked in and controlled painters' workshops in the seventeenth century, and were active in other fields of London's commercial life.

Chapter Three, *Love and Profit in 'ye paynting roome'*, traces the evolution of Mary's ostensibly amateur painting studio and its role as a physical and emblematic entity, an artistic space at the very centre of friendship and patronage within Beale's circle, from 1657 to 1669. Mary and Charles lived and worked in the house off Fleet Street that came with his Patents Office clerkship. Including lodgers and servants, the Beale household consisted of at least nine people, yet Mary had a separate 'paynting roome'. What does the early allocation of a space dedicated to Mary's work tell us about its importance to her and her family? This was a period of experimentation and expressiveness for Mary, one in which she produced two of her most important self-portraits. What can be learned from placing these works within the context of those by European women artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in the history and practice of portraiture as a genre? Beale's circle of friends and kin were her other subjects, and with them she and Charles exchanged portraits, manuscripts and favours, as both gifts and social currency. What meaning, and value did the makers, givers and receivers of portraits place on these precious tokens? Expressed as they were in the courtly language of affection and reciprocity, the Beale circle exchanges will be related to the English discourses of gift giving and patronage. Did the creation and exchange of likenesses have a particular resonance in the immediate aftermath of the Civil Wars, and can they be related to the theme of friendship which also had great cultural currency from the 1640s?

Mary Beale is generally considered to have been an amateur painter in the 1650s and 60s, but in Chapter Four, *Reputation and Credit*, I argue that although created for 'love' not cash, even her early portraits were exchanged - and even made - for profit of one sort or another. The early modern economy was based on credit in all its forms, and a sound reputation was prerequisite to obtaining it from tradespeople,

family and friends alike.²¹ As in all chains of credit, each member of the Beale circle had a vested interest in collaborating to promote the good reputation of the others. Reputation and self-fashioning are also important themes in the history of art in relation to portraiture; to the relative social and economic standing of artists and artisans; and to the singular paradoxes that surround the modesty and authority of female painters.²² The Beale household was therefore particularly reliant on maintaining a suitable reputation and good credit - financial, social and artistic. In 1654 Joan Carlile and her husband moved to Covent Garden so that she could paint professionally, and thereby create a 'fortune' for their children, but within two years the family returned home to Richmond.²³ Why did Joan's plan falter, while Mary's flourished? Evidence suggests that Mary prospered, in part, because she had prepared society to accept her work. With the help of her circle, Mary Beale worked hard to cement her social reputation as both a virtuous gentlewoman, and accomplished amateur writer and artist. How did Charles maintain his reputation when he was living off his wife's labour? I will suggest that the credit of the Beale household came to depend as much on the reputation that Charles constructed as a gentleman virtuoso - projected through his connoisseurship, chemical experimentation and gestures of lineal authority - as it did on Mary's reputation for domestic virtue and artistic virtuosity.

The precautionary steps Mary and her friends took to avoid criticism were apparently successful, and in 1670/1 her overtly professional studio on Pall Mall opened for business. Charles immediately set to work recording Mary's stream of portrait commissions, from the middling, gentry and aristocracy, in his notebooks, providing slices of working life in Mary's studio, including descriptions of the materials and techniques she used.²⁴ Chapter Five, *'My Dearest, most indefatigable*

²¹ Craig Muldrew's seminal *Economy of obligation: the culture of credit and social relations in early modern England*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), for example, contextualised many aspects of work and the domestic economy of the period especially, for this study, the intermingling of work, kinship, friendship and public reputation.

²² Joanna Woodall, 'Introduction', in *Portraiture: facing the subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); and Mary D. Garrard, 'Here's looking at me: Sofonisba Anguissola and the problem of the woman artist', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47:3 (1994), pp. 556-622.

²³ Carlile had taken 'an house in the Covent Garden' and hoped to 'raise up som fortune for her self and children', 'Letter XLII: February 1st, 1654' in *Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650-1660, edited [...] by Sir Gyles Isham, Bart.[...]*, (Lampport: Northamptonshire Record Society, 17, 1955), pp. 81-2.

²⁴ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7' & 'Diary 1680/1'.

Heart...': at home in the studio, examines the practical workings of Beale's professional studio; the demographic make-up of its customers, and their reasons for choosing Mary to paint their portraits rather than one of her competitors. Charles Beale continued his technical experiments with paint and painting, extending his empirical approach to the preparation of Mary's canvases and grounds with a view to changing their handling and drying properties. In contrast to the portraits of friends and family, paintings done for money often utilised repetitive pictorial styles, and poses openly reproduced from the works of the foremost portraitist of the Restoration, Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680). I will explore the complex reasons why Beale chose to compartmentalise her creative spontaneity, and demonstrate how she both embraced, and subverted to her advantage, the social and artistic imperative to align herself and her work with that of prominent men, particularly Lely.

Chapter Six draws the presentation of my research to a conclusion, and summarises answers to the questions posed above, among others. Assessing, in particular, whether Beale was a woman of her time, I will demonstrate that she was indeed just that, alongside many others engaged in writing, making, acting, buying and selling in seventeenth-century London - including several hundred previously unidentified women who were painters, or who worked under the aegis of the Company of Painter Stainers.

Chapter Two

Mary Cradock and Charles Beale

Mary Cradock was born in 1633 at the village of Barrow, four miles west of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. On the 26th March, Mary was baptised by her father, John Cradock (1595-1652), rector of All Saints, the village church. Almost nothing is known of Mary Cradock's mother Dorothy/ie Bramton or Brampton, except that she married John Cradock at Botesdale-cum-Redgrave, Suffolk, on the 3rd August 1630, and that by the time he made his will, in April 1644, she was already dead. Mary's brother and only sibling, also named John Cradock (d.1712), was born on the 10th August 1643, suggesting that Dorothy may have died in childbirth or soon after.²⁵ Charles Beale was baptised in June 1631 at St Michael's Church in Walton, Buckinghamshire, close to his family home on the modest manorial estate bought by his father in 1625. Bartholomew Beale the elder (c.1583-1660) was a Gray's Inn lawyer and senior civil service clerk, while Charles' mother Katherine (c.1590-1657) came from another, apparently unconnected, family of Beales. Until now, nothing has been known of Charles' early years until 1648 when he started to record his artistic activities in his book of *Experimentall Seacrets*.²⁶ Nor is there any documentary evidence to suggest what happened to Mary Cradock until Charles Beale wrote a love-letter to her in 1651 and when, on 8th March 1651/2, their wedding was recorded in the All Saints' Church register, at Barrow.²⁷

In the absence of a body of directly biographical material, pertinent historical evidence about the parental Cradocks and Beales must suffice to shed some light on their family structure and social status; levels of education, wealth and inheritance; class consciousness and the available means of promoting both stability and advancement. I will also examine some of the external factors that will have influenced Mary and Charles in early life, including the various political and religious conflicts and the allegiances that grew out of them, both local and national;

²⁵ Walsh & Jeffree, in *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, p. 9, incorrectly transcribed Mary's mother's surname as 'Brunton' and this was subsequently clarified by Mary Edmond as reading 'Bramton', although Dorothy was probably a member of one of the 'Brampton' families of Suffolk and Norfolk, 'Bury St Edmunds: a seventeenth-century art centre', (London: Walpole Society, 53, 1987), p. 108.

²⁶ Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets', f.5.r.

²⁷ Charles Beale, 'Love letter to Mary Cradock' dated 25 July 1651, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Rawl. letters 104, f.133.r.; 'Parish Register' [vol. 1], for All Saints' Church, Barrow, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk Record Office, and the latter is reproduced as 'Fig. 163' by Edmond (1987).

and some of the contemporary strains of intellectual discourse. Mary and Charles' early artistic training is examined; and the networks, old and new, utilised by the migratory young couple in order to prosper in London will be introduced.

Family and social status

Mary Cradock's Suffolk family was an off-shoot of the Cradocks of Stafford, a wealthy and well-connected regional dynasty of merchants and politicians active in both local and national government. Many of them were involved in the wool trade and had commercial links to London, Calais and the New World. Mary's grandfather Richard (1562-1630), was born in Stafford, one of six sons of George Cradock (d.1577). The *Visitation of Staffordshire* of 1614 confirms that Mary's great-grandfather could trace his Stafford ancestors back to the early fifteenth century, and it appears that there had been Cradocks in the county since the thirteenth century.²⁸ George's father was a Merchant of the Staple, and he and some of his brothers were styled 'gent', making the family a well-connected and apparently affluent circle.²⁹ Richard Cradock matriculated at Clare College, Cambridge, in 1580 as 'pensioner', indicating that he entered the university as a scholar of some means. After receiving his BA and MA, and on completion of his studies in divinity, Richard was ordained as a priest in 1593. His son John, also a Cambridge man, was admitted to Gonville and Caius aged seventeen in 1612 but, unlike his father, he matriculated as 'sizar' to the Master of the college, William Branthwaite (d.1619), thus requiring him to carry out 'menial services' as a condition of his place.³⁰ This apparent drop in status from father to son appears anomalous, especially within the aspiring generation of Cradocks born into 'trade' but with an eye to the professions. John's status at Clare may have reflected a change in Richard's financial circumstances resulting from his move away from his wider Staffordshire family and their resources. Richard and

²⁸ 'Cradock of Stafford' in *Heraldic Visitations of Staffordshire made by Sir Richard St. George, Norroy, in 1614, and by Sir William Dugdale, Norroy, in the Years 1663 and 1664*, ed. Henry S. Grazebrook, William Salt Archaeological Society, 5 vols, (London: Mitchell & Hughes, 1885), 2, p. 100.

²⁹ Merchants of the Staple monopolised wool exports from England - a less important trade than cloth, but lucrative until the export of raw wool was banned entirely in the early sixteenth century - see Edwin E. Rich, *A Short history of the Company of the Merchants of the Staple of England*, (York: [Merchants of the Staple?], [1968] reprinted 1978).

³⁰ 'John Cradock', in *Biographical history of Gonville and Caius College, 1349-1897. Containing a list of all known members of the College [...] compiled by John Venn [...]*, 3 vols, eds E. S. Roberts & E. J. Gross, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), 1, p. 216.

Branthwaite had, however, been students together at Clare. As Master at Gonville and Caius, Branthwaite was part of a group of Cambridge scholars of Greek responsible for revising the translation of the Apocrypha for inclusion in the King James Bible (1611), and this distinction may have imparted elevated status to John Cradock's role as his sizar. Although the Master died in 1619, John's close association with him implies that Mary's father was a student of Greek and possibly Hebrew, and that he was familiar with Branthwaite's library of 1400 volumes including Protestant and Catholic religious works, the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, Aesop's Fables and Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Her later discourse on *Friendship* bears witness to Mary's knowledge of Aristotle, and her printed paraphrases on four of the Psalms of David benefit from a sophisticated, analytical reading of scripture.³¹

John Cradock went on to be awarded his BA, MA and finally his Bachelor of Divinity in 1628 - the latter title being a distinction he noted proudly in his will.³² By the time of his death in April 1644, Mary's father had consolidated the family fortunes, becoming a landowner capable of making financial provision for his two children. It is particularly significant, and poignant, to note that Mary's father bequeathed to his then eleven year old daughter half of his 'worldly goods', which included his collection of books. Cradock was also at pains to ensure that the wishes of his newly deceased wife, unrecorded in a will, should be carried out so that on his death Mary would inherit 'her late mothers wach' and any desired amount of the household linen. Mary's brother John also went to Cambridge and, having regained the matriculation status lost in his father's generation, was admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College in 1661, before he became the third generation of Cradock clergymen. In 1674 John the younger took on his father's first living at Rickinghall Superior, there enjoying the patronage of the Bacon family previously bestowed upon his father.

³¹ As 'M^{rs} M.B.' Mary Beale contributed versions of four psalms, numbers 13, 52, 70 and 130, to Samuel Woodforde, *Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David. By Sam. Woodford*, (London: printed by R. White, for Octavian Pullein, near the Pump in Little-Brittain, 1667), pp. 28-9, 143-45, 191-92 & 390.

³² John Cradock's will was proved 27.07.1654, T.N.A. Prob/11/242, f. 294.

The Beale family's ancestry is more opaque but it too had West Midlands origins, in Warwick and Coventry. Walsh and Jeffree suggested that Charles' grandfather may have been John Beale, a miller at Barford in Warwickshire.³³ Evidence from several sources suggests that Robert Beale (1541-1601), the diplomat and Secretary of State for the North during Elizabeth I's reign, was John's brother and therefore Charles' great uncle. The full significance of this important familial link and its direct influence on Mary Beale's circle of patrons will be discussed in chapter five. Bartholomew Beale, Charles' father, owned at least two properties, a London house at Hatton Garden and the manor of Walton in Buckinghamshire, the site of which has been incorporated into the Open University campus. Although the manorial parish church survives, it seems that the house itself had been completely demolished by the turn of the eighteenth century.³⁴ Nevertheless, a surviving glebe terrier relating to the village provides evidence that Bartholomew Beale was in possession of more than 25 acres of land in and around Walton, and a rectory described as a 'dwelling howse Contayning three bay' along with a sizable barn and stables.³⁵ Charles Beale was the youngest of seven sons, only four of whom reached maturity. Henry (d.1672), the eldest, assumed stewardship of the Walton estate under the terms of an indenture drawn up in 1656, four years before the death of his father.³⁶ Their sibling, Bartholomew the younger (d.1674), was at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and followed in his father's footsteps by entering Gray's Inn to study the law, eventually becoming Joint-Auditor of the Imprests in the Exchequer. Under the same parental indenture the Beale's house at Hatton Garden passed to Bartholomew, but the nature of Charles' inheritance is unclear. Charles did, however, inherit a tenement house in Coventry from his paternal uncle, the printer and Stationer John Beale (1587-1643).

The Cradocks of Stafford and the Beales of Warwickshire rose to the social level of minor gentry, each family complete with a coat of arms and crest enshrined in the

³³ Elizabeth Walsh & Richard Jeffree, 'Correspondence RE: Mary Beale', 'Richard Jeffree research papers, c.1970-1990', London, National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive & Library, [MS] RJ [previously MS 128], folder NPG 6/17.

³⁴ *Victoria history of the County of Buckingham*, ed. William Page, 5 vols, (London: Archibald Constable, 1905-1928), 4 (1927), pp. 485-489.

³⁵ *Buckinghamshire Glebe Terriers, 1578-1640*, ed. Michael Reed, (Aylesbury: Buckinghamshire Record Society, 30, 1998), pp. 217-220; terriers were the returns of triennial surveys of church property carried out during bishops visitations.

³⁶ Indenture drawn up by Bartholomew Beale (d.1660), dated 5th January 1656, Ipswich Record Office, MS S1/1/50.

records of county visitations.³⁷ The Beale arms as they appear on the Walton funerary monument to Bartholomew and Katherine - ‘sable, on a chevron Or. betw. 3 griffins’ heads erased Arg., as many estoiles Gu’ - are consistent with those of Kent and Suffolk Beale families, and of secretary of state Robert Beale.³⁸ As in more elevated families, their older sons studied at the universities or Inns of Court, but other sons were placed in trade or, like their daughters, completed a commonplace form of domestic service. In Mary’s grandfather Richard’s generation, for example, his first cousin Emme Cradock (b.1555-fl.1618) was placed as ‘servant’ in the household of the London Alderman, Hugh Offley (d.1594), brother of Sir Thomas Offley (d.1582), a Lord Mayor of London.³⁹ By marriage these Offley brothers, both extremely wealthy and influential London merchants, were uncles to Mary’s great-grandfather George Cradock, and their family also originated in Stafford. Hugh Offley’s prosperity and his influential position in civic government suggests that the Cradocks thought it desirable to cement their shared ties of kinship by consigning their daughter into his service and care. Research on education and social migration in the England in the early modern period has shown that many, if not most, young people of all classes and both sexes left their parental homes for varying periods to serve in the houses of other families.⁴⁰ The adolescents would almost inevitably work in the establishment of a more elevated family than their own. Low- to middle-status boys and girls would take on domestic roles, while the sons of elite or noble families might become pages, or courtiers in the making. Young women of gentle birth might be companions, assist with teaching their host’s children, or learn to

³⁷ The Staffordshire/Suffolk Cradock family arms - ‘argent on a chevron azure, three garbs or’ - are reproduced in *Visitation of London anno domini 1633, 1634, and 1635 made by Sir Henry St. George, Richmond Herald, and Deputy and Marshal to Sir Richard St. George, Clarencieux King of Armes*, eds Joseph J. Howard & Joseph L. Chester, (London: Harleian Society Publications, 15 & 17, 1880 & 1883), p. 198.

³⁸ Walter A. Copinger, *Manors of Suffolk with notes on their history and devolution, with some illustrations of the old manor houses*, 7 vols, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905-11), 3, ‘The hundreds of Carlford and Colneis, Cosford and Hartismere’, (1909), p 139; and *A Visitation of the County of Kent begun Anno Dni 1663, finished Anno Dni 1668 by Sir Edward Bysshe [...]*, ed. George J. Armytage, (London: Harleian Society Publications, 54, 1906), pp. 11-12.

³⁹ Emme’s brother, another Richard Cradocke, made provision for his ‘Sister Emme Cradocke now servant with Mr Alderman Offley of London £600’, see ‘Will of Richard Cradocke of London a merchant, late of Stafford’, proved August 25th 1593, T.N.A. PROB 11/82/265; abstracted by Henry Lea & J. R. Hutchinson in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 41 (1910), pp. 78-79.

⁴⁰ Richard Wall, ‘Leaving home and the process of household formation in pre-industrial England’ *Continuity and Change*, 2:1 (1987), pp. 77-101; Sheila McIsaac Cooper, ‘Servants as educators in early modern England’, *Paedagogia Historica*, 43:4 (2007), pp. 547-563; Alice T. Friedman, ‘Influence of humanism on the education of girls and boys in Tudor England’, *History of Education Quarterly*, 25:1 (1985), pp. 57-70.

become ladies-in-waiting. In the seventeenth century this ‘life-cycle service’ cemented and,

reinvigorated alliances between kin, neighbours and friends; reinforced religious and regional allegiances; and strengthened patron/client relationships, while promoting an exogenous marriage market.⁴¹

Emme Cradock’s service in the Offley household would not have adversely affected her social status, and may well have facilitated her later, advantageous marriage within her wide kinship network.⁴²

It was by no means uncommon for a younger son of a gentlemen to be apprenticed to a trade guild master, and Stationers’ Company records confirm that Bartholomew Beale the elder bought a placement for Robert, his fifth surviving son, in 1643.⁴³ Robert Beale (1627-d. by 1656) became an indentured member of the Aldersgate workshop and household of his paternal uncle John Beale, a well-known printer who, among other things, produced Sir Francis Bacon’s *Essays* in 1612. Research on gentleman’s sons who were formally indentured in early modern England, and the trades into which they went, suggests that guild apprenticeship was one of the few avenues for advancement open to younger sons who, like Robert and Charles, did not go straight to university.⁴⁴ Parents with social aspirations, however, particularly favoured those - including the Mercers, Grocers and Drapers - which numbered among the ‘Great Twelve’ livery companies in their order of precedence. The printing trade may have enjoyed the advantage of cultural cache and, for the Beales, had a family connection but it appears well down the list of guilds, ranking number 47 in precedence. Stationers were frequently embroiled in disputes amongst

⁴¹ Cooper, ‘Servants as educators in early modern England’, p. 550.

⁴² The 1608 will of Emme brother George reveals that she married into the prominent Stafford family of Dorrington, to which the Cradocks and Offleys had been closely related for three generations, ‘Will of George Cradocke of Stafford’, proved October 11th 1611, T.N.A. PROB 11/118/248; abstracted in Lea & Hutchinson, *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 41 (1910), p. 79.

⁴³ 7th August 1643, ‘bound sixteenth apprentice, Robert Beale, son of Bartholomew, gentleman of St Andrew’s Holborn, for seven years, from that day’, Cyprian Blagden, *Stationers’ Company: a history 1403-1959*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977), p. 129. Robert Beale appears not to have been made free of the Company.

⁴⁴ Patrick Wallis & Cliff Webb, ‘Education and training of gentry sons in early modern England’, *Social History* 36:1, (2011), pp. 36-53; and Christopher Brooks, ‘Apprenticeship, social mobility and the middling sort, 1550-1800’, in *Middling sort of people: culture, society and politics in England, 1550-1800*, ed. Jonathan Barry & Christopher Brooks (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 60-62.

themselves and with religious and political authorities, making a career as a printer a risky prospect for both financial and social advancement.⁴⁵

Despite their elevated status as highly educated gentleman landowners, the paternal line of inheritance of Bartholomew Beale and John Cradock the elder was - like those of wealthier and more influential provincial families, including the Bacons of London, Norfolk and Suffolk - barely a generation removed from its trade and merchant origins. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the parental generation, now part of the professional class, sought to embrace or distance themselves from their forbears. It is possible, for example, that part of the appeal for Bartholomew Beale, a prosperous civil servant, of the purchase of the manor of Walton was the accompanying gift of the church living and was, therefore, not only an assertion of his wealth but also of his influence. Appointing the cleric of his choice provided Beale with a valuable opportunity to bestow gentlemanly patrimony and, moreover, to dictate the practice of worship in his Buckinghamshire parish, thereby aligning himself, perhaps, with the religious preferences of his own patrons. The Beales (following the high social and political benchmark set by uncle Robert Beale) aspired to advancement within Whitehall, as gentlemen of the counties active in the legal profession and government. Generally speaking, the Staffordshire Cradock clan's route to social mobility was through the commercialised goals of County, City and Parliament, while its gentrified East Anglia off-shoot embraced university education and the clerical profession.

Post-Restoration evidence suggests that the Beale sons may have been anxious to cultivate a heightened sense of the 'gentle' aspects of their lineage, and to cast themselves as patrons and biographers. Perhaps to this end, and of course to honour their parents, Charles and his eldest brother Henry commissioned a lavish monument to their memory from the prominent sculptor Thomas Burman in 1672.⁴⁶ The finished monument, still in St Michael's Church, Walton, incorporates the Beale coat

⁴⁵ After printing Bacon's *Essays* (1612) John Beale became mired in protracted disputes regarding the copyright of Bacon's text, see Blagden, *Stationers' Company*, p. 129.

⁴⁶ Vertue transcribed Charles' 1672 notebook entry: '18 May 1672. pd Mr Tho. Burman in part due for my honourd Father & Mothers Monument set up for them at Walton in *Bucks* at the expence of my brother Henry Beale and my self - the whole cost pd. in full. 45 pounds'. This sum was a little over the annual rent of £40 Mary and Charles then paid on their house, see George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume IV', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 169.

of arms. White marble busts of Bartholomew and Katherine Beale face each other above an inscription describing them as of ‘different houses though bearing the same name’,

D.O.M.S.

Neare this place in hope of a blessed resurrection, ly
burred the bodys of Bartolomew Beale Esq and Katherin his only
wife at once the happy uniters & restorers of two ancient but
almost extinct familys who till then were different houses
though bearing the same name. They enjoyed each other in wedlock
XLVI years III months. Happy longer than other use to live
The Religious parents of VII sonnes & II daughters. By their death
may be seen the triumphs of the grave, as those of piety and
virtue were by their lives. Hee died at London XV of June MDCLX
aged LXXVII years. Shee at Walton XVI of August MDCLVII aged
LXVII years. Henry Beale & Charles Beale
The eldest and youngest sonnes of them who survive, to
the pious & beloved memory of their honoured parents, erected
this monument.⁴⁷

The inclusion of heraldic symbols and the use of the phrase ‘ancient but almost extinct familys’, seem designed to give the reader the impression that both the subjects of the dedication and its commissioners, Charles and Henry, could trace their gentle, if not noble, lineage back through several generations. The unknown author of the inscription makes it clear that Bartholomew and Katherine had together, through their offspring, breathed new life into the fading yet venerable Beale name, and had literally redrawn the fading family likeness in flesh and blood. It is significant, therefore, that physiognomic likenesses of Charles’ parents were used to underline the message of inheritance and continuity in visual terms, and suggests that portraiture may have been of central importance in fashioning the Beale family narrative across the generations.

In its biographical detail the inscription is both touching and revealing, not least because of the spouses’ comparatively advanced ages. Its mention of the couple’s longevity implies they were healthier and therefore more prosperous than their forebears, providing a subtle confirmation of the family’s social and material advancement. In the main though, the Beale sons chose to describe the devoutness,

⁴⁷ This transcription of the English inscription was very kindly provided by the Buckinghamshire Family History Society.

piety and virtue of their parents in their word portrait rather than enumerating Bartholomew's not inconsiderable professional or monetary achievements. The biography records the essentially domestic facts of family life, perhaps for religious reasons, or because Charles and Henry were conscious that true gentility does not declare its wealth and influence in bald terms. In the context of this study it is particularly significant that Katherine and Bartholomew are presented to the reader as having been 'happy', and on equal terms as man and wife sharing in the same achievements. The suggestion that marriage between early modern gentlefolk could be a loving, collaborative partnership, as well as a beneficial contract, was one that Mary Beale had already mooted in her 1666 discourse on *Friendship*, and the recurrence of this theme will be discussed in later chapters. Above all, the monument suggests that for the Beales, Cradocks, and perhaps other early modern families, it was the more intangible of human achievements - continuity, longevity, happiness and friendship within marriage - which may have constituted what Keith Thomas has termed the *Ends of life*.⁴⁸

Conversely, having lost her mother at a very early age, Mary Cradock may not have had an opportunity to develop a sense of what then constituted conventional marriage or family life, happy or otherwise, until she herself was married. It is possible that at least some of Mary's ideas about friendship may have developed during her early experience of the extended Beale family after her own marriage. Some evidence to support this theory comes from the fact that both Charles and Mary had enduring relationships with *his* married brothers and two sisters, Margaret and Katherine, their spouses and offspring.⁴⁹ By contrast, no evidence has yet come to light of contact between Mary and her own brother John at any time after their father's death in 1652.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Thomas concludes that people were, among other things, 'highly aware of the satisfactions to be found in the affection of families and friends, their work and respect of peers', *Ends of life - roads to fulfilment in early modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p. 267.

⁴⁹ In London in the 1660s Mary, Charles and Sam Woodforde (their friend and cousin by marriage) socialised with, among others, brother Bartholomew 'Auditor' Beale and his wife Elizabeth, sister Katherine and her husband John Smith and their children, see Woodforde's manuscript diaries: 'Lib. Primus', Beinecke Osborn [MS] b41, and, 'Liber Dolorosus', Bodleian MS Eng. Misc. 381.

⁵⁰ John Cradock the younger (1643-1712), orphaned in 1652, was apparently left under the guardianship of his father's cousin, Walter Cradock (c.1581-1656), and was afterwards a boarder at the Bury St Edmunds' grammar school along with John and Dudley North. Admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1661, he eventually became a clergyman. See Sydenham H. A. Hervey, ed., *Biographical list of boys educated at King Edward VI Free Grammar School, Bury St.*

Revolution: events and allegiances

By the 1630s, when Mary and Charles were born, various currents of religious, political and economic rebellion were running through British society. Many of the catalysts of dissent - including Protestant doctrine and Catholicism's response; the emergence of middling classes of aspirant merchants and professionals; and the eternal tension between rulers and the ruled - were common to other European countries. In Britain there grew a profound religious divide, or rather a multitude of divides, between the established Anglican Church on one side and, on the other, various Protestant groups each vying for Christian legitimacy and for parishioners' souls. The most prominent or at least most numerous of these groups were the Presbyterians and the Independents, and while they had very different approaches to church governance and doctrine, both groups tended, broadly speaking, towards a Calvinist 'puritan' approach to faith and life. Many within and outside of the established church hoped for a peaceful reconciliation of all Protestants under the auspices of Anglicanism but some differences proved impossible to overcome. One of the few things all Protestant groups appear to have had in common was the fear of 'papists' and, in particular, a distrust of what was perceived by many to be the influence of Catholic elements at the court of Charles I. William Laud, the king's 'high Church' Archbishop of Canterbury, re-introduced to Anglican services and practice many elements, including the requirement to kneel when taking the sacrament, believed to be Catholic in tone, and these were met with hostility and open resistance in many quarters. This in turn provoked Protestant sects to advocate a fundamental reform of Anglican Church hierarchy and, ultimately, to call for the end of episcopacy. Such debate, however, went to the very heart of the established church in England, Scotland and Wales, and called into question the principal of 'divine right' to rule as it was embodied in King Charles I. Thus the whole basis of an accepted socio-political order - at the bottom of which was the tithed or waged manual worker and, at the top, the monarch chosen by God to rule over the whole nation - was gradually, subtly undermined.

Edmunds: from 1550 to 1900, Suffolk Green Books, 13 (Bury St Edmunds: Paul & Mathew, 1908), pp. 91-92 & 454.

Political unrest was, therefore, inextricably linked to religious unrest and in many cases originated within the same groups. The King's attempt to ensure that episcopacy was retained in the Church of Scotland led, for example, to the enormously expensive, and divisive, first and second 'Bishops Wars' of 1639 and 1640. Charles I repeatedly showed disregard for the wishes of Parliament in attempting to raise onerous taxes - to fund the incursions into Scotland, and the 'ship money' levied up to 1640 - and his apparent indifference to the actual and perceived hardship of his subjects at all levels of society caused resentment. As well as calling for religious freedom, many agitators, including Presbyterian and puritan radicals, wrote and spoke about the possibility of social and political reform. From the 1630s John Lilburne and the Levellers called for 'freeborn rights', and ultimately advocated universal suffrage for all male householders. In the mid-1640s the egalitarian approach of the 'Diggers', or True Levellers to land use questioned the principle of enclosure by landlords. Unsurprisingly, many of the elite groups, of whatever persuasion, who actually wielded power opposed such dangerous notions and at first sought to reinforce civil and parliamentary government, thereby limiting the king's power to act unilaterally according to his own judgements or those of his trusted advisers. The increasingly powerful City of London, its Corporation and prosperous guildsmen with their vested business interests, also resented what they saw as Crown interference in its commercial activities. These factors all combined to create a national mood of expectancy, fearfulness and distrust that was felt at regional and local levels of society, and within individual families. Many, if not all, members of society were eventually required to take sides, in some way, in the struggle between the king and established religion on one side, and an enraged, reforming Parliament on the other.

The strength of feeling about religious and political ideas at village and household level is difficult to assess comprehensively, especially when trying to analyse the largely unrecorded views of the illiterate and powerless majority. Nor, unfortunately, is there direct evidence to tell us what life was like in the Cradock and Beale households during the years of unrest, violence and uncertainty. Mary and Charles were in their teens when Charles I was beheaded in 1649, and what they made of the national events and divided family loyalties that engulfed their country during the Civil Wars and Interregnum is not known. Whatever their personal experience of the

conflict, it seems highly likely that their still-developing understanding of society, faith and friendship was coloured to some degree by the atmosphere prevailing in the 1640s and 50s, a mixture perhaps of righteousness, optimism and acute anxiety. The extent to which the Beales' inner realms of spirituality and self-expression may have been affected, and the ways in which this was manifested at the time and later in their written and painted works will be discussed in later chapters. Here it is necessary to touch on evidence of the social forces at work around the two young people, and to analyse the ambiguous, often contradictory local allegiances at play before, during and after the nationwide troubles.

The consensus between most scholars has it that Suffolk was a staunchly parliamentary stronghold during the English Civil Wars.⁵¹ From 1642, Suffolk - like Norfolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire - was part of the Eastern Association of counties formed to direct their collective Parliamentary militias. From the close of 1643 to the end of the first Civil War in 1646, the Association had military control over East Anglia, notwithstanding some pockets of occasionally rebellious royalist support.⁵² Writing about Suffolk in this period, however, Alan Everitt examined factors particular to the region which helped to shape its inhabitants' allegiances, and suggested that individual county loyalties could be 'determined as much by characteristics inherent in their own administrative and

⁵¹ Alan Everitt, *Suffolk and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660*, (Ipswich: Suffolk Records Society Publications, 3, 1960); Clive Holmes, *Eastern Association in the English Civil War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Alfred Kingston, *East Anglia and the Great Civil War. The rising of Cromwell's Ironsides in the associated Counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Hertford*, (London: Elliot Stock, 1897); and Peter Gaunt, *Cromwellian gazetteer: an illustrated guide to Britain in the Civil War and Commonwealth*, (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1986). According to Gaunt, for example, 'Suffolk was secure for Parliament throughout the period and saw no significant fighting during the Civil War' (p. 155), and although Everitt concurred that Suffolk's support for Parliament was probably stronger than in any other shire, he also acknowledged that in East Anglia 'the strength of puritanism and the influence of Cromwell have been exaggerated' by Kingston and others to some extent (pp. 11-12). The comparative numbers and spread of both parliamentarian and royalist noble and gentry families in the first and second Civil Wars has been mapped by Gordon Blackwood in *Tudor and Stuart Suffolk*, (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2001), pp. 321-3 & 334-5.

⁵² Everitt, *Suffolk and the Great Rebellion 1640-1660*, p. 14, contemporary news-book *Esspeciall Passages*, describing an incident in 1642 when it was feared that the key to Bury St Edmunds' 'magazine' was in 'untrustworthy hands'. On 18th August Parliament ordered that the Deputy-Lieutenants 'forthwith take into their Custody the Magazine for that County', 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 18 August 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 725-727, *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp725-727>> [accessed 3 October 2015].

social structure as by political developments in London'.⁵³ Certainly the evidence thrown up by this case-study of the Cradocks and their associates illustrates how professional and familial loyalties were divided, and that responses to national events at a local level were often ambiguous and sometimes contradictory. At Bury St Edmunds the town Corporation was thoroughly pro-Parliament and had long installed puritan clergy in its town churches. Even so, some prominent Bury inhabitants were royalist sympathisers including Dr Thomas Stephens, the town-appointed headmaster of King Edward VI grammar school.⁵⁴ In the surrounding area it was a similarly mixed picture. About four miles north of Bury Sir William Hervey (d.1660) of Hengrave Hall, who had married into the Catholic Kytson and Gage families, raised a regiment of 800 to 1,000 men for Charles I early in the fighting.⁵⁵ Mary's village of Barrow appears to have been surrounded by supporters of the crown. Just two-and-a-half miles away at Lower Saxham, Sir Henry Crofts (d.1667) was a royalist whose father had, in 1621, hosted a lavish masque for James I and his court, performed by Henry's sisters at their house.⁵⁶ In the 1640s Henry Crofts retained his estates on payment of subsidies to Parliament, but three of his sons went into exile with the royal family and his heir, William, Baron Crofts (d.1677), having been declared an 'enemy of the state' by Parliament in 1642, became a gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles II in Paris.⁵⁷ In 1608 Mary's grandfather Richard Cradock had been given the Barrow rectorship at All Saints' Church through the patronage of an unwavering puritan, Sir John Heigham (d.1626) at Barrow Hall, just a few minutes' walk away. Sir John's father Sir Clement Heigham (d.1570), on the other hand, had been a counter-reforming Catholic who, as deputy sheriff in Suffolk in the 1550s, had hastened the execution of 'heretics' during the reign of

⁵³ Everitt, *Suffolk and the Great Rebellion*, p. 144; Holmes also commented on the 'spectrum of responses to the common stimulus' exhibited by all of the counties bound by the Association, *Eastern Association in the English Civil War*, p. 30.

⁵⁴ Stephens, headmaster from 1638, was denounced in 1645 as a 'notorious malignant' and removed from his post, but apparently continued to teach many of his pupils at his own house before being reinstated in 1647, see Arthur F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1909*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [reprint]), p. 535; and Roger North, *Lives of [...] Dr. John North [...]*, (London: H. Colburn, 1826), pp. 277-83.

⁵⁵ John Gage, *History and antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk*, (London: James Carpenter, 1822), p. 240 [footnote 'x']

⁵⁶ C. E. McGee, "The Visit of the Nine Goddesses": a masque at Sir John Crofts's house', *English Literary Renaissance*, 21:3 (1991), pp. 371-84.

⁵⁷ Stephen Porter, 'Crofts, William, Baron Crofts (d.1677)', (2004), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4681>> [accessed 15 September 2014].

Mary I.⁵⁸ When Richard Cradock died in 1630 his son John, Mary's father, was made rector in his place by John Heigham's son, another Sir Clement (d.1634). Four years later, a third Sir Clement Heigham (d.1686) - this time an ardent royalist who later fought for Charles I - became the incumbent of Barrow Hall and it was this generation of Heighams who were in residence when Mary Cradock was growing up.⁵⁹

This cocktail of apparently contradictory local allegiances is also reflected in evidence of earlier patron-client relationships between John Cradock and two very different families, the Bacons and the Howards, earls of Arundel, Suffolk and Norfolk. As a newly ordained clergyman in 1628, John Cradock was presented to the Suffolk living of Rickinghall Superior through the patronage of Gray's Inn lawyer and J.P. Sir Edmund Bacon (d.1649), 2nd Bt. of Redgrave Hall. Edmund was nephew to Sir Francis Bacon (d.1626), Lord Verulam of St Albans and grandson of Sir Nicholas (d.1579), Elizabeth I's Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. The enthusiastically puritan Bacons were among the most affluent and influential of East Anglian families, and several of their number represented Suffolk and Norfolk in Parliament.⁶⁰ In 1642, when Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham and fighting started in earnest, the Eastern Association established administrative committees in each of its five counties charged with raising funds and provisions for the forces.⁶¹ Serving on Suffolk's County Committee were no less than seven Bacons - five esquires and two knights - one of whom was Sir Edmund, then aged 72. The strength of Sir Edmund Bacon's commitment to his Protestant faith, even beyond the grave, is confirmed in the wording of his will, while his possibly titular presence on the Suffolk Committee implies that he was also a supporter of the Parliamentary side in

⁵⁸ Clement Heigham presided, for example, over the Bury St Edmunds assizes trial, and later 'martyrdom', of Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver in 1558, see *Acts and monuments of John Foxe: a new and complete edition*, 8 vols, ed. Stephen R. Cattley, (London: R. B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1837-41), 8 (1839), pp. 493, 497 & 630.

⁵⁹ Sir Clement was on the list of Royalist gentlemen to be awarded the proposed but unrealised Order of the Royal Oak by Charles II, see Antti Matikkala, *Orders of knighthood and the formation of the British Honours System, 1660-1760*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), pp. 67-73.

⁶⁰ Everitt, *Suffolk and the Great Rebellion*, p. 134. Sir Edmund Bacon 2nd Bt. (d.1649) of Redgrave and twelve other Suffolk and Norfolk Bacons sat in Parliament from the mid-sixteenth to late-eighteenth centuries, see *History of Parliament Online: the House of Commons & House of Lords c. 1500-1750s*, [online] <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>> [accessed 10 May 2015].

⁶¹ Edward Montagu (d.1671), 2nd Earl of Manchester assumed overall control in 1644 and took his place as chairman of the Cambridgeshire committee, it being the body which directed operations across the region, Holmes, *Eastern Association in the English Civil War*, pp. 122-6.

the war.⁶² There is little evidence, however, that he took an active role in the administration of the county in the 1630s and 40s.⁶³ Indeed the comments of Bacon's peers including the clergyman and writer Joseph Hall (d.1656) and Sir Henry Wotton (d.1639) - who was uncle to Philippa Bacon, Edmund's wife - with whom he corresponded for many years, suggest that by the 1620s he had little appetite for public life, preferring what Wotton described as his 'delightful Mansion and Philosophical retreat' at Redgrave.⁶⁴ Wotton, with his network of European correspondents and his friends in very high circles, was the means by which Sir Edmund was able to get his nephew, the 'Spiritous Frank', a place as page at the Protestant court of the Queen of Bohemia in the Hague, in 1629. Writing to the Queen on Bacon's behalf, Wotton reassured her that far from lacking the means to find other places for young Frank, the family's 'zeal towards your Majesty' had guided them 'to this humble desire, for his more vertuous and noble nurture'.⁶⁵

It has emerged that by 1630, when John Cradock took over from his father as Rector at Barrow, he was also chaplain to Thomas Howard (1585-1646), 14th Earl of Arundel and Surrey, diplomat and England's foremost collector of European art and advisor on painting to Charles I.⁶⁶ Arundel was also, however, husband to Aletheia Howard (1585-1654) nee Talbot, one of the most outspoken counter-reforming Catholics in England. Aletheia had a prominent voice in calls for national re-conversion among the English Catholics and although the Earl sought to distance

⁶² Bacon left £3-10s per annum to the churchwardens of Botesdale for a suitable lecture to be delivered every market day 'soe long as the Protestant religion continueth' in the church of England, 'Will of Sir Edmund Bacon of Redgrave', made 02.10.1648, proved 1649, TNA PROB 11/208/31, and *Wills and inventories from the registers of the commissary of Bury St. Edmunds and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, ed. Samuel Tymms, (London: Camden Society Publications, 49, 1850), p. 219.

⁶³ Although appointed by the Earl of Manchester to the subcommittee responsible for dislodging 'scandalous' (and usually Royalist) clergymen, for example, Bacon did not attend any of its 21 sittings in 1644. The list of subcommittee members is reproduced in Clive Holmes, *Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644-1646*, (Ipswich: Suffolk Records Society Publications, 13, 1970), p. 25.

⁶⁴ *Reliquiae Wottonianae, or, A collection of lives, letters, poems: with characters of sundry personages [...] By [...] Sir Henry Wotton [...]*, ed. Izaak Walton, 3rd ed., (London: printed by T. Roycroft, for R. Marriott, F. Tyton, T. Collins, & J. Ford, 1672), p. 477. Joseph Hall referred to Bacon's 'philosophical cell' at Redgrave in his 'Epistle to Sir Edmund Bacon', see *Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and afterwards of Norwich*, 10 vols, ed. Philip Wynter, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1863), 6, p. 160.

⁶⁵ Undated letter: *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, pp. 442-3.

⁶⁶ A dispensation, dated 20th April 1630, to John Cradock on becoming rector at Barrow in his father's place, lists an existing appointment as 'Chaplain' to 'Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey', [Dispensation Rolls, Norwich Diocese, B.L.. Add. MS 39534] <<http://www.theclergydatabase.org>> [accessed 3 May 2015].

himself from her circle, he was inevitably tainted by ‘popery’ in the eyes of many. These two appointments and patrons, Bacon and Arundel, appear at first glance to be at odds with each other in both religious and social terms, but the individuals themselves all shared an abiding interest in artistic and intellectual pursuits. Nonetheless, the picture of John Cradock and his patrons that emerges through this indirect evidence is a confusing one, and his political position is not much clarified by the more direct accounts of his activities.

Archbishop Laud was executed in 1645 and the Anglican episcopacy was abolished by the Long Parliament in October 1646, but an ordinance requiring the kingdom to implement presbyterial government of its parishes was not approved until January 1648. Suffolk was rather quicker off the mark, the Committee of the powerful Eastern Association having in 1645 divided the county into fourteen classical presbyteries - each a grouping of two or more of the existing hundreds - thereby demonstrating the determination of the leaders to both marginalise religious Independents, and to create a mechanism with which to monitor local dissent or unrest. John Cradock and eight others were nominated by the Suffolk Committee to be ‘Ministers’ of the classis for the Hundred of Thingoe, of which Barrow and Bury St Edmunds were parishes, thereby assuming titular responsibility as primary preachers and teachers of the faith, and authorised celebrants of the sacraments. In the Hartsmere classis Sir Edmund Bacon was named as one of three gentry representatives.⁶⁷ Although this structure designed to replace the episcopacy was put in place, it exercised very little control over the regions, and in Suffolk the ‘Independents or Congregationalists began to make headway’, while in many parishes ‘there was a resolute under-current in favour of the old episcopacy.’⁶⁸ In May 1646 the House of Commons was informed that ‘divers Ministers of the Counties of Suffolk and Essex were at the Door’ and ready to present a petition which was duly read thereafter.⁶⁹ The petition called for legislation ‘settling of

⁶⁷ *The County of Suffolke divided into fourteene Precincts for Classical Presbetyries, together with the names of the ministers and others nominated by the Committee [...] With the names of the severall Committees of the County of Suffolke in their severall Divisions, London: Printed for Christopher Meredith at the Crane in Paul’s Churchyard, 1647* [by order of the Commons, 5th November 1645].

⁶⁸ *Victoria history of the county of Suffolk*, ed. William Page, 2 vols, (London: Archibald Constable, 1907-1911), 2 (1907), pp. 43-44.

⁶⁹ *Humble Petition Of the Ministers Of the Counties of Suffolke and Essex, Concerning Church-Government. Presented to the Right Honourable the House of Peers on Fryday, May 29. 1646. With their Answer thereunto*, in *Journal of the House of Lords: volume 8, 1645-1647*, (London: originally

Church Government according to the Word' which would enshrine Presbyterianism as the national faith, thus allowing for 'seducing Teachers, and Soul-subverting Books' to be 'effectually suppressed' with 'Civil Sanction'. One hundred and sixty-three Suffolk signatories - of whom John Cradock was one - claimed that for lack of an established church 'Schism, Heresy, Ignorance, Prophaneness, and Atheism' flowed in upon them and that God was being 'blasphemed, His precious Truths corrupted, His Word despised, His Ministers discouraged'. It has been suggested that only around one-third of the county's clergy had signed the petition and represented, therefore, 'the full number of Suffolk ministers sincerely attached to a Presbyterian form of worship.'⁷⁰ It seems equally possible that some of those who signed may have done so because they were fearful of the growing social unrest evident in parishes burdened by the privations of war and taxation, and which they felt unable or ill-equipped to quell.

John Cradock's motivation for signing the petition can only be guessed at. Similarly, the extent of his active participation, if any, in the work of the classis is not known, nor have any dealings he had with the Suffolk Committee of the Association come to light. Cradock may have signed willingly and, as elder of the classis, undertaken his duty to suppress dissent because of deep personal conviction, but it is also possible that he may have done these things out of loyalty or obsequiousness to Bacon, or for other equally pragmatic reasons.⁷¹ The earlier generation of Heighams' gift of the Barrow living to Richard Cradock at a time when Puritanism was resurgent in Suffolk and one-third of the clergy were said to have refused to wear the surplice provides, by implication, compelling evidence that he must have professed suitably puritan leanings of his own.⁷² His son, John Cradock, far from losing his inherited

published by HMSO, 1767-1830), pp. 337-339; *British History Online* <<http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol8/pp337-339>> [accessed 3 October 2015].

⁷⁰ *Victoria history of the county of Suffolk*, 2 (1907), p. 44.

⁷¹ Cradock's other patrons, Clement Heigham and the Earl of Arundel were both absentee Royalists, the latter by then in semi-impoverished exile on the Continent. Walsh & Jeffree considered that Cradock's involvement with Bacon and the Suffolk Committee as well as his signing of the petition signalled his 'Puritan' views, see *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, p. 9; and 'Cradock family material', NPG [MS] RJ, folder NPG 2/12. Barber, on the other hand, considered that in general the wider Cradock family appeared 'to have been of puritan sympathies', but was wary of ascribing firm religious or political views to Cradock himself, see *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 12-13.

⁷² Sir John Heigham (1540-1626) 'was not only protestant, but the leading patron of the radical puritan movement in West Suffolk', P. W. Hasler, *House of Commons 1558-1603*, 3 vols, 'History of Parliament' series, (London: H.M.S.O. for the History of Parliament Trust, 1981); [online] <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603>> [accessed 3 May 2015].

patron's favour when a Royalist Heigham succeeded to Barrow Manor, maintained his rectorship all through the wars. As another possible indication of his degree of Presbyterian radicalism, it is as well to bear in mind the activities in which John Cradock was not involved including, for example, those of the pernicious committees tasked with removing Scandalous Ministers. Certainly everything else we know of Cradock - his love of art and painting and his association with writers, natural philosophers and artists - suggests that hard-line, puritan iconoclast would seem to be an unlikely description.

At Walton in Buckinghamshire, close to the Parliamentary garrison at Newport Pagnell, what indications we have of familial allegiances are also mixed and apparently contradictory.⁷³ Katherine and Bartholomew Beale's eldest daughter Margaret, Charles' older sister, was married to the parliamentary soldier Col. John Bridges (d.1664) who held Coughton Court in Warwickshire against royalist attack in 1643, and was made governor of Warwick Castle.⁷⁴ Bridges bought John Evelyn's house at Kidderminster, becoming a near neighbour and dear friend to puritan Richard Baxter (d.1691).⁷⁵ Charles' brother Bartholomew Beale the younger married Elizabeth Hunt (d.1705), daughter of Col. Thomas Hunt (d.1669) who was also active in fighting on the parliamentary side. Hunt represented Shrewsbury in the Long Parliament from 1643 and was appointed to the committee for the Association of the Counties of Warwick, Stafford and Salop, before becoming Governor of Shrewsbury in the mid-1650s.⁷⁶

Conversely, Charles Beale's maternal uncle Theodore, the Anglican rector of Ashbocking in Suffolk, supported the king and demonstrated his affiliation by nailing the royal arms to a wall in his church. The escutcheon, which can still be

⁷³ Royalists took the town in summer 1643, but by 27th October were driven out by Major General Phillip Skippon, under the command of the Earl of Essex.

⁷⁴ Joshua T. Smith, *Memorials of old Birmingham. Traditions of the Old Crown House, in Der-Yat-End, in the Lordship of Birmingham [...]*, (Birmingham: Henry Wright, 1863), p. 43.

⁷⁵ 'The Life of the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter' [parts I & II], *Reliquiae Baxterianae: or, Mr. Richard Baxter's narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times. Faithfully publish'd from his own original manuscript, by Matthew Sylvester*, (London: printed for T. Parkhurst etc, 1696) pp. 1-215.

⁷⁶ Matthew Henry, *An account of the life and death of Mr. Philip Henry: minister of the Gospel near Whitchurch in Shropshire [...]*, (London: printed for Tho. Parkhurst, 1698), pp. 252-3 & 264-5; and Hugh Owen & John B. Blakeway, *A history of Shrewsbury*, 2 vols (London: Harding, Lepard, 1825), 2, pp. 476-7.

seen, was placed so high in the nave that Parliamentary soldiers could not remove it. Theodore Beale was called before the Suffolk Committee for Scandalous Ministers to face twenty-seven charges based on accusations made in ten witness testimonies given by his parishioners and outsiders. Among other things, Beale was accused of criticising Parliament and its war against Charles I; of not administering the Presbyterian Covenant properly to his parishioners and simultaneously preaching against predestination; and of being a ‘Solemne Cringer and bower toward the East end of the Chancell’.⁷⁷ Theodore was ejected from his Suffolk living in 1644, but was installed as vicar of St Michael’s Church in Walton, Buckinghamshire, by his brother-in-law Bartholomew Beale the elder. Bartholomew himself maintained his professional standing at Gray’s Inn and in his civil service job before and during the wars and Interregnum; while his son Bartholomew the Auditor flourished before, during and after the Restoration, taking his place both in the cortege at Cromwell’s funeral, and in the welcoming party for King Charles II. There is no indication that any members of Mary and Charles’ immediate families, other than his two brothers-in-law, took up arms on either side in the civil wars.

The profound religio-political upheavals of the 1640s and 50s, including absent men taken up by war, compelled some women to take control of all aspects, domestic and public, of their family affairs. In doing so it is probable that many achieved a measure of self-determination and even a sense of personal fulfilment, although one possibly not openly acknowledged as such. Mary Cradock, then in her late childhood and adolescence, may well have been profoundly influenced by seeing or hearing of women undertaking such conventionally male tasks as complex estate management, for example, or the armed defence of property. Dorothy Cradock (d.1697), Mary’s Staffordshire cousin by marriage, was one woman of the landed gentry who defended her home from physical siege. Dorothy defended Caverswall Castle against the Royalist onslaught of 1643/4 and survived to see it garrisoned for Parliament in 1645.⁷⁸ Many women, on both sides of the political and religious divide, were forced to become advocates - before judge, committee or Protector - for clemency on behalf

⁷⁷ Holmes, *Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644-1646*, pp. 41-8.

⁷⁸ Dorothy Saunders married Mary Cradock’s cousin George Cradock (d. by 1647) of Caverswall Castle in Staffordshire, *Survey of Staffordshire; containing the antiquities of that county, by Sampson Erdeswick [...] with additions and corrections [...] by the Rev. Thomas Harwood [...]*, (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1844), pp. 248-9.

of their imprisoned menfolk, or for compensation for their confiscated property.⁷⁹ Such pleas for intercession by letter and in person may well have been made to the clergyman John Cradock by his female parishioners. Having lost her own mother in 1644, Mary Cradock may have been particularly affected by the experience of adult women in her wider family and in her local community, and by personal and civic demands placed on her father in his clerical role and as minister of the classis. Charles Beale, for his part, probably witnessed similar scenes at Walton where the fighting was closer at hand, and where he saw for himself how the lives of his uncle and aunt, Theodore and Alice, and his cousins were devastated by the consequences of the former's minor act of political rebellion.

Some commentators have discerned a pattern in this period whereby external events caused a sudden female 'liberation' from social and practical constraint. Elaine Hobby argued that the period from 1649 to 1688 was made up of two phases. During the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, 'challenges being made to the status quo involved new freedoms and activities for women', although by the mid-1650s and after the Restoration 'women were driven back into their newly private homes, where they retreated to an espousal of virtue'.⁸⁰ Here she echoed Alice Clark's pioneering study, *Working life of women in the Seventeenth Century* (1919), describing women's retreat into the home by the end of the century.⁸¹ The unwitting grant of freedom was countered by a repressive backlash that gathered pace until, by the start of the eighteenth century, expectations of middle and upper-class women were restricted to domestic tasks and accomplishments. Hobby cited Roger Thompson's study of the outpouring of pornographic literature that followed the restoration of the monarchy and the established Anglican church in England, suggesting that its misogynist nature amounted to an attempt to both intimidate women and undermine what little social authority they had garnered through their

⁷⁹ Alison Plowden described the wartime struggles of several, including Lucy Hutchinson, in *Women all on fire: the women of the English Civil War*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 142-45 & 190-95; and Elaine Hobby discusses private and printed petitions made to government by women in *Virtue of necessity, English women's writing 1649-88*, (London: Virago, 1988), pp. 13-14.

⁸⁰ Hobby, *Virtue of necessity*, p. 11.

⁸¹ Alice Clark, *Working life of women in the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Routledge, [1919] 1982 reprint).

wartime bravery, steadfastness and ingenuity.⁸² This and other forms of misogynist rhetoric sought to reiterate the supposed moral danger to society posed by women's agency. In this way it could be said that the events of the 1640s to 1690s had a similar effect on women's lives as the two World Wars were to have in the twentieth century when returning soldiers displaced working women entirely, or were promoted above them to occupy most positions of power and influence at all levels of society. Recent research, including my own, has also shown, however, that within certain legal and social restrictions many early modern women were, and remained, active in the commercial life of the country from the 1640s well into the eighteenth century, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Revolution: education and learning

Various strands of religious and intellectual thought, and the pragmatic political involvement required of individuals during the pressing events of the 1630s, 40s and 50s, combined to generate an atmosphere which privileged both personal conscience and the public expression of faith. Within this case-study there is evidence to reinforce the suggestion that for some women these same forces also provided the impetus and justification for often uncharacteristic acts of self-expression. In *Virtue of Necessity*, Elaine Hobby discussed the ways in which individual women felt justified in breaking their prescribed silence, through force of will or circumstances, but always in the express interest of helping others. Social upheaval presented these women with the unavoidable duty (or, depending on one's perspective, the opportunity) to act in ways that took them literally or metaphorically out of their homes and away from their domestic duties. Hobby cites public preaching by Quaker women and other female sectaries; printed texts written by women describing their own experience of faith; and biographies of husbands caught up in the conflict, as examples of creative works that women either felt compelled to make, or else were promoted as such. In any event, the purpose and thematic content of their words - the professed need to defend their family name, or their deeply held religious views - lent them varying degrees of social protection and acted to defray accusations of

⁸² Hobby, *Virtue of necessity*, pp. 18, 86-88, citing Roger Thompson, *Unfit for modest ears: a study of pornographic, obscene and bawdy works written or published in England in the second half of the Seventeenth Century*, (London: Macmillan, 1979).

immodesty.⁸³ Phyllis Mack went further, remarking that ‘it was precisely because women had no formal authority as ordained ministers or magistrates that their activities were so effective’, that as non-citizens they were free of regulatory or professional constraint in attempting to state their case and achieve their aims.⁸⁴ Hobby’s characterisation of these women and her analysis of their published writings had a profound effect on my own research, suggesting the means by which Beale, by ‘virtue of necessity’ and creative compulsion, published her own works for others to see and use. The key to understanding why and particularly *how* Mary Beale became first an artist, then a writer, and finally a professional painter, can be found in the story of her time, and the revolutions that swept her along. I suggest that Mary Cradock, left motherless and possibly without much supervision, came to maturity at a time when many women were expected to act rather than follow, decide rather than acquiesce. She and her fellow parishioners were called upon to decide on and express their faith, however obliquely, according to their consciences, and to confront their own notions of what was truthful and fitting in society. For Mary, perhaps, the most influential of the revolutions was intellectual - the promulgation of the humanistic approach to learning; protestant emphasis on life-long self-improvement; and the development of scientific empiricism.

It is not known, however, where Mary Cradock and Charles Beale were educated, but their formative experiences, including their early reading and conversation, took place at a time when accepted hierarchies of religion and politics were being turned on their heads. The influence of the puritan movement that emerged from the Protestant Reformation ensured that English churchmen, denied their exclusive access to scripture, were no longer the sole interpreters of God’s will; while the beheading of the king was a demonstration that England’s monarch was neither divinely chosen nor omnipotent. Running in tandem with political, social and religious revolution was a period of protracted intellectual foment, and themes evident in texts written by Mary and Charles between 1647 and 1666 suggest that they were active participants in it. Mary’s preoccupation with the philosophical and practical nature of friendship was, I will argue, a response to the often irreconcilable

⁸³ Hobby, ‘Introduction’, *Virtue of Necessity*, pp. 1-25.

⁸⁴ Phyllis Mack, *Visionary women: ecstatic prophecy in seventeenth-century England* (London: University of California Press, 1992), p. 4.

differences between friends and neighbours that were created by Revolution in England. Her discourse on *Friendship*, and Charles' early passion for quantifying his painterly experiments, signal the couple's embracing of an empirical, analytical approach to philosophical and scientific enquiry fostered across Europe in the 1630s, 40s and 50s. By the Restoration in 1660, the Beales had become enmeshed in the intellectual circles that soon coalesced to form the Royal Society.⁸⁵

One is inevitably led, therefore, to consider the type and level of education that may have been open to Mary and Charles, and other factors that encouraged each of them to pursue their creative and intellectual interests. Direct evidence concerning the pair's schooling is sadly lacking, but Mary's biblical and classical scholarship, later evident in her texts, suggests that she had benefited from some form of humanist education, perhaps from her father. John Cradock had himself been educated at home by his father until he was fifteen, before briefly joining his East Anglian cousins, Nathaniel and William Cradock, at the school of 'Mr Rodeknight' in preparation for Cambridge.⁸⁶ While bearing in mind this educational precedent for home schooling, another possibility - given John's ties with Cambridge, Bury St Edmunds and London - is that the motherless Mary may have been sent away to be educated. Private schools catering to the daughters of gentlefolk and wealthy merchants had been operating in Middlesex, north and east of London, from at least the 1620s.⁸⁷ An oft cited example is that run for girls by the Presbyterian 'Mrs Salmon' in Hackney, whose eight-year-old boarding pupils in the 1640s included writer Katherine [Fowler] Philips (d.1664), Mary [Aubrey] Montagu (c.1700), John Aubrey's niece, and Mary Harvey (d.1704) who later, as Lady Dering, became the first Englishwoman composer of printed songs.⁸⁸ In his autobiography Sir John Bramston the younger (d.1700), lawyer and M.P. for Essex, recalled that he sent his two eldest daughters to Salmon's school on the death of his wife in 1648.⁸⁹ The curricula and

⁸⁵ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 37.

⁸⁶ John Cradock attended the school for less than two years before matriculating at university aged 17, see Venn, *Biographical history of Gonville and Caius College*, 1, (1897), p. 216.

⁸⁷ 'Private education from the Sixteenth Century', *Victoria history of the county of Middlesex*, 13 vols, (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1911-[2004]), 1, eds J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King & K. J. T. McDonnell, (1969), pp. 241-255; and Dorothy Gardiner, 'Girls' public schools in the Seventeenth Century' in *English girlhood at school: a study of women's education through twelve centuries*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 206-226.

⁸⁸ Jessica M. Kerr, 'Mary Harvey: the Lady Dering', *Music and Letters*, 25:1 (1944), pp. 23-33.

⁸⁹ *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston: K.B., of Skreens, in the hundred of Chelmsford; now first printed from the original ms. in the possession of his lineal descendant Thomas William Bramston*,

quality of teaching varied between girls schools but, in general, pupils were tutored in semi- and non-academic subjects that may have included French, accounting, needlework, dancing, singing and deportment.⁹⁰ Wherever and however it was attained, Mary Cradock's obvious erudition was remarkable at a time when many consider national literacy rates appear to have been very low for both sexes, and when female literacy is likely to have lagged far behind that of boys and men of all classes.⁹¹

An exhaustive search carried out by early Beale scholar, Elizabeth Walsh, failed to place Charles Beale in a public or grammar school, or in any other educational institution.⁹² That Charles was educated, and to a high standard, is indicated by the literacy and sophistication of his written texts. It is possible that he, a younger son, was taught at home by his parents, with a tutor, or at a now obscure private school. My research shows that on the 30th of June 1648 a 'Charles Beale', son of 'Bartholomew Beale, armiger' of St Bartholomew the Great, in London, was indentured as apprentice to Andrew Beech, Citizen and Draper, in servitude for seven years.⁹³ Being an uncommon name in seventeenth-century England, it is extremely likely that these Charles Beales were one and the same.⁹⁴ Bartholomew, our Charles Beale's father, was an 'armiger' in the sense that he was entitled to

esq., ed. Richard G. Braybrooke, (London: Royal Historical Society, Camden series, 32, 1845), p. 108.

⁹⁰ Gardiner, *English girlhood at school*, pp. 206-226; see also Elizabeth M. D. Morris, 'Education of girls in England from 1660 to 1800' (unpublished MA thesis, London, University of London, 1926); Doris M. Stenton, *English woman in history*, (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1957).

⁹¹ According to the most widely quoted study of literacy in early modern England - using signatures on depositions of witnesses before ecclesiastical courts - female illiteracy was almost ubiquitous in Mary Cradock's East Anglia between 1580 and 1640, with 95% \pm 2% unable to sign their names, followed by a slight improvement to 82% \pm 6% from 1660 to 1700, see David Cressy, *Literacy and the social order: reading and writing in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 145-6.

⁹² Elizabeth Walsh's research notes are spread amongst the 'Richard Jeffree research papers', NPG [MS] RJ [folder] NPG 4/11.

⁹³ Information derived from the *Roll of Drapers' Company of London. Collected from the Company's records and other sources by Percival Boyd*, (Croydon: J. A. Gordon, 1934); Centre for Metropolitan History, *Records of London's Livery Companies Online* [ROLLCO], [online] <<http://www.londonroll.org/about>> [accessed 5 November 2015].

⁹⁴ Searches of online genealogy indexes provide evidence of the births of 13 boys named 'Charles Beale' recorded in England between 1605 and 1680, one being our Charles baptised (09.06.1631) at Walton, Bucks. The only other, bapt. (19.07.1633) within the period which would have made him eligible for the apprenticeship, was the son of Thomas and Honour of Swanage, Dorset. While not a comprehensive survey of births, the results indicate the name's comparative rarity. 'Charles Beale', *Find My Past*, [online] <[https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?o=eventyear&d=asc&firstname=charles&firstname_variants=true&lastname=beale&yearofbirth=1640&yearofbirth_offset=40&sourcecountry=great%20britain&sourcecategory=life%20events%20\(bmds\)&collection=parish%20baptisms](https://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/results?o=eventyear&d=asc&firstname=charles&firstname_variants=true&lastname=beale&yearofbirth=1640&yearofbirth_offset=40&sourcecountry=great%20britain&sourcecategory=life%20events%20(bmds)&collection=parish%20baptisms)> [accessed 15 January 2020].

display a coat of arms; and in that conveyed in Oxford University registers - that the bearer was a qualifying officer of state.⁹⁵ The Beales' London house was in Hatton Garden, part of a Liberty within the parish of St Andrew Holborn. While one would expect Bartholomew to describe himself as being of St Andrew's parish on the apprenticeship indenture, Professor John Miller has pointed out that in the 1640s 'parishes can not be seen as forming a national church, coherent in theology or practice'. Indeed, many puritans, denied godly preaching in their own parishes, 'gadded to other parishes' to form 'new congregations whose membership transcended parish boundaries'.⁹⁶ While it is not possible to determine Bartholomew Beale's religious leanings with certainty, it is worth noting that Dr John Hackett (1592-1663) the rector of St Andrew's Church, and later Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was a royalist sequestered in 1645, while around St Bartholomew the Great there was a massing of puritans and Independents. It may well be, therefore, that although Charles' father was accountable to St Andrew's parish for administrative purposes including taxation, he chose - for religious reasons - to worship in St Bartholomew the Great. Master Andrew Beech, a woollen draper, had premises on Bow Lane and lived close at hand on Watling Street, just a few minutes' walk from both the Guildhall and the Royal Exchange. As a seventeen-year-old apprentice draper Charles would have found himself at the heart of the armed revolutionary struggle that was nearing its crescendo. In December 1648, for example, just a few months after the start of Beale's apprenticeship, the City of London was occupied by Parliamentary troops bent on collecting back taxes from each of its residents.⁹⁷ In January 1649, Charles I was tried for treason, found guilty and executed at Whitehall. There is as yet no corroborative evidence to confirm Charles Beale's identity as the London apprentice. Our Charles made the first eight entries in his notebook of artists' *Experimentall Seacrets* between February and March 1648, and another two some time before the end of the year. Three more entries followed in 1649. Charles' embarkation upon an apprenticeship as a draper in June may well account for the sparseness of the entries after March 1648.

⁹⁵ An armiger was originally 'one who attended a knight to bear his shield [...] more loosely: a person entitled to bear heraldic arms', 'armiger, n.' in *Oxford English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, [online] <://www.oed.com/view/Entry/10843?redirectedFrom=armiger> [accessed 7 April 2015].

⁹⁶ John Miller, 'Religion 1640-1714', *State Papers Online, 1603-1714*, (Cengage Learning, EMEA Ltd, 2010) [unpaginated PDF article, online] <https://www.gale.com> [accessed 7 April 2015].

⁹⁷ Ben Coates, *Impact of the English Civil War on the economy of London, 1642-50*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004), p. 27.

The new evidence of Charles' apprenticeship may, in part, explain why his name did not appear in the register of any college at Oxford or Cambridge until much later, when he was married and already a father. The 'Henry Beale', who matriculated pensioner at St Catherine's Cambridge in 1632 and gained his BA and MA from Jesus College where he was fellow from 1637 to 1644, was probably the eldest of Charles' brothers. Bartholomew, the second son, certainly matriculated pensioner at Peterhouse in 1639 but, rather than taking a degree, soon entered Gray's Inn as his father had done before him. John Venn's book of Cambridge matriculations contains a single entry for a seventeenth-century 'Charles Beale', and as the name was so uncommon and the one listed was 'of Middlesex' it is likely that it was our Charles.⁹⁸ There is no record of his having taken a degree, and the same 'Beale' appears to have left the college in 1657, but for this there was both family precedent, and a more generalised one. Brooke, writing on the seventeenth-century history of another Cambridge college, Gonville and Caius, related that many boys from a gentry background went to university but not in order to become a clergymen - the traditional work of colleges - and often without even the intention of taking a degree.⁹⁹ In fact, Wallis and Webb found that just 35% of all gentry sons at English universities took a BA.¹⁰⁰ Venn, Cambridge University's historian, concluded that many aspiring young men regarded college life as 'an episode in their general training for social life'.¹⁰¹ This attitude would also seem to reflect the humanistic ambitions of the squirearchy and the contemporary interest in education as an end in itself. It is not known how long Beale was at Cambridge or what he made of college life, but by December 1658 he had returned to London and started work as a civil service clerk. Charles' age at matriculation, and his evident interest in scholarship and the arts, suggest that his late stint at university may have fulfilled a variety of needs. Venn's comment suggests that Charles may have been at a disadvantage at the level of society to which he aspired without benefit of the particular initiation

⁹⁸ On 20 May 1656 'Charles Beale', 'Of Middlesex', was admitted as 'Fellow Commoner' at Trinity College, signalling that he was an affluent student granted various privileges shared with its Fellows, [Venn, 'Alumni Cantabrigienses [...] from the earliest times to 1751', 4 vols, 1922-27] *ACAD - A Cambridge alumni database*, <<https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk>> [accessed 12 May 2015].

⁹⁹ By the 1650s, 49% of Caius's students had gentry origins, see Christopher Brooke, *History of Gonville & Caius College*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1985), p. 119.

¹⁰⁰ Patrick Wallis & Cliff Webb, 'Education and training of gentry sons in early modern England', *Social History*, 36:1 (2011), p. 46.

¹⁰¹ John Venn, *Early collegiate life*, (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1913), p. 192.

provided by university life. Similarly, as Woodforde and Flatman's experience at Oxford bears out, he may have seen Cambridge as a place where he could make valuable contacts and friendships, just as John Cradock had done thirty years before. It is also possible that Charles needed to polish his Latin and French, both being prerequisites for advancement in the civil service but, even so, the timing of his apparent matriculation just three months after the birth of the couple's second baby is puzzling.

Well before the sixteenth century, various commentators on educational reform - female and male - had deliberated over what knowledge in its broadest sense should consist of, and what form both teaching and learning should take. In Machiavelli's *The Prince* (circulated from 1513 but not printed until 1532), Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* (1528) and Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke named the Governour* (1531), the humanist authors called upon young noblemen to be educated in classical literature, art and philosophy with a view to better fitting them to their rightfully elevated place in society.¹⁰² By the early seventeenth century English landed gentlemen were also in a position to acquire an advanced education, and Henry Peacham published his *Compleat Gentleman* (1622) as a guide for those aspiring to the attributes of gentility. For the rest of England's boys and girls, however, there was no universal system of learning. Few outside the elite classes enjoyed a period of extended, meaningful education with tutoring in Latin, Greek and French which would enable them to enter university or the professions, including medicine and the law. Even with the benefit of a very expensive education, professional advancement was not a foregone certainty. Mary and Charles' friend Samuel Woodforde, an Oxford graduate and practising Inner Temple lawyer, was, for example, refused a prestigious job at Whitehall ostensibly because his French, the international language of government and diplomacy, was not good enough.¹⁰³

¹⁰² The first printing of an English translation of *The Prince* was that of Edward Dacres, published in 1640, although manuscript translations were made, and probably circulated, from the 1500s, see Alessandra Petrina, *Machiavelli in the British Isles: two early modern translations of The Prince*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009). Thomas Hoby's was the first translation of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* printed in English as the *Book of the Courtier* (1561), see Mary Partridge, 'Thomas Hoby's English translation of Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*', *Historical Journal*, 50:4 (2007), pp. 769-786.

¹⁰³ Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', f.201.

From the mid-sixteenth century there were many calls for educational reform from religious groups. The reformed churches, influenced by Calvinist theory, sought to enshrine their confessional Christian doctrine at the very heart of English society.¹⁰⁴ As Lawrence Stone suggested, ‘independent thought and radical sentiment’, in relation to education, were ‘by-products of puritan ideas and ideals’.¹⁰⁵ An emphasis on individual self-improvement, for example, evolved out of puritan ideas about personal interpretation of scripture. Virtuous parishioners were to teach *themselves* how best to serve God using personal prayer and meditation on sacred texts, but this was only possible if one could read.¹⁰⁶ In 1582 Richard Mulcaster (d.1611), headmaster of the Merchant Taylors School, called for English to be standardised and made the universal language of learning.¹⁰⁷ According to Elaine Hobby, some religious radicals who made a direct link between education and the ‘ideological indoctrination and domination of the church and state’ called for the end of the use of Latin as the elite language of formal process, and even for the abolition of the universities.¹⁰⁸ Seventeenth-century Quakers, on the other hand, denounced all book learning, including from the *Holy Bible*, in favour of personal and collective contemplation of ‘Inner Light’. The godly and pragmatic middling sort were mindful that a sound education would also teach good Protestant children how to be productive citizens of the Commonwealth, and provide them with the tools and prospects for advancement.¹⁰⁹

The first two decades of the seventeenth century saw the publication of three books by Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), *The Advancement of Learning* (1605), *Novum Organum* (1620), and *New Atlantis* (1627), which had a marked influence on those who wished to see the universities reformed, and society itself reconstructed to facilitate the general attainment of virtue.¹¹⁰ Bacon examined the nature of

¹⁰⁴ Wim Janse & Barbara Pitkin, eds, *Formation of clerical and confessional identities in early modern Europe*, (Boston, MA: Brill, 2006), pp. 39-51.

¹⁰⁵ Lawrence Stone, ‘Educational revolution in England, 1560-1640’, *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), p. 77.

¹⁰⁶ Janse & Pitkin, eds, *Formation of clerical and confessional identities*, p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Richard Mulcaster, *First Part of the Elementarie which entreateth chiefe of the writing of our English tung*, (London: T. Vautroullier, 1582).

¹⁰⁸ Hobby, *Virtue of necessity*, p. 194.

¹⁰⁹ Richard L. Greaves, *Society and religion in Elizabethan England*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), p. 373.

¹¹⁰ Stephen Clucas, ‘In search of ‘The True Logick’: methodological eclecticism among the ‘Baconian reformers’’, in *Samuel Hartlib and universal Reformation: studies in intellectual communication*, eds

knowledge, or ‘partition of the sciences’, in his *Advancement of Learning* and broke it down into its constituent parts, history, poetry and philosophy. In *Novum Organum* Bacon promoted science as a means to regain the ‘Empire of Man over creation’, our dominion over nature, and with it the spiritual purity man lost at the Fall. An ideal ‘Solomon’s House’ of learning, serving a fictional commonwealth, is described in *New Atlantis*.¹¹¹ The latter book capitalises on the by then familiar geographical concept of ‘new’ worlds, and introduces the potential benefits - intellectual, financial and spiritual - to be gained from exploration, applied science and genuinely innovative education. Although Bacon predicted that the fruits of knowledge would benefit all members of society, *New Atlantis* was not to be an egalitarian utopia but a hierarchical brotherhood of well-born (male) natural philosophers observing strict rules of conduct.¹¹² Bacon was convinced that in order to benefit from the potential power of learning and science, it had to be governed by ‘right reason and true religion’.¹¹³ English universities were criticised for their traditional reliance on Aristotelian deductive reasoning, in which truths are determined by combining aspects of received knowledge drawn from scholarly ‘authorities’ - sarcastically characterised by the author as the ‘Idols’. Most of the ‘usages, and orders of the Universities’ wrote Bacon, ‘were derived fro[m] more obscure times’ and so ‘it is the more requisite, they be re-examined.’¹¹⁴ He also criticised ‘degenerate learning’ amongst ‘the schoolmen’; and in his ‘Aphorisms’ told his readers to begin anew to ‘raise sciences from their very foundations’.¹¹⁵ Bacon developed an alternative system of inductive reasoning based on observation, coupled with acts of collaborative experiment and analysis designed to achieve what van Leeuwen

Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, Timothy Taylor, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 51-74.

¹¹¹ *New Atlantis* was an unfinished fable about world exploration and the value of observation, experimentation and exploitation, published as *Sylva sylvarum: or a Naturall Historie. In ten centureis [...] Published after the Authors death. By William Rawley. (New Atlantis. A Worke unfinished)*, 2nd ed., (London: printed by J.H. for William Lee, 1628).

¹¹² Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the transformation of early modern philosophy*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 223-4; see also Steven Shapin, *Social history of truth: civility and science in seventeenth-century England*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

¹¹³ ‘Only let mankind regain their rights over nature, assigned to them by the gift of God, and obtain that power, whose exercise will be governed by right reason and true religion’, *Novum Organum* (1620) paraphrased in *Works of Francis Bacon: Lord Chancellor of England*, 16 vols, ed. Basil Montagu, (London: Pickering, 1825-1836), 4 (1831), p. 90.

¹¹⁴ *The Two books of Francis Bacon. Of the proficience and advancement of learning, divine and humane*, (London: printed for Henry Tomes, 1605), p. 4.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 19; and, ‘*Novum Organum [...] epitomiz’d for a clearer understanding of his Natural History [...]*, (London: printed for Thomas Lee, 1676), p. 19.

interpreted as ‘the highest certainty about the inner structure of nature’.¹¹⁶ These approaches were to influence much of the contemporary debate on educational reform, as well as the development of natural philosophy and the sciences, for decades to come.

Polymath Samuel Hartlib (d.1662) was instrumental in spreading Bacon’s ideas in England, and beyond, through his network of correspondents which formed a significant part of the international Republic of Letters.¹¹⁷ Hartlib was a radical educational reformer born at Elbing, then part of Poland. He settled in London by 1629 and by the 1630s was the ‘intelligencer’ of an international manuscript news service to the ‘protestant (mainly puritan) English political elite that had become alienated from the Stuart court’.¹¹⁸ At the same time Hartlib, together with Scottish Calvinist preacher John Durie (d.1680), the Moravian educationalist Jan Comenius (d.1670) and others, dedicated themselves to an attempt to permanently reconcile the various factions within Protestant faith.¹¹⁹ Collectively and separately these three advocated education for all. Comenius defined his theory of Panosophy as ‘a lively image of the universe’, a version of pedagogic research and learning fundamental to this goal. Hartlib translated Comenius’s *Didactica magna* (1633-38) - itself heavily influenced by Bacon - and published it in English. Comenius’ work was intended as a ‘breviary of universal learning’, ‘a clear light for human understanding’, an exact ‘rule of truth’, a ‘register of the affairs of our life’, and ‘an happy ladder leading us to God’.¹²⁰ Education was to start with elementary schools in every parish, and was to combine godly learning with the best aspects of humanism and the new approach to natural philosophy.¹²¹ Bacon, Descartes, Galileo and others believed that scholastic reliance on the repetition and re-ordering of accepted ‘truths’ stifled genuine enquiry

¹¹⁶ Henry G. van Leeuwen, *Problem of certainty in English thought 1630-1690*, (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963), p. 9.

¹¹⁷ Dagmar Capkova, ‘Comenius and his ideals: escape from the labyrinth’, in *Samuel Hartlib and universal Reformation*, eds Greengrass, Leslie & Taylor, pp. 75-91.

¹¹⁸ Mark Greengrass, ‘Hartlib, Samuel (c.1600-1662)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2007), [online] <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12500>> [accessed 10 July 2015].

¹¹⁹ John T. Young, ‘Durie [Dury], John (1596-1680) preacher and ecumenist’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008), [online] <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8323>>; and Mark Greengrass, ‘Comenius, Johannes Amos [Jan Amos Komensky] (1592-1670)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2008), [online] <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/67104>> [both accessed 10 July 2015].

¹²⁰ Jan Comenius, *Reformation of schooles designed in two excellent treatises, the first whereof summarily sheweth, the great necessity of a generall reformation of common learning: what grounds of hope there are for such a reformation: how it may be brought to passe [...] Written [...] in Latine.[...] And now [...] translated into English [...] by S. Hartlib*, (London: M. Sparke, 1642), p. 24.

¹²¹ Janse & Pitkin, eds, *Formation of clerical and confessional identities*, p. 51.

and was, therefore, an actual obstruction to obtaining real understanding of the world. According to Bacon, those,

who have taken upon them to lay down the law of nature as a thing already searched out and understood [...] have therein done philosophy and the sciences great injury.¹²²

Knowledge, wrote Comenius - taking up a plant metaphor used by Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning* - should be a 'living tree, with living roots, and living fruits of all the Arts, and Sciences'.¹²³ Hartlib thought that there should be different schools for 'the vulgar, whose life is mechanical'; 'the gentry and nobles'; 'the scholars who are to teach'; and those destined for the ministry.¹²⁴ Comenius, on the other hand, advocated a universal system of education in which all adults and children would be taught about everything, regardless of sex and class.¹²⁵

By the 1630s, the decade of Mary Cradock's birth, calls for the provision of universal education were spreading across Europe and England, the impetus being this heady mixture of religious, humanist and proto-scientific zeal. Women's capacity to learn, however - and indeed the very nature of woman and her place in society - had long been a recurring theme in both classical and sacred texts. Prescriptive early modern literature and sermons about women and how they should conduct themselves took their cue from a literal reading of the Pauline injunctions, especially those interpreted as requiring women to be silent and modest. The *King James Bible* (1611) had St Paul declaring that at the Fall Eve 'being deceived was in the transgression', but that women could 'be saved in childbearing', provided they continue 'in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety'.¹²⁶ Women were to 'learn in

¹²² Francis Bacon, 'Preface' of 'Novum Organum' [1620], in *Works of Francis Bacon [...]*, 7 vols, eds James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis & Douglas D. Heath, (London: Longman & Co., 1857-85), 4, 'Translations of the philosophical works 1' (1858), p. 39.

¹²³ Comenius, *Reformation of schooles*, p. 24.

¹²⁴ Samuel Hartlib, *Considerations tending to the happy accomplishment of Englands reformation in church and state. Humbly presented to the piety and wisdom of the High and Honourable Court of Parliament*, ([London, 1647]), p. 22.

¹²⁵ Jan Comenius, *Opera didactica omnia*, (Amsterdam: D. Laurentii de Geer, 1657), from the treatise 'Didactica magna', written in his native Czech in 1627, revised, translated into Latin and circulated in manuscript, before being published in Amsterdam.

¹²⁶ (1 Timothy 2:14-15), *Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised by His Majesty's special command* ['King James Bible', (1611)], (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [undated]), p. 1180.

silence with all subjection’, while society should ‘suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence’.¹²⁷ Many commentators also drew examples of women’s inferiority from classical authorities but, nonetheless, the desirability of providing meaningful education for girls was debated across Europe from at least the fourteenth century.¹²⁸ In England Sir Thomas Elyot followed up *The Governour*, his manual for aspiring English ‘princes’, with a *Defence of Good Women* (1540), in which he advocated humanist education for girls along the lines of that provided famously to the Princess Elizabeth and to the daughters of Sir Thomas More (d.1535).¹²⁹ Significantly, if rather obsequiously, headmaster Richard Mulcaster dedicated his book, *Positions [...] necessarie for the training up of children* (1581), to Queen Elizabeth I. In it he called for the routine education of girls to include reading, writing, languages and the ‘use of the pencil [paintbrush]’, but also recommended to parents that the type and duration of a girl’s education should reflect her prospects in marriage, or if ‘of necessity to learn how to live’ - an unusual acknowledgement of some women’s need to work.¹³⁰ Although this was fortunate for the very few elite girls taught in this way, its intention was to make them better able to fulfil their elevated but essentially supportive social role rather than to encourage them to embrace learning for its own sake, much less that they should become autonomous. Joan Gibson considered, moreover, that wider changes in the purpose and form of European education - teaching having shifted from monasteries to the universities and, with the Renaissance, into the gentleman’s home - resulted in the fundamental difference between that provided to gentle boys and girls. Religious education ‘stressed grammar as the most necessary preparation for a life devoted to religious meditation based on scripture’, while humanism placed its emphasis on the logic and rhetoric required for public life and careers. Even in its humanistic form female education, Gibson pointed out, ‘remained tied to grammar, while men’s

¹²⁷ (1 Timothy 2:11) & (1 Timothy 2:12), *Holy Bible*, p. 1180.

¹²⁸ By, amongst others, Giovanni Boccaccio, *De mulieribus claris* (1431-62); Christine de Pisan, *Livre de la cite des dames* (1405); Juan Luis Vives, *De institutione foeminae christianae* (1523); Balthazar Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528).

¹²⁹ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The defence of good women, devised and made by Sir T. E. Knyght. B.L.* (Londini: In ædibus T. Bertheleti, 1545); see also Contance Jordan, ‘Feminism and the humanists: the case of Sir Thomas Elyot’s *A Defence of good women*’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 36:2 (1983), pp. 181-201; Friedman, ‘Influence of humanism on the education of girls and boys in Tudor England’, pp. 57-70; Richard Braithwait, *The English Gentlewoman* (London, 1631).

¹³⁰ Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherein those primitive circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training up of children, either for skill in their booke, or health in their bodie etc.*, (London: T. Vautroullier, 1581), pp. 174-5.

education encompassed as well dialectics and rhetoric'.¹³¹ Gentlewomen born into modest circumstances were educated for the same reason - to enable them to become virtuous, well-informed, Christian wives and mothers, rather than to encourage them into intellectual, creative or professional realms reserved for men. Sir William Borlase (d.1629) established a school for 24 boys and 24 girls at Great Marlow in Essex in 1624. The male pupils were to learn to 'write, read and cast accounts in writinge' but the girls were taught to 'knit, spin and make bone lace'.¹³²

One of the most telling contributions to the debate over girls' education was to come, rather later, from Bathsua Makin (d.1675), a Tottenham schoolmistress who, around 1640, was tutor to Charles I's daughter, Elizabeth Stuart (1635-1650).¹³³ In 1673, after many years of teaching, Makin wrote her *Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen* (1673), in which she decried what she saw as a backwards slide in a society where,

not only Learning but Virtue it self is scorned and neglected, as pedantic things, fit only for the Vulgar.¹³⁴

Makin was, of course, writing about the period after the Restoration, and railing against what she saw as the apathy, even decadence, of a new generation of young gentlewomen and their parents. The essay also speaks, however, of the teacher's experience of the 1640s, and provides many clues to the attitudes and arguments about female education that were current in the intervening decades. Here Bathsua appeals directly to her female readers to recover the ground lost since antiquity when, she writes,

¹³¹ Joan Gibson, 'Educating for silence: Renaissance women and the language arts', *Hypatia*, 4:1 (1989), p. 11; also Cressy, *Literacy and the social order* & Gardiner, *English girlhood at school*.

¹³² Herbert C. Schulz, 'Teaching of handwriting in Tudor and Stuart times', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 6:4 (1943), p. 408.

¹³³ Margaret J. M. Ezell & Frances Teague, eds, *Bathsua Makin and Mary More, with a reply to More by Robert Whitehall: educating English daughters: late seventeenth-century debates*, 'The Other voice in early modern Europe', Toronto Series, 44, (Toronto: Iter Press & Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2016); Frances Teague, *Bathsua Makin, woman of learning*, (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell & Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 57-68; Jean R. Brink, 'Bathsua Reginald Makin, 'Most Learned Matron'', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54:4 (1991), pp. 313-326.

¹³⁴ Bathsua Makin, [dedication] 'To all Ingenious and Vertuous Ladies, [...] especially to her Highness the Lady Mary, Eldest Daughter to his Royal Highness the Duke of York', *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manner, Arts and Tongues, with An Answer to the Objections against this Way of Education*, (London: printed by J.D., to be sold by Tho. Parkhurst [...], 1673), p. 4.

I verliiy think, Women were formerly Educated in the knowledge of Arts and Tongues, and by their Education, many did rise to a great height in Learning.¹³⁵

Throughout the essay Makin laid heavy emphasis on the study of ‘tongues’ in the education of girls. Without Latin and French, she pointed out, it was impossible for women to understand the classical canon of literature, or to engage with the various currents of intellectual discourse. Unfortunately, it seems that the type and quality of education received by most gentlewomen did not prepare them for informed debate and instead reinforced the insular, domestic nature of the prospects perceived for them by others. In fact, Makin’s *Essay* provides compelling evidence to confirm that calls for institutionalised general education, and the reform of girls’ curricula, proposed in the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries did not, generally speaking, come to pass. Nevertheless, as Hobby suggested, the social and religious atmosphere was one that engendered debate, enquiry and rigour and led, ultimately, to a brief period of greater self-expression.

Mary and Charles did not limit their avenues of self-expression to the practice of extracting the ideas of others and copying them into commonplace books, they conducted themselves as literary writers, experimenters and creative individuals. To some extent, consciously or otherwise, the Beales appear to have accepted the revolutionary challenges to the very concept of intellectual orthodoxy posed by humanism, natural philosophy and religious reformers. Bacon, for example, believed that natural philosophy was both practical and speculative in its uses, one of which being ‘the production of useful effects’ or what we might now call applied science, the other being the ‘search for causes’ which broadly approximates to pure science.¹³⁶ Bacon and the natural philosophers who succeeded him scorned the formless collections of facts and artefacts amassed by virtuosi, because they saw empiricism without analysis as an unproductive activity. Observation, experiment and debate became the cutting-edge tools of knowledge gathering and the findings were meticulously recorded. The Beales’ written texts demonstrate that they embraced the new style of learning and its exciting possibilities, and from as early as

¹³⁵ Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen*, p. 3.

¹³⁶ Leeuwen, *Problem of certainty in English thought 1630-1690*, pp. 3-4.

1648 in Charles' case. Beale's *Experimentall Seacrets found out in the way of my owne painting*, for example, is a 24-leaf, double-sided manuscript in a leather bound notebook containing descriptions of the act of painting, and of making and selling pigments, including red lake.¹³⁷

In an entry in the second part of the manuscript entitled 'N^o: 11', Beale wrote that he had lost his working notes and could not recollect the precise ratio of ingredients he had used in making the particular batch of red lake pigment in question.¹³⁸ This entry confirms that, rather than quoting or copying from earlier practical or theoretical texts on painting, Beale was conducting his own trials in making pigments. Recipe 'N^o: 11' also makes it clear that part, if not all, of the manuscript was written up after the event, from notes taken by Beale during his experiments. Interestingly, observations on the process, yield and value of each 'tryall' in manufacturing were never divorced from remarks about the beauty, 'body' and strength of the colour produced. *Observations by MB on her painting of Apricots* (1663), describing the fruit's various stages of ripeness and the best use of pigment to capture them, is the last entry in the notebook and neatly bookends both authors' preoccupation with the complex business of describing three-dimensional, multi-textured, many-hued objects with paint.

Mary was also taken up with recording her observations on such matters as theology, philosophy and human relationships, as well as the act of painting. As Barber has suggested, the Beales' intellectual curiosity and willingness to experiment must be related to the early discourse of the Royal Society, with whose founding members they certainly had extremely close connections.¹³⁹ Some of the ideas the couple explored, however, also relate to contemporary literary, scholastic and historical themes, including friendship, life-writing and accounting. In other ways Mary and Charles harked back to older, traditional authorities and to 'secret' knowledge passed from one generation to the next. They were at pains, for example, to point out their shared lineage - figurative and actual - with figures of acknowledged virtue, scholarship, gentility and artistic genius. In the Beale manuscripts all these ways of

¹³⁷ Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets'.

¹³⁸ *ibid.*, f.20.r.

¹³⁹ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 37.

seeing mingle in a proto-scientific way - in which the results of personal observation, experimentation and analysis produce conclusions which are tested against those of accepted, but no longer unimpeachable authorities. The innovations and conventions rubbing up against each other in the pair's texts, paintings and relationships illustrate, perhaps, the tremendous, seemingly contradictory times in which they lived from childhood until the end of their days.

Artistic training

There is little evidence to suggest how or when Mary Cradock became interested in art, or from whom she learned to paint. Writing about Mary in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, however, the art historian and printmaker George Vertue related that she had been taught by portraitist Peter Lely 'before she was married' and conjectured that she may also have been instructed by Robert Walker (1599-1658).¹⁴⁰ In the 1660s the Beales owned Walker portraits of themselves and of Mary's father, which must have been painted in the 1650s, but there is no evidence to suggest that he taught her. We know of Mary's later friendship with Lely - who, on the Restoration of Charles II, became the principal court painter - from Charles Beale's accounts of his visits their London home, and of Mary being permitted to watch him at work in his studio.¹⁴¹ Vertue's unsubstantiated assertions that she was instructed in painting by these artists were, nevertheless, repeated by Horace Walpole and have been quoted or mentioned by other commentators ever since.¹⁴²

Quite apart from this lack of evidence, it seems, on the face of it, unlikely that an clergyman's adolescent daughter from rural Suffolk could have been consigned as pupil or apprentice to a male artist's studio in all propriety, especially in London. Apprentices, bound to a 'master' Painter Stainer for at least seven years, found themselves at bottom of the workshop's hierarchy. He or she would learn to draw and paint, first by observing then assisting the master at work. In between actual tuition the apprentice would attend to tasks including grinding pigments, priming and

¹⁴⁰ George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume I', *Walpole Society*, 18 (1929-30), p. 108; and 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174.

¹⁴¹ On the 20th of April 1672, Lely and the miniaturist Richard Gibson visited the Beales at Pall Mall and commended Mary's work, and, in January 1677 Lely said that her work was 'much improv'd', see *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), pp. 168 & 173 respectively.

¹⁴² Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, [3 (1763)], p. 68.

stretching canvases, cleaning the studio and running errands. Indeed, Mary having filled such a role seems all the more unlikely in the final, fraught years of the 1640s, and in view of social disapproval of gentlewomen engaging in manual forms of work. Formal apprenticeship may also seem statistically unlikely with some commentaries finding, for example, that ‘no female apprentices appear in the records of fifteen London companies’ between 1580 and 1640.¹⁴³ New evidence from my contextual research into the period from 1600-1640 found, however, that within four of the ‘Great Twelve’ City guilds - the Mercers, Drapers, Goldsmiths and Clothworkers - there were 24 female apprentices, and at least nine of them were made freewoman of their Company.¹⁴⁴ Female participation in the following - and for this study crucial - period, 1640 to 1699, casts further doubt on some earlier assumptions. My research on London Painter Stainers’ shows that a relatively tiny but nonetheless very significant number of women, married and single, were both apprentices and ‘masters’ of that Company and this will be explored further in chapter six.¹⁴⁵ I suggest it is reasonable to extrapolate from this that other women may well have been formally or informally employed in painters’ workshops and studios, in Westminster, Southwark and other areas outside the City and beyond the direct control of the Company.¹⁴⁶ It is particularly relevant to the question of whether it was possible for Mary Cradock to take up a formal indenture that almost half of the women whose father paid for their apprenticeship with a Painter Stainer were the daughters of gentlemen, yeomen and professionals rather than artisans or tradespeople.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, many of these young girls travelled great distances to London from towns and villages including York and St Ives. For example,

¹⁴³ Ilana Ben-Amos, ‘Women apprentices in the trades and crafts of early modern Bristol’, *Continuity and Change*, 6:2 (1991), p. 246, a claim repeated by Paula Humfrey, *Experience of domestic service for women in early modern London*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 4-7.

¹⁴⁴ Statistics extracted from *Records of London’s Livery Companies Online* [ROLLCO], Centre for Metropolitan History, <<http://www.londonroll.org>> [accessed 7 March 2015].

¹⁴⁵ Statistics extracted from University of York, *The Art world in Britain 1660 to 1735* website which provides a searchable but partial transcription of the ‘Painter Stainers’ Apprenticeship Register’ originally published as ‘Painter-Stainer’s company 1655, 1666-1800’, *London livery company apprenticeship registers, abstracted & indexed by Cliff Webb*, 38 (London: Society of Genealogists, 2003). Female ‘masters’ are not however listed as members of the guild, nor are they directly searchable by surname, [online] <<http://artworld.york.ac.uk>> [accessed 7 March 2015].

¹⁴⁶ Local guilds and independent artists also operated in provincial towns such as Coventry, Exeter and Chester, see Robert Tittler, *Face of the city: civic portraiture and civic identity in early modern England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 83. They too may have taken on female assistants although embargoes on female workers were common outside the metropolis.

¹⁴⁷ Helen Draper, ‘Mary Beale and art’s lost laborers: women Painter Stainers’, *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 10:1 (2015), pp. 141-51.

‘Catherine Allison’ of Allington, Lancashire, daughter of Robert, a gentleman, was apprenticed to London Painter ‘Lancelot Coppleson’ on 28th July 1674.¹⁴⁸

It is therefore entirely plausible that Mary Cradock could have served part of an apprenticeship from the late-1640s with an unknown painter in London, or elsewhere, before her marriage in 1652. From a twenty-first century perspective it is perhaps difficult to imagine that John Cradock would pack his only daughter off but, as we have seen, young gentlewomen *were* sent to London boarding schools in the 1640s, into apprenticeships and domestic service. There were, moreover, at least two households of Mary’s Cradock kinfolk living in the City, members of the Staffordshire clan, with whom she could have lodged, or relied upon for advice and protection. John Cradock, the amateur still-life artist and miniaturist, was himself in London in 1648, to present a ‘piec^e of painting of his own makeinge’ to the Company of Painter Stainers before duly being elected a Freeman, presumably as an honorary member but possibly through redemption.¹⁴⁹ Cradock’s membership of the guild may, in turn, have allowed Mary to claim that status by virtue of patrimony had she not married Charles Beale. He may even have sought his rather unaccountable guild membership for that very reason, in order to afford his talented 15-year-old daughter the possibility of earning an independent income in the future, should she either not marry, wed a feckless man or, in time, find herself a widow. Unfortunately, his motivation remains a mystery, and apprenticeship records of the London Painter Stainers’ Company for the relevant period do not survive.

On a personal and practical level the Reverend John Cradock, a working widower with an infant son, would surely have wanted to keep his young daughter safe in such unpredictable times, but also have her usefully close at hand, sharing the duties of home and parish. Walsh and Jeffree (1975) and, more recently, Sarah G. Ross (2009) concluded that Mary Cradock is most likely to have been taught to paint by her father; while Barber (1999) did not draw any conclusions about the possible identity

¹⁴⁸ ‘Allison, Catherine (active 1674)’, *The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735*, [online] <<http://artworld.york.ac.uk>> [accessed 2 March 2015].

¹⁴⁹ The painting given by ‘M^r. John Cradock’ on 7 July 1648 was a still life ‘consisting of varieties of fruits, viz^t. apricocks, quinces ffilberts Grapes Apls’ and other fruit, which was ordered to be inscribed ‘the gift of Mr John Cradock batchellor in Divinite’ on 18 October, Court Minute Book of the Painter Stainers’ Company, 1649-1793, LMA CLC/L/PA/B/001/MS05667/002/001, pp. 225 & 228; and Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, p. 10.

of her teachers.¹⁵⁰ Building on a suggestion first made by Walsh and Jeffree, Mary Edmond (1987) concluded that the Cradocks and other painters - including Mary's first cousin, the miniaturist Nathaniel Thache (b.1617-d. after 1654¹⁵¹); another limner, Matthew Snelling (1621-1678); and the gentleman amateur, painting in oils, Sir Nathaniel Bacon (1585-1627) - could all be associated with what she described as a 'seventeenth-century art centre' based around Bury St Edmunds.¹⁵² Snelling was certainly known to Beale and in the 1650s sent her parcels of 'pinke', a contrarily-named yellow pigment also associated with Nathaniel Bacon.¹⁵³ Bacon, long dead when Mary was born, had developed an oft-cited recipe for pinke, which he used in painting still-life compositions featuring very large vegetables being presented to the viewer by rosy cheeked, well-endowed women (Fig. 1).¹⁵⁴

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, therefore, it is most likely that Mary stayed at home where her father provided the greater part of her general education. In the context of the artistic heritage and activity in the vicinity of her Suffolk home, Mary most probably received piecemeal instruction, some from her father and some, perhaps, from their local circle of amateur and semi-professional artists. It is also possible that Mary, like her distant cousin Emme Cradock, may have done service in the household of a local family, perhaps another in which drawing and painting were considered virtuous pursuits.¹⁵⁵ It may be significant, in this context, that Nathaniel Bacon's oeuvre, the picture John Cradock presented to the Company of Painter Stainers, and Mary's only written description of the act of painting, all belong to the

¹⁵⁰ Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, p. 9; Sarah G. Ross, *Birth of feminism: woman as intellect in Renaissance Italy and England*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 262; Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁵¹ Thache was working in the Hague with his wife Edith when their daughter Margaret 'Thack', was baptised there on 21st April 1654, *Family Search* [a service provided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, data © 2020 by Intellectual Reserve, Inc.], [online] <<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FWXM-SFD>> [accessed 4 June 2016].

¹⁵² Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, pp. 9-10; Edmond, 'Bury St Edmunds: a seventeenth-century art centre', pp. 106-118.

¹⁵³ The consignment of 'pinke' was noted by Charles Beale snr in his 1671/2 notebook, 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 168; and Jo Kirby, 'Sir Nathaniel Bacon's pinke', *Dyes in History and Archaeology*, 19 (2003), pp. 37-50.

¹⁵⁴ Fig. 1. Nathaniel Bacon, *Cookmaid with still life of fruit & vegetables*, c.1620-25, oil on canvas (c. 151 x 247.5 cm; c. 59 7/16 x 97 7/16 in.), Tate Britain (T06995), London. See Karen Hearn, *Nathaniel Bacon, artist, gentleman and gardener*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2005).

¹⁵⁵ Like those referred to by Anne Bermingham, *Learning to draw: studies on the cultural history of a polite and useful art*, 'Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900', Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 174-81; and Kim Sloan, *Noble art: amateur artists and drawing masters c. 1600-1800*, (London: British Museum Press, 2000).

amateur tradition of still-life, suggesting strongly that her early works may have been wholly or partly in that genre.¹⁵⁶

Between 1649 and 1659 Charles Beale made just two new entries in his book of *Experimentall Seacrets*, and by then his interest had clearly shifted from painting objects to making paint. Charles recorded his chemical experiments in detail, and included admonitions to his unknown reader to keep all kettles and pots scrupulously clean. Beale did not state what his intention in writing the manuscript was, nor did he prescribe an overall structure for the entries, or a logical sequence for the progression or expansion of the scope of his 'Experiments'. The author did not, for example, begin at the beginning of the process of creating a painting, by describing the preparation of drawings, canvases, tools and pigments. The first thirteen notebook entries in Charles' hand date from 1647 to 1649 and describe his method for painting various objects, and for simulating particular effects of light, shade, texture and colour, including instruction on how to 'paint pewter or plate with shining glosse'.¹⁵⁷ Although clearly painted at several individual sittings, the objects Beale described - fruit, raw meat, salt herrings, linen and pewter - could comprise a single still life composition, as Tate conservator Mary Bustin pointed out in the catalogue of the Beale exhibition of 1999. Bustin felt sure that Charles must have undergone formal training in order to reach the level of experience implied by the manuscript, speculating that *Experimentall Seacrets* started where it did, part way through the process of constructing a painting, because Beale had already 'mastered the basics of drawing skills and the preparation of materials'.¹⁵⁸ Even without the new evidence of his apprenticeship, it does not ring true that someone as systematic as Charles subsequently proved himself would start to record his training to be a painter part-way through. In fact, the spread of the thirteen 'how to paint' entries over two years, 1648-9, suggests that Beale was writing as time allowed. What started out as an aide-memoire with a rather grandiose title, developed into a compilation intended for another use, perhaps some form of circulation. His practice of taking notes whilst conducting experiments in making pigments - and afterward in recording, in a fair copy, the qualities of those produced - reinforces further the idea that Charles

¹⁵⁶ In which she recommends use of the locally-produced pigment 'Bury Ochre' when painting apricots, Beale, 'Observations by MB', f.24.r.-v.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, f.6.v.

¹⁵⁸ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 43-44.

envisaged a readership or commercial use for his writings and this possibility will be explored in more depth in chapters three and four.

What else can we deduce from this notebook and its contents? We can be sure that Charles was interested in painting by the age of seventeen, and had already acquired knowledge of the repertoire of effects it is possible to achieve with paint, as well as the practical techniques required. His description of creating illusionistic effects also implies that Charles considered himself to have developed some painterly dexterity. In light of Beale's apprenticeship as a draper it seems likely that he had either been tutored in art informally, or had taught himself with the help, perhaps, of printed instruction such as that in Henry Peacham's *Complete Gentleman*. Charles, like Mary, may conceivably have learned about painting from artistic gentlefolk in the household of a family patron or relative. That Charles Beale's only written account of painting pertains - like Mary's description of painting apricots - to the domestic genre of still life lends weight to the theory that his early training was also essentially amateur.

Scant consideration has been given, to date, as to how Mary later managed to capitalise on her apparently amateur early training in order to make a living from it, particularly how she developed the knowledge and techniques necessary to move from painting apricots to capturing convincing likenesses of animate faces and bodies. Commentators have relied upon Charles Beale's descriptions of four visits he and Mary made to Lely's studio in 1672, during which she watched him draw and paint the portraits they had commissioned of their friend John Tillotson (d.1694) and kinsman Samuel Cradock (d.1706).¹⁵⁹ It is clear from the high level of competence evident in Mary Beale's first known painting, her *Self-portrait with husband and son* (c.1660) (Fig. 2)¹⁶⁰, completed twelve years before the earliest of the recorded visits to Lely's studio, that she had already developed a sophisticated understanding of composition and painterly technique which required a great deal of talent and hard work to attain. The value in observing Lely's technique was not that it taught her how to paint, but that it equipped her to better construct the many variations on and

¹⁵⁹ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), pp. 169-70.

¹⁶⁰ Fig. 2. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait with husband and son*, c.1660, oil on canvas (63.5 x 76.2 cm; 25 x 30 in.), Geffrye Museum (acc. 49/1978), London.

copies of his work she produced in her own commercial practice. On balance, therefore, and in the absence of categorical evidence to the contrary, it is most likely that Mary's mature proficiency and later professionalism were later achieved through a lifelong process of self-improvement that she and Charles shared.

When and how Charles Beale and Mary Cradock first met is unknown, but even during their courtship painting, and the idea of striving to create 'arts Master peece', were engrossing enough to be adapted as a metaphor for the search for an ideal companion. This and other metaphors employed in Charles' 1651 love-letter to Mary, headed the 'Quintessence of all Goodnesse', confirm that the two already shared the language and practice of Art, and had a keen awareness of themes inherent in portraiture in particular.¹⁶¹ The poem spins a sweet tale of Nature setting out to create, in Mary, the portrait of ideal physical and spiritual beauty. In forming this 'model' of perfection, Nature has simultaneously exhausted her powers of creativity and made any further artistic endeavour superfluous. Charles describes Mary as a beautiful 'Master peece' fit to adorn any virtuoso's ideal 'Cabinet' of treasures, but is at pains to stress that she is a work of Nature rather than of Art, virginal and unadorned by cosmetic artistry, whose face is a true likeness of her 'transendent virtue'. Indeed Mary, it seems, was designed by Nature to be an 'Epitome', an exemplary portrait of 'beauty, virtue and true wit', a prototype whose face is both an adornment and a mirror image of her inner qualities, thereby reflecting contemporary interest in reading faces in order to discern moral character.¹⁶² Charles contrasts Mary's 'unpareled beauty' with that simulated by the use of facial patches and false hair-pieces by women he considers to be deceptive, and by implication impure, unchaste. In the present context the poem serves to tell us something of the expectations Charles had of Mary when they met and were courting. Charles certainly expected his sweetheart to be virginal and fair, but his admiration of Mary's 'plaine dresses' and her rejection of 'fflattering [looking] glasses' makes it clear that the attributes he valued most were her virtue and honesty. In the context of England under puritan rule, Charles' allusion to cosmetics and vanity also offers a contrast between the plain living of good

¹⁶¹ 25 July 1651: Beale, 'Love letter to Mary Cradock', f.133.r.

¹⁶² A preoccupation discussed in Richard Wendorf, *Elements of life, biography and portrait painting in Stuart and Georgian England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

Protestant women, and the female members of the then discredited and displaced court, with its extravagance and perceived popish taint. The fear of deception or duplicity had long been a common rhetorical theme, especially in relation to women, but must have taken on renewed significance in the context of the Civil Wars and their aftermath. The battle over faith, politics and allegiance had forced many to conceal aspects of their true motivations and proclivities. The rhetorical parallel between the art of painting portraits and cosmetic face-painting is commonly drawn, and the themes of likeness, flattery and deception; and the contemporary reaction to women who chose to ‘display’ themselves artists, writers, and on the stage have been widely discussed.¹⁶³

Charles’ stated romantic preference for unadorned naturalness - indicating, to his mind, an honesty of character - pre-figures Mary’s own thoughts in her discourse on *Friendship* (1666), and suggests that the couple shared a cynicism about the value of appearances and the undeniable power of flattery,

An other care of those who would bee admitted members of this Society, ought to be a sober inquiry into the nature of it, what it is, & wherin Friendship consists, least through ignorance hereof, they give this sacred name to that w^{ch} tru Friendship most of all abhorrs; Flattery & dissimulacon, w^{ch} is but a kind of mock Friendship, though for the same reason that the appearances of vertues have alwayes had more followers then the reall vertues themselves, it hath found best acceptance in the world.¹⁶⁴

For Mary and Charles the creation of art’s masterpieces, like ideal marriage - the ultimate expression of Christian friendship - requires its practitioners to be truthful, discerning and tirelessly self-improving. If Mary and Charles had each learned about painting in family homes rather than in hierarchical and competitive masters’ workshops, a convivial and self-improving approach to art and work - one so evident in their manuscripts - was well-established long before they married. In the following chapters I will return to the central question already touched upon - why and how did

¹⁶³ Francis E. Dolan, ‘Taking the pencil out of God’s hand: art, nature and the face-painting debate in early modern England’, *PMLA* [Publications of the Modern Language Association], 108 (1993), pp. 224-39; Will Pritchard, *Outward appearances: the female exterior in Restoration London*, (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), & ‘Woman, that fair Copy: gender and painting in English writing, 1650-1700’, *Word & Image*, 25:1 (2009), pp. 75-84.

¹⁶⁴ Beale, [‘Discourse on Friendship’], f.512.r.

Mary Beale become an artist? - by arguing that an amateur, domestic and therefore respectable model of painting, established in late childhood, was adapted by Mary and Charles so that she, a married gentlewoman, could paint cash-paying male customers in her own home without being accused of impropriety. Charles' 1648 notebook, and the presence of Mary's later *Observations* in it, lend credence to a scenario in which the married couple pooled their early experience and built upon it to learn the complex secrets of paint and canvas. Charles continued to experiment with artists' materials into the 1680s, and Mary's ceaseless study of the practice of painting suggests that they had to work hard to adapt their essentially amateur training to the commercial demands of a professional studio, a theory which will be developed in chapters three, four and five. It is poignant within this context that the Beales later used a similarly domestic model of training to teach their young sons, Bartholomew and Charles, how to paint the draperies and decorative cartouches in their mother's portraits.

Networks of influence: the Beales in London

Mary Cradock and Charles Beale married in All Saints Church, Barrow, on the 8th of March 1652. It is extremely unlikely that Charles would have been permitted to marry when still an apprentice, yet his term of servitude was not due to end until 1655. It would appear that he, like a high proportion of other apprentices, did not complete his full term as a trainee draper, and this is borne out by the absence of a record of his becoming a freeman of the guild.¹⁶⁵ The same caveat would have applied to Mary had she served all or part of a formal apprenticeship as a painter. John Cradock died very soon after Mary's wedding, in March or April of 1652. Cradock's will, made in 1644, did not make specific provision for each of his children, but rather consigned his 'Lands', 'Tenement', and all his money and 'Worldly goods' to his 'very loving Cousen Mr Walter Cradocke of Bury Saint Edmunds Gentleman', the sole executor charged with using them as he saw fit for

¹⁶⁵ Steve Rappaport found, for example, that an average of just under 40% of London Carpenters' apprentices in the sixteenth century [1540-1589] did not become freemen, the rest being 'gone', 'dead' or 'wed', *Worlds within worlds: structures of life in sixteenth-century London*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 312-3; and by the period in question, 1633 to 1660, the drop-out average from the Drapers, Masons, Carpenters, Stationers, Cordwainers was 59%, see Patrick Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and training in premodern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 68:3 (2008), p. 839.

the ‘best comfort and maintenance’ of John’s two ‘deare and sweete children’.¹⁶⁶ Walter Cradock made his will in December 1654, and died in 1656, assigning Mary’s brother John £100 as the ‘portion and estate’ left to him under his late father’s will.¹⁶⁷ As young John had not reached his majority by the time the will was made, Walter placed his future care in the hands of his own intended heir, Mary’s third cousin, the nonconformist preacher Dr Samuel Cradock (d.1706). Mary was not mentioned in Walter’s will and so - assuming that he carried out his executor’s duty to divide the inheritance equally as instructed - she must already have received her hundred pounds. It is not known how she and Charles supported themselves in the first years of their marriage, as there is no record of his having employment, unless they were able to use Mary’s inheritance to some extent for that purpose.

The couple’s first child, who did not long survive, was born in 1654 at the Beale home at Walton, suggesting that they may have lived for a time with Charles’ parents, but were settled together in London by early 1656.¹⁶⁸ Mary and Charles, both born into provincial Protestant families of the middle social rank, took up residence in Covent Garden without any apparent means of earning a living. Their fathers were professional, well educated men who owned land and bequeathed goods and property to their offspring, but Charles Beale, like other younger sons trying to gain a position in commerce, civil service or government, can have had little expectation of objectivity in the processes of recruitment and preferment. Places were bought or conferred through inherited wealth and alliances, involving the patronage of the nobility and other influential people at the royal court or established institutions. Young women from Mary’s social background had even fewer avenues of work open to them than men, other than as helpmeet to parents and husband, and as mother to their children.

For men and women in London trying to get work, obtain credit or gain prestige it was essential to cultivate inherited family connections, and to create deep new bonds of friendship and other alliances. In *A City Full of People*, Peter Earle commented

¹⁶⁶ Will of John Cradocke, Bachelor of Divinity, made 2nd April 1644, probate was made the Bury St Edmunds court on 24th April 1652, and the will proved at Westminster 27th July 1654, Suffolk Record Office IC/500/1/109/4 & TNA, PROB 11/242/555.

¹⁶⁷ Will of Walter Cradock of Wickhambrook, gent, proved 20th April 1657, TNA PROB/11/263/337.

¹⁶⁸ The baby was buried at Walton on 18th October 1654, Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, p. 11.

that metropolitan life 'was certainly difficult for the unconnected in a city where access to work often depended on reputation and personal contacts'.¹⁶⁹ A hierarchical structure of influential networks operated in London and remotely, by letter, from the provinces. These networks - including informal literary coteries and formalised institutions - worked along similar lines, but at different levels of society, with the royal court and Whitehall being the topmost. Examples of formalised (and exclusively male) groups included the established church, universities, Inns of Court, Royal College of Physicians and the Corporation of London. In addition, the Civil Wars and Interregnum displaced many royalists from spheres of influence. Later, for similarly politically motivated reasons, the Restoration necessitated the creation of new alliances by Puritan and Parliament-supporting families. By December 1658, with the benefit of a year at Cambridge and, no doubt, his father and brother's influence at Whitehall, Charles Beale had obtained a civil service job as a junior clerk for the Patents Office.

Women who wanted or needed to work in a commercial business had to operate within the same spheres of influence and credit as men, but had an additional hurdle to jump. A woman, single or married, noble or commoner, also had to demonstrate her modest, virtuous reputation and seemly intentions to her friends, neighbours and kin.¹⁷⁰ Those who wished, like Mary Beale - or Katherine Philips (d.1664), the royalist writer married to a parliamentarian husband - to nurture a creative reputation and attract both support and patronage, had to foster sympathetic networks of likeminded, influential people.¹⁷¹ And, rather than being antithetical and hostile, the realms of friendship, family, creativity and commerce were often closely entwined, as Margaret Hunt and Craig Muldrew have demonstrated.¹⁷² This study of the Beale

¹⁶⁹ Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: men and women of London 1650-1750*, (London: Methuen, 1994), p. 53.

¹⁷⁰ Much work has been done on early modern concepts of chastity, modesty and other 'female' virtues starting, perhaps, in 1977 with Di Joan Kelly-Gadol's 'Did women have a Renaissance?', [reprinted in] Joan Kelly, *Women, history, and theory: the essays of Joan Kelly*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 20-47; and Hobby, *Virtue of necessity*, pp. 11-23; also Garthine Walker, 'Expanding the boundaries of female honour in early modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6:6 (1996), pp. 235-45; & Anne Laurence, 'Women, godliness and personal appearance in seventeenth-century England', *Women's History Review*, 15:1 (2006), pp. 69-81.

¹⁷¹ Catherine Grey, 'Katherine Philips and the post-courtly coterie', *English Literary Renaissance*, 32:3 (2002), pp. 426-51.

¹⁷² Margaret Hunt, *Middling sort: commerce, gender and the family in England, 1680-1780*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996); and Muldrew, *Economy of obligation*.

circle and their contemporaries will demonstrate that the same was true of its activities. Not only was this inter-relationship between family, friendship and patronage commonplace, it was seen by all parties as natural and desirable. Through my analysis of the primary evidence I will argue, in chapter three, that Mary, Charles, and their circle valued their dearest friendships both as bulwarks against the vicissitudes of life, and as alliances to further their intersecting ambitions.

In the metropolis in the late 1650s the Beales could indeed call upon an eclectic group of relatives, painters and friends, many of whom became Mary's sitters, including Charles' brother Bartholomew (d.1674) and sister-in-law Elizabeth Beale (d.1705); Samuel Woodforde (d.1700), then a lawyer and poet; Thomas Flatman (d.1688), poet, miniaturist and lawyer; Under Secretary John Cooke (d.1691) of Whitehall; William Bates (d.1699), the Beales' constant visitor and vicar of their parish church, St Dunstan-in-the-West; various 'Cosins' of the Smyth, Bridges and Stephens families, and Francis Knollys (d.1695), secretary to the 2nd Earl of Strafford. The greater Cradock and Beale families were large and inextricably linked to many others, provincial, metropolitan and international, and some of the fruitful connections Mary and Charles inherited may remain forever obscure. It is possible, however, to identify some formative or useful networks that relate to the couple's family connections, and even to draw direct correspondence between apparently tenuous ties of kinship, and acts of patronage. In some instances, for example, a portrait sitter and his or her connection to Mary Beale can be demonstrated with ease, even at a distance of more than 300 years. More often, however, it is difficult to connect a particular member of the Beales' extensive network of friends and kin with a cash commission for a portrait documented by Charles in one of their studio notebooks. Working backwards from a known commission, or from a surviving portrait, the chain of connection between individuals can more closely resemble the game of 'six degrees of separation' than reliable art historical evidence. Sometimes the discernible links between these individuals, based on biographical and genealogical sources, are so repetitive and come from so many different directions, that they are compelling. One such example is Elizabeth Cradock (d.1662), first cousin to Mary Beale's father John, who married (as his second wife) Sir Heneage Finch (d.1631), Speaker of the House of Commons. This single bond of kinship bound the artist to some of the wealthiest and most influential people in England,

including the Twysden and Twisden, Lowther, Thynne, Rich, Saville, Ashley-Cooper, Pierrepont and Coventry families. In chapter five I will demonstrate that many of the cash commissions for portraits which came from this group of inter-related families can be closely associated with bonds of kinship.

Chapter Three

The Studio at home

The first period in the artistic lives Mary Cradock and Charles Beale, dealt with in chapter two, encompassed the time when each was learning to paint. The second period, from around 1654 to 1670/1, covers the couple's move to London; the first printed reference to Mary as an artist; and the first written reference to her 'paynting roome'. The same sources also document the studio as a delineated space within the Beale family home from which issued Mary's earliest surviving painting, *Self-portrait with husband and son*, of 1660 (Fig. 2). This chapter will examine Mary Beale's studio in the first two of its incarnations - in London, just off Fleet Street; and in exile to a smallholding in rural Hampshire mid-way between Winchester and Southampton.

House and home

By August 1655 Mary Beale was pregnant for the second time, and on the 14th of February 1656 the arrival of young Bartholomew 'Batt' Beale (d. 1709) was recorded at St Paul's, Covent Garden.¹⁷³ Here, the family lived outside London's city walls, amongst a community of painters, framers and colourmen. The seemingly unconventional choice of neighbourhood is significant, especially as Charles' elder brother and his family lived some distance away at Hatton Garden, in Holborn, and Mary's Cradock relations were merchants firmly rooted in the City. It is very likely that Charles and Mary selected Covent Garden precisely because it was by then a centre of both art and patronage. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the City parishes and those to the north and west, including Holborn, had played host to many professional painters and their workshops.¹⁷⁴ Gradually two Westminster parishes beyond the overt control of the City guilds, St Paul's, Covent Garden and St Martin-in-the-Fields, became more important in the production and consumption of

¹⁷³ Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, p. 11

¹⁷⁴ Mary Edmond, 'Limners and picturemakers [in London]', (London: Walpole Society, 47, 1978-80), pp. 60-241.

art and other luxury goods.¹⁷⁵ By the 1650s, these parishes were home to Peter Lely (d.1680) and other painters of European origin, including members of the De Critz dynasty, and Remigius van Leemput (d.1675); Englishmen John Hayls (d.1679), Matthew Snelling (d.1678) and Robert Streeter (d.1679); the miniaturists Richard Gibson (d.1690), John Hoskins senior (d.1664) and Samuel Cooper (d.1672); as well as the Prague-born draughtsman and printmaker Wenceslaus Hollar (d.1677).

Hague-born Tobias Flessiers (d.1689), a painter, frame maker and picture collector who supplied the Beales with frames, also lived in this part of Westminster.¹⁷⁶ Thomas Carter (fl.1680-d.1747/8), who succeeded his father 'Old Carter' as one of the Beales' colourmen, and later chatted to George Vertue about Mary and Charles, lived and worked there until his death.¹⁷⁷ Covent Garden piazza has not escaped alteration by any means, but its general configuration and the eastern facade of Inigo Jones's St Paul's church are still easily recognisable from Hollar's etching of the *Piazza in Coventgarden*, 1647 (Fig. 3), an evocative remainder of mid-seventeenth-century London.¹⁷⁸ Here artists had their studios alongside the homes of the wealthy nobles who bestowed patronage on local painters and frame makers. For the Beales, a young couple from the provinces, life in bustling Covent Garden must surely have been an urban baptism of fire – a rare and formative mixture of sociability, market forces and art.

It is likely that when they moved to Covent Garden the Beale household was small, Mary, Charles, 'Batt', and a maid perhaps. Little evidence survives to provide a picture of their home life, or Mary's work, in the 1650s, but it is reasonably certain that they were 'neighbours' to Lely and another painter, Joan Carlile (c.1606-1679) who had moved there from Richmond in order to paint for cash commissions. Few of

¹⁷⁵ Julia Merritt, *Social world of early modern Westminster: abbey, court and community 1525-1640*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 140-79.

¹⁷⁶ Stefanie Kollmann, *Niederlandische kunstler und kunst im London des 17. Jahrhunderts*, (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2000), pp. 195-6.

¹⁷⁷ George Vertue, 'Vertue Note Books: Volume V', *Walpole Society*, 26 (1937-38), pp. 14-15 & 20; and 'Thomas Carter, colourman of St Paul Covent Garden', Jacob Simon, *British artists' suppliers 1650-1950*, 3rd ed., (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011-), [online] <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/>> [accessed 11 May 2016].

¹⁷⁸ Fig. 3. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Piazza in Coventgarden*, 1647, etching on paper, (15 x 26 cm; 5 7/8 x 10 1/4 in.), state 2 (Parthey Pennington Number: P909), University of Toronto, *Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection*, [online] <https://hollar.library.utoronto.ca/islandora/object/hollar%3AHollar_k_0880> [accessed 3 August 2019].

Carlile's paintings are known to survive but an extant example, *The Stag Hunt* (Fig. 4), includes a self-portrait with images of her husband, two of their children, and their friend Sir Justinian Isham in Richmond Park where Ludovic [Carlile] Carlell (d.1675) was keeper.¹⁷⁹ On the strength of this and other portraits, Joan has been mentioned as a precursor of a genre that in the eighteenth century developed into the 'conversation piece'. These were sociable but visually static group portraits often within the setting of particularised rooms, or country estate parks reminiscent of that in Carlile's *Stag Hunt*.¹⁸⁰ No evidence remains to document a friendship between the two women, but having lived in such close proximity, if for a short period, suggests that they were at least acquaintances. There is little stylistic or iconographic correspondence between the two artists' work, Beale's figures being naturalistic and often dominating a fairly generic space, while Carlile's are slight, mannered and sometimes dwarfed by their settings. Mary's figures bear the clear influence of Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), and although Joan's Arcadian landscapes share an Italianate aesthetic, her figures seem to refer to an earlier English tradition. Mary and Joan were but two of the women active in London's art world, a theme which will be explored further below, and in detail in chapter six.

How the Beales supported themselves is unclear, Mary is not thought to have been working for money, and Charles was seemingly unemployed. His advancement may have been hindered, in terms of contacts and prestige, through abandoning his apprenticeship, and by not having attended university as did his friends and contemporaries, Thomas Flatman and Samuel Woodforde.¹⁸¹ Beale was not idle, however, but busy carrying out and recording his chemical experiments after the manner of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, whose recipe for 'pinke' was copied in shorthand

¹⁷⁹ Fig. 4. Joan Carlile, *The stag hunt* [Carlile family, left, with Sir Justinian Isham and family in Richmond Park], c.1650s, oil on canvas (61 x 74 cm; 24 x 29 1/8 in.), Lamport Hall Trust (acc. 95), Northamptonshire.

¹⁸⁰ Kate Retford, *Conversation piece: making modern art in eighteenth-century*, (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2017).

¹⁸¹ Flatman matriculated 'pleb' at New College, Oxford 25th July 1655; was made barrister at Inner Temple in 1662 and received his M.A. from St Catherine Hall, Cambridge in 1666; Woodforde matriculated at Wadham, Oxford on 20th July 1654, taking his B.A. in 1657 before entering Inner Temple in 1659. See 'Flatman, Thomas' & 'Woodforde, Samuel', in *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714 [...]*, ed. Joseph Foster, (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1891), at *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp480-509>> & <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1674-1697>> [both accessed 2 October 2019].

into the notebook of *Experimentall Seacrets*.¹⁸² Long after his adolescent experience of painting, Charles continued making pigments, suggesting that he had a related objective in view, authoring a practical guide perhaps, or starting a commercial enterprise. There is no documentary or material evidence of Beale producing work as an artist other than the first-hand descriptions of painting in his book of *Seacrets*. Nor is there evidence that he ever intended to paint professionally, but Beales' manufacture of large quantities of pigment suggests that he intended them for some serious purpose - for his family's use, or to sell or exchange with practising artists. In 1659 or shortly after, for example, Charles noted Mary's use of his red lake pigment in her work, and in September of that year he sold Lely seven ounces of a 'most glorious Scarlet Colored Lake of an extraordinary strong Body' at 'Tenn shillings ye Ounce 3 - 10^s - 8^d'.¹⁸³ Charles could therefore be termed a practising colourman from at least 1659, and possibly from 1654, in that he was manufacturing and supplying pigments for money. Beale may have intended to expand this trade, providing another reason for the couple to set up house in Covent Garden. Whatever Charles' intentions, however, the Beales' London life seems to have been punctuated by his removal to Cambridge University for an unknown interval in 1656, and nothing is known of the family for the next couple of years.

By late 1658 Charles had obtained the post of 'Deputy Clerk of the Patents' at the Patents Office, almost certainly through the influence and resources of his family.¹⁸⁴ Charles' father, Bartholomew (d.1660) of Gray's Inn, was 'Mr. Beale, the Attorney-General's Clerk of the Patents' from at least 1635, an office similar to, but quite separate from both the Patents Office and the Clerks of the Signet, reporting directly to the attorney general.¹⁸⁵ Consequently the Beales moved from Covent Garden to a house on Hind Court, just off Fleet Street, in the parish of St Dunstan in the West. Charles' name appeared in the list of householders assessed for taxes, aids and

¹⁸² Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets'.

¹⁸³ Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets', f.18.v.

¹⁸⁴ Annotation providing Beale's job title in Woodforde, 'Memoires [...] of My Life', p. 109.

¹⁸⁵ 'October 1-17, 1635', in *Calendar of state papers: domestic series, of the reign of Charles I [...]*, vol. 8, '1635', ed. John Bruce (London: Longman, 1865); *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1635/pp409-435>>; & 'March 26-31, 1640', in *Calendar of state papers: domestic series, of the reign of Charles I [...]*, vol. 15, '1639-1640', ed. William D. Hamilton, (London: Longman et al. 1877); *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas1/1639-40/pp586-613>> [both accessed 2 October 2018].

subsidies for this address from December 1658 until 1665.¹⁸⁶ Hind Court was one of fourteen similar lanes off the north side of Fleet Street, each being no wider than six metres (circa twenty feet), and crammed into the space between Fetter Lane to the west and Shoe Lane to the east. Justin Champion, drawing on a combination of Wardmote Inquests, church registers and tax assessments for 1662, included a case-study of St Dunstan in the West parish in his examination of early modern epidemics and the built environment.¹⁸⁷ Champion characterised this large parish, in the ward of Farringdon Without [the City walls], as one of great contrasts, encompassing both the prosperous merchants and traders of Fleet Street and, to the south, the poor and overcrowded alleys of Whitefriars. Many businesses, including numerous taverns and pastry-cooks, were there to service the Inns of Court at Chancery Lane and the Temple. The Beales' pre-Great Fire home was destroyed in the conflagration but we can be sure that it and its fellows were dwellings, some with an 'office' or workshop, and may have been medieval in origin, possibly with jettied upper floors. Hind Court is today a short, very narrow alley, the wider rear portion having been incorporated into Gough Square. There are three houses with pre-Fire plot widths on neighbouring courts, however, suggesting that the Beales' home may have had a frontage of around five metres (circa sixteen feet).¹⁸⁸ In 1929 the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments of England surveyed the buildings on Fleet Street, Fetter Lane and in the courts, identifying several surviving houses of the 1670s and 80s, including number five Hind Court. Although that house was built after the fire, the physical restrictions of the site suggest that its proportions may have been very close to those of earlier houses. No. 5 was 'of four storeys with attics and cellars' and retained a section of its original staircase, with turned balusters and square newels.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ On December 1st 1658 the house occupied by 'Mr Charles Beale' was assessed for six monthly rates at 01s-06d for the inhabitants and 03s-04d for the landlord, in Churchwarden's Account Book for 1645-1666, London Metropolitan Archives MS P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/004.

¹⁸⁷ Justin Champion, 'Epidemics and the built environment in 1665', in *Epidemic Disease in London*, ed. Justin Champion, (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993), pp. 35-52.

¹⁸⁸ Three Falcons Court, a dead-end now named Cheshire Court, has a single house of at least three floors with frontage of 5.05 m; further west along Fleet Street, Red Lion Court has a house with 4.83 m frontage; and a house on [Two] Crane Court measures 4.99 m. - measured for this study, and compared with information in, Royal Commission on Historic Monuments England, *An inventory of the historical monuments in London*, 5 vols, (London: HMSO, 1924-1930), v. 4, 'The City', (1929), pp. 120-66.

¹⁸⁹ *An inventory of the historical monuments in London* (1929), pp. 120-66. When seen in 1929, the condition of No. 5 Hind Court was described as 'poor', and it was probably destroyed in Second World War bombing.

Although comparatively large and salubrious the dwellings on Hind Court and those nearby were densely packed and neighbours lived together in very close proximity, with precious little privacy let alone urban anonymity. Samuel Pepys made a professional visit to Charles Beale in July 1660, leaving Elizabeth, his wife, ‘in a coach at the door of Hinde Court’ while he collected the patent for his job as Clerk of the Acts for the Navy Board.¹⁹⁰ The reference to a ‘door’ at the Fleet Street end of the court seems puzzling, but it appears from three letters sent to the editor of *Notes and Queries* that in 1866 just such doors were still in place at the entrances to nearby King’s Head, Bolt and Johnson’s Courts.¹⁹¹ The correspondents suggests that the doors were used at night to effectively cut off the well-to-do inhabitants of courts on the north side of Fleet Street from ‘interlopers’ from the poorer south side. Certainly the known presence of a door at the end of Hind Court implies that the Beales may have lived in an enclave of security, an early modern ‘gated’ community within a part of London where people of all walks of life were thrown together, and where there was a fear or actual of threat of crime.

The Restoration saw the institution of a controversial tax on the nation’s fireplaces requiring the mandatory internal inspection of private homes. The Hearth Tax was collected periodically from 1662 to 1689, and required each householder, business and office to pay two shillings per year for each fire, hearth and stove, collected every six months. Fortunately, many records kept by London’s tax assessors and collectors survive, proving a rich source of information about the nature of the city’s buildings; the names of its householders; and, extrapolating from the number of hearths per home, some relative indication of their wealth or poverty. Sadly, as the Hind Court Hearth Tax assessments for 1662 and 1664 do not appear to have survived, we cannot say with absolute certainty how many hearths the Beale house had and therefore how many floors providing, it would seem, one fewer measure of its overall size and proportions. All is not lost, however. In 1664 Charles’ employer, Sir Robert Howard, sold his office of Clerk of the Patents to Thomas Vyner, and the

¹⁹⁰ 13 July 1660: *Diary of Samuel Pepys* website, the text taken from *Diary of Samuel Pepys [...]* *Transcribed from the shorthand manuscript in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College Cambridge by the Rev. Mynors Bright [...]*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1893), courtesy of Project Gutenberg, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1660/07/13/>> [accessed 20 September 2019].

¹⁹¹ ‘Stultus’ & ‘J.W.W.’, ‘Wooden doors in King’s Head Court, Shoe Lane’, *Notes and Queries*, series 3, vol. X, issue 252, 27 October 1866; issue 255, 17 November 1866; issue 257, 1 December 1866, (London: Oxford University Press, 1862-1867), pp. 332, 405 & 442.

following year the Beales left London for the country. The parish rate book reveals that in April 1666 Charles' name as a householder of Hind Court was replaced by that of 'Mr Thomas Viner' who had moved into the Beales' recently vacated house. Hearth Tax assessors visited Vyner at Hind Court and their return reveals that his house had nine taxable hearths (two per floor) making it one of four storeys and, like 'No. 5', probably had attics and cellars to boot.¹⁹² The Beales' house was therefore tall, commodious and certainly had room - perhaps in the topmost floor where the light would be best - for a painting studio. Another parish assessment, this time for Poll Money, provides not only the names but occupations and guild status of the Beales' neighbours, who included a grocer, barber churugeon, draper, doctor of physic, merchant tailor, leather-seller, and a 'Sadler of the Livery'.¹⁹³ Three of these other Hind Court residents also had nine hearths; one had eight; one six; one five; and one had three hearths. 'Mr Charles Beale gent' was assessed at ten pounds for the Poll Tax, the level of an 'esquire' and higher than most of his fellow residents. A 1661 list of the ten householders of Hind Court asked to give a voluntary gift to his Majesty demonstrates the reluctance of most, but with three exceptions including 'Mr Charles Beale' who gave the considerable sum of five pounds.¹⁹⁴ Taken together these various sources show that the Beales were well-to-do and styled as gentlefolk; and, in terms of the house they lived in and their taxable prosperity, were on an economic par with the wealthier merchants and professionals among their neighbours. Overall, at a parish level, the impression is of a respectable, creditable household - and this according to the standards and epithets employed by the local assessors in recording the status of their parishioners. Placed in context of the money to be made in the Restoration art world, however, we can see from the same Hearth Tax return that Peter Lely, King's painter and the star of fashionable portraiture, enjoyed the benefit of seventeen hearths in his very sizeable Covent Garden home and studio.

¹⁹² 'Thomas Viner', 'Hearth Tax: City of London 1666, St Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street', *London Hearth Tax: City of London and Middlesex, 1666* (2011), *British History Online* <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/london-mddx/1666/st-dunstan-in-the-west-fleet-street>> [accessed 10 October 2018]; *London and Middlesex Hearth Tax*, eds Matthew Davies, Catherine Ferguson, Vanessa Harding, Elizabeth Parkinson & Andrew Wareham, *Hearth Tax Series*, 9, (London: British Record Society, 2014).

¹⁹³ Rate assessment book for 'His Majestie's Urgent Occasions' mainly for the army, navy and militia, 1658-1661, London Metropolitan Archives MS P69/DUN2/C/002/MS02969/001.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

Who then comprised the Beale household by the time of their move to Hind Court? Certainly Charles, Mary and little Bartholomew unless he, like his younger brother, was sent out to nurse, and very probably at least one servant. In 1658 Samuel Woodforde, who was to become an integral part of the Beales' story and their earliest biographer, was admitted to the Inner Temple, there sharing a chamber with his Oxford companion Thomas Flatman who was already a friend to Mary and Charles. In mid-1659 Flatman took Woodforde to Hind Court where he found both convivial company in his hosts, and his future wife in the person of Alice Beale (c.1631-1664), Charles' first cousin. Alice, whose widowed mother lived near Charles' family estate in Buckinghamshire, was by then a frequent visitor if not semi-permanent member of the London household. The romance between Samuel and Alice blossomed, even in the face of his family's bitter opposition to the match, and once married in October 1661 they lived with Mary and Charles at Hind Court until after the birth of their first child in late 1662. After the birth of Mary's second surviving baby, Charles the younger, the household had swelled to eight, including servants. The Poll Tax return for 1660 lists the number of servants per Hind Court residence, revealing that the Beales' had two living-in servants (each of whom paid ten shillings on their own account), going some way to explaining how Mary was able to devote so much time to painting despite the size of her household. Interestingly, Samuel's diary makes it clear that the Woodfordes employed their own maid, while the Beales had another called Jane Lloyd.¹⁹⁵ A candid impression of home life was conjured by Samuel as he recounted an occasion when he was distracted while praying in the 'closet', or study (within his and Alice's room) by the maid,

coming into y^e chamber ere I had done & singing there as she made the bedd not knowing I believe y^t I was in the closet.¹⁹⁶

More telling about the tensions that could develop in relationships between female employees, employers, and their own families, was an occasion when Dr William Bates, who for a time was the parish vicar, was spending an evening at Hind Court but was,

¹⁹⁵ 6 September 1662: Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', f.32.

¹⁹⁶ 26 September 1662: *ibid.*, f.108.

sent for home by a sad accident, I feare ye nurse that tends his child is but a loose woman, her husband came to her at his house & threatned to stabb her, threw severall things at her & hurt her much Cosen Beale & my selfe went home with him & putt ye man out of the house. & shee is to goe away after him; oh my God lett not ye Dr suffer by these miscarriages of his ser^{ts}. This accident putt mee quite out of temper.¹⁹⁷

An equally telling account of the enforced intimacy between Hind Court inhabitants, and the strictures on their behaviour, was recorded by Woodforde just a month later - 'Nan my Cosen Beales maide is going this morning away, a foolish maide' who, by taking up with 'a fellow that she thought would have married her who I believe will give her the slipp hath throwne herselfe out of service'.¹⁹⁸

Sociability: friendship, love and faith

In London Mary Beale was a 'talking, walking' gentlewoman with her own set of house keys.¹⁹⁹ Far from confining herself to the home, Mary went visiting, attended conventicle meetings and left her own parish to hear other ministers preach. Several related manuscripts reveal that the Beale home was a sociable place and that Mary's participation in company was taken for granted. As well as the Woodfordes and Thomas Flatman, the couple's intimate circle of friends and visitors in the 1660s included Charles' brother, Auditor Bartholomew Beale and sister-in-law Elizabeth (d.1705), daughter of Thomas Hunt, a colonel of the parliamentary army in Shropshire; his sister Katherine (d.1695), her husband John Smith (d.1675) and their daughters Mary (d.1689) and Katherine (fl.1664); John Cooke, under secretary to the secretary of state for the north; Elizabeth and John Tillotson; Woodforde's sister Susanna and her merchant husband Daniel Gifford of Bassinghall Street; clergymen John Wilkins, Robert Wild and William Bates. The Beales' wider cross-section of acquaintances had, in consequence, something of a bias towards lawyers, civil servants and clerics - the very people who, along with various aristocrats and amateurs of gentle blood, made up the intellectual, scientific, theological and cultural elite of their day. Woodforde's diary chronicles many gatherings at Hind Court,

¹⁹⁷ 22 October 1662: Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', ff.172-3.

¹⁹⁸ 25 November 1662: *ibid.*, f.248.

¹⁹⁹ 'She was so farre from the gadding disposition of other talking, walking [gentle]women', quoted by Margaret Ezell from *A Funeral Sermon Preached by Dr. Gouge of Black-Friers [...] at the Funerall of Mrs Margaret Ducke* (1646), in *Early modern women and transnational communities of letters*, eds Julie D. Campbell & Anne R. Larson, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 281.

some of which were religious in tone and involved the reading or recounting of sermons, while at others literary works were reviewed and portraits were painted.

Woodforde described one such occasion when Mary painted William Bates, and it is evident that sittings, social gatherings and cultural entertainments became indistinguishable in the household:

Sept 2^d. 1662. Dr Bates at Our house all this day sitting to my Cosen Beale for his Picture. Signor Pedro came thither & sung halfe a dozen excellent songs.

To which Woodforde added, rather less graciously:

Tis a pittie such a man as hee should bee guilty of soe much debauchery as it is reported hee is...²⁰⁰

referring, presumably, to ‘Signor Pedro’ rather than to the upstanding Dr Bates. Pietro ‘Pedro’ Reggio (1632-1685) was an Genovese composer-musician who sang and played the lute at the Stockholm court of Queen Christina, before travelling through Europe and finally settling in London. Interestingly, Woodforde’s diary entry provides the earliest known date at which the musician was in England. Rather than being a regular member of the circle, however, it is likely that Reggio was paid to sing for the Beales and their friends, Pepys having later given him 05s-00d for similar entertainment.²⁰¹ Reggio’s links to the circle did persist however, with Flatman providing a commendatory poem, ‘To the Excellent Master of Musick, Signior Pietro Reggio, on his Book of Songs’, to Reggio’s published collection of works in 1680.²⁰²

On the 23rd of October 1662 Mary, Charles, Samuel and Alice were invited to the house of a ‘Mr Boreman’ where Francois Dufault (b. c.1600) the famous lutenist cooked them a memorable ‘French Potage’ for dinner. After their meal ‘Mr Dufau’,

²⁰⁰ Woodforde, ‘Lib. primus’, f.13.

²⁰¹ Gloria Rose, ‘Pietro Reggio: a wandering musician’, *Music & Letters*, 46:3 (1965), pp. 207-16; *Biographical dictionary of English court musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 vols, ed. David Lasocki, (London: Routledge, 2018), 2, pp. 950-52; Pepys, 12th August 1664, ‘Thence home; and though late, yet Pedro being there he sang a song and parted; I did give him 5s’, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1664/08/12/>> [accessed 6 September 2018].

²⁰² Front matter in *Songs set by Signior Pietro Reggio*, [London, 1680], [unpaginated].

entertained us much better with some of his excellent compositions on the Lute, surely hee is one of the bravest men in the world for that Instrument.²⁰³

Woodforde was 'ravisht' by the music he heard, but again bemoaned that Dufault 'is a Papist: oh Ld convert him unto thee'.²⁰⁴ Another Beale guest, the court musician John Rogers (d.1676) whose royal patent Charles had processed, also played the lute for an assembled company of friends.²⁰⁵ Woodforde himself was a viol player who had participated in musical soirées at Wadham College, Oxford, hosted by Anthony a Wood.²⁰⁶

The inner Beale circle was not on the whole composed of powerful people, but its individual members had significant contact with them. On the 15th of September 1662, for example, both Samuel and Alice Woodforde sat to Mary for portraits, he in the company of his Oxford friend William Godolphin (d.1696), a budding diplomat and cousin to Sidney, 1st Earl of Godolphin (d.1712), who would eventually become Lord High Treasurer. It was to William and other well placed contacts that Samuel and Charles would both appeal in times of trouble but, by and large, companionship, affection and counsel were drawn from their close friends and kin, as well as from the ever present William Bates. In August 1664, eight months after Alice died following the birth of her second child, Heighes, Woodforde described one such sociable gathering of 'cosens' at the Beale home that was the occasion of 'great love' and consolation for his loss, as well as portrait sittings by two family members,

17 Aug.

Cosen Smith & his wife dined here at a venison pasty. Mr Cook sent the side to Cosen Beale, they stayed with us till night. I am exceedingly obliged to them for their great love.

18 Aug.

Yesterday my Shee Cosen Smith sate for her Picture to Cosen Beale & this day my cosen Mary one of her daughters.

²⁰³ Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', f.174.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, f.175.

²⁰⁵ 10th September 1662: *ibid.*, f.44; Rogers' patent was dated 3rd January 1662, see Lasocki, ed. *English court musicians, 1485-1714*, 2, pp. 970-71.

²⁰⁶ David Mateer, 'Hugh Davis's commonplace book: a new source of seventeenth-century song', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 32 (1999), pp. 63-87.

On the 28th of September Mary painted Sam's portrait and he described the experience in this way:

I sate some part of yesterday & this day to Cosen Beale for my picture, she hath done it very like as all say that see it & are better judges of its likeness then myself.²⁰⁷

After the second sitting, Samuel resumed his literary work in paraphrasing the 9th Psalm of David. Gatherings to read and discuss scripture and literary works were, like sittings, combined with eating, drinking and often, as in the example above, centred upon a gift of food to the family and, by extension, to their wider circle. This pooling of resources of all kinds also came into play in relation to Mary's commissions, and in building personal and public reputations, a process that will be described further in chapter four.

Vocation and reputation

Portrait sittings by friends and family were evidently seen as significant events in the life of the Beale household, and Woodforde made room for them in his tiny diary amidst the flow of pious self-reproach and his desperate fears for the future. Even so, the paintings recorded probably do not represent all of the work Mary was doing at that time. Sketches of servants and visitors like those her son would later produce so copiously, for example, may not have been thought worth noting. Similarly, the many portraits Mary painted of herself and Charles were probably so commonplace as to be unremarkable.²⁰⁸ When the Smith family had visited on the 17th and 18th of August Mary found the time and energy to paint two portraits, even with a household of lodgers, guests and, apparently, two small children, suggesting that practical domestic arrangements had been made to enable her to do so. Some evidence to support this supposition is found in Woodforde's diary, where he recorded on the 21st of November 1662 that 'little Cosen Charles Beale came home from nurse'.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', f.172.

²⁰⁸ Mary Beale's studies of her husband include: Fig. 2. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait with husband and son*, c.1660, Geffrye Museum (acc. 49/1978), London; Fig. 12. Mary Beale, *Charles Beale* [snr], c.1660, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1279), London; Fig. 20. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait*, c.1666, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1687); Fig. 38. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait*, c.1681, private collection; see 'List of Illustrations', p. 6.

²⁰⁹ Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', f.238.

Charles, Mary's second surviving child, had been born on the 15th of June 1660 and must therefore have spent all or part of his first two years with a wet-nurse.

From at least 1660 to around 1690, possibly later, Charles Beale detailed Mary's painting activities and some family matters in more than thirty annual notebooks of which George Vertue saw seven 'bought at a book stall by a Friend of mine who was so obliging to lend them to me'.²¹⁰ Vertue made copious notes of sitters and portraits, and observed of the earliest but now lost notebook, for 1660/1,

in this year no accounts of her works done or persons setting for their pictures. as if she yet had no employment that way-but only studied.²¹¹

Although Woodforde recorded several apparently informal portrait sittings from as early as 1662, there are no explicit references to portraits for which cash changed hands until 1670/1. We can be sure that Mary was an artist by at least 1654 when Suffolk painter Matthew Snelling sent her a parcel of pigment and, as we shall see, in 1658 she was named in print as such. From Mary's 1663 manuscript proclamation of self-proficiency in painting apricots, it is certain that alongside the portraits of friends and family some of her earliest works, in Suffolk and London, depicted still life.

Her own words, written on the 14th of August and transcribed below, help us to understand something of the way in which such a painting comes into being, how visual impressions and complex thought processes are miraculously transmuted into oil on canvas.

²¹⁰ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 168.

²¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 174.

Observations by MB in her painting of Apricots in August 1663. your dead Color²¹² being perfectly dry, temper yo^r severall sorts of Mastcots²¹³ with nut oyle²¹⁴ and let them ly for half an houre and when you are ready to use them temp them againe, this giveth a fatnes²¹⁵ to y^e Color wch is of great advantage in y^e covering ~~of them~~. ffor the greenish Coloring mingle whitelead²¹⁶, middle masticot, Bury oker²¹⁷, pinke²¹⁸, and a very litle faire Ultramarine²¹⁹ together, without y^e Bury Oker y^e Color will bee raw & fierce; in ye pale yallow places leave out y^e Ultramarine; where it inclineth more to redness let y^e composition bee whitelead, red Lead²²⁰ red masticot & a litle pinke: Let yo^r heighthenings in yo^r very ripe apricots bee whitelead, pale Mast: and a litle redlead. in les ripe ones less or none of y^e red lead. Let yor shadowes bee pinke & Lake²²¹ and Bury oker & in some places ~~ee~~ according as y^e life requireth it a litle fine Ultramarine: in some other places where y^e shadowes are glowing & ffaint as they are sometimes in y^e Crowne there touch upon yo^r generall rendering with pinke & Vermilion²²² mixed together: **14^o Augusti 1663** [...] Bury oker is by no means to bee left out in y^e painting of apricots, because it adds a naturallnes to y^e complexion of y^e fruite, and makes y^e rest of y^e Color worke abundantly better. Those apricots I painted before I made use of Bury oker were muche harsher colored & nothing so soft.²²³

²¹² The first layer of paint applied to a primed canvas on which the design has been outlined.

²¹³ ‘Mastcot’, ‘masticot’ and ‘general’ are all synonymous with massicot, a pigment now called lead-tin yellow used in Europe from 1300 to 1750. Made by heating lead and tin in a furnace at 650°-800°C, the resulting pigment varied in colour from pale to deep yellow according to the temperature reached.

²¹⁴ Walnut oil, like linseed oil, was used as a medium to bind pigment. Less prone to yellowing, nut oil was mixed with lead white to paint ‘ruffes and linnen’ in portraits.

²¹⁵ To temper or ‘temp’ paint is to mix dry pigment with oil, either by grinding on a stone, or directly on the palette. Paint left to stand for 30 minutes would start to thicken, thereby creating the desired ‘fatnes’.

²¹⁶ Lead white was the only white pigment used for easel paintings in the 17th century and was manufactured in London on a factory scale by exposing lead sheets to vinegar vapour.

²¹⁷ Ochre, an iron oxide, varies in colour from dull orange-yellow to light reddish-brown. It was found in England, but the derivation of ‘Bury’ is unclear, see Rosamund Harley, *Artists’ pigments c.1600-1835: a study in English documentary sources*, (London: Butterworth, 1970), p. 83.

²¹⁸ ‘Pinke’ was an unstable yellow ‘lake’ made by creating a dye from the plant greenweed or dyer’s broom, and mixing it with alum and chalk.

²¹⁹ Ultramarine, or ground lapis lazuli, was an expensive mineral pigment commonly used for the Madonna’s robe in religious paintings. Beale’s use of it in this context is unusual as azurite would have been a cheaper substitute.

²²⁰ ‘Red Lead’ or minium was an ancient, orange-red pigment made by heating lead.

²²¹ ‘Lake’ was probably red lake derived from crushed cochineal beetles.

²²² ‘Vermilion’ was manufactured red mercuric sulphate.

²²³ Transcribed by the author from Beale, ‘Observations by MB’, ff. 24r-24v. See also Draper, ‘Mary Beale and ‘her painting of Apricots’’, pp. 389-405.

Observations, Beale's three other texts, and her self-portraits spanning the years 1660 to 1681, form what remains of her unwritten autobiography.²²⁴ In these, Mary Beale's only autograph accounts of herself, she speaks from her own experience, is full of intent, and often assumes a didactic position of rhetorical and painterly authority. *Observations* should be read as just that, as an implied statement of intent encoded in what appears, when seen in isolation, to be technical instruction on how to paint. In the manuscript Beale's approach to painting - as a process of observation and experiment, refinement and distillation - is made clear by the care she takes to mark the minute colour changes in fruit at different stages of ripeness. The writer does not interpret for the reader or viewer the image she has created, but instead retraces her steps in the creative process in order to describe the artist's relation to her subject. Explicitly, the intention is to explain the physical act of putting brush to canvas to create a naturalistic impression of fruit. In addressing a third person, however, the implication is that she valued her own expertise highly enough to presume to guide others and, through her influence, to promote herself. Mary Beale's present, past and future are here encapsulated. The artist writes of her past experience for future painters who will use her advice and spread her name so that, in the process, she will take her place in the narrative of the art of her time. In describing 'her painting of Apricots' Mary has therefore constructed a story about memory - the memory of her actual experience of the qualities of light, colour and paint, and even of the passing of seasons as embodied in the fruits themselves, with the greenish tones and vibrant yellows of summer giving way to the red ripeness of early autumn. And the text, like her surviving paintings, contains the memory of her very existence as a painter, whose time came and went, and of the traces of knowledge she left behind for posterity.

Always at the bottom of any scholarly hierarchy of artistic genres, however, fruit, flowers and other inanimate objects were considered suitably undemanding, requiring diligent copying rather than the more apparently masculine capacity for invention, and so ideal for the essentially 'reproductive' female painters. In fact, the relative portability and small scale of most still-life pictures, and the readily available

²²⁴ 9 March 1666: Mary Beale, letter to Elizabeth Tillotson, 9th March 1666, London, British Library, Harley MS 6828, ff. 510; Beale versions of psalms 13, 52, 70 & 130, in *Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David. By Sam. Woodford, printed by R. White, for Octavian Pullein, neer the Pump in Little-Brittain*, (London, 1667).

domestic nature of the subject matter, must surely have made the genre both practical and appealing for many women painters. Netherlandish patrons' appetite for the work made it particularly lucrative, and among its exponents were Mary Beale's professional contemporaries Maria van Oosterwijck (or Oosterwyck) (d.1693) and Rachel Ruysch (d.1750). No extant works of still-life without figures have yet been attributed to Beale, although her circa 1660-65 composition, *Young Bacchus* (Fig. 5)²²⁵ features bunches of bloomed grapes and another staple element, a fine, blue and white 'china' bowl, the semi-translucent quality of which is adroitly simulated in paint. Young 'Batt' Beale clearly posed for the figure of Bacchus who wears a red velvet gown over a full-sleeved white shirt, and carries a small bottle of wine in a basket-work holder fixed to his belt. Thus a representative range of Dutch still-life components have been sumptuously incorporated into a Italianate scene of classical mythology after the fashion of Peter Paul Rubens (d.1640).

The technical proficiency of Mary's earliest surviving works, of the 1660s, including *Young Bacchus* and the Geffrye Museum's *Self-portrait with husband and son*, (Fig. 2) make it clear that she made a smooth transition from fruit to faces, from painting naturalistic likenesses of objects, to the mobile countenances of those around her. An adventurous woman moving from a tiny rural community to life in the teeming city, it seems likely that Beale's move from still-life to portraiture was in part a response to new experiences and ambitions. Portraiture had long been the mainstay of commercial fine art production in England, but was a distant second in the hierarchy of genres behind 'history' painting. In the European tradition it was another subject matter deemed suited to the imitative talents of women, and in their hands was closely associated with other forms of literal and metaphoric reproduction natural to the female sex.

In 1658, Beale was included in a list of female painters in Sir William Sanderson's book *Graphice: Or The use of the Pen and Pensil; In the most Excellent Art of PAINTING*,

²²⁵ Fig. 5. Mary Beale, *Young Bacchus*, c.1660-65, oil on canvas, 65.4 x 55.7 cm (25 3/4 x 21 15/16 in.), St Edmundsbury Borough Council, Bury St Edmunds.

And to make good that *Maxime*, that the ground of all excellencies in this Art is the Naturall fancie *bon-esprite*, quick wit, and ingenuity, which adds and enables the elaborate part, pick me out one equall to *Madam Caris*, a Brabanne; Judgment and Art mixed together in her rare pieces of Limning, since they came into England. And in Oyl Colours we have a virtuous example in that worthy Artist Mrs. *Carlile* and of others Mr.[sic] *Beale*, Mrs. *Brooman*, and to Mrs. *Weimes*.²²⁶

Coming after Sanderson's list of notable male limners, his paragraph on women artists is brief and delineated from the main body of his potted history of painting in England. Following the biographical pattern set by Pliny and adopted by Vasari (1550) and Lomazzo (1575), Sanderson described the artistic innovations and refinements made by a long list of male painters, while consigning a few exceptional women to a ghetto of female achievement. Renaissance art history had it that the notable achievements of a few special women serves to prove the rule that painting, or great painting at least, is the province of men.²²⁷ To Sanderson's credit, the language used to enumerate the women is consistent with the rest of his narrative and their work is not labelled as copyist or insubstantial. In fact, Sanderson suggested that 'Madam Caris', a miniaturist, was without equal in that special mixture of natural talent, 'Judgment and Art', which forms the ingenuity prerequisite in any painter of original works.²²⁸ In this the text appears to diverge from the accepted line on male creative genius and female talent for mimicry established in classical philosophy, adapted by early Christian teaching, and wholeheartedly embraced by Renaissance humanist art historians. Sanderson credits the female painters with wit and inventiveness thereby acting upon their subject matter to perfect it rather than merely imitating its material appearance.

Next, the author of *Graphice* praises the 'many worthy Gentlemen, ingenious in their private delight' who have become 'Judicious practitioners' in painting, thus clearly defining their elite status as male amateurs. It is ambiguous, therefore, whether the female painters in Sanderson's list were amateurs or professionals. Whereas male

²²⁶ Sanderson, *Graphice. The use of the Pen and Pensil*, p. 20.

²²⁷ Fredrika H. Jacobs, *Defining the Renaissance virtuosa: women artists and the language of art history and criticism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 19.

²²⁸ 'Mrs' Carlile was of course Joan (d.1679), and 'Madam Caris' was possibly related to the Carré family of artists who originated in Friesland, some of whom may have worked in Amsterdam and England, see Kollmann, *Niederlandische kunstler und kunst im London des 17. Jahrhunderts*, p. 165; of 'Brooman' and 'Weimes' nothing yet is known.

portraitists including Lely, Robert Walker and John Michael Wright (d.1694) are described as ‘rare Artizans’, the use of the word ‘Artist’ in referring to Joan Carlisle (d.1679) and her contemporaries seems to delineate these women as practitioners of the polite Liberal Arts, rather than of the craftsman-painter’s trade.²²⁹ On the other hand, Sanderson’s emphatically capitalised category of ‘Oyl Colours’ has the effect, for the reader, of separating these particular women from the mass of ladies and their handiwork in thread and decorative paper-cutting. The visceral, bulky nature of ‘Oyl’ paint, as well as the necessary use of chemical diluents such as turpentine, the messy, smelly and staining qualities of the oils and pigments, and the muscular activity needed to manipulate paint and canvas, all suggest that it should have been the province of male artists alone. And yet, here is a published list of no less than four ‘virtuous’, ‘worthy’ and probably married gentlewomen artists painting in oils and, it seems, beyond the general condemnation of society for doing so.

There is no evidence of a backlash against Sanderson’s public trumpeting of female creative talent, or indeed against the women named. Does this lack of criticism indicate that society was not as outraged by public expressions of women’s ideas in paint as it was, on occasion, by their appearing in print, being spoken on stage, or prophesied in town squares. Again, the answer may lie in the context. Prolific writer and natural philosopher Margaret Cavendish (d.1673), Duchess of Newcastle, was reported by men and women alike as unconventional in her dress and manner, and regarded by many as at best eccentric, at worst ‘mad’.²³⁰ Pepys, rather hysterically, dismissed her biography of her husband William as a ‘ridiculous History [...] wrote by his wife’, which ‘shews her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer her to write what she writes to him, and of him’.²³¹ Her sin was as much, if not more, in her appearance and behaviour, including the self-publication of her books, as in the ideas she dared to expound. In chapter two I touched upon less flamboyant women writers, those who selected their subject matter carefully and presented it in a measured way, were not deemed to be acting immodestly in

²²⁹ Margaret Toynbee & Gyles Isham, ‘Joan Carlisle (1606?-1679) - an identification’, *Burlington Magazine*, 96 (1954), pp. 273-277.

²³⁰ Katie Whitaker, *Mad Madge: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, royalist, writer and romantic*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 2002).

²³¹ Margaret Cavendish, *The Life of the Thrice Noble, High, and Puissant Prince, William Cavendish [...] Written by the thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, His Wife [...]*, (London: 1667); 18 March 1667/8, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1668/03/18/>> [accessed 8 August 2019].

assuming an authoritative stance, even when they ventured into public. Others, like poet and dramatist Katherine Philips, knowingly aligned themselves with elevated and authoritative male writers, thus bolstering themselves with the twin reflected defences of respectability and intellectual equivalence. The women artists Sanderson carefully presented to his readers were made respectable by their married state; their choice of portraiture - a genre which, like child-bearing, bestows the gift of 'likeness'; and by the elevated status accorded them by being mentioned in the company of illustrious male painters by a titled male writer.

The 'paynting roome': space, materials, work

The first reference to the painting studio as a distinct physical space at the top of the Hind Court house was made by Woodforde in the 1660s when Mary, recovering from a serious illness, was,

able to gett up alone into ye painting roome, the Lord bee pleased perfectly to recover her & restore her to her health.²³²

Other early references to painting activities and art collecting were made in manuscripts created at Hind Court. Vertue recalled seeing in Charles' notebook 1660/1 a January bill for dozens of 'painting tools pencills, brushes goose & swan fitches' that came to £5 5s. 0d.²³³ In August and September of the same year Charles described preparing 'quantities of primed paper to paint on', and had made an inventory of their 'Frames Cloths. &c utensils' and 'colours'. Beale's list of household goods included 'plate watches bookes. & furniture' as well as several paintings by Van Dyck, Rubens, Lely, Walker, Adriaen Hanneman (d.1671) and Flatman. The mention of paper to work on is particularly interesting as it is not an ideal support for oil paint, tending to buckle unless meticulously prepared. The oil medium and diluents, such as turpentine, are absorbed into the paper, sometimes leaving the pigment on the surface, under-bound and vulnerable to physical abrasion. Paintings on paper from the seventeenth century are rare because the support is fragile and prone to damage caused by rough handling or careless storage, and those that survive have usually been mounted onto canvas or solid supports. Nor does

²³² February or March 1663/4: Woodforde, 'Liber Dolorosus', f.75.r.

²³³ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174.

paper lend itself to building up of complex areas of paint, layer by layer, in the traditional technique most often used when working on canvas. For these reasons Beale probably used paper for studies in oil washes, or perhaps for portraits finished in a single sitting, executed thinly and rapidly rather than reworked several times. While cheaper than canvas, paper was still an expensive commodity and sheets practicable for painting on would probably have measured no more than about 47 by 67.4 cm (18 x 26 in.), ideal for a still-life or a life-size head and shoulders portrait, for example. According to Dard Hunter the characteristics and quality of paper varied widely and was priced accordingly, but he quotes a 1697 contract of sale that lists ‘ye writing paper at 20 shillings [the ream] and ye brown paper at 6 shillings pr. ream’, translating to around £77.00 per ream, in modern currency, for good quality writing or drawing paper.²³⁴ With Charles by then comfortably ensconced in civil service - with good prospects and remuneration in transaction fees²³⁵ - the Beales were able to make a substantial investment in painting materials, confirming that they enjoyed financial security and, more revealingly, that Mary was engaged in something more than a gentle hobby. It is also clear from Charles’ priming of the paper that his role as technician and experimenter continued despite the demands and rewards of his Patents Office job. The use of paper, a cheaper and readily available alternative to fabric supports, lends weight to Vertue’s theory that Mary was simply engaged in study. Other factors, however, including the scale of their financial investment in ‘quantities’ of materials suggest that the couple already had an artistic end in view that was at least semi-commercial, and which required careful planning to develop the necessary skills and techniques.

It was at this time, with Charles in his ground floor Hind Court office and Mary upstairs in her studio, in an atmosphere of virtuosity and industry, sociability and commerce, that she created her *Self-portrait of the artist with husband and son* (Fig.

²³⁴ Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: the history and technique of an ancient craft*, (New York, NY: Dover, 1978), pp. 229 & 241. Hunter states that paper sheet sizes were fairly standardised for the printing trade by the 15th century with the average sheet measuring 35.5 by 48.3 cm (14 x 19 in.). Value provided by *The National Archives Currency Converter: 1270-2017*, [online] <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/> [accessed 8 June 2014].

²³⁵ For example, ‘Sept^{br}. 18. 1660 a Patent granted to Tho. Symonds of one of his Majest^{ties}. Chief graver of the Mint with the fee of 50^{li} p Anñ -- in 34 lines -- 2s. 6-- (Received by M^r Beale Sep. 18. 1661)’, ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 26 (1937-38), p. 87.

2) the earliest of her self depictions known to survive.²³⁶ The portrait is also the earliest of all her securely attributed paintings. As the title suggests, the portrait includes likenesses of Charles snr and Bartholomew ‘Batt’ Beale at half-length. In this group portrait - one of the earliest by a British woman - the painter assumed her position as creator within the established male type normally representing the artist and ‘his wife’ or family (see examples by Rubens, de Vos and Jordaens, Figs. 39-41).²³⁷ Charles and Mary, who was probably expecting her second child when it was painted, turn inwards towards each other, he looking at his wife over the head of little Batt. Charles has his arms around his son while Mary holds the front of her mantle with her right hand and motions towards herself. Unlike her husband, the artist looks directly towards the viewer with authorial directness. At the centre of the painting, Charles’ right hand is placed on the shoulder of his son in the conventional gesture of fatherly affection and patriarchal lineage. Mary’s raised right hand hovers inches above her husband’s, and it is the pregnant nature of that small space between their hands that seems to allude to the fourth member of the family who is, at once, both present and absent.

Neither husband nor wife is at the centre of the composition - the children, living, unborn and painted occupy centre stage - but Mary does not subjugate herself within the family. In fact, by placing herself to the left of the composition in the traditionally male position of hierarchical prominence, and by separating herself very slightly from the other figures, Beale stressed not her dominance, but her significance within the group.²³⁸ As Barber has suggested in view of its timing in the lives of the family and the nation, this portrait may have been painted as a commemoration of the Beales’ established social status in Restoration London, with Charles’ sober robes denoting his prestigious office as Deputy Clerk of the Patents.

²³⁶ Fig. 2. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait with husband and son*, c.1660, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 76.2 cm (25 x 30 in.), Geffrye Museum (acc. 49/1978), London.

²³⁷ See, for example, Fig. 39. Rubens’ *Self-portrait with Isabella Brant, in the honeysuckle*, c. 1609/10, oil on canvas, 178 x 136.5 cm (70 1/16 x 53 3/8 in.), Munich, Alte Pinakothek (acc. 334); Fig. 41. Cornelis de Vos, *Self-Portrait of the artist with his family*, 1621, oil on canvas, 188 x 162 cm (74 x 63 3/4 in.), Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (acc. 2246). Fig. 40. Jordaens, *Family of the Artist*, c.1621, oil on canvas, 181 x 187 cm (71 1/4 x 73 5/8 in.), Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (acc. P001549), shows the artist as gentleman virtuosi, lute by his side, flanked by the bounty of his female household.

²³⁸ An example of a ‘friendship’ portrait in which the more elevated person is at the left of the composition is Van Dyck’s, *Thomas Killigrew and William, Lord Crofts* [?], 1638, oil on canvas, 132.9 x 144.1 cm (18 x 15 in.), London, Royal Collection (acc. RCIN 407426), in which the former is grieving over the loss of his wife, Cecilia Crofts (d.1638).

Rather than representing a middling home, the generalised setting certainly hints at a grand formal interior befitting a servant of the state and his well-to-do family. For the first time in their married life, it seems, Charles had the means to provide for his family and, as his later anxiety over the possibility of losing his post demonstrates, this must have been an important development in the couple's prospects. Frances Borzello saw the painting as an example of what she called the 'support system' self-portrait in which the female artist (in particular) acknowledges the role played by a supportive family. Going further, however, she considered Beale's gesturing towards herself as stating that 'I am the one who deserves the respect'.²³⁹ Barber, interpreting this as an aspersion on the collaborative nature of the Beales' relationship, countered that 'Mary would never wish to assert her superior role as artist and breadwinner'.²⁴⁰ Both, I think, miss the point, not least of all because Mary was not then, it seems, a breadwinner at all. Rather, the portrait declares Mary's multifarious sense of self in this settled phase, as artist, wife and mother, but it is significant that she and her act of painting - implied by her gaze and gesture towards herself - are literally central to family life and its prosperity. Here she appears to court controversy in picturing herself as a public figure in a formal setting, as man would do, both a member of the Art elite and a denizen of the wider society of gentlefolk, a highly respectable and productive member of the commonwealth. And yet, conversely, when viewed from a different perspective - not knowing that the female subject was also the artist - the family group probably appeared to the mid-seventeenth century eye to depict a touching domestic scene and, by 'virtue of necessity', an epitome of social conformity. With the very act of painting Mary was conscious of placing herself in the triple role of artist, model and viewer of her own image, her created persona; and of conducting a sophisticated conversation with her sitters, viewers and other artists. In exploring the possibilities of self-fashioning in this (and subsequent) self-portraits, Beale could be said to approach something of Sofonisba Anguissola's ironic retelling of the creative balance of power in the relationship between master and pupil, subject and painter, artist and viewer in her double portrait *Bernadino Campi painting Sofonisba Anguissola* (late 1550s, Fig. 11).²⁴¹ It is clear from the ironies and role-

²³⁹ Frances Borzello, *Seeing ourselves: women's self-portraits*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), pp. 62-4.

²⁴⁰ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 34.

²⁴¹ Fig. 11. Sofonisba Anguissola, *Bernadino Campi painting Sofonisba Anguissola*, late 1550s, oil on canvas, 110.8 x 109.5 cm (43 5/8 x 43 1/8 in.), Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale; see Mary Garrard

reversal within Beale's portrait that she was experimenting as much with the expectations and visual literacy of the viewer, as with the subtleties of self-definition or promotion.

Even more fundamentally, I suggest, Beale is asserting her authority as creator *despite* being a woman, her self-regarding pose echoing near-contemporary male self-portraits including that by Lely (c.1660, Fig. 10, owned, and possibly commissioned, by the couple); Van Dyck (c.1638, Fig. 9) and Rembrandt (1640, Fig. 8), all of which may have been understood with reference to Titian's *Portrait of a Man* (c.1510-12, Fig. 7) and Raphael's *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* (1514-15, Fig. 6).²⁴² Mary's *Self-portrait* is evidence that by 1660 she had already developed at least one complex composition, and was experimenting with a new female mode of self-representation by colonising an established masculine model. By referencing Titian and Raphael directly, or through the mediation of Van Dyck and, more than that, in assuming the pose of the 'Master', Beale also demonstrated that she consciously placed herself within the male artistic continuum. This piece of aesthetic and intellectual temerity is the work of an expressive artist, an autodidact eager to learn from her predecessors and to experiment with new, possibly controversial forms. Bearing all of these factors in mind, there is every reason to suppose that Mary was also very well aware of the self-promotional value of just such a portrait hanging, as it presumably did, in the Beales' house, possibly even in Charles' office under the noses of the great and not-so-good who came to have their patents endorsed.

'Here's looking at me: Sofonisba Anguissola and the problem of the woman artist', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 47:3 (1994), pp. 556-622; Angela Rosenthal, 'She's got the look! Eighteenth-century female portrait painters and the psychology of a potentially 'dangerous employment' in Joanna Woodall, ed. *Portraiture: facing the subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 147-66.

²⁴² Fig. 6. Raphael, *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* (1514-15), oil on canvas (82 x 67 cm (32 1/4 x 26 3/8 in.), Paris, Musée du Louvre (acc. 611); Fig. 7. Titian, *Portrait of Gerolamo (?) Barbarigo*, (c.1510), oil on canvas (81.2 x 66.3 cm (32 x 26 in.), London, National Gallery (acc. NG1944), which has probably been in England since the late 1630s, when it was thought to depict Ludovico Ariosto; Fig. 8. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, 1640, oil on canvas, 102 x 80 cm (40 1/8 x 31 1/2 in.), London, National Gallery (acc. NG672); Fig. 9. Anthony van Dyck, *Self-portrait with sunflower* (c.1638), oil on canvas 58.4 x 73 cm (23 x 28 3/4 in.), private collection.; Fig. 10. Peter Lely, *Self-portrait*, c.1660, oil on canvas (108 x 87.6 cm; 42 1/2 x 34 1/2 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 3897).

A group of four portraits on paper by Mary can be dated to the same period as the *Self-portrait* (Fig. 2). One of these is a small head of *Charles Beale the elder* (c.1660, Fig. 12)²⁴³; and another is a head and shoulders *Portrait of a Young Child* (c.1660-63, Fig. 13)²⁴⁴, which Tabitha Barber dated to ‘the early-1660s or perhaps earlier’ and identified as being an image of Mary’s eldest son, Bartholomew. The two other small scale works, also in head and shoulders format, were attributed to Beale by the art historian James Mulraine in 2010 and accessioned as such when they were subsequently acquired by Tate, where Barber identified these too as likenesses of young Bartholomew.²⁴⁵ In her published notes on the paintings, *Sketch of the artist’s son, Bartholomew Beale, in profile* (c.1660, Fig. 14)²⁴⁶ and *Sketch of the artist’s son, Bartholomew Beale, facing left* (c.1660, Fig. 15)²⁴⁷, Barber related all four works on paper to one another, but concluded that it is not known whether they ‘are connected to the production of the Geffrye Museum portrait, or were simply executed at around the same time’.²⁴⁸

I argue that taken together the *Portrait of a Young Child* (Fig. 13), the portrait of *Charles Beale* (Fig. 12), and the recently attributed sketches of Bartholomew described above (Figs. 14 & 15), offer a new opportunity to reconsider the group portrait seen, hitherto, largely in isolation. Barber, for example, goes no further than to acknowledge that the sketches may be examples of work carried out for ‘study and improvement’, and speculates whether ‘a parallel can be drawn with Samuel Cooper’s highly prized, unfinished portrait miniatures’, but it seems unlikely that Beale would have enjoyed that sort of cache at this early stage of her career.²⁴⁹ The four were in all likelihood - on chronological, iconographic, stylistic and material grounds - studies for the group *Self-portrait* of c.1660 (Fig. 2). All are painted on

²⁴³ Fig. 12., Mary Beale *Charles Beale* [snr], c.1660, oil on canvas, 24.1 x 21 cm (9 1/2 x 8 1/4 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1279).

²⁴⁴ Fig. 13. Mary Beale, *Portrait of a young child* [Bartholomew Beale], c.1660-63, oil on paper, on canvas, 33.1 x 28.6 cm (13 1/16 x 11 1/4 in.), San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, Art Collections (acc. 2000.14).

²⁴⁵ Hannah Furness, ‘Lost paintings by Britain’s first female artist on show at Tate Britain after being found in Parisian antiques shop’, *Telegraph*, 13th May 2013.

²⁴⁶ Fig. 14. Mary Beale, *Bartholomew Beale, in profile*; oil on paper, (32.5 x 24.5 cm; 12 13/16 x 9 5/8 in.), London, Tate Britain (acc. T13245).

²⁴⁷ Fig. 15. Mary Beale, *Bartholomew Beale, facing left*, both c.1660, oil on paper, (32.5 x 24.5 cm; 12 13/16 x 9 5/8 in.), London, Tate Britain (acc. T13246).

²⁴⁸ Tabitha Barber, ‘Summary’, *Mary Beale, Sketch of the artist’s son, Bartholomew Beale, in profile c. 1660*, (Tate, 2010), [online] <<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/beale-sketch-of-the-artists-son-bartholomew-beale-in-profile-t13245/text-summary>> [accessed 14 June 2018].

²⁴⁹ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 61-2.

paper the dimensions of which are consistent with having been all or part of the average size of sheet available commercially. Each can, therefore, be linked to the type of paper ‘primed’ by Charles and mentioned by Vertue. The painting of Charles’ face and hair in the NPG portrait is particularly highly finished, drawn precisely and yet with the quickness and bravura suggestive of a study for a larger composition, while the drapery is suggested in the broadest terms. Here the figure’s orientation and direction of gaze correspond almost exactly to that which appears in the group portrait. The face and hair of the *Young Child* are also reasonably highly finished and, although the figure is facing left, could easily have been reversed to serve as the prototype for the depiction of the young Bartholomew in the family group. Both of the Tate sketches of Bartholomew, and particularly the one in which the child faces to the right, relate so closely in compositional and stylistic terms to his depiction in the Geffrye portrait as to represent an early development stage between the more fully realised *Young Child*, and the final *Self-portrait of the artist with her husband and son*. The sketches and studies provide compelling evidence that Mary Beale used a sophisticated, considered approach to composing a highly original female version of an accepted autobiographical portrait form - that of the artist and his family, away from the studio and without the artisan’s trappings of brush and palette.

Coterie: literature, friendship, love and obligation

Mary Beale’s observational note on ‘her painting of Apricots’ represents her only known piece of writing about her work and, although created privately, was clearly intended for the instruction of an unknown readership, her two sons, perhaps, or the gentlemen virtuosi who avidly sought out books and manuscripts about art.²⁵⁰ Although only recently printed, manuscript copies of the text may have been circulated in her own lifetime.²⁵¹ As a result, it is impossible to quantify the part it has played in informing biographical, intellectual or artistic assumptions about the artist over the hundreds of intervening years. In the early modern period it was common among literate people to copy instructional, profound or consoling passages

²⁵⁰ Ogden & Ogden, ‘Bibliography of seventeenth-century writings on the pictorial arts in English’, pp. 196-207.

²⁵¹ Draper, ‘Mary Beale and ‘her painting of Apricots’’, pp. 389-405.

from books and manuscripts into commonplace books or miscellanies. Often the material transcribed was religious, but many miscellanies included poetry, recipes, and remedies for ailments. Some manuscripts were copied in their entirety either verbatim or with variations and annotations. Beale's discourse on *Friendship* (1666), for example, exists in two manuscript copies, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter four.²⁵² Pieces of writing, whole or in excerpt, were frequently re-copied and shared with friends who, in turn, may have sent them to family or kin. In this way unprinted texts could enjoy a wide readership even when the author was entirely ignorant of the exchanges. Such was the case earlier in the century when *Miniatura*, Edward Norgate's treatise on the art of limning, was circulated prompting the author to complain that it,

hath broke forth and bene a wanderer and some imperfect Copies have appeared under anothers name without my knowledge or consent.²⁵³

Within the Beale circle, Woodforde later complained in the preface to his *Paraphrase upon the Canticles* that unknown to him,

and unallowed for, after very false Copies some of [his verses] have been already Published.²⁵⁴

On the whole however, many of these early modern exchanges appear to have been judiciously given and received, and with some expectation of the possibility of wider dissemination. Within the more consciously literary coteries, including that of Katherine Philips, manuscript copies of original poetry and prose were both read and exchanged as a form of critical 'peer review' by the members. While such coteries were largely informal groups, a mix of friends, kin and others with likeminded interests, they often included at least one more experienced and well-connected figure who could be viewed in many respects as a patron. Friendship in its broadest

²⁵² Beale, ['Discourse on Friendship'], f.510-523; and, Beale, 'Discourse of Friendship' [in Charles Crompton (d.1677), 'Commonplace Book', c.1667, Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS.V.a.220].

²⁵³ Edward Norgate, letter of dedication to Lord Henry Howard, Earl of Arundel, affixed to the second manuscript version of his 'Miniatura' (1648/9), reproduced in *Miniatura: Or the Art of Limning*, ed. Martin Hardie, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919), p. 3.

²⁵⁴ Samuel Woodforde, 'Preface' [unpaginated], of *A Paraphrase upon the Canticles, and some select Hymns of the New and Old Testament, with other occasional compositions in English verse* (London: printed by J. D. for John Baker & Henry Brome, 1679).

sense was inevitably at the heart of their activities. Members were conscious of the need to give as well as receive constructive responses to their work, and it was perceived to be in the interests of each to promote the success of the others, and therefore the circle as a whole.²⁵⁵ Patronage was, however, an important element of coterie culture and could take the form of giving an impecunious poet board and lodging, or the provision of commendatory letters and poems for printed works including ‘On the noble Art of PAINTING’, written by Thomas Flatman for the front matter of Sir William Sanderson’s *Graphice*.²⁵⁶

After examining the creative activities and exchanges within the Beale circle, I suggest that it comprised just such a coterie - centred upon the twin concerns of friendship and patronage - albeit a literary *and* painterly one. Writing about the post-Restoration art world, and in particular the miniatures which Flatman painted of the Beale circle, John Murdoch commented that it,

would be wrong to forget that the great bulk of production in the reign of Charles II was for the court, but there is a sense in which the flow of images by ‘minor’ painters such as Mary Beale or Thomas Flatman represents a different social and cultural dispensation.²⁵⁷

Murdoch considered that the early work of Flatman and Beale, like that of miniaturist Samuel Cooper, reflected a social intimacy that emerged in the period, and was best illustrated by their naturalistic likenesses painted very much against the grain of the glamorous, idealised portraits of courtiers and courtesans. Mary’s texts and the ‘informal’ head and shoulders portraits attributed to her early period since the mid-twentieth century, painted out of love and friendship or for study and improvement, lend weight to Murdoch’s view and place Beale and her friends even more firmly within the intellectual coterie milieu. From the available surviving texts it would seem that the most active, and most earnest members of the early Beale coterie were Mary herself, Woodforde, Flatman, Knollys, William Bates, the Tillotsons and Charles Beale.

²⁵⁵ Paul Trolander & Zeynep Tenger, *Sociable criticism in England, 1625-1725*, (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2007).

²⁵⁶ Front matter in Sanderson, *Graphice. The use of the Pen and Pencil*, [unpaginated].

²⁵⁷ John Murdoch, ‘Painting: from Astraea to Augustus’, *Cambridge cultural history of Britain: seventeenth century*, ed. Boris Ford, 4, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 256.

In 1664 Woodforde put his writing skills to work in composing a poem, (see Appendix II, p. 290), about another of Mary Beale's early self-portraits, one in which she appeared in the character of Pallas Athene, the virgin warrior goddess of good causes, and patron of learning and the arts. Samuel dedicated his poem,

To Belisa
The Excellent Mrs Mary Beal upon her own Picture, done by her self,
like Pallas, but without any Arms [armour], except Head-piece and
Corselet.²⁵⁸

The dedication of Woodforde's poem to 'Belisa' is significant as it suggests that the Beales' circle had indeed, to some extent, adopted the conventions of more elite literary coterie names derived from mythology, court romances and other sources. Katherine Philips, for example, gave the members of her inner circle coterie names, her husband James (d.1674) becoming 'Antenor', her friends Mary Aubrey Montagu (d.1700) and Mary Harvey Dering (d.1704) were 'Rosania' and 'Parthenia' respectively, while she herself was 'Orinda'.²⁵⁹ Another example of Beale coterie exchange was referred to by Flatman in a now lost letter of 1666. Writing to Mary, in the most courtly of language, he thanked her for a gift of verses she had sent him. When London publisher Samuel Briscoe (d.1727) subsequently printed the letter in 1724, Beale, its original recipient and author of the 'Poesy' in question, lost her identity and became merely Flatman's 'Honour'd Madam', while his status as both a poet in his own right and as a gentleman critic of discernment and authority had retained its currency and was enhanced.²⁶⁰ It is possible that Briscoe redacted Beale's name in order to increase the piquancy of the letter by implying the existence of a mystery woman, or to protect Mary's memory as a respectable married lady, but it seems that his track record was not one of protecting female reputations from scandal. Although the letter's recipient has

²⁵⁸ Written in 1664, and printed in Woodforde, *Paraphrase upon the Canticles* (1679) pp. 162-3.

²⁵⁹ Paul Trolander & Zeynep Tenger, 'Katherine Philips and coterie critical practices', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2004), pp. 367-87; Penelope Anderson, "'Obligation here is injury': exemplary friendship in Katherine Philips's coterie', in *Friendship's shadows: women's friendship and the politics of betrayal in England, 1640-1705*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 69-113.

²⁶⁰ Dated 16 August 1666, the letter accompanies four directed to Charles using his customary form of address to the Beales as his 'Honoured' 'Master' and 'Madam', in *Familiar letters of love, gallantry, and several other occasions: by the witts of the last and present age [...] From their originals [...]*, ed. Samuel Briscoe, 6th ed., (London, 1724), pp. 251-2; compared to Flatman letters, [Bodleian MSS. 104].

remained unidentified until now, the text nevertheless memorialised not only the expertise of her poetry, but also the very existence of these two individuals, the interests they shared, and the bond of trusting friendship between them.

Gifts and exchanges

It was through this melding of chivalry, literature and art, that the sociable ‘paynting roome’ Mary and Charles established in their Hind Court home evolved into the very centre of friendship and obligation within her circle, and that its actual and symbolic potency persisted as a convivial place where existing alliances could be maintained and new ones created. As we have seen, presents of poems and sides of venison were not uncommon within the circle, and portraits too were made and given as gifts. A touching example comes from Thomas Flatman’s autograph inscription on the back of his portrait miniature of Charles, addressed,

to his own friend most dear before all, Master Charles Beale this his own likeness. T. Flatman gave and dedicated it as a gift, 3 August 1660.²⁶¹

True to the spirit of co-mingling friendship with commerce Charles recorded in his 1660/1 notebook that the Beales had also commissioned portraits and had,

given several wages to Mr Flatman for Limning my own picture. My D. Malls father Cradock & the Boyes- 30. 0. 0.²⁶²

‘Malls’ being an affectionate variation of the name Mary, and ‘My D.’ being a shortening of ‘Dearest Heart’, Charles’ pet name for his wife, the entry refers to a new miniature of John Cradock, father of Mary Beale. As Cradock had been dead for some years, the miniature commissioned from Flatman must have been after an existing portrait, possibly the one by Robert Walker that the Beales owned by

²⁶¹ Fig. 49, Thomas Flatman, *Portrait of Charles Beale the elder*, c.1660-64, watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book, 82 x 70 mm (3 1/4 x 2 3/4 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.13-1941); the inscription reads, ‘Amico suo an[te omnes] / charissimo Mro Carolo Beal[o] hanc sua[m] effigiem T Flatman./ D.D.D./ Aug.3.1660’, translated by the V&A as, ‘to his own friend most dear before all, Master Charles Beale this his own likeness. T. Flatman gave and dedicated it as a gift, 3 August 1660’; see John Murdoch, *Seventeenth-century English miniatures in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, (London: HM Stationery Office & V&A, 1997), pp. 208-9.

²⁶² ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174.

1660.²⁶³ Charles' 'own picture' may also have been a copy after a Walker portrait, or after Flatman's earlier gift, and was possibly commissioned as a keepsake likeness to be given, in turn, to another friend or a family member. If this was so, Flatman's initial gift of painted immortality to Charles was returned in kind, and with interest, to the giver. Gifts breed gifts, likeness breeds likeness, and portraits become both precious keepsakes and advertisements in the 'cabinets' and homes of other people.

Many years later, with Mary well established in fully professional practice, Charles recorded their making a gift of one of her paintings in his 1680/1 notebook,

17th Octobr 1681. We sent home our worthy friend ye Dean of Peterburght Pictr done upon Sacking wch I think was one of the best Pictrs both for Painting & Likenes my D. Heart ever did, & therefore the more fitt to be presented him to whome we are so excedingly obliged.²⁶⁴

A painted portrait invariably represents a considerable investment in concentration, time and expensive materials, so that in the contexts mentioned the gift of a likeness signified true affection, the repaying of a pressing obligation, the exercise of mutual self-promotion, or possibly all of these things. The very next day Mary received a more prosaic but very sociable payment in kind,

18th Octobr 1681. My Cos: Auditor Bridges, most obligingly sent my Dearest Heart a Vessel of Wine for painting over again his owne Picture.²⁶⁵

Woodforde's 1664 poem to Beale as 'Belisa', written about her aforementioned self-portrait as Pallas Athene in a 'Head-piece and Corselet', did not appear in print until 1679. By the time of publication Beale was a well-established commercial portraitist and Woodforde had become a respectable clergyman. Nevertheless, the public airing of the poem, so long after the events and feelings that inspired its writing, still served to endorse the artistic talents of 'Mrs Mary Beale', while associating her name once again with the suitably religious themes of the *Canticles*.²⁶⁶ Samuel re-bestowed a textual gift of verse on this second occasion as a commendation designed to bestow

²⁶³ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174.

²⁶⁴ Referring to family friend Simon Patrick (1626-1707) the Dean of Peterborough, Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f. 140.

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Woodforde, *Paraphrase upon the Canticles*, pp. 162-3.

credit upon his friend while to repaying an obligation of love - in return, perhaps, for Mary and Charles' kindness after the death of his first wife Alice, in January 1664. By 1679, however, Woodforde had re-married and been appointed prebend of Winchester Cathedral, while Mary Beale, in her Pall Mall studio, was literally and metaphorically close to the Court at Whitehall and St James's Palace and a valuable link to London and its agents of preferment. The poem's publication was therefore to mutual advantage, allowing Samuel to renew his public association with Mary Beale the virtuous Christian writer and prominent artist, and she with him, a sober and scholarly cleric. The persistence and longevity of this literary compliment illustrates the profound importance of early modern networks of goodwill, and the exchanges within them.

Extending his poetic commendation even further, Sam's nod to Mary's painterly allusions to Greek mythology and 'Fabulous Antiquity', indicate (as an added bonus) that she is a woman of classical learning - a gentlewoman virtuosa of rare inventiveness and variety, capable of portraying her sitters in many ingenious guises. Mary's painted vision of herself as Pallas, he suggests, is cleverer, more impressive and beautiful than the goddess's own incarnation. Had she a choice in the matter, Pallas Athene would have opted to appear as Belisa envisioned her rather than take the form that 'Greece had drawne'. The notion of portraits in which the sitter inhabited a classical persona was, of course, not a new one and in her iconography Mary may well have been influenced by what Oliver Millar termed 'Lely's Arcadian portraits' of the 1650s, including his *A Boy as a shepherd*, (c1658-60, Fig. 16) wearing classical dress and holding a recorder and a shepherd's crook.²⁶⁷ In a *Self-portrait as a shepherdess* (Fig. 17) of around the same time Mary portrayed herself as an Arcadian shepherdess seated on a rock in a landscape, with a small boy (possibly young Batt) at her side.²⁶⁸ Although here she holds a shepherd's crook,

²⁶⁷ Fig. 16, Sir Peter Lely, *A Boy as a shepherd*, c.1658-60, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 75.6 cm (36 x 29 3/4 in.), London, Dulwich Picture Gallery (acc. DPG563), in Oliver Millar *Sir Peter Lely, 1618-80, an exhibition at 15 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1*, (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1978), p. 12; see also *Peter Lely a lyrical vision*, ed. Caroline Campbell, (London: Courtauld Gallery/Paul Holberton Publishing, 2012). Lely's *Portrait of a Boy*, has traditionally associated with the Beale family although without any clear evidence. It belonged to Edward Lovibond (d. 1737) who also owned Lely's portraits of Mary herself, Alice Woodford, and one called 'Bartholomew [Batt] Beale'.

²⁶⁸ Fig. 17, Mary Beale, *Self-portrait as a shepherdess*, c.1664, oil on canvas 53.3 x 45.7 cm (21 x 18 in.), [with Historical Portraits/P. Mould c.2000].

something about her pose suggests that it could perhaps have been interchangeable with the Pallas but minus the ‘Head-piece and Corselet’.

Mary’s adoption of this particular mythological persona may have indicated her desire to align herself with learning and the Liberal Arts in general, and with Italian schools of painting in particular, much as Lely had done before her. It is possible, however, that her incarnation as Athene may have been a stage in developing a female portrait type designed to appeal to patriotic sitters during the propaganda and opening skirmishes which preceded the second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667).²⁶⁹ If Beale’s self-portrait as Pallas was indeed the conscious development of an iconographic type, a visual anticipation of political events as possible subject matter, this would lend further weight to the theory that she envisaged a sophisticated commercial market for her work. Whatever Mary Beale’s intention, Samuel Woodforde’s textual description of her portrait certainly indicates the artist’s early consciousness, in the 1660s, of the principles and practice of self-fashioning, in which both sitter and artist are receptive to the possibility of being portrayed as a recognisable portrait, but within an emblematic identity, that it was possible to signal to the viewer a persona or reputation far more complex than a physiognomic likeness. The commercial and self-promotional aspects of the Beale circle’s coterie activities and works, in the context of building reputations and earning public credit, will be discussed further in chapter four.

Friendship: conflict and separation

The mid-1660s were troubled times in London, with outbreaks of small-pox in 1664 and plague in 1665, followed by the Great Fire of September 1666. Woodforde’s texts relating to this period also reveal that the security of Charles Beale’s place as Deputy Clerk at the Patents Office came into question when machinations over patronage and advancement at a much more elevated level came into play, as will be discussed in chapter four. Suffice to say that in 1665 Charles’ name abruptly disappeared from official records of Hind Court inhabitants to be replaced, in early

²⁶⁹ In one such incident in October 1664, for example, British forces in north America overcame the Dutch incumbents to annex New Amsterdam for the Crown, see Gijs Rommelse, *Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667): raison d’état, mercantilism and maritime strife*, (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), & James Rees Jones, *Anglo-Dutch wars of the seventeenth century*, (London: Longman, 1996).

1666, by that of the new clerk, ‘Mr Thomas Viner’.²⁷⁰ The Beales being, in Woodforde’s words, understandably ‘weary of the Citty without good employment’, and with plague all around them, went to spend the next five years on their rural smallholding at Allbrook, in the Hampshire parish of Otterbourne.²⁷¹ The farmhouse of three floors had been built in 1650s, at a cost of £800, in the mid-seventeenth-century vernacular style fairly typical of the county, and came with parcels of land known as ‘Aldermoor, Boyton Mead, and Otterbourne Mead’.²⁷² As at Hind Court, the surviving Hearth Tax records for Allbrook do not record the Beale household, although Woodforde’s diary suggests they were installed in time for the Michaelmas assessment for 1665.²⁷³ Allbrook Farmhouse (see Fig. 46)²⁷⁴ does survive and, until the twenty-first century, in its unmodernised seventeenth-century size and configuration of rooms. The family enjoyed the benefit of at least four hearths, one in each of the two principal rooms on the ground floor and, feeding into the same central chimney stack, one in each of the two rooms directly above, and possibly one or two in the attic rooms.²⁷⁵ Usefully, the Hearth Tax return does reveal that Otterbourne parish contained thirty-eight properties. Taking this and the two neighbouring parishes into account, local properties ranged between one and nine hearths each, with just nine out of a total of one hundred and twenty-six properties containing more than five hearths.²⁷⁶ We may conclude from these figures that Allbrook, and its neighbouring villages, were made up families and individuals of mixed means, with just a very few enjoying a similar or better standard of housing than the Beales. It is clear from the returns and the few other available sources, however, that there were some very wealthy and well-connected families occupying large houses in the vicinity of the Beale home.²⁷⁷ A few miles west of Allbrook, at

²⁷⁰ ‘Thomas Viner’, ‘Hearth Tax: City of London 1666, St Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street’, *London Hearth Tax: City of London and Middlesex, 1666* (2011), *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/london-mddx/1666>> [accessed 10 April 2018].

²⁷¹ Woodforde, ‘Memoires [...] of My Life’, p. 194.

²⁷² ‘Parishes: Otterbourne’, in *Victoria history of the County of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 5 vols, ed. William Page, (London: Archibald Constable, 1900-1912), 3 (1908), pp. 440-444; *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol3/pp440-444>> [accessed 27 December 2018].

²⁷³ They left London 26 June 1665, Woodforde, ‘Memoires [...] of My Life’, pp. 49-50.

²⁷⁴ Fig. 46, Helen Draper, *Allbrook Farmhouse*, Allbrook, Hampshire, c. 2007, digital photograph.

²⁷⁵ Based on the author’s visit to the house in 1999, at which time only the ground and first floors were accessible for reasons of safety.

²⁷⁶ ‘Mister William Downes 3’, ‘Mister John Beale 9’, ‘Francis White 5’, ‘Richard Noyes 4’, ‘Mister Thomas Dummer 6’, ‘John Mathew 5’ & ‘Mistress Knowles 4’, from *Hampshire Hearth Tax Assessment 1665, with the Southampton assessments for 1662 and 1670*, eds Elizabeth Hughes & Pippa White, Hampshire Record Series, 11 (Winchester: Hampshire Record Office, 1991), p. 60.

²⁷⁷ Charlotte M. Younge, *Old times at Otterbourne*, (Winchester: Warren & Son, c.1883).

Cranbury House, Hursley, lived Queen Catherine of Braganza's sewer of the chamber, Sir Charles Wyndham (d.1706) and his new wife Jamesina Young (d.1720), on whom title to the house had been settled.²⁷⁸ Two miles away the family of the exiled Richard Cromwell (d.1712) lived very quietly at Hursley House. North of Allbrook was Brambridge House in Boyatt manor, home of the Catholic Welles family, one of whom, Winifred Welles (b. c.1642), was maid of honour to the Queen.²⁷⁹ The manor of Otterbourne itself was owned by Magdalen College, Oxford, but at its Manor Farm lived Jane (d.1671) and William Downe (d.1669), he, collector of rents for the College, was also brother-in-law to Sir William Trumbull (d.1635), diplomat and politician, whose family were frequent visitors to Hampshire. Indeed, in the year of the Beales' arrival, Charles' nephew John Bridges (d. c.1713) married Elizabeth Trumbull (d.1712), Sir William's daughter, creating a ready-made introduction to the family. The presence of this Court-Country elite raises the possibility that Mary may well have envisaged, and perhaps even enjoyed, some form of artistic patronage while living and working in Hampshire, although no firm evidence of a clientele or commissions has yet come to light. A portrait credibly attributed to Beale by the Art Gallery of South Australia in Adelaide, and corresponding in some respects to her style, particularly the colouration, is said to depict 'Mary Wither' (Fig. 18),²⁸⁰ probably of Wither family of Andwell and Manydown in Hampshire, but attribution to the sitter has not been confirmed elsewhere.²⁸¹ Whether or not portraits were commissioned, the sojourn in the country was significant for the Beales because it became crucial, at least in retrospect, in preparing for the technical demands of commercial practice in London, as will be discussed in chapters four and five.

From their new home Mary Beale sent a manuscript copy of her prose discourse on *Friendship* (1666) to her friend Elizabeth Tillotson.²⁸² In her dedicatory letter to Elizabeth, Mary employs modest, yet charming similes to stress the correspondence

²⁷⁸ 'Parishes: Hursley', in *Victoria history of the County of Hampshire*, ed. Page, 3 (1908), pp. 417-422, *British History Online*, <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol3/>> [accessed 27 December 2018].

²⁷⁹ 'Parishes: Owslebury', *ibid*, pp. 332-335. *British History Online* <<http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol3/pp332-335/>> [accessed 27 December 2018].

²⁸⁰ Fig. 18. Mary Beale, attributed, *Mary Wither*, c.1670s, oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm (12 13/16 x 9 5/8 in.), Adelaide, Art Gallery of South Australia (acc. 20038P59).

²⁸¹ Reginald F. Bigg-Wither, *Materials for a history of the Wither family*, (Winchester: Warren & Son, 1907), pp.19-42.

²⁸² Beale, ['Discourse on Friendship'], ff. 510-23.

between her literary and painterly work, referring to the ‘imperfect likeness’ of friendship she has created in her word-portrait.²⁸³ As Barber has pointed out, Beale’s *Friendship* must be read in relation to latitudinarianism and the divisive events that preceded and followed the Act of Uniformity in religion of 1662.²⁸⁴ I argue that it also reflects the social and literary aftermath of the Civil Wars as an expression of doubt and the need to distinguish ‘true friendship’ from shifting, unstable alliances. The enforced exile made necessary by fear and loss resulting from pox, plague and political intrigue can only have heightened the Beales’ sense of uncertainty. It is clear that Mary and Samuel’s versions of the *Psalms of David* and other Beale circle texts must also be viewed as responses to both their immediate circumstances, and the legacy of war and the Interregnum. Unsurprisingly, in the latter context, the definition of friendship became a popular literary theme in England in the 1650s and 60s, making Beale’s *Friendship* one part of a much larger cultural preoccupation. The poetry of Katherine Philips (d.1664) dwelt with great complexity on the particular nature of this form of social union and the role of its participants, while Jeremy Taylor (d.1667) and Beale’s kinsman by marriage, Francis Finch (b.1626), two members of her Society of Friendship, also wrote prose tracts on the subject.²⁸⁵ To Mary Beale, true friendship is a synonym for all social alliances, and its correct practice has a direct bearing on the future ‘good of Mankind’. Within marriage, friendship even has the power to restore a wife to the position of ‘equal dignity and honour’ with her husband which was lost after the Fall. As well as attending to both Christian and classical ideas on friendship, Beale’s *Friendship* distils and quantifies it, describing the nitty-gritty detail of how friends should conduct themselves, including the important business of selecting one another. Friendship is hard work and can only be entered into by those who are willing to examine, ‘strive against and

²⁸³ 9 March 1666: Beale, letter to Elizabeth Tillotson, f.510.

²⁸⁴ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 23-9.

²⁸⁵ Mark Llewellyn, ‘Katherine Philips: friendship, poetry and neo-Platonic thought in seventeenth-century England’, *Philological Quarterly*, 81:4 (2002), pp. 441-468; Francis Finch, *Friendship*, (London?: [printed privately?], 1654); Jeremy Taylor, *A Discourse of the nature, offices and measures of Friendship, with rules of concluding it. Written in answer to a letter from M. K. P. (To which are added, Two letters to persons newly changed in their religion.)* By J[eremy] T[aylor], D.D., (London, 1657). See also *Discourses and representations of friendship in early modern Europe, 1500–1700*, eds Daniel T. Lochman, Maritère López & Lorna Hutson, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Anderson, *Friendship’s shadows: women’s friendship and the politics of betrayal in England, 1640-1705*; Frances Harris, *Transformations of love: the friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 23-41.

restrain' their 'owne imperfections' while freeing themselves from the constraints of distrust and self-interest.²⁸⁶

More than eighty surviving letters written from London to the couple at Allbrook from c.1663 to 1671 attest to the fact that the Beale circle's mutually supportive and self-promotional activities continued, even during this period of self-imposed separation. Unfortunately those same friends were not as assiduous as Mary and Charles in keeping their correspondence, so that none of the couple's replies are known to exist. Not long before the Beale family and Woodforde left London in June 1665 an intimate friend, John Cooke (d.1691), sent Mary a very significant note which read,

Madame,

This morning I have met with Dr Crichton who pitches upon Monday or Tuesday; but the latter being your day of Liberty we are in a manner confined to Monday, if you please, and no pre-engagement forbid it. So if I hear nothing from you this day to the contrary, I shall wayt upon you with the Doctor on Monday morning a little after eight.

I am

assuredly

Madame,

Your most humble
and obedient servant

Jo:Cooke.

Whitehall

Aprill 8.1665²⁸⁷

This letter by itself tells us many things in a very few words, but when read in conjunction with another of Cooke's letters, written to Charles Beale in 1666, it tells us even more,

'Whitehall Aprill 19:1666

Dear Sir,

I am in so great haste that I can only tell you I have your very kind letter of the 17th instant, but must reserve my thanks for it till another time; though when I have time I am sure I shall want words. Well, I know one that will answer for me, and I can prevaile with him to come, I hope you will thank me, and that is, my Tutor Crighton, who

²⁸⁶ Beale, ['Discourse on Friendship'], f. 511.

²⁸⁷ 8 April 1665: Cooke, letter to Charles Beale, f. 4.

hath more than a months mind to stay at least one night at Albrook, &
then take Mrs. Beale's picture away with him. If you encourage me by
your next, I will try if I can perswade him to take you in his way to
Wells. But I must be rude with you, for business is so with me, and
makes me say with much haste, but with no less news, that I am still,
and shall be always,
Sir, yr most affectionate
humble servant
Jo:Cooke,

to his very worthy friend Charles Beale Esqr. at Albrook in Otterburne
Parish Hantshire by the Southampton foote poste at the Kings Arms
nere Holborne Bridg.²⁸⁸

Quite apart from anything else, these letters make clear the ease and frequency of communication between members of the circle both within and beyond London. It is the second letter, and a third of April 26th arranging how the sitter was to be delivered of 'yor Ladies picture', which confirm that the reason for Dr Crichton's proposed visit to Hind Court had been a portrait sitting.²⁸⁹ John Cooke, already a frequent guest of the Beales, had been a staunch supporter of Sam Woodforde in his faltering attempts to gain employment in 1662. Cooke's Cambridge tutor Robert Creighton D.D. (d.1672), was Dean of Bath and Wells and a famous orator at the time when the 1665 sitting was arranged. There is no record of Creighton paying for his portrait, and there is no clear indication of who first instigated the commission - if that is what it was in the conventional sense. Mary may have painted it in return for loans, kindnesses or other obligations due to Cooke, so that he could then present it to his former 'Tutor' as a gift. In his letter of April 26th Cooke explained that, 'his Majty having commanded him expressly & extraordinarily to preach before him on Sunday next', Creighton had been prevented from visiting Allbrook sooner to collect the portrait. In 1670 Creighton was appointed bishop, confirming him as a significant early sitter for Mary Beale, and whether or not the portrait was commissioned by or for him, 'credit' would certainly have accrued to her reputation by association with his name and position. Cooke too would have benefited from the transaction, both by facilitating or commissioning the painting, and by maintaining the mutual cycle of loving obligation and profit between his friends. The delivery of Mrs. Beales' 'picture' to Creighton appears to have been both complicated and protracted,

²⁸⁸ 19 April 1666: Cooke, letter to Charles Beale, f. 8

²⁸⁹ 26 April 1666: *ibid.*, f.10.

depending eventually upon his visit to Allbrook on May 9th. The fragmentary record of the sitting and the portrait's fruition provide evidence of friendship's exchanges, and a mutuality of personal and public interests collaboratively served, a theme to be explored in greater depth in chapter four.²⁹⁰

Charles Beale produced pigments and prepared canvases at Allbrook while Mary continued to paint, producing another surviving *Self-portrait* (Fig. 20)²⁹¹ in which she looks, once more, directly at the viewer. Like Van Dyck and Lely, Beale adopted a type of self-portrait minus brushes and easel, in which the artist, like his or her other sitters, is depicted as the subject of a painted biography rather than as a craftsman at work. Here, however, the subject's twin roles as parent and artist are specifically alluded to by a painter's palette hanging level to her head on the wall beside her, and a small unframed canvas portrait of her two sons upon which her right hand rests, carefully aligned alongside her stomach. Thus the connection between the 'fruits' of Mary's womb, marriage, industry and talent is made more explicit. We see a woman literally surrounded by a multiplicity of implied identities - artist, gentlewoman, mother, housewife - and yet, in an act of quiet subversion, the absence and presence of her family has become entirely symbolic, while her visual persona is that of the artist, alone in a 'paynting roome' of her own. Beale offers herself as an emblem of the early modern creative woman, an English counterpart, in effect, to Artemisia Gentileschi's self-embodiment as the allegory of painting, 'La Pittura' (Fig. 19) which was probably painted in England and then sold from the collection of Charles I during the Interregnum, only to be re-acquired after the Restoration.²⁹² Although Beale may possibly have seen the Gentileschi in London, there is no evidence to suggest she did. Echoing the earlier *Self-portrait with husband and son* (c.1660, Fig. 2), Beale's 1666 composition and the woman's place within it are complex and iconographically innovative. The artist watches the viewer and herself, the subject, puzzling over an apparently enigmatic arrangement of

²⁹⁰ Three likenesses of Creighton exist: the prototype, now hanging in the Town Hall at Wells, Somerset, being one painted by an unknown artist over a 17th-century copy of Van Dyck's portrait of Archbishop Laud, and two 19th-century copies of it.

²⁹¹ Fig. 20, Mary Beale *Self-portrait*, c.1666, oil on canvas, 109.2 x 87.6 cm (43 x 34 1/2 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1687).

²⁹² Fig. 19, Artemisia Gentileschi, *Self-portrait as the Allegory of Painting (La Pittura)*, c.1638-9, oil on canvas, 98.6 x 75.2 cm (38 13/16 x 29 5/8 in.), Hampton Court, Royal Collection (acc. RCIN 405551). Gentileschi's *Self-portrait* was probably painted in England and was sold from Charles I's collection during the Interregnum, only to be re-acquired after the Restoration.

painted objects. Was Mary telling us that a seventeenth-century woman could indeed combine an intellectual life, creative self-expression and motherhood? Far from questioning the viability of motherhood and creativity co-existing in a woman's world, the portrait offers a conclusive example of just such a possibility.

Cultural alchemy: likeness, metamorphosis and memory

The desire to examine and describe, to measure knowledge and experience was, as I described in chapter two, endemic in seventeenth-century religion, writing, education and science. Nets were thrown wide and even at the Royal Society there was an overlap between scientific enquiry and alchemy, but as 'secret' knowledge gave way to open discourse the fruits of discovery and conversation were translated into the written word, and soon published in print. Empiricism of one sort or another - artistic, literary, religious, financial, technical and autobiographical - pervaded Restoration society but the benefits of knowledge were not freely available to all, literacy, class and sex were still barriers for the many. Mary Beale *was* able to participate and her stated aim in all her various roles was to capture the likeness, the essential distillation of things seen, known and aspired to. Mary's empirical description of painting apricots is deceptively simple, but offers insights into her thought processes and her approach to work. *Observations* is in fact a treatise in miniature, a unique description of the artist's experience of visual observation, painterly experimentation, and technical refinement. Beale's act of seeing a three-dimensional object, mentally converting it into two dimensions while simultaneously describing it physically in material form is, in the prose, finally distilled into another medium, words. This three-way metamorphosis culminated in a piece of writing which describes a piece of fruit, a painting, and the complex cerebral and technical skills employed in translating form into line, light into colour, and paint into words.

In the letter written three years later, when Beale sent her discourse on *Friendship* to Elizabeth Tillotson, she used the concept of portraiture to describe another metamorphosis - her attempt to create a 'true Image' of friendship in words:

[...] you may call these my conceptions rather the Portraiture of my own inabilities, then [*sic*] any true Image of that Divine thing [friendship] w^{ch} I have endeavoured to describe.²⁹³

Other members of her circle shared that preoccupation with quantifying and describing the world and for them, like Mary, this exploratory process of definition inevitably became an exercise in translating one thing into another, turning impressions into words, for example, and organic matter into paint. Charles Beale was a dedicated observer with an absorbing interest in the chemistry of paint, and described technical experiments in transforming insects and plants into pigment in his notebook of *Experimentall Seacrets*.²⁹⁴ In his diaries Samuel Woodforde found words to quantify both the state of his eternal soul, and the legality of his earthly inheritance. In his pin-sharp portrait miniatures of his friends Thomas Flatman translated his meticulous and unflinching gaze into quivering likenesses, tiny essays in human complexity (Figs 47-50).²⁹⁵

It is because many in Mary's circle were writers and painters that the objects they made take centre stage in our narrative, especially through the complex interplay between those that are present and those now absent. Unfortunately, for example, Beale's self-portrait as Pallas Athene is lost like many of her other paintings, or rather their current whereabouts are unknown. Thankfully, these ghostly missing objects are occasionally memorialised in other mediums. Woodforde's written description stands in for Beale's Athene; as surviving portraits stand in for their long-dead human subjects. Just as a portrait keeps the face of a loved one in mind; a

²⁹³ 9 March 1666: Beale, letter to Elizabeth Tillotson, f.510.

²⁹⁴ Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets'.

²⁹⁵ Fig. 47, Thomas Flatman (1635-1688), ['Portrait of a woman, perhaps] *Alice Beale* (d.1664)', 1661, watercolour on vellum, 76 x 63 mm (3 x 2 1/2 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.14-1941); Fig. 48, Thomas Flatman, *Rev. Samuel Woodforde, D.D., F.R.S. 1636-1701*, 1661, watercolour on vellum on card, 69 x 54 mm (2 3/4 x 2 1/8 in.), Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (acc. 3842); Fig. 49, Thomas Flatman, *Portrait of Charles Beale the Elder*, c.1660-64, watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book, 82 x 70 mm (3 1/4 x 2 3/4 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.13-1941); Fig. 50, Thomas Flatman, *Self-portrait*, 1673, watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book, 68 x 55 mm (2 11/16 x 2 3/16 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.79-1938).

textual account of an absent object keeps *its* likeness alive. As a result of this alchemy, we know that the surviving self-portraits by Mary Beale should be considered in relation to several others now absent physically, but present in written descriptions made by others. A portrait is transmuted into ink on paper through the medium of a pen nib, just as light, shadow and fleeting glimpses of flesh were fixed into a likeness in paint. Vision becomes language, and in it is memorialised the influence painted objects had on those that saw them, along with the name of the woman who created them.

Portraiture, like music and poetry, shares the ability to quantify emotions as well as knowledge, to distil the most intangible aspects of our relationships and fix them in material form. The resulting objects can become repositories, the focus of memory and even of veneration, especially at times of separation. In a previously unpublished manuscript, for example, Francis Knollys, another of the Beales' intimate friends, addressed a poem,

To y^e ingenious Artist M^{rs}. M. B. upon her makeing ye Picture of one
that was dead seeme after y^e life.²⁹⁶

The verses record Francis's feelings on seeing one of Mary's portraits, this time the likeness of a dead loved one as if come back to life. Here friendship and loss shared between three people is commemorated in paint and words, and through two objects, made and given. Francis' poem is a response both to the gift of love his dear one gave to him, and that which Mary's portrait likeness has bestowed on him in that person's absence. Objects given or received as gifts often have special significance, of course, especially when they have been made by the giver. The manuscript verse is a gift to Mary in return, a further exchange of friendship, and the only material expression of the shared love which remains today. This narrative chain of affection and art relies, in part, on documentary evidence in the text but, before that, on the memory of both people and objects. For Knollys, the painting stands in for the person. The painting and person, now gone, remain in our consciousness through Francis and Mary's intersections with them and each other, and the record of these

²⁹⁶ 3 April 1670: Francis Knollys, 'Notebook', [c.1660-1670], Bodleian MSS. 60, f.['176'].

encounters conjure, in turn, a glimpse of their friendship. Through this poem and its evocation of the portrait we can, quite literally, read their emotions.

In the creation and exchange of these gifts of paint and words there is an emotional, cultural alchemy, a highly charged transposition of mediums which echoes Charles Beale's chemical wizardry, and society's enduring preoccupation with the magic of transforming one thing into another in search of profit of all sorts. The Beales turned weed into colour; fruit into paint; love and *Friendship* into salvation, while others were concerned with changing base metal into gold; knowledge into commonwealth; data into theory; information into power; secrets into advantage; innovation into profit. It should come as no surprise at all that the seventeenth century saw the birth of accountancy.²⁹⁷

When thinking about these various transformations, the early phases of Mary Beale's artistic career, and the first incarnations of the 'paynting roome' as the place in which her circle gathered, it is possible to discern the ideas and catalysts that anticipate her latter emergence as a public painter. For her part, Mary Beale undoubtedly painted for the sheer pleasure of it and, like every other artist in every other medium, because she had a creative need to do so. Vertue's remark that in the 1660s Mary 'only studied' could easily give the impression that for her and Charles 'study and improvement' was a preoccupation with technical refinement alone. On the contrary, alongside the surviving self-portraits, Mary produced numerous images of her husband, a series of gradually ageing likenesses at least three of which have been interpreted as companion pieces to her self-depictions. Here again, Mary echoes her male predecessors' preoccupation with capturing the current (generally female) object of their affections in various formats, and degrees of attire. It is fair to assume that Charles was so often Mary's muse because he was a readily available sitter, but perhaps the repetition of his image also reflected Mary's fascination or frustration with the very possibility of capturing 'likeness', of pinning down identity - even that of someone whose face was at least as familiar to her as her own. As well as these searching portraits, Beale produced many paintings of loved ones in the 1660s including Alice and Samuel Woodforde, the Smith 'cosens', William Bates, Thomas

²⁹⁷ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in early modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Flatman, and Dr Robert Wild (d.1679), the nonconformist minister and satirical poet. Was it, perhaps, the very look of love that Mary Beale was trying to capture as it passed, however fleetingly, between the artist, her friends and husband in these portraits? Those that survive certainly suggest that Mary, like Flatman, was less interested in depicting social status or even virtuous character, than in collating moments of connection between two souls who are, by inclination and necessity, looking at each other and performing their friendship for all to see. Since the late-twentieth century some performance art has been interpreted as self-portraiture, and this finds its 21st-century counterpart as public *portraiture* in Marina Abramovich's 'The Artist is Present' (2010), in which artist and her 'viewer' sit silently before each other, but without the mediation of paint and canvas.²⁹⁸

Some of Beale's early compositions, especially her self-portraits, are complex, highly considered and draw, as I have suggested, on preparatory studies. It is clear that Mary was experimenting with variations on male portrait types and developing new female ones, including those as Pallas Athene and an Arcadian shepherdess. Tabitha Barber has characterised Beale's portraits of her clerical friends as expositions of the sitters' inner 'dignity, purity and virtue from which others could benefit' - suggesting a newly intimate approach to portraiture of the protestant men of god.²⁹⁹ I argue further that just as Lely had done in the 1640s, Beale consciously sought to develop new iconographic models and this is evident in her subject picture *Young Bacchus* (c.1660-65, Fig. 5). These works must be appraised with reference to the possible influence of Van Dyck and the Gentileschis, all of whom had worked in London, and Titian, the Beales' painterly hero, as well as other Italian artists whose works they almost certainly saw in English collections at this time.

It is difficult to assess the reaction of Mary Beale's contemporaries to her early works, or even who her viewers may have been, other than the visitors to her studio who are named in manuscripts. Thinking of her second surviving *Self-portrait*

²⁹⁸ Anthony Bond, 'Performing the self', in *Self portrait: Renaissance to contemporary*, eds Anthony Bond & Joanna Woodall, (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2005), pp. 31-42. 'For the exhibition *Marina Abramović: The Artist Is Present*, The Museum of Modern Art's first performance retrospective, Abramović performed in the Donald B. and Catherine C. Marron Atrium every day the Museum was open between March 14 and May 31, 2010', New York, MoMA, <<https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2010/marinaabramovic/>> [accessed 2 May 2015].

²⁹⁹ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 35.

(c.1666, Fig. 20), in which she is alone in her studio, it is possible that the tension between the roles of mother and working woman, so familiar to us now, would have been immediately evident to the Restoration viewer too, and the portrait's implication of female self-fulfilment seen as worrying. On another level, for a general audience, the portrait may simply have represented an impressive advertisement for her talent all wrapped up in a suitably maternal and reassuring image. For the modern viewer, its iconographic ambiguities make the portrait at once contemplative and unsettling, a statement of both achievement and stasis. Were the family's circumstances, without apparent means of support other than their Allbrook smallholding, a cause for concern? Was the portrait a musing, in part, on an uncertain future in which her family's prosperity could come to depend on her ability to paint and, as a consequence, that her creative self-expression could be obliged to take on less independent forms?

In the 1660s, as we have seen, Beale was to all appearances a sociable but amateur painter making portraits of her family and friends, but for love rather than money. On the other hand, Cooke's first letter to the Beales regarding Dr Creighton's portrait sitting contains a telling reference to Mary taking a 'day of Liberty' at Hind Court every Tuesday. The fact that Beale needed a day off from work other than the Sabbath suggests strongly that her painting routine was such that it filled every other day. Cooke's reference to a possible 'pre-engagement' at 8am on the morning of the proposed visit to Hind Court confirms that Mary had routine daytime painting engagements in addition to the sittings combined with social events. Despite Vertue's remark that in 1660/1 Mary Beale did not have any commissions, I will argue that even at Hind Court Mary Beale's practice was semi-commercial and that she and Charles had plans to eventually turn professional. To find an audience and market for her creative work beyond the domestic setting, Mary Beale had first to confirm her virtuous reputation and modest intentions while allaying social criticism, but the experience of other women reveals this to have been a fraught and time-consuming business. In the next chapter I will describe the ways in which Mary negotiated these obstacles on her path into the public consciousness using texts, paintings, friendship and gifts as her tools.

Chapter Four

Reputation and credit

This chapter examines the significant themes of reputation, credit and obligation in order to better understand the economic and sociological context within which Mary Beale's studio and household functioned. Even though many of her circle's texts of the 1650s and 60s confirm that the first incarnation of the 'paytning roome' was, as described above, a place of sociability and mutual benefit, they also speak of an evident tension between public face and personal conviction. Written in a period characterised by religious and political struggles over conformity and dissent, and the pressing need even to define those concepts, identity became a vexed question for our writers, female and male, who could not help but agonise over their attempts to distinguish between truth and appearance, likeness and artifice, shared goals and secret ambitions, even among their closest friends. Addressing the thesis's central research question, concerning *how* Beale became a fully professional painter, I detail the mechanisms she and her circle employed in creating her socially acceptable 'brand' as woman and artist. Turning to the men in Mary's life, I investigate what constituted fulfilment and failure for them, what they considered creditable male reputations, personal and private, and the influence of *repute* upon their opportunities for advancement. Charles Beale's self-fashioned personas were as carefully considered as Mary's and are here related to contemporary ideas of masculinity, and to the particular requirements of his role within an unconventional household-workplace.

The Beales participated in the seventeenth-century acceleration of the post-Reformation change from a feudal to a trading economy promoted, in effect, by an increasingly powerful *squirarchy* and middle classes of wealthy merchants, professionals, yeomen and prosperous artisans. Ultimately the move was from a 'just' or essentially fixed price system to one in which perceptions of a commodity's worth varied from customer to customer, and prices were set according to supply and demand. Art and literature of the period, like its documentary sources, reflect aspects of contemporary commerce. John Cooke, writing to the Beales at Allbrook, for example, commented that Charles' 'elegant pen' would often,

run upon the metaphor of Traffique and Merchandise and even your last letter is spiced with the mention of East India comodities.³⁰⁰

Margarete Rubik cited dramatist Aphra Behn's characterisation of her profligate aristocratic rakes as performing a useful service to the economy, maintaining the market for luxury consumer goods and ensuring the fluid movement of capital. Behn denounced her Whig merchant characters as unproductive hoarders of capital, and their financial dealings as tantamount to usury.³⁰¹ In her Restoration plays, however, these rakes, merchants and men and women of all classes were mindful of their credit, obligations, and especially their reputations when driving hard bargains to achieve their ends, financial, sexual or otherwise.

For English protestants, faith and covenant were central to the individual's relationship with God and, by extension, to relationships between neighbours and associates. Aspects of Reformation theology, and the humanist ideal of social and legal contract, combined to promise a just civil society with the moral, legal and financial instruments which could call all its members to account. An individual's personal 'credit' was a matter of both Christian redemption, and a measure of his or her ability to function within a society that operated, for most people and for much of the time, on trust and debt. The presence in society of those who did not share this view of Christianity or of commerce was inevitably seen as a threat not just to the true faith, but to the smooth working of the commonwealth. For the purposes of this chapter, reputation is defined as the characterisation constructed on moral, professional or religious grounds, for example, by or for an individual, or a network, which is necessarily dependant upon aspects of credit and obligation. Credit is defined as a source of third party support, including money, influence and good counsel; or, the stock of one's personal authority including lineage, knowledge, talent and good standing; or, authorship. Obligations are the mechanisms whereby various forms of debt due to others may be acknowledged or repaid; or, the calculations necessary to extract repayment from debtors.

³⁰⁰ 5 March 1667: Cooke at Whitehall to Charles Beale at Allbrook, Bodleian, MSS. 113, f.80.

³⁰¹ Margarete Rubik, 'Love's merchandise: metaphors of trade and commerce in the plays of Aphra Behn', *Women's Writing*, 19:2 (2012), pp. 222-37.

While the primary economic unit was the household, Margaret Hunt (1996) and Craig Muldrew (1998) have described the early modern period as one in which self-preservation and promotion could rarely, if ever, be divorced from that of one's kin, friends, associates and neighbours.³⁰² In the absence of a ubiquitous banking system financial survival depended, for most families and individuals, on linked networks of monetary credit and obligation which demanded of their members a spotless reputation for honesty and plain dealing. Each individual relied on the others to remain solvent, get work, avoid public controversy and to honour obligations - even going so far as to bequeath to their loved ones both debts and assets in equal measure. Muldrew found clear evidence from personal accounts that 'the successful middling sort' relied 'on trust in God and their neighbours, and not capital, to deal with the uncertainties of credit', one of his sources being the diary of Samuel Woodforde's father, Robert.³⁰³ Hunt, moreover, found little evidence of the concept of 'limited liability', the law making no distinction between business and personal debt. In the event of bankruptcy an entire household was held liable for the debts of the breadwinner and all its goods were at risk of seizure.³⁰⁴ By implication, therefore, a patriarch with sole practical and financial responsibility for both household and business had feet of clay, while a wife had the worst of both worlds - no right to hold property in her own name and no protection from the profligacy of her spouse. On the other hand, a husband was also held responsible for the profligacy of his wife and her debts.

The economic models these studies and others provide demonstrate that obtaining credit through trustworthiness was essential and a sound reputation was both prerequisite to credit and analogous with it.³⁰⁵ Indeed, people at all levels of society relied heavily upon friends to obtain advancement, and to pull whatever strings they could to help each other into a job or out of trouble. At Hind Court, Samuel Woodforde found that work for a jobbing lawyer was scarce and turned to his closest friends for support and to exert their influence in attempting to obtain a civil service

³⁰² Hunt, *Middling sort*, & Muldrew, *Economy of obligation*.

³⁰³ *ibid.*, Muldrew, p. 144, referring to, among others, the 'Diary of Robert Woodforde', (1637-41), Oxford, New College MS 9502.

³⁰⁴ Hunt, *Middling sort*, pp. 22-23.

³⁰⁵ Garthine Walker, *Crime, gender and social order in early modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Smyth, *Autobiography in early modern England*; Alexandra Shepherd *Accounting for oneself: worth, status, and the social order in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

post. In a diary entry for October 1662, Samuel noted a conversation at Whitehall in which he spoke to ‘M^r Cooke about getting in with him, but the Duke of Albemarle hath spoken already to y^e Secretary for one of his nominacon, soe that there is like to be noe hope but hee tells me M^r Godolphin can doe what he will wth S^r Hen Bennett’.³⁰⁶ On the day after his meeting with Cooke Samuel reported to his diary and to God that Godolphin had ‘promised mee all the assistance hee can & that what ever lyes in his power at any time to doe for mee hee will with all his heart [...] I had many expressions of love from him I thanck my God’.³⁰⁷ Circles of kin and friends, the Beales’ included, lent and borrowed money amongst themselves and stood surety for mortgages. Woodforde struggled for many years over a disputed family inheritance made up of both debt and valuable property. In the absence of a speedy resolution in court and lucrative employment, Samuel was forced to rob Peter to pay Paul:

25 March I tooke up of my good friende M^r Cooke 200^{li} towards paying my Uncles debts upon a Mortgage to bee paide 25th March 1663 [...] 27 March I paide M^r Honywoode 106^{li}.10. & tooke up a Mortgage hee had upon Westcourt. 28 March I paide M^r Archer 90^{li} more ye full of a debt due to M^r Lant.³⁰⁸

In the interests of establishing sound fiscal credit a respectable household had to display its worldly prosperity by conspicuous consumption, this being socially acceptable as a sign of liquidity and of willingness to keep cash circulating. Public displays of wealth had to be prudent, rather than impetuous, and tempered by the exercise of humility in pursuit of religious and moral virtue. The Beales, who bought and commissioned paintings, for example, were careful to also put aside 10% of Mary’s professional earnings into their ‘Pious and Charitable Account’.³⁰⁹ Individuals were obliged to signal their class by their dress and, in church, by

³⁰⁶ 13 October 1662: Woodforde, ‘Lib. primus’, ff. 154 & 156–7.

³⁰⁷ John Cooke (d.1691) was chief clerk to Sir William Morrice (1602–1676), the Secretary of State for the Northern Department and kinsman of George Monck, 1st Duke of Albemarle. William Godolphin (d.1696), Woodforde’s Oxford friend, had been Morrice’s secretary, but was newly promoted as chief clerk to Sir Henry Bennet (d.1685) (later 1st Earl of Arlington), Secretary of State for the Southern Department. The influential, not to say powerful, role of these chief clerks in post-Restoration government was reflected in their evolution to the grander title of ‘Under-Secretary’, see Florence Evans, *Principal Secretary of State: a survey of the office from 1558–1680*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923).

³⁰⁸ Woodforde, ‘Lib. primus’, ff. 22–3. West Court is the house in Binsted village, Hampshire where Samuel and Alice eventually lived.

³⁰⁹ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.12.

restricting themselves to the pews in which they were entitled to worship. While for the many this acceptance of their 'place' in society was entailed with limitations, for the elevated few it defined, nay flaunted, their varying degrees of status and authority. Correct personal behaviour was an important tool in generating social credit in public. In the absence of a paid police force, for example, upright citizens of the commonweal were expected to maintain social order within their household and to oppose local disorder. Disputes between householders, servants, neighbours, and others who threatened the peace, were often dealt with by fellow residents. One incident in 1662, described in chapter three, saw William Bates, Charles Beale and Samuel Woodforde forcibly repulse the violent husband of 'ye nurse that tends his [Bates'] child'.³¹⁰ Even though assaulted and injured, the woman too was later ejected by her employer as somehow complicit in the attack. Woodforde, recounting the event in his diary, remarked that he feared she was 'but a loose woman'. The orderly neighbourhood had been disrupted by shouting and fighting, and clergyman Dr Bates' good reputation threatened by association with his nursemaid's apparently less respectable one. Through their correct behaviour and judicious intervention, however, the Beales, their household and friend restored the peace and thereby conveyed their trustworthiness to the local community.

It is essential, in this context, to examine evidence of people's objectives and ambitions in accruing credit and cultivating reputations, and what people wanted for themselves and their families. It is also useful to identify the types of non-financial credit valued most in others - friends and neighbours alike - and in themselves. Keith Thomas and other scholars of early modern England have deduced something of what he termed the *Ends of Life*, the goals, satisfactions and sense of purpose held dear by a significant proportion of its populace.³¹¹ Susan E. James has examined 1,200 wills written by women between 1485 and 1603 with a view to determining something of the attitudes, concerns and aspirations of the under-represented majority of the population.³¹² Beale circle texts reveal that its members shared, both individually and collectively, many of the objectives these scholars identified

³¹⁰ 22 October 1662: Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', f.172-3.

³¹¹ Thomas, *Ends of life - roads to fulfilment in early modern England*; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly necessities: economic lives in early modern Britain*, (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 2002).

³¹² Susan E. James, *Women's voices in Tudor wills, 1485-1603: authority, influence and material culture*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

including the pursuit of religious virtue (leading to salvation), and the comfort of love and friendship. The fervent hope for good health and to bear healthy, able children appears almost universal, as does anxiety over sources of help in adversity. Most had in common the need for financial security, an expectation of advancement of some sort, and wanted respect from their own and other ‘ranks’. A related care was that taken to retain one’s birthright and build upon it as the legacy, financial and personal, left to dependants and loving friends or kin. Beyond these things it is clear that some, like members of the Beale circle, had ambitions towards creative or intellectual fulfilment and, if not fame exactly, then some renown as painters, lawyers, writers, clerics or natural philosophers.

Mary Beale’s discourse on *Friendship* and other circle texts also tell us something of the personal qualities, or stores of credit, which its members found most admirable, or useful, in others.³¹³ These include religious virtue, Christian and civic charity, honesty, wisdom and sound judgement, kindness, love and overt affection, knowledge, analytical insight, artistic and literary expression, practical skill, resourcefulness, and (for expediency and in times of trouble) power or influence. It is, perhaps, because of these many shared expectations that Mary’s circle was able to collaborate so readily, and often efficiently, in establishing the personas and alliances needed to achieve their ends. For the Beales and their fellow citizens membership of an honest network of collaboration and endeavour was in itself the single most important public reputation to acquire. Alliances were chosen with care and through them each member could call upon their fellows’ links to further, potentially useful, networks, while also off-setting the potentially negative effects of inadvertent contact with less suitable friends.

Creating female reputations

Good standing and advancement also depended on an individual’s public adherence to the fields of aspiration generally deemed suited to their sex. Seventeenth-century rhetoric had it that married gentlewomen would work within the home, keeping

³¹³ Beale, [‘Discourse on Friendship’], ff.510-23; Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’ & ‘Diary 1680/1’; Woodforde, ‘Lib. primus’ & ‘Liber Dolorosus’; and dedications on miniatures painted by Flatman and sent as gifts to his friends, including Fig. 49 *Portrait of Charles Beale the elder*, c.1660, now in the V&A Museum collection, London (acc. P.13-1941).

house and mothering, while the financial needs of the household were, ideally, to be provided for by the earnings of their husbands. Moral codes espoused in conduct books and from pulpits declared that the soundness of a respectable woman's reputation rested on virtues that included self-confinement within the home; diligence in her familial duties; modesty and deference to her husband to the point of silence; and, in particular, chastity. Using court records as their sources, recent commentators have demonstrated that in disputes of all sorts women were frequently denigrated for being slovenly, opinionated, lecherous and adulterous, and have deduced from this that the substance of contemporary rhetoric was reflected in the expectations society had of women's actual behaviour.³¹⁴ Furthermore, they conclude that it was the wife's reputation which set the moral tone of the whole household, gave it stability and determined its level of trustworthiness - something of particular relevance to working gentlewomen like Mary Beale and writer Katherine Philips. It was a serious business for a housewife and mother to risk her respectable standing by putting her head above the parapet built around the roles and activities conventionally ascribed to women.

As we saw in the previous chapter, contemporary reputations of some female writers, preachers, petitioners, philosophers and proto-scientists, including Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, were broken upon public perceptions of their conduct or demeanour rather than the virtue of their contributions to intellectual life, or the strength of their claims to justice. Others, who aligned themselves with suitably authoritative male colleagues or antecedents, or were devoted to religious matters, could borrow legitimacy sufficient to protect against accusations of immodesty or arrogance. This gives us a clue to understanding what might otherwise be puzzling links between Mary Beale's painted and written works and the part played by the latter in protecting her and her circle from social disapproval while also promoting her artistic career. The unconventional Beale household was particularly reliant on maintaining good credit - financial, social and artistic - and took careful account of its obligations to friends and parish alike. To that end Mary Beale had to juggle a mixture of personas in order to reconcile, in private and to others, her apparently conflicting roles as artist, wife, mother, housewife, friend and

³¹⁴ Summarised and discussed in Walker, 'Expanding the boundaries of female honour', pp. 235-45.

finally breadwinner. The strength of her circle, like others, lay in the power of mutual interests to generate mutual credit or ‘profit’ of all sorts. Seen through this lens some of the members’ gifts of valuable objects and casual favours, as described in chapter three, can be understood as mechanisms of mutual endorsement as well as friendship. The cash loans they exchanged stemmed from both stark financial necessity and kindness.

Further, I propose that the sociable exchanges be re-cast, in the wider context described above, as the semi-commercialised transactions of a collective bent on self-advancement. The material objects they made were born of a personal creative process, some as tokens of friendship, but were often used collaboratively by the circle to cement alliances and foster profitable reputations. A blurred line was drawn, therefore, between creativity for its own sake and the strategic uses to which it was put. This seemingly raw conjunction between love and utility, creativity and ambition was, in fact, a seamless combination, the result of the friends’ shared struggle to be virtuous, profitable and well remembered within the ethics of a particular socio-economic milieu. Examples of this conjunction abound within the Beale circle texts. As we have seen, Mary was a practising artist from at least the mid-1650s and during that pre- or rather proto-commercial stage of her career she was doubtless aware, for example, of the advertising value to be had from hanging her paintings and drawings. These were doubtless displayed at home for friends and family to see, and very probably for the benefit of Charles’ wealthier Patents Office clients. Similarly, benefit was derived from letting works ‘go abroad’, as gifts and exchanges, into other people’s houses. Without seeming immodest Mary, the lady amateur, could thus show her vibrant, love-letter portraits of her intimate circle to a small but significant cross-section of London society. Word of mouth in praise of her talent may well have spread in this way, for in 1658 Beale, the ‘virtuous gentlewoman’, was included in the list of living female painters in Sir William Sanderson’s book *Graphice [...]. Or, the most Excellent Art of PAINTING*.³¹⁵

The reference to Mary Beale is important, and indeed her later, apparently overnight, transition from noteworthy and ‘virtuous’ amateur to professional portraitist may

³¹⁵ Sanderson, *Graphice. The use of the Pen and Pencil*, p. 20.

well have depended on just the type of measured public exposure as was afforded by inclusion in Sir William's account of gentlewomen painters in oils. Two commendatory poems by Thomas Flatman were given a prominent place at the front of Sanderson's book. On the strength of some well-received satirical verses penned at Oxford, Flatman was already a known writer, so that Sanderson, a much older man, was perhaps here aligning himself with up-and-coming literary talent. Flatman's acquaintance with the author of *Graphice* may have been a factor in the inclusion of Mary Beale's name in the book so early in her artistic career, but it is also likely that Sanderson commended Beale because he wanted to be credited with the discernment of recognizing a painterly talent in the making. The evident link between Sanderson, Flatman and Beale provides an example of how networks were pooled by her circle to promote the reputations of its members in a respectable context. Charles Beale, the husband of one of the virtuous gentlewomen artists listed by Sir William Sanderson, was thus cast by association as a virtuous gentleman. Later, as we have seen, the quid pro quo in this type of exchange also took more tangible forms, including Flatman's presentation of a miniature (Fig. 49)³¹⁶ to Charles Beale, followed soon afterwards cash commissions for other portrait miniatures for the Beale family.³¹⁷

It appears remarkable, at a distance of almost 350 years, that in the 1670s it was the favourable repute of *Mary's* professional expertise, and the values society placed on the commodities *she* created, that carried sufficient authority to ensure that the Beale family business was worthy of trust in their community. I suggest that artistic and social acceptance of the apparently unorthodox Beale studio by their clients - the 'persons of quality' - depended in part upon an illusion of its amateur, non-artisanal status. To that end, therefore, the credit of the Beale household rested first on Mary's personal reputation for domestic virtue and public virtuosity, and secondarily upon Charles' self-fashioned reputation as a gentleman virtuosi, projected through his connoisseurship, chemical experimentation and gestures of lineal authority.

³¹⁶ Fig. 49., Thomas Flatman, *Portrait of Charles Beale the elder*, c.1660, watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book, 82 x 70 mm (3 1/4 x 2 3/4 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.13-1941).

³¹⁷ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174.

Male reputations

In examining the early modern concept of manhood, Alexandra Shepherd found that by the 1640s there was a demographic gulf between the long-held social ideal of the credit-worthy household patriarch, and the realistic likelihood of a young man becoming one.³¹⁸ Men, she found, sought other ways to assert their masculinity and become figures of good standing. It is crucial therefore to consider what constituted a good reputation to the men of Mary Beale's circle, including the versions of manhood Charles and Samuel Woodforde embodied or sought, at least, to portray, and why. In 1665 Beale left his job and London home and yet contemporary texts show that he was still considered a worthy recipient of credit amongst his friends and kin. To some extent plague, fire and a retreat to rural Hampshire allowed Charles to shore-up his social credit in another setting, as a land-owning smallholder rather than a salaried or fee-chasing tenant. When the family returned in the 1670s, however, Charles, the patriarch of the Beale household, was not its breadwinner and his labour was in support of his wife's. That the Beales were gentfolk who clearly aspired to what many still believed a manual trade may well have added another contradiction to public perceptions of his social 'place'.

It is extremely difficult to form a detailed impression of Charles Beale's personality through his texts as they are almost entirely descriptive rather than narrative or confidential. One must rely, instead, on passages about or referring to him in circle texts. Even so, these snippets speak more of his interests, education, and to some extent his background, than his view of the world and his place in it. Charles' concept of masculinity and of men's proper roles in society can only be glimpsed or rather surmised by interpreting his recorded actions, experiences, and his stated or implied ambitions as expressed in his own texts. Bearing in mind these limitations, Beale emerges as an intelligent, practical and resourceful man who formed deeply affectionate friendships with some of his male friends and, significantly, with his wife.

³¹⁸ Shepherd, *Meanings of manhood in early modern England*, p. 34.

In his love letter to Mary Cradock of 1651, however, the young Charles characterised himself as a somewhat prescriptive but highly complementary suitor, keen to point out his perception of the couple's like minded social expectations, as well as their shared interest in art.³¹⁹ Stiffly affectionate and self-consciously literary in style, the writer reveals little of his feelings while seeming firm in his rather conventional expectations of women - or rather of a wife. That said, he is cultured, obviously educated, and writes with the unspoken assurance that he is addressing a woman of similar achievement. Charles' prescriptions were perhaps misguidedly intended to emphasise his own virtue and moral insight rather than to dictate to his sweetheart. While there is no precise description of what he as a man can offer the woman he courts, nor of what a good husband should be, we do glimpse a young man with high expectations of himself and his love, and we understand the implied promise that he will not disappoint her. By 1672, when he and his brother Henry decided upon the inscription for their parents' funerary monument, Charles was a mature husband and father with a more sophisticated concept of marriage, and of the couple who,

[...] enjoyed each in wedlock 46 years 3 months. Happy longer than other[s] use[d] to live.

Several of Samuel Woodforde's diary entries, and the dedication, 'To His Truly Honoured Friend and Deare Kinsman Mr Charles Beale' in the original manuscript copy of his *Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* (1667), are effusive in their expression of love and affection far above that of familial duty, social indebtedness, or literary convention.³²⁰ Letters addressed mainly to Charles by loyal friends Thomas Flatman, John Cooke and Francis Knollys, in reply to missives from the Beales at Allbrook, are also full of affection for him. The replies conjure an impression of Charles as a garrulous man brimming with enthusiasm and literary flourish but the letters which inspired them do not appear to have survived. We read that his London friends thought wistfully of their visits to Allbrook, that rural idyll of art and companionship, and of the love that abounded there. In 1666 John Cooke

³¹⁹ 25 July 1651: Beale, 'Love letter to Mary Cradock', f.133.r.

³²⁰ Samuel Woodforde, 'A Paraphrase In English Verse Upon The Bookes Of The Psalmes By. Sam: Woodforde', London, British Library, MS Harley 1768; edited and published as *Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David. By Sam. Woodford*, (London: printed by R. White, for Octavian Pullein, neer the Pump in Little-Brittain, 1667).

complained of the 'dry business' he was engaged in at Whitehall but, when writing to Charles,

I imagine myself almost at Albrook, where all things are gay, joyeous & happy. Long may they be so.³²¹

Similarly, from notes made in his studio books of the 1670s and 80s Charles appears to have been a man well-beloved by his family, kin and friends, and on excellent terms with all, from luminaries of the professions, the art world, at court and among fellows of the Royal Society, to his household servants and regular tradespeople.

At the very start of his working life, in 1648, Charles Beale's short-lived City apprenticeship had placed him within one of the most prosperous and powerful guilds and alongside some of the most active opponents of Charles I, his fellow apprentices. There he learnt not only about revolutionary politics, but of being in business and the stations of male progression projected for him - from indentured servant to journeyman, and finally to Master. At or around the same time, however, Beale was apparently teaching himself to paint. His move to Covent Garden with Mary in the mid-1650s put him at the epicentre of an altered London art world, with its middling and Parliament-supporting patrons who almost seamlessly replaced their courtly predecessors. Artist Robert Walker (d.1658) even found a niche in painting the conquering heroes of the Civil Wars into the portrait types previously favoured by royalist sitters. There the same male stations of work and professional advancement were at play within the busy workshops of prominent painters, including Peter Lely's. It must have been obvious that the chances of competing successfully in this arena, or even making a living, were slight for one self-taught and outside the established, regulated networks of training, expertise and connections, but there is no indication that Charles had that end in mind for himself.

In order to discern his ambitions, as opposed to the expectations others had of him, we must turn to Beale's *Experimentall Seacrets* (1648-54), the notebook he first opened as an aspiring painter of seventeen and his earliest known expression of interest in art and chemical experimentation. The book begins with a portrayal of its

³²¹ 11 November 1666: Cooke at Whitehall to Charles Beale, Bodleian, MSS. 113, f.16.

author as a gentleman of amateur virtuosity, but later also lists his commercial transactions as a colourman without apparent consciousness of a social or reputational clash between the two roles. Here and in proceeding texts, Beale emerges as an analytical man with an interest in the chemistry and physical properties of painting methods and materials, one which he was determined to develop further. The entries stopped when he was a husband, and newly a father, and although the content had changed over time, his evident enthusiasm for this technical brand of intellectual endeavour for its own sake did not diminish. Given his early interest in, and experience of painting it is likely that Charles' time as an apprentice Draper had been more the result of familial expectation than a personal choice. Yet even a short time spent with Master Andrew Beech may have provided a valuable lesson in the ways of City commerce, not to mention the distinction between profit and loss. Coupled with Charles' equally brief, if seemingly contradictory, time at Trinity College, Cambridge, and his years in the nepotism-ridden civil service, it seems that he planned - and somehow managed - to coalesce these apparently disparate experiences, and his personal interests, into a way of life and of living.

Pepys, who encountered Beale in his official capacity as Deputy Patents Office Clerk when obtaining the patent for his new job as clerk to the Navy Board, thought him a bad tempered jobs-worth. The relevant diary entries reveal that in formalising a government posting there were several hectic bureaucratic hoops to jump through before one could obtain the necessary paperwork. Pepys recalled that he had gone,

to the Privy Seal and got my bill perfected there, and at the Signet: and then to the House of Lords, and met with Mr. Kipps, who directed me to Mr. Beale to get my patent engrossed. But he not having time to get it done in Chancery-hand, I was forced to run all up and down Chancery-lane [...] but could find none that could write the hand.³²²

Desperate, at '11 o'clock of night', he went to a Mr. Spong who agreed to write the bill by morning. The next day it had to be receipted at the Chancellor's office before Pepys,

³²² 12 July 1660: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1660/07/12/>> [accessed 24 June 2018].

carried it to Mr. Beale for a dockett; but he was very angry, and unwilling to do it, because he said it was ill writ (because I had got it writ by another hand, and not by him)

but eventually Charles produced the final ‘dockett’ and Pepys gave him ‘two pieces, after which it was strange how civil and tractable he was to me’.³²³ Samuel evidently interpreted his initial unhelpfulness as pique over being denied the more substantial fee for drawing up the bill, but this was an understandable reaction from someone who, like Charles, was in receipt of only a modest salary, if any. Nevertheless Beale was, once more, uniquely placed to observe the pathways towards and mechanisms of preferment, and the different networks of patronage at work during the Interregnum, when his own place was bought, and after the Restoration when his work boomed. What better way to prepare oneself for the almost inevitable threat to his privileged and lucrative post than to monitor, as he did, the flow of patent documents. Through them it was possible to determine who was in and who out of favour, and which patrons or interests were pulling the strings, and hardest. Insight which, as we shall see, would prove essential to the Beale family’s prospects.

His later writings give an impression of what Beale wanted for himself and for his family in material terms, but contradictory indications of how he felt about himself or his achievements and failures. The chatty, cheerful persona reflected in replies to Charles’ letters to his friends is tempered by Samuel Woodforde’s diary assertion that he was prone to sadness or worry and relied on Mary’s sangfroid to allay it.

I am only afraid of his melancholy but cannot restrain it at such a time
[...] Lett the cheerfulness of her spirit keepe up his,³²⁴

wrote Woodforde in his second diary, demonstrating how deeply felt were the actual and perceived injustices Charles faced when obliged to defend his civil service post, as will become clear below. When, by contrast, the studio accounts were impossible to balance in 1680/1, Charles makes a rare reference to his personal reaction to crisis, noting that,

³²³ 13 July 1660: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1660/07/13/>> [accessed 24 June 2018].

³²⁴ 6 August 1664: Woodforde, ‘Liber Dolorosus’, f.133.v.

I was in so great distress for money to pay severall Importunate Debts I was called upon for that I was forced to take in 100^{li} of the money [invested] in Cos: Audito^r Bridges's hands.³²⁵

The Beales' lack of ready cash may have been due to a fall in clients or an unfortunate investment of some sort but, as we will see in chapter five, unpaid debt certainly played a decisive part. Rather than sink into 'melancholy', Charles responded pragmatically by developing ever more cost-effective, pared-down and quick-drying painting surfaces for Mary's portraits, using cheaper alternatives to the scarce and expensive linen for canvases. No self-doubt was expressed in his texts, only brief hints of his anxiety amid the matter of fact account of sittings, expenditure, loans and repayments, with Mary carrying on 'her own work' in the studio. Charles' melancholy appears to have arisen in response to external threats to the well-being or autonomy of his family, rather than personal crises of confidence.

Entries in Woodforde's second diary reveal that the security of Charles Beale's place at the Patents Office did come into question in 1664. Analysis of the timeline of events as they unfolded suggests, moreover, that questions raised over Charles' clerkship were part of a more complex tangle of vested interests. When considered with reference to P. J. Hardacre's examination of a contemporary letter written by the Lord Chancellor to his son concerning the Patents Office, it emerges that Beale's fate was enmeshed in a much broader financial transaction, one that had serious political implications at Court and ultimately for the Chancellor himself.³²⁶ The story of that transaction serves to illustrate the workings of advancement pre- and post-Restoration, and exposes the multi-layered networks of allegiance, reputation and credit at play at the Beales' level of society, and above.

It is necessary here to summarise Hardacre's account of the relevant events. When Charles took up his duties as deputy clerk around 1658 the office of his superior, the Clerk of the Patents, had been vacant since 1646 with the death of its Royalist incumbent Sir William Wolseley, suggesting that in the vacuum of power Beale was overseen by someone within Chancery. Charles Wolseley, Sir William's son,

³²⁵ 9 June 1681: Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.72.r.

³²⁶ Paul H. Hardacre, 'Clarendon, Sir Robert Howard, and Chancery Office-holding at the Restoration', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 38:3 (1975), pp. 207-14.

although initially a Royalist switched allegiances to become a close ally of Cromwell and sat in the House of Lords in 1657. On the return of Charles II in May 1660, courtiers known to have influence with the king were deluged with requests for favours and offices of state from loyal Royalists, many of whom had suffered real losses and hardship in the wars or in supporting the Court in exile. Charles Wolseley the turncoat was in no position to press for preferment to his father's place as Clerk of the Patents but contrived, nonetheless, to share it with his friend Sir Robert Howard (1626-1698), 'a Person of good creditt amongst the King's Freinds'.³²⁷ Howard was a younger son of the Earl of Berkshire and fought for the Royalist cause at the battle of Cropredy Bridge in 1646, after which he was knighted by Charles I. On the Restoration Sir Robert used his 'credit' to gain several offices including Serjeant Painter to the King (1660-63). To secure that of Clerk of the Patents Howard first approached the Lord Chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, whom he had previously defended against an attempt to discredit him. Hyde duly recommended him to the king for the office, but it subsequently emerged that the post was in his own gift as Lord Chancellor, rather than that of the monarch, and so appointed Howard to it in 1660. The exact terms, financial or otherwise, on which Howard was appointed to the clerkship cannot be verified. Hardacre noted that fees for patents ranged from '26s. 8d.' to '43s.' per transaction and were payable to Howard as the Clerk. According to contemporary practice and Pepys' example above, it can be extrapolated that a proportion of each fee went to his deputy, Charles Beale. The overall value of the office was about £1,000 in 1627 but for the first two or three years after the Restoration, when 'the volume of chancery patents was abnormally large', it could have been worth as much as £3,000 (in the region of £240,000.00) p.a. to Howard and his silent partner Charles Wolseley.³²⁸

Sir Robert Howard went from strength to strength and in 1664, as the demand for patents was beginning to drop off, he decided to sell his clerkship to Sir Thomas Vyner (1588-1665) who wanted it for his younger son, Thomas (c.1641-1667). Vyner the elder went to see Hyde to persuade him to authorise the transaction, knowing that relations between the Chancellor and Howard had by then soured. The

³²⁷ 9 November 1669: Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, letter to his son Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, from Montpellier, [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarendon MSS. 154, f.53], transcribed in Hardacre, 'Clarendon, Sir Robert Howard, and Chancery Office-holding', pp. 209-14.

³²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 208.

Calendar of State Papers confirms that the office was indeed formally granted to Vyner the younger. And this is where the trouble started for Charles Beale. On the 5th of August Samuel Woodforde recorded that Beale had received notice ‘by Mr Cleyton’ - Robert Clayton (1629-1707), a wealthy scrivener, private banker and associate of both the Hyde family and Sir Robert Howard - that the office was to be sold to ‘Mr Thomas Viner’, throwing Charles into a state of melancholy. Beale’s first impulse was to approach Sir Thomas’ nephew, Sir Robert Vyner (1631-1688), in the hope that he would assert his influence over the incoming Clerk of the Patents to retain him as deputy. The following day Charles went to see Clayton again, and meanwhile Sir Robert Vyner and Woodforde’s friend Ezekiel Hopkins (1634-1690) (who had recently become Sir Thomas Vyner’s son-in-law) went to intercede with Mr Thomas Vyner on Beale’s behalf. On the 10th of August 1664 Samuel reported that,

My poore Cosen Beale hath been in great trouble about his office having to deale with some base fellowes who have by unjust ways sought to undermine him but [...] I hope having the chancellor & Mr Viner his friend yt they will now bee able to doe him any the least damage.³²⁹

August dragged on until Charles finally received a ‘deputacon’ from the incoming Mr Thomas Vyner, apparently confirming him in his deputyship. Just two days later the Beales heard from their cousin John Smith of a property for sale in Hampshire and resolved to consider buying it. In mid-September Woodforde and the Beales went to see the farm at Allbrook, and on the 7th of October Charles paid a deposit. After the period of trepidation following Howard’s sale of his office the Beales settled down as before. In fact relations between Charles and his new boss appear to have been excellent, as on the 28th of October 1664 Mr Vyner and Ezekiel Hopkins dined with the Beales and Woodforde at Hind Court. Two months later the farm deeds were signed and shortly after that Woodforde spoke to Hopkins about the possibility of Charles’ under clerk, John Howe, ‘being with Mr Viner’. Ten days later, in February 1665, the Beales and Samuel dined with Sir Thomas Vyner at his home in Hackney. It wasn’t until June that the Beales finally abandoned London for Hampshire, and another ten months after that, in April 1666, ‘Mr Thomas Viner’ replaced Charles’ name as a householder of Hind Court. Far from losing his job with

³²⁹ Woodforde, ‘Liber Dolorosus’, f. 137.

the arrival of a new and unknown patron, Charles managed a stressful but ultimately advantageous transition and even made provision for his own assistant under the new regime, but the process required him to utilise every avenue of friendship, credit and obligation he could muster.

For Charles Beale's 'friend' Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor, however, things went from bad to worse when it was rumoured that at the Restoration he had taken £2,000 from Sir Robert Howard for the Patents Office clerkship. There followed an accusation of financial corruption which informed, to some extent, the charges which led to his impeachment and subsequent exile to France in 1667. The Earl of Clarendon stated, in the letter from Montpellier to his son Henry Hyde, that he had received no payment from Howard. In the same letter Clarendon wrote that some time after the post had been sold in 1664 he *had* accepted from Howard a small canvas bag containing 300 pieces of gold which the latter said was payment for agreeing to let him resign the Patents office in favour of young Vyner. Except, in addition, for a diamond ring given to him by Sir Charles Wolseley and worth just £100, 'God knowes', declared Clarendon, 'I never expected a penny' for the preferment. For his part, Sir Thomas Vyner had 'confessed' to the Chancellor that he would have to pay Robert Howard either £2,600 or £3,000 for it.³³⁰

The struggle over the Patents Office, and other incidents reported in Woodforde's diary, show that relations between working gentlefolk at the Beales' level and that of their wealthier, well-born (but working nominally) 'superiors' could be elastic, and open to negotiation. In this case, and that of Pepys at the Navy Office, work involved a deal of socialising between the ranks, with young Vyner dining at Hind Court and, three months later, the Beale party being his father Sir Thomas's guests at his famous Black and White House in Hackney. More generally the whole episode illustrates how tenuous one's position could be in relation to employers and patrons. Indeed there is an important point to be made here about the actual distinction between those two designations - Sir Robert Vyner appearing to be Charles' influential patron, while Sir Robert Howard and then young Vyner each in turn became his employer, and whose goodwill had to be cultivated. 'Employee' is itself problematic term,

³³⁰ Hardacre, 'Clarendon, Sir Robert Howard, and Chancery Office-holding', pp. 209-14.

however, as clerks in state offices were by no means all paid a salary, many made a living by their entitlement to a proportion of the fees paid per transaction.³³¹ Howard's patron, the Lord Chancellor, was also his employer in the sense that the office was in his gift, yet he and all these men were employees of the early modern state and ultimately they, their reputations and credit were all at the mercy of Parliament, the Crown and intrigues thereof.

There is no evidence to suggest that his wife's work, and the household's eventual dependence on it, caused him any doubt - social, religious or cultural - but rather was the source of immense pride in her achievements. Charles' version of masculinity as it is implied by the texts, and by Mary Beale's many portraits of him, is one of kindness, affection, resourcefulness, social duty, religious constancy and integrity. All this and a great artistic and literary ambition somehow constrained or unfocused. This appears to run counter to the male ideal as ruler of the household kingdom, middling breadwinner and unchallenged moral and religious arbiter of his family's thoughts and actions. Closer, it seems, to Shepherd's model of the compromised patriarch forced to adapt to a changing economic situation and, in Charles' case, learning to play to his and Mary's strengths. Nor does his life, as revealed in the texts and documentary sources, conform to the social expectations of a youngest son of a minor squire or merchant. Charles' example demonstrates, however, that it was possible for a man to confound social expectation and constraint if one did so carefully and, it would seem, with charm and very good friends.

Samuel Woodforde, by contrast, was almost permanently consumed by anxiety over his role as man and citizen in Restoration London. His first diary, started in 1662, reveals the full extent of Samuel's regret and self-loathing over past behaviour at Oxford and in his first few years as an Inner Temple lawyer. At Wadham College Woodforde had mixed with a wild crowd, neglected his studies, and done more than his fair share of drunken carousing. Even more troubling to his conscience was a night when he and his companions had gone out to steal geese from a local farmer. It was at Oxford that Sam met Thomas Flatman, although it is not clear whether the

³³¹ 'Introduction', in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 2, Officials of the Secretaries of State 1660-1782*, ed. J. C. Sainty, (London: Athlone Press for the University of London/Institute of Historical Research, 1973), [pp. 1-21], *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol2>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

latter was a partner in crime. After taking their degrees the pair became chamber fellows at the Inner Temple. Woodforde wrote in the diary of his great shame when looking back on his early practices in the law, shoddy if not dishonest dealings which eventually lost him all his clients and destroyed his reputation amongst fellow lawyers.

One day in 1658 Flatman took Sam to meet his friends the Beales and Charles' cousin Alice Beale - a day on which, as he saw it, friendship and love changed his life and saved his soul. But not quite at once. Woodforde was instantly drawn to the kindness of his Hind Court hosts and fell in love with Alice but rather than being honest with them about his (by then bleak) prospects he lied, implying that a good fortune would soon be his. Although the Woodfordes had an ancient lineage, his provincial lawyer father Robert Woodforde (d.1654) was steward of Northampton for 18 years and of comparatively modest means. Sam was brought up by his maternal grandparents Robert Haunch and Hannah Heighes, citizens of London, although why is unclear. The lad was sent to St Paul's School and then up to Oxford through the generous patronage of his great-uncle Edward Heighes (d.1661) who, upon his death, also left the bulk of his estate 'to my sister's, daughter's eldest son', much to his widow Joan's protracted chagrin. There followed a lengthy and expensive legal contest over the contents of the will, including substantial properties in Binsted, Hampshire, which were left to him but with a life interest to Joan Heighes. During an illness his great-aunt made them over to Sam but soon regretted it, while he steadfastly held her to her promise. At stake were Westcote Farm and South Hay House - an impressive home of sixteen hearths.³³² As a result of argument and litigation between Woodforde and his relatives some of the estate he inherited remained beyond his reach for years and familial relationships were irreparably damaged.

Alice, whose deceased father Theodore Beale (d.1652) had been one of the 'scandalous' ministers deprived of his living during the Civil Wars, and whose mother survived on the largesse of her kin, had no marriage portion. Nonetheless Woodforde secretly asked Alice to marry him and, not knowing of his discredited

³³² Hughes & White, *Hampshire Hearth Tax Assessment 1665*, p. 17.

reputation and poverty, she agreed. After great consternation both families decided that the couple should honour their promises to each other. It was only then, around the time of their marriage in October 1661, that Samuel's impecunious position became known and thereafter the couple had no alternative but to lodge with Mary and Charles at Hind Court. Sam, who recorded having an epiphany thanks to the love of Alice, was helped back on the path to religion and virtue. This tumultuous year also inspired Woodforde to start writing his diary in order to confess his sins and chart his efforts to find god's redemption; and, having read his father's confessional diaries, to make himself into a man worthy to bear his name. There is no evidence to corroborate or contradict Samuel's account of himself and his past, but it is undoubtedly a contemporaneous manuscript written, as the hand confirms, as his thoughts came to him and not compiled later from notes. The writer believed himself to be a failed man and the only atonement possible was through making a living while sorting out the contested mess of his inheritance, thereby regaining a semblance of moral, social and fiscal respectability. As a failed Christian, the perceived threat to his soul brought him anguish beyond even that which he felt over deceiving Alice. In many ways a more conventional man than Charles, Sam considered that the imbalance in religious virtue between him and his wife robbed the marriage of its proper relation whereby a husband should embody the higher example of piety. To some extent, of course, his sense of commonplace dignity as a man was injured, although he tried not to rest on it but to prostrate himself in prayer and secret fasting, as well as in his diary, before God.

Woodforde's guilt, his sense of moral, masculine inferiority, was reinforced daily by the newly-wed couple's necessarily subservient status within the Beale household, a disparity which reached a crisis after Alice became pregnant with her first child in 1662. There being no prospect of moving to a home of their own, Sam's humiliation was compounded by a perceived loss of control over the impending birth itself. When Alice was near to term, according to his account, Mary Beale assumed that she would have the midwife who had attended her own births,

My Deare^{I believe} is now speaking about this^{very} time to my Cosen Beale concerning a Nurse, that Mrs Everton may not bee imposed upon her, oh Deare Father [...] lett not my Cosen speake much for that woman who is

old & not fitt to bee nurse to a younge Woman, who doth intend her selfe
to give suck.³³³

That very afternoon the couple had interviewed and more or less decided upon ‘Mrs Mathews’, a younger midwife, but feared they would have no say in the matter. Mary was speaking, no doubt, in the light of her own positive experiences of Mrs Everton, but also because those under the Beale roof were to be selected by her and Charles. Thankfully, he writes, the lord intervened,

My god hath heard mee in this last request & my Cosen hath granted my
wife her desire letting her alone as to the choyse of a nurse wee could not
bring in a stranger into ye house without their consent ~~they have~~ shee
hath consented & is willing wee should take whom wee would.³³⁴

This unfortunate disagreement became, therefore, a small battle over self-determination but one in which the stakes were high, and in which one couple already felt almost hopelessly dependant on the goodwill of others. In the event, the Woodfordes plumped for Mrs Mathews and a healthy baby girl, also Alice, was delivered on the 26th November. This was a great relief to Sam who had feared that as a result of his past failings the child would be ‘deformed’ in some way, an eventuality he prayed against to God and his diary almost every day.

Such incidents aside, Woodforde soundly acknowledged that the means of regaining his lost reputation was in exercising religious virtue through friendship, and learning from the good examples set by Alice and the Beales. Their love for the sinner he felt himself to be made him a into saved man, one better able to overcome the obstacles he faced in providing for his little family. By 1663 Sam had managed the debts associated with his inheritance and took Alice and their daughter to live in a rented house near the property his aunt still occupied at Binsted. This change in his monetary and social status to landed gentleman provided only temporary respite from Sam’s burden of guilt, however, as in January 1664 poor Alice, aged just 29, died after childbirth having delivered a boy, Heighes. ‘Oh my dear love’ wrote Woodforde in his diary. Wracked with despair, his sense of himself as a worthy, virtuous man was damaged once again and he returned many times to stay with the

³³³ 26 September 1662: Woodforde, ‘Lib. primus’, f.110.

³³⁴ *ibid.*, f.111.

Beales at Hind Court, and then at Allbrook, where they too were grieving for the much-loved Alice. Sam's empathy with King David of the Book of Psalms became acute and he determined to compile a complete paraphrase of the biblical text for printing - an exercise in grieving and, it has to be said, in self-fashioning. For Sam the work was both emotionally cathartic and an act of reclamation, his soul being once more at stake. It is clear that the book, which went into five impressions in two editions, also established Woodforde's reputation as a man of pious virtue and scholarly virtuosity, credentials of inestimable value in a gentleman of more or less secure means who wanted to create a new place for himself in society. His religious meditations and literary work - coupled with the connections with prominent men in the church made through his association with the Beales - must surely have made his choice of a new career as a clergyman more easily attainable.

Reputations in retirement: exile and utopia 1665-1670/1

Tabitha Barber, in the catalogue to the 1999 Beale exhibition, described the sociable atmosphere at Hind Court and noted the family's links with a wide cross-section of people and groups, including the Royal Society.³³⁵ Barber also examined Mary's unpublished prose work on friendship, relating it to her marriage, and to the contemporary interest in latitudinarianism. In *The Birth of Feminism* (2009) literary commentator Sarah Ross used Barber's portrayal of Charles and Mary's seventeenth-century 'collaborative' marriage in concluding that their studio conformed to a trend she had discerned amongst Italian women painters.³³⁶ Each presided over what she termed a 'household salon' - in Beale's case 'a base for developing and publicizing [her] interdisciplinary creativity', referring here to her literary and painted works. Ross, like Barber, viewed Mary's writing purely as an 'avocation' or hobby.³³⁷ I have demonstrated, however, that Beale used writing in manuscript and print as a strategic tool of self-promotion, one of several means by which she fashioned a

³³⁵ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 27.

³³⁶ Ross, *Birth of feminism*, p. 15.

³³⁷ Ross states unequivocally that Mary's 'status derived from her successful career as a portraitist, while authorship was her avocation', p. 261; while Barber makes no mention of the relationship between Beale's reputation and the uses to which her written works were put.

respectable public persona, and that her motivation in this was commercial as well as creative.³³⁸

At Hind Court gatherings Mary and her intimate friends read their poetry aloud, recounted sermons, and made gifts to each other of paintings and books. A letter written by Flatman to the Beales after their move to Hampshire shows that keeping them abreast of the latest literary spats in London was an important demonstration of friendship in absentia. Flatman had enclosed in his letter a copy after a piece,

done by the author of Hudibras in imitation of Mr Boyles Occasionall Reflections, 'tis very pleasant, I had no small trouble to borrow it, and little time to transcribe it as you may easily perceive by the scribbling Hand.³³⁹

Their apparently hobby-like activities amount to what we would now term networking, and the relationships they formed were used to achieve a measure of security, to exchange guidance and support, and to enhance their credit by establishing links with figures of authority past, present and future. The structure of the Beale circle mirrored that of more elite groups, including Katherine Philips', and employed the same social mechanisms, including the reciprocal conventions of credit and obligation, and the giving of gifts. In chapter three I suggested that the Beale circle and their activities can be categorised as a cultural coterie of writers, painters and natural philosophers in which Mary could safely declare her creative, intellectual intentions in a respectably domestic setting. The Beales used literary work to break the ice of public life, and to create a virtuous, modest, scholarly 'brand' for her by means of an established sociable model.

The informal exchange of literary manuscripts was especially suited to women like Beale and Philips who were, of necessity, cautious about publishing in print. Poems and prose could be thus circulated widely without making the overtly public claim of authority which is implied by the very act of authorship. Manuscripts had the added advantage of not being mass produced and could therefore be fetishised as rare

³³⁸ Draper, 'Mary Beale and 'her painting of Apricots'', pp. 389-405; & 'Mary Beale and art's lost laborers: women Painter Stainers', pp. 141-51.

³³⁹ 15 October 1668: Flatman writing from London, Bodleian MSS. 104, fol. 112, referring to a satire by Samuel Butler, 'An Occasionall reflexion upon Dr Charlton's feeling a Dog's pulse at Gresham-College by R[obert] Boyle Esq.', [after 1664] [B.L. MS 18220, ff. 98-100].

objects, their bestowal as a gift could become an act of intimacy and trust. When the Beales moved to Allbrook Mary wrote her manuscript discourse on *Friendship*, now known to exist in two copies. One untitled version was sent, accompanied by the 1666 letter mentioned earlier, to her friend Elizabeth Tillotson (d.1702), daughter of Robina Cromwell (sister of Oliver) and Dr Peter French (d.1655) and, following her mother's remarriage, step-daughter to the clergyman and natural philosopher Dr John Wilkins (d.1672). In her dedication to Elizabeth (recently married to John, an ambitious clergyman and acolyte of Wilkins) Mary's stated aim in sending the manuscript was to further the intimacy of their friendship and express her affection.³⁴⁰ The second known copy of *Friendship*, significantly reduced and altered, had acquired an attribution to 'Mrs. Mary Beale' as author and the title *Of Friendship* when, around 1667, it was copied it into a commonplace book belonging to and, I suggest, compiled by Charles Crompton (1618-1677).³⁴¹

Crompton was the son of Frances Crofts (d.1661) of Suffolk, who married Sir John Crompton (d.1623) of Skerne in Yorkshire, a Chirographer of the Fines.³⁴² Roger North (d.1734), his family's biographer, had it however that Charles Crompton was in fact the illegitimate son of Frances Crofts and his kinsman Sir Henry North (d.1671), 1st Bart. of Mildenhall, Suffolk.³⁴³ Crompton may have been a career soldier, or have fought in the Civil Wars, as from 1660 he was a Gentleman Pensioner and commissioned, in 1662, as captain of a troop of horse in the Earl of Cleveland's regiment.³⁴⁴ In 1667, during the second Anglo-Dutch War he was made a lieutenant of one of Prince Rupert's troops of non-regimental horse who were to protect the coast at Medway from invasion, and yet found time to compile his commonplace

³⁴⁰ Beale, letter to Elizabeth Tillotson, f.510.

³⁴¹ Crompton, 'Commonplace book'. 'John Crompton', in 'Index of officers: Cr - Cu', *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 11 (revised), Court Officers, 1660-1837*, ed. Robert O. Bucholz, (London: University of London, 2006), [pp. 900-912], *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp900-912>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

³⁴² Frances Crofts was the daughter of Sir John Crofts (d.1628) and Mary Shirley (d.1649).

³⁴³ Roger North, *Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guilford, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Under King Charles II and King James II.: The Hon. Sir Dudley North, Commissioner of the Customs, and Afterwards of the Treasury, to King Charles II. And the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Clerk of the Closet to King Charles II.*, (London: H. Colburn, 1826), pp. 232-5.

³⁴⁴ Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Cleveland (d.1667), see 'October 1667', in *Calendar of state papers: domestic series, of the reign of Charles II [...]*, vol. 2, '1661-1662', ed. Mary A. E. Green (London: Longman et al., 1861); *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas2/1661-2/pp504-538>> [accessed 2 October 2018].

book.³⁴⁵ Although Crompton had a London address in St Andrews, Holborn, he lived at least part of the time with Henry North who, paternity aside, was his patron and a member of his literary circle. In fact, North's (legitimate) son, also Henry (d.1695), was engaged to be married to Crompton's niece Katherine when she died in 1669.³⁴⁶ The full text of the elder Henry North's unpublished romance, *Eroclea*, appeared alongside Beale's *Of Friendship* in Crompton's commonplace book in 1667.³⁴⁷ Of the surviving snippets of biographical information about Crompton, one describes his unusual skill in remembering complete texts of poetry and plays, and the efficiency with which he compiled them in a series of such commonplace books.³⁴⁸ He was born in his mother's family manor house at Little Saxham, less than two miles from Mary's childhood home, but evidence of his connection to the Beale circle, and how he came to see a copy of Mary's text, is piecemeal. For example, Margaret Snelling (d. by 1662), mother of Matthew the Suffolk miniaturist - well-known to young Mary Cradock and, later, to the Beales in London - was widowed in 1623 but soon remarried to Ambrose Blagge (d.1662), of Bury St Edmunds, as his second wife.³⁴⁹ Matthew Snelling, being just three years old, became Ambrose's step-son, and step-brother to Col. Thomas Blagge (d.1660) who, in 1641, married Sir Henry North's sister Mary (d.1671).³⁵⁰ In the 1660s both Mathew Snelling and Thomas Blagge were court officers of Charles II's palace, the former as 'esquire of the body', the latter 'groom of the bedchamber'.³⁵¹ All of which demonstrates a close familial connection between Crompton and Snelling through Mary North Blagge; and to the Beales

³⁴⁵ Under 'Capt' John Sheffield (1648-1721), Earl of Mulgrave, see 'July 1-18, 1660', in *Calendar of state papers: domestic series, of the reign of Charles II, 1660-1661*, ed. Mary A. E. Green, (London: Longman et al., 1860); *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-statepapers/domestic/chas2/1660-1/pp107-124>> [accessed 2 October 2018].

³⁴⁶ Katherine was the daughter of Crompton's elder brother Sir Richard, see George Ormerod, comp., *Parentalia. Genealogical memoirs*, (privately printed, 1851), p. 29.

³⁴⁷ 'The manuscripts of Sir Charles Bunbury, Bart., at Bury, Co. Suffolk' in 'Appendix', *Third report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, (London: HMSO, 1872), p. 241.

³⁴⁸ North, *Lives*, p. 234.

³⁴⁹ John Murdoch, 'Snelling, Matthew (bap. 1621, d.1678), miniature painter and courtier', (2004), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [online] <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66391>> [accessed 1 June 2018].

³⁵⁰ Mary North's daughter Margaret Blagge (1652-1678) was a close friend of John Evelyn, and married Sydney Godolphin (d.1712), 1st Earl of Godolphin, see Harris, *Transformations of love: the friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin*.

³⁵¹ Robert O. Bucholz, ed., 'Presence Chamber: Esquires of the Body 1660-1702', in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, [11], *British History Online* <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/pp63-64>> [accessed 24 March 2019]; & 'December 1660', in *Calendar of state papers [...] Charles II, 1660-1661*; *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/domestic/chas2/1660-1/pp436-451>> [accessed 2 October 2018].

through Snelling as early as 1654; as well as strong London-Suffolk ties amongst all these families.

More evidence of a Beale-Crompton connection is in the commonplace book itself, where *Of Friendship* nestles amongst works of poetry and drama by prominent male writers including Abraham Cowley, Sir John Denham, Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery, and several pieces by one of Mary's innermost circle, Thomas Flatman. It is significant therefore that the Samuel Butler satire sent by Flatman to the Beales, as mentioned above, also appears in the *Miscellany* manuscript of John Watson (d.1673), an intimate of Henry North's family at Mildenhall, where he was vicar. Into his *Miscellany* Watson copied 'Tush look for no ease from Hippocrates [...] A song in Sir H North's *Eroclea*', noting that the romance had been written in '1659', and other entries by North and his wife Sarah (d. 1670).³⁵² Harold Love, writing about the *Culture and commerce of texts* in this period, described Watson as a 'conduit of literary separates in and out of Suffolk' who also received and transcribed many other works by diverse authors through his brother Thomas in London.³⁵³ A final clue to the chain of connection between these apparently disparate sources and players, is that the 'fair copy' of *Eroclea*, made by a scribe or Henry North himself, later belonging to his grandson, Thomas Hanmer (d.1746), Speaker of the House, passed into eventually the possession of his kinsman Sir Henry Edward Bunbury (d.1860) - who also owned Crompton's 'Commonplace Book'.³⁵⁴

The exchange of Beale's *Friendship* manuscripts - like others within the circle - should be viewed as complex instruments of friendship, literary endeavour and professional advancement. The presentation to Mary's friend Elizabeth must also be considered as a gift which placed on the recipient a reciprocal obligation, according to the conventions of courtesy. In this case, her friend Elizabeth was the wife of an ascendant cleric and intellectual who was destined, in time, to become Archbishop of Canterbury, and a very influential patron. Mary had, in fact, painted John Tillotson

³⁵² 'Political and other poems, epigrams, etc., with a few pieces in prose, collected by John Watson, apparently during the years 1667-1673', London, British Library, Add MS 18220.

³⁵³ Harold Love, *Culture and commerce of texts: scribal publication in seventeenth-century England* (Amhurst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), p. 29; see also Trolander & Tenger, *Sociable Criticism in England 1625-1725*.

³⁵⁴ Bunbury owned the *Eroclea* manuscript in 1838 when he published extracts in *Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer [...] to which are added other relics of a gentleman's family* (London: Moon, 1838), p. 320. The manuscript is now in the British Library, Add MS 36755.

two years previously, although probably ‘not for profit’. The portrait in oils had been created after at least two sittings, the second of which had been in the context of a social gathering, at which Elizabeth, and Samuel Woodford were present. After the sitting, everyone stayed for supper before going to visit their friends Dr William Bates and his wife.³⁵⁵ Beale’s letter to Elizabeth, makes it clear in distinctly painterly terms that her manuscript is a work in progress in that, inspired by her intimacy with Mrs Tillotson, she has created in her word-portrait a ‘draught’ or ‘imperfect likeness’ of utopian true friendship. Mary’s letter is a self-portrait that tempers the lofty ambition implied by the presentation of her text with a conventional presumption of her own fallibility. She signals her awareness of the dangers and advantages of venturing from the personal realm of ‘study and improvement’, into the public arenas of friendship, portraiture and publication. Here, then, Mary was clearly using the manuscript ‘publication’ of her discourse to achieve interconnected ends - to further a personal friendship; demonstrate her commitment to deepening a relationship based on mutual obligation and patronage; and to draw a direct link between friendship, writing and painting. I suggest that both *Friendship* and letter, sent from Mary’s exile, also kept fresh and vital the connection between the two women and their London network.

As we have seen, seventeenth-century women writers found ways to overcome public disapproval when publishing their works. To have one’s name appear in print could be a powerful tool of self-promotion if the content and context were sufficiently ‘virtuous’.³⁵⁶ In a widely circulated letter to her friend Sir Charles Cotterell, Katherine Philips expressed horror over the 1664 printed edition of her collected poetry.³⁵⁷ The published works had been taken from manuscript copies in circulation, many of which had been altered by their readers. In her letter, itself covertly intended for public consumption, Philips denied prior knowledge of the publication and emphasised that she, a modest woman, would never have authorised the printing of her work. Not only had the poet’s intellectual property been compromised, but, she was deprived of control over the selection, editing and

³⁵⁵ 9 October 1664: Woodforde, ‘Liber Dolorosus’, f.167.

³⁵⁶ Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*; Dorothy Mermin, ‘Women becoming poets: Katherine Philips, Aphra Behn, Anne Finch’, *English Literary History*, 57:2 (1999), pp. 335-55.

³⁵⁷ Katherine Philips, *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus*, (London: printed by W. B. for Bernard Lintott, 1705), pp. 136.

presentation of her work, a far more frustrating state of affairs than the fact of their printing, Professor Elizabeth Hageman has suggested.³⁵⁸ A large part of Philip's anger was over the damage that could have been done to her reputation as a rigorous, discerning writer. Margaret Ezell has argued that Philips' poetry developed from within a sociable but largely self-limiting coterie of writers and readers. In manuscript the poems had personal resonance for coterie members but the readership of the printed book was, by virtue of commercial publishing and bookselling, 'indiscriminate', its reception therefore unpredictable.³⁵⁹ Philip's reaction confirms that having one's work appear in the public medium of print had to be managed carefully by all authors but particularly by women. This well-documented episode illustrates my argument that Mary Beale's progression from a domestic to a public figure had, necessarily, to be well judged and gradual. Ideal then, to proceed from discreet inclusion in a list of virtuous lady artists, and author in manuscript of a prose work on the practice of Christian friendship, to a reluctantly didactic appearance in print.

A *Notebook* written and compiled from 1660 by Francis Knollys (d.1694), confirms that at least three members of their intimate circle - Woodforde, Mary and Knollys himself - were all writing poetry, and paraphrases of the Psalms. Knollys, a very close friend, was secretary to William 2nd Earl of Strafford (d.1695) but in 1649, according to John Aubrey (d.1697), had been 'governor', or companion-tutor, to William's first cousin and budding poet, Wentworth Dillon (b.c.1639-1685) soon to be the 4th Earl of Roscommon, during a stay in Caen.³⁶⁰ The notebook contains more than two dozen of Knollys' paraphrases on the Psalms, and it ends with his 1670 poem to Mary in praise of her 'makeing ye Picture of one that was dead seeme after ye life'.³⁶¹ Although there is no evidence that he shared these particular texts within

³⁵⁸ Elizabeth H. Hageman & Andrea Sununu, 'More Copies of it abroad than I could have imagin'd': further manuscript texts of Katherine Philips, 'the Matchless Orinda', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 5, eds Peter Beale & Jeremy Griffiths, (London: British Library, 1995); Elizabeth H. Hageman, 'Traacherous accidents and the abominable printing of Katherine Philips's 1664 poems', *New ways of looking at old texts*, 3, (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Centre for Mediaeval & Renaissance Studies, 2004), pp. 85-95.

³⁵⁹ Margaret Ezell, *Social authorship and the advent of print*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

³⁶⁰ Francis Knollys, 'Notebook' [c.1660-70], Bodleian MSS. Rawl. poet. 60; John Aubrey, 'Impulses' in, *Miscellanies upon various subjects*, 4th ed. [Library of Old Authors series], (London: John R. Smith, 1857), pp. 114-15.

³⁶¹ Knollys, 'Notebook', f. ['176'].

his circle, it would seem out of character if he hadn't. In 1667 Samuel Woodforde published his *Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* and included in it versions of four credited to 'M.M.B.' or 'Mm.M.B.', (numbers 13, 52, 70 and 130). In his preface Woodforde wrote that his co-author had 'long since' (presumably in the 1650s or early 1660s) composed the paraphrases and revealed that she was none other than:

that absolutely compleat Gentlewoman [. . .] the truly vertuous Mrs. Mary Beale, amongst whose least accomplishments it is, that she has made Painting and Poesy which in the Fancies of others had only before a kind of likeness, in her own to be really the same. The Reader I hope will pardon this publick acknowledgement which I make to so deserving a person.³⁶²

Woodforde worked very hard on his book and before sending it to the press gave copies of the completed manuscript to several readers and patrons for their comments or amendments, including John Tillotson, Thomas Spratt (d.1713), biographer of the Royal Society, and John Wilkins (d.1672), the author's master at Wadham College and Tillotson's step-father-in-law. He also succeeded in inspiring Thomas Flatman and Dr James Gardiner (d.1705), later Bishop of Lincoln and one of Mary's last sitters in the 1690s, to write commendatory poems for the front matter. John Cooke writing, tongue affectionately in cheek, to the Beales about progress in publishing the book reported that in London 'Poet Sam' was,

very busy, sometimes with his Stationer otherwhiles with his Printer, and not least with Mr Loggan the Graver, who is to usher his Divine Poetry to the world with a most excellent David fingering his harp & tripudiating [...] so that our friend Samuell has gotten the Royall Singer to concure with him.³⁶³

Cooke refers here to the frontispiece Woodforde commissioned from the artist and printmaker David Loggan (1634-92), who had earlier engraved the title page for the folio *Book of Common Prayer* (1662). Mary Beale's pseudonymous first and, as far as we know, only foray into print is here confirmed as part of a strategy calculated to create a respectable but authoritative public persona. Mary had, nevertheless, to present herself or, as in this case, have someone else present her, as a modest woman

³⁶² Woodforde, 'Preface', *Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David*, [unpaginated].

³⁶³ 8 November 1666: Cooke to Charles Beale at Allbrook, Bodleian, MSS. 113, f. 16.

who allowed her work to become the object of scrutiny only through the urging of others, and in the hope of achieving some greater good. In allowing her kinsman 'cosen' Woodforde to print her poems - and respectfully reveal her true identity - Mary Beale aligned her name with the entire canon of psalm literature, and with the poetic brother-sister legacy of the revered Psalter manuscript begun by Sir Philip Sidney (d.1586) and completed after his death by his sibling, Mary Herbert (d.1621), Countess of Pembroke. Beale sought to heighten her reputation for religious virtue, and claim inheritance of that noble literary form by association. The choice of religious subject matter was in itself an act of modesty, and had the effect of cancelling out the immodesty of seeking publication. Beale associated her name with friendship, for the same reason - as one of several means by which she fashioned a particular public persona, her ends being creative and ultimately commercial. The status of those with whom Mary's name was associated in print, and of the recipients of her work in manuscript was of crucial importance. It was a reciprocal arrangement, as her status was in turn reflected on those who, like Woodforde and Sanderson, commended her name. When Woodforde included Beale's verses with his own, it was in the knowledge that her name and talent had already been commended in print by Sir William Sanderson and in the succeeding nine years she had garnered a level of public renown. These acts of commendation were particularly useful in once more making a direct link between her writing and painting, simultaneously attracting future patrons, and deflecting any impression of impropriety.

Charles Beale and the gentlemen experimenters

The Beales' five years at Allbrook afforded them the time, space and opportunity to refine their skills as painter and studio technician respectively, in advance of professional practice. We know from notes made in several texts that Charles prepared and stored considerable quantities of canvas, thus implying that Mary continued to work. Further confirmation comes from a 1668 letter to Charles, in which John Cooke commented upon his own tendency to ramble by quoting from the *Adagia* of Desiderius Erasmus (d.1536). This scholarly work gathered together proverbs scattered among the works of early Greek and Roman writers and Cooke remarked that one of them, 'manun de tabulâ', meaning let well alone, was 'as

proper a lesson for y^r Lady as for me'.³⁶⁴ Erasmus cited Apelles who, seeing the painter Protogenes labouring over a picture, cried out that too much heightening and retouching would ruin it. Cooke's fascinating reference to Mary Beale's working methods hints at a perceived tendency to perfectionism, while confirming her commitment to 'study and improvement' in preparation for their return to London. The full range of Charles Beale's occupations at Allbrook is uncertain because so few documents relating to daily life there survive, but he clearly spent a significant amount of time developing materials. And effort was also spent in refining his reputation and garnering credit. Charles, now a landed gentleman, could at last become the virtuoso scholar of art and natural philosopher he had apparently aspired to be since youth. Evidence of this comes in a leather-bound notebook in which Charles had previously compiled fifty of his *Experimentall Seacrets found out in the way of my owne painting*, between 1647/8 and 1663.³⁶⁵

In thematic terms there are three broad types of entry in Beale's book - those about the act of painting, making pigments, and the sale of pigments. Although the text is not a continuous narrative, the entries being spasmodic, it describes material, technical, and aesthetic aspects of making a painting. There are eleven technical descriptions of the process of mixing pigment with binder and manipulating paint on a support to achieve certain visual effects. Beale variously describes how to 'heighten to make things shine', to 'paint Linen very fair and naturall', and to 'paint salt herings', stating clearly that the advice he offers is derived from his 'owne painting', the implication being that these are *his* secrets arising from trial, error and analysis, not from working with a master, or consulting texts. In the entry dated 13th March 1647/8, Charles recorded an 'excellent observation and rare secreate to be observed in rounding of severall bodies standing one before another', an exercise in the careful marking of light and shade on one object in relation to another to denote distance.³⁶⁶ He claims that this 'secreate effect' had been 'litle observed by any except Titian', seeming to suggest that only he and the Master had ever noted it,

³⁶⁴ 1 September 1668: Cooke at Whitehall to Charles Beale, Bodleian MSS. 113, f. 90; Robert Bland, *Proverbs taken chiefly from the Adagia of Erasmus*, 2 vols [in 1], (London: printed for T. Egerton, Military Library, Whitehall, 1814), pp. 102-3. [Desiderius Erasmus, *Collectanea Adagiorum* (Paris, 1500).]

³⁶⁵ The first entry of 'February 1647', the second of '3 March', and that of '11 March 1647/8', suggest that all relate to March 1648, or that there was a one year gap between entries one to three and the fourth entry, Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets', f.5.r, f.5.v-6.r, f.6.v.

³⁶⁶ Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets', f.7.r.-v.

while simultaneously indicating his knowledge of Italian Renaissance painting and the secrets employed by its most venerated artists. Soon, however, Beale's emphasis moved from the secrets of artistic illusionism to those involved in metamorphosing dull matter into vibrant colour. In fact the bulk of entries are concerned with the physical stuff of which paint was made - oil mediums, chalk, alum, and colouring matter derived from minerals, plants, animals and earth. The range of 'Colors' or pigments (a word Charles did not use) mentioned is narrow, in part because the rest of the text is almost exclusively given over to the manufacture of colours. The author recorded the stages of his experiments in making colouring matter in detail, including observations on the yield and value of each pigment, and comments on the nature and appearance the colour produced. Some mention is made of artists' equipment, although the book contains only a passing reference to brushes, and none to palettes, easels, paint receptacles, or supports.

It is not known precisely why Beale started to record his 'Experimentall Seacrets' but the significant changes in the content and tone of the manuscript imply that its purpose may have changed over the sixteen-year course of its compilation. These changes mirror its author's transition from aspiring painter to colourman, artist to experimenter, Charles finding that his natural inclination, or aptitude, was in exploring the physics and chemistry of painting rather than the creative act. All his manuscript accounts of making pigment were compiled some time after the practical 'tryalls', but using notes taken during the process. This methodology confirms that Beale's work was experimental rather than reproductive; while the use of an instructive writing style and third person address throughout the book strongly suggests that he did envisage a private or public readership for his text.

The book reveals that about two years after he married Mary, however, Charles became taken up with the almost alchemical promise of rediscovering a lost treasure connected with the Bury St Edmunds group of artists, recording that the,

cause why I purpose to experimentise this making of green pink is this. I was told by M^r ffen when hee once ground som of my father Cradocks

pink, that hee did grind for S^r Nathaniel Bacon a rare green Color w^{ch} he caled Green pink.³⁶⁷

Charles Beale, a young married man with no apparent means of support - save possibly Mary's dowry - living on his father's modest estate in Buckinghamshire, was evidently intrigued with the idea of recreating a lost, 'rare green Color' used, perhaps even discovered, by Sir Nathaniel Bacon (1585-1627), a famous gentleman amateur. While the role of gentleman experimenter may have suited his interests and appealed to him as a fitting one, the manufacture of the precious pigment surely itself presented a means of generating money and credit, Charles having learnt the rudiments of business, perhaps, during his Drapers' apprenticeship. Beale's fascination with Bacon's recipe for making a 'green pink' is significant not only because it speaks of ambition and self-image, but also in exposing the allure of an alchemical challenge posed by the mere rumour of a rare, therefore precious, secret colour. Similarly, years earlier, Charles had claimed technical and artistic kinship with Titian, and had enjoyed knowledge of their shared use of painting's illusionistic 'secrets'.

One Medieval strain in the mythology and literature of artisans were the manuscript 'books of secrets' that claimed to reveal knowledge 'jealously guarded by famous sages and experimenters, or locked up in the bosom of nature itself'.³⁶⁸ These early modern self-help manuals did not fade away in the face of scientific developments in the seventeenth century. Printing allowed for wider publication of the books, but a large number were still circulated in manuscript form. One of the most popular and notorious to be printed was *Secreti del reverendo donno Alessio Piemontese* (1555), which went into more than a hundred editions, including translations into English, by 1700. Fearing that modern readers will find these works disappointing, William Eamon explained that they are collections of recipes, formulas, 'and "experiments" associated with one of the crafts or with medicine', including 'instructions for making quenching waters to harden iron and steel, recipes for mixing dyes and

³⁶⁷ Entry made in 1654 or earlier, Beale, 'Experimentall Seacrets', f.12.r.

³⁶⁸ William Eamon, *Science and the secrets of nature: books of secrets in medieval and early modern culture*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, c.1994), pp. 1-2.

pigments'.³⁶⁹ These comparatively cheap books of 'secrets' were, ironically, accessible to anybody who could read and therefore, Eamon argued, their reach ran counter to but in tandem with the Baconian ideal of a hierarchical, elite class of proto-scientists as discussed in chapter two. He suggested that the seventeenth-century 'scientific revolution' was assisted, to a degree, by this populist dissemination of the fruits (actual and fabricated) of the labours of unnamed secretive artisans. Piemontese's *Secreti*, for example, provides instruction in the mechanical preparation of the most valuable and symbolically-charged pigment of all, ultramarine. Girolamo Ruscelli (d.1566), the actual author, also declared that he had 'learned many Secretes, not alonlie of men of great knowledge and profound learning, and Noble men, but alsoe of poore women, Artificers, Peasants, and all sorts of men'.³⁷⁰ In this way Ruscelli claimed authority from the combined knowledge and practical experience of virtuosi and humble folk alike thereby promising hitherto untapped secrets and seeking, perhaps, to increase his potential readership.

In *Legend, myth, and magic in the image of the artist*, Kris and Kurz discussed the widespread cultural attribution of special powers to artists, and the connotations of secrecy that surrounded artistic production.³⁷¹ Marc Gotlieb expanded on their work in arguing that tension between the perceived need for secrecy and the mutually beneficial imperative to share knowledge is also at the heart of Vasari's pervasive myth about the technical development of Italian Renaissance painting whereby egg tempera was supplanted by oil as the medium of choice.³⁷² In the context of the anecdotal 'discovery' of painting in oil by Jan (d.1441) and Hubert (d.1426) Van Eyck in the Netherlands, Vasari condemned the professional secrecy deemed

³⁶⁹ Eamon, *Science and the secrets of nature*, pp. 4-5; see also John Ferguson, *Bibliographical notes on histories of inventions and books of secrets*, [1883], 2 vols, (London: Holland Press, 1959); *Books of secrets: natural philosophy in England 1550-1600*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

³⁷⁰ 'Don Alexis unto the Reader' [unpaginated], in Girolamo Ruscelli, *Secrets of the reverend Maister Alexis of Piemont: containing excellent remedies against diverse diseases, wounds, and other accidents, with the maner to make distillations, parfumes, confitures, dying, colours, fusions, and meltings [...]*, [transl. William Ward], (London: printed by Peter Short for Thomas Wight 1595).

³⁷¹ Ernst Kris & Otto Kurz, *Legend, myth and magic in the image of the artist: a historical experiment*, [transl. by Alastair Laing, revised by Lottie M. Newman], (London: Yale University Press, 1979).

³⁷² Marc Gotlieb, 'The painter's secret: invention and rivalry from Vasari to Balzac', *Art Bulletin*, 84:3 (2002), pp. 469-490; Giorgio Vasari (d.1574), *Le Vit de piu eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultoriitaliani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri, etc.*, (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550).

essential by the traditional craft painters' workshops of Northern Europe. By contrast, and in pursuance of his dream of establishing a teaching academy for artists in Florence, Vasari advocated an Italian humanist community of painters, sculptors and architects, operating in an atmosphere of openness and aristocratic courtesy. Vasari illustrated the point with the entirely fictional account of an Italian painter (entrusted with the Van Eycks' carefully guarded secret through a sequence of proper exchanges of courtesy and obligation), murdered by another artist who was envious of his friend's mastery of the new technique. Vasari's myth of the origins of oil painting survived substantially unchallenged until it was soundly routed by art historical scholars in the nineteenth century. Since then it has been further undermined on scientific grounds. Conservators studying paintings from the late medieval period to the early Renaissance have found that many artists routinely used oils in conjunction with egg tempera. It is now thought that rather than creating a revolution in technique, Northern painters perfected the transition to oil as a universal medium favoured for its versatility, ease of manipulation, and visual properties. Almost simultaneous to this change was the gradual adoption of canvas as a painting support rather than the wooden panels required for tempera. The woven structure of canvas and its absorbent qualities meant that the gaps or interstices between the threads held the painted design in place, taking into its very fibres the layers of glue, oils and colouring matter which comprise an easel painting. Art and the technology of painting becoming as one. Canvas was more easily portable than wood and allowed for the production and transportation of increasingly large painting supports required for both altarpieces and secular works.

Vasari's myth was based on untruths and chronological distortions intended to enhance the apparently collaborative role played by the Italian Renaissance men of genius, while consigning Van Eyck's secretive workshop practices to the artisans of the Middle Ages. This counter narrative of the significance of secrets is also of particular relevance to the Beales and their circle, in highlighting the threat posed to friendship by the barbarous influence of secrets unshared - a theme echoed by Mary in *Friendship*. This narrative was important to Vasari and his successors in the elevation of painters to match the status of sculptors and architects as artists, and as men of professional rather than artisanal standing. Gotlieb claimed that in order to elevate painting to the liberal arts, and to establish academies for educating artists,

Vasari framed ‘the diffusion of oil painting as a landmark contest between courtly obligation and artisanal rivalry’.³⁷³ Van Eyck was depicted as reserving the perfected technique of painting in oil for his exclusive benefit, while Vasari glorified the Italian artists who shared the secret, giving the ‘gift’ of knowledge to each other, promoting the ‘creation of a new and enlightened community of artists, founded as it seemed on revised protocols for the sharing of methods and materials’.³⁷⁴ Vasari’s vision is therefore but a differently elitist one that envisaged the artist as gentleman, the courtly product of a sound humanistic education, and with a finely-tuned sense of Castiglione’s ‘*sprezzatura*’ (nonchalance, or effortless artistry).

The common perception of artists as having special powers, the tantalising books of secrets, and the gratifying if contradictory myth of Van Eyck’s secret perfecting of oil painting, must have fed many early modern virtuosi’s hunger for a grand narrative on the history of art and the status of the European painter.³⁷⁵ Added to these were other technical and historical narratives about art written and consumed in the second half of the seventeenth century.³⁷⁶ There is a lineage of literature in English about the act and materials of painting, from Gian Paolo Lomazzo (d.1600) via a translation by Richard Haydocke (d.c.1642), to Nicholas Hilliard (d.1619), Henry Peacham (d.c.1644), Francis Bacon (d.1626) and Edward Norgate (1581-1650).³⁷⁷ Each text reinforced the idea of legitimacy in method and materials in high art and the elite, ideally amateur status of the artist. Like Charles Beale with his references to Titian, each author named those in whose steps they aspired to tread, starting with Aristotle and Pliny and usually ending with the Italian masters. In *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), Peacham expanded on ideas introduced by Castiglione in *The Courtier*, promoting drawing and painting as pastimes not only acceptable, but desirable for a

³⁷³ Gotlieb, ‘The painter’s secret: invention and rivalry from Vasari to Balzac’, p. 472.

³⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 470.

³⁷⁵ ‘Artist as magician’, in Kris & Kurz, *Legend, myth and magic*, pp. 61-90.

³⁷⁶ Ogden & Ogden, ‘Bibliography of seventeenth-century writings on the pictorial arts in English’, pp. 196-207; Talley, ‘Portrait painting in England: studies in the technical literature before 1700’, pp. 171-398.

³⁷⁷ The first five books of Gian Paolo Lomazzo’s, *Trattato della arte della pittura* (1584) were translated into English by Richard Haydocke (d.1642) as, *A Tracte containing the Artes of curious Paintinge, Carvinge, & Buildinge [...]*, (Oxford: printed by J. Barnes for R. H., 1598). Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619), ‘A Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning’, [c.1598-9], London, British Library MS Harleian 6000); *Nicholas Hilliard’s Art of Limning*, ed. Linda B. Salamon & Arthur F. Kinney, (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1983). Henry Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman, fashioning him absolute in the most necessary & commendable Qualities concerning Minde or Bodie, etc.*, (London: F. Constable, 1622).

true gentleman. Peacham singled out Sir Nathaniel Bacon (d.1627) as an example of a gentleman of a ‘right noble and ancient family’, who was also an accomplished painter.³⁷⁸ The inscription on the artist’s funerary monument - which Mary and Charles almost certainly knew of - emphasised Bacon’s apparently self-taught mastery, and echoed Castiglione’s admiration of *sprezzatura* by underlining his effortless virtuosity in both natural philosophy and painting,

Look Traveller, this is the monument of Nathaniel Bacon, A Knight of the Bath, whom, when experience and observation had made him most knowledgeable in the history of plants, astonishingly, Nature alone taught him through his experiments with the brush to conquer Nature by Art. You have seen enough. Farewell.³⁷⁹

In their work on Edward Norgate and his *Miniatura*, a treatise on the history and practice of limning (or miniature painting), Muller and Murrell set him within a small group of gentleman virtuosi at the court of Charles I.³⁸⁰ Norgate, an artist and scholar, was also an accomplished musician, authoritative herald, and connoisseur advisor to the king in the acquisition of paintings. There are two manuscript versions of the treatise in his hand, the first completed in 1627 or 1628 was intended for the personal use of his friend, physician and virtuosi Sir Théodore Turquet de Mayerne (d.1655). Almost as soon as the first manuscript of *Miniatura* had been written copies, extracts and variants were made and shared by the elite circles in which Norgate’s patron-friends moved. The author revised the work in 1649, but neither was printed until after his death when William Sanderson included the second version in his *Graphice* of 1658 which, coincidentally, also contained the first published reference to the artist Mary Beale. Because of its wide circulation in manuscript the treatise had become enormously influential long before it was printed. *Miniatura* was both studio manual for limners and, with its discussion of other proponents of the genre, an attempt to place artists in England within the European canon as a whole - an aim developed further by Sanderson in *Graphice*. Muller and Murrell note that herald Norgate perceived the art of limning as ‘a genealogy of

³⁷⁸ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, pp. 106-7.

³⁷⁹ Funerary monument inscription, St Mary’s Church, Culford (less than nine miles from the Cradock home at Barrow), translated from the Latin by Dr Keith Cunliffe, see Hearn, *Nathaniel Bacon*, p. 7.

³⁸⁰ *Edward Norgate: miniatura or the art of limning*, eds Jeffrey M. Muller & Jim Murrell, (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art, 1997), pp. 1-9.

painters who practised a legitimate method of technique’ and that he ‘made a point of tracing the pedigrees and status of limning in landscape, history painting and chiaroscuro’. Like a coat of arms, the art of limning was to Norgate the badge of a gentleman.³⁸¹ The authors argue, however, that long before the end of Norgate’s life this exclusivity was already becoming devalued by a greater participation by men of all sorts in art and its secrets. Limning, once the highest form of pictorial art in England, was displaced by oil on canvas, and portraiture found its most valued expression in the flamboyant and apparently more naturalistic forms of Van Dyck.

Charles Beale, in the choice of title for his notebook, and in citing the work of Sir Nathaniel Bacon the gentleman artist, horticulturalist and experimental colourman, consciously placed himself within the tradition of scholarly and artistic gentility. Rather than a jobbing provincial painter, Charles aspired - or perhaps felt that he naturally belonged - to the amateur lineage that he traced, in his manuscript, from Sir Nathaniel Bacon to his father-in-law Cradock (an elected member of the London Company of Painter-Stainers’), via their shared master-colourman, ‘Mr Fenn’.³⁸² Bacon’s estate at Culford, in Suffolk, was within nine miles of Mary’s childhood home at Barrow. Nathaniel and his brother Sir Edmund Bacon (d.1649), like their famous uncle Francis, were natural philosophers, Edmund in the ‘Laboratory’ he set up on his estate at Redgrave.³⁸³ Edmund’s uncle by marriage Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), a diplomat, fellow experimenter and latterly the Provost of Eton, wrote after recent visit to his friend and ‘nephew’ that he had,

enjoyed (as all others do) in the benefit and pleasure of your
Conversation (being then with you at Redgrave in Suffolk, both your
delightful Mansion and Philosophical retreat.³⁸⁴

This and dozens of other letters from Wotton to Bacon were published in the third edition of *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1672) edited by Izaak Walton (d.1683), and one

³⁸¹ Muller & Murrell, eds, *Edward Norgate: miniatura*, p. 4.

³⁸² Hearn points out that Bacon employed John Fenn of Culford, Suffolk to procure pigments and was a witness to his will [PROB 11/152/743], *Nathaniel Bacon*, p. 4.

³⁸³ Edmund Bacon, son of Anne Butts (d.1616) and Nicholas Bacon (d.1624), married Philippa Wotton, beloved niece of Sir Henry, and one of their children, Francis or Frank Bacon was sent (through the influence of Wotton) to be ‘servant’ to Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia.

³⁸⁴ ‘towards the end of Lent’: undated letter to Redgrave, Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, p. 477.

reference makes it clear that all of these men were taken up with the secrets of making colouring matter,

Francesco hath made a proof of that Green which you sent me; against which he taketh this exception, That being tryed upon Glass, (which he esteemeth the best of tryals) it is not translucent; arguing (as he saith) too much density of the matter, and consequently, less quickness and spirit then in colours of more tenuity.³⁸⁵

‘Francesco’ was Sir Giovanni Francesco Biondi (d.1644) an historian and romance-writer who settled in England after 1609 and was in Wotton’s employ. He was knighted in 1622 and married Mary Mayerne, sister of Theodore (d.1655), the chemist and royal physician who compiled an influential manuscript describing the materials and techniques of his Flemish artist contemporaries.³⁸⁶ In 1649 Edmund Bacon, who had appointed Mary Beale’s father John to his first living, died leaving Cradock ‘my great grinding stone of purfere [porphery] wth the Miller to it’ - used for grinding pigments - and two perspective views of St Mark’s in Venice, ‘hanging in the Chamber of my Laboritory’.³⁸⁷ Edmund Bacon, Henry Wotton and John Cradock, though of slightly different generations, were also related through the marriage of the latter’s first cousin Elizabeth Cradock into the Finch family (see Appendix III: family tree of the Finch family, pp. 291-3). Given the patron-friend relationship between Cradock and Edmund Bacon, Mary may to some extent have been part of the Suffolk Bacon circle. Evidence to support this theory comes from a nineteenth-century entry in *Notes and Queries* which reveals that manuscripts of Wotton’s letters to Bacon had been in the possession of Charles Beale at least as early as 1672. Mr Bright of West Derby, Liverpool, purchased a third edition of *Reliquiae Wottonianae* bearing a presentation inscription from Izaak Walton to Samuel Woodforde. Sam made a note in the letters section that,

³⁸⁵ [February] 1613: from ‘King-street’ to Redgrave, Suffolk, Wotton, *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, p. 403.

³⁸⁶ Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, *Europe’s physician: the various life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 257; see also *Lost secrets of Flemish painting, including the first complete English translation of the De Mayerne Manuscript, B.M. Sloane 2052, with text and commentry by Donald C. Fels, jnr [...]*, [3rd] ‘newly-revised’ ed., (Eijsden, Netherlands: Alchemist Publications, 2010), based on the 1901 German translation by Ernst Berger.

³⁸⁷ Will of Sir Edmund Bacon of Redgrave made 2 October 1648, TNA PROB 11/208/31.

‘the originall of a great part of these letters to Sir Edmund Bacon are in
ye Custody of my Dear Cousin Mr. Charles Beale’.³⁸⁸

This presents the possibility that the letters found their way to him via Mary Cradock. Sir Nathaniel Bacon died in 1627 but his works remained in the family home and Jane, his widow, lived on until 1659, long after Mary had married and left Suffolk.³⁸⁹ It is eminently possible that Mary introduced Charles to that elite household, where he would have seen Bacon’s vast and erotic still-life paintings of fruit, vegetables and kitchen maids, and heard tell of the virtuosity of the late gentleman painter to whom ‘Nature alone taught’.³⁹⁰ Evidence of this comes from Charles’ notebook of ‘Experimentall Seacrets’ into which he copied (partly in cipher) Bacon’s rare ‘Green pink’ recipe sometime between 1649 and 1654.

As Norgate’s own reiteration of Bacon’s pink recipe was not printed until 1658, Charles must have seen a manuscript copy of the treatise - or one of Nathaniel Bacon’s own recipe - before 1654 in order to record it in his book. Mary Bustin linked Beale’s account of the pinke recipe to a British Library manuscript, Harley MS 6376, itself a close but not identical copy of Norgate’s first version of *Miniatura*, made by an unknown friend of Bacon, possibly the miniaturist John Hoskins.³⁹¹ Beale’s description, however, has some significantly different phrases, and includes notes on his own experiments. While Bacon and Beale made their pinke pigments for use in oil, both Norgate and the Harley author were writing about limning, a practice which uses water-based paints. This practical point strengthens my suggestion that Beale acquired the ‘Green pink’ recipe from the Bacon-Cradock family connection rather than from a copy of *Miniatura*. The title of Beale’s notebook, and its intermittent form of address to ‘you’, an unknown third person, does however echo the instructive tone of Norgate’s manuscript, as does the shared insistence that their knowledge was privileged and secret, harking back to the already lost world of the latter’s heyday at the Court of Charles I. In his biography of Norgate, Thomas Fuller

³⁸⁸ Allan H. Bright, ‘Izaak Walton, Samuel Woodford, and Charles Beale’, *Notes and Queries*, series 9, vol. 1, issue 15, 9 April 1898, (London: Oxford University Press, 1898), p. 284.

³⁸⁹ Jane Meautys (1581-1659) was the daughter of Philippa Cooke and her first husband Hercules Meautys of West Ham. Jane married first William Cornwallis (d.1611).

³⁹⁰ Hearn, *Nathaniel Bacon*, p. 18.

³⁹¹ Edward Norgate, ‘Miniatura’ [first version?], owned and annotated by Henry Gyles, London, British Library, MS Harley 6376; see Mary Bustin, ‘Experimental secrets and extraordinary colours’ [‘Chapter three’ in Barber (1999)], pp. 46-7.

likened his subject's role as herald to being the 'Warden of the Temple of Honour', or gatekeeper to the nobility, protecting the records and symbols of its gentility, and its secrets, while exposing impostors.³⁹² Although it was Van Dyck who was the chief artistic interpreter, even propagandist, of the royal family and the privilege enjoyed by the nobility, the amateur painters, writers and musicians at the court of Charles I played a similar role to their paid counterparts. Even Van Dyck and the king were evidently on much friendlier terms than just patron and servant, Charles having often visited and dined with the artist at his Blackfriars house. It is easy to see how, in the early 1650s, glimpses into this sphere which was at once elite, secret and apparently lost, could have influenced Charles Beale's artistic and intellectual ambitions as expressed in his notebook of *Experimentall Seacrets*.

Following the Civil Wars and during the Interregnum social relationships continued to evolve, the middling sort gained in status and influence, while artistic patronage necessarily moved away from the displaced court and into society. For his part Charles Beale, Deputy Clerk of His Majesty's Patents Office, divided his time between stretching and priming canvases for Mary to paint on, and issuing patents to the likes of Samuel Pepys and Thomas Simon (d.1665), a Chief Graver of the Mint. By the Restoration Charles was both civil servant and colourman, moving with apparent ease between the homes of members of the Royal Society and the premises of Carter the colourman via the studio of the king's painter, Sir Peter Lely. By 1670 Beale, a minor gentleman of property, bought and commissioned paintings, had contacts of sufficient influence at court to allow him to borrow drawings and paintings from the royal collection, and yet shopped for clothing for his children and servants, while his wife painted for money.

In the 1660s however, Charles had other aspirations towards enhancing his gentle status. On the 10th September 1662 Woodforde wrote in his diary that 'Dr Bates, Signor Torriano an Italian Master & Mr John Rogers supped with us this night'.³⁹³ Then, on October 1st, that,

³⁹² Edward Norgate was 'the best limner of our age' according to Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England [...]*, (London: printed by J.G.W.L. & W.G., 1662), pp. 242-3; and Fuller, *The Holy State*, (Cambridge: printed by Roger Daniel for John Williams 1642), p. 141.

³⁹³ Woodforde, 'Lib. primus', f.44.

Sig. Torriano came this day to teach my Cosen C Beale Italian oh Lord
give a blessing upon his endeavours.³⁹⁴

As well as teaching Italian, Giovanni Torriano styled himself ‘an Italian, and Professor of that Tongue in London’. He published two books of Italian proverbs and an enlarged edition of John Florio’s Italian-English dictionary, *Queen Anna’s new world of words* (1611). Jason Lawrence points out that as well as relying on the usual recommendation that gentlemen learn Italian for their European travels and to understand the culture and history of Italy, Torriano was first to suggest its usefulness because ‘all Merchants that traffique into the Levant, must trade by that Language’.³⁹⁵ Other references confirm that Charles was also in possession of at least three books in Italian about the history and practice of painting. As well as copies of Baglione’s *Le Vite de’ pittori, scultori ed architetti* (1642) and Antonio Doni’s *Disegno partito in piu ragionamenti, ne quali si tratta dell Scoltura et Pittura* (1549), Charles owned Leonardo’s *Trattato della pittura*.³⁹⁶ We may assume that Charles became at least reasonably fluent in Italian, having received tuition from Giovanni Torriano the foremost tutor in London, as in 1676 he signalled his plan to become an art historian by making a list of ‘Painters lives I think to Translate’, namely, ‘Leonardo da Vinci’, ‘Antonio Corregio’, ‘Giorgone da Castel Franco’, ‘Rafael Urbino’, ‘Polidoro & Maturino’, ‘Francesco Parmigione’, ‘Marrietta Tintoretta’, ‘Andrea Schiavone’, ‘Michel Angelo da Caravagio’, ‘Jacopo Palma il vechio’.³⁹⁷ All but three of whom were included in Varari’s *Lives of the artists* and, significantly, were recorded in a similar configuration. Inigo Jones owned and annotated a copy of Vasari and it is possible, given his interests, that Charles also obtained or had at least read one.³⁹⁸ A selection of biographies from Vasari’s *Vite*

³⁹⁴ *ibid.*, f.129. Giovanni Torriano published *Select Italian Proverbs* (1642), *Piazza universale di proverbi italiani* (1666), and *Vocabolario Italiano & Ingelese* (1659). Charles Speroni, ‘Giovanni Torriano’s “Select Italian Proverbs”’, *Italica*, 34:3, (1957), pp. 146-57; Frances Yates, ‘An Italian in Restoration England’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), pp. 216-220.

³⁹⁵ Jason Lawrence, ‘Who the devil taught thee so much Italian?’: *Italian language learning and literary imitation in early modern England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 19-23 & 177-78.

³⁹⁶ 7 April 1681: ‘I lent M^r Thomas Manby, my Lionardo Da Vinci’s Trattato della Pittura [...] w^{ch} I had of M^r Flatman’, Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.3.r.; Vertue reported seeing a copy of ‘Baglione. Vite de Pittori. 1639. with notes made in Italy by Charles Beale painter’, the date is clearly incorrect, and no other evidence that Charles visited Italy has emerged, ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 18 (1929-30), p. 139.

³⁹⁷ ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 18 (1929-30), p. 175.

³⁹⁸ Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, [2nd ed.] (Florence: Appresso i Giunti, 1568). Jeremy Wood, ‘Inigo Jones, Italian art, and the practice of drawing’, *Art*

(1550 and 1568) were translated and published by William Aglionby in his *Painting illustrated in three dialogues* (1685) but the work in its entirety was not translated until 1908, so if Charles had read the relevant entries it must have been in Italian.³⁹⁹ The inclusion on Charles' list of 'Marrietta Tintoretta', now known as Marietta Robusti (1555 or 60-1590), daughter of Jacopo Tintoretto (d.1594), is of course very significant. The Beales evidently knew of this prominent female artist, extremely famous in her lifetime, but about whom little is now known and whose works have been all but lost to art history. Marietta featured quite prominently in the account of her father's life, *La vita di Giacompo Robusti* (1642), written by Carlo Ridolphi (d.1658), and was the subject of a brief biography in *Il Riposo di Raffaello Borghini, in cui della pittura e della scultura* (1584). Both Robusti and Caravaggio (1571-1610) were too young to have appeared in Vasari, but the latter was included by Baglione, and by Giovanni Pietro Bellori in his *Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (1672).

New research reveals that Charles also owned at least one work in Latin, *De profanis, et sacris veteribus ritibus* (1644-5), on the rituals and religious artefacts of ancient Egypt, Rome and early Christianity by another Italian, Giovanni Battista Casali (d.1648).⁴⁰⁰ Around 1675-80 a Roman motif illustrated in one of these volumes was incorporated by Mary Beale into a portrait of a woman (see Fig. 21) where a small round face on a lamp (Fig. 22) was reproduced on the urn on the right of the woman. Although the figure's face resembles Beale's own, there has been some confusion over who is represented. Barber (1999) has made a convincing case that it may be a depiction of Artemisia II (d. 350 BC), ruler and military commander of ancient Caria, there being to references to Beale having worked on two such

Bulletin, 74:2 (1992), pp. 247-270. Inigo Jones' copy of volume one which, Wood demonstrates, he owned by 1610, is now in Worcester College Library, Oxford. Writing his *Complete Gentleman* in 1622 Peacham claimed, probably erroneously, that there were only two copies of the *Vite* in England, Fred J. Levy, 'Henry Peacham and the art of drawing', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), p. 188.

³⁹⁹ William Aglionby, *Painting illustrated in three dialogues containing some choice observations upon the art together with the lives of the most eminent painters, from Cimabue to the time of Raphael and Michael Angelo. With an explanation of the difficult terms*, (London: printed by John Gain for the author, 1685).

⁴⁰⁰ Giovanni Battista Casali, *De profanis, et sacris veteribus ritibus [...] ex typographia Andrëam Phaei*, 2 vols, (Rome, 1644[-1645]). This is a general title, printed the first volume. Volume 1: 'De veteribus Aegyptiorum ritibus' & 'De profanis Romanorum ritibus'; volume 2: 'De veteribus Christianorum ritibus'. Beale family copy with ownership inscriptions and red chalk annotations by Charles Beale snr & jnr, Dublin, Edward Worth Library Control No. 673.

compositions in the 1681 notebook.⁴⁰¹ The survival of their copy of *De Profanis*, Charles' aspiration to translation and authorship, and Mary's appropriation of the ancient motif, are further evidence of the couple's scholarship, experimentation, and enduring interest in borrowing from antique and Renaissance sources, as well as those associated with their elevated near-contemporaries, Nathaniel Bacon, Van Dyck, and Norgate.

Charles Beale successfully transformed himself from an apprenticed youngest son of the provinces into an amateur experimenter-artist, a commercial colourman, and finally a servant of the state. He assumed the authority to become gatekeeper to the 'secrets' and history of painting, just as Mary aspired to be trusted with the flesh and blood lineage of noble faces and families, by perpetuating their likenesses on canvas. Charles' description of painting and the chemistry of pigment-making illustrates his aspiration towards the ideal of noble amateurism and the simultaneous allure of secret technical, almost alchemical processes. The conduct of his experiments, his meticulous recording and reviewing of the results, on the other hand, place him at the heart of the movement towards an analytical empiricism based on observation and trial. This approach was espoused by the Oxford Philosophical Club which met weekly at Wadham College, shortly before Woodforde was there, under the supervision of warden Dr John Wilkins (d.1672). After the Restoration its ideas were developed further by members of the Royal Society. adopted a similar methodology of analysis, and his judgments on the results of his 'tryalls' chime perfectly with the proto-scientific works of the Royal Society. It has emerged that Charles Beale, whose London circle included Wilkins, was in fact due to be elected to the Society, along with Samuel Woodforde just as the plague forced him and his family out of London in 1665.

Minutes of the Society's meeting of 9th November 1664 reveal that it was ordered that,

⁴⁰¹ The painting, purchased by St Edmundsbury Borough Council in 1989, is described as 'Self-portrait', c.1675-80, in its 1994 catalogue of twenty Beale works, Reeve *Mrs Mary Beale, paintress 1633-1699*, p. 11; Tabitha Barber agreed with the dating but called it 'Portrait of a lady' while suggesting the possible attribution to 'Artemisia', although she is usually depicted about to drink her dead husband's ashes in a goblet of wine, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 81.

the Lists for the Society and Council be printed for the Anniversary Election day, and that Mr Hoar, Mr Godolphin, Mr Woodford and Mr Beale, though not yet admitted, be inserted.⁴⁰²

Samuel Woodforde was duly elected but Charles was not, the only other ‘Beale’ associated with the Royal Society in the seventeenth century being John Beale (c.1613-1683) who had already been elected on 1st January 1663.

What emerges from these strands in relation to Beale’s *Experimental Seacrets*, is the contemporary tension between scholarly credit derived from Norgate’s concept of legitimate technique perfected down the centuries by the chosen few, on the one hand, and from the validation of Baconian ideas of experimentation, analysis and innovation on the other. While Beale’s intended audience remains ambiguous, the book’s authoritative, instructive style chimes with other manuscript and printed manuals for would-be painters, and offers the promise of special insight into the artist’s mysterious ability to mimic and improve on nature. Initially, therefore, Charles may have intended it for circulation, publication, or as an instruction for potential apprentices. Clearly his fascination with the physical stuff of paintings began as the logical extension of his early celebration of artists’ technique, but like the anatomical dissectors and the natural philosophers with their microscopes, Beale began to delve more and more deeply into the material structure of paintings. Eventually this became a twofold effort to develop painters’ materials of optimal efficiency and economy, *and* to discover the alchemical secrets of creating enduring likenesses as precious as gold itself. Mary Beale, in her ‘Observations by MB in her painting of Apricots in August 1663’, written at the end of *Experimental Seacrets*, was also interested in qualifying and analysing the processes of art and, in her case, the act of looking. Both are conscious of the significance of recording for an intended readership of one or many. It is clear that ingenuity, intellectual and practical experiment, and the cultivation of art and amateur virtuosity in general, appealed to Charles Beale as both elevated, creditable versions of masculinity and as the basis for a respectable household reputation in support of his wife’s artistic

⁴⁰² 9 November 1664: ‘Ordered that the Lists for the Society and Council be printed for the Anniversary Election day [...] and Mr Beale, though not yet admitted, be inserted’, minutes of the meeting, Royal Society Archives, MS CMO/1/66; see also ‘Fellows Directory’, *Royal Society Library & Information Services* (2007-), [online] <<https://royalsociety.org/fellows/fellows-directory/>> [accessed 6 June 2018].

ambitions. The skills and methods needed to put their plans into practice were further developed in Hampshire, and Charles' reputation as a 'Country' gentleman was reinforced in the many letters which passed between him and his London friends, Flatman Cooke and Francis Knollys. In fact, a considerable amount of Charles' time at Allbrook was spent in another sort of accounting, in writing their lives, shared and embellished with a profusion of words, in those very letters which no longer exist.

Friendship's commerce: an extended London Season 1670/1-1700

According to Craig Muldrew, to 'blow up' someone's credit meant to 'blow' aspersions about the neighbourhood until everyone knew of them.⁴⁰³ Credit, he concluded, 'was based on the emotional status of one's neighbourly relations' - giving us some clue as to why Restoration artists first clumped together in Covent Garden and then moved ever westwards away from the more strictly conventional norms and expectations of City householders. The Beales may have moved to St James' in part because its proximity to court and the homes of courtiers allowed for a less conventional household, one of which their immediate neighbours would not have been particularly critical. Ironically, their neighbours' behaviour could even have reflected badly on the Beales or, conversely, have served to highlight the comparative domestic virtuosity of their own household.

In 1670/71 the Beales took their chances in London for a second time, rented a house on Pall Mall and set up Mary's professional painting studio. On the face of it Beale made an overnight transition from domestic, amateur painter to professional artist offering her talent to the paying public. In reality, however, Mary's apparently unseemly participation in the public yet intimate business of portraiture had been made respectable, even generous and virtuous, by its association with the more correct feminine occupations of wife and mother. A virtuous reputation had been carefully refined by associating Mary's name with religious literature and the offices of Christian friendship. It was through a gradual process of carefully chosen collaborations within and beyond their circle that the Beales managed to create a persona for Mary that enabled her to become a professional painter. She built upon

⁴⁰³ Muldrew, *Economy of obligation*, p. 157.

the virtuous reputation she had gained as a domestic amateur and later relied on this sociable studio model to lend her professional practice the required air of respectability. In this way the 'persons of quality' who came to sit to her could be perceived as guests, rather than paying customers. Mary capitalised on the courtly culture of gift exchange that was commonplace within her wider circle. Inscribed portraits and texts were given as gestures of affection, but also as payment in kind for favours and loans. The Beales used the established pattern of giving and exchanging likenesses for love, to make the selling of portraits acceptable as an extension of the currency of friendship.

The precautionary steps Mary and her friends took to avoid criticism were apparently successful, and once her Pall Mall studio opened for business Charles set to work recording a stream of portrait commissions from the gentry, aristocracy and clergy in his annual notebooks. By the end of the 1670s, the Beales' influential alliances were such that they could borrow Italian paintings and drawings to copy from Charles II's collection, through the auspices of William Chiffinch (c.1602–1688), the Keeper of the King's Pictures. Even though their social status was elevated and Mary's studio prospered, its cash-flow, in common with other businesses, was often erratic. Charles' notebook for 1677, for example, included a list of portraits finished by Mary in the previous year but still unpaid for the following January. As a stopgap it was crucial for the Beales to enjoy long-term credit with their suppliers, and cash loans from their circle of friends and kinfolk, of which Charles kept scrupulous account in the same book. The Beale circle appears to be unusual in that portraits, as well as manuscripts, remain behind as tangible relics of their socio-familial economy of credit and obligation, and of the trusting bonds of blood, marriage, friendship and love.

In January 1677 Charles Beale recorded in his studio notebook that his ‘Dearest Heart’ had,

 painted Sir Wm Turner’s Pictre from head to foote for our worthy & kind friend Mr Knollys, in consideracon of his most obligeing kindness to us upon all occasions. He gave it to be sett up in y^e Hall at Bridewell. Sir Wm Turnr haveing been chosen president of that House in y^e yeare he was Lord Mayor of London.⁴⁰⁴

referring to a painting completed by Mary in 1676. On the same page, just above this entry Charles noted that he had ‘borrowed of our kind friend Mr ffrancis Knollys in our great disappointments of money, a Guiney wch he sent me by my son Barth. I say lent me by him 01.01.06’. Later, on the 14th of November 1677, Charles listed an accumulated ‘£32-01-06’ borrowed from Knollys in his ‘Account of Debts owing’, with a note in the margin that the whole debt had been repaid, although when and how is not made clear.⁴⁰⁵ It is significant that these two, non-sequential incidents were coupled in the notebook and in Charles’ mind. Mary’s portrait of *Sir William Turner* (d.1692) (Fig. 23), her unusual life-size, full length image of an adult sitter was clearly painted as a response to the loans provided by their friend Francis, and probably amounted to a similar financial investment, but in time and materials. Thus the courtly culture of gift giving, long an important ritual of friendship for the Beales’ intimate circle, was extended to their wider network and took on an implicitly commercial undertone. The story of this particular portrait exemplifies the ways in which an object was used, by several people including Mary, as the means to express deep personal affection and, simultaneously, to facilitate a variety of mutual aims.

Francis Knollys Esq. (d.1694) of York Street, Covent Garden, was a warden of St Paul’s Church and a close friend and correspondent of the Beales.⁴⁰⁶ From another entry in Charles’ 1677 notebook, and corroborating evidence elsewhere, it seems that

⁴⁰⁴ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.10.r.

⁴⁰⁵ *ibid.*, f.73.

⁴⁰⁶ York Street was the southernmost part of what is now Tavistock St, see ‘City of Westminster, St Paul’s Covent Garden, East Division, York Street South’, in *Four Shillings in the Pound Aid 1693/4: the City of London, the City of Westminster, Middlesex*, eds Derek Keene, Peter Earle, Craig Spence & Janet Barnes, (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1992), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-4s-pound/1693-4/westminster-york-street-south>> [accessed 3 October 2018].

Knollys was employed as private ‘Secretary’ to William Wentworth, the second Earl of Strafford (d.1695), acting as a London agent when his lordship was at Wentworth Woodhouse, his Yorkshire estate. Francis, conscientious in his Christian duty of philanthropy, was elected to the prestigious Court of Governors of Bridewell, the combined prison and charitable school providing education and apprenticeships for destitute children.⁴⁰⁷ Sir William Turner (from whom both Samuel Woodforde and Samuel Pepys bought cloth in the 1660s) was a freeman of the Merchant Taylors’ Company who rose to become Lord Mayor of London in 1669; the City’s Member of Parliament from 1690–93; and President of Bridewell for more than twenty years.⁴⁰⁸ Beale depicted Turner (Fig. 23) standing in his mayoral robes and chain of office, important document in hand, beside a velvet-covered chair and table in a grand interior with a fluted architectural column and tiled marble floor. For our purposes, however, the portrait’s formal aspects are less revealing than the circumstances of its commissioning, and the ways in which it was used when the paint was scarcely dry and, once again, in the twenty-first century.

Mary Beale painted Turner’s portrait and gave it to Francis Knollys primarily in an act of loving friendship with which she and Charles could return his generosity in kind, making the object itself one part of a chain reaction of friendship. Mary, for example, used the painting as an opportunity to cast her friend Francis in the lofty, public role of connoisseur and patron of the arts while he, with his gift of the portrait to Bridewell, demonstrated his friendship towards Sir William Turner and the institution. In sitting for the portrait Turner expressed his friendship to one and all by giving the gift of his likeness for others to bestow. The sociable sittings themselves undoubtedly gave rise to other, companionable acts of friendship. Thus the object Mary made in response to Knollys’ initial acts of ‘most obliging kindness’ became

⁴⁰⁷ Bridewell was a former royal palace off what is now New Bridge Street, see William G. Hinkle, *History of Bridewell Prison, 1553–1700*, (Lampeter: Edwin Mellan, 2006); Peter W. Coldham, ‘Bridewell Hospital apprenticeship indentures’, *Genealogists Magazine*, 23 (1991), pp. 327 & 376–7; Edward G. O’Donoghue, *Bridewell Hospital, palace, prison, schools from the death of Elizabeth to modern times*, 2 vols, (London: John Lane, 1929).

⁴⁰⁸ Turner was also involved with the Honourable Irish Society, East India Company, and the slave-running Royal African Company, see ‘Turner, Sir William (1615–93), of St. Paul’s Churchyard, London’, *The House of Commons 1690–1715*, 5 vols, eds David Hayton, Eveline Cruickshanks & Stuart Handley, [‘History of Parliament’ series], (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the History of Parliament Trust, 2002), 5, pp. 708–9.

an invitation to all parties in this friendly exchange to help each other, thereby bestowing virtue on one another, the institution and on the portrait.

The Beales' financial indebtedness to Knollys, however, means that the Turner portrait must also be seen as part of a commercial transaction and, if not literally repaying the debt, then certainly acknowledging it in material and symbolic terms. In exchange for his newfound prestige as patron, Knollys' beneficent gesture to Bridewell became the means by which he could further show his friendship to the Beales by commending Mary's work. Mary was afforded an opportunity to advertise her name and talent with the public exhibition of her signed and dated portrait. Through his patronage Francis cast Mary Beale in the role of civic painter by presenting her work to a new, institutional audience in a setting that was far from domestic but, being a charity, was suitably respectable. Turner's collaboration facilitated the commercial aspects of the commission and thus he became, by extension, Beale's second patron, and another influential name to add to her list of sitters. Moreover, the Beales' investment in the painted object was potentially the means by which they could repay their financial debt to Knollys, were the image to prompt new commissions. The commercial implications of the transaction also extended to the final recipients of Turner's likeness where, as well as being an aesthetic embellishment, the portrait of Bridewell's illustrious president became a totem of the institution's gravitas and its financial asset. Such objects enhanced Bridewell's appeal for potential patrons and governors attracting, in turn, gifts to enrich the institution, facilitate its charitable activities and promote the social standing of its officers.

In 1676 Sir William Turner endowed and had built a Hospital comprised of a school and almshouses at Kirkleatham in Yorkshire. Installed at Bridewell the following year, Beale's portrait therefore lent a visual stamp of authority to Turner's civic career and served as a metropolitan monument to his provincial charitable legacy. Not to be overlooked are other, less obvious acts of public and personal commemoration conveyed by the object and its use. In associating their names with Bridewell, its works and its president, Mary Beale and Knollys asserted their personal virtue and, by extension, their public commitment to the philanthropic aims of civic life. In displaying Francis' gift, Bridewell bestowed its blessing on him and

Mary and commemorated its own prestige as it was reflected in the image of its president. With her signed and dated painting Mary once again proclaimed herself an artist, but this time in a public setting and as a professional painter capable of executing a life-size composition fit for the grandest setting in an important institution. Turner, for his part, collaborated in his own immortalising. In return for the painting, Bridewell's Governors immortalised Knollys' name in their minute book and subsequently in an inscription on the painting's frame.⁴⁰⁹ Along with Charles' notebook entries, these textual references to Francis marked his very existence, leaving one of the few biographical traces of him that survive. Thus the object, Knollys' instrument of beneficence, became his chance to glory in the reflected immortality of a donor. Francis used the portrait as a physical commemoration of his association with and service for the institution and of his personal respect for its president. Indeed, by November 1677 Knollys' standing amongst the Governors was such that he was asked to negotiate with Sir Peter Lely over a commission for two royal portraits also destined for Bridewell's Hall.⁴¹⁰ Perhaps this responsible task was apportioned to Francis on the strength of expertise as a patron of the arts he had already demonstrated in procuring Beale's portrait of their president.

Bridewell no longer exists, save for its gatehouse portico facing New Bridge Street, in London; and Beale's portrait currently resides with its successor institution in Surrey.⁴¹¹ In 2012 an ex-pupil of Turner's school in Kirkleatham visited the almshouses and was surprised to find there 'no portrait or lasting tribute to Sir William'.⁴¹² The visitor, Philip Norris, later paid for a reproduction of the Beale likeness of Turner to be made, framed and displayed at the Kirkleatham Hospital in his own virtuous act of commemoration. Mary Beale's 336-year old portrait – which had sprung out of Francis Knollys' 'kindness' – was once again used as the vehicle of friendship, generosity and patronage. Coverage of Norris's gesture of thanks for Turner's civic gifts in the local press and by the BBC brought Beale's name to the

⁴⁰⁹ Inscription: 'Sir William Turner; elected 1669. Whole-length, by Mrs. Beale. Presented by Mr. Knollys in 1676-7', see J. G. Nichols, 'Portraits in Bridewell Hospital', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 2 vols, (London: Bishopsgate Institute, 1864), 2, pp. 72-4.

⁴¹⁰ The Governors commissioned from Lely portraits of Charles II and James II, see O'Donoghue, *Bridewell*, [2], p. 277.

⁴¹¹ King Edward's School, Witley, Surrey.

⁴¹² [uncredited], 'Sir William Turner artwork to be unveiled in Kirkleatham', BBC News Tees, 22 June 2012, [online] <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tees-18533385>>

attention of a non-art historical public once more. Here is evidence of the enduring power of one likeness to evoke the physical presence of a long dead man, and to stand in for him in commemoration of his most admirable deeds. Thus the object made by Beale and the kindness that inspired it remain, to this day, crucial elements of the ever-evolving biographies of at least five people.

The Turner portrait also raises some important questions about contemporary public attitudes towards women's activities and the fora available for their self-expression. If the well-documented rhetorical restrictions on women held full force in social practice, Francis' gift and Bridewell's acceptance of it must have been acts of some daring. Did the Governors' reception of the signed portrait impart a public blessing on Mary Beale's commercial activities or were they not told in advance that the artist was a woman? Perhaps the institution would never have dreamed of seeking a commission from a female painter, but as the portrait was a *fait accompli*, a gift and, moreover, a likeness of their president, they simply could not refuse it. If that was the case, Knollys, Beale and even Turner (a canny businessman) appear to have been acting on the premise that mild subterfuge was acceptable in order to project the public identities they desired. Alternatively, the Governors saw nothing amiss in a woman painting for a living and were happy to capitalise on the renown of a prominent society portraitist. However the object of affection worked its way into Bridewell's grand Hall, its setting bestowed a new measure of legitimacy on Beale's career and projected another of her identities – that of the artist of historical record, the chronicler of an institution and of a Lord Mayor's likeness.

It is not entirely clear how soon, once Mary Beale's Pall Mall studio opened in 1670/1, portrait commissions started to flood in, or what measures had been taken to advertise the apparently 'new' professional service, or how crucial networks of kin and friends had been mobilised to make the practice the success it undoubtedly became. Such preparations must have been made, however, as analysis of Mary's client list demonstrates that a high proportion had some familial link to either Mary or Charles' extended families. Although these initial connections cannot alone account for her career, it seems that an important lesson had been learnt in the course of the couples' earlier experiences, in that prosperity was very likely to depend, at least at first, on types of credit complementary to artistic ability.

In essence this chapter has sought to examine the difference between what an early modern person wanted to be, or do, and the steps he or she took to achieve their objectives while seeming to conform to their duty. What remains is the gap between actuality and public appearance. Muldrew would have it that deeply religious people put their absolute faith in god to reward the worthy with prosperity, and to punish the unvirtuous, yet, as we have seen, the line dividing truthfulness and public shows of correctness was frequently crossed, even by the virtuous. Motivations could be virtuous even if it was not possible to be entirely honest about them. The Beales gave every appearance of being well-to-do, creditworthy residents of St James's and yet were forced to pawn their belongings because of their 'disappointment of money'. That everyone was colluding in the social rituals of reputation and credit, while being aware of their own sleights of hand in doing so, suggests that there must have been considerable anxiety over the veracity of others' reputations, a supposition born out by some of the Beale circle texts.

The strength of alliances based upon shared purpose or like-mindedness could make the difference between life or death, preferment or penury at all levels of society. For the sake of maintaining order in the nation, parish or amongst friends, people had not only to be creditable in morals and behaviour but also unambiguous in their religious and political expressions. The fear of religious secrecy or duplicity is, for example, frequently expressed in Woodforde's diary entries cataloguing his distrust of 'papists', and several of the Beales' clergy friends fell victim to a post-Restoration backlash against those at odds with the Book of Common Prayer. In 1662 Dr Bates, who had earlier dismissed his child's nurse for falling short of prevailing moral standards of moral conformity, was, as he saw it, forced from his Anglican living at St Dunstan-in-the-West by unacceptable religious demands made of him by the Act of Uniformity. The clergyman himself became a non-stipendiary non-conformist, lecturing and praying in Hackney, beyond the City and outside the established faith of the commonweal.

Chapter Five

‘My Dearest, most indefatigable Heart...’: at home in the studio

Introduction, sources and methodology

On Thursday the 1st of September 1670 the Beales’ friend Francis Knollys dropped them a line to the effect that the builders had finally finished work on their newly-built house on Pall Mall, and that the Wren brothers, Matthew and William, first cousins of Sir Christopher, had just left having liked what they had seen.⁴¹³ Francis himself finished off a little light painting and helped ‘madam Mary’, a family friend or cousin (who was suffering from eating a surfeit of melon), to sweep up the last of the dust before he too took his leave of what was to be Mary Beale’s studio and home for the rest of her life. And so began what was arguably the most productive period of Beale’s artistic career, during which she created hundreds of paintings ‘for profit’, along with countless others inspired by the love and kindness of her family and friends, and by the urge to study and experiment with her art. Previous chapters addressed the question of how young Mary Cradock became an artist of repute. This one explores stage two of the fashioning of Mary Beale - the ‘how’ of becoming a successful *professional* painter; the strategy and economics behind the establishment of her studio; the careful division of labour between her and Charles, their sons and assistants; and the building which both contained and facilitated the Beales’ enterprise; and the stimulants and hurdles to her success.

Working for up to thirty years as principal artist in a commercial studio required physical stamina, and an uncommon ability to maintain concentration on her practice and empathy with each sitter. The legacy of Beale’s talent and productivity are works found in Britain’s stately homes and university colleges, museums and private collections, all over the world. Her portraits are held by the National Portrait Gallery and Dulwich Picture Gallery in London, in collections at Chatsworth, Althorp and Longleat; at Rugby School, Lambeth Palace and the Royal Society; in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC, the Grollier Club in New York, and the

⁴¹³ 1 September 1670: Knollys, letter ‘to Mrs Beal:’, Bodleian MSS. 104, f.124.v.

National Gallery of Victoria, in Melbourne, amongst others. Nonetheless, this chapter presents the first in-depth study of Beale's professional studio, including exactly where it was and why, how it was physically and metaphorically accommodated within her home; and how family life, commerce, and creativity co-existed. Never before have Charles Beale's notebooks been used to provide a detailed examination of the household as a commercial enterprise, as well as artistic workplace and domestic home. Firstly, one must understand her studio as a workshop where material things were commissioned, made and sold. Others have discussed information on artist's materials and processes the books contain from a technical perspective, but I will use their financial content to explore the economics of being a painter in post-Restoration London, including how much a portrait cost to make, and the concepts and level of 'profit' derived from it.

Commentators have discussed single, or groups of Beale customers, sometimes based upon preconceived ideas of those likely to sit to a woman artist. This chapter provides a demographic survey of sitters in the 300 portraits recorded by Charles through which to determine who they were; examine how they may have come to her; and discover how she positioned herself, or became positioned, within the art market and the wider socio-economic hierarchy. In treating Beale as the artist-businesswoman she was, I counter assumptions of passive, housebound, middling women by placing an affective, productive Mary Beale at the centre of activity in her studio nestled atop the respectable family home. Far from being 'domestic' in character, the studio's atmosphere must have been one of constant variety and stimulation, accommodating as it did an extraordinary, shifting cross-section of society and its conversation, all reflecting the cultural, political, religious and intellectual life of court, country and metropolis. There - even more than in the 'amateur' studio - public and private spheres were made indistinct, even irrelevant. Finally, we will consider whether Beale's artistic life was one of fulfilment. Indeed, reading Charles' notebooks one is left with an impression of Mary, his unflagging 'Dearest Heart', permanently tethered to her easel, working at speed, but with great care, to create each work. Did the pressure of finishing at least one commercial portrait every week of the year preclude art for art's sake?

Principal sources are Charles' two surviving notebooks documenting the studio, its customers, sittings, purchases and expenditure for 1677 and 1681. Each was recorded on the printed pages of the latest almanac published by William Lilly (d.1681), and on blank pages bound in with it. Single-month calendars were printed as tables which Charles used to record most of the sittings. Blank pages held monthly accounts of things purchased or had on credit, and payments received, along with comments on sittings and other events. In the 1740s George Vertue was told by Mr Carter, the Beale's colourman, that around thirty books had been compiled, but Vertue had just seven to take notes from, including lists of portraits, which were later transcribed and published by the Walpole Society.⁴¹⁴ Drawings made by Mary's son, Charles Beale (d.1714/24), feature seemingly impromptu sketches of mostly unnamed inhabitants and visitors to the household, and sketches after works by his mother, Van Dyck, and Lely.⁴¹⁵ The few secondary sources detailing Beale's studio, referred to previously and hereafter, began with a profile in Walpole's four-volume *Anecdotes of painting in England* (1762-71), based on Vertue's manuscript notes. Two early twentieth-century commentaries, the first to discuss Beale's professional work at length thereafter, were a chapter in *Lely and the Stuart portrait painters* (1912) by C. H. Collins Baker and an article, 'Mary Beale' (1918), by G. Milner-Gibson-Cullum. Walsh and Jeffree's 1975 catalogue of the first exhibition dedicated to Beale's work contained a checklist of over 150 extant portraits. Mansfield Kirby Talley's 1981 PhD thesis on seventeenth-century technical literature on portrait painting, also provides a specific, if rather derogatory, discussion of Beale's studio, and a wealth of comparative research on other artists. In 1999 Tabitha Barber wrote the catalogue for a second Beale exhibition to which paintings conservator Mary Bustin contributed a chapter on the processes, techniques and materials identified in several Beale paintings through scientific examination using x-radiography, infrared and U.V. photography, as well as microscopy of paint cross-sections.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 26 (1937-38), pp. 14-15.

⁴¹⁵ Charles Beale jnr, *3rd Book 1680*, sketchbook [88 drawings], British Museum, London, 1981,0516.15.1-94; sketchbook [72 drawings], 1981,0516.16.1-72; and 175 separate drawings from the collection of Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode (1730-99), British cleric and collector. *Charles Beale's* [first] *Sketchbook*, [68 drawings] 1679, Morgan Library, New York, NY, B3 031 A26. Beale, *Sketchbook* [214 pages, many blank], V&A Museum, London, E.4528-1919.

⁴¹⁶ Walpole, *Anecdotes of painting in England*, [3 (1763)]; Charles H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart portrait painters, a study of English portraiture before and after Van Dyck*, 2 vols, (London: Medici Society, 1912); Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum, 'Mary Beale [...] Reprinted from Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology & Natural History, etc. With plates, including a portrait', [*Proceedings*, 16:3], (Ipswich: W. S. Harrison, 1918), pp. 229-251; Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs*

Talley and others have noted considerable interest in artists' materials and techniques from the late sixteenth century. Painter's manuals of varying degrees of accuracy were published, and from the 1660s papers on the theme were delivered before the Royal Society, but the Beale books appear to represent the only surviving pre-eighteenth-century manuscript record of the day-to-day work of a painter's studio. This chapter draws on analysis derived from my new transcriptions of Charles' manuscripts in the form of a database of the domestic, commercial and artistic transactions itemised within them. Taken together with the published checklist of paintings and other sources, the database identifies the people who sat for, or commissioned portraits from Mary; the physical formats her paintings took; materials used; the technical stages; and some costs involved in creating them.⁴¹⁷ The resulting body of primary evidence about Mary Beale's studio is large and unique, but as the other notebooks have either not survived (or are yet to be found ...) it remains a partial record of her customers and portraits from thirty years of work.

It is difficult, despite this richness of material, to derive a narrative of life within the Beale house because of the type and arrangement of information in the notebooks. Charles' tendency towards list-making allows one to be momentarily 'in the studio' with him - and by extension with Mary and her sitter - but provides limited material from which to reconstruct the sociability of workplace and household. Unlike the daily biographical entries in cousin-lodger Samuel Woodforde's diaries of the 1660s, Charles does not mention social occasions other than the visits of Sir Peter Lely and entourage to view Mrs Beale's work, and refers only once to going abroad in London for a pleasurable purpose, reporting that on the 27th of March 1677,

I went up to y^e very top of the Pillar upon new ffishstreet Hill, from whence I saw a most admirable Prospect.⁴¹⁸

Mary Beale; Talley, 'Portrait painting in England: studies in the technical literature before 1700'; Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*; Bustin, 'Experimental secrets and extraordinary colours', pp. 43-59.

⁴¹⁷ 'Checklist', in Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, pp. 68-72.

⁴¹⁸ Referring to the 61 metre-high Monument to the Great Fire designed by Robert Hooke and Sir Christopher Wren and completed in 1677, Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.41.v.

The quantitative content of the notebooks does offer insight into the cost of living in fashionable London quarters, including the money which had to be found to pay a maid's wages or for a foot-boy's livery, for a quarter's 'seacole', a contribution to the upkeep of the highway, and the services of the parish 'scavenger'. Almost as significant as what is in the notebooks, is that which is missing, including mention of food and drink other than beer. Books, prints and plain paper were bought, but apparently not tobacco, or other small things of life, so it is possible that Mary or another - perhaps female - member of the household, accounted for daily necessities in separate notebooks. Such a division of 'domestic' tasks and purchases would accord with prevailing social convention, and explain Charles' almost exclusive focus on non-perishables, rent, taxes and parish rates. More problematic is the partiality of Charles' writing, in which he refers to their Pall Mall home, for example, as 'my' rather than *our* house - even though it was in great part paid for by the fruits of Mary's work. A small thing perhaps, and seen from a modern viewpoint, but one of several which hint at a perspective that may have differed somewhat from Mary's. It is disappointing, therefore, that just when we need it most we cannot find Mary Beale's own, first person 'voice', save that expressed visually through the portraits she produced. Instead we must rely entirely on Charles. All that we glean of Mary Beale's relationships, personal and professional, her activities and domestic circumstances, are derived from his descriptions of her work, members of the household, and related expenses. In view of all these qualifying factors, and in order to make best use of the quantity of information available, this chapter adopts a largely thematic, rather than narrative, approach in describing the professional studio and in answering the research themes identified above. The chapter is not intended as a survey of seventeenth-century London studio practice, but as case-study of the *only* studio for which the necessary detail exists to create one. I am asking: how did this household-studio function?; what questions does it raise about other studios and artists, the business of art, and the role of portraiture in contemporary society?; and, most importantly, can Mary Beale really have been a singular female presence? - all questions which will be addressed further in chapter six.

House, home and business

O bear me to the paths of fair Pell-mell,
Safe are thy pavements, grateful is thy smell!
At distance rolls along the gilded coach,
Nor sturdy carmen on thy walks encroach;
No lets would bar thy ways were chairs denied
The soft supports of laziness and pride;
Shops breathe perfumes, thro' sashes ribbons glow,
The mutual arms of ladies and the beau.

*John Gay [1716].*⁴¹⁹

Of particular significance is that in 1670 the Beales chose to conduct business at Pall Mall rather than re-joining Lely and the others in the Covent Garden artists' colony. I suggest this was a strategic move to avoid direct competition with those painters by turning westwards, to St James's, a newly developed area surrounding Pall Mall, extending northwards beyond Piccadilly, and specifically described as being 'for the conveniency of the Nobility and Gentry who were to attend upon his Majestie's Person, and in Parliament'.⁴²⁰ Here the Beales settled themselves amongst those very people, and alongside the civil servants, middling sort and tradespeople who waited upon them. The neighbourhood promised fresh air, salubrious living and, for Mary and Charles, a pool of well-to-do and acquisitive sitters. Pall Mall was already an important thoroughfare by the 1670s, linking the City, Strand and Inns of Court to the Palace of St James's, and the other royal residence and seat of government, Whitehall Palace. In the 1660s Henry Jermyn (d.1684), 1st Earl of St Albans, had conceived the development's showpiece, St James's Square, just behind Pall Mall, as the most prestigious address in west London. According to the *Survey of London*, this 'Court suburb' followed the Parisian fashion in which each new extension of the city was to be 'centred round a great square'. Others included Golden Square in Soho, but St James's Square was its 'Place Royale'.⁴²¹ Residents included the earls of Clarendon and Oxford; James Butler (d.1688), the Duke of Ormond; George

⁴¹⁹ 'Trivia: or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London', 'Book II', *Poetical works of John Gay [...]*, 2 vols, ed. John Underhill, (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1893), 1, p. 137.

⁴²⁰ 'St. James's Square: General', *Survey of London: volumes 29 and 30, St James Westminster, part I*, ed. Francis H. W. Sheppard, (London: London County Council, 1960), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols29-30/pt1>> [accessed 24 March 2018].

⁴²¹ *ibid.*, 'Introduction', <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols29-30/pt1>> [accessed 24 March 2018].

Savile (d.1695), Marquess of Halifax; Arabella Churchill (d.1730) mistress of James, Duke of York; and Katherine Jones nee Boyle (d.1691), Lady Ranelagh, a patron-supporter of several Royal Society Fellows including her brother Robert Boyle (1691) who lived at the west end of Pall Mall on the south side, close to Mrs Eleanor ‘Nell’ Gwyn (d.1687).⁴²² St Albans himself lived at ‘Jermyn’ (later ‘Norfolk’) House in the Square’s south-east corner, the Beales’ near neighbour until 1677. In this exalted company, within the orbit of court life, Mary and Charles Beale managed to achieve an un-salaried state of semi-independence, but one in which financial survival still depended upon the forces of reputation, credit and mutual obligation.

Nature of the house, its size, hearths and aspect

The Beales’ house on the north side of Pall Mall was built by their ‘Cosen’ Symonds on land leased from freeholder the Earl of St Albans, whose rental records of his leasehold properties state that,

Samuell Symmonds holdeth by Lease Dated the Fifth of August 1669
[...] A Peece of ground of 22 Foot in Front in the Pell Mell Feild Since
built. [...] For Fortye Five years from Midsummer 1669 [...] 5-10-0.⁴²³

Other than the width of their plot and the nature of its ownership, there is little else to distinguish its location. Although not crucial to this study, identifying the exact position of the long-demolished house gives a sense of its immediate vicinity and neighbours, and of the studio’s physical proximity to St James’s Square. As individual London properties were not numbered, residents’ letters and parcels were routinely directed to them by reference to local landmarks as to, for example,

Charles Beale Esqr at his house the next doore to the Golden Ball in Pell-Mell.⁴²⁴

⁴²² James M. Scott, *Book of Pall Mall*, (London: Heinemann, 1965), p. 28.

⁴²³ ‘Rent-Roll of the property of Henry [Jermyn], Earl of St. Albans, in the bailiwick of St. James, co. Middlesex; made 18 Dec. 1676’, London, British Library, Add MS 22063.

⁴²⁴ 2 November 1671: Cooke, letter to Charles Beale, f.109. For the history of numbering see Anton Tanter, ‘Addressing the houses: the introduction of house numbering in Europe’, *Histoire & Mesure*, 24:2 ([Paris] 2009), pp. 7-30.

I have established the Golden Ball's position through careful interpretation of taxation records, ground plans and other contemporary references. An advertisement in the *Postman* newspaper in 1703, concerning houses to let in the middle of the south side of Pall Mall, invited respondents to enquire on the north side at the 'Golden Balls, in the Pall Mall over against St. James's Square'.⁴²⁵ This reference usefully delineates our 'Golden Ball' from two nearby premises using the same sign - one in the Haymarket, to the east, the other in St James's Street to the west, by placing it in the centre portion of Pall Mall, backing directly onto the Square. Surviving rate books for St Martin in the Fields recording the collection of parish charges, including that for maintaining the highways, confirm that the Beales lived on the north side of Pall Mall, closer to the east end than the west. St James's Square itself was then, as now, entered through two narrow roadways. Secondary sources confirm that at its westernmost entrance was a corner-house (marked 'c.' on Fig. 25) occupied from 1675 to 1687 by Mary Davis (d.1704) (see Fig. 22), actress, dancer and royal mistress.⁴²⁶ The sequence of Pall Mall residents' names in the rate books shows thirteen entries between Davis' name and that of 'Charles Beale' and this, when compared to the number of houses indicated on street maps from 1681/2 and 1689, places him, and the Golden Ball, at or just beyond the Square's eastern entrance.

Meanwhile, two epistles from a slightly later period addressed to the Pall Mall household of French-born goldsmith and banker David Willaume (d.1741) and his apprentice-cum-brother-in-law Lewis Mettayer (fl.1687-1740), were marked for the attention of the former 'a la Boule Dor sur le Pellemelle a Londre'; and to Mettayer 'next to St James' Square'.⁴²⁷ Taken together these references confirm the specific location of Willaume's 'Golden Ball' sign and the Beales' house on Pall Mall, not only 'over against', but 'next to' the Square. The letter addressed to Mettayer went

⁴²⁵ Peter Cunningham, *Handbook for London, past and present*, 2 vols, (London: John Murray, 1849), 1, p. 617.

⁴²⁶ Arthur I. Dasent, *History of St. James's Square and the foundation of the West End of London [...]*, (London: Macmillan, 1895), pp. 22 & 24.

⁴²⁷ In 1708 Willaume received a letter from 'M. Le Chouabe', his sister-in-law Marie, see *Miscellanea genealogica et heraldica*, fourth series, vol. 3, part 1, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman, (London: Mitchell, Hughes & Clarke, 1908), pp. 92-3; and that he was conducting his business at the Golden Ball on Pall Mall, see Ambrose Heal, *London goldsmiths, 1200-1800: a record of the names and addresses of the craftsmen, their shop signs and trade cards*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), pp. 65 & 269.

further in specifying that the goldsmith's house (marked 'b.' on Fig. 25) was 'next to the Duke of Norfolk', placing it precisely where Henry Howard (d.1701), the 7th Duke, resided from 1695 to 1701, at the south-east corner of the square, to the right of its eastern entrance.

Standing on the south side of Pall Mall looking across to the north, a tall, narrow building makes up the right-hand corner of the eastern entrance to St James's Square. In the 1670s this corner house, like the Pall Mall-facing properties west of it, formed part of Jermyn's original freehold but, rather than belonging to the thoroughfare, the corner lot was part of the Square and is now numbered as its '31A'. I suggest that a house on this site was occupied by David Willaume from 1697 until around 1719 when he moved to new premises, also marked by a golden ball, in St James's Street, and that the Beales were briefly his neighbours.⁴²⁸ There is at present a nineteenth-century, four-bayed building to the right of the corner house consisting of a basement, ground floor and five stories above it, including an attic with dormer windows. This plot (marked by box 'a.' on Fig. 25) almost certainly, therefore, encompassed the 'ground of 22 Foot in Front in the Pell Mell Feild' where cousin Symonds built the Beales' house.

A near-contemporary engraving of Westminster by Johannes Kip (d.1722) (1710, Fig. 26), shows the very house in which Mary Beale lived and worked. This remarkably detailed image describes a south-facing, four-bayed building, a long garret with dormer windows at the top, and two storeys above ground floor, to which we must add an invisible cellar. Kip's engraved townhouses of St James's are fairly uniform in style and proportions, if not size, each delineated in its storeys and bays, windows, and position of its front door. Sliding, sash-style windows, opening vertically, are ubiquitous but this would not have been so in the 1670s and the Beales would have had traditional, outward-opening casements with leaded glass as appear in the garrets on the 1710 print.⁴²⁹ In 1677 Charles Beale paid ten shillings for '6 Moneths Chimney money', or Hearth Tax, confirming that the house had ten hearths or stoves, two on each of the five levels, making it a large, warm and dry home, one

⁴²⁸ Heal, *London goldsmiths, 1200-1800*, p. 269.

⁴²⁹ Sash windows were first introduced in England at Ham House in 1670, see Hentie Louw & Robert Crayford, 'A Constructional History of the Sash-Window, c.1670-c.1725', *Architectural History*, 42 (1999), pp. 173-239.

suiting to the needs of an aspirant middling family with a business to run.⁴³⁰ Although modest compared to the Square's mansions, it was probably larger than most pre-Great Fire artisans' house-workshops in the City. Amongst the Covent Garden art colony, the king's serjeant-painter Robert Streeter (d.1679) had six hearths on Long Acre, but limner Richard Gibson (d.1690) had nine; 'stranger' Remigius Van Leemput (d.1675) had ten on Bedford Street; miniaturist Samuel Cooper (d.1672) on Henrietta Street, had twelve. On the Piazza, Peter Lely, principal painter to the King, had a house frontage of five feet more than the Beales' and seventeen hearths.⁴³¹

Establishing the financial value of the Beale's house is difficult, but in 1664 Sir John Denham and Sir William Pulteney were given licences to erect twelve houses in Westminster provided they each cost 'at least £1000' to build. One cobbled together for less could not possibly have included the necessary structural components and high quality materials required to make it stable and serviceable, and legislation to that effect was soon enacted.⁴³² Whether the Beales took Symonds' house 'as is' on completion, or were intended as its first residents is unknown. If the latter, they may have stipulated aspects of the construction or design to suit their business including, for example, a high window with north light of the sort favoured for portrait painting. That they lived and worked there for thirty years suggests that the house suited them well, and it may have survived up to the early 1800s, from when almost all of Pall Mall was re-developed, eventually becoming the Victorian gentleman's 'clubland'.

Household: c.1670 - 1699

The Beale household consisted of Mary, Charles and their sons, and one or more servants and assistants. There are few clues as to how young Charles, aged ten, and

⁴³⁰ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.83.v.; Hearth Tax was two shillings a year for each fire, hearth and stove per dwelling, see eds Davies, Ferguson, Harding, Parkinson & Wareham, *London and Middlesex Hearth Tax*.

⁴³¹ 'Hearth Tax: Middlesex 1666, Covent Garden', *London Hearth Tax: City of London and Middlesex, 1666* (2011), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-hearth-tax/london-mddx/1666/covent-garden>> [accessed 24 February 2019].

⁴³² 'Charles II, 1666: An Act for rebuilding the City of London', in Great Britain, *Statutes of the Realm: volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby, (s.l, 1819), pp. 603-612. The development of Westminster largely coincided with the Act of 1667, and another of 1670, following the 1666 Great Fire, which created new building regulations regarding the height, frontage and construction methods to be used for each of 'Four Sorts of Houses' permitted. See 'General Introduction', *Survey of London: volumes 31 and 32, St James Westminster, part 2*, ed. Francis H. W. Sheppard, (London: London County Council, 1963), pp. 1-23.

his older brother Batt, fourteen, spent the early 1670s in London, where or by whom they were educated, or what they were taught. Their tuition was more than adequate, however, as Batt went on to receive his Bachelor of Medicine from Clare College, Cambridge and later became a physician. Charles jnr's annotations in a copy of Casali's *De profanis, et sacris veteribus ritibus* (1644-45) provide evidence that he too was highly literate and educated in Latin, although inherited artistic talent was to be his future.⁴³³ In March 1677 Charles snr recorded that he sent,

my Sonn Charles to M^r flatmans in order to his begining to learn to Limne of him. The same time I sent my Sonn Barth: 's picture upon a yard Cloth done extreamly well by my Dearest Heart, for Charles to make his first Essay in Colo^r in water upon[,]⁴³⁴

a specialism in portrait miniatures he pursued, with some success, until 'his sight woud not bear the practice'.⁴³⁵ Beale's sending off his son with Mary's portrait of his brother to scale-down and copy is both touching and an example of canny advertising. Thomas Flatman (d.1688), of their inner circle, was a miniaturist and poet of considerable renown, so the temporary presence of Mary's portrait in his studio could have attracted his customers to her without their being in direct competition.

In 1677 the Beales employed a maid, Susan Gill, accommodated within the house, but the 1681 book makes no specific mention of one. The Beales' footman or footboy was Tom Cooke in 1677, but by 1681 was replaced by Thompson Norris (1668?-1720?) for whom a new livery coat, breeches, cap and two pairs of shoes were bought. Norris was certainly with the Beales for all of 1681 but by 1691 he had married and set up in business as a joiner.⁴³⁶ Both footboys ran errands which included taking Mary Beale's presentation copy of her friend Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation* to the binders.⁴³⁷ Several other young people spent time

⁴³³ Casali, *De profanis, et sacris veteribus ritibus*, [annotations throughout].

⁴³⁴ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.40.r.

⁴³⁵ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 65.

⁴³⁶ Jacob Simon, *British picture frame-makers, 1600-1950*, 3rd ed., (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2012-), [online] <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/>> [accessed 18 March 2019].

⁴³⁷ 16 March 1681: Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.2.v., referring to Mary Beale's copy of the second volume of Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, (London, 1681) being bound to match the first, published in 1679.

in the household and probably assisted in the studio. In 1672 Moll Trioche (b. c.1657-d.1674) modelled for 'a Magdalen', a depiction of the penitent saint, possibly the portrait illustrated as Fig. 27.⁴³⁸ New research reveals that Moll was the daughter of Daniel Trioche, servant to the 2nd Earl and Countess of Strafford - Francis Knollys' employers. Moll may therefore have been a family friend, but is more likely to have been a studio helper just as her sister Keate would become in the 1680s. Alice Woodforde (1662-fl.1727?), the Beales' kinswoman, arrived in February 1677 and for whom the Beales received payments 'towards y^e Expences for his Daughters Clothes' from her father, Samuel.⁴³⁹ Alice was still part of the household in 1681, and was joined by Keate Trioche and another girl - 'Keaty Sands', who, like Moll, was drawn by Charles jnr, and painted by Mary.⁴⁴⁰ It is significant that only Alice is referred to as 'Miss Woodford', seemingly differentiating her status from the rest, who all receive their full names, as does the maid. Whether she and the others chose, or were sent to live there is unclear. They may have shown interest or talent in the visual arts and done menial tasks and modelling in order to learn. In 1681, for example, first 'Keat Trioche' then 'Miss Woodf^d' modelled for the figure of 'Artemisia' - undoubtedly, as Barber has pointed out, a depiction of Artemisia II (d. 350 BC), ruler and military commander of ancient Caria - in a work intended for Flower Hyde, Countess of Clarendon (see Fig. 21).⁴⁴¹ Alternatively, the young women's presence may only have constituted life-cycle service, as described in chapter two.

In the early 1690s, according to Vertue, a young Yorkshirewoman, Sarah Curtis (1676-1743), was in the studio and 'learnt to paint of Mrs Beal' before setting up on her own around 1693, aged just seventeen.⁴⁴² In 1701, Sarah married Benjamin Hoadly (d.1761), future Bishop of Bangor, and gave up professional painting becoming,

⁴³⁸ 'a Magdalen painted from Moll Trioche', 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 170; see Fig. 27. *Penitent Magdalene*, c.1672, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 57 cm (28 ½ x 22 ½ in.), Philip Mould (2019).

⁴³⁹ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.94.v.

⁴⁴⁰ Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.42.r.

⁴⁴¹ Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 81.

⁴⁴² Probably the 'Sarah Curtis' daughter of John, christened at Snaith on the 19th September 1676, just 13 miles from Pontefract in Yorkshire, 'Yorkshire Baptisms' [copyright Doncaster Family History Society], *Find My Past*, [online] <<http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=gbprs%2fb%2f813065915>> [accessed 11 February 2018].

at Liberty to practice the Art or leave it just as her affections inclind her.
therefore after that good Fortune. she painted the pictures only of
Intimates & friends.⁴⁴³

Curtis must have first taken instruction from Beale around 1690, aged 15 or 16, the customary age for an indentured apprentice, although there is no evidence it was a formalised arrangement. Aside from providing evidence of Beale's pedagogic influence on a pupil other than her sons, Curtis' presence confirms Mary's active role in the 1690s studio, and demonstrates that it attracted at least one young learner.

Accommodating people, things and images

As well as the family, servants and assistants permanently in residence, the house was home to a mass of materials and equipment for the studio. In 1677 there were 124 prepared canvases on wooden strainers, including 34 stored 'on fflat.frames' and a further,

30. On Hollowed Straining frames in ye fals Roofe. 48. On Straining frames in the Closet in ye Dineing Roome. 12. On straining frames in the Closet in ye Great Garret.⁴⁴⁴

The business of painting also required the house to meet the expectations of fee-paying customers six days in every week, who may, understandably perhaps, have assumed the establishment was designed solely for their benefit - a place dedicated to the process by which their vision of themselves would be seamlessly transferred to canvas through the alchemy of art. Unfortunately, Charles' notebooks provide few clues to how such disparate domestic, commercial and artistic functions were accommodated under one roof.

Helpfully, artist Jean André Rouquet (d.1758) published his impression of London townhouses of this period, based on his thirty years spent working there from 1722, as *The Present state of the arts in England*. In particular he remarked upon the ubiquity of the buildings, reporting that almost all 'except the most considerable',

⁴⁴³ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 113.

⁴⁴⁴ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.4.r.

consisted of two rooms per floor, each with a closet. The ‘offices’ were ‘under ground’ while the ‘parlour’, where the householders ‘took their repasts’, was on the ground floor. The single front door was at the centre and approached by two or three steps up from the pavement. Directly inside it was ‘the passage or hall, which leads to the stair case’, a vestibule also serving as ‘the ordinary residence of the footman’.⁴⁴⁵ The Beales’ new four-storey house would therefore have provided between seven and thirteen rooms on the ground and upper stories, including one lateral garret at the top, with possibly a kitchen and stores in the basement. At least three upper chambers were bedrooms and so exclusively for household use, while space entirely devoted to the business comprised ‘closets’ off the main rooms and other storage areas, and the ‘paynting roome’ itself. As Rouquet observed, family ‘offices’ and artisans’ workshops were conventionally run from basements, but, like most artists, Mary Beale’s studio needed to capitalise on natural light by occupying an upper floor, almost certainly in her case the ‘great Garrett’ mentioned by Charles in 1677 and visible in Kip’s engraving. The principal rooms in Lely’s house were described as a ‘work room, bedchamber, dining room, parlour, room over the parlour, room behind the parlour and a closet’, as well as the ‘painting roome’ and a ‘Great Room’ so large it accommodated the dozens of buyers and onlookers who flocked to the posthumous sales of his collections.⁴⁴⁶

Keeping up appearances, and keeping it clean

It is highly likely that at least some of the Beales’ ground floor would have been dedicated to receiving the day’s sitters before the work of painting began, perhaps in providing them with refreshment in the ‘parlour’ after their journey, or engaging in some light chat to put them at their ease. All of which conjures an image of a genteel English *passaggiata* of customers, a spouse or friends, ascending in a ceremony of portraiture to the ‘paynting roome’. Passing, as they evidently did, other rooms, up staircases and along landings to reach the studio presumably required that many, if not all areas of the house be presentably, even fashionably appointed and, of course, clean and orderly. This arrangement, in which so much of the private sphere was

⁴⁴⁵ Jean André Rouquet, *The Present state of the Arts in England*, (London: J. Nourse, 1755), pp. 101-2.

⁴⁴⁶ Diana Dethloff, ‘Executors’ account book and the dispersal of Sir Peter Lely’s collection’, *Journal of the History of Collections*, 8:1 (1996), p. 50 [footnote no. 94].

made public, would also have required everyone - from the maid to young Charles - to co-operate in creating the desired impression. The close attention paid previously, by Mary and her circle, to moulding her reputation for virtue and virtuosity, would now be concentrated upon maintaining an ambiance of creditworthy respectability and fashionably good taste.

An arrangement described, almost a century later, by another newly-arrived artist setting up in London, provides some idea of what may have been expected of the Beales and their house,

I have four rooms, one in which I paint, the other where I set up my finished paintings as is here the custom, the people come into the house to sit - to visit me - or to see my work; I could not possibly receive people in a poorly furnished house.⁴⁴⁷

So wrote portraitist and history painter Angelica Kauffman (1741-1807) to her father, in 1766, of her studio in Suffolk Street, less than half a mile east of Pall Mall. Rouquet, writing earlier, described the sociability of commercial portrait practice in London thus,

Every portrait painter in England has a room to shew his pictures, separate from that in which he works. People who have nothing to do, make it one of their morning amusements, to go and see these collections. They are introduced by a footman without disturbing the master, who does not stir out of his closet unless he is particularly wanted [...] and after they have stared a great deal, they applaud loudly, or condemn softly, and giving some money to the footman, they go about their business.⁴⁴⁸

Even making allowances for the possibility that late seventeenth-century sitters may not have had quite such sophisticated habits or expectations as Rouquet's, it is clear from Kauffman's letter that the environment in which one provided the service of painting would need to bear some near equivalence to that to which they were accustomed. Appearances were indeed everything, and must have entailed

⁴⁴⁷ Quoted in translation by Angela Rosenthal in 'Kauffman and Portraiture', in *Angelica Kauffman: a continental artist in Georgian England*, ed. Wendy W. Roworth, [exhib. cat., The Royal Pavilion, Brighton 13 November 1992 to 3 January 1993], (Brighton: Royal Pavilion/Art Gallery & Museums, & London: Reaktion Books), 1992, p. 102.

⁴⁴⁸ Rouquet, *Present state of the Arts in England*, p. 22

restrictions on family life, and added considerably to the cost of setting up and maintaining their establishment. Charles's 1677 book, for example, mentions the purchase of seven 'Cane bottom Chairs', one 'with Armes', sixteen 'China Cups of unusuall fashion' and a set of 'the best sort' of pewter plates, each engraved with the family coat of arms - an indication of the importance of creating the impression, if not of social parity, then certainly of a lineage of genteel respectability, as customer-guests took their refreshments in the parlour. The family's expenditure on good quality clothing is noted, including £05-00-00 spent on a ready-made suit comprised of coat, 'drawers' and 'hose' for each of the Beale sons, along with two hats costing 15s-00d a piece. Charles jnr also received a loan of £03-00-00 for unspecified clothing, a debt he was to work out in kind in the studio.⁴⁴⁹ Even the livery coat and breeches bought for Tom Cooke - the footman so essential to a 'master' painter - cost the household £1-05s.⁴⁵⁰

That year £05-00s was spent with 'Mr Drake', Mary Beale's tailor; 05s-00d on a pair of stockings from 'Mr Jackson' the hosier; and £01-00-03 on fine white 'Cambrick Holland for sleeves'. A further 13s-00d was spent on fabric to make painting aprons for her studio.⁴⁵¹ The lion's share of the clothing budget, however, was spent on Charles snr's wardrobe, and largely on a single and very fashionable suit, consisting of,

'2 yards & ½ of Broad cloth' at 14s a yard [for coat and 'drawers']	01-15-00
'5 yards ¼ of Crape [crepe] to line my Coate'	00-11-04
'2 yards of rich flowerd Venetian silk for a Wastcoate'	01-02-00
'12 Dozen of Buttons' [front and sleeves of coat and waistcoat]	00-05-00
'Riband for Knotes' ['knots' or bows placed about the suit]	00-10-00
'a Cravat'	00-04-06
'a paire of Worsted Stockins'	00-05-06
'Garters' [one pair]	00-02-02
'a paire of shooes for my self'	00-05-00
'a paire of Shoe buckles'	00-02-00
'a new narrow brim'd Caster' [beaver-fur hat]	00-19-00
'Doe skin Gloves of oild Leather very extraordinarily sewed'	00-05-00
'pd Mr Peter Taylor [his tailor, for making the 'Sute']	<u>02-10-00</u>
	£08-11-06 ⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.65.r.

⁴⁵⁰ *ibid.*, f.28.v.

⁴⁵¹ *ibid.*, f.35.v.

⁴⁵² *ibid.*, f.59.r.

This amounts to almost £1,000.00 in modern currency, but what appears as wilful extravagance was but another aspect of creating the right impression.⁴⁵³ Once the newly-arrived sitters had been shown into the ‘parlour’ by Tom in his liveried finery, it would have been Charles, in his fashionable ensemble, who greeted and made them feel comfortable before being ushered up to the studio in a civilised procession. However, as I contended in the previous chapter, it was equally important for Mary’s virtuous reputation - as it would later be for Kauffmann - that the studio be seen as an extension of the domestic space, her professionalism as a seamless continuation of her sociable, amateur practice, and with the overt presence of both husband and servants as chaperones to signal her inviolable respectability.⁴⁵⁴

The studio: space, arrangement, light

Even the ‘paynting roome’ had an ambience to keep up, matching the rest of the house in comfort and respectability, but with an added sense of the particular otherliness that customers would expect to find in a painter’s studio. Contemporary depictions show spacious rooms adorned with objet de vertu, rich carpets, classical statuettes, collections of antique coins and medals, as well as giant shells and other natural rarities (see Fig. 29). Mary Beale’s studio, its layout, furnishings and equipment are not described or even referred to in the notebooks. Instead we must extrapolate from other sources to conjure some impression of it. In general terms it should be commodious enough to hold the artist, an assistant, the sitter - and party - props and backdrops and at least one, tripod-style easel required to support the canvas being worked on. Small equipment included a palette for the colours, and a range of brushes used to create different effects, and a mahl stick on which to rest one’s arm without smudging the paint. In her 1978 Ph.D. thesis, Mary Beal (no relation) transcribed 1640s and 50s manuscript notes compiled by Richard Symonds (d.1660) in the studios of artists met on two Italian tours, and their English counterparts, including Lely, and Robert Walker (d.1658).⁴⁵⁵ Symonds reported a

⁴⁵³ TNA Currency Converter: 1270-2017, [online] <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>, [accessed 19 September 2018].

⁴⁵⁴ Rosenthal, ‘Kauffman and portraiture’ in *Angelica Kauffman*, ed. Roworth, p. 102.

⁴⁵⁵ Mary Beal, *Study of Richard Symonds: his Italian notebooks and their relevance to seventeenth-century painting techniques*, (London: Garland, 1984).

general consensus that the painter's studio should have a high, north-facing window providing a constant light under which to observe the sitter. Beal also quoted glass painter Henry Gyles (d.1709) of York, in recommending the studio be arranged to accommodate 'the party you mean to draw (if from head to foot)' standing '4, 5 or 6 yards from you'.⁴⁵⁶ This plan was more or less favoured by Lely, as can be seen from a sketch of his studio probably made by portraitist William Gandy (d.1729) (Fig. 28), although with the sitter just two yards from his easel.⁴⁵⁷ The need for spaciousness and height would also accord with the positioning of Beale's studio in their 'great Garret'. Gyles also concurred on a high window but would regulate the amount of light falling on the subject with a curtain, thereby creating shadowing effects. Roman artist Giovanni Angelo Canini (d.1666), Symonds' favourite source, did not have glass in his studio window, but 'fine french' paper made semi-transparent by soaking it in 'hogs grease' - an oil chosen because it yellowed least with age - a practice continued in France into the eighteenth century. The treated paper deadened everyday noise from outside, and cast a soft, flattering light. Gyles was also mindful of sitters' comfort, suggesting that the room be 'a warm chamber, free from dust smoake and the sulphurous aire of sea coale'.⁴⁵⁸

The studio: how to make a portrait (stages and techniques)

While the following is not an exhaustive description of seventeenth-century artistic practice, it is essential that the reader be conversant with the process of making portraits, and the physical forms they took, in order to understand the economics of their creation detailed below, as well as their artistic and sociological significance.

Charles Beale's book for each year included a list of portraits 'begun' for profit; the dates of payments received and prices charged. The 1681 book also lists those created for 'study and improvement' and for family and friends. These distinct portrait categories will be discussed at the section *Customers, sitters and portraits* (p. 214). In common with other studios, Beale's single figure 'for profit' likenesses were

⁴⁵⁶ Beal, *Study of Richard Symonds*, p. 70.

⁴⁵⁷ William Gandy, attrib., 'Lely's studio', ink drawing on paper, (3.25 x 4.25 in.), [in] BL, Add MS 22950; reproduced in Talley, 'Portrait painting in England: studies in the technical literature before 1700', as figure no. 32.

⁴⁵⁸ Beal, *Study of Richard Symonds*, note 447, p. 71.

made in three *visual* formats, including the cheapest and most popular ‘three quarters’ (hereafter ‘TQL’), or, more precisely, head and upper torso, cut off at the elbows (see, for example, *Thomas Coventry*, c1675, Fig. 30). In Beale’s oeuvre this was invariably set against a plain background of graduated umber brown, usually surrounded by a painted oval simulating carved stonework decorated with small swags of fruit. A larger visual format, depicting the sitter from the head to knee, seated and generally facing to one side (see, *Lady Leigh*, Fig. 29), was puzzlingly called the half-length (hereafter ‘HL’). These had backgrounds depicting an interior scene or landscape in varying degrees of detail and originality (see Figs. 15 & 22). A third type, full-length portraits, are very rare amongst Beale’s known works, but include that of *Sir William Turner* (Fig. 23) discussed in the previous chapter.

There was some variety in the *physical* size of portraits, although the TQL were usually on standard 30 by 25 inch (76.2 x 63.5 cm) canvases, and HL were mainly 50 by 40 inches (127 x 101.6 cm), while the full-length Turner portrait measured 91 x 57 inches (231.14 x 144.78 cm). There are surviving Beale paintings with unconventional dimensions including a TQL of *Bishop Gilbert Burnet DD* (c.1691, Fig. 32), a late work measuring 25 by 21 inches (63.5 x 53.5 cm); and the HL *Self-portrait* of c.1666 (Fig. 20), at 43 by 34.5 inches (109.2 x 87.6cm).⁴⁵⁹ A third, and particularly lucrative category was the ‘in little’ portrait, in which a HL image was scaled-down to fit onto a smaller canvas measuring around 18 by 15 inches (45.7 x 38.1 cm)⁴⁶⁰, or 23 by 19 (58.4 x 48.3 cm)⁴⁶¹. These smallest of canvases are referred to as the ‘Least Size of all’ and ‘Least Size but one’.⁴⁶² As early as 1668, the anonymous author of *The Excellency of the pen and pencil* remarked that canvas could ‘be bought ready primed cheaper and better than you can do it your self’, in London at least, but even in 1681 Charles was still sourcing, priming and cutting

⁴⁵⁹ Mary Beale, Fig. 32, *Bishop Gilbert Burnet DD*, c.1691, oil on canvas ‘TQL’ (25 x 21 in.), St Edmundsbury Borough Council, Bury St Edmunds; Fig. 20. *Self-portrait*, c.1666, oil on canvas, 109.2 x 87.6 cm (43 x 34 1/2 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1687); also Fig. 12 *Charles Beale* [snr], c.1660, oil on canvas, 24.1 x 21 cm (9 1/2 x 8 1/4 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1279).

⁴⁶⁰ Fig. 44. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait* [seated, with palette and mahl stick] and Fig. 45. *Charles Beale*, a pair, both c.1670-75, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 38.1 cm (18 x 15 in.), Bury St Edmunds, St Edmundsbury Borough Council.

⁴⁶¹ Fig. 31. Mary Beale, *Lady Leigh as a shepherdess*, c.1680?, oil on canvas ‘HL in little’, 59.1 x 48.9 cm (23 1/4 x 19 1/4 in.), Bury St Edmunds, St Edmundsbury Borough Council.

⁴⁶² Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.4.v. & ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.102.v.

Mary's cloth.⁴⁶³ Although a labour-intensive process, Charles' persistence in priming the canvases suggests that either he *was* able to do it more cheaply, or that they considered the commercial product to be inferior.

Most seventeenth-century easel paintings were constructed using the methods which developed from the 1400s when oil overtook egg-yolk tempera as a pigment-binding medium, and canvas started to replace wood as a surface to paint upon. Each painting was created in stages, technical and artistic. Ideally the canvas would be of good, unbleached linen, finely or coarsely woven depending on individual or regional preference. English supports were generally of medium-weight fabric quite closely woven. Once cut to size the fabric was suspended tightly within a plain wooden framework, or strainer, the horizontal and vertical threads aligned in parallel with it, and sewn in place with loops of cord. Next, one or more layers of warm, liquid 'size', an animal skin glue generally derived from rabbit hide, were brushed onto the canvas to saturate and swell the fibres which, once dry, were sealed, flat and taut. This prevented oil in the layers applied on top of the size from entirely soaking into the canvas, the paint instead forming a cohesive layer firmly attached to, but on top of, the canvas. Once sized the canvas was 'primed' with at least one layer of oil paint in a colour chosen to provide the ideal base tonality of the facial portrait. Also known as the 'ground', some artists applied layers of primer using varying combinations of oil, pigment, and sometimes chalk, but the Beales used one or two coats, always with chalk. The notebooks contain several of the primer recipes Charles developed, including the names and proportions of pigments ground and mixed in oil to produce it, and the size, type and quantity of cloth coated with each batch. He also described their visual and technical qualities, including those which produced 'good' colour or, like the following, went awry,

M^d There was some mistake in the Colo^r of this Primer, for after I had mixt it, I found it to cast so very much to a Redish yellow, that I thought fitt to temper into it by guess neare half an Ounce of ordinary Blew-black, & a Little Cullens Earth. So that these 14 Three quarter Clothes are of a Darker and more Redish Col^{or} then the other 16. that were

⁴⁶³ [Anon], *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil [...]*, (London: printed for Dorman Newman, 1668), p. 92.

primed this 3^d September 1677. They will serve best (I think) for mens pictures y^t are of pretty swarthy dark complexion.⁴⁶⁴

This fascinating passage illustrates the importance of the primer, or ground, as an element of the tone and colour balance of a finished portrait. In some works areas of ground were left uncovered and integrated into the finished portrait or thinly glazed over but, as Charles implies, this would only be useful if its colour was correct. In March 1681 he primed another 48 cloths, but more successfully, using,

10^{li} of good Ceruse from Phinner
6 Ounces $\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{1}{16}$. of good Yallow Oker
5 Ounces $\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{1}{8}$ of Cullens Earth
4 Ounces $\frac{1}{2}$ & $\frac{3}{16}$ Ordinary Blew Black
2 Ounces $\frac{3}{16}$ of Burnt Umber
3 Ounces $\frac{3}{4}$. of good Red Oker.⁴⁶⁵

The ‘Ceruse’ obtained by Charles from ‘Mr Phinner’, a colourman (artists’ supplier), of Fleet Bridge, was either pure English lead white, or was in combination with white chalk.⁴⁶⁶ Lead white was the only white pigment used for easel paintings in the seventeenth century and was manufactured in London, on a huge scale, by exposing lead sheets to vinegar vapour. ‘Oker’ or ochre is iron oxide, an earth pigment which varies in colour from dull yellow to light reddish-brown. ‘Cullens Earth’ - or more properly Cologne earth or Cologne umber - is one of the brown, humic earth pigments resulting from the ‘decomposition of organic matter’, but because it is lignite-based has ‘a bituminous nature’ and is slow to dry when bound in oil.⁴⁶⁷ ‘Ordinary Blew Black’ is carbon-based charcoal black, with a bluish tint sometimes obtained by burning vine cuttings.⁴⁶⁸ Like the ochres, umbers are earth pigments but contain manganese dioxide as well as iron oxide. Roasting greenish-brown ‘raw’ umber produces a deep reddish-brown colour unsurprisingly called ‘Burnt Umber’.⁴⁶⁹ At Tate, tiny cross-sections of paint taken by conservator Rica Jones and senior conservation scientist Joyce Townsend from Mary Beale’s unfinished and

⁴⁶⁴ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.129.v.

⁴⁶⁵ Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.143.r.

⁴⁶⁶ Rosamond Harley, *Artists’ pigments c.1600-1835*, (London: Butterworths, 1970), p. 160.

⁴⁶⁷ Nicholas Eastaugh, Valentine Walsh, Tracey Chaplin & Ruth Siddall, *Pigment Compendium. A dictionary and optical microscopy of historical pigments*, (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 388; & Harley, *Artists’ pigments c.1600-1835*, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁶⁸ *ibid.*, Harley, pp. 147-8.

⁴⁶⁹ *ibid.*, Harley, pp. 137-8; Eastaugh, Walsh, Chaplin & Siddall, *Pigment Compendium*, pp. 383-4.

probably ‘not for profit’ *Portrait of a Young Girl*, c.1681 (Fig. 34), confirmed that its priming layer, is indeed made up of the pigments lead white, Cologne earth, charcoal black, yellow and red ochres, although burnt umber could not be detected in the samples. The final colour of this ground layer is clearly visible as warm light brown at the unpainted bottom right hand corner. Once the primer was dry, provided the portrait was not a copy, the next stages would be done ‘from the life’, in front of the sitter, whether it was for a commissioned portrait or one done for study.

At the first sitting the head was drawn freehand in chalk or thinly diluted paint, sometimes using a combination of the two. Microscopic examination of the *Portrait of a Young Girl* confirmed the presence of under-drawing where the ‘eyes and other parts of the head were laid in with thin reddish brown paint’.⁴⁷⁰ On top of the drawing the ‘dead colour’, or underpainting, would be added. This too was done at the first sitting, and involved laying in the structure of the face in coolish, neutral tones. Jones and Townsend noted that the dead colouring on the Tate portrait has in the flesh-tones ‘a lilac-grey cast’.⁴⁷¹ At the second sitting, the likeness was built up further. In 1999 Beale’s *Self-portrait with husband and son*, c.1660 (Geffrye Museum, Fig. 2) was examined by Bustin who described the painting of Charles Beale snr’s face as ‘broad planes of pale flesh tint’ used to define the forehead, and ‘several tints from grey to flesh to rose’ to shape the facial contours.⁴⁷² A third sitting was needed to polish any roughness of technique, add detail, and to intensify the shading or highlights as required for the eyes, lips, brows and nostrils. The upper layers used to finish the face of the otherwise incomplete *Young Girl* (Fig. 33) were found to contain lead white; charcoal black; ultramarine blue; red, yellow and reddish-brown earth colours; Cologne earth; chalk; red lake; and vermilion.⁴⁷³ These pigments are likely to be representative of Mary Beale’s customary palette for representing female complexions, although the face of a commissioned work would have more depth and detail than the Tate painting. Another sitting was usually required to complete the hair, arms, and ‘breast’ or chest after the life. In other portraits, particularly copies, the hands and arms were reproduced from a stock of

⁴⁷⁰ Rica Jones & Joyce H. Townsend, *Tate Essay: Portrait of a young girl c.1681 by Mary Beale* (2005), [unpaginated], [online] <<https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/projects/tudor-stuart-technicalresearch/entries/portrait-young-girl-c1681>> [accessed 6 May 2019].

⁴⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁴⁷² Bustin, ‘Experimental secrets and extraordinary colours’, p. 55.

⁴⁷³ Jones & Townsend, *Tate Essay: Portrait of a young girl c.1681 by Mary Beale*.

plaster casts the Beales had made of their own limbs in various positions. Thereafter, depending on the sitter, the drapery or armour, landscape, wig or hair, oval trompe-l'œil cartouches around the figure in head and shoulders likenesses, would be painted in.

Between the stages of completion the colour of previous working would sometimes be adjusted, or re-saturated, by 'oiling out' - the localised application of a thin layer of poppy oil or varnish with or without pigment. In July 1681, for example, Charles noted that,

Miss Woodfords pict^r upon y^e Onion bag, was done over before shee
finisht it, with white Poppy oile as thin done over as shee could

whereas,

The Picture of my Dearest Hearts owne upon y^e HL Bedtickings, was
painted over wthout oileing or varnish it. But upon y^e old one only.⁴⁷⁴

This approach was evidently experimental, as against both entries he prompted himself to query 'how it settles & proves'. A 'finished' painting was sometimes set aside briefly and, in Charles' words, 'supervised' or monitored, and, if necessary, 'retouched' to completion. The last stage may have been add a protective varnish layer, once the paint was sufficiently dry, but no notebook references to this survive. In practice paintings were routinely sent to their recipients fairly quickly after completion, and the Beales often supplied 'a Deal case' for the purpose, presumably to protect works in transit, especially those on which the paint was still tacky.⁴⁷⁵

The studio: materials and tools

Seventeenth-century paint was not sold ready-prepared, but was manufactured from its constituents in artists' studios. Dry pigment matter derived from plant, mineral or animal sources was made, or bought from colourmen and apothecaries, and prepared

⁴⁷⁴ Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.10.r.

⁴⁷⁵ European 'Deal' is defined as the 'wood of fir or pine trees', including 'red deal, the produce of the Scotch Pine', *Oxford English Dictionary*, [online] <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/47702?rskey=bQWS9v&result=1#>> [accessed 5 June 2018].

by stages of grinding, washing, and binding in oil. Charles' 1677 book lists the pigments bought as well as his perceptions of their quality; the names and addresses of the colourmen who sold them; and prices paid. He describes how he used them in preparing and applying primer, but few notes of Mary's use of them. Happily, in her *Observations by MB in her painting of Apricots* (1663, see p. 85), Beale listed pigments she favoured for painting the fruit at various stages of ripeness, although it required a slightly different palette of colours than for painting faces.⁴⁷⁶ The table below lists all of the pigments mentioned in the 1677 and 1681 notebooks, by Vertue, and by Mary Beale herself.

	MB Obs		Vertue			CBNB	CBNB	Cost (p. lb.*) 1677
	1663	1672	1673	1674	1676	1677	1681	
Black chalk						x		£00-02-06*
'Blew Bice' (azurite)						x		£00-10-00*
Blue-black (charcoal)						x	x	
Burnt yellow ochre (red)							x	
Burnt umber (brown)					x	x	x	
'Bury Oker' (ochre)	x							
Ceruse (white)						x	x	£00-03-00*
Cochineal (red lake)						x		£07-15-00*
'Cullens' Cologne earth						x	x	£00-00-05*
Indian lake (lac, red) ⁴⁷⁷						x		
'Lake' (red?)	x	x	x	x	x	x		
'Masticot' (lead tin yellow)	x							
'Pinke' (yellow lake)	x	x				x		
Red lead	x							
Red ochre						x	x	
Scarlett lake						x		
Smalt (blue)					x	x		£00-02-10 - 00-03-06*
Terra verte (green)						x		£00-03-06*
Ultramarine (blue)	x		x	x	x	x	x	£48-00-00*
Umber (brown)						x		
Vermilion (cinnabar, red)	x					x		£01-10-00*
White lead (white)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Yellow ochre						x	x	

Table A, showing the pigments used and traded by the Beales from 1663-1681, with contemporary prices where noted in Charles Beale's Notebooks, and by Vertue.

⁴⁷⁶ Draper, 'Mary Beale and 'her painting of Apricots'', pp. 389-405.

⁴⁷⁷ In July 1677 Charles 'pd Mr Phinner the Color seller at ffleet bridg a bill for Spanish Cakes' and on August 25th he 'ground 2 pellets of Indian Lake, wch was putt up into a Bladder', the 'cakes' being lumps of sun-dried lac imported from Spanish South America, Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', ff. 64.v. & 71.r.

The generally preferred oil for painting and priming on wood and canvas was linseed. Poppy and walnut oils were used with certain pigments, or to achieve particular effects. For example, nut oil was perceived to be less prone to yellowing than linseed, and so recommended for use with lead white to paint bright ‘ruffes and linnen’ fabric.⁴⁷⁸ In her *Observations* Beale also recommended using the pigment ‘Mastcot’ (lead-tin yellow) with [wal]’nut oyle’ as a means of ‘tempering’ or thickening it to control application or speed-up drying.⁴⁷⁹ The drying times of oils was an important consideration, both artistically and commercially. Painting manuals of the period mention leaving linseed oil out in the March sun to thicken, the result of which was described by John Bate as an oil ‘so thick, that you may cut it almost like butter’. This was used to speed up the drying of paint which did not contain lead white, masticot, or other pigments which act as ‘driers’, and to increase the ‘fatness’ of the paint for creating impasto.⁴⁸⁰ The provision of a constant supply of good quality oil was, therefore, crucial. In June 1677 Charles recorded that he bought 4¼ gallons of linseed oil at M^r Phinner[‘s]’ but, in an indication of the sheer quantity used in the studio, by July he was in debt for six further quarts.⁴⁸¹

Large quantities of brushes were required for priming and painting in the professional studio. In February 1681 the Beales bought 72 ‘Duck-quill Small Blacks fitts pencills’, and 60 ‘very Small pointing pencills’ from ‘Mr Smaley’ and, in April,

8 Dousin of Duck quill pointing [96]
 White ffitz pencills at 8d [per] Doz [96]
 6 Swan quill Swetning White fls-
 2 Brushes in Tinne.⁴⁸²

The duck and swan quills formed handles into which were inserted the ‘pencills’ of fur or hairs bound together at the cut end which made up the painting brush itself. The ‘pointing pencills’ were, as they sound, fine, while the ‘Swetning’ brushes were wide and soft for blending paint on the canvas. The ‘Brushes in Tinne’ are likely to

⁴⁷⁸ Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 111.

⁴⁷⁹ Beale, ‘Observations by MB’, ff.24.r.-24.v.

⁴⁸⁰ John Bate, *Mysteryes of Nature and Art. In foure parts [...] The third of drawing, washing, limming, painting, and engraving [...]*, 2nd ed., (London: printed for Ralph Mabb, 1635), p. 208.

⁴⁸¹ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.58.r. & f.67.r. respectively.

⁴⁸² Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.50.v. & f.62.r. respectively.

have been larger, fixed to a wooden handle, and perhaps of hog hair, while the 'White ffitz' and 'Blacks fitts' pensils were probably made of fitch, the white and black fur of the polecat. No easels, palettes, mahl sticks, jars or other apparatus required for painting were bought, but such items require infrequent replacement.

The studio: division of labour

Even in the Beales' family business one would expect an apprentice, formally indentured or informally employed, to do much of the fatiguing preparatory work, but none is mentioned specifically in the notebooks. In other workshops, large and small, for example, apprentices ground the dry pigments by hand on a grinding stone of porphyry or marble, using a round, flat muller. Quantities of the resulting colour, mixed with oil to create the paint itself, were then stored in sheep's bladders for later use. Relatively light work, such as making the red and black chinks used for drawing, cleaning brushes, and tidying up, were also the responsibility of apprentices, while more experienced assistants would prepare canvases and eventually, should they demonstrate promise, be taught to draw and paint. With Mary producing, on average, a finished portrait each week, it seems inevitable that all members of the Beale household performed tasks in her studio or related to the business; or in domestic work in support of the socio-economic unit as a whole. By 1677 Mary's two sons certainly worked in the studio, painting drapery and decorative surrounds in many of her portraits and, as we have seen, even the liveried footboy was responsible for showing customers into the parlour. How and to whom other duties were apportioned is largely unrecorded but, other than the occasional services of a colourman, there is little evidence of the use of external expertise.

Charles Beale managed the studio's material requirements, including procurement of canvas and pigment, and was responsible for stretching and preparing painting surfaces, including sizing and priming. In previous years he manufactured pigments, particularly red lake and 'pinke', but there are no references to this in 1677 or 1681, implying that either he was too busy, or they still had sufficient stockpiles. The latter is born out by the small amount of each given to landscape painter Thomas Manby in exchange for painting the background of a HL, and the absence of purchases of these

lake pigments. Charles was evidently not above grinding pigments himself, and in August 1677,

ground 2 pellets of Indian Lake, w^{ch} was putt up into a Bladder for my Dearest Hearts use upon extraordinary occasions⁴⁸³

In September he ground just under eleven pounds of pigment for a batch of primer to cover 55 canvases. Three days later, and on other occasions, however, he paid Mr Carter snr, a colourman, piecemeal to grind pigments for primer.⁴⁸⁴ The young women Moll and Keate Trioche, and Alice Woodforde certainly posed for works of ‘study and improvement’, but there is no record of payments to them for studio work done, unlike the dozens made to Batt and young Charles. On the other hand, in 1681 Keate paid Charles snr £01-10s for half an ounce of ultramarine, implying that she was a painter herself, or aspired to be one.⁴⁸⁵ In fact, as will be demonstrated at the thesis’ conclusion, in chapter six, dozens of girls and women were apprenticed to members of the Painter Stainers’ guild, both male and female, from the 1660s, so in terms of convention it is perfectly possible that Keate and the others were studio assistants and engaged in some of the tasks outlined above. With no indication that these women were paying lodgers, they clearly did something to earn their keep while, at the very least, they learned about the painter’s trade by observation of Mary Beale.

⁴⁸³ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.71.r. Indian lake was an extremely expensive, transparent, dark red pigment made from the females and eggs of lac insects harvested from the fig trees of Asia and India, see Harley, *Artists’ pigments c.1600-1835*, pp. 120-24.

⁴⁸⁴ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, ff.129.r-129.v. Carter senior was a colourman, probably of St Paul’s, Covent Garden, see Jacob Simon, *British artists’ suppliers 1650-1950*, 3rd ed., (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2011-), [online] <<https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/c/>> [accessed 7 May 2019].

⁴⁸⁵ Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.72.r.

Economics of art and living: outgoings & liabilities

Expences in makeing Cherry Brandy	
5 ^t August 1681.	li s d
24 ^{li} of Black Cherys cost ---	0-01-10
2 Gallons of the best Brandy)	
cost as 3s-4d the Gallon --)	0-06-08
1 ^{li} & ½ of Sugar cost -----	0-00-09
½ Ounce of Cinamon, & ¼ ^{oz})	
of Mace cost -----)	0-00-07. ⁴⁸⁶

It has already been noted that, with the above exception, Charles' accounts do not include food. In fact there are few items one could construe as exclusively for the family's use, except cloth for bed linen, his sons' clothing, and the payments to 'Clare Hall', Cambridge for Batt's student expenses in 1681. Yet as both family and servants were almost certainly working directly or indirectly for the studio, any distinction between the domestic and commercial economies of the household as enumerated in the books would be an artificial one. Instead we will consider the studio and house, along with the family and other inhabitants as a single economic unit - much as Charles appears to have done in recording, for example, money paid to them 'towards' Alice Woodforde's clothing by her father Samuel, alongside income from portrait and studio expenses.

Fixed outgoings and household necessities

	1672	1676/7	1680/1	1682	1683	1684
Rent:		42-00-00	42-00-00			
Property tax (Crown):		00-02-06	00-02-06			
Hearth tax (Crown):		01-00-00	01-00-00			
Court Leet:		00-00-01	00-00-01			
Scavenger:		00-10-00	00-10-00			
Highways:	00-07-06	00-10-00	00-02-00	00-03-00	00-02-00	00-01-06
Beadle/night watchman:		00-04-06	00-04-00			
Water:		01-06-08	01-06-08			
Poor:		01-00-00	01-00-00			
Total:		£46-13-07	£46-05-01			

Table B, showing Beale household expenditure on rent, taxes and parish charges, 1672, 1676/7 and 1680/1-1684.

⁴⁸⁶ Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.13.r. The total cost was 09s-10d.

The 1677 and 1681 Beale notebooks itemise the household's fixed costs, as indicated in Table B above, and a great many other living expenses, but the single largest was the annual rent of £42-00s (c. £4,800.00) paid quarterly to Samuel Symonds. While not representing to them an investment in property for property's sake, as an asset with the potential for accumulating value or capable of providing a legacy for their sons, the house was nonetheless a fundamental investment in their present and future lives. The choice of that particular house, belonging to that particular landlord, was an informed gamble in the hope that it would facilitate the genteel provision of portrait likenesses while also being a suitable family home, and that its running be both practical and economical enough to allow them a profit. They must, for example, have had good reason to trust in the longevity of their tenancy in order not to have to change premises - a move with the potential to ruin their business. Also, in financial terms, in accordance with the mutual expectation of credit and obligation discussed in chapter 4, they would surely have hoped to rely on 'Cos:' Symonds as a landlord who would tolerate periodic tardiness in the payment of rent, or could even be willing, in extremis, to accept it in kind. In short, they took a significant risk, one which cost them around a quarter of their annual income from portraits. For his part, Symonds collected at least £1260-00s from the Beales over the thirty-year tenancy, but paid the Duke of St Albans just £165-00s in ground rent, leaving him with a profit of £1095-00s. Their landlord was not even liable to pay expenses incurred by his house.

Householders paid taxes levied by the Crown - including Hearth Tax and that on property, real and in stock, while mandatory local taxes were collected quarterly by parish officials. As citizens of the Westminster parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, the Beales contributed towards an elected officer 'called the Scavenger, that looks to the Pavement and Streets' by engaging 'rakers and carts to cleanse the streets, and carry the dirt and filth therof away'; 'mending y^e High wayes'; and to 'y^e Beadle', or 'Night watchman', for patrolling with his whip.⁴⁸⁷ St James's had water piped

⁴⁸⁷ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.29.r. For scavengers see Robert Thoroton, *Antiquities of Nottinghamshire: extracted out of records, original evidences, leiger books, other manuscripts, and authentick authorities [...]*, (London: printed by Robert White for Henry Mortlock, 1677), p. 492; & Thomas E. Tomlins, *Law-dictionary explaining the rise, progress and present state of the British law etc.*, 3rd ed., 2 vols, (London: Payne, 1820), 2, p. 204.

directly to its houses and for this, and the welfare of its poor, there were other quarterly charges. Table B (p. 197) lists levies recorded by Charles, and the highways rate for 1672 to 1684 as gleaned from parish rate books. The fixed expenses for 1677 and 1681 come to just over £46-00s p.a., the majority being for rent. The Beales' smallholding in Hampshire was, meanwhile, let for £20 - a sum which should have offset half the Pall Mall rent, although for late 1676 Charles recorded that,

My Cousin Dr Woodford sent me up ... y^e sume of 1-05-00. w^{ch} was all that was left of the 10^{li} due at Michas last past from my Tenn^t. G. Collins at Albroke. The rest of y^e money went for Reparacons etc.⁴⁸⁸

As a result, perhaps, 1677 began with a £10-00s debt to Symonds for the previous quarter which was not paid until February, and they continued to be behind until November - suggesting that their gamble on him was a good one. Although the Allbrook repairs were an isolated set-back, the rent being paid in full in 1677 and 1681, the couple were also responsible for repairs to the Pall Mall house, where work done by 'Mr Downes ye Bricklayer' in 1677 cost them £02-16s. Charles' 1677 book reveals a significant accumulation of other debt through buying some goods and services on credit, and borrowing from family and friends. Managing the debt required a complex system of staged repayment and the co-operation of some very patient people. In February the Beales owed a debt of £12-08-11¼^d⁴⁸⁹ to 'Mr Cross the Brewer', but by December just half had been repaid. In January Dr John Browne (d.1702/3), a Surgeon in Ordinary to Charles II, lent them £05-07-06d but was not repaid until November, along with a further £09-05s owed him for 'Physick'.⁴⁹⁰ On the other hand, £01-17s in cash was paid for the seven 'Cane bottom Chairs', a fashionable, less expensive alternative to upholstered ones, and 14s-06d for sixteen 'China Cups'. Likewise, '7 Chauldron & an half' of 'Sea Coal' costing £09-00s (c. £1,000.00) was paid for on delivery. While the doctor's bill and possibly the debt for brewing were purely household expenses others, including the rent, and coal for heating, relate to home and business. Similarly, the chairs, cups, and eighteen 'best Sort of pewter plates' with coat of arms costing £01-16s, were probably for the

⁴⁸⁸ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.35.r.

⁴⁸⁹ ¼ of a penny = one farthing.

⁴⁹⁰ '22th Jan: 1676 Borrowed of Dr Browne in our great disappointmt of money, ffive Guineys', Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.28.v.

benefit of both family and sitters. Supposing that some visitors preferred the cherry brandy to tea, the cost of providing it would have been 09s-06d. The purchase of all these commodities, services and objects reinforces the impression that keeping up a warm, hospitable house, in good repair, replete with fashionable items of good taste, was essential not only to the appearance of the house, but also to the economy of the business - even when this entailed constant debt and endless juggling of creditors, as will be discussed below.

Cost of studio materials, boxes and equipment

Many of the Beales' purchases of studio materials were from regular suppliers, and on similar terms of credit but, aside from 13s-00d spent on cloth for Mary's 'Painting Aprons', most notebook entries centre on the types and preparation of fabric for painting.⁴⁹¹ All the linen for canvases bought in 1677 was from one 'linendraper', John Dod (d.1688), Mercer at the Queens Head, Cornhill. At least £19-06-10d (c. £2,200.00) was spent on 258 ells (295 metres) on various types or grades of linen which Charles differentiated as 'good' and 'fine', or 'a very good Middling sort'. The cheapest varieties were 'finest Oxnabruge' and 'flaxen cloth'.⁴⁹² In 1681 Charles sought to economise, buying alternatives including 16¾ yards of 'excellent Royston Sacking' from 'M^r Owen Buckingham at y^e Swan in Bredstreete', and 18½ yards of sacking from Owen's competitor, for £02-15s in all, a fraction of the cost of linen.⁴⁹³ Mary used bed-ticking for self-portraits and family likenesses, while Charles experimented with priming opened-out onion bags for her works of study and improvement at the cost of 04s-2d, or 05½d each, although the size is not given.⁴⁹⁴ The 'straining frames', required to fix the canvas upon for priming, were made by two firms of joiners Henry (d.1680?) and John Norris (d.1707) of Long Acre; and a Mr Godbold. The latter charged 10d each for TQL strainers, and 01s-06d for HLs.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹¹ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.35.v.

⁴⁹² 'Ell', an obsolete measurement of cloth, defined as a 'measure of length varying in different countries. The English ell = 45 in.' [1¼ yards, or 114.3 cm], *Oxford English Dictionary*, [online] <<https://www.oed.com>> [accessed 8 May 2019].

⁴⁹³ One yard = 36 in. [91.44 cm].

⁴⁹⁴ Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.143.v. & f.145.r.

⁴⁹⁵ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.82.r.

They bought a fairly limited range of pigments in 1677, with payments recorded for just ten - black chalk; 'blue bice' or azurite; 'blew-black' or charcoal; ceruse, either pure lead white or an admixture with white chalk; cochineal; 'cullens earth' or Cologne earth; smalt; 'Spanish cakes', possibly lac, another form of beetle; 'Terra Vert' or terre verte; umber; and vermilion. All but one, a parcel of smalt, were bought from Mr Phinner. The pigments, listed in the notebook but quantified separately, together weighed more than 94 pounds (42 kg) and cost a total of £25-15-10d (c. £2,930.00). Oil with which to mix, or 'bind', the ground pigments for priming and painting was an imported purchase, and in June 1677 Charles took '3 great Glass Bottles' to Fleet Bridge where he filled them,

with y^e best fflemish Linseed Oile at M^r Phinnes, it cost 2^s-4^d y^e Gallon,
& the 3 Bottles held 4 Gallons & a quart and were all full. I p^d him for it-
00-10-00[.]⁴⁹⁶

Deal boxes, used to transport finished paintings, were supplied by frame-makers Tobias Flessiers (d.1685) and John Norris (d.1707), of Covent Garden, or joiners John (b.1620-fl.1675) and Cornelius Bradshaw (d.1675) 'over against the Signe of the Samson' near Gray's Inn. Beale charged customers between 03s-06d and 06s-00d per box, depending on the size and who made them.

In July Charles bought various sheet papers - a 'Reame of good thin writeing paper'; '4 quire of other paper'; '2 Reame of the best Sort of Tissue Paper'; and '2 quires of Brown pap'.⁴⁹⁷ In November he bought another ream of 'very goode writeing pap', all of which came to 19s-04d. The delineation of the paper for writing, however, suggests the other sorts were for Mary to draw on, or for other uses in the studio, in making patterns for body poses for Beale's own works, or in replicating those in her portraits or those by Lely. He also bought '2 Paper books in quarto for my Sons to draw in', from Mr Rogers, for 05d.⁴⁹⁸ Other items were purchased especially for young Charles' training as a miniaturist with Thomas Flatman, namely '4 Abortive skins [...] to Limne upon' for 06s-00d; and a 'Desk and a Table made of Wainscote'

⁴⁹⁶ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.58.r. & f.67.r. respectively.

⁴⁹⁷ *ibid.*, f.64.r. & 65.v. A ream being 500 sheets, a quire 25.

⁴⁹⁸ *ibid.*, f.35.v. 'Quarto' being 8.5 x 6.75 inches (225? x 171? mm), the size of Charles Beale jnr's '1st Book', 1679, sketchbook, [68 drawings], New York, NY, Morgan Library B3 031 A26.

with ‘a Larg Drawer’, bought £01-15s.⁴⁹⁹ Interestingly, however, Beale did not record making payments for young Charles’ tuition, suggesting that it was done out of friendship, or in kind for earlier obligations. While the boy may simply have preferred this specialism, I suggest that his parents, anticipating that the new skill, once acquired, would be a valuable addition to the studio, considered their expenditure on equipment a sound investment for the whole family, one with the potential to attract new customers. Miniaturist Samuel Cooper (d.1672) had charged £30-00s for a HL at the height of his career, while less skilful successors also made a living in the medium.

Cost of labour

Charles made surprisingly few records of payments to household servants, and fewer to those who contributed to the business in various ways. Nevertheless, sufficient information has been gleaned to suggest the effect of labour costs on the overall viability of the Beales’ business.

In 1677 they paid their resident maid £03-10s a year in instalments, but by June these were already in arrears. It is not known whether the maid performed cleaning or other duties in the studio, but at least one, Susan Gill, became an informal studio model for ‘study and improvement’.⁵⁰⁰ Previous writers incorrectly asserted that the Beales employed a ‘Porter’ called Tom, and it was for him they bought the liveried coat mentioned above.⁵⁰¹ In fact this was ‘Tom: Cooke’, the Beales’ footboy or footman. It was he who delivered 10s-00 to Mr Richards the shoemaker in September, while ‘Thomas the Porter’ who carried ‘y^e Cobby of y^e Old Countess of Clares pict^f to Clare hous’ was a hired deliveryman.⁵⁰² Another man for hire, ‘Harry ye Porter’, similarly delivered a portrait to its owner.⁵⁰³ This consistent capitalisation of the ‘P’ confirms that Thomas and Harry were members the London brotherhood of ‘Ticket Porters’, who were hired by merchants and the general public to run

⁴⁹⁹ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.82.r., ‘Wainscot’ refers, c.1670, to a ‘superior quality of foreign oak imported from Russia, Germany, and Holland, chiefly used for fine panel-work’, *Oxford English Dictionary*, [online] <<https://www.oed.com>> [accessed 8 May 2019].

⁵⁰⁰ Charles Beale jnr, ‘3rd Book’, 1680, sketchbook [88 drawings], B.M. 1981,0516.15.1-94, f.34.r., contains drawings of Gill.

⁵⁰¹ Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, p. 56; Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, p. 72.

⁵⁰² Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.76.r. & f.40.v. respectively.

⁵⁰³ *ibid.*, f. 52.r.

errands. They operated from numerous ‘stands’ all over London, wearing the brotherhood’s tin name-badges.⁵⁰⁴ The basic charge was 04d, and again in 1681 ‘Thomas ye Porter’ was engaged to deliver paintings. Distinguishing between footmen and porters may seem pedantic, but is important in delineating those who were resident in the house-studio and, to an extent, the roles they played. It has been incorrectly assumed, for example, that ‘*Tom the Porter*’ depicted in drawings by Charles jnr, at ease in the Pall Mall house, smoking his pipe, is the liveried Thompson Norris employed by the Beales.⁵⁰⁵ Whereas they depict the local Ticket Porter, with whom the family was evidently on friendly terms. It is curious, however, that unlike payments to the maid, no wages are recorded for the footman, even though livery and other clothing was provided. Nor are casual remittances to the Ticket Porters noted, when we know their errands were directly related to the business and house-studio economy.

From at least 1676 Mary’s sons worked in her studio, and Charles snr made lists of the trompe-l’œil cartouches they painted in TQL portraits, and drapery in HLs. Paid by the piece rather than the hour, Batt, aged 21, earned £32-12-05d (c. £3,700.00), and Charles jnr, 17, £18-07-06d in the years 1676-77. Together this was considerable deduction from the annual takings from portraits, and amounted to more than would be expended, over seven years, for an indentured apprentice’s board and lodging. Mary’s inability to, or decision not to, take apprentices may have been a commercial disadvantage, especially in comparison to her competitors, Lely in particular. However, of the four young women in the household at various times between 1672 and 1693, Alice Woodforde, and Moll and Keate Trioche were painted by Mary Beale and probably assisted her while, according to Vertue, Sarah Curtis Hoadly was certainly her pupil.⁵⁰⁶ There is no reference to tasks carried out by any of the women other than modelling, or to their wages, if any, and the absence of notes taken from post-1681 notebooks obscures the possibility of a possible financial arrangement

⁵⁰⁴ Not being a livery company, the porters instead called themselves a ‘brotherhood’, Thomas Delaune, *Present State of London, Or, Memorials Comprehending a Full and Succinct Account of the Ancient and Modern State Thereof*, (London: printed by George Larkin for Enoch Prosser & John How, 1681), pp. 340-1; see also Walter M. Stern, *Porters of London*, (London: Longmans, 1960).

⁵⁰⁵ Walsh & Jeffree, *Excellent Mrs Mary Beale*, pp. 56 & 58; Barber, *Mary Beale (1632/3-1699)*, pp. 71-2.

⁵⁰⁶ ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 26 (1937-38), p. 14; *ibid.*, Walsh & Jeffree, p. 15, and Barber, p. 87.

between Beale and Curtis. The only specific mention of a professional artist assisting in Mary's studio on a commissioned portrait was in February 1677, when Charles,

gave M^r Manby 2 Ounces of very good Lake of my making and about i
oz & ½ of excellent Pink in consideracon of y^e Landskip he did in y^e
Copy of y^e Countese Clares Pict^r.⁵⁰⁷

Judging by prices quoted elsewhere for these pigments, Manby's 'in kind' wages amounted to around 19s-06d for one, possibly two days work.⁵⁰⁸ It may have been necessary to use the services of other specialists like Manby, probably on a similarly casual basis, much like Carter the colourman who was paid 10s-00d to grind pigments for primer in June.⁵⁰⁹

What did it cost to make a portrait?

A	B	C	D	E	F
	Unprimed canvas (ea.)	Primer (1681 av.)	Primed canvas (ea. c.)	Wages (Batt & CB II)	Costs per prepared canvas (ea. c.)
Year, format & fabric	sh-d	sh-d	sh-d	£-s-d	£-s-d
1677: ½ linen	01-10½ (22.5)	01-02 (14.0)	03-00½ (36.5)	01-00-00 (240.0)	01-03-00½ (276.5)
1677: ¾ oxnabrug	00-06 (06.0)	01-02 (14.0)	01-08 (20.0)	00-02-06 (30.0)	00-04-02 (50.0)
1681: ¾ linen (little ⁵¹⁰)	02-05 (29.0)	00-07 (07.0)	03-00 (36.0)		00-03-00 (36.0)
1681: ½ sacking ⁵¹¹	02-05 (29.0)	01-02 (14.0)	03-07 (43.0)	01-00-00 (240.0)	01-03-07 (283.0)
1681: ¾ sacking ⁵¹²	01-01 (13.0)	01-02 (14.0)	03-07 (27.0)	00-02-06 (30.0)	00-04-09 (57.0)

Table C, showing some of the basic costs of preparing a single HL and TQL canvas, excluding the likeness itself, extrapolated from the Beale notebooks and other sources. The cost of primer, to break it down per painting, has been extrapolated from 1681 rates, and that for the 'in little' TQL canvases is that figure halved.

There is insufficient data to explore all of the costs involved in painting the actual likeness upon a prepared canvas or to arrive at a precise figure which constitutes the cost of producing a finished portrait in Beale's studio. For example, Charles bought

⁵⁰⁷ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.36.r.

⁵⁰⁸ This approximated figure is arrived at by using the prices paid for red lake and 'pinke' at the sale of the contents of Lely's studio after his death in 1680. A price of around 09s-00d the ounce for former and 01s-00d the ounce for the latter, Talley, 'Portrait painting in England: studies in the technical literature before 1700', p. 364.

⁵⁰⁹ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.58.r. Carter also ground pigment in March, September and December.

⁵¹⁰ For non-commercial portraits of friends and family, in small format.

⁵¹¹ 25 August 1681: 'Bought at Mr Owen Buckinghams at y^e Swan in Breadstreet. 16 yards ¾ of Sacking to make 12 HL Clothes at 21d the yard -- 01-09-00', Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.86.r.

⁵¹² *ibid.*, '18 yards ½ of Sacking to make 2 Doz: of 3q^r Cloths at 17d the yard. It was bo^t: at y^e 3 Flower de Luces in Breadstreeete [...] 01-06-00'.

four and three-quarter gallons of linseed oil in June 1677, costing 02s-04d per gallon, but it is hard to say how many pictures it served to make, and what proportions of it were used for priming or for painting. Other unquantifiables are the cost of the wooden stretcher to which each canvas was attached, and the metal tacks used; glue size applied under the primer; and the 'life' of a paintbrush. Table A (p. 193) provides a list of many of the pigments used by Mary and Charles Beale and their prices, where known, but the quantity used per painting cannot be deduced. Given the amount of detail about fabric supports and primer, it *is* possible to provide serviceable figures for prepared but 'blank' canvases, and to include the cost of some labour.

During the first half of 1677 Charles bought predominantly 'good' linen for canvas at 20d per ell, the price rising to 21d by October. The increasing cost of fine linen prompted the Beales to use inferior 'Oxnabruge', at 8d½ per ell, for TQL canvases, and, in November, '12 yards of fflaxen Cloth at 18d ye yard'.⁵¹³ In terms of yield, 27 ells of 'good' linen bought for 20d per ell served to make 24 standard HL canvases; whereas the 55 ells of 'Oxnabruge' stretched to make 80 TQLs. By 1681 the price of 'ffine Canvis' had risen to between 25d and 30d the ell, and was only used for 'least size' likenesses of friends and family, or for study. Charles substituted it with sacking bought for between 16d½ and 25d the yard. In summary, from Table C (p. 204) we see that in 1677 a HL linen canvas cost around 01s-10d½ to buy unstretched and unprimed; while an oxnabrug TQL was 00s-06d. By 1681 sacking was used for both HL and TQL canvases and cost around 02s-05d and 01s-01d respectively.

It is more difficult to establish the cost of paint as, for instance, the price paid for several pigments commonly used for both priming and painting, including ochres and umbers, is unrecorded. Using the prices and quantities given, and information from other sources, one can estimate that in August 1681 it cost the Beales approximately £02-10-04d to buy the pigments to prime 42 pieces of fabric, a mixture of HL, TQL, 'yard' and 'least size' formats. Taking an average, and ignoring the variation in scale, a single canvas cost around 01s-02d to prime, although the

⁵¹³ Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.127.v.; 'Oxnabruge', or osnaburg, was coarse linen cloth originally made at Osnabrück, *Oxford English Dictionary*, [online] <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/133033?redirectedFrom=osnaburg&>> [accessed 7 March 2019].

larger ones will have used up more primer and the ‘least size’, much less.⁵¹⁴ These, partially speculative figures for 1681 suggest that a 1677 HL canvas of good linen would have cost *at least* 03s-00½d to prepare before the likeness was painted, not including the cost of labour; and a TQL on ‘finest Oxnabruge’ as much as 01s-08d. In 1681 a primed HL of sacking would have cost a little over 03s-07d, a TQL a little less.

In 1677 and 1681 Batt and Charles Beale jnr were paid 02s-06d for painting the trompe-l’œil cartouche in a TQL portrait and £01-00s to paint the drapery in a HL, which increased the basic cost of a HL on linen to £01-03-00½d; and 04s-02d for a TQL on ‘Oxnabruge’.

Therefore, the minimum cost of producing a primed HL on sacking was £01-03-07d, and 04s-09d for a TQL, excluding the likeness. The cost of fabric increased dramatically in the three years between 1677 and 1681, so much so that a HL on the vastly inferior sacking came to cost more to produce than one on ‘fine’ linen had done previously - even without any possible increase in the cost of other materials.

Charity

A singular item of expense in the Beale house-studio’s economy was the ‘Pious and Charitable Account’ into which went 10% of the income from each portrait. Charles did not record any of his earnings going to it, suggesting the fund was Mary’s own initiative, although the charitable use for which it was intended is unknown. In 1677, a lucrative year, 10% of the studio’s gross income amounted to £42-18-04d - equivalent to more than a year’s rent on her house, the annual wages of a skilled tradesperson, or the price of seven horses.⁵¹⁵ Vertue assumed that it was periodically

⁵¹⁴ *ibid.*, f.144.r. The cost of both ceruse and ‘Cullens’ or Cologne earth are provided by Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.67.r. & 40.v. Approximate figures for the other pigments - yellow ochre, red ochre and burnt umber were extrapolated from two sources, Jo Kirby ‘Trade in painters’ materials in sixteenth-century London’, in *Trade in artists’ materials: markets and commerce in Europe to 1700*, eds Jo Kirby, Susie Nash & Joanna Cannon, (London: Archetype, 2010), pp. 339-55; and ‘A book of Values of Merchandize imported, according to which Excise is to be paid by the first Buyer’, in ‘June 1657: An Additional Act for the better improvement and advancing the Receipts of the Excise and New Impost’, in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth & R S Rait, (London: HMSO, 1911), pp. 1186-1223.

⁵¹⁵ *TNA currency converter: 1270-2017*, [online] <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/> [accessed 2 April 2019].

‘put into the poors box’ for their parish over and above the rate levied on all parishioners, but the accumulated fund may have been destined for a posthumous charitable purpose outlined in a will, now lost, or was entrusted, while living, to a cause dear to her. In the years for which Mary Beale’s income is known, a little under £130 was paid into the account, in total. The fund was assiduously maintained, even when the family knew ‘great disappointment of money’, although at such times there were mortified borrowings from the ‘Account’ to see them through.

Income: portraits and other sources

‘Be bold and know your merit, and in Gods Name when you do well,
make others pay for it. Art cannot be over-valued’

Sir William Sanderson, *Graphice* (1658).⁵¹⁶

Most of the cash income generated for and by the Pall Mall house-studio came from the sale of portraits, as will be described below, but some came from other sources, including ‘rents’ and the sale of pigments.

Charles Beale

Vertue noted in the 1672 notebook a year-end reckoning of £101-11s income ‘upon Mr. Beals account’ derived specifically from ‘moneys at Interest[,] Rents. or for Colours’, one of just two figures which quantify Charles’ separate financial contribution. The second was in the 1676 book, noted as ‘other moneys Rcd. & spent - 200 pounds more’ received, presumably, from the same sources.⁵¹⁷ Charles’ experimentation with pigments in the 1650s and 60s, as described in chapter four, resulted in large quantities of yellow lake, or ‘pinke’, which lasted at least until 1677. Writing to him at Allbrook in 1668, Thomas Flatman asked to be sent what his friend could ‘conveniently spare of your best White, prepared as formerly’, suggesting that Charles had also manufactured lead white - the smallholding affording sufficient space and fresh air to do so.⁵¹⁸ Charles certainly made red lake and ultramarine, using both pigments to make payments in kind to Lely for a commissioned portrait of

⁵¹⁶ Sanderson, *Graphice*, p. 52.

⁵¹⁷ ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), pp. 170 & 175.

⁵¹⁸ 27 October 1668: Flatman, letter to Charles Beale, [no. 4].

John Tillotson (d.1694) in 1672. In 1674 he gave Lely an ounce of ultramarine, at an agreed value of £04-10s, in part payment for a portrait of Edward Stillingfleet (d.1699).⁵¹⁹ In 1676 he exchanged half an ounce of this ultramarine for four ounces of ‘the best and finest ground smalt that ever came into England’ with ‘Mr Henny’, but the only reference to a *cash* sale of pigment was in 1681, when Charles sold half an ounce of ultramarine to the assistant Keate Trioche for £01-10s.⁵²⁰

In the 1677 notebook there is no accounting for his separate income, and the only rent received was for the Allbrook house. By 1681 the Beales’ ‘disappointment of money’ necessitated first borrowing money against forthcoming interest due on their investments, and then the liquidation of £100 pounds to pay debts. Charles may have been too busy facilitating Mary’s work to manufacture and sell pigments, but continued to develop technical measures to streamline the preparation of canvases, and thereby economising.⁵²¹ He also made a profit on frames he bought from his regular suppliers, Flessiers and Norris, and resold to Mary’s customers. Having paid ‘old Mr flessiers’ £02-14s for two ‘Gilt frames’ on behalf of his nephew Nathaniel Bridges (d. by 1685), Charles charged him £03-00s, a 06s-00d mark-up similar to that made on ‘Deale cases’ for transporting portraits.⁵²² Beale paid Mr Williams at his ‘colour shop’ at Snowhill just 00s-06d for such a box in 1677, but regularly supplied them to customers for up to 06s-00d. These small but numerous gains replaced pigment sales, but did not go far in balancing the accounts.

Mary Beale

From at least 1671 to 1682, Mary’s rates remained unchanged at £10 for a HL or £5 for a TQL, with ultramarine incurring a £1 surcharge. The HL rate applied to a standard-sized canvas or one ‘in little’, one ‘from the life’ or a copy - the input of artistry and care being the most valuable component of the transaction. Clearly there was more profit from ‘in little’ commissions because fewer materials were used. In

⁵¹⁹ The portraits of Tillotson and Stillingfleet each cost £15, a discount of £5, and were paid for in combinations of pigment and cash, ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 170.

⁵²⁰ ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174. ‘Henny’ was probably the Dutch painter-draughtsman Adriaen De Hennin (1665-1710?); smalt is a blue pigment made from ground glass. Keate was given a discount, otherwise a full ounce of ultramarine would have cost £3.

⁵²¹ Bustin, ‘Experimental secrets and extraordinary colours’, pp. 47-53.

⁵²² Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, f.88.v.

the mid-late 1660s, with the Beales in Hampshire, Samuel Pepys commissioned a HL of his wife Elizabeth from Lely's rival, John Hayls (d.1679) and thought it a bargain at £14.⁵²³ Lely himself charged £25, and £15 for a TQL, with demand such that by 1671 they were £30 and £20 respectively, the most expensive portraits in town, while Gerard Soest (d.1681), another Dutch artist, could only command £3 for a TQL. Eighteen years after Lely's death, the rates of his ex-competitor, Lübeck-born Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723), were still only £24 and £12, while those of another, John Baptist Medina (d.1710), could be as low as £8 and £4.⁵²⁴ Mary kept her 1670s prices steady, but by no means cheap. The Beales, it seems, recognised the commercial mileage in pitching her work towards the middle of the upper end of the market, and in offering financial predictability to customers.

Deductions	HL rate		
	£10-00-00		
Pious and Charitable Account (10%)	- 01-00-00	=	09-00-00
Canvas & primer (c.)	- 01-03-00½	=	07-16-11½
Drapery	- 01-00-00	=	06-16-11½
Incalculable costs (c.)	- 00-01-00½	=	06-15-11
Charles Beale snr's labour (c.)	- 00-03-04	=	<u>06-12-03</u>
Mary Beale's labour (c.)	- 03-12-00	=	c.£03-00-03
			[Profit]

In attempting to determine the possible cost of, and profit from, a HL portrait on linen in Beale's studio, as calculated above, I have set the commercial rate charged against the known and therefore calculable costs - as described above, and listed as Table C (p. 204). The customer was charged £10 pounds, but 10% was immediately set aside for the 'Pious and Charitable Account'. Deducted further are the cost of canvas, the pigments used to prime it, and the fixed wages for painting drapery. A generous allocation of 01s-00½d towards incalculable costs including some pigments, oil for painting the likeness, brushes, and so forth, is also removed. From the remaining £06-15-11d we may deduce the value of Mary and Charles' time, from sourcing and cutting the canvas to sending off the finished portrait.

⁵²³ 15 March 1666: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1666/03/15/>> [accessed 9 February 2019].

⁵²⁴ Talley, 'Portrait painting in England: studies in the technical literature before 1700', p. 346.

As comparative assessment of the value of early modern wage labour is complex and dependant upon a multiplicity of factors, quantifying the value of the Beales' skills amounts to an informed guess. However, one study suggests that a skilled London carpenter could earn 02s-06d per day, or 15s-00d a week, in the 1670s and 80s.⁵²⁵ Bearing that scale in mind, the £01-16s paid to the Beales' similarly skilled tradesman, Mr Downes the bricklayer, can be broken down to suggest that after deducting the cost of say, 250 bricks, at around 04s-00d, the remaining 32s-00d could be split between two men each earning around 15s-12d for one week's work.⁵²⁶ The only known cost of Beale studio labour is the £01-00s paid to young Charles and Batt for painting drapery for a HL. Supposing that each took four days to paint, that comes to a daily rate of 05s-00d, twice that of a skilled tradesman free of his guild, but if full six-day week was needed that would be just 03s-04d per day. Supposing, extrapolating further, Charles snr spent a total of two hours in cutting, stretching, preparing and priming each HL canvas, interacting with the customer and collecting payment - and that his skilled labour was also worth more than the tradesman's, at 10s-00d a day - his time would have cost around 03s-04d. Assuming that Mary's expertise and creative capital warranted 20s-00d a day, and that a portrait would take a conservative average of three days, the value of her work was around £03-12s. Those last deductions from the £06-15-11d remaining suggests a 'profit' of £03-00-03 per painting (c. £350.00). Of the 'for profit' portraits produced in total, between 1671 and 1681, around 37% were HL, and 63% were TQL, at half the price and almost half the size.

Tables One and Two (see Appendix I, p. 283), shows that in general, over the course of the six years for which there are figures, Mary Beale's income rose steadily from 1671 to 1677, although with a significant dip in 1676. In 1677 there was a sharp increase, partly because of an order for at least 24 portraits from the Lowther family. In 1681, the year after Lely's death, income either dropped again or had declined

⁵²⁵ Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Wages and the cost of living in Southern England (London) 1450-1700' [spreadsheet], *International Institute of Social History*, Netherlands, [online] <<http://www.iisg.nl/hpw/dover.php>> [accessed 9 December 2018]; see also Jeremy Boulton, 'Wage labour in seventeenth-century London', *Economic History Review*, 49:2 (1996), pp. 268-90.

⁵²⁶ Martin Locock, 'Brick prices in the western Midlands [1576-1827]', *Journal of the British Brick Society*, (1992), pp. 2-3; Nathaniel Lloyd, *History of English brickwork*, (London: H. G. Montgomery, 1925), p. 34.

over the intervening years but was, nevertheless, on a par with that of the mid-70s. The reason for the 1676 low, on the other hand, appears obscure.

One factor was that Beale's rates did not increase, even in response to the inflated cost of materials. But why not? Increased competition from the contemporary influx of European artists to Britain, particularly from the Low Countries, may have frozen or even reduced rates. Beale's successful strategy in positioning herself as the middlings' portraitist could have been copied by others, leading again to competition, but for a comparatively new market. And by the time Lely died the market was already shifting away from his court model of glamorous, highly-priced, auteur portraits towards the more sombre aesthetic of Godfrey Kneller, his replacement as court painter. Income aside, however, I suggest that a constant burden of debt, both their own and their customers', was the single most constraining factor on the economy of the Beales' house-studio, and from as early as the 1660s.

Debt

Vertue noted that he had seen a 'pocket book for ye year 1661 [...] the beginning of it-I believe in Mrs. Beals hand writeing', and that she had listed,

Debts paid since 20 June 1660. many summs of money to the amount of 260 pounds or more. some for mourning &c[,] to Mr. Lely. 15 pounds I suppose for her Fathers picture painted by him whose name was Craddock[,]⁵²⁷

referring to the period described in chapter three, when the family were living at Hind Court and Charles was the Deputy Clerk of the Patents Office. In the eight years since the couple had married and her father had died, they had evidently accrued a large debt partly, it seems, due to expenses for 'mourning' following the death of Charles' widower father, Bartholomew, on the 5th of June. Their debt may have been exacerbated by accumulating a collection described by Vertue as 'valuable'.

⁵²⁷ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174.

Vertue took notes from an inventory, in Charles' hand, of,

paintings drawings then in their possession to the amount of a good deal of money. By Rubens Vandyke several[,]

alongside,

several pictures of the Family of Beals by Mr. Lilly - Mr Beals picture HL. Mrs Beals HL Mr. Lillys own picture HL. each 20 pounds. Locks picture 12^{li}.

The collection also included 'Mr Hannemans picture. & frame 18^{li}'; portrait miniatures by Flatman of Charles Beale, 'the Boyes', and Mary's father, costing £30-00s; as well as TQL portraits of Mary and Charles, and one of Mary's father, by Robert Walker (d.1658), the Roundheads' artist of choice, which cost £18-00s.⁵²⁸ In all, excluding the Van Dyck and Rubens pieces, this came to £153-00s (c.£16,000.00). This was a significant and shrewd accumulation of works by contemporary artists and recent 'masters', illustrating a fascination with art and portraiture, and connoisseurial ambition above their pay-grade. It is not clear whether the '260 pounds or more' paid off in 1660 cleared the debt or, if so, how, but it was presumably through Charles' salary and commission receipts from patents, and though payments in kind of Mary's portraits. By 1665 they raised enough money to buy the Allbrook smallholding, but it is unclear whether the debt went with them, or how they supported themselves during their five years in residence.

Back in London, in 1671, Mary's professional studio brought in £118-05s but at the end of December in following year Charles noted fourteen finished portraits unpaid for, resulting in a cash shortfall of £70 with which to start 1673. In 1676 Mary received £134, but again fees of around £170 for twenty-three portraits were not paid. Vertue noted that £200 of non-studio income had been paid to, and spent by, the Beales, but 1677 began with 'extraordinary great streights & disappointments of money' which forced Charles to borrow £05-00s against his gold watch.⁵²⁹ A portrait

⁵²⁸ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 174. Dutch artist Adriaen Hanneman (d.1671) was in England in the 1630s, and later painted the exiled royals in the Hague.

⁵²⁹ 3 February 1677: Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.34.r.

of Katherine Pierrepont, the Marchioness of Dorchester, completed in 1677 was not paid for until August 1681.⁵³⁰ Sizeable deficits are worrying for any business, especially one for which smooth cash-flow was required to lay in amounts of costly materials, often well in advance of their use. Late payments clearly had a knock-on effect, so that while Mary, through her herculean efforts, managed to produce 90 paintings and collect £416-04s by December 1677, it was on the back of dozens of transactions with suppliers conducted by Charles on credit, and with other bills yet to pay. By the end of the following March their accumulated debt was £243-18-11d. By August of 1678 they had paid off a staggering £103-19-10d, presumably as tardy customers finally paid up, and new ones failed to keep them waiting, but still owed £139-19-01d. Moreover, this pattern was a recurring one, as in 1681 the Beales received £209-17-06d in fees, but thirteen portraits were unpaid for by December 31st, leaving them facing 1682 with a shortfall of £85-00-00d. Perhaps the most telling aspect of the debt is that most of their creditors were friends and family, including cousins Bridges, Smythe and Beale, ‘Sister[in-law Elizabeth] Beale’, and the stalwart Francis Knollys and John Cooke who were, collectively, owed £192-01-06d (c. £22,000.00). The Beales evidently gave priority to paying their bills and suppliers, if only in instalments, and to juggling small debts, in the knowledge that their principal creditors - all members of their inner circle of friendship - understood the mechanisms of credit, obligation and mutual trust.

Considering this eleven-year period (1671-1681), of which useful data is available for six, an average income from portrait commissions was a little over £216 per annum. On the face of it the figures for 1676 and 1677 reflect the influence of unusual factors - the burden inflicted by late payers on one hand, and on the other a multiple commission. Allowing for fixed costs of between £43 and £45 per year (including rent, see Table B, p. 197), that level of basic income should have enabled the Beales to live fairly well, maintain their business and, coupled with other income, build up a modest reserve of capital. Whereas, the rising cost of materials, debt, and the resulting ‘disappointment of money’ which persisted to at least till 1681, made balancing the books an almost continuous struggle. Other artists certainly had problems with late payers, and even Lely had regular battles with the treasury to

⁵³⁰ Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.56.r.

obtain back-payment of the pension granted him by Charles II.⁵³¹ At his death, in 1680, Lely left his executors the challenge of raising the nearly £9000 (c. £1,000,000.00) required to clear debts, provide for his children, and fund bequests, by selling all his goods and collections. Unlike the Beales, however, his collections were valued at £10,000 and he owned several properties including a house at Kew Green.⁵³² Nor did Lely work alone. A business like Beale's, revolving entirely around the skills and vision of one person, cannot function should she be incapacitated through illness, pregnancy and childbirth, bereavement or exhaustion. Disruptions to the course of their business, temporary or prolonged, can only have exacerbated existing burdens on the house-studio economy, all of which had Charles,

in so great distress for money to pay severall Importunate Debts I was called upon for that I was forced to take in 100^{li} of the money [invested] in Cos: Audito^r Bridges's hands,

further eroding their hopes of financial security.⁵³³

Customers, sitters and portraits

It is necessary here to define our terms in describing those who sat to Mary in her studio. Beale's non-aligned, non-salaried independence does not sit well with the court-based terminology of the gratefully subservient painter 'client', and the protection afforded by a wealthy, socially-elevated 'patron'. Lely enjoyed an annual 'pension' of £200 and artistic endorsement as the client of Charles II, which in turn attracted other commissions from varied quarters, the middling Beales amongst them. Mary's sitters, although often drawn from the court, can better be termed 'customers' of most social classes, some returning while others bought a portrait but once.⁵³⁴ Conventionally speaking this allotted Beale, and her patron-less male and female colleagues, a lower standing within the London art world - as jobbing painters with proficiency but little assurance of prosperity, and a subservient role in the story

⁵³¹ Charles H. Collins Baker, 'Lely's Financial Relations with Charles II', *Burlington Magazine*, 20:103 (1911), pp. 43-45.

⁵³² Dethloff, 'Executors' account book and the dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's collection', pp. 15-16.

⁵³³ Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.72.r.

⁵³⁴ The word 'customer' was used to denote a 'purchaser of goods or services' as early as 1409, while in 1630 'client' was still used in the sense of 'a person under the patronage or protection of another; a dependent', *Oxford English dictionary*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), <<https://www.oed.com>> [accessed 4 July 2019].

of art. In compensation it gave them, perhaps, a degree of artistic and personal self-determination.

The Beale books and, to an extent, Vertue's notes, provide us with information on themes related to this ambiguity - the business of art produced commercially and in kind; the work of a single artist, her oeuvre, reputation and legacy; and biography as both the product of portraiture and its complementary medium of personal and collective narrative. Through the transactions which give birth to a portrait we are able to trace aspects of the biographies of both sitter and artist, biographies which, via this particular connection, become mutually, if temporarily, dependant on one another. The disparate acts of painting and of sitting become at one and the same time statements of identity, even of existence. The earliest book, for 1661, seen by Vertue and begun by Mary herself, suggests that the initial impetus for creating a record of her work was *hers*, while long hours of artistic labouring, or other factors, soon precluded its authorship. Whether taking history into his own hands was part of Charles' motive for compiling more than thirty notebooks is unknown, but his immense pride in Mary's work, and other people's praise of it, is clear. The way in which he classified and arranged the information is evidence that he put at least as much thought into how to best quantify the nature and quality of work in the 'paynting roome', as into the yearly account of income and debt. We should remind ourselves, however, that Charles' narrative voice is not Mary's, nor would her perceptions of the studio necessarily match his.

Charles settled upon three categories of painterly transaction. Portraits were done for 'study and improvement', for 'friends and in return for kindness', and 'for profit'; and can be considered in terms of artistic impetus, responsibility and objective. The former are either described as such, or are of a named subject, with the sittings noted, but no payment is attached to them. Here Mary herself is the commissioner and hers is the only impetus towards, and control over, their creation, while the sitter becomes subsidiary to both artist and portrait. Likenesses done for friends and kindness were also from her own impetus, but one shared with her circle. Mary was responsible for conjuring the likeness, but both she and the sitter became secondary to the portrait itself as the physical signifier of friendship. Impetus for profitable portraits lay entirely with the paying customer, and entailed upon the artist a heavy weight of

responsibility and dependence in relation to fulfilling their expectations and getting paid. Conversely, the customer was obliged to seek out and place their trust in an artist based on a variety of practical or subjective criteria, including price and style of representation, third-party recommendations. Most significantly, they were entirely dependant upon the artist in terms of the look of the finished portrait - which could be accepted, rejected, or even destroyed, but could never be un-made.

Vertue copied what must be considered as *partial* lists of Mary Beale's portraits done 'upon a profitable Account' from the books for 1672, 1674 and 1676; and both surviving books contain a year's end list. Only that for 1681 also has separate lists of those done 'upon Account of kindness', or for 'Study & Improvement'. In all three categories Charles is referring to the impetus behind the creation of each work, rather than to the individual depicted. A portrait done in return for 'kindness' or in friendship could, for example, be of the friend-benefactor, or a likeness of someone dear to them. Similarly, some of the 'profitable' works were commissioned by their sitters for themselves, or to give away. Other customers sought likenesses of third parties, or copies of earlier works by Beale or Lely. All of which points up the complexity of relationships, favours, and obligations surrounding many of Mary's works - as described in chapters three and four. Unless there is biographical information to elucidate their connection, the nature of Beale's relationship to her sitters and customers alike can often only be surmised, further obscuring mechanisms of patronage, production and attribution. For these reasons, the wealth of documentary detail about commissions in the books is fascinating and important from a variety of historical perspectives, but is often of limited usefulness when attempting to match it to surviving portraits. The sitter's names - as well as the biographies and chronologies they evoke - are valuable, but unless one comes across a physical painting signed and dated to a year covered by a book, *and* depicting a facial likeness that can be corroborated elsewhere, a marriage between words and paint is usually hard to achieve. That said, the identification of her customers and sitters presents us with a richly peopled social milieu in which to place Beale herself, and gives clues to suggest the paths that drew them to her studio.

Study and Improvement

Thankfully, there are fewer ambiguities surrounding the paintings done for study, which took their models from within the household, family and circle. Among them, ‘D^r Woodfords pict^r. d.c. upon a cours Ell Cloth’ and Mary’s ‘owne face upon y^e Ell Bedticking’.⁵³⁵ Charles evidently regarded some of them as mechanistic exercises in developing figure poses and other iconography, as tests of the qualities or application of materials, or a combination of both, some meriting curt entries - ‘Keat Trioche’s Side face upon Onion bag’, for example.⁵³⁶ In August 1681 she painted her son’s face ‘upon a 3qtr Cloth of Osnabrug, to Drapy done after Sr PL . but ye Contrary way to his by a Lookingglass’, demonstrating use of Lely prototypes, but with her own refinements.⁵³⁷ For Charles the aim above all others was perfecting the ‘likeness’ of flesh in paint on canvas. A study of Alice Woodforde’s ‘face looking up’ was ‘admirably colord, & painted, being very sprightly’, charming words which tell us that colour was the most important aspect of the image, and the paint itself gratifyingly lively, or lifelike, in its application and effect.⁵³⁸ In 1681 Mary and Charles’, snr and jnr, went to see picture restorer Parry Walton (d.1702), in Lincolns Inn, to see Van Dyck’s HL portrait of Anna Sophia Pembroke Dormer (d.1695), *Lady Carnarvon* (Fig. 35). Charles described it as having a ‘faire Complexion exceeding fleshy, done almost without any shadow’, proclaiming it a ‘most rare and admirable colored & finisht pict^r’.⁵³⁹ Again this highlights the physical aspects of portraiture and paint he most esteemed - visceral fleshiness, ‘rare’ delicate colouring and, in this case, a glowingly pale complexion. We know not whether Mary Beale shared these pictorial ideals. Given the intimacy of their personal and working relationship it may have been so, at least to some extent. Mary’s surviving works which appear to fall within the category of ‘study’ certainly bear similar hallmarks - luminosity of the flesh, delicacy of colouring, and animated or ‘sprightly’ surfaces.

Mary’s concept of study and improvement may, alternatively, have been something subtly, or wildly different to Charles’ - creative impulse and experimentation, for

⁵³⁵ Beale, ‘Notebook 1676/7’, ff.75.v. & 76.v.

⁵³⁶ Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.148.r.

⁵³⁷ Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.146.v.

⁵³⁸ *ibid.*, f.148.v.

⁵³⁹ *ibid.*, f.14.r. It ‘was newly bought by M^r Riley of M^r Walton for 35^{li}’, the former being the portraitist John Riley (d.1691).

example, the practical working through of new ideas and visual insights, or liberation from the constraints of painting for demanding sitters. The 1681 book certainly demonstrates that she was studying faces at a variety of different angles and exploring the manipulation of different intensities of light and forms of chiaroscuro to suggest their volume and dimensions. On the 9th of July, for example, Mary finished, at the second sitting, a study of Charles which was ‘almost a side face[,] ye shadow cast farr upon ye great side. Excellently colored, very skinney, & rarely painted’. Mary depicted him virtually in profile with deep shading on the side facing the viewer, using thinly worked, evocative brushwork. And, later that month, Charles was painted with his ‘face strong shadowed on y^e Little Side.’⁵⁴⁰ The many Beale portraits of Charles, and Mary, are singular in the history of British painting as parallel series of gently aging studies of her spouse, and herself. Perhaps therefore, looking through Mary’s eyes, for ‘study and improvement’ we should more properly read unfettered innovation, visual and intellectual.

From at least the 1660s, with ‘*her painting of Apricots*’, Mary was tireless in developing technical skills, an important part of which - for her and her forbears - was copying the works of Italian Renaissance ‘masters’. Of the ‘modern’ masters, she and other portraitists most admired Van Dyck, hence the visit to Mr Walton’s. In fact, opportunities to view, and even borrow such paintings were several, as exemplified in a note Vertue copied from Charles’ book for 1672,

20 Feb. [...] my worthy & kind Friend Dr. Belk. caused the excellent picture of Endimion Porter his Lady & 3 sonnes all together done by Sr. Anto: Vandyke to be brought to my house yt my deare heart might have oppertunity to study it. & cobby w[ha]t. shee thought fitt of it. also at the same time wee returnd Mrs. Cheeks picture of Mr. Lelys painting back to my Lord Chamberlain.

Good use was made of it, as in April Charles recorded a visit paid by Lely, Richard Gibson, and a ‘Mr Skipwith’, to ‘see Mrs. Beal & her workes’, during which the guests,

⁵⁴⁰ Beale, ‘Diary 1680/1’, f.148.v.

commended very much her [...] copy that she had made after Sir Anthony Van Dykes own picture, also her copy after our Saviour praying in the Garden &c after Anto. Da Corregio. her copy in little after Endimion Porter his Lady & 3 Sons's he commended extraordinarily and sd. to use his own words) it was painted like Vandyke himself in little.⁵⁴¹

The trusting loan of the two already valuable portraits of first 'Cheek', then Porter, was facilitated by Thomas Belke (d.1712), chaplain to Lord Chamberlain Henry Jermyn, Earl of St Albans, the Beales' freeholder.⁵⁴² It is unclear from Vertue's notes whether they came from Jermyn's collection, around the corner in St James's Square, or from Charles II's, the Chamberlain's remit as overseer of the palace chambers above stairs presumably giving him discretionary access to the royal collection.

Lely's visit to the studio also tells us that she had earlier made a copy after an image even then considered one of the greatest achievements of the Renaissance artist Antonio da Correggio (fl.1494-1534), a depiction of the 'Agony in the Garden' - Christ at prayer as he awaited arrest at Gethsemane. Correggio's original was not brought to England until the 1800s, however, so the work Beale studied was most likely itself an early copy, of which there were several. When Correggio's prototype, now at Apsley House, was cleaned in the 1950s, later overpaint was removed from the foreground to the right of Christ revealing, in previously unsuspected detail, his sleeping disciples. London's National Gallery has a seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century version (accession NG76) which differs from the original in this key respect, confirming that disguised elements of Correggio's composition were unwittingly replicated comparatively quickly.

These examples underline the significance for Beale, and her contemporaries, of Italian Renaissance artists, and of Van Dyck, the well-travelled Northern European painter who was instrumental in fostering their influence in Britain. Lely, for example, was greatly influenced by the sensuousness of Van Dyck's Italianate portraiture when developing his own, post-Restoration style, one more concerned

⁵⁴¹ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 168.

⁵⁴² Which Van Dyck self-portrait Beale copied is unknown. That of Endymion Porter with his family was in Lely's collection by his death in 1680, and was subsequently sold to the 3rd Earl of Mulgrave for £155, see Dethloff, 'The executors' account book and the dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's collection', pp. 18 & 48.

with the aesthetics of glamour in depicting his sitters, their gowns and settings, than with creating individualised likenesses. The Beales, not content with borrowing Lely portraits to copy, including that of famous beauty Laetitia Cheek (d.1722), mentioned above, took every ‘oppertunity of seeing Mr Lely paint several pictures from the life’.⁵⁴³ Partly in order for Mary to observe his technique, they commissioned portraits from him of herself, her cousin Dr Zackary Cradock (d.1695), Charles Beale snr and jnr, and friends Edward Stillingfleet (d.1699), and John Tillotson, whose first sitting was described in the 1672 notebook,

24 April [...] My most worthy Friend Dr. Tillotson sat to Mr. Lely for his picture for me [...] he drew then first in chalk rudely & afterwards in colours and rubd upon that a little colour very thin in places for the shadows & laid a touch of light upon the heightning of the forehead [...].

By August the master had become more circumspect over sharing his trade secrets when,

Dr Tillotson sat to Mr Lely about 3 houres [...] his manner in the painting of this picture this time especially seemd strangely different both to myself and my dearest heart from his manner of painting the former pictures he did for us. this wee thought was a more conceiled misterious scanty way of painting then the way he used formerly, wch wee both thought was farr more open & free & much more was to be observed and gaind [...] then my heart coud with her most careful marking. learn from his painting [...].⁵⁴⁴

Lely’s newfound technical shyness in the Beales’ presence suggests that Mary’s work, or perhaps the success of her studio, positioned to capitalise on his influence and reputation but without adopting his generic approach to facial likeness, represented a small challenge to his omnipotence as *the* society artist of choice. Mary had in her favour, after all, that she was a woman, and could appeal to modest female sitters, especially those reluctant to be associated with Lely, painter of all the king’s mistresses. By the same token some sitters, male and female, will inevitably have

⁵⁴³ Lely too made copies of the Cheke or ‘Cheek’ portrait, perhaps for the Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany, see Anna Maria Crinò & Oliver Millar, ‘Sir Peter Lely and the Grand Duke of Tuscany’, *Burlington Magazine*, 100:661 (1958), p. 128.

⁵⁴⁴ ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), pp. 169, 170 & 172. Anglican theologian Edward Stillingfleet was later Bishop of Worcester (1689); Cradock, Chapel Royal Chaplain in Ordinary (1666-) to Charles II, was fellow of Eton College (1671).

chosen her over Lely because they found sitting before, and being described by her, as novel, even titillating.

The Beales' access to Renaissance works was thanks to their cultivating a network of influence and, in exploring how they did so, we glimpse the beating heart of Charles II's court and learn something of the circular relationships at play between its non-aristocratic officials. In a 1671 letter to Charles Beale, John Cooke reports his 'first Sumons from Mr Chiffinch for Coriggio's piece', confirming that the painting - itself a replica - copied by Mary and described above, had indeed come from the royal collection.⁵⁴⁵ Cooke, described by Pepys as 'a sober and pleasant man', was then 'first' Clerk to Sir John Trevor (d.1672), Secretary of State for the Northern Department, with considerable perks and responsibilities including the management of Trevor's Whitehall office.⁵⁴⁶ The couple capitalised on their friendship with Cooke to persuade William Chiffinch (d.1688), Page of the Bedchamber and keeper of Charles II's personal 'Closet', to lend them the painting and, what's more, this would-be Correggio was enjoyed by the Beales and visitors to the 'paynting roome' alike, for at least seven months. Chiffinch, a commoner, was the king's most trusted 'backstairs' servant-confidant, responsible for vetting all visitors to the closet, a room directly off the royal bedchamber containing the monarch's private papers, pictures and cabinet of rarities. Pepys was shown around the 'King's closet' by Chiffinch, describing it later as,

a very noble place, and exceeding great variety of brave pictures, and the best hands [...] and we had great liberty to look and Chevins [sic] seemed to take pleasure to shew us, and commend the pictures.⁵⁴⁷

Again, in 1674, the Beales 'borrowd of Wm. Chiffinch Esq. eleaven of his Majesties Italian drawings', and in February 1677, Charles recorded having,

⁵⁴⁵ 2 November 1671: Cooke letter to Charles Beale in London, f.109.

⁵⁴⁶ 23 February 1664: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1664/02/>>; Sainty, ed., *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, [2], *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol2>> [accessed 24 March 2019]. Cooke received no salary for his clerkship but was entitled to fees collected on official business. In 1672 Trevor's successor, Henry Coventry (d.1686), granted Cooke profits from sales of the *London Gazette*, which by 1679 amounted to £47-15-6d per quarter, but Cooke in turn had to pay his own clerk £50 per annum, Florence M. G. Evans, 'Emoluments of the principal secretaries of state in the seventeenth century', *English Historical Review*, 35:140 (1920), pp. 524-6.

⁵⁴⁷ 27 August 1667: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1667/08/>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

Borrowed 6 Italian Drawings of the most famous Masters out of the Kings Mat^{ies} Collection for my Sonns to practice by[,]⁵⁴⁸

confirming that the lending out of the king's Correggio for purposes of 'study and improvement' was not an isolated occurrence - providing one had the right connections.⁵⁴⁹

New research confirms the hitherto underestimated royal reach of the Beale circle through Cooke and his connection to Chiffinch and, through them both, the orbit of Charles II and his Queen, and James, Duke of York. John Cooke's letter repeating Chiffinch's 'first Sumons' for the return of the Correggio demonstrates the acquaintance, even familiarity between the two, and Charles Beale's reference, six years later, to borrowing 'Italian drawings' confirms that the three-way relationship of trust and obligation persisted. However, records of events some years hence now elucidate the legal and financial intimacy between the king, his closet keeper and Cooke, his under secretary of state. In the 1690s, for example, Cooke and Chiffinch each nominated the lawyer Martin Folkes of Gray's Inn, soon to be made attorney general to the widowed Queen Catherine, to execute or oversee his own will. As early as 1669 Pepys mentioned having been admitted 'into the back stairs' at Whitehall by Chiffinch and introduced 'his friend, Mr. Fowkes, for whom he is very solicitous in some things depending in this Office'.⁵⁵⁰ In the 1670s Folkes and Chiffinch were party, along with Henry Jermyn, patron to the former's Suffolk family and landlord of the Beales' freehold, to a lease on property assigned by the king to Nell Gwyn thus,

Letters Patent of King Charles 2nd, dated 1st Decr., 28th Chas. 2nd, under the Great Seal to Chaffinch [sic] & Folkes, 5th and 6th April 1677. Indentures of lease and release between William Chaffinch and Martin Folkes of the first part, Henry, Earl of St. Albans of the second part, and Mrs. Ellen Gwynne, John Mollins & Thomas Grounds, gentlemen, of the third part.⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁸ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.38.r. & f.88.r. They were returned 3rd of November.

⁵⁴⁹ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 172.

⁵⁵⁰ 2 April 1669: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1669/04/>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

⁵⁵¹ Lewis Melville, *Nell Gwyn, the story of her life*, 2nd ed., (London: Hutchinson, [aft. 1903]), p. 214.

Folkes was, in fact, a trustee of Jermyn's St James's estate and, even after the earl's death in 1684, was acting for it in complex property transactions relating to 'St Albans House' on the square, just around the corner from the Beales.

John Cooke was married to Adria (d.1689), the sister or sister-in-law of Gervase Price (d.1687), another royal servant 'in highest favour with Charles II throughout the king's reign', being his Serjeant Trumpeter and a Gentleman of the Guns and Bows.⁵⁵² Price, who had been with the king at the Battle of Worcester and probably when in exile in Europe, was also rewarded by his appointment as 'Keeper of the King's private armoury at Whitehall' where he was responsible for the guns and other arms for the monarch's own use. Within the palace Price's involvement in protecting the king's physical safety clearly complimented Chiffinch's role in managing access to his presence.⁵⁵³ Chiffinch was evidently also held in high esteem by Gervase Price for in 1678 he and Cooke were named as trustees party to 'Articles of Agreement' drawn up to ensure that Price's estate could fulfil the various monetary legacies he intended to leave in his will.⁵⁵⁴ Another trustee was Lord Chancellor Sir George Jeffreys, the 'Councillor at Law' to the king.⁵⁵⁵ Indeed, in 1685 Gervase's daughter Elizabeth Price (d.1695) married Anthony Meeke (d.1730), the man who would become joint executor, along with Martin Folkes, of Chiffinch's will. Keeping it all in the family, Meeke went on to marry John Cooke's daughter Elizabeth (d.1712) as his second wife. The significance for the Beales of all these interconnected relationships, both personal and professional, is that their access to the king's goodwill and largesse in lending his artworks was facilitated by them. These same connections and others - at the very heart of the court - also had the potential to produce commercial portrait commissions for Mary.

To continue this theme, and having dwelled at length on the work Mary Beale produced 'for friends, & upon Account of kindness' in the previous chapter, we will pass on to those completed for money.

⁵⁵² David Lasocki quotes a letter written to Price by Clement Needham, in 1665, demonstrating that the former had been with the king at the Battle of Worcester in 1651, *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians, 1485-1714*, 2 vols, (London: Routledge, 2018), 1, pp. 1694-7.

⁵⁵³ 'Entry Book: March 1676, 11-20', in *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 32 vols, (London: HMSO, 1904-1962), vol. 5, '1676-1679', (1911), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books/vol5>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

⁵⁵⁴ North was then Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

⁵⁵⁵ Will of Gervase Price, 1686, TNA PROB 11/389/358.

'upon a profitable Account'

The Beale sources contain an *almost* universal lack of detail about commissioning a portrait and attending sittings from a paying customer's perspective. Similarly, the reasons why they chose her are obscure, although some came from their network of connections. Happily, the artistic evolution of each likeness is often unambiguous, a clear record having been made of the subject; number of sittings; date of completion; and the date payment was received and from whom - or when this was long outstanding. Although the biographical references to Mary's customers are useful in establishing their identity, the absence in the books of visual descriptions of portraits often creates a mismatch between them and the surviving paintings. There is, for example, precious little about the background setting, props, or costume - armoured, classical or modern - for each HL portrait. Therefore, a signed HL Beale portrait of a known customer, which can be dated to the 1670s by the costume or other stylistic grounds, is not necessarily the 'HL' of that sitter recorded in the relevant book. In view of these ambiguities we will start with what is known of the commissioning process, before examining in detail the documented body of portraits known to have been produced between 1671 and 1681. Lastly we will investigate factors which may have prompted a customer to choose Beale - a geographical proximity to her studio; encouragement from members of the Beale circle; and familial connections with the wider Beale and Cradock clans.

Commissioning and sitting

In chapter four we found that John Cooke had arranged for Dr Robert Creighton (d.1672), his Cambridge tutor and friend, to sit to Mary in her semi-commercial capacity in 1665. The only example of such an arrangement on 'profitable Account', comes also courtesy of Cooke in the letter, mentioned earlier, sent to Pall Mall from Whitehall in November 1671 thus,

Sir

The badness of the weather, & the dulnesses of the day, perswades me that this will find you at home [...] I have further to adde, that Mrs Hamond being to dine with a Sister of hers in your neighbourhood

tomorrow, would be glad to pass a couple of hours before Dinner with Mrs Beale, if she hath not otherwise disposed of that time, and if the day prove more propitious than this doth [...].⁵⁵⁶

The note confirms that an appointment would have been necessary, and an average sitting taken 1-2 hours. Unlikely then that passing trade would have played a role in the business, but customers probably sent servants at any time to make appointments. On the November day in question, a sitting was sought at short notice for the next morning, a Saturday and before ‘Dinner’, which was generally around 11.00 am. The weather did indeed prove ‘propitious’ on this occasion, for Vertue recorded ‘Mrs Hamonds picture’ in a list ‘done from the Life by Mrs. Beal since 1671’ but ‘not pd.for’.⁵⁵⁷ The note introduces us to Elizabeth Marsham (1631-1675), of Whorns Place, Kent, who in 1662 married her first cousin, William Hammond (d.1685) of St Albans Court. How Elizabeth knew Cooke is uncertain, but William’s fellowship of the Royal Society suggests common interests and shared friends. Elizabeth’s ‘sister’ in the ‘neighbourhood’ of Pall Mall, was probably Margaret Marsham (d.1687), by then married to Roger Twisden (d.1703). Elizabeth’s brother, John Marsham (d.1692) and his wife Esther Sayer were painted by Beale in 1677, as were the Twisdens, and in 1682 their nephew Sir Thomas Twisden (d.1728). Moreover, Elizabeth and William Hammond both were second cousins to Hester Aucher (d.1665) who married Sir Edward Bowyer (d.1681) and whose son, Anthony Bowyer, accompanied his ‘Cosin’ William Hammond on a Continental ‘Grand Tour’ in the 1650s. In 1671 Sir Edward Bowyer, by then a widower, married Martha Cropley (d.1697) and they had a little daughter, Catherine. As a result of these apparently circuitous familial links, Mary Beale was also engaged to paint portraits of Martha Bowyer in 1676; Martha’s son by her first marriage, John Cropley, in 1677; and her daughters Martha Cropley and Catherine Bowyer in 1681. This networked model of patronage recurs throughout Beale’s career.

‘For profit’ customers: local proximity

Logic suggests that geographical proximity was a factor in choosing a portraitist, although examining the residents of St James’s Square and Pall Mall during the

⁵⁵⁶ 2 November 1671: Cooke, letter to Charles Beale, f.109.

⁵⁵⁷ ‘Vertue Note Books’, *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 170.

Beales' tenure, it does not often appear to have been the sole motivation of patronage. The cache of the studio's fashionable location, and its proximity to court, on the other hand, was almost certainly in Mary's favour. Neighbourliness was evidently a factor in the above example of Elizabeth Hammond; and the 1681 portraits of Sir John Dawney, Viscount Downe (d.1695) and his son Henry (1664-1741) who, other than living around the corner at the current number 14, St James's Square, had no discernable link to Beale. Locality must surely have played a part in producing an extant portrait of the likewise unconnected *Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex*, a resident at 'Cleveland House' (number 19) from 1677-83.⁵⁵⁸ Henry and Flower Hyde, 2nd Earl and Countess of Clarendon, for whom the 'Magdalen' was painted in 1672, may have continued their patronage into the 1680s through their proximity at number 5, from 1676-79. George Savile, 1st Marquis of Halifax, on the other hand, lived at Halifax House (nos. 17 and 18) from 1673 to 1695, a period during which Beale painted two portraits of him and a copy of Lely's likeness of Lady Savile, Gertrude Pierrepont (d.1727), in 1676, but as there were already points of familial and Beale circle contact with the Saviles it is hard to establish cause and effect for that relationship on any particular grounds.

'For profit' customers: the Beale circle

In the previous chapter, discussion of friendship and obligation within the Beale circle centred on a not-for-profit portrait of Sir William Turner, in which kindness took physical form, but the same friendships also resulted in important cash commissions. Mary Beale's early friendship with Samuel Woodforde led to paid transactions including portraits of John Wilkins (d.1672) and Mary Cromwell (d.1713), daughter of Oliver (d.1658). Woodforde studied at Wadham College, Oxford, under the 1650s Wardenship of Wilkins who was then married to Robina Cromwell (d.1689), the Protector's sister. Presumably, the Beales came to know Wilkins in London through Woodforde in the late 1650s or early 60s, and his good friend John Tillotson soon afterwards, as Mary first painted him at Hind Court in

⁵⁵⁸ 'Mary Beale, *Portrait of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex* (d.1683), TQL, in a maroon cloak, sculpted oval, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 61 cm (28 x 24 in.), Houghton, Kings Lynn, HMRC Tax Exempt Register ID: 13745 <<http://www.visitukheritage.gov.uk/servlet/com.eds.ir.cto.servlet.CtoDetailServlet?ID=13745>>.

1664. Wilkins sat to Beale for a TQL portrait commissioned by his patron George, 1st Earl Berkeley (d.1698) in April 1672.

Elizabeth French (d.1702) was Robina Wilkins' daughter from her first marriage to Peter French (d.1635), but afterwards became John Wilkins' step-daughter. As he was John Tillotson's friend and mentor, a match between him and Elizabeth became inevitable, the two marrying in 1664. Elizabeth Tillotson's first cousin, Mary Cromwell, married Thomas Belasyse (d.1700), 2nd Viscount Fauconberg, and was painted by Beale in 1672, 1674 and 1676, and her husband in 1677. John Tillotson was painted again in 1672, 1677 and 1681, and there are at least six surviving portraits, and two engravings after Beale's works by Robert White (d.1703) and Peter Vanderbank (d.1692). Similarly, Mary produced several oil copies of her 1672 likeness of Wilkins, which was engraved by Blooteling, including one on commission for the Countess of Clarendon, and, in 1683, was commissioned to paint George Berkeley in his Lords' robes of scarlet and ermine - a signed and dated portrait still at Berkeley Castle.

In the same vein, the friendship between the Beales and Francis Knollys, established in chapter four, produced customers. Knollys was employed as secretary to the 2nd Earl of Strafford, William Wentworth (d.1695), a connection related to a series of commissions which all had in common the Stanley and Pierrepont families. In 1677 Mary Beale painted a pair of HL portraits of the earl and his countess, Henrietta Stanley (d.1685), whose picture was 'dead coloured' on May 9th. Two sittings followed in June and July, and the portrait completed after an all-day painting session on August 8th. William's portrait took three sittings, the last on August 11th. On the day of Henrietta's first sitting, a portrait of her sister Katherine (b.1631) was also dead coloured. These utilitarian entries in Charles' notebook serve, in the mind's eye, to paint another picture, that of a sociable encounter between the three women in the studio, with the sisters each keeping company during the other's sitting.

Henrietta and Katherine Stanley were the daughters of James, 7th Earl of Derby (d.1651) and Charlotte de La Tremoille (d.1664) for whom, in the 1640s and 50s, worked Daniel Trioche - father of Mary 'Moll' Trioche and her sister Keate. After the death of Charlotte, by then a widow, Daniel went to work for her daughter

Henrietta Wentworth, and her husband William, Knollys' employer. Clearly a professional bond, and then surely friendly one, must have grown up between Francis and Daniel so that at some point after the latter's death, in 1667, his young daughters each found their way to the Beale household, there acting as models and perhaps learning to paint. Katherine Stanley was married to Henry Pierrepont (d.1680), 1st Marquis of Dorchester, and other commissions came from this family in the 1680s, including William Pierrepont (d.1690), 4th Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull. There is every reason to think that this line of patronage stems from the link between the Stanley sisters, Knollys and the Beales, one which, through their connection to Trioche, also provides evidence of the friendship or obligations which drew a variety of people to the Pall Mall house-studio. There was a sting in the tail: the 1677 Katherine Pierrepont portrait, commissioned by the sitter as a present for her other sister, Amelia Stanley Murray (d.1702), Marchioness of Atholl, was not paid for until 1681 and only with the intercession of Katherine's step-daughter, Grace Pierrepont.

'For profit' customers: familial connection

As we have seen in previous chapters, family bonds were exceedingly important for the Beales and their circle in deriving support and advancement prior to 1670, and evidence suggests that this continued to be the case. Two Cradock and Beale family alliances in particular, created by marriages a generation or two earlier, appear to have been very significant in making commercial connections with members of the titled and landed gentry, the aristocracy, and some of the wealthiest and most influential denizens of the Court. In the mid-1560s Charles Beale's great-uncle Robert Beale (1542-1601), diplomat and clerk of the privy council, became Francis Walsingham's brother-in-law, and his daughter Margaret Beale married Sir Henry Yelverton, creating links to the earls of Halifax, and the Hatton and Montagu families. In 1629 Elizabeth Cradock (d.1662), Mary's second cousin, married Sir Heneage Finch, Speaker of the House of Commons, further reinforcing the alliances already mentioned and providing a direct link to the earls of Winchelsea, Nottingham, Shaftesbury and Aylesford, as well as the Bacon, Cavendish, St John, Wentworth, Twisden, Lowther, Savile, Marsham, Kingsmill, Coventry and Thynne families - members of which became Beale's patrons (see Appendix III: family tree

of the Finch family and related families', pp. 291-3). The perfect encapsulation of the prominence of these forebears is provided by an account of the baptism of a small child in 1592,

Feb. 3. Ann, daughter of Robert Beale esq. clerk of council, and secretary of York. Witness Sir Henry Killigrew; the Lady Finch, wife of Sir Moyle; and Ellen, wife of Edward Bacon, esq.⁵⁵⁹

Anne Beale (b.1592) was the daughter of Robert and his wife Edith St Barbe and these two short sentences inform us of the morass of genealogy, literal and figurative, into which she was inducted. Edward Bacon (d.1618) of Shrubland was the son of Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas (d.1579), brother to Sir Francis (d.1626), and uncle to Sir Edmund (d.1649) of Redgrave (patron to Mary Cradock's father John) and Sir Nathaniel (d.1627) of Culford in Suffolk - he, with Cradock, were of the Bury St Edmunds school of amateur painters identified by Mary Edmond.⁵⁶⁰ Robert Beale had known ambassador Sir Henry Killigrew (d.1603) - antiquarian, artist, and brother-in-law to Lord Keeper Bacon - during the latter's embassy to the Palatinate in 1569, and the two were evidently still closely associated when Robert's daughter was born.⁵⁶¹ 'Lady Finch' was Elizabeth Heneage (d.1633), wife of Moyle Finch and, after his death, 1st Countess of Winchelsea in her own right.⁵⁶² Elizabeth's daughter Anne (d.1638) married Sir William Twysden (d.1629) of Roydon Hall, East Peckham, thereby joining three clans of significance for Mary Beale's circles of patronage. Elizabeth Heneage Finch was both mother-in-law to Elizabeth Cradock Finch, Mary's second cousin, and great-grandmother to Robert Beale's grandson, aka 'Cousin' Richard Stephens (1620-1679) painted by Mary in 1677. It is clear, therefore, that not only did familial connections spread far and wide, but that the links between the Beale and Cradock families themselves created a larger and more unified network of existing patronage, and potential sitters.

⁵⁵⁹ Church register, All Hallows, London Wall, transcribed in James P. Malcolm, *Londinium redivivum or an antient history and modern description of London*, 4 vols, (London: John Nichols, 1802/3-1807), 2, p. 70. 'Ellen' Bacon was born Helen Little of Bray, Berkshire.

⁵⁶⁰Edmond, 'Bury St Edmunds: a seventeenth-century art centre', p. 110.

⁵⁶¹ David S. Gehring, ed., *Diplomatic intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James VI, three treatises*, Camden Society, 5th series, 49, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 14-15.

⁵⁶² Elizabeth Heneage, only child of Sir Thomas Heneage (d.1595) of Copt or Copped Hall, Essex, and Anne Poyntz (d.1592).

Taking a few cross-sections of Beale's clientele, we will consider the interconnected families which appear to be a common factor in drawing commissions to the Beale studio, starting with the Coventrys and, in particular, Mary Coventry (b.1618), who married Sir Henry Frederick Thynne (d.1680), and her sister Elizabeth (b. c.1607) who married Sir John Hare (d.1638).⁵⁶³ Henry F. Thynne was painted by Beale in 1676 and this seems to have set the ball rolling as in 1677 Mary Coventry Thynne followed suit as did their son Thomas and his wife Frances Finch (d.1712) the grand-niece of Elizabeth Cradock Finch (d.1662) - and therefore a distant relative by marriage to Mary Beale. Elizabeth Coventry Hare's widowed daughter Elizabeth Hare (d.1699), who had married Sir John Lowther (d.1675), 1st Bt, of Lowther, commissioned a large group of portraits from Beale in 1677 including two posthumous copies after a likeness of her deceased husband. Referred to in Charles' 1677 *Notebook* as 'Old Lady Lowther', she ordered at least eight images of herself to give to family and friends, and two of Jane Leigh Lowther (d. c.1713) - her daughter, from an earlier marriage to Woolley Leigh (d.1644), whom she had married off to her second husband's nephew, another Sir John Lowther (d.1706), but a 2nd Bt, of Whitehaven, also painted by Beale. Jane's own daughter was painted, along with Margaret Lowther (d. aft.1679), Old Lady Lowther's daughter, Mary Withens Lowther, widow of the deceased Col. John Lowther (d. by 1667). Meanwhile, coming full circle, Col. Lowther's son, a third Sir John (d.1700), 2nd Bt of Lowther, Viscount Lonsdale, had married (1674) Katherine Thynne (d.1713) the daughter of Mary Coventry (b.1618) and Sir Henry Frederick Thynne (d.1680), and they too sat to Beale who produced at least seven portraits of Katherine in 1677.

The Coventry sisters' brother, Henry (d.1686), the Secretary of State for the North (and John Cooke's boss from 1674-76), sat for a HL portrait in 1677 which now exists in two versions by Mary.⁵⁶⁴ For these rather grand, statesman-like images she borrowed the figure's posture from Lely but created two different backgrounds, sets of props and costume, as well as painting a new likeness.⁵⁶⁵ Anne (d.1662), another Coventry sister, married William Savile (d.1644), 3rd Bt, and their son George

⁵⁶³ Daughters of Sir Thomas Coventry (d.1640), 1st Baron, and Sarah Sebright (d. by 1610).

⁵⁶⁴ The 1677 Beale prototype of Henry Coventry is at Longleat House.

⁵⁶⁵ The posture was used by Lely more than once, including for *Sir Thomas Isham* at Lamport Hall. The second Coventry portrait was in the collection of August Heckscher by 1920, and is now in the Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York, (accession no. 1959.144).

(d.1695), 1st Marquis of Halifax, married Gertrude Pierrepont (d.1727) and both were painted by Beale, but while he sat to her in 1674 and 1677, Gertrude's portrait was a 1676 copy after Lely. Her sister, Frances Cavendish (d.1695), 2nd Duchess of Newcastle, was an important customer for Beale in 1677 and 1681, in terms of the number of paintings commissioned and the successful collection of payment. Two portraits of husband Henry Cavendish were painted in 1677, and in 1681 Frances commissioned five HL portraits of herself which included the use of costly ultramarine for the drapery, adding £01-00 to the price of each. She also ordered two copies each of Lely's portraits of her recently deceased son, Henry, Lord Ogle (d.1680) and his wife, then widow, Elizabeth Percy Cavendish (d.1722). The Duchess, unwilling to lend her the Lely originals, had Mary go to Newcastle House in Clerkenwell on several occasions to copy them, paying extra for the cost of coaches to take her there and back to Pall Mall.

Charles' 1677 *Notebook* traces the progress of two TQL portraits commissioned, 'for profit', by a middling sitter, aspiring clergyman Dr John Moore (d.1714), described as 'our worthy friend'. One portrait was of Rose Butler (d.1689), or rather 'Mr More's friend', whose sittings began on May 1st, and finished after four more, on the 18th. The five sittings indicate that great care was taken over the likeness, and its completion coincided almost exactly with that of John himself.⁵⁶⁶ Moore was private chaplain to Heneage Finch (d.1682), son of the Speaker and step-son of Elizabeth Cradock Finch (d.1662), Mary's second cousin, who had brought him up. His first clerical posting, in 1676, was to Blaby, Leicestershire, an appointment certain to hasten promotion and enable him to marry, but far from London, and Rose. Not least interesting because of the hinted at behind-the-scenes romance, or even secret betrothal, between John and his nameless 'friend', the portraits could well have been intended as an exchange of likenesses to make the impending separation bearable. Moore was also a man of the professions, moving in elevated circles in the Finch residence, Nottingham House (now Kensington Palace), and seeking to commemorate his own elevation and hoped-for dynasty, once he and Rose were married, in the form of portraits by an artist dear to his patron's family. The Beales were certainly proud to call John 'their worthy friend' and he commissioned portraits

⁵⁶⁶ Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.28.v. Rose was the daughter of Neville-Alexander Butler (d.1674) an Inner Temple lawyer and Cecily Aglionby (d.1693) of Orwell, Cambridgeshire.

of his mother and brother in 1681. Moore and Rose Butler married in 1679 and he was later made Bishop of Ely. Rose, still in her thirties, died just twelve years after first sitting before Mary, and the Moores' only child shortly afterwards, but at least John had Beale's likeness of her to comfort and remind him.

From these few, but exhausting, examples it is likely that complex mixtures of familial connection, favourable word of mouth, and location acted as catalysts for patronage among fee-paying customers. While few commissions can categorically be traced to her significant connection to the Finch family, for example, their physical and genealogical proximity offers persuasive evidence that they did. Similarly, it is hard to say whether her customers were most attracted in visual terms by Beale's facility with colour and her highly individualised likenesses, as opposed to Lely's more fashionably generic ones or, conversely, by her ability to make convincing copies after his works, or by her substantially lower rates. Dr Moore was a clergyman, and the Beales counted many of his fellows as friends and sitters. Thomas Flatman, writing to them in 1672, requested that should they 'see any of yr Reverend Visitants pray give them my hearty respects', confirming that the brethren were frequent guests.⁵⁶⁷ And this is a reminder that the commercial practice of portraiture is a two-way street, that it brought the world uncensored to Mary Beale's 'paynting roome', as customers and friends, but they being self-selecting conditioned, to some extent, the socio-political circles with which she had contact and the type and variety of images she was called upon to provide.

300 portraits: 1672-1681

The data upon which the following section is based is gleaned from Tables 1-13 (Appendix I, p. 283-89). In terms of the statistics relating to Mary Beale's paying customers it is important to distinguish between the c. 247 individual sitters, and the number of portraits produced, which was in excess of 300, some sitters appearing in more than one. Beyond that, however, the incomplete nature of the sources for production between 1671 and 1681 renders a year by year approach to quantifying it less useful than examination of the 300 known to have been painted over the five

⁵⁶⁷ 12 September 1672: Flatman, letter to Charles Beale 'at his House next door the Golden Ball in Pall Mall Street', [no. 5].

years 1672, 1674, 1676, 1677 and 1681 as a single body of work. Taking all five years for which there is data into account, average production of 'for profit' works was 60 per year, or at least one every week; but, discounting the apparently uncharacteristically high production in 1676-77, an average for 1672, 1674 and 1681 was a 42 likenesses a year. The split between TQL and HL formats over the five years was roughly 60:40; or, excluding 1676-77 around 80:20.

Overall, the split between Beale's sitters was 53% female (159) to 47% male (141), with a tiny number of them children, despite convention having characterised female artists as chroniclers of mainly women and children. Similarly, the social classes were represented fairly evenly between the middling (39%), gentry (31%) and aristocracy (30%). Middling men (24%) and gentry women (20%) combined formed the largest 'pools' of Beale's subjects, while men of the gentry (11%) and aristocracy (12%) were in the minority. Even so, the overall majority of sitters, at 61%, were of the gentry and aristocracy combined, female and male. In fact, 71% of all female portraits featured sitters of that group. Most striking is the split in portrait formats between men and women, 75% of all male likenesses being the smaller, cheaper TQLs, while female sitters were spread almost equally between HL (48%) and TQL (52%). Overall though, 56% of the TQLs were male, while 68% of all the prestigious HLs painted were of women reflecting, in part, Beale's many and lucrative copies after well-known Lely prototypes.

The format-price nature of portrait commissions rose, as one would anticipate, in line with social privilege, with 49% of the £05-00s TQLs being middling, while 48% of the HLs, at £10-00s each, male and female, were of aristocracy. Interestingly, however, there is a gender-class division within TQLs, most being of female gentry and middling men. A minority (20%) of aristocratic sitters of either sex appeared in TQLs.

Variation in statistics over the ten-year period 1672-1681

In 1672, over two-thirds of Mary's sitters were male, most of whom were middling, and 89% of both sexes chose the smaller format, TQL portraits. A slight majority of

the women were middling, a quarter gentry, and just three were from the aristocracy. In fact, only 11% of all likenesses that year were of aristocratic sitters.

From 1674 the trend reversed, with two-thirds of all sitters female by 1676, and an overall decline in TQL portraits in favour of the more costly HLs, both male and female. The social status of female sitters shifted from 57% middling in 1672, to an 81% combination of gentry and aristocracy in 1677, which reduced to 54% by 1681. Male sitters diversified from 75% middling in 1672, to 53% in 1676; while in both 1677 and 1681 the gentry and aristocracy accounted for around 60% of male portraits.

In 1677, 73% of sitters in 90 portraits were drawn from the gentry and aristocracy and there were almost even splits between male and female portraits, and between TQL and HL formats. In fact the steady rise in the numbers of HLs peaked at 48% in 1676, but the TQLs had reasserted themselves to reach 69% by 1681. The picture that year, the last covered by a notebook, was dramatically different. Female portraits were below 50%, HL commissions dwindled to just 14 and completed portraits dropped by half to 45 - admittedly, a figure commensurate with those of the early 1670s but representing a significant loss of business, especially in view of rising costs and the Beales' evidently dire need of cash.

From the surviving 1677 and 1681 notebooks it is possible to detect trends, in the broadest sense, in commissioning and paying for portraits and it is clear that both men and women did so on their own account. There is no significant tendency, for example, for men to order or purchase portraits of women for them, other than the small minority of couples, married or 'friends', who both had their likenesses taken.⁵⁶⁸ Instead there are numerous notebook entries in which women of all social classes commission and pay for portraits of themselves and of others, their children and family members; and even two examples of history paintings - an 'Artemisia' and 'a Magdalen' for Flower Hyde, Countess of Clarendon.⁵⁶⁹ All of which highlights the agency not only of the artist, but of the women she painted, many of

⁵⁶⁸ 20 July 1681: 'Recd for Mr Whites Picture --05-00-00 ffor Mris Whites, (Blew)--05-10-00', Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.77.v.

⁵⁶⁹ 18 July 1681: 'Recd: for Mris Jone's her Picture, ye Sume of --05-00-00', *ibid.*, f.77.r.

whom - married and single - clearly had independence of will and expenditure in conduct of these transactions, and assuredly in others. Men and women bought portraits as gifts and these were either likenesses of themselves, the recipient, or a third party. Lady Elizabeth Lowther (d.1699) commissioned five HLs and six TQLs, including seven self-likenesses to give to her extended family.⁵⁷⁰

The tendency of two-thirds of men, on the other hand, to commission TQLs rather than the grander HLs is difficult to interpret. It certainly appears to relate to their largely middling status in some way, and possibly to modesty of either their purses, their social aspirations, or visual expectations, preferring instead the utilitarian TQL record-making likenesses. That so few gentry and aristocratic men sat to Beale, suggests they preferred either to sit to a male artist; to one producing works in a particular, or grander visual or iconographic style; or, perhaps most likely, one more overtly associated with the royal court. It could be that women were more comfortable with a woman artist, or *because* Beale was at a remove from the court, that 76 *did* appear in Beale HLs. Beale's comparatively cheap rate may quite intentionally have been placed within the reach of wives of prosperous merchants and professionals, as well as the more economical female members of the gentry (23) and aristocracy (37) who commissioned her. It could also be that they preferred individualised likenesses, or the larger and more 'decorative' HL portraits over the more literal TQLs; or perhaps were generally less aware of, or swayed by, the perceived hierarchy of artistic skill and vision which privileged Lely and other painters.

Considering the commercial success and longevity of the Beale studio one must take into account that despite producing more than 90 portraits for fee-paying customers in one year, routinely completing sometimes fifty-hour, six-day working weeks composed of numerous portrait sittings and re-workings, and despite earning the considerable amount of £416 in 1677 and £209-17-06d in 1681, the Beales endured an almost constant 'disappointment' of money. This shortfall was frequently compensated for by relying on credit or delayed payment for goods and rent, borrowing from friends, family and associates, or, in extremis, by redeeming savings

⁵⁷⁰ 6 November 1677: 'Recd of the Hono:ble ye Widow Lady Lowther [... £80]', Beale, 'Notebook 1676/7', f.88.r.

invested on interest. That Mary and Charles decided to stake the prosperity of their family entirely upon the public expressions of the former's talent was an apparently radical, but almost certainly pragmatic recognition of the ability of her talent and reputation to generate an income, and of her *need* to paint. The sustainability of this plan in the face of oppressive debt and competition from other studios, each with apprentices and assistants, was another matter. The notebooks demonstrate that although everyone in the Beale household played a part in the business - from coordinating and recording sittings and payments, to painting drapery in portraits, and running errands - it was a constant struggle to compete in their particular market given the court salary and other perks enjoyed first by Lely, and then Kneller. In this regard the Beales' professional studio can be seen as an outcome of their educated, visually literate middling class - productive in a lucrative sector but without substantial capital on which to build capacity by using skilled artisans to supplement their own expertise to help them increase production, and eliminate long-standing debt. Narrow margins may also have prevented Mary from taking chances on innovative modes of representation, to create taste rather than replicating it.

That said, in artistic terms a great many of the original likenesses which left the studio, whether made for cash or not, are characterised by an individuality, warmth, and still constancy of gaze, singular to Beale's oeuvre in the canon of late-seventeenth English portraiture. These include one of c.1670-77, at Trinity College, Cambridge, now called 'Dr Isaac Barrow' (d.1677) but clearly depicting her friend *Dr Simon Patrick* (d.1707) (Fig. 37).⁵⁷¹ Some works done for study, including more than two dozen portraits of Charles snr, have come to light which, like the early *Young Bacchus*, which I date to c.1662-5 (Fig. 5), and *Portrait of a woman* (probably in the guise of Artemisia II of Caria) c.1675-70 (Fig. 21), both at Mosy Hall Museum, Bury St Edmunds, and the *Penitent Magdalene*, (c.1672, Fig. 27), show Beale's continued experimentation with iconography, postures, colouring and texture, and the deployment of props or signifiers, evident in the early self-portraits of the 1660s and discussed in chapter three.

⁵⁷¹ The bust portrait has a later inscription on the front to the effect that the sitter was Isaac Barrow, but comparison with the only known likeness, a drawing of 1676 by David Logan (National Portrait Gallery, NPG 1876), bears no resemblance.

However, when considering whether Beale's professional life was one of artistic fulfilment there is, in truth, very little evidence of the life lived by Mary Beale other than that spent before her easel, an impression created in part by our unavoidable reliance upon Charles Beale's account of her work. We must not accept, however, that his story is her story and must allow for the gaps between sittings and paintings and 'finishings' when considering the scope of Mary's life during these demanding, exhausting years spent in the professional studio. In 1677 Charles noted Mary's completion of just one portrait of himself. Done on an ell of bed-ticking it was finished at the fourth sitting, taking nine hours. It may be the measure of a temporary or permanent diminution of paid commissions that in 1681 Mary was free to work on at least twelve portraits of her husband. These were of various sizes, executed on cheap fabric supports including bed-ticking and onion bags as well as the ever more expensive linen, and required a variable number of sittings. A further twelve likenesses of her younger son Charles were worked upon. Although the figures presented above confirm that the Beales' fortunes were often mixed, there is no documentary evidence to suggest whether or not things picked up thereafter. In terms of artistic fulfilment, a lean year like 1681 could well have afforded Mary scope for 'Study and Improvement', experimentation and innovation. In the absence of a first person written account, one may bear in mind the image of Beale in her mature *Self-portrait* of around 1681 (Fig. 38) from which she gazes calmly and appraisingly from the canvas, apparently undaunted in her commitment to describing form, and memory, in paint.⁵⁷² Her tirelessness was not spent only in earning money, but in her determined course of iconographic and technical improvement leading, one hopes, to fulfilment.

⁵⁷² Fig. 38. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait*, c.1681, oil on canvas, 121.9 x 104.1 cm (48 x 41 in.), private collection (Mrs E. J. Whiteley).

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Mary Beale, a woman of her time

‘though vertue may be admired by some when found in a single person, yet it becomes more splendid when united in an excellent & numerous Society of ffriends, where their severall vertues make up one perfect consort’,

Mary Beale (1666)⁵⁷³.

The purpose of this thesis is to discover precisely *how* Beale went about forging a public career in London; and how she did it *when* she did, despite obstacles that conspired to prevent women from capitalising on their talents and interests in seeking independent, self-sustaining lives, or from accruing a cultural legacy. The answers to these questions are found in consideration of her life in particular, and of the historical context in general, as discussed in detail in the preceding chapters. Mary and Charles Beale’s early experience was of war, religious division and sectarian politics, and they matured in a society scarcely more peaceful or tolerant. Yet it was this context of uncertainty and conflict - which resumed so quickly after the broken promise of relief offered by the Restoration - that allowed previously fixed truths of faith, governance, commerce and learning to be questioned. It was made possible for some, especially among the newly assertive ‘middling’ classes, to investigate in practical and intellectual terms what for them constituted the very ‘ends of life’. In exploiting this opportunity Mary Beale showed herself to be very much a woman of her remarkable, and to some extent liberating, time. The chance for female self-promotion, at least within the London art world, proved to be short-lived. No other British-born female artist established a comparably high profile, coupled with commercial success, until the 1760s, when painter Mary Moser (1744-1819) became a founder Royal Academician. Together, however, the middling Beales had embraced the possibilities of personal and collective social development, and managed to achieve their shared artistic and commercial ends. Nevertheless, Mary’s career as a painter was hard-won, and like those of most artists, it relied to some

⁵⁷³ Beale, [‘Discourse on Friendship’], f.522.

extent on the assistance of other people, not least of all in her case the willingness of customers - male and female - to bestow their patronage on a woman.

Visually and art historically, Mary Beale's non-commissioned portraiture commemorating family, friends, and kindness are some of the most arresting of her known works, and reflect her insistence on constant 'study and improvement'. Their pared-down sense of immediacy, even intimacy, stand in contrast to the more formal or exhibitionist 'for profit' works in her own oeuvre, and particularly in those of her male contemporaries. These non-commissioned painted works, taken together with Beale's written *Observations* on seeing and painting, and her discourse on *Friendship*, demonstrate the importance she, like her Royal Society friends, placed on inquiry and analysis in attempting to quantify her experience and place it in artistic and intellectual context. The joy of true friendship, for example, was not in itself enough for Beale who, like many contemporaries, felt compelled to dissect it, enumerate its rules and rewards, and describe its philosophical and religious significance. It is clear from her *Discourse* that the practice of friendship in its deepest sense was what she most valued and aspired to in all things, especially in its potential to bring the 'wholsom fruits of peace' to society as a whole.⁵⁷⁴ Unlike other writers on friendship, Mary even describes the self-scrutiny and improvement necessary to be, and choose, a friend.⁵⁷⁵ 'As touching the end of ffriendship' she writes, 'self love must not be wholly excluded', for 'did I not love myself first, I could scarce be capable of loving my friend'.⁵⁷⁶ Those who have examined their 'owne imperfections' must then 'strive against and restrain them', in order that friendship become 'the most genuine light to discover vertue by'.⁵⁷⁷ Her portraits were tangible expressions of this dedication to friendship, of the fleeting moments of pure trust so necessary between sitter and artist, each finished likeness being for them a slice of shared immortality no matter whether the product of love, *or* of financial imperative. Mary's paintings had the power to create enduring friendly and pragmatic obligations, repay debts, and even to bring the dead back to the living. Her

⁵⁷⁴ Beale, ['Discourse on Friendship'], f.511.

⁵⁷⁵ Contemporary treatises describe friendship's qualities, duties and benefits but not the state of mind and soul required to be a friend, see for example, Finch, *Friendship* [1654], and Taylor, *A Discourse of the nature, offices and measures of Friendship [...] Written in answer to a letter from M[r]is. K[atherine]. P[hilips [...] [1657].*

⁵⁷⁶ Beale, ['Discourse on Friendship'], f.511

⁵⁷⁷ *ibid.*

work and her friendships were complex mixtures of curiosity, love, art, commerce and hard work, but all were the product of her intellectual and technical endeavours - and the portraits all expressions of her need to paint.

From the late 1650s there were few if any boundaries between work and friendship in the life of the Beale circle, these having been eliminated by the loving mutuality of credit and obligation. The communal ties of friendship and patronage which characterised the network were not confined to the Beales and their friends, but spread out from them far and wide, as I demonstrated in my account of Beale's Bridewell portrait of *Sir William Turner* (Fig. 23), in chapter four. By the same token, little distinction can be made between activities amateur and professional - a line fudged by the sharing of gifts, be they portraits, newly-published books, kindnesses, and exchanged acts of patronage, literal and metaphorical. Even the fondest exchanges were by consent infused with the aims of self-promotion, and sat directly alongside entirely commercial transactions. The Beales exchanged portrait gifts with Thomas Flatman *and* paid him for miniatures they commissioned. His effusive letters express gratitude for the Beales' gifts of love or cash loans, and then, some years later, he took their son as his pupil without fee.⁵⁷⁸ During the hard times of 1681 it was Mary's turn to reciprocate, painting 'M^f Flatmans pict^f on 3q^{tr} Sacking' upon 'Account of kindness'.⁵⁷⁹

I suggest that these carefully blurred boundaries were evidently not unique to the Beale circle and so must call into question our understanding of both commerce and amateurism in the period. Flatman, for example, failed to stick exclusively to the legal profession for which he was trained, preferring to write and sell his volumes of poetry and portrait miniatures. This awards him, in art historical terms, the elevated status of an artist who was paid for his work, and yet in his own terms he maintained the ambiguous amateur status of a gentleman polymath, unstained by true 'professionalism' in any one of his several fields. Beale, like Flatman, shrewdly re-characterised her art and commerce so as to align herself *with* cultured, wealthy customers rather than being in their service. Similarly, the younger and more socially

⁵⁷⁸ 5 March 1677: 'I sent my Sonn Charles to M^f flatmans in order to his begining to learn to Limne of him', Beale, 'Notebook 1680/1', f.40.r.

⁵⁷⁹ Beale, 'Diary 1680/1', f.149.r.

elevated poet-artist Anne Killigrew (d.1689), maid of honour to Mary of Modena (d.1714), did not sell her paintings, but almost certainly exploited them in other ways.⁵⁸⁰ Ironically, with the advent of the Royal Academy and neo-classicism in the eighteenth century, polite society elevated its expectations of art and artists, and the amateur-professional dichotomy was both permanently reversed and retrospectively applied to artists. That distinction in art criticism, between studio or academy-trained, fully-professional artists on the one hand, and the dabbling ‘amateur’ - sometimes self-taught and usually non-commercial - on the other, has historically mitigated against serious consideration of the latter group’s work. Unlike Beale, many early modern women artists would not have been able, or were perhaps unwilling, to place their work on an overtly commercial basis and cannot therefore conform to this prerequisite for ‘recovery’.

On the other hand, as I have demonstrated, the largely self-taught Beale managed to subvert contemporary expectations of virtuous women in the 1660s by developing a semi-commercial domestic studio based on cashless transactions and the commerce of exchange and mutual benefit, which gave every appearance of being an amateur one. This purposeful redefinition of the ‘professional’ at an early stage of her career has implications for other artists of the period, male and female, and should inform, in particular, our understanding of creative work made by early modern women. Beale’s approach suggests that women doing or making things to give or exchange within similar networks were also engaged informally in commercialised work. This is certainly true of Katherine Philips’ literary circle, in which men and women swapped and touted their manuscripts for patronage and its privileges. Women with lower personal profiles, doing embroidery and other highly-skilled and creative occupations at home, could well have adopted the semi-commercial model used by the Beales to make Mary’s work appear domestic and virtuous, but more research is needed to explore the possibility.

The practice of friendship, financial necessity and artistic ambition go a long way to explain *why* Mary Beale became an artist, and *how* a married gentlewoman became a professional painter when the odds seemed stacked against it. The Beales created the

⁵⁸⁰ Andrew Pinnock, ‘Rival maids: Anne Killigrew, Anne Kingsmill and the making of the court masque *Venus and Adonis* (music by John Blow)’, *Early Music*, 46:4 (2018), pp. 631-52.

necessary social and domestic conditions, crafted protective reputations and cultivated a network of sympathetic friends and well-connected people, some of them first encountered by Charles in his Patents Office job in the early 1660s. From the late 1650s he was already building commercial relationships with other artists, suppliers, framers and colourmen which would last for many years and later provide vital sources of advice and credit. This evidence of long-term, perhaps even unconscious, planning characterised most aspects of their approach to the business, from their choice of early intellectual pursuits, to the priming of large stocks of stretched canvas at Allbrook. In that context, the question of how Mary managed the conflicting demands of family life and work in both semi- and fully-professional phases of her career is hampered by lack of evidence. No accounts remain of Beale's role in the care or education of her sons, and the only documents of her interaction with them are the portraits she painted, including the *Self-portrait* of c.1666 (Fig. 20) in which they feature as a small double portrait aged around 10 and 5 years respectively. Painted at Allbrook it signals that the largely uncatalogued years spent away from London were, by coincidence or intention, a last period of motherhood in its most active sense. On their return, in 1670, the time required to establish and maintain the professional studio would surely have precluded many aspects of parenthood. The researches of Elizabeth Walsh and Richard Jeffree could find no trace of the boys at the well-documented schools in London or elsewhere, so it is likely that family life at Pall Mall was managed to some degree by Charles, educating them at home perhaps, and certainly putting them to work for the studio.

The necessary devolving of practical responsibility for their children to Charles is an example of the Beales' domestic gender role-reversal, and probably an uncontroversial one, given at least one influential recommendation on child-rearing that boys of seven years be removed from the influence of women.⁵⁸¹ The economic reversal, on the other hand, appears more revolutionary and was, in a way, the creation of an unequal partnership. Charles certainly made a huge contribution to the household in cash, management and labour, but the fundamental talent underpinning the business and maintaining its reputation was Mary's alone. There is no evidence

⁵⁸¹ 'After a child is come to seven years of age, I hold it expedient that he be taken from the company of women [...]', [chapter 6 of] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Governour* [1531], 2 vols, ed. Henry H. S. Croft, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883), 1, pp. 35-6.

that the arrangement undermined Charles in his own estimation, while their burden of debt certainly did. His relations with friends, suppliers and creditors does not seem to have altered, nor were the customers, male or female, put off by his supporting role within the business. He gained the social credibility he needed and obviously deserved through his intellectual interests, in displaying an astutely selected art collection and knowledge of European painters, and, with close friends, through his great talent for kindness.

Mary's example and achievements do certainly suggest that the scope of gentlewomen's lives was *not* wholly dictated by the rhetorical expectation of female modesty and silence. In support of this conclusion, Garthine Walker has, for instance, questioned discussion of female honour based exclusively on evidence gleaned from early modern court depositions in which criticism of women was often expressed in sexual terms. She demonstrated that contemporary assessment of female honour-credit-reputation also resided in positive qualities, including the proactive ideal of a resourceful and prudent housewife.⁵⁸² While the historical and sociological literature cite examples of women who suffered partially or wholly restricted lives, through force or economic imperative, this study demonstrates that many women's freedom to act, decide and express themselves bore little resemblance to rhetorical calls for their suppression. Although by law the subjects of fathers and husbands and, once married, to have no control over money - except where it was expressly bequeathed or placed in trust for them - women were in practice so inextricably bound into the economic and cultural life of the city that it would have ceased to function had both rhetoric and law held sway. Mary Beale's own sense of agency came in part through her reading and interpretation of scripture, as was expressed in theoretical and practical terms in her discourse on *Friendship*. There she not only suggested the possibility of equality between husband and wife, as described by Tabitha Barber (1999), but, I argue, advocated the specific power of women's friendship to 'restore' to that relationship, and to humanity in general, the grace lost after the Fall. It was women's duty, she believed, to *act*.

⁵⁸² Walker, 'Expanding the boundaries of female honour', pp. 235-45.

I suggest that the very existence of Beale's commercial studio in its domesticated setting also calls into question the prevailing but often artificial distinctions drawn between the 'private' and 'public' spheres in early modern women's lives. Mary lived and worked in settings which utterly deny the concept of a separation between the public and private in her everyday life. Granted, this was achieved through very careful and knowing management of her reputation and the expectations of others, but that in itself confirms acknowledgement of her own agency, a condition in which she was evidently not alone. In the post-Restoration period, very like the first decades of the twentieth century, women denied official and legal equality did, nonetheless, write, publish and print books, acted on stage, painted and sculpted, taught children, became spies, and did all manner of work from which they derived reward, thereby taking part in life, in public.

Women of all classes made a huge contribution to economic and professional life in the latter half of the seventeenth century. However, their work was of necessity managed differently to that of men because of the social constraints already discussed, and because it was frequently combined with the care of children. It was often recorded differently too. A gentleman's daughter could undertake a guild apprenticeship, just like his younger son, and she was recorded in the same apprenticeship register. However, London companies, including the Painter Stainers, did not allow women to participate in their governance, so they were rarely mentioned in the minutes of official meetings. Women of business do appear in their own right in tax records, wills, court reports, trade cards and other advertisements - including 'Mrs. Beale, Pall-Mall', whose name was listed among 23 other painters of 'Life' in three 1695 editions of the periodical *Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*. Relevant data is hiding in plain sight, while tracing individual women often requires extensive research to establish the extent of their activities, conditions of work and achievements.

Women Painter Stainers

Fellow portraitist Joan Carlile (d.1679), and the miniaturist Susannah-Penelope Rosse (d.1700), painted professionally and enjoyed some renown, but few of their paintings have been catalogued. Sir William Sanderson's *Graphice* (1658), supplies

the names of three, more shadowy figures, ‘Madam Caris, a Brabanne’, ‘Mrs. Brooman’ and ‘Mrs. Weimes’, but can this possibly represent the entire contribution of women to the artistic life of the metropolis?⁵⁸³ No, dozens of women were members of or apprenticed to the Company of Painter Stainers. Although other women painters earned money, only Beale is now represented by a large, attributed body of work. Experience shows, however, that public consciousness of Beale’s place in the history of British art and women’s work is still low, the vast majority of her paintings remaining inaccessible in private collections and museum storage. What hope does Mary’s hitherto stubbornly low profile give us about the prospects for tracing fellow, but now hidden, female painters?

Thanks to a digitisation of the *Register of Apprenticeship Bindings of the Worshipful Company of Painter Stainers*, it is possible to glimpse at least some of that Company’s women during what could be termed the ‘long seventeenth century’.⁵⁸⁴ What emerges is a significant number of female apprentices indentured between 1666 and 1740, and at least 43 female Painter Stainer ‘masters’ referred to here as ‘mistresses’ - which, despite its irrelevant sexual connotation, serves to delineate this group as women members of the guild who contracted apprentices. Ironically these statistics may not include women who, like Beale and Sarah Curtis Hoadly, her assistant, were involved in painterly work, fine, applied or decorative, in Westminster and Middlesex, or outside the guild system.

Mary’s achievements were due in part to Charles’ practical support - just as male artists depended on their wives to help in the workshop, keep house and care for the children. Some of the 122 women recorded in the Painter Stainers’ register may have enjoyed similar support, but others did not. Of the forty-three Painter Stainer mistresses who indentured apprentices from 1666 to the 1740s, each took one or more (and in one case nine) apprentices, male or female, for seven years apiece, entering into a legal and financial contract to train them. Whether they provided practical training themselves, or a freeman painter in the workshop, cannot be

⁵⁸³ Sanderson, *Graphice. The use of the Pen and Pencil*, p. 20.

⁵⁸⁴ ‘The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735’, provides a partial, but searchable, digital transcription. Mistresses are not listed as Painter Stainers of the guild, nor is the search facility configured to find them. ‘Painter-Stainers’ Company Register of Apprenticeship Bindings, 1666-1795, Guildhall Library 5669/1’, in Cliff Webb, *London Apprenticeship Abstracts 1442-1850*, [2008?], hosted by the University of York, [online] <<http://artworld.york.ac.uk>> [accessed 15-18 May 2015].

demonstrated but the same can be said of masters taking apprentices. Nor is the term ‘painter’ necessarily synonymous with the modern concept of the artist - the royal serjeant-painter turned his hand to coach and barge painting, while a humble apprentice could work on anything from tavern signs to the faux marbling of decorative interiors. Most members of the Company of both sexes remain largely undocumented, but generally speaking, the benefit of the doubt usually favours men as being active participants in trade while women, and especially wives and widows, are seen as fulfilling a supportive or at best administrative role in supervising apprentices.⁵⁸⁵

It is difficult to see how Mary Harrison, who indentured at least nine (male) apprentices from 1677 to 1700, can have been engaged in anything other than the management of a workshop of painters. Harrison emerges largely in the documentary evidence of the indentures, but as her apprentices all came from Hampshire she was probably the Mary Harrison (b. c.1656-7) of Portsmouth, daughter of Painter Stainer Thomas (d.1675) and Mary Harrison. She inherited £100 and some ‘plate’ in her father’s will, enough perhaps to set up her own workshop. By 1677 she was made free of the London Company and engaged her first apprentice, while her last indenture was in 1693. Elizabeth Deane (fl.1674-1708), widow of Edward Day, married Samuel Kingsley (d.1689), also a painter, in 1674. Widowed a second time, Elizabeth Kingsley took three apprentices between 1690 and 1703, two of them her own sons. Unusually, there is documentary evidence of Elizabeth’s work from 1702,

Treasury warrant to the Customs Commissioners to pay 2678*l.* 1*s.* 8³/₄*d.*
to the artificers and tradesmen employed in fitting up &c. a house
adjoining to the Customs House ... Widow Kingsley painter [...],

and again in 1708, ‘Elizabeth Kingsley for painters’ work [£]9 18[s] 10[d]’.⁵⁸⁶ Other tantalising references to women painters who do not appear in the apprenticeship

⁵⁸⁵ Robert Tittler, *Portraits, painters and publics in provincial England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 80-3. However, considering husband and wife collaboration Erickson found that at ‘middling levels it was more common [...], but no more than half of couples worked together, or in related occupations’, Amy L. Erickson, ‘Married women’s occupations in eighteenth-century London’, *Continuity and Change*, 23:2 (2008), pp. 267.

⁵⁸⁶ ‘Treasury Warrants: February 1702, 1-15’, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 17, ‘1702’, (1939); & ‘Declared Accounts 1707: Customs, General Account’, vol. 22, ‘1708’, [both] ed. William A. Shaw (1952), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books/vol17/pp135-152>> & <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books/vol22/cccxiii-ccclix>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

register require further research, including one who received payment for her work from the Crown in 1718, ‘Judith Mills, coach painter ... [£]147 14[s] 6[d]’.⁵⁸⁷

One of the most complete biographies to emerge is that of Martha Beard (b.c.1665-73-d. by 1748) who married three times and, over twenty-six years, took four apprentices under two different names. She may have come from the Beard family of artist-sculptors of Holborn, but in 1691 our Martha Beard married Painter Stainer John Godfrey (d.1696). In 1693 Martha Godfrey had her only child, Edward (d.1741), but John died three years later. In his 1696 will Godfrey bequeathed a life interest in his properties and their rental income, and absolute ownership of all his goods and chattels to his wife, his sole executrix. On her death the property was to go to Edward and his heirs. Martha Godfrey became a Painter Stainer, either by patrimony or as a widow, taking Edward Lovett as her first seven-year apprentice in 1699 alongside Edward Cornish, apprenticed to her husband six years earlier. In April 1702 Martha married Painter Stainer William Hewett (d. by 1706?), and in 1704 he took on apprentice John Manwering, overlapping with Martha’s charge Lovett. Hewett was evidently as short-lived as John Godfrey because ‘Martha Hewett’ indentured a second apprentice in her own right, Edward Tomlyn, in 1706, her third, Thomas Mascall (b.c.1695-8) in 1712, and fourth and lastly William Steele in 1718. That Martha’s son Edward Godfrey also went into in the family business is later confirmed by his will (1718), where he styled himself as ‘Painter Stainer of St Bride’s’ and his mother as ‘Martha Hewett widow’. The apprenticeship of Mascall was unusually rewarding as in 1722 Martha married his uncle Thomas Mascall (d.1753), her third Painter Stainer, and son of portraitist Edward Mascall (fl.1627-1676).⁵⁸⁸ Martha’s new husband had himself been apprenticed to a woman, Elizabeth Chaire (fl.1690-1) in 1690. Martha’s son Edward Godfrey died in 1741 and left the title to, and rental from, the Kent property inherited from his father, and all his own worldly goods, to his mother and sole executrix, a role she fulfilled to the Probate Court’s satisfaction. The Mascall workshop’s next two apprentices were both engaged by Thomas in 1723 and 1742, and this is where we lose sight of Martha

⁵⁸⁷ ‘Declared Accounts: Civil List: Master of the Horse’, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 32, ‘1718’, ed. William A. Shaw & F. H. Slingsby (1962), *British History Online* <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books/vol32/clxxxviii-cxli>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

⁵⁸⁸ ‘Edward Mascall’ in, Witt Library, *Checklist of painters, c.1200-1994 represented in the Witt Library*, Courtauld Institute of Art, London, (London: Mansell, 1995), p. 320.

Mascall née Beard altogether because she died between 1741 and Thomas Mascall's next wedding in 1747, although her death went unrecorded and she left no will.⁵⁸⁹

Martha Beard worked in the painter's trade; contributed to the training of seven or eight apprentices over a period of around fifty years, and was legally responsible for four of them; chose to marry only Painter Stainers; and bought up her only son to that profession. At least three of her apprentices served their full terms and were made free of the Company.⁵⁹⁰ While it cannot yet be *proved* that Martha was a painter it would be pedantic to deny her active involvement in running a workshop all of her adult life. In evidence, her first husband bequeathed her all his 'real and personal goods' including the tools of their trade. During gaps between her marriages - seven years between the first and second and probably sixteen years between it and the third - she was solely responsible for apprentices' training; maintaining a workshop; educating her son; and managing the family property in Kent. And, I suggest, she painted.

Mary Beale and Martha Beard are not the only examples of women working collaboratively with their husbands. Rebecca Knight (1618-fl.1681) married Painter Stainer Arthur Blackmore (d.1664) and were both heraldic arms painters, as were their son Arthur (1647-fl.1713) and daughter-in-law Elizabeth (d.1692). In November 1686, however, an entry in the Treasury Book confirms how financially precarious any painter's life could be:

Reference by Treasurer Rochester to Visct. Preston [Master of the Great Wardrobe] of the petition of Rebecca Blackmore arms painter, and Elizabeth her daughter [sic.], praying payment of 68*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* due to them for work done in the Great Wardrobe in the years 1666 and 1667.⁵⁹¹

And what of the origins and fate of our dozens of female apprentices, the obstacles they negotiated? Who were they? Some indenture documents state their parents' profession as, among others, wood monger, glover, mason, clerk, vintner and

⁵⁸⁹ Martha Mascall/Godfrey/Hewett's death is not recorded in the registers of St Bride's or St Mary the Virgin at Norwood Green.

⁵⁹⁰ Edward Tomlyn was 'free' by 1716; Thomas Mascall by 1719 and William Steele in 1725.

⁵⁹¹ The debt was finally paid in 1688, see 'Entry Book: November 1686, 1-10', in *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 8, '1685-1689', ed. Shaw (1923), pp. 973-996 & 1767-1788, British History Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-treasury-books/vol5>> [accessed 24 March 2019].

‘Doctor in Physic’. There was no preponderance from Painter Stainer families but artists might be expected to train their own children, as Beale did. In more than 40% of cases the apprentice’s parent was described as ‘gentleman’, ‘esquire’, or ‘BA’.⁵⁹² It is clear that a Painter Stainer apprenticeship was socially acceptable and not compromising for the reputation and prospects of a daughter of the gentry, professions and prosperous yeomanry. Neither can apprenticeship, an expensive undertaking, be easily dismissed as an example of ‘life-cycle’ service for young women - it was a commitment, financial and legal, with a particular objective. It is remarkable that just under 70% of these young women left their families behind and travelled considerable distances to start a new life in the metropolis.

To place the Painter Stainers’ statistics in context I extracted data on 11 guilds included in the database of *Records of London’s Livery Companies Online*.⁵⁹³ This revealed an increase of around 40% in the number of company transactions conducted by women per year, from an average of 12.13 in 1640 to 20.33 by 1700.⁵⁹⁴ Two companies saw a marked increase in female transactions over the century, namely the Goldsmiths’ (43%) and Stationers’ (47%). Female apprenticeships in all five saw an 89.5% increase from just 22 by 1640, to 215 by 1700, while the number of women completing apprenticeships and being made ‘free’, or claiming membership through patrimony, rose by almost 90%. While the numbers are clearly infinitesimal in comparison to the 7,554 men made free of these same companies by 1700, they serve to demonstrate an increasing tendency for girls and women to enter a variety of occupations, or at least to regularise their previously informal participation in them, and a more receptive attitude towards their presence within the guild system.

From 1666 to 1740 at least 79 female apprentice Painter Stainers were indentured, a very small proportion of the total number, some 3%. To look at these figures in terms

⁵⁹² Only four of the 79 documents fail to provide any clue as to the occupation or status of the apprentice’s parent, 3.8% were ‘yeoman’; around 14% were described as a ‘citizen’ or member of a guild; and just 1.3% were widows.

⁵⁹³ Namely the Bowyers’, Clothworkers’, Drapers’, Founders’, Girdlers’, Goldsmiths’, Mercers’, Musicians’, Salters’, Stationers’, Tallow Chandlers’, ROLLCO [online] <<https://www.londonroll.org/search>> [accessed 28 May 2015].

⁵⁹⁴ ‘Transactions’ are defined as new apprenticeships, male or female, and the granting of freedom of the Company where their employer or ‘mistress’ was a woman; and where an apprentice was female and indentured by a mistress or master.

of proportion is, however, to miss the point. What is important is that there *were* female apprentices and mistresses at all. Research by Dr Amy Erickson and Professor Laura Gowing warns that we should treat such labour statistics with caution. Apprentices taken on under the auspices of one trade guild, for example, often undertook quite different work in practice.⁵⁹⁵ At least one Painter Stainer mistress, Ann Dewell (fl.1725-35), was engaged in other types of work and took apprentices for that purpose, as was increasingly common practice by the end of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹⁶ Nevertheless, I argue that these women were all operating within the established business world of Restoration London. During Beale's career, and afterwards, at least 122 other women were working either as Painter Stainers, or under the auspices of that company. Some of those women were painters, and some of those painters we would now define as artists, just as we do Mary Beale. That their names are not recognised, their work unidentified, is immaterial; the significance is that Carlile, Beale, Rosse, Killigrew and More, and the three other women listed by Sanderson, were *not* the only ones working in London and the presence of those others should be taken into account when thinking about who peopled the early modern art world, and when considering what women's work consisted of.

Many obstacles remain to tracing the biographies of seventeenth-century female artists, some as commonplace as the paucity of primary sources and, of course, marriage in which they could lose not only the requirement or ability to work, but the credit for it, becoming subsumed into the personal or economic identity of their husbands, and later their sons. More subtle obstacles to their recovery relate to an individual's ability to create a professional reputation or 'brand', as Beale did, on which both her livelihood and artistic legacy depended. This process hinges as much on logistical factors, including time, capital and a reliable support network, as on creative or technical considerations. An enduring reputation is inevitably predicated on the survival and availability of works to see and be studied, and on subjective ideas of their value. These things aside, there is even now a reluctance to accept that

⁵⁹⁵ Amy L. Erickson, 'Eleanor Mosley and other milliners in the City of London Companies 1700-1750', *History Workshop Journal*, 71 (2011), pp. 147-172; Laura Gowing, 'Un capable of her freedom': Trading as a woman in the late 17th-Century City of London, paper, Women's Studies Group Annual Workshop, 10 May 2014.

⁵⁹⁶ *ibid.* Erickson, p. 152.

there *were* other women painters - in part because their existence runs counter to preconceptions of early modern society's universal suppression of women. We know about Beale because she was so prolific, signed her paintings, and wrote things down. It helps enormously that Charles Beale left more than thirty notebooks detailing life in Mary's studio and friend Samuel Woodforde's diaries recorded her early sittings.

It is extremely significant, in this context, that no contemporary criticism of Mary Beale has ever come to light. Even Pepys, whose outrage over the physical appearance, public behaviour and published works of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle and 'mad, conceited, ridiculous woman', was made all too clear in his diaries, was silent on the subject of Beale.⁵⁹⁷ Just six years after her death the first posthumous commendation of her talent in print appeared when 'Mrs Mary Beal' featured in 'An Essay towards an English school' of painters written by poet Baynbrigg Buckeridge (d.1733). 'Mrs. Mary Beal painted in oil very well', noted the author, adding that she had 'work'd with a wonderfull body of Colours' to produce works of 'strength' and 'force', but he voiced no opprobrium over her domestic role-reversal as breadwinner.⁵⁹⁸ The essay was appended to *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters*, John Savage's English translation of French artist, Roger de Piles' *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres* (1699), and was later copied verbatim by George Vertue (d.1756).⁵⁹⁹ This text and Vertue's other mentions of Beale were without any hint of disapproval, but rather praised 'what she was imployd in'.⁶⁰⁰ Beale was careful to create a virtuous personal reputation and - coupled with a more conventional appearance than the flamboyant Margaret - used it to make her work respectable. We can deduce, therefore, that unconventional behaviour, even that which went counter to religious and social prescription and proscription, could be made acceptable. I suggest that women's work, unless blatantly subversive, like that of Restoration actresses and courtesans, was, on the whole, taken for granted as their contribution to the domestic and national commonweal. At most levels of society

⁵⁹⁷ 18 March 1668: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, [online] <<https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1668/03/18/>> [accessed 6 September 2019]

⁵⁹⁸ Baynbrigg Buckeridge, 'An Essay towards an English-School', in *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters [...]*, (London: John Nutt, 1706), p. 403.

⁵⁹⁹ 'Vertue Note Books', *Walpole Society*, 20 (1931-32), p. 134.

⁶⁰⁰ *ibid.*, *Walpole Society*, 24 (1935-36), p. 168

many women worked, unmarried and married, and some engaged in business activities independently from their husbands.⁶⁰¹

Recovery

When I started my research in the late 1990s there had been very little published on the lives and works of British early modern women artists, and although the Geffrye Museum's second Mary Beale exhibition of 1999 raised her profile considerably, it soon receded once more. In 2007 I joined art historian Sir Roy Strong in a BBC Radio Four discussion of Beale's life, work, and contribution to British art in the context of the English Heritage (now Historic England) listing of her former home and studio at Allbrook Farm. Strong agreed that her achievements were important, and that the best of her work displays a singular and revealing aesthetic at odds with the formulaic nature of many portraits of the period. At the end of the discussion, however, the interviewer asked him the inevitable question - "yes, but was she any good?" - to which Strong replied, "well, she was no Rembrandt", thus propelling the audience back to 1971 when it was not enough that a woman artist had been prolific, interesting and successful. No, she had to be a 'great artist' - a Rembrandt no less - in order to matter at all.

Over the past two decades the process of recovering women's history and their works has gained considerable impetus in many fields, including art, and the terms in which their achievements are assessed have also become more nuanced, less absolute. In 2013 London's Tate Britain re-hung its display of historical art and included three works by Mary Beale. Two of these were newly-acquired, informal studies of her son Bartholomew from circa 1660 (Figs. 14 & 15) which attracted considerable media interest as critics and the public alike once again discovered Beale and her work. For the very first time, however, with her inclusion in the chronological display of British art - and thus permanently in context - both paintings and painter assume something of their actual significance as part of the artistic continuum.

⁶⁰¹ Eleanor Hubbard, *City women: money, sex and the social order in early modern London* [1570-1640], (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 2; Amy L. Erickson, 'Identifying women's occupations in early modern London', paper, *ESSHC*, Amsterdam, March 2006, [online] <<http://www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/abstracts/paper13.pdf>> [accessed 10 January 2015].

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APPENDIX I: TABLES

Income: recorded and projected

Year	All portraits recorded	Recorded income from portraits (£ gross)	H.L. portraits recorded	Projected value of H.L. portraits (c. £10 ea. gross)	T.Q.L. portraits recorded	Projected value of T.Q.L. portraits (c. £5 ea. gross)	Projected income (c. £) from all portraits	Projected value of unpaid clients' fees (c. £)
1671	?	118-05-00						
1672	45	202-05-00	5	50	40	200	250	48
1674	37	216-05-00	11	110	26	130	240	24
1676	83	134-00-00	40	400	43	215	615	481
1677	90	416-04-00	41	410	49	245	655	300
1681	45	209-17-06	14	140	31	155	295	86
Totals	300+	1296-06-06	111	1110	189	945	2065	939

Table 1, showing the recorded numbers of H.L. and T.Q.L. portraits produced by the Beale studio for five years between 1672 and 1681, and the **actual** income collected by each year's end from 1671-81, as listed in Charles Beale's notebooks for 1677 and 1681, and noted by Vertue; alongside projected valuations of what **should** have been paid for the portraits recorded as finished at the stated rates of £5 and £10 each.

Income: received and unpaid

Year	All portraits recorded done & paid for [c.]	Recorded income from portraits [£ gross]	H.L. portraits paid for [c.]	Income paid for H.L. portraits [(£10 ea. gross) c.]	T.Q.L. portraits paid for [c.]	Income paid for T.Q.L. portraits [(£5 ea. gross) c.]	Recorded unpaid clients' fees at year's end [£ (no. portraits)]
1671	?	118-05-00					
1672	31	202-05-00	5	50-00-00	26	130-00-00	70-00-00 (14)
1674	37	216-05-00	11	110-00-00	26	130-00-00	23-15-00 (??)
1676	61	134-00-00	29	290-00-00	32	160-00-00	165-00-00 (22)
1677	52	416-04-00	17	170-00-00	35	175-00-00	310-00-00 (38)
1681	32	209-17-06	10	100-00-00	22	110-00-00	85-00-00 (13)
Totals	213 +	1296-06-06	72	720-00-00	141	705-00-00	653-15-00

Table 2, showing the numbers of H.L. and T.Q.L. portraits produced by the Beale studio for five years between 1672 and 1681, and **recorded as paid for**; the actual income collected by each year's end from 1671-81, as listed in Charles Beale's notebooks for 1677 and 1681, and noted by Vertue; and clients' fees **recorded as unpaid**.

Portraits: format, gender and social status

Portraits (300)	Social Class of Sitter 'A' middling; 'B' gentry; 'C' aristocracy			Sex of Sitter		No. of portraits	% of all 300 portraits
	A	B	C	F	M		
Format							
% HL	22.52	29.73	47.75	68.47	31.53	111	37.00
% TQL	48.68	31.75	19.57	43.92	56.08	189	63.00
Female (<i>no.</i>)	A (46)	B (59)	C (54)	159		159	53.00
% HL	21.06	30.26	48.68	47.79		76	25.33
% TQL	36.15	43.37	20.48	52.21		83	27.67
Male (<i>no.</i>)	A (71)	B (34)	C (36)		141	141	47.00
% HL	25.72	28.57	45.71		24.83	35	11.67
% TQL	58.49	22.64	18.87		75.17	106	35.33
% of total	39.00	31.00	30.00	53.00	47.00		
Total no.	117	93	90	159	141		

Table 3, showing the numbers and percentages for each of the two portrait formats, HL and TQL, and the sex and social status of the sitter in each of the 300 recorded. The sitter is not necessarily the person who commissioned and paid for it.

Year	Portraits	H.L. no.	H.L. % of the total	3/4 (bust) no.	3/4 (bust) % of the total
1671	?				
1672	45	5	11.11	40	88.89
1674	37	11	29.73	26	70.27
1676	83	40	48.19	43	51.81
1677	90	41	45.56	49	54.44
1681	45	14	31.11	31	68.89
Totals	300+	111	37.00	189	63.00

Table 4, showing the total number of HL & TQL 'for profit' portraits finished by Mary Beale, or paid for, per year for which there is sufficient data.

Year	Portraits	Female no.	Female % of the total	Male no.	Male % of the total
1671	?				
1672	45	16	35.56	29	64.44
1674	37	21	56.76	16	43.24
1676	83	51	61.45	32	38.55
1677	90	49	54.44	41	45.56
1681	45	22	48.89	23	51.11
Totals	300+	159	53.00	141	47.00

Table 5, showing the total number of 'for profit' portraits finished by Mary Beale, or paid for, per year, by the sex of the sitter.

Year	Portraits	H.L. no.	'A' H.L. no.	'A' %	'B' H.L. no.	'B' %	'C' H.L. no.	'C' %
1671	?							
1672	45	5	3	60.00	2	40.00	0	00.00
1674	37	11	2	18.18	4	36.36	5	45.45
1676	83	40	9	22.50	8	20.00	23	57.50
1677	90	41	9	21.95	17	41.46	15	36.59
1681	45	14	2	14.28	2	14.28	10	71.43
Totals	300	111	25	22.52	33	29.73	53	47.75
% of sitters by class			22.52% middling		77.48% gentry & aristocracy			
			52.25% middling & gentry				47.75% gentry	

Table 6, showing the total number of HL 'for profit' portraits finished by Mary Beale, or paid for, per year, by portrait format and the social class of the sitter.

Year	Portraits	3/4 no.	'A' 3/4 no.	'A' %	'B' 3/4 no.	'B' %	'C' 3/4 no.	'C' %
1671	?							
1672	45	40	28	70.00	7	17.50	5	12.50
1674	37	26	12	46.15	9	34.62	5	19.23
1676	83	43	20	46.52	10	23.25	13	30.23
1677	90	49	15	30.61	25	51.02	9	18.37
1681	45	31	17	54.84	9	29.03	5	16.13
Totals	300	189	92	48.67	60	31.75	37	19.58
% of sitters by class			<i>48.67% middling</i>		<i>51.33% gentry & aristocracy</i>			
			<i>80.42% middling & gentry</i>				<i>19.58% gentry</i>	

Table 7, showing the total number of TQL 'for profit' portraits finished by Mary Beale, or paid for, per year, by portrait format and the social class of the sitter.

Sitters: gender and social status

Year	Portraits	Sitters	Female no.	Female % of the total	Male no.	Male % of the total
1671	?	?				
1672	45	39	16	41.03	23	58.97
1674	37	35	19	54.28	16	45.72
1676	83	70	45	64.28	25	35.72
1677	90	65	31	47.69	34	52.31
1681	45	38	19	50.00	19	50.00
Totals	300	247	130	52.63	117	47.37

Table 8, showing the total number of individual *sitters* by sex in 'for profit' portraits finished by Mary Beale, or paid for, in each year for which there is sufficient data.

Year	Portraits	Sitters	A no.	A %	B no.	B %	C no.	C %
1671	?	?						
1672	45	39	26	66.67	8	20.51	5	12.82
1674	37	35	14	40.00	13	37.14	8	22.86
1676	83	70	23	32.86	15	21.43	32	45.71
1677	90	65	22	33.85	25	38.46	18	27.69
1681	45	38	18	47.36	10	26.32	10	26.32
Totals	300	247	103	41.70	71	28.75	73	29.55
% of sitters by class			<i>41.70% middling</i>		<i>58.30% gentry & aristocracy</i>			
			<i>70.45% middling & gentry</i>				<i>29.55% gentry</i>	

Table 9, showing the number of individual *sitters* in 'for profit' portraits finished by Mary Beale, or paid for, in each year for which there is sufficient data. Totals are further broken down to identify social class of the sitters: 'A' being middling sorts, including business people and professionals; 'B' titled and land-owning gentry; and 'C' royalty, titled members of the aristocracy and bishops.

Tables 10 - 14: sitters by year

1672: sitters in 45 ‘for profit’ portraits painted by Mary Beale, or paid for that year										
Social class of sitter	Female H.L.	% of all 5 H.L.	Female TQL	% of all 40 TQL	Male H.L.	% of all 5 H.L.	Male TQL	% of all 40 TQL	Total by social class	% by social class
‘A’	2	40.00	7	17.50	1	20.00	21	52.50	31	68.89
‘B’	1	20.00	3	07.50	1	20.00	4	10.00	9	20.01
‘C’	0	00.00	3	07.50	0	00.00	2	05.00	5	11.11
Totals	3	60.00	13	32.50	2	40.00	27	67.50	45	
% of portraits by sex	35.56% Female Portraits (16) 81.25% TQL 56.25% middling				64.44% Male Portraits (29) 93.11% TQL 75.86% middling					

1674: sitters in 37 ‘for profit’ portraits painted by Mary Beale, or paid for that year										
Social class of sitter	Female H.L.	% of all 11 H.L.	Female 3/4 (bust)	% of all 26 3/4	Male H.L.	% of all 11 H.L.	Male 3/4 (bust)	% of all 26 3/4	Total by social class	% by social class
‘A’	2	18.18	4	15.38	0	00.00	8	30.77	14	37.84
‘B’	3	27.27	5	19.23	1	09.09	4	15.38	13	35.14
‘C’	4	36.36	3	11.54	1	09.09	2	07.69	10	27.03
Totals	9	81.82	12	46.15	2	18.18	14	53.85	37	
% of portraits by sex	56.76% Female Portraits (21) 57.14% TQL 38.09% gentry				43.24% Male Portraits (16) 87.5% TQL 50% middling					

1676: sitters in 83 ‘for profit’ portraits painted by Mary Beale, or paid for that year										
Social class of sitter	Female H.L.	% of all 40 H.L.	Female 3/4 (bust)	% of all 43 3/4	Male H.L.	% of all 40 H.L.	Male 3/4 (bust)	% of all 43 3/4	Total by social class	% by social class
‘A’	5	12.50	7	16.28	4	10.00	13	30.23	29	34.94
‘B’	5	12.50	8	18.60	3	07.05	2	04.65	18	21.69
‘C’	17	42.50	9	20.93	6	15.00	4	09.30	36	43.37
Totals	27	67.50	24	55.82	13	32.50	19	44.18	83	
% of portraits by sex	61.45% Female Portraits (51) 52.94% HL 50.98% aristocracy				38.55% Male Portraits (32) 59.37% TQL 53.13% middling					

1677: sitters in 90 ‘for profit’ portraits painted by Mary Beale, or paid for that year										
Social class of sitter	Female H.L.	% of all 41 H.L.	Female 3/4 (bust)	% of all 49 3/4	Male H.L.	% of all 41 H.L.	Male 3/4 (bust)	% of all 49 3/4	Total by social class	% by social class
‘A’	5	12.19	4	08.16	4	09.76	11	22.45	24	26.67
‘B’	12	29.27	15	30.62	5	12.19	10	20.41	42	46.66
‘C’	11	26.83	2	04.08	4	09.76	7	14.28	24	26.67
Totals	28	69.56	21	39.63	13	30.42	28	60.38	90	
% of portraits by sex	54.44% Female Portraits (49) 57.14% HL 55.10% gentry				45.56% Male Portraits (41) 68.29% TQL 36.58% middling					

1681: sitters in 45 ‘for profit’ portraits painted by Mary Beale, or paid for that year										
Social class of sitter	Female H.L.	% of all 14 H.L.	Female 3/4 (bust)	% of all 31 3/4	Male H.L.	% of all 14 H.L.	Male 3/4 (bust)	% of all 31 3/4	Total by social class	% by social class
‘A’	2	14.28	8	25.81	0	00.00	9	29.03	19	42.22
‘B’	2	14.28	5	16.13	0	00.00	4	12.91	11	24.45
‘C’	5	35.72	0	00.00	5	35.72	5	16.13	15	33.33
Totals	9	64.28	13	41.94	5	35.72	18	58.06	45	
% of portraits by sex	48.89% Female Portraits (22) 59.09% TQL 45.45% middling				51.11% Male Portraits (23) 78.26% TQL 43.48% gentry					

APPENDIX II:

'To Belisa.

The Excellent Mrs. Mary Beal, upon her own Picture, done by her Self, like Pallas, but without any Arms, except Head-piece and Corselet.

SUCH would the Learned Pallas chuse to be,
With all the Charms of Nature and of Art,
Tho she had neither Shield nor Dart:
For if the mighty Pallas were like Thee,
Without those, she to Conquer, need but come, and see.
But here (alas!) the Goddess nothing can espy,
Except the Garb to own her Figure by;
The Warlike Dress, and that's so Gay,
Such Terror, and such Softness does display,
That that as little as the Face she seems to know;
Wishing that her own Greece had drawn her so:
Says Fabulous Antiquity;
Ne're gave her half that Grace or Majesty:
That she was never half so Fair,
In her own Beauties, or what e're they feign'd,
With such clear Limbs, or with so great a Mind,
As in your Draught, Belisa, she's design'd:
And were she to be Born again,
Would from your Hand desire it rather than Joves Brain.

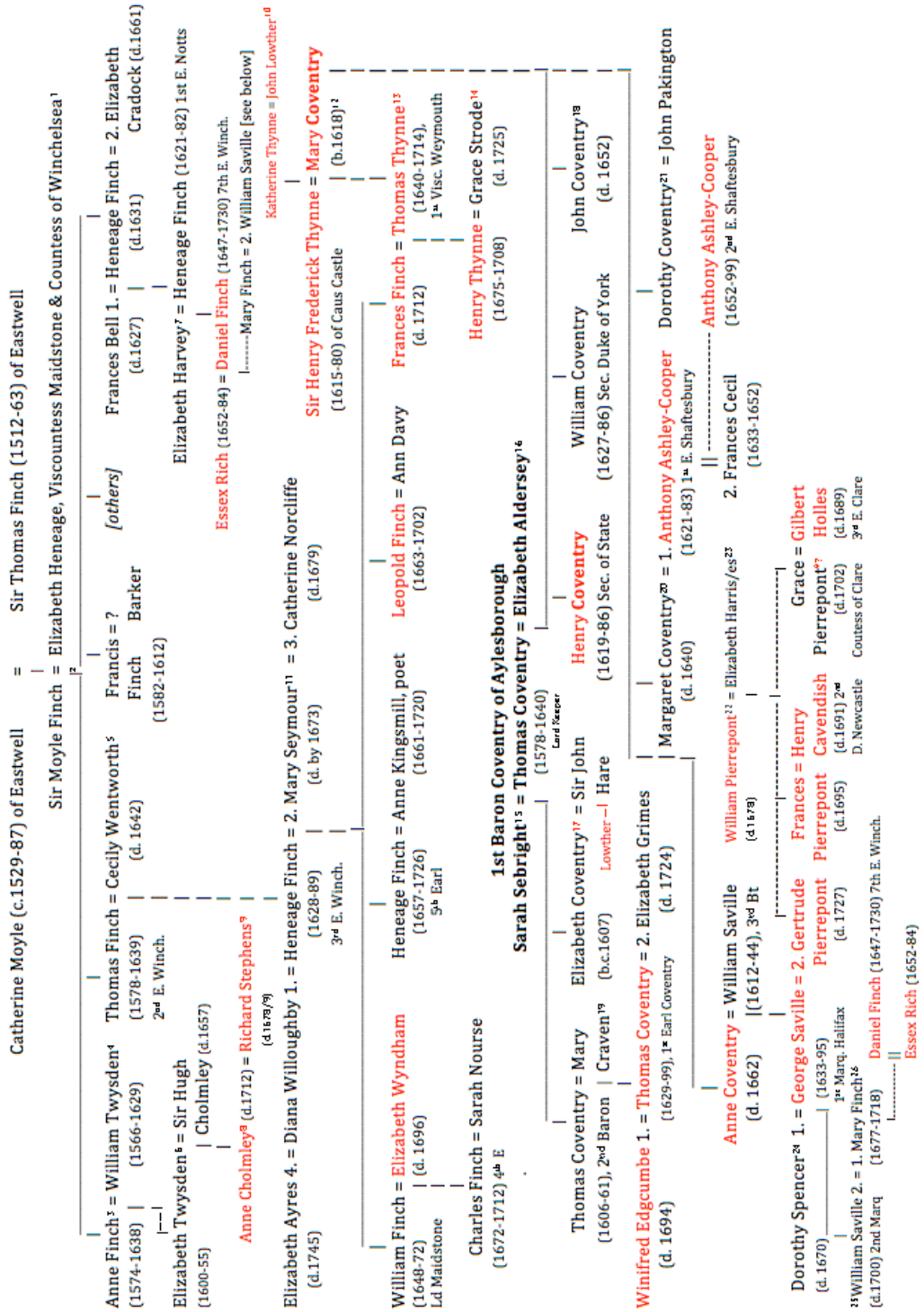
1664.'

Samuel Woodforde (d.1700), *Paraphrase upon the Canticles, and some select Hymns of the New and Old Testament, with other occasional compositions in English verse.* By Samuel Woodford, London: Printed by J. D. for John Baker & Henry Brome, 1679, pp. 161-2.

APPENDIX III:

Family tree of the Finch family, including the earls of Winchelsea; Coventry family, including the barons of Aylesborough and earls of Coventry; and members of associated families. Note in particular Lady Elizabeth Cradock Finch (d.1661), top right, 2nd cousin to Mary Beale. Family members painted by Beale appear in red.

FINCH, EARLS OF WINCHELSEA, COVENTRY [& Notts.], BARONS OF AYLESBOROUGH - PORTRAITS BY MARY BEALE



Footnotes to the family tree of the Finch family, including the earls of Winchelsea; Coventry family, including the barons of Aylesborough and earls of Coventry; and members of associated families:

- ¹ Married 1572. Elizabeth **Heneage** was of Copt Hall, Epping, d. Sir Thomas, and Anne Poyntz.
- ² Six other children were born to Moyle Finch and Elizabeth Heneage.
- ³ Anne **Finch** Twysden, writer, born in London at Heneage House and tutored at the court of Queen Elizabeth in the care of her maternal grandmother Elizabeth Heneage. Anne's lady-in-waiting **Jane Thomlinson** (d.1702) married her son Sir Thomas Twysden (d.1682/3), and their son Sir **Roger Twysden** (d.1703) and his wife **Margaret Marsham** (d.1688) had a son, Sir **Thomas Twisden** (d.1728).
- ⁴ Sir William Twysden (d.1628) 1st Bart of Roydon Hall in East Peckham, Kent.
- ⁵ Cecily Wentworth, d. of Sir John of Gosfield and Cicely Unton; Cecily and Thomas Finch's daughter Frances Finch married Sir William Strickland (d.1673), 1st Bart of Boynton. [**Charles Crompton's** uncle Robert married Ceziah Strickland, Sir William's sister].
- ⁶ Elizabeth Twysden m. Sir Hugh Cholmley of Yorkshire who became Royalist governor of Scarborough Castle during the Civil Wars.
- ⁷ Elizabeth Harvey (d.1676), d. Daniel Harvey of Folkestone [brother to William Harvey the physician] and Elizabeth Kinnersley; m. 1646 Heneage Finch. Their son **Daniel Finch** (d.1670), 2nd Earl of Nottingham, m. **Essex Rich** (d.1684), d. Robert, 3rd Earl of Warwick. Elizabeth Harvey's sister Sarah (d.1715) m. Robert **Bulkeley**, 2nd Viscount Bulkeley; and her brother Sir Daniel Harvey m. Elizabeth **Montagu**, d. Edward (d.1683), 2nd Lord of Boughton.
- ⁸ **Anne Cholmley** (d.1712), d. of Sir Hugh Cholmley 1st Bt of Whitby (d.1657) and Elizabeth Twysden (d.1655), married:
- ⁹ **Richard Stephens** of Eastington, grandson of **Robert Beale** (d.1601). Richard was s. **Katherine Beale** (d.1632) and Nathaniel Stephens (d.1661); and brother to Margaret Stephens **Fitzjames** whose children **Eleanor** (d.1702) and her husband **Col. William Freeman**; and **Katherine Haldey**(d.1712) were all painted by Beale.
- ¹⁰ **Katherine Thynne** (d.1712/3), d. Mary **Coventry** and **Henry Frederick Thynne** (d.1680), m. 1674 **Sir John Lowther** (d.1700), 2nd Bart. of Lowther, Viscount Lonsdale.
- ¹¹ Heneage Finch (d.1726) 3rd Earl of Winchelsea m. Mary Seymour (d. by 1673) d. of Sir William Seymour (d.1660), 2nd Duke of Somerset, and Frances Devereux (d.1674). Mary Seymour Finch's niece, **Elizabeth Seymour** (d.1697) and her husband **Thomas Bruce** (d.1741), 3rd Earl of Elgin, were painted by Beale, as was **Sarah Seymour** (d.1692) wife of Mary's brother John Seymour (d.1675)
- ¹² **Mary Coventry** (chr. 01.03.1618), St Brides, Fleet St, d. Thomas Coventry (d.1640), 1st Baron Coventry of Aylesborough and Elizabeth Aldersey. Mary m. **Henry Frederick Thynne** (d.1680)
- ¹³ **Frances Finch** (d.1712) d. Heneage Finch (d.1726) and Mary Seymour (d. by 1673), m. 1673 **Thomas Thynne** (d.1714), 1st Viscount Weymouth, and their son **Henry Thynne** (d.1708) married 1695:
- ¹⁴ Grace Strode (d.1725), d. of Sir George Strode (d.1701) and Grace **Fitzjames** (d. by 1659), d. of Col. John Fitzjames (d.1670) of Leweston and Charles Beale's 'cosin' Margaret **Stephens** of Eastington, granddaughter of **Robert Beale** (d.1601).
- ¹⁵ Sir Thomas Coventry (d.1640), 1st Baron Coventry m.1. 1606 Sarah Sebright (d. by 1610).

- ¹⁶ Sir Thomas **Coventry** (d.1640), m.2. 1610 Elizabeth Aldersey Pickford (d.1653) widow of William Pickford.
- ¹⁷ Elizabeth Coventry (b.c.1607?), d. Sir Thomas Coventry and Sarah Sebright, m. Sir John **Hare** (d.1638), of Stow Bardolph in Norfolk. Their d. **Elizabeth Hare Leigh Lowther** (1621-99) was Charles Beale's 'Old Lady' or 'Widow'; m.1.1638 Woolley Leigh (d.1644) of Addington; m.2. aft 1644 'Old' **Sir John Lowther** (1605-75) 1st Bart of Lowther. Her daughter **Jane Leigh** (b.c. 1638-44) ['Square Lady Lowther'] m. **Sir John Lowther** (1643-1706) of Whitehaven and Stockbridge; and her daughter **Margaret Lowther** (b.1658) m. 1679 Sir John Awbrey (c.1650-1700) 2nd Bart of Llantithryd.
- ¹⁸ John Coventry (d.1652) m. Elizabeth Colles or Coles, d. of John Coles of Barton, Somerset and widow of Herbert Dodington of South Charford, Hampshire.
- ¹⁹ Thomas Coventry (d.1661), 2nd Baron, m. 1627 Mary Craven, daughter of Sir William Craven, former Lord Mayor of London. Their son **Thomas** (d.1699) (Fig. 30?) and his wife Winifred Edgcumbe (d.1694) were 1st Earl and Countess of Coventry.
- ²⁰ Margaret Coventry (d.1640), d. Sir Thomas Coventry and Sarah Sebright, and sister to **Mary Coventry Thynne**, **Anne Coventry Saville** (d.1662) and **Henry Coventry** (d.1686), Secretary of State, m. 1639 **Anthony Ashley Cooper** (d.1683), 1st Earl of Shaftesbury.
- ²¹ Dorothy Coventry (d.1679) m. Sir John Pakington (d.1680) 2nd Bt Aylesbury.
- ²² **William Pierrepont** (d.1679) of Thoresby, Notts. & Tong Castle, s. Robert Pierrepont (d.1643), 1st Earl Kingston-Upon-Hull & Gertrude Talbot (d.1649), 1st cousin of Alatheia Talbot Howard (d.1654) Countess of Arundel. William m. 1601:
- ²³ Elizabeth Harris/es of Tonge Castle, Shropshire, d. Sir Thomas Harris/es (d.c.1649), Bt. & Eleanor Gifford of London. In 1825 a **Mary Beale *Self-portrait*** was in the Library at Tong Castle. The **Pierreponts** are tangentially connected to the Beale family through Charles' sister-in-law **Elizabeth Hunt Beale** (d.1705) [married to his elder brother Bartholomew (d.1674)]. Elizabeth's brother Roland Hunt (d.1699) of Boreatton m. Frances **Paget** (d.1701) who was sister to **William Paget[?]** (d.1713), 6th Lord Paget who m. Frances Pierrepont (d.1681) - **William and Elizabeth's niece**.
- ²⁴ Dorothy Spencer (d.1670) d. of Henry, 1st Earl of Sunderland & Dorothy Sydney, m. **George Savile** (d.1695), 1st Marquis of Halifax, as his first wife and their son:
- ²⁵ William Savile (d.1700), 2nd Marquis, m.1. Elizabeth Grimston (d.1694); m.2. 1695 Mary Finch:
- ²⁶ Mary Finch (d.1718), the daughter of Elizabeth **Cradock** Finch's step-grandson **Daniel Finch and Essex Rich** [see above n. 7].

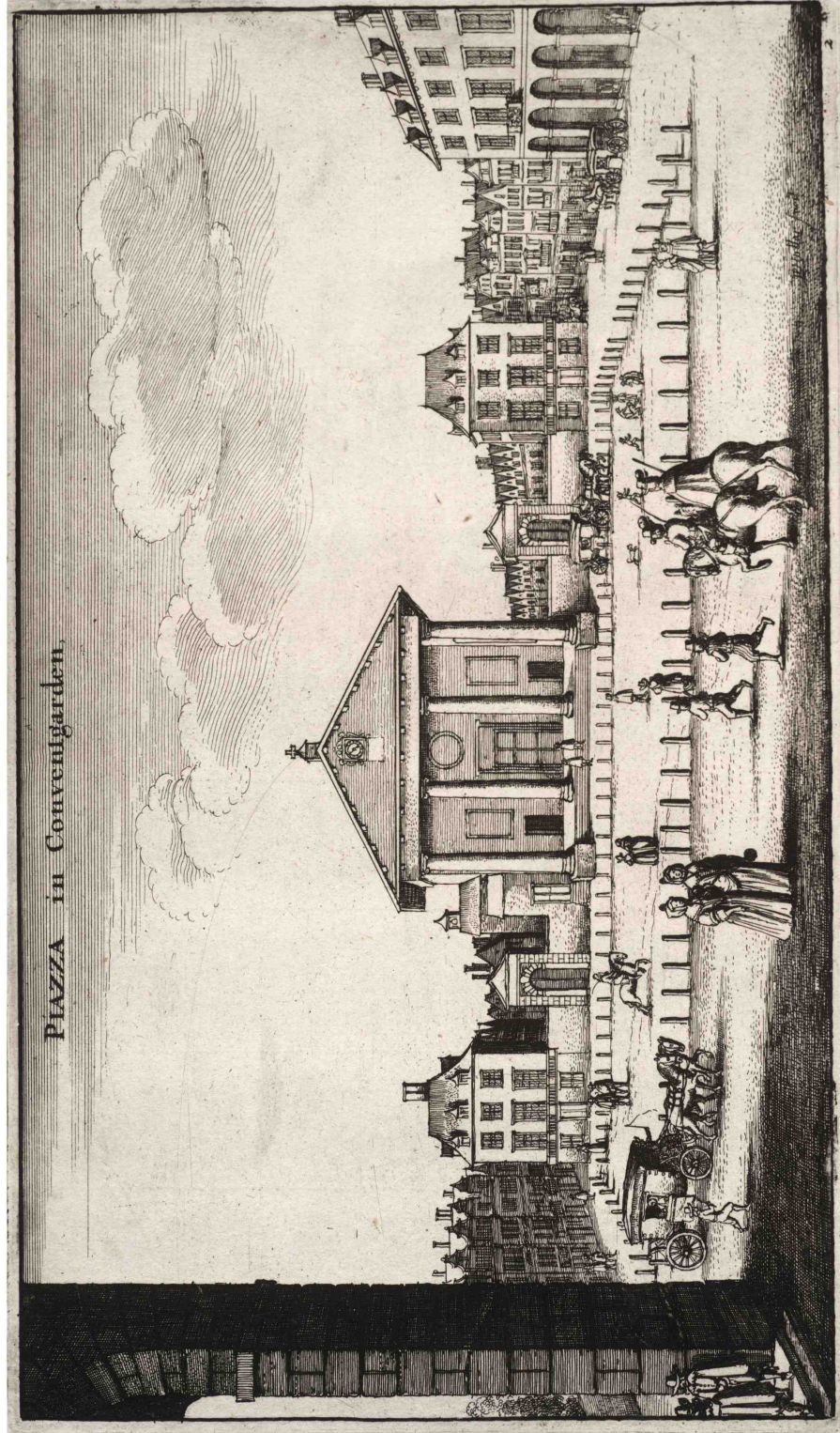
ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Nathaniel Bacon, *Cookmaid with still life of fruit & vegetables*, c.1620-27, oil on canvas, c. 151 x 247.5 cm (c. 59 7/16 x 97 7/16 in.), London, Tate Britain (T06995).



Fig. 2. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait with husband and son*, c.1660, oil on canvas, (63.5 x 76.2 cm (25 x 30 in.)), London, Geffrye Museum (acc. 49/1978).



PIAZZA in Coventgarden.

Fig. 3. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Piazza in Coventgarden*, 1647, etching on paper, state 2 (Parthey Pennington Number: P909), 15 x 26 cm (5 7/8 x 10 1/4 in.), [University of Toronto, *Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection* online <https://hollar.library.utoronto.ca/islandora/object/hollar%3AHollar_k_0880>].



Fig. 4. Joan Carlile, *The stag hunt* [Carlile family, left, with Sir Justinian Isham and family in Richmond Park], c. 1650s, oil on canvas, 61 x 74 cm (24 x 29 1/8 in.), Northamptonshire, Lamport Hall Trust (acc. 95).



Fig. 5. Mary Beale, *Young Bacchus*, c.1660-65, oil on canvas, 65.4 x 55.7 cm (25 3/4 x 21 15/16 in.), Bury St Edmunds, St Edmundsbury Borough Council.



Fig. 6. Raphael, *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* (1514-15), oil on canvas, 82 x 67 cm (32 1/4 x 26 3/8 in.), Paris, Musée du Louvre (acc. 611).



Fig. 7. Titian, *Portrait of Gerolamo (?) Barbarigo*, (c.1510), oil on canvas, 81.2 x 66.3 cm (32 x 26 in.), London, National Gallery (acc. NG1944).



Fig. 8. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-portrait*, 1640, oil on canvas, 102 x 80 cm (40 1/8 x 31 1/2 in.), London, National Gallery (acc. NG672).



Fig. 9. Anthony van Dyck, *Self-portrait with sunflower*, c.1638, oil on canvas, 58.4 x 73 cm (23 x 28 3/4 in.), private collection



Fig. 10. Sir Peter Lely, *Self-portrait*, c.1660, oil on canvas, 108 x 87.6 cm (42 1/2 x 34 1/2 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 3897).



Fig.11. Sofonisba Anguissola, *Bernadino Campi painting Sofonisba Anguissola*, late 1550s, oil on canvas, 110.8 x 109.5 cm (43 5/8 x 43 1/8 in.), Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale



Fig. 12. Mary Beale, *Charles Beale* [snr], c.1660, oil on canvas, 24.1 x 21 cm (9 1/2 x 8 1/4 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1279).



Fig. 13. Mary Beale, *Portrait of a young child* [Bartholomew Beale], c.1660-63, oil on paper, on canvas, 33.1 x 28.6 cm (13 1/16 x 11 1/4 in.), San Marino, CA, The Huntington Library, Art Collections (acc. 2000.14).



Fig. 14. Mary Beale, *Bartholomew Beale, in profile*, c.1660, oil on paper, 32.5 x 24.5 cm (12 13/16 x 9 5/8 in.), London, Tate Britain (acc. T13245).



Fig. 15. Mary Beale, *Bartholomew Beale, facing left*, oil on paper, 32.5 x 24.5 cm (12 13/16 x 9 5/8 in.), London, Tate Britain (acc. T13246).



Fig. 16. Sir Peter Lely, *Boy as a shepherd*, c1658-60, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 75.6 cm (36 x 29 3/4 in.), London, Dulwich Picture Gallery (acc. DPG563).



Fig.17. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait as a shepherdess*, c.1664, oil on canvas, 53.3 x 45.7 cm (21 x 18 in.), [with Historical Portraits/P. Mould Ltd c.2000; now private collection?].



Fig. 18. Mary Beale, attributed, *Mary Wither*, c.1670s, oil on canvas, 73 x 60 cm (12 13/16 x 9 5/8 in.), Adelaide, Art Gallery of South Australia (acc. 20038P59).



Fig. 19. Artemisia Gentileschi, *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting (La Pittura)*, c.1638-9, oil on canvas 98.6 x 75.2 cm (38 13/16 x 29 5/8 in.), Hampton Court, Royal Collection (acc. RCIN 405551).



Fig. 20. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait*, c.1666, oil on canvas, 109.2 x 87.6 cm (43 x 34 1/2 in.), London, National Portrait Gallery (acc. 1687).



Fig. 21. Mary Beale, *'Portrait of a lady'* [Barber, exh. cat., 1999] or *'Self-portrait'* [Reeve, exh. cat., 1994], c.1675-81?, oil on canvas, 89 x 74.3 cm (35 x 29 1/4), St Edmundsbury Borough Council, Bury St Edmunds. Possibly the *'Artemisia'* painted for the Countess of Clarendon in 1681.

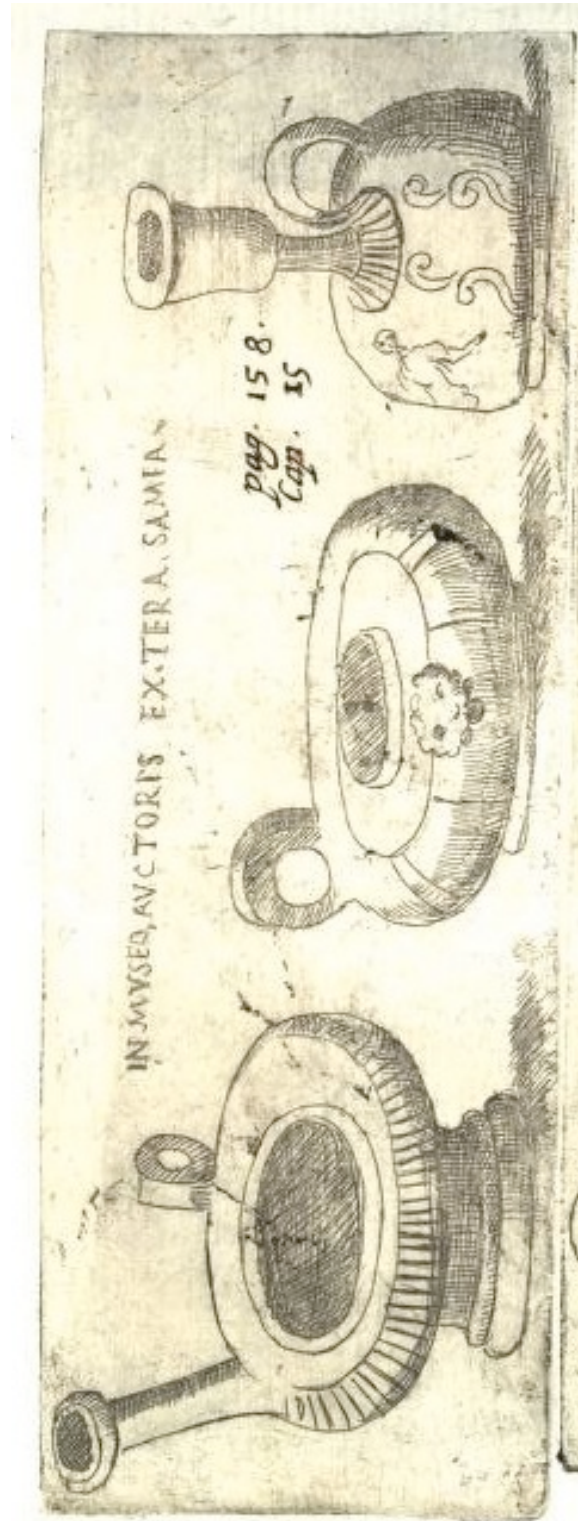


Fig. 22. Giovanni Battista Casali, Roman lamps, line drawing reproduced in *De veteribus Aegyptiorum ritibus. De profanis Romanorum ritibus. De veteribus Christianorum ritibus*, 2 vols, (Romae: Ex typographia Andree Phaei, 1644-45), vol. 1, p.159



Fig. 23. Mary Beale, *Sir William Turner*, 1676, oil on canvas, 231.2 x 144.7 cm (91 x 57 in.), King Edward's School (copyright), Witley, Surrey.



Fig. 24. Mary Beale [after Sir Peter Lely], *Portrait of Mary "Moll" Davis* (fl.1663-1669) c.1675, oil on canvas, 45.6 x 38 cm (18 x 15 in.), [private collection].

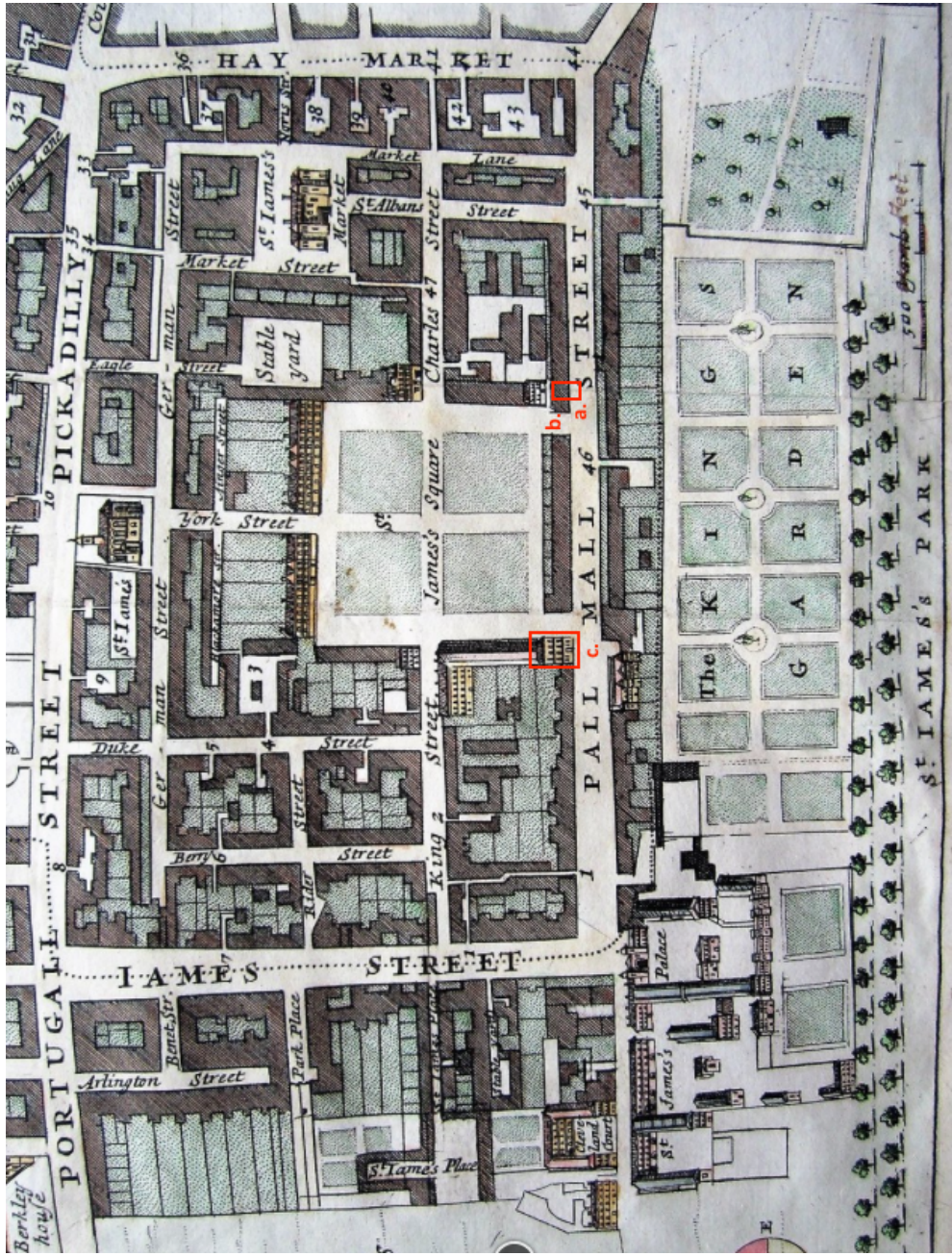


Fig. 25. John Sturpe, *Parish of St. James's Westminster, London, c.1720*, map, copper engraved, taken from the last Survey, with corrections (detail), with red box 'a' indicating the Beale house.

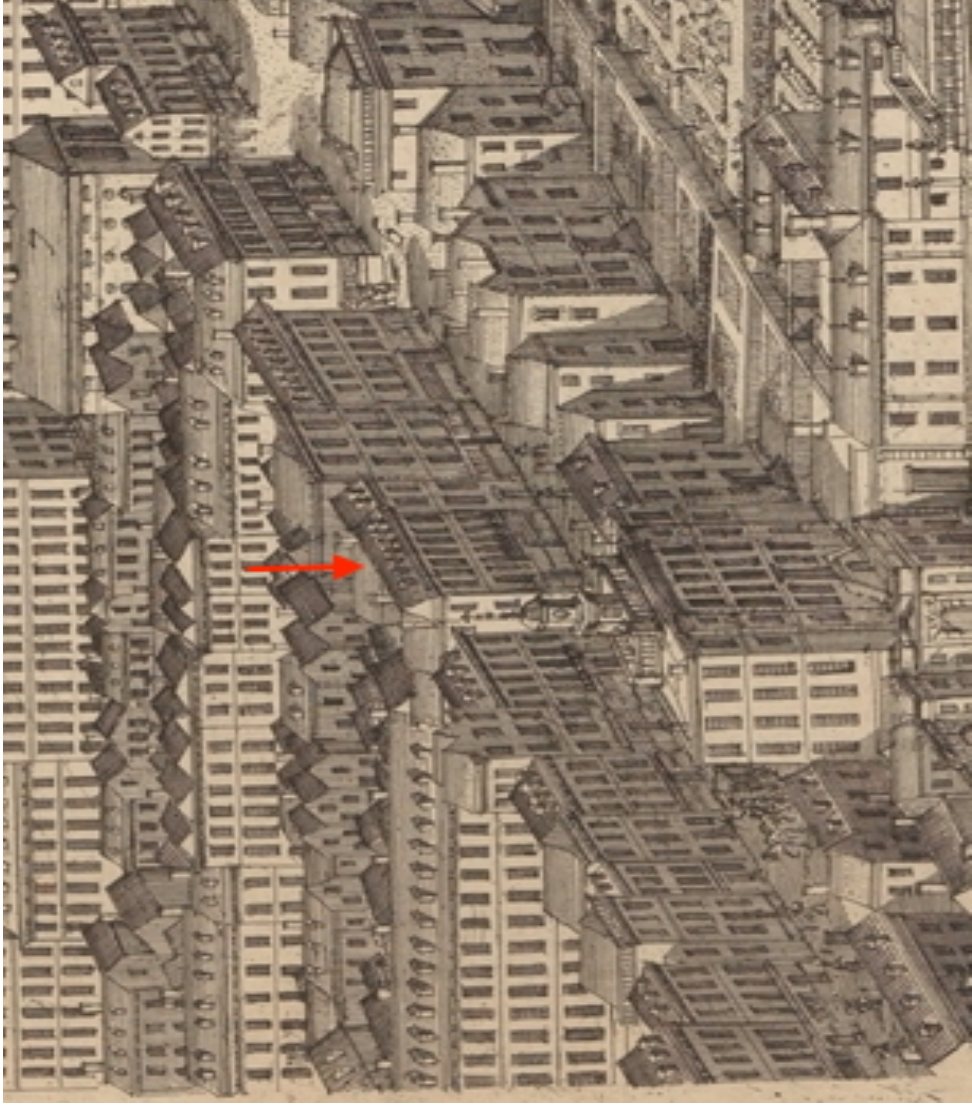


Fig. 26. Johannes Kip (d.1722), *A Prospect of the City of London, Westminster and St. James' Park*, 1710, engraving on paper, an arrow indicating the Beale house.



Fig. 27. Mary Beale, *Penitent Magdalene*, c.1672, oil on canvas, 72.5 x 57 cm (28 ½ x 22 ½ in.), Philip Mould Ltd.

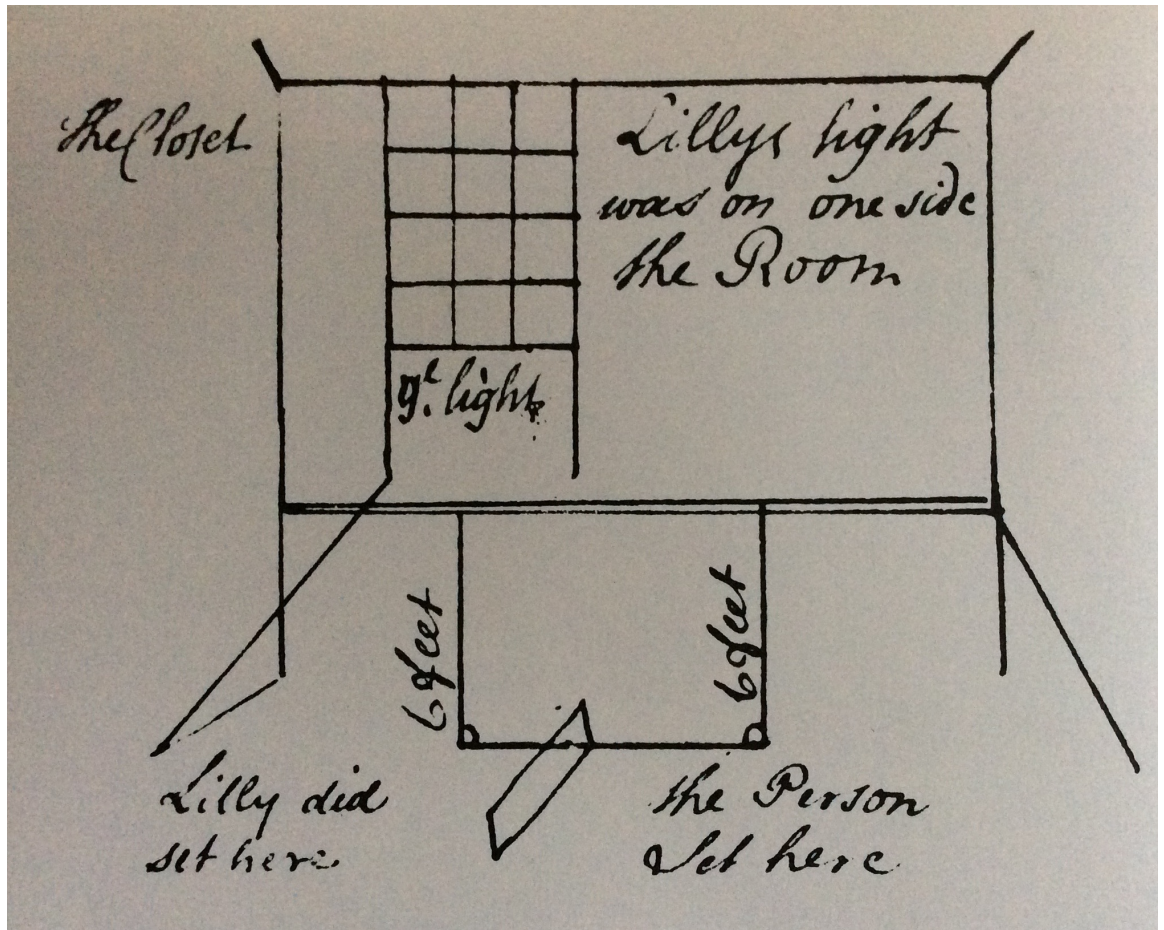


Fig. 28. William Gandy, attrib., *Lily's studio*, ink drawing on paper, 8.2 x 10.3 cm (3.25 x 4.25 in.), from BL, Add. MS 22950.



Fig. 29. Michiel van Musscher (d.1705), *Self-portrait of the artist in his studio*, oil on canvas, 74.3 x 63.3 cm (29 x 24 7/8 in.), Christie's 12.2018.



Fig. 30. Mary Beale, *Man*, called 'Thomas Coventry, 1st Earl of Coventry (c.1629-1699)', c.1675/80, oil on canvas 'TQL', 76.2 x 63.5 cm (30 x 25 in.), St Edmundsbury Borough Council, Bury St Edmunds.



Fig. 31. Mary Beale, *Lady Leigh as a shepherdess*, c.1680?, oil on canvas 'HL in little', 59.1 x 48.9 cm (23.25 x 19.25 in.), Bury St Edmunds, St Edmundsbury Borough Council.



Fig. 32. Mary Beale, *Bishop Gilbert Burnet DD*, c.1691, oil on canvas 'TQL', 63.5 x 53.4 cm (25 x 21 in.), St Edmundsbury Borough Council, Bury St Edmunds.



Fig. 33. Mary Beale, *Portrait of a Young Girl*, c.1681, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm (30 x 25 in.), Tate Britain (T06612). This work shows the ground layer visible as warm, light brown area at the unpainted bottom right hand corner.



Fig. 34. Mary Beale, x-ray, *Portrait of a Young Girl*, c.1681, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm (30 x 25 in.), Tate Britain (T06612). This shows the tacks attaching the fabric to its wooden stretcher (indicated by the lines on all sides a few cms from the outer edge), and the pale areas, comprised largely of lead white, making up the highlights of the face, chest, hands, and drapery.



Fig. 35. Anthony van Dyck, *Anna Sophia Herbert Dormer* (d. c.1695), c.1636, Lady Carnarvon, oil on canvas, 200.7 x 132.1 cm (79 x 52 in.), Sotheby's, London, 6.12.2017).



Fig. 36. Mary Beale, *Young girl in profile*, (detail), c.1660s, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm (30 x 25 in.), [with Historical Portraits/P. Mould Ltd, c.2008; now private collection?].



Fig. 37. Mary Beale, *Dr Simon Patrick* (d.1707) [called 'Dr Isaac Barrow' (d.1677)], c.1670-77, oil on canvas 55 x 42 cm (21 11/16 x 16 9/16 in.), Trinity College, Cambridge (acc. TC Oils P 17).



Fig. 38. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait*, c.1681, oil on canvas, 121.9 x 104.1 cm (48 x 41 in.), private collection (Mrs E. J. Whiteley).



Fig. 39. Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-portrait with Isabella Brant, in the honeysuckle*, c. 1609/10, oil on canvas, 178 x 136.5 cm (70 1/16 x 53 3/8 in.), Munich, Alte Pinakothek (acc. 334).



Fig. 40. Jacob Jordaens, *Family of the Artist*, c.1621, oil on canvas, 181 x 187 cm (71 1/4 x 73 5/8 in.), Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado (acc.P001549).



Fig. 41. Cornelis de Vos, *Self-Portrait of the artist with his family*, 1621, oil on canvas, 188 x 162 cm (74 x 63 3/4 in.), Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (acc. 2246).



Fig. 42. Sir Peter Lely, [called] *Bartholomew Beale* [with a bust of Homer], c.1670, oil on canvas (91.5 x 76.2 cm; 36 x 30 in.), London, Dulwich Picture Gallery (acc. DPG662).



Fig. 43. Mary Beale, *Self-portrait* [seated, with palette and mahl stick], c.1670-75, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 38.1 cm (18 x 15 in.), Bury St Edmunds, St Edmundsbury Borough Council.



Fig. 44. Mary Beale, *Charles Beale*, c.1670-75, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 38.1 cm (18 x 15 in.), Bury St Edmunds, St Edmundsbury Borough Council.



Fig. 45. Anthony Van Dyck, *Thomas Killigrew and William, Lord Crofts* [?], 1638, oil on canvas, 132.9 x 144.1 cm (18 x 15 in.), London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collection (acc. RCIN 407426).



Fig. 46 Helen Draper (copyright), *Allbrook Farmhouse*, Allbrook, Hampshire, c. 2007, [digital photographs].



Fig. 47 Thomas Flatman (1635-1688), ['Portrait of a woman, perhaps] *Alice Beale* (d.1664)', 1661, watercolour on vellum, 76 x 63 mm (3 x 2 1/2 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.14-1941).



Fig. 48. Thomas Flatman, *Rev. Samuel Woodforde, D.D., F.R.S. 1636-1701*, 1661, watercolour on vellum on card, 69 x 54 mm (2 3/4 x 2 1/8 in.), Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (acc. 3842).



Fig. 49. Thomas Flatman, *Portrait of Charles Beale the elder*, c.1660-64, watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book, 82 x 70 mm (3 1/4 x 2 3/4 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.13-1941).



Fig. 50. Thomas Flatman, *Self-portrait*, 1673, watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book, 68 x 55 mm (2 11/16 x 2 3/16 in.), London, V&A Museum (acc. P.79-1938).



Fig. 51. David Loggan, *Frontispiece to Samuel Woodforde's 'Paraphrases upon the Psalms of David'*, (1667), line engraving on laid paper, printed by the artist[?] or the book's printer Robert White, London.