Choices 8 and 9 Walpole's Two Chief Copies of His Description of Strawberry Hill, Printed there in 1774 and 1784

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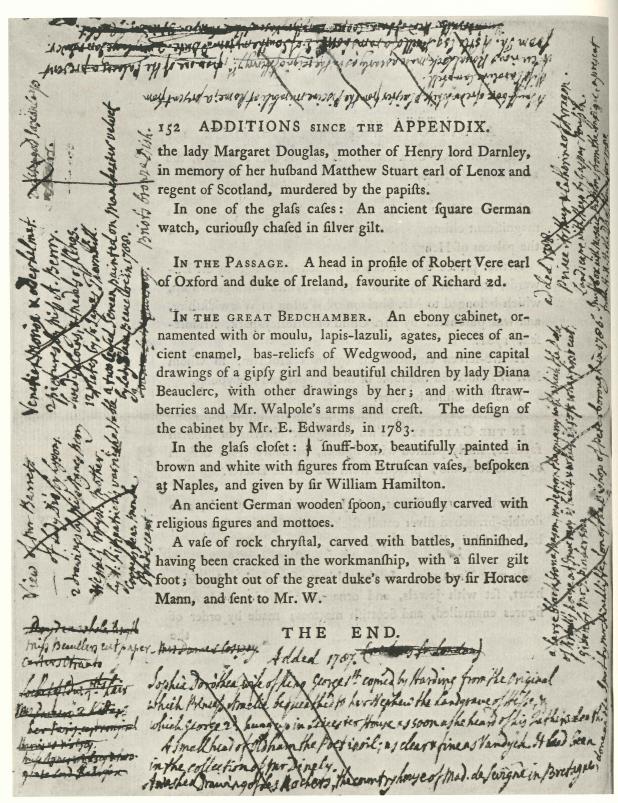
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A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole Earl of Orford, at Strawberry Hill near Twickenham, with an inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities, Etc. first appeared in 1774, a small quarto in an edition of 100 copies with six more on large paper, four of which are at Farmington, with ten of the smaller size. The second edition of 200 copies was printed in 1784, a large quarto with twenty-seven plates.

The importance of the Description in Walpolian studies cannot be exaggerated. Choice 8 is Walpole's copiously annotated copy of the first edition. His notes are on almost every page and there are fifty additional pages of drawings and text. Most of the notes report objects acquired after 1774; nearly all of them were used in the 1784 edition. An exception tells how in the Little Library in the Cottage "three of the antique sepulchral earthen lamps and some of the vases on the mantel were broken in 1777 when an owl fell down the chimney." Besides the scores of marginal notes in Choice 8 Walpole added ten pages that he printed in the 1784 edition. They include "Explanation of the different coats of arms about the house at Strawberry Hill," "Collections [56 of them] from which were purchased many of the Curiosities at Strawberry Hill," a "List of the books printed at Strawberry Hill," and a list of "Works of Genius at Strawberry Hill by Persons of rank and Gentlemen not Artists," that will appear in Choice 11. There are also sixty-seven "Principal Curiosities"; among which were the silver bell designed by Benvenuto Cellini, "a bronze bust of Caligula with silver eyes at the beginning of his madness," "Callot's Pocket Book" which we met in Choice 2, and a clock that the Description tells us was of "silver gilt, richly chased, engraved, and ornamented with fleurs des lys, little



Page from '74 extra-illustrated Description of Strawberry Hill with Walpole's notes.

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heads, etc. On the top sits a lion holding the arms of England, which are also on the sides. This was a present from Henry 8th to Anne Boleyn; and since, from Lady Elizabeth Germaine to Mr Walpole. On the weights are the initial letters of Henry and Anne, within true lovers knots; at top, Dieu et mon Droit; at bottom The most happy.—One of the weights, agreeably to the indelicacy of that monarch's gallantry, is in a shape very comfortable to the last motto." The clock, which is now at Windsor, has been a source of not altogether innocent merriment since 1533. The drawing I value most in Choice 8 is Walpole's own crude sketch, "Front of Strawberry hill to the garden as it was in 1747 before it was altered," the only view we have of it at that time.

The rooms contained 760 pictures and framed prints crowded with thousands of miscellaneous objects that must have wilted the best informed and keenest of visitors. Take, for example, the charming Battersea enamel in the Green Closet, "A king-fisher and ducks" now at Farmington, the gift of John and Helen Mayer of Greenwich. It had to compete with its immediate neighbors, one of Walpole's copies of Watteau mentioned in Choice 3, and "Charles 2d, young, in armour, with the Garter, oval miniature." The China Closet housed two Faenze plates on which were printed the Death of Abel and the Sacrifice of Isaac, given me by Osbert Sitwell. They were among dozens of cups and dishes from far and wide—even one from Peru—each of which had a claim to recognition. As we turn the pages of this richly annotated copy we are at Walpole's side relishing with him his vast and varied treasures.

The clutter is illustrated in the seventeen pages of the Tribune where among its 164 pictures and prints and hundreds of objects were "Two lockets in shape of hearts, with hair of Sir Robert Walpole and Catherine Shorter, set with diamonds"; "An Egyptian duck; antique cameo, on agate"; "A sleeping hermaphrodite with two satyrs"; "A small gold watch, given by George 2d when Prince of Wales to Catherine Lady Walpole," "A chrystal sceptre, set in gold enamelled, with pearls, from Lady E. Germaine's collection, and given to Mr Walpole by her niece lady Temple"; "A magnificent missal, with miniatures by Raphael and his scholars, set in gold enamelled, and adorned with rubies and turquoises; the sides are of cornelian, engraved with religious subjects; the clasp, a large garnet. This precious prayer-book belonged to Claude queen of France, wife of Francis 1st and seems to have belonged to the father of Thuanus; . . . It was purchased by Mr Walpole from the collection of doctor Mead, 1755," and is now in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

Not far from it in the Tribune was "Henry the 8th's dagger, of Turkish work; the blade is of steel damasked with gold, the case and handle of chalcedonyx, set with diamonds and many rubies. From the collection of lady Elizabeth Germaine. The Duchess of Portland has such another set with jacinths." According to the Germain sale catalogue the dagger was "designed by Holbein," and it is odd that Walpole failed to say so, for it was one of Strawberry's most admired curiosities; sketches and prints of it are in Richard Bull's and Kirgate's extra-illustrated copies of the '84 Description at Farmington.

"A small capricious house," Walpole called it. By modern standards a house of twenty-two master rooms is hardly "small," but Strawberry was small compared to Knole with 365 rooms. Everyone has agreed from Walpole's day to ours that it was "a capricious house" because of its contents as well as its design. Walpole was a passionate collector all his life. In 1740 he wrote Conway from Rome, "I am far gone in medals, lamps, idols, prints, etc. and all the small commodities to the purchase of which I can attain; I would buy the Coliseum if I could." In 1744 he bought Conyers Middleton's collection of Roman antiquities for £131, as the receipt of the purchase at Farmington shows. Forty years later he wrote Mason, "The old child's baby-house is quite full of playthings," and he went on adding

them as long as he lived.

He was especially proud of his "miniatures, enamels, and portraits of remarkable persons," stating in the Preface to the Description that his collection of them was "the largest and finest in any country." How he annotated them is shown at Farmington by one that he endorsed, "Liotard by himself a Legacy to Mr Horace Walpole from Mrs M. Delany," George the Third's "Dear Mrs Delany," who knew that her bequest would be affectionately displayed at Strawberry Hill. Walpole might also have called attention to his collection of coins and medals that took two days to sell in 1842, thousands of Greek, Roman, Saxon and English coins in gold, silver, brass, and copper from Philip of Macedon to George III. Among them were nine silver jettons or counters made by Simon van Pass of James I and his family. They had an adventure at Farmington when a ten-year-old great-niece removed them from their exhibition case to play with on a sofa. I rescued eight of them, but the ninth was missing. "Stand up, Pinkie!" I ordered. She obeyed contritely. I gave her, an ample child with curves more than Grecian, a good shake and out from his hiding place in her inmost recesses Prince Charles slid on to the floor. He was restored to his family and our curatorial problem was solved.

Macaulay wrote of Strawberry Hill eleven years before its contents were dispersed: "Every apartment is a museum; every piece of furniture is a curiosity; there is something strange in the form of the shovel; there is a long story belonging to the bell-rope," and he singled out "Queen Mary's comb, Wolsey's red hat, the pipe which Van Tromp smoked during his last sea fight, and the spur King William struck into the flank of Sorrel" at the Battle of the Boyne. Walpole loved these "reliques" because they evoked visions, but he was not over-solemn about them. "You would laugh if you saw in the midst of what trumpery I am writing," he wrote Conway in 1758, "Two porters have just brought home my purchases from Mrs Kennon the midwife's sale. Brobdignag combs, old broken pots, pans, and pipkins, a lanthorn of scraped oyster-shells, scimitars, Turkish pipes, Chinese baskets, etc., etc. My servants think my head is turned, I hope not: it is all to be called the personal estate and movables of my great-great-grandmother. . . . P.S. I forgot, that I was outbid for Oliver Cromwell's nightcap."

The Preface of the 1784 Description tells us that ". . . the following account of pictures and rarities is given with a view to their future dispersion. . . . The several purchasers will find a history of their purchases; nor do virtuosos dislike to refer to such a catalogue for authentic certificates of their curiosities. The following collection was made out of the spoils of many renowned cabinets; as Dr Mead's, Lady Elizabeth Germaine's, Lord Oxford's, the Duchess of Portland's, and of about forty more of celebrity. Such well attested descent is the genealogy of the objects of virtu—not so noble as those of the peerage, but on a par with those of race-horses. In all three, especially the pedigrees of peers and rarities, the line is often continued by many insignificant names," a classic description of "provenance." Walpole's copies at Farmington of Lady Elizabeth Germain's, Lord Oxford's, and the Duchess of Portland's sale catalogues, in which he noted his purchases and what he paid for them, illustrate the importance he gave "provenance." In the Duchess of Portland's catalogue he pasted a four-page account of her that I printed for the Grolier Club in 1934.

The fifty pages of drawings and manuscripts at the back of the '74 copy I am saving begin with Sir Edward Walpole's verses and drawings mentioned in Choice 3 and continue with sketches by Thomas Walpole, Horace's favorite Wolterton cousin. There are caricatures of the Dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle by Walpole's kinsman Lord Townshend, "the father of English caricature," and sketches by Lady Diana Beauclerk

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mple iding was (whom we come to in Choice 11), by Mrs Damer and other talented persons of quality. Finally, there is a printed title-page, the only one known, Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings in the Holbein-chamber at Strawberry Hill, which is followed by plans that show where the pictures hung in the room.

Another of Walpole's annotated copies of the 1774 Description at Farmington was bought by William Beckford in 1842. It has Walpole's arms on the covers. For a frontispiece he added the print of himself after Falconet, a portrait on which he wrote "Earl of Orford, 1791" to bring himself up to date. The manuscript additions in this copy include verses by him and Kirgate's transcript of Lady Burrell's lines "On Strawberry Hill" that gave the owner great satisfaction:

Hail sacred Shades! by every Muse revered, By every Grace embellished and endeared; Hail, Gothic Scenes! where the astonished Sight Finds Art and Nature happily unite; Where proud Antiquity Attention gains, Where Science flourishes, and pleasure reigns.

A note by Walpole at the end identifies the author as "Sophia Lady Burrell, wife of Sir William and daughter of Sir Charles Raymond. They were sent to Mr Walpole anonymously in 1790 after seeing his house."

Included in most of the fourteen '74 copies at Farmington is a printed twenty-four-page Appendix of "Pictures and Curiosities added since the catalogue was printed," six pages of "Additions since the Appendix," and two "More Additions," which were printed in 1786. Walpole's second copy at Farmington extols Mrs Damer, Conway's only child and Walpole's executrix, to whom he left life-use of Strawberry Hill. What Walpole thought of her as a sculptress appears in a note on the head of Jupiter Serapis in basalts that tells us, "In 1787, Mrs Damer modelled a neck to it (as it was a mere head when brought from Rome) and had it cast in bronze, with a gilt modius, which had been lost, and she supplied in wax some lower curls that were wanting, and mounted the whole on a white marble plinth, so that it is now as perfect as ever it had been, and still more valuable from being repaired by the greatest Female Artist ever known."

The Preface to the 1784 Description apologizes for

the mixture of modern portraits, and French porcelaine, and Greek and Roman sculpture, [which] may seem heterogeneous. In truth, I did not mean to make my house so Gothic as to exclude convenience, and modern refinements in

luxury. The designs of the inside and outside are strictly ancient, but the decorations are modern. Would our ancestors, before the reformation of architecture, not have deposited in their gloomy castles antique statues and fine pictures, beautiful vases and ornamental china, if they had possessed them?—But I do not mean to defend by argument a small capricious house. It was built to please my own taste, and in some degree to realize my own visions. I have specified what it contains; could I describe the gay but tranquil scene where it stands, and add the beauty of the landscape to the romantic cast of the mansion, it would raise more pleasing sensations than a dry list of curiosities can excite: at least the prospect would recall the good humour of those who might be disposed to condemn the fantastic fabric, and to think it a very proper habitation of, as it was the scene that inspired, the author of the *Castle of Otranto*.

Strawberry's eclecticism appears in the Gallery: its ceiling was copied from Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, there was gold network from Chantilly over the looking-glass, and crimson Norwich damask on its settees, two of which are now at Farmington; there were Axminster and Wilton carpets and Aubusson tapestries. Walpole supplemented Bentley's Gothic furniture with "a thousand plump chairs, couches, and luxurious settees covered with linen" of blue and white stripes adorned with festoons. They are not mentioned in the Description or sale catalogues and were doubtless withheld for the Waldegrave's comfort. To enrich the "gloomth" Walpole sent a man to Flanders to buy painted glass, which he stuck into the Lanthorn and windows throughout the house, four hundred and fifty pieces showing "scriptural stories, stained in black and yellow . . . birds and flowers in colors, and Flemish coats of arms," which Walpole called "the achievements of the old counts of Strawberry." Many of these panes were sold in 1842; four of them are in a window at Farmington. Romantic visions, comfort, novelty, gaiety, and gloomth-all were found at Strawberry Hill.

The east end of the house was finished in 1754 with the Refectory and Library, but rooms and outbuildings were added for nearly forty years in the spirit of the chambered nautilus, "Build me more stately mansions, O my soul!" Walpole was driven by his compulsion to enlarge and adorn the architectural projection of himself. The later rooms were larger; whereas the China Closet was only about ten by twelve feet, the Gallery was "fifty-six feet long, seventeen high, and thirteen wide without the five recesses"; the second largest room, the Great Parlour, or Refectory, was over nineteen by twenty-eight feet. The drawings of it show Bentley's black

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man nake ts in Gothic chairs against the wall, but no dining-room table; apparently one was brought in when needed. Walpole had his meals all over the house. To get to wherever he dined, the food had to be carried from the kitchen at the west end of the house through a long passage, outside into the open air, and back through the oratory and into the main entrance of the house.

As time went on, Strawberry had so many sight-seers that its creator shuddered when the bell rang at the gate. He printed rules for seeing the house and issued tickets of admission to it:

Mr Walpole is very ready to oblige any curious Persons with the Sight of his House and Collection . . . but as he refuses a Ticket to nobody that sends for one, it is but reasonable that such Persons as send, should comply with the Rules he has been obliged to lay down for showing it.

Any person, sending a Day or two before, may have a Ticket for Four

Persons for a Day certain.

No Ticket will serve but on the Day for which it is given. If More than Four Persons come with a Ticket, the Housekeeper has positive Orders to admit none of them.

Every Ticket will admit the Company only between the Hours of Twelve and Three before Dinner, and only one Company will be admitted on the same Day.

The House will never be shown after Dinner; nor at all but from the First of May to the First of October. . . .

They who have Tickets are desired not to bring Children.

The ticket read,

This Ticket, on being delivered to the Housekeeper, will admit Four Persons, and no more, on [written in] Thursday Aug. 4th 1774, between Twelve and Three, to see Strawberry Hill, and will only serve for the Day specified.

N.B. The House and Garden are never shown in an Evening; and Persons are desired not to bring Children with them.

Hor. Walpole.

When strangers came Walpole kept out of the way, leaving the tour to his voluble housekeeper who expected a guinea from each guest on his departure, the equivalent today of many dollars. When Walpole took the special guests round himself he hobbled ahead on his gouty feet, talking steadily and delightfully the whole time, pausing to open a locked cabinet to place an ivory or cameo in the hand of a flattered visitor. An overindulged little dog waddled at his heels and sat beside him on a sofa eyeing the strangers dubiously; squirrels came to the windows to be fed;

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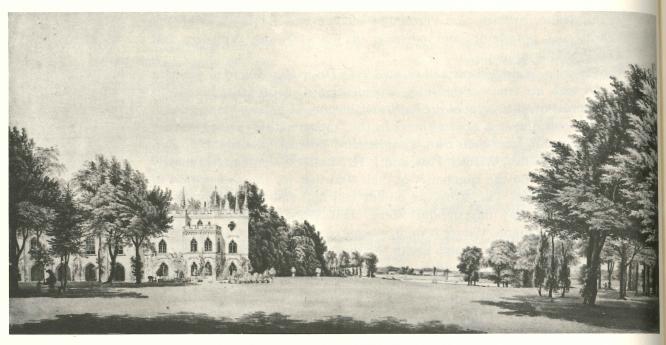
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canaries sang in their cages; jars of tuberoses and heliotrope and bowls of pot-pourri were in all the rooms, and after dinner a pot of frankincense was brought in to improve the air. The tour of the house must have been exhausting. The contents of the tiny China Closet alone fill twelve pages of the '74 Description and Walpole's manuscript additions in Choice 8 fill another page. The visitors' eyes must have glazed as they wandered over the enamels, medals and coins, Roman lachrymatories, faience, Venetian glass, Saxon, Arabian, and Portuguese earthenware, English and French china and porcelaine, and portraits of Louis Quinze, Voltaire, and Dr Franklin in biscuit.

Choice 9, Walpole's extra-illustrated 1784 Description inlaid to elephant folio with his arms on the sides, was mentioned in Choice 4 because it contained the mezzotint of the Ladies Waldegrave. Choice 9 has two dozen water-color drawings of Strawberry by the "topographical" artists who are at last coming into their own, Paul Sandby, Edward Edwards, J. C. Barrow, John Carter, William Pars, and J. H. Müntz. Walpole unfortunately saved money on the engravings of their drawings for the Description of Strawberry Hill. The prints are muddy and dull and furnish no idea of Strawberry's "gay but tranquil scene" that Walpole wished he could send Horace Mann. We see it in the water-colors: cows graze by the river, Twickenham and its church are in the distance; Richmond Hill bounds the prospect; gardeners slope along carrying watering-cans and shorthandled scythes to trim the lawns; ladies and gentlemen stroll by or pause to admire the garden; we stop in the passage from the Star Chamber to the Long Gallery to look in at the Holbein Chamber. At Little Strawberry Hill, we see Mary and Agnes Berry, very smart in tilted hats and long skirts, walking through the garden up to the cottage as a gardener goes about his business with a wheelbarrow. There are views of Strawberry itself from the obelisk at the junction of the roads to Hampton Court and Teddington and, closer at hand, the entrance through "the embattled wall" that was copied from a print in Dugdale's Warwickshire. We look towards the Round Tower from the two-story Offices designed by James Essex in 1790 that included the stables, servants' rooms, the laundry, coach and harness rooms, coal hole, dairy, and still another library for recently published books. The Offices were built in what Walpole called "Collegiate Gothic," anticipating the final phase of neo-Gothic building at Yale in our own time. We admire Po Yang in the walled garden. It was a small pool named for the great Chinese lake described in Walpole's copy of du Halde's Voyage en Chine at Farmington. Straw-



South front of Strawberry Hill by Paul Sandby.

berry's Po Yang was stocked with goldfish, which Walpole reported bred with him "excessively." He gave them away to friends until one night a heron came and flew off with the lot.

When I got Choice 9 from Sabin in 1926 there were eleven other watercolor drawings loose in it, five of which Walpole had engraved for the '84 edition of the Description. Perhaps I should have pasted them back into the book, but I am glad I framed them instead, for they are a daily joy in our side hall. My delight in them was shared years ago by Ross, our Scots butler, whose favorite was by Edward Edwards of the large Chinese vase on a stand in the Oratory. "And that, Ma'am," Ross would intone with a genteel indication of his hand when showing visitors the house in our absence, "is the vase in which Mr Walpole's favorite cat was drowned, immortalized by Mr Gray." Also in the hall are Walpole's three copies of Watteau mentioned in Choice 2, three of Robert Adam's designs (not executed) for the Cottage in the Garden, McArdell's mezzotint after Reynolds's portrait of Walpole (Choice 26), Carter's entrance of the Knight into the courtyard of the Castle of Otranto, (which is discussed in Choice 15), and half a dozen prints with the Ladies Waldegrave. One print I particularly prize is of Richard Temple Lord Cobham with Walpole's transcription of Pope's tribute to him. It hung above A. Edward Newton's desk at Daylesford, Pennsylvania, until he took it down and sent it to me after the Newtons' last visit to us.

There are twenty-seven copies of the '84 Description at Farmington. The second in importance to Choice 9 is Richard Bull's copy, which I owe to H. M. Hake who was then Director of the National Portrait Gallery. It was his friendly practice on visits to country houses for purposes of probate to report whatever he knew would interest me. Bull's copy of the Description with two other books from Strawberry Hill turned up in Nottinghamshire, and thanks to Hake's intervention the new owners were happy to let me have them. Many of the drawings in Bull's Description are finer than those in Choice 9, for Bull employed John Carter, one of the best of the topographical artists. Carter's own set of the drawings is at the Huntington; a few of them are in Choice 9. Three small sketches of Walpole by him in 1788 that are described in Choice 26 are at Farmington. Several of the subjects drawn by him are not given by other artists, such as "View of the Little Cloyster with the Chinese Jar in which the cat was drowned and on which GRAY wrote his elegant ode," Ross's favorite object at Strawberry seen from the other side. Below it Bull pasted the very rare label printed at the Press for the vase's pedestal:

'Twas on this lofty Vase's side
Where China's gayest Art has dy'd
The azure Flowers, that blow;
Demurest of the tabby Kind,
The pensive SELIMA reclin'd,
Gaz'd on the Lake below etc. GRAY.

When Walpole's great-great nephew, the improvident seventh Earl Waldegrave, sold the contents of Strawberry Hill in 1842 the auction was conducted by George Robins, "the King of Puffery," who boasted afterwards "that he gave this sale a degree of publicity that is without parelel [sic]—there is nothing upon record to approach it." Early in 1842 newspaper and magazine articles began preparing the public for the unparalleled event. Woodcuts of Walpole, of Strawberry Hill, and of its most curious objects were printed over and over. On the whole these preparatory articles were conscientious and sober, which the sale catalogue was not. Its title-page asserted that Strawberry Hill "may fearlessly be proclaimed as the Most Distinguished Gem that has ever Adorned the Annals of Auctions," and that within would be found, "a repast for the Lovers of Literature and the Fine Arts, of which bygone days furnish no previous example, and it would be in vain to contemplate it in times to come." "Prefatory Remarks" that followed were their own parody and inspired Crofton Croker to write Gooseberry Hall, the Renowned Seat of Sir Hildebrod Gooseberry, Alfred Crowquill to illustrate it and The Times to print a third parody in which it offered, "A pip and part of the stalk of the apple which Eve plucked from the Tree of Knowledge," and "The bridge of the fiddle on which Nero played while Rome was burning."

The Times was the leader of the opposition to the sale. Day after day its writer insisted that the contents of Strawberry Hill were "rubbish" and that Walpole instead of being what Robins called him, "the mighty master who planned and matured this wondrous whole," was really nothing but a fribble. Robins protested to *The Times* in vain.* Other journalists came to the defense of the sale and Walpole in equally shrill rejoinders. The writer in the *Athenaeum* said "the gorge rises with disgust or the midriff explodes with laughter, to hear and read the supercilious opinions passed upon [Horace Walpole] by persons who, comparatively, are beasts of burden

^{*} The reply of the editor, Walter, is at Farmington: "I regret that anything should have occurred to give you pain, but I could not venture to interfere between an accredited agent employed by the journal, and his employers."

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to an Arabian courser, droning beetles to a bird of Paradise." Robins was probably quite right in saying that there had never been so much interest in any sale before.

The private view began 28 March 1842, and lasted a week. Cards of admission were designed by Delamotte and were sent with the compliments of Robins to persons of the first quality. The implacable Times jeered that only three lords came on the first day-Tankerville, Cadogan, and Lilford. When the general public was admitted the crowds were so great that Twickenham and Teddington were like a fair. The neighborhood swarmed with carriages and liveries. "The Extraordinary Fast Packet, the VIVID" ran every day during the sale from Old Swan Pier at nine o'clock to Strawberry Hill for 1s.6d.; hundreds walked. To get into the grounds one had to buy a catalogue for seven shillings, but it admitted four persons and was "a passport for the entire sale." The catalogue could also be bought in London, Paris, and Leipzig. The average visitor was less interested in the books and pictures than in the armor of Francis I, the tile from William the Conqueror's kitchen, and the hair of Mary Tudor. A rival of The Times reported that "in spite of the inexplicable opposition that a respectable contemporary is daily offering to the spendid museum of the works of art of Horace Walpole," 18,000 persons had already gone to Strawberry Hill during the fifteen days that the public had been admitted. Eleven days later The Times admitted that 50,000 had been there, which meant the sale of many catalogues.

They were brought out so hurriedly and inaccurately they had to be revised and reprinted over and over. The sixth edition is the one bookmen must have because it gives all the books for the first time; the books lumped among "and others" in the earlier editions being printed in black letters. Another marked change in the sixth edition is the removal of the prints and books of prints in the Seventh and Eighth Days' sales to make a ten-days' sale in London the following month. Thus the total sale-days came to thirty-two.

The auction at Strawberry Hill was held in a temporary structure erected for the purpose between the Offices and Round Tower. At Farmington are water-color drawings showing it outside and inside with Robins in the chair. These drawings are in lavishly extra-illustrated and annotated copies of the sale catalogue with newspaper reports of each day's highlights; there are manuscripts and letters from Robins and others including the manuscript of *Gooseberry Hall* in Crofton Croker's copy. That Straw-

berry and its contents are now more in favor than ever became clear at Sotheby's in 1975 when a sixteenth-century Sainte Porchaire ewer designed by Giulio Romano that was bought in 1842 by Baron Anthony de Rothschild for 19 guineas went to a West German dealer for £44,000, or nearly £9000 more than the entire sale fetched in 1842.