Randle Holme the elder and the development of portraiture in North Wales, c1600–1630

Robert Tittler & Shaun Evans

In the course of completing his research on the Mostyn Family of north Wales, Shaun Evans observed a crude but intriguing family portrait, most probably of Sir Roger Mostyn (c1568–1642), at the family’s chief residence at Mostyn Hall, Flintshire (Pl 2). Although the sitter’s name has unfortunately been omitted, an inscription written in a contemporary hand in the top right hand corner reads ‘An° Dñi 1621 / Ætatis Suae 53’ (Pl 1). In addition, the monogram ‘RH’ features both in the top left-hand corner (Pl 3) and two thirds of the way down the left-hand side (Pl 4).

The monogram, as demonstrated below, proves to be that of the deputy herald, herald painter and office-holder Randle Holme the elder of Chester (c1570/71–1655). The discovery of the painting, the tentative identification of the sitter, and the more confident attribution of the painter, offer missing pieces to several puzzles, and add substantially to what little we know of early-17th century panel portraits in north Wales.

The painting itself is a small and fairly typical example of the contemporary English provincial vernacular: a genre which has only recently been considered worthy of critical attention and which is still far less familiar than it might be. True to its vernacular form, the image is badly out of proportion, in this case with a head several sizes larger than it should be for the scale of the torso. The face itself is not badly painted, the ruff collar and cuffs are nicely done as well. But four of the fingers disappear shapelessly under a book in the sitter’s right hand, while the thumb holding a book against the other fingers from the top remains poorly drawn. The painter limited his palette to four or five colours, against what has become an unadorned, light brown, almost orange, background. The sitter wears a linen ruff collar and cuffs appropriate to the era, and a sombre outfit, now appearing as something of an ember, with stylish buttons along the front.

Most distinctive of all are the two shoulder wings, projecting upwards like peaked epaulets and encircling the entire seam between the sleeves and the arm-hole of the doublet. That fashion reflects popular tastes of its time, its construction facilitating the convenience of allowing the wearer to change the sleeves without changing the rest of the garment. But the shoulder wings on this sitter have been rendered in the exaggerated and disproportionate manner which may sometimes be found in some other contemporary vernacular works. Its appearance here indicates that our sitter, albeit from rural Jacobean Flintshire, was conscious of contemporaneous fashion elsewhere in the realm. But it also tells us that he either could not or would not – perhaps didn’t know how to – find and commission a painter capable of a more refined image or more experienced in portraiture.

The painting has a complex provenance, but its unraveling offers essential clues to the identity of the sitter. The earliest known reference to it appears in Thomas Pennant’s Tours in Wales, first published in 1778–1783. At this point it was housed at Bodysgallen Hall, one of Caernarfonshire’s most prominent gentry houses, situated in the parish of Llanrhos on the Creuddyn peninsula. The hall had served as a significant local power base during the 16th-century residency of Richard Mostyn (c1522-92) – a younger son of Thomas Mostyn (c1490-1558) of Mostyn and Gloddaith – who died without a male heir. The estate then came into the Wynn family though the marriage of Margaret, Richard Mostyn’s daughter and heiress, to Hugh Wynn (d 1614) of Berth Ddu. The Wynns proceeded to occupy Bodysgallen for over 150 years thereafter, but by the time Pennant visited Bodysgallen in the late 18th century it had been re-inherited by the still-influential Mostyn family through the 1766 marriage of Margaret Wynn (c1744–92) and Sir Roger Mostyn, 5th Bart (c1734–96). Sometime before 1899 the portrait was relocated to the nearby Mostyn residence of Gloddaith Hall, being transferred to Mostyn Hall in Flintshire, where it is now displayed.

Pennant surmised that the portrait depicted Robert Wynn (d 1598) of Plas Mawr, Conwy, a close relative of the Wynns of Berth Ddu and Bodysgallen. In 1812, however, as indicated by a note of that date attached to the back of the portrait, it was acknowledged that the portrait was painted long after Robert Wynn’s death and could not depict him within the chronological limits suggested by the inscription: ‘An° Dñi 1621 / Ætatis Suae 53’. In fact, these same dates, pointing to the sitter’s birth in 1568, rule out all of the contemporary heads of the Wynn dynasty of Berth Ddu and Bodysgallen. Hugh Wynn (d 1614) and his father Gruffydd Wynn (d 1605) were both deceased before 1621; Hugh Wynn’s eldest son and heir, Robert Wynn (c1581–1640) was born more than a decade later. One other possible sitter is Owen Gwyn (d 1633), younger brother of Hugh Wynn of Berth Ddu and Bodysgallen. Gwyn matriculated as a pensioner at St John’s College, Cambridge, in Easter term, 1584, and took his BA in 1587/8, making a c1586 birthdate perfectly plausible. And though he did not, in the end, gain any great honour in 1621, it was reported in that year that the King intended to appoint him bishop of St David’s. Gwyn had learned of this, and is reported to have ‘responded with great enthusiasm’, but Buckingham wanted William Laud to be appointed instead, and his influence prevailed so that Laud ended up with the nomination.

It could well be that in that short interval between his learning of the King’s intentions and the loss of the nomination to Laud, Gwyn had a portrait run up to celebrate the anticipated prize. Yet there is much to speak against that possibility. For one, Gwyn chose the collegiate life in Cambridge rather than any close, continuing, or direct involvement with his family’s regional activities in north Wales. Following his BA at St John’s, he became a fellow of the same college in 1589, proceeded to an MA in 1591, a BD in 1599, and a DD in 1613. By that time he had become Master of the College (1612), proceeding to Vice-Chancellor in 1615. Several clerical posts followed, from which he drew most of his income, but he remained geographically removed from north Wales for almost his entire adult life.

The painting itself does not show its sitter in the guise of a cleric or academic, much less one who assumed that he had been appointed a bishop. His dress is that of a gentleman, and the red book he holds in his hand has not been rendered to suggest a bible or a prayer book. Moreover, long-term
Cambridge residence such as Gwyn enjoyed would surely have afforded him easy access to any number of more skilful and experienced portrait painters than the Chester-based painter of the work at hand. No portrait of Gwyn has been identified, and this is unlikely to be the first to claim that attribution.

An entirely more likely candidate would be a very prominent north Wales landowner closely related to the Wynns by marriage. The dates of c.1568 for the sitter’s birth and 1621 for the painting match favourably with those of Sir Roger Mostyn (c.1568–1642) of Mostyn.14 He was born in 1568 and the year 1621 marked two substantial milestones in Mostyn’s career: his first appointment to the Caernarfonshire Commission of the Peace; and his election to Parliament as knight of the shire for Flintshire.15 Both achievements were the sort of crowning events that commonly served as occasions for a portrait. The honours that came with Mostyn’s appointments of 1621 represent one of the many climactic points in the family’s long-standing prominence in the several counties of north Wales.16 That position extends back at least to the consolidation by Sir Roger’s great-grandfather, Thomas Mostyn (c.1490–1558), of substantial domains in four north Welsh counties.17 Sir Roger Mostyn’s father, Sir Thomas Mostyn (c.1542–1618) had established a virtual stranglehold over the chief offices of local and regional government. He filled almost every public office available to him and earned the Privy Council’s distinction as ‘one in great trust for Her Highness’ service’.18 Like Owen Gwyn, Roger took a university education, matriculating at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1584, after which he attended Lincoln’s Inn.19 That experience would have imparted a sense of how a gentleman should dress. But, in contrast to his scholarly relative Owen Gwyn, he returned thereafter to his native region and devoted the rest of his life to building his estate through the acquisition of land and the exploitation of coal deposits. In 1596, he furthered his already extensive kinship ties to other substantial families of north Wales by marrying Mary (c.1582–1655), eldest daughter of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir.
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Mostyn’s identity as the sitter in this work, we cannot quite
Greenwich in May 1606,23 and made him Sheriff of Flintshire
and social standing in north Wales, and his achievements on
‘drawn to London’, away from his family and landholdings,
away from north Wales on his continental tours; and in the
rather than national affairs.21 In one incidence he berated his
that a gentleman’s focus should be on his estate and on local
rent context, Sir Roger Mostyn was outright in his assertions
ensured the family’s continuity. Most importantly in the cur-
Randle the younger (1601–1659).30 In those cases, including,
the years by Holme the elder and his son and namesake,
'album' of contemporary prints and drawings collected over
'RHolme' appears in a recognizably similar form,
encouraged complex flourishes, the ‘H’ of ‘Holme’ is clearly
immediately followed by the lower-case roman numerals writ-
merit to Council in the Marches of Wales,25 and in 1618 he
became a Deputy Lieutenant in Flintshire at the death of his
father, who had held the post since its inception in 1586.26
Although the evidence thus presents strong support for
Mostyn’s identity as the sitter in this work, we cannot quite
take that attribution as water-tight. It must also be said that
two later portraits said to be of Sir Roger do not strongly
resemble the sitter of 1621.27 The sitter of 1621 has a more
recessive hairline, and his nose appears much straighter. But,
on balance, the painting is more likely to represent Sir Roger
Mostyn than anyone else.

Thanks to the twice-written monogram ‘RH’, we can be
much more certain about the painter. This is without doubt
the monogram of Randle Holme the elder (1570/71–1655),
deputy herald, herald-painter, and city official of Chester.
Numerous examples of Holme’s full signature appear on
Chester City or Painters’ Company documents during the
many years he served as an official in both institutions,28
and on death certificates and other heraldic documents that he
signed in his capacity as deputy herald.29 Though the opening
letter ‘R’ appears somewhat differently in the full signature,
where the contemporary cursive style both allowed for and
encouraged complex flourishes, the ‘H’ of ‘Holme’ is clearly
the same as on this portrait (Pl 5). In addition, the abbreviat-
ed signature ‘RHolme’ appears in a recognizably similar form,
and in a similarly very small size, on numerous items in the
‘album’ of contemporary prints and drawings collected over
the years by Holme the elder and his son and namesake,
Randle the younger (1601–1659).30 In those cases, including,
e.g., Holme’s copy of Pierre Ferris l, *Représentation au
naturel, comme le roy tres-Chrestian Henry IIII roy de
France et de Navarre touche les Escroulles*, (1609), it is
immediately followed by the lower-case roman numerals writ-
ten, as was then the fashion, as ‘i’ or ‘ii’ (Pl 6).31 The fact that
no such appended numeral exists in this painting tells us that
Holme the elder painted it before his son entered the trade:
prior to that time a device to distinguish father from son
would have been superfluous. As the younger Holme entered
his apprenticeship only in 1617 and served for at least the
statutory seven years,32 Randle the elder had no need to add
the ‘i’ to his monogram on this painting of 1621.
The elder Holme led a remarkably active life, mastered a
number of related occupations, and served in an impressive
variety of offices both civic and heraldic. Having been appren-
ticed with the herald and herald painter Thomas Chaloner, he
married his master’s widow in 1598 and began a career which
included office holding in both the City of Chester and its
amalgamated Company of Painters, Embroiderers, Stationers,
and Glaziers on the one hand, and appointments by the
College of Arms on the other. The former activities included
terms as City alderman (1604 et seq), sheriff (1628), and
mayor (1633). As a member of the Company from about
1591, Holme served from time to time as steward, alderman,
and master. His heraldic posts included appointments as
deputy herald for Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, and
north Wales (1600–1605), the same counties except for
Shropshire (1603–1622), and then for Cheshire, Denbighshire, and Flintshire from 1619.33 The herald’s office
required a constant and close familiarity with the arms-bear-
ing families of his assigned region, recording their births,
deaths and marriages, weighing claims to arms-bearing sta-
tus, signing death and marriage certificates, arranging
heraldic funerals and designing their visual elements, and
generally keeping close track of family events. In addition,
Holme’s appointment of 1606 allowed him to monopolize
the heraldic painting required in those areas: to prevent ‘all
other Armormists and Paintyers … to paint blazon and sett
forth any funeral works escutcheon or atcheavements of
Arms but such Painters & workmen only as he the said Randal
Holme shall licence & employ being honest and sufficient
men’.34 If the number of his surviving signatures on funeral
certificates of the north Welsh gentry or his preparation of
degree rolls for the same clientele is characteristic of the
rest of his heraldic work, Holme took his duties very seriously
and did so over a long period of time.35 Holme’s heraldic role
thus provided important and active links between the urban
centre and its rural hinterland, townspeople and landed gentry,
and among families on either side of the English/Welsh bor-
der.36 Those same activities brought Holme into direct
contact with the Mostyns. He performed due diligence in
attending the 1618 funeral of Sir Thomas Mostyn, making
sure it observed the appropriate ceremonial requirements
before signing the funeral certificate itself.37 It is his workshop
which is almost certain to have produced the hatchments and
other heraldic devices for the same event.
As if these duties were not enough, this remarkably active
man also took his nominal occupation as a painter just as seri-
ously, and did well in its pursuit. As early as 1602 he had come
to know, serve as a surety for, and probably collaborate with,
the young sculptor Maximilian Colt (fl1595–1645). Not yet
enjoying the lavish court patronage that would shortly come
his way, Colt had signed a contract to produce a monument
for the Comptroller of the Port of Chester, Alexander Cote,
for the Chester parish church of St John’s. The tomb itself
bore five sets of arms, almost certainly drawn by Holme. In
signing on as Colt’s surety, Holme identified himself not as a
deputy herald, but rather and simply as ‘Paynter’.38 This is a
rare and valuable reference. Very little evidence of Holme’s
commissions for painting of any sort has survived and there
is none that shows him in the company of such an eminent
foreign-born craftsman as Colt. But, unique though it may be,
it does demonstrate Holme’s enterprising approach to a
career in painting. He had also, by that time, engaged his first
apprentice. His step-son, Thomas Chaloner’s son Jacob,
whom he trained to a successful career of his own as a herald
and heraldic painter, of note, began his apprenticeship with
Holme in 1601.39 Up to six others, including his sons William
and Randle the younger (both from 1617), are recorded as
having apprenticed with him; along with at least five journey-
men who worked in his shop, in later years.40

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Among the apprentices all but William Holme went on to highly successful careers, but not necessarily in heraldic painting. The most familiar of these is the well-known regional portraitist John Souch (1594–1645), who apprenticed with Holme between 1607 and 1617 and sundry of whose paintings of Welsh Anglo-Catholic gentry may still be seen. Edward Bellin (d 1650), who was apprenticed from 1624, is lesser known, but he enjoyed substantial success as a Chester painter. One of his portraits, of a gentleman of the Edwards Family of Rhual, survived at least into the 20th century. In addition, the well-known engraver Daniel King (1616–1661), sometime collaborator with Wenceslaus Hollar and William Dugdale, was apprenticed either to Holme or his son, Randle the younger. In sum, Holme’s interests, and his ability to train others, may well therefore have extended at some point to figurative as well as heraldic painting; and his tutelage fostered the leaders of the next generation of Chester painters.

This broadening out of painterly interests among the Chester painters from the heraldic to the figurative came in response to a growing glamour for portraiture amongst Welsh gentry families, and the absence of local or indigenous painters trained in that craft. Responding to that new fashion, Holme will have understood the commercial advantages, indeed the necessity, of keeping pace, and thus with teaching himself and others at least the rudiments of portraiture. We see the response to such motivation in the impressive collection, undertaken first by Randle the elder and then by his son, and namesake as well, of sophisticated continental prints and drawings of the later 16th and early 17th centuries. Known collectively as ‘The Holme Album’ and now held at the British Library, the collection contains over 150 prints and drawings of that era.

It is also here we find numerous examples of prints or drawings marked with the signature ‘RHolme I’ or ‘RHolme ii’. Although none of those acquired items has been dated, the evidence of Holme the elder’s monogram on the Mostyn Hall portrait offers an intriguing clue to the chronology of their compilation. Carried out in what is essentially a vernacular mode, albeit with a somewhat more refined working of the face, cuffs and collar, they stand in sharp contrast to the polished accomplishment of the collected prints and drawings. That collection indicates a desire to move away from that awkward native English craft tradition, and towards the refined, continentally derived styles and techniques of figurative drawing which was then coming to dominate the English scene. It suggests the sorts of imagery that Holme’s former apprentice Souch strove to obtain as his career progressed. A close friend and associate of both Holmes, Souch would have had ready access to their collection as it formed. His surviving portraits show a much more refined understanding of the perspective, shading, and blending of colours: they set him apart from the cruder workmanship of the Mostyn piece. Although Daniel King concentrated on engraving rather than painting, much the same may be said for his more refined approach.

It is highly unlikely that his heraldic training under Thomas Chaloner would have exposed the senior Holme to such contemporary, refined, and formal figurative imagery or to the techniques required to produce it. Nor would he need to have taken note of them so long as he stuck to painting arms and designing pedigrees. But it cannot have been long (if at all) after the Mostyn portrait of 1621 that he began to take note of such work. He may have sent to London for specific items, but books and prints will also have been available through the Stationers who were fellows of the same amalgamated Chester Company as the Painters. At that point, in or soon after 1621, he will have wanted to learn as much as he could about this new work, thus to collect, and to use his collection in training subsequent apprentices like Souch and perhaps King.

The likelihood of Holme painting portraits has been noted before, though no firm attribution of any work to him has hitherto been made for any specific portrait. He had tentatively been credited with the 1610 portrait of another Flintshireman, Thomas ap Ieuan ap David of Arddynwent, Mold, now held by the National Museum of Wales (Pl 7). It might be expected that such a local patron would conveniently have looked to nearby Chester to have his portrait done. The prominence and intricacy of the coat
of arms in that work suggests authorship by someone with Holme’s heraldic experience, and Holme was certainly an active herald and herald painter by 1610. In addition, a poorly written monogram on the painted surface had been read by some as ‘RHF’, and interpreted as ‘Randle Holme fecit’. For these reasons the Museum had initially suggested a tentative attribution to Holme, which was taken up in a 2002 doctoral thesis.78

Yet a close and lengthy examination of that work in July 2008 produced no such impression.79 The Museum itself subsequently changed the attribution on its on-line catalogue to ‘British School, 17th century’, and the author of that same thesis has also withdrawn that attribution in a later work.80 The monogram now appears to read ‘TR’, or ‘TRF’, which might point to Holme’s contemporary and fellow Cestrian painter, the obscure Thomas Robinson, but not to Holme.81

The confident assignment of the Mostyn Hall portrait to Randle Holme the elder allows us a little more insight into both painting and painter, and also to the portrayal of the Welsh gentry in general in the early 17th century. As for the portrait, the commission itself from a client/acquaintance in 1621 is likely to have marked the point at which Holme recognized the importance of taking on board some of the more refined portraiture that was then making its way into provincial England from the continent and the court. It suggests that he was beginning to understand the more refined approach during the course of completing this very work, as the facial features, cuffs and collar seem more confidently rendered than the anatomical proportions or perspective of the whole.

That observation points to the likelihood of a workshop painting in which Holme, a man with myriad other obligations on his plate, carried out the more accomplished parts and left the rest to an apprentice or journeyman. We know that Holme did have two apprentices on hand at that time, his sons William and Randle the younger, with the former much further along in his training.82 William Holme completed his apprenticeship and gained admission both to the freemasonry of Chester and the ranks of the painters’ Company in the following year.83

Finally, the painting itself, and its attribution to Holme, tells us a little more about north Welsh gentry portraiture at this time. It is no doubt still the case that many contemporary Welsh portraits remain in private hands and remain unfamiliar to the public, and also the case that very few painters of such portraits have become known to us.84 Most contemporary Welsh portraits, like their English counterparts, remain unattributed. Any such firm attribution of a Welsh portrait of this era makes an important discovery in and of itself.

It also sheds some light on the circumstances by which these Welsh portraits were commissioned. We do know that at least a few prominent Welsh families had painters resident in their houses for indeterminate periods of time. Although they probably spent most of their time doing heraldic or decorative work, some of them were no doubt capable of portraiture as well. A 1584 exchange between William, 3rd Earl of Worcester, from his seat at Raglan Castle in Monmouthshire to his friend Sir John Scudamore of Holme Lacy across the border in Herefordshire is obviously a fine piece of north Wales for decades to come.

2 Recent full-length efforts to bring such work to wider critical recognition include RobertTittler, The Race of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England, Manchester 2007; CatherineCropper, The Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales, London and New Haven 2012.
3 As described by Aileen Ribeiro in Stephanie Nolen et al., Shakespeare's Face, Toronto 2002, pp259–60.

Whereas you do offer that your mann should doe the picture for mee I vndle your thanks, but I am of opinion that I have a very sufficient workeman here with me. Wherefore if yo wilbe soe good as to sende mee the picture rowled upp by this bearer I will cause my mann to Drawe ytt, and it shalle sallye returned agaime unto you with thankes.

In a postscript he added the afterthought that ‘yf yor comynge... my Paynter shall drae you aliso’.85

Worcester’s painter may have been but a temporary member of his household, or possibly a painter based in a nearby Welsh community who was available on call. Raglan was undergoing extensive renovations at just that time, and one or more painters may have lived on site for the duration of that work. A few other resident Welsh painters of that time have come to light.86 Worcester’s exchange with Scudamore also adds to the impression that painters were then working with some frequency on both sides of the English-Welsh border, some of whom were no doubt itinerants. The eminent and prolific English painter Gilbert Jackson, for instance, is thought to have done some of his work in north Wales.87 The Devon-born/London-based painter Edward Bower or Bowers (fl1628 or 1629–1666/7) may have copied portraits for Welsh patrons, as three of his portraits of Charles remain in Welsh hands.88 And the Cheshire-reared painter Thomas Leigh the elder was especially talented and prolific in these years as an itinerant portraitist who worked in Wales as well as in England.89

But most early- to mid-17th-century portraitists of Welshmen seem to have been based in border centres like Chester and probably Shrewsbury. Convenience alone would have played a large part in this choice, but local loyalties must also have played their part. Sir Roger Mostyn knew enough of contemporary fashion to have shoulder wings inserted on to his doublet, but he bore a sufficient distaste for London so as to seek a local painter to depict them. Given what we know of the portrait patronage extended by the north Wales gentry of the time, that choice obviously led many sitters to Chester and thus to the Holme circle. The two Holmes, Bellin, Souch, Thomas Pulford (d 1646), and (more peripherally) both Thomas Leigh the elder (fl1616–1643) and the younger (fl1640s et seq), and perhaps even the engraver Daniel King (1616–1661). Several of its members, including Holme and younger and Souch, must have been put in touch with their Welsh patrons through Holme the elder’s heraldic activity. The elder Holme’s acolyte and friend John Souch, now reliably credited with portraying over a dozen north Welsh sitters from the 1630s on, is certainly the best known and most successful of the group.90 But the attribution of the Mostyn Hall portrait to Randle Holme the elder, preceding the other artists’ known portraiture by a decade or more, appears to establish that Chester was the focal point for portraiture of north Wales for decades to come.
Well over a hundred funeral certificates bearing Holme’s signatures are

9 The note reads: ‘Mr Pennant says this gentleman built Plas Mawr in

26 Mostyn Hall MS 180 (transcribed in NLW MS 6285E).

22 Glenn and Lloyd-Mostyn, op cit, pp126–27; National Library of Wales
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13 The dynasty is well described in Evans, pp132–77, and in AD Carr, ‘The
Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of
England Prior to 1650; the Randle Holme Album’.

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30 Well over a hundred funeral certificates bearing Holme’s signatures are

19 Mostyn Hall MS 180 (transcribed in NLW MS 6285E).

15 Echard’s description of Sir John Wynn is found in Pennant, III, pp132–
20 Evans, pp143–50.

33; John Steegman, A Survey of Portraits in Welsh Houses

55 At roughly the time of the Mostyn portrait, these would include the
Portrait Gallery (hereafter NPG), Heinz Archive, Painter files, see Bellin,
Steegman, I, pp 5, 22, 235, 317; Wright
and Anne Pritchard of the NMW for facilitating that visit and inspection of
the painting.

51 CCRO R.O. MSS ZG 17/1, passim

34 Cited from the original mandate in Siddons, ibid, I, p317.

52 CCRO MSS. ZG 17/1, 2 and possibly 1643; although the last two may not be
appropriated with Randle the younger instead. Journeymen included Jacob de Villegarde
(1598), Edward Sallford (1606), Samuel Harmer (1609), Edward Pouzer (1629),
and Humphrey Bennet (1629 and 1630). CCRO MSS. ZG 17.1 and
ZG 17.7 (pp, see by years).

56 Stewart and Cutten, op cit, p104.; Steegman, I, pp 5, 22, 235, 317; Wright
and Anne Pritchard of the NMW for facilitating that visit and inspection of
the painting.

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2057, 1963 (hereafter Steegman), I, p191, pl 34B.

270.

80 (1925), pp 33–34.


270.

32 CCRO MSS. ZG17/2, see entries for 1617.

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21 Evans, pp88–89.

20 Evans, pp71–77. For the portrait of Sir John Wynn see Pennant, III, pp132–
20 Evans, pp143–50.

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