

THE ENGLISH  
TRADITION  
IN ARCHI-  
TECTURE

FROM ROMAN BRITAIN TO COVENTRY CATHEDRAL

BY JOHN GLOAG

In eight chapters John Gloag surveys the history of architecture in England from the luxury building and pagan temples of Roman Britain to great contemporary structures like Coventry Cathedral.

The development of the characteristically *English* approach to the use of materials, the adventurousness and abundant commonsense of the mediaeval builders, and the perplexity of craftsmen who had to cope with fashionable "Italianate" ideas in the sixteenth century, and the revelation of classic architecture as a great system of design that followed the work of Inigo Jones, are described with the zest and vitality of a writer who believes that architecture reveals everything about the people of every age. The nature of the urbane, pleasure-loving, rational Georgians is disclosed by the harmony and beauty of their buildings; and the Victorian flight from reality and passion for disguise and earnest romanticism are expressed by the architectural revivals of their period.

This is a history of England in wood and stone and brick, concrete and glass, written for the non-specialist, by an author whose imaginative grasp of the subject gives to every page of text and to the captions of the illustrations a lively and often unusual interest.

DEC 13 1975

**MAI** DEC 30 1975

SEP 21 1976

**MAI** NOV 8 1976

**MAI** OCT 11 1978

**MAI** NOV 2 1981

**MAI** SEP 14 1987

1989 MONPHS

**MAI** NOV 21 1989

DEC 27 1990

**MAI** MAY 30 1991

**MAI** MAR 25 1991

JUN 18 1991

**MAI** MAR 07 1993

**MAI** FEB 03 1997



720.942 G56e 63-21639  
.oag  
The English tradition in  
architecture

720.942 G56e 63-21639  
Gloag \$8.50  
The English tradition in  
architecture

kansas city



public library

kansas city, missouri

Books will be issued only  
on presentation of library card.

Please report lost cards and  
change of residence promptly.

Card holders are responsible for  
all books, records, films, pictures  
or other library materials  
checked out on their cards.

THE ENGLISH TRADITION IN  
ARCHITECTURE

*Some Books by the same Author*

THE ENGLISH TRADITION IN DESIGN

THE ENGLISHMAN'S CASTLE

MEN AND BUILDINGS

GUIDE TO WESTERN ARCHITECTURE

ENGLISH FURNITURE

*(The Library of English Art)*

A SHORT DICTIONARY OF FURNITURE

TIME, TASTE AND FURNITURE

INDUSTRIAL ART EXPLAINED

THE MISSING TECHNICIAN IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

WORD WARFARE

*The Social History of Design, 1660-1900*

I. GEORGIAN GRACE

II. VICTORIAN COMFORT

III. VICTORIAN TASTE

A HISTORY OF CAST IRON IN ARCHITECTURE

*(In collaboration with Derek Bridgewater, F.R.I.B.A.)*

HOUSE OUT OF FACTORY

*(In collaboration with Grey Wornum, F.R.I.B.A.)*

THE AMERICAN NATION

*(In collaboration with Julian Gloag)*





Interior of Coventry Cathedral, looking towards the Chancel and Altar from the middle of the Nave. The English tradition in design and craftsmanship has been given new life by a team of builders, engineers, artists and architects, working together for twelve years. The great church, completed in 1962, was designed by Sir Basil Spence, O.M., P.P.R.I.B.A.



THE  
ENGLISH TRADITION  
IN ARCHITECTURE

BY

JOHN GLOAG

WITH 78 PHOTOGRAPHS  
AND 193 ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

BARNES & NOBLE INC.  
NEW YORK

FIRST PUBLISHED 1963  
BY A. AND C. BLACK LTD  
4, 5 AND 6 SOHO SQUARE, LONDON W.1

© JOHN GLOAG, 1963

This book is copyright under the Berne Convention. No portion may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Enquiries should be addressed to the author's literary agent, Harold Matson, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y., U.S.A.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
BY W. & J. MACKAY & CO. LTD., CHATHAM

Dedicated to  
NIKOLAUS PEVSNER  
to celebrate  
twenty-nine years  
of friendship

6321596



## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
1. ROMAN FOUNDATIONS	I
2. BRITAIN INTO ENGLAND	15
3. NORMAN POWER	35
4. GOTHIC ADVENTURE	55
5. THE NATIVE ENGLISH STYLE	88
6. TRANSITION TO CLASSIC	123
7. THE GOLDEN AGE	147
8. THE REVIVALS AND THE HIDDEN STYLE	217
BOOKS USED OR QUOTED	241
THE PLATES	248
INDEX	249



## ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

CHAPTER I	<i>Page</i>
Map of Roman Britain, third century A.D.	3
Remains of tower on Roman wall of London	4
Architectural fragments from Viroconium	7
Reconstruction of the temple settlement at Lydney	9
Conjectural appearance of Romano-British villa house, and late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century houses	10
Reconstruction of Romano-British house at Silchester	11
Persistence of pattern: Romano-British and mediaeval renderings of four-leafed motif	12
Roman gateway at Lincoln	13
CHAPTER 2	
Map of Anglo-Saxon states and British Kingdom, eighth century A.D.	14
Cities illustrated in ninth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript	17
Anglo-Saxon house, from ninth-century manuscript	19
The Saxon forerunner of the Great Hall: a timber-built, thatched house: seventh to ninth centuries	21
“Teapot Hall”, formerly at Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire	22
The Church at Reculver, Kent, as it appeared in 1816	25
The persistence of the semicircular arch: examples from Saxon churches	26
Exterior and interior views of St. Nicholas’ Church, Leicester	29
Saxon versions of Doric columns	30
The Saxon crypt, St. Wystan’s, Repton	31
Church towers at Earl’s Barton, Northamptonshire, and Sompting, Sussex	33
St. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire	34
CHAPTER 3	
The Jews’ House, Lincoln, with detail of doorway	38
Norman House at Dol, Ille et Vilaine, Northern France, with detail of column	39
Reconstruction of thirteenth-century fortified manor house, and Norman manor house at Boothby Pagnell, near Grantham, Lincolnshire	41

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	<i>Page</i>
Three examples of Norman windows	42-43
The Norman tower of Tewkesbury Abbey	44
North-east transept of Ely Cathedral	45
Examples of Norman capitals	46
Interior of St. Sepulchre, Cambridge	47
Part of the nave of Ely Cathedral	48
Bay of west transept of Ely Cathedral	49
West façade of Castle Rising, Norfolk	50
North porch of Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire	51
Fifteenth-century view of the Tower of London	52
Hollar's view of the Tower of London, mid-seventeenth century	53
 CHAPTER 4	
Arcaded triforium of the Choir, Canterbury Cathedral	57
Arches between Trinity Chapel and Corona, Canterbury Cathedral	58
Round and shallow pointed arches, in the Corona, Canterbury Cathedral	59
Nave and Choir of Lichfield Cathedral, showing deflection of eastern limb	61
Lincoln Cathedral: section through aisle	63
Section through nave of Westminster Abbey	64
Flying buttresses, drawn by Pugin	65
Interior of Temple Church St. Mary	66
Chapter House, Salisbury Cathedral	67
Capitals and arches, Salisbury Cathedral	68
Part of the tower and spire, Salisbury Cathedral	69
Part of north side of the nave, Salisbury Cathedral	70
Elevation and section of one compartment of the nave of Salisbury Cathedral	71
Double arch of the triforium in the Presbytery, Ely Cathedral	73
East end of the Presbytery, Ely Cathedral	75
Mediaeval timber roofs, after Pugin	76
Pugin's ideal mediaeval parish church	77
Corner of the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey	79
The Savoy Palace from the River Thames.	80-81
Westminster from the Thames in 1647, after Hollar	83-85



ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER 5	
Doorway at Merton College Chapel, Oxford	87
Magdalen College, Oxford. After Pugin	89
Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey	91
Idealised presentation of mediaeval mansion, after Pugin	92
Remains of Priory buildings, Ely	93
Central hearth, Penshurst Place, Kent	94
Cut and moulded brickwork on chimney shafts	95
East and west sides of Gatehouse, Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire	96-97
White Hall, Oxford	98
The prior's lodging, Much Wenlock Priory	99
The George Inn, Glastonbury	100
House in Small Street, Bristol	101
Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire	102
Sutton Place, Guildford, Surrey	103
Windows from Yanwath Hall, Westmorland, Sutton Place, Guildford, Surrey, and Little Wolford Manor, Warwickshire	104
Bay windows at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire,	105
Developments of the bay window	106-107, 109
The Clock Tower in the Clock Court, Hampton Court	110
Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire	112
Westow Hall, Suffolk	113
The gate-house, Richmond Palace, Richmond Green	114
Richmond Palace in 1618	115
Late fifteenth-century timber-framed house, Shrewsbury	116
The White Hart Inn, Bishopsgate Street, London	117
The original parish church of St. Paul, Hammersmith, and the tower of St. Michael, Huyton, Lancashire	118
St. Mary's, the parish church of Mortlake	119
Newgate, built by Richard Whittington	121
CHAPTER 6	
View of Coberly, from Kip's engraving	122
Nonsuch Palace	125
Shipton Moyne, from Kip's engraving	127
Bruce Castle, Tottenham, Middlesex	129
Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, east wing	130

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	<i>Page</i>
Old Somerset House, about 1720	131
Wimbledon House	135
Late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century windows	137
Northumberland House, Charing Cross, in the mid-eighteenth century	139
Chimney-piece from the Star Chamber	141
The monument of Sir Thomas Gorges in Salisbury Cathedral	142
Victorian clock, designed for a cathedral or town hall	143
The galleried yard of the Angel Inn, Islington	145
CHAPTER 7	
The Roman Orders: Tuscan and Doric	148
The Roman Orders: Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite	149
Wilton House, Wiltshire	151
St. Paul's Cathedral	152-153
The Customs House, King's Lynn, Norfolk	154
Melton Constable Hall, Norfolk	155
The Monument, Fish Street Hill, London	157
Goose-pie House, Whitehall	159
Monmouth House, Soho Square	165
Part of the High Street, Oxford, showing the screen of Queen's College	168
Maids of Honour Row, Richmond Green, Surrey	173
Early Georgian houses at Richmond, Surrey	175, 177
Part of the north side of Queen Square, Bath	178
Part of the west front of Wanstead House, Essex	179
Newel post and balusters of stairway	180
Lord Burlington's villa at Chiswick	182
Entrance gates to Bromley College, Kent, and Hogarth's capital of wigs and hats	185
Sudbrook Lodge, Petersham, Surrey	186
The Customs House, Lancaster	186
Shop front in Bedford Street, Woburn, Bedfordshire	188
The Parsonage at Woburn, Bedfordshire	190
The Mansion House, London, as it appeared in the mid-eighteenth century	191
Venetian window, after Ware	192
Five designs for windows, after Ware	193

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

	<i>Page</i>
The Rotunda, Ranelagh Gardens	194
St. Mary's Church, Battersea	195
Arch of Richmond Bridge, on the Surrey side	197
The Greek Orders: Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian	198
No. 7 Adam Street, Adelphi	199
The River Front of the Adelphi in June 1771	200
The River Front of Somerset House	201
The Duke of Northumberland's boathouse, near Syon House, Middlesex	202
Gatekeeper's Lodge, Richmond Hill Gate, Richmond Park	203
Ancaster House, and the old Star and Garter Tavern, Richmond Hill	204
The Star and Garter Home, Richmond, Surrey	205
Sir John Soane's House, 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields	206
The office of the <i>European Magazine</i> , 32 Cornhill	207
Strawberry Hill, Twickenham	208
Small villa in the "Gothic taste"	209
A "Gothick" frontispiece	210
A "Gothick Temple"	211
The first cast-iron bridge in the world	212
The Albion Flour Mills, on the Thames, 1784	213
Temple Grove, East Sheen, in 1812	214
CHAPTER 8	
The Victoria Tower, Houses of Parliament	219
Railway bridge, between Runcorn and Widnes	220
The first station at Edge Hill, Liverpool	221
Tower of Hurst House, Huyton	223
The Law Courts in the Strand	225
Piccadilly Circus in the mid-1890s	226
Ludgate Circus in the mid-1890s	227
The Board of Works Offices, Wandsworth	229
Cast-iron gangway portal, Prince's Landing Stage, Liverpool	230
Terrace houses on Mortlake Green	232
Double detached suburban villa, Porchester Terrace, Bayswater	233
Suburban development 1860-1880. West and east sides of Vardens Road, Battersea	234
Suburban development, 1860-1870. St. John's Hill, Battersea	236
The Spread Eagle, High Street, Wandsworth	237

## LIST OF PLATES

*Frontispiece*: Interior of Coventry Cathedral.

1. Tower of St. Albans Abbey and model of south-east gate of Verulamium.
2. Two classical versions of London: Roman London A.D. 300, and early nineteenth-century London.
3. Mediaeval London before the Fire of 1666, after Hollar.
4. Ely Cathedral, air view, and interior showing the octagon.
5. Durham Cathedral from the air.
6. Ruins of Buildwas Abbey, air view, and part of the nave arcade.
7. Tewkesbury Abbey from the air.
8. The Norman nave of old St. Paul's.
9. The Early English choir of old St. Paul's.
10. Lincoln Cathedral from the air, and eighteenth-century view of west towers showing spires.
11. West front of York Minster and air view.
12. Air views of Canterbury and Gloucester Cathedrals.
13. Air view and west front of Peterborough Cathedral.
14. Air view of Wells Cathedral and Bishop's Palace.
15. Windsor Castle from the air.
16. Ockwells Manor, Berkshire. Exterior.
17. Ockwells Manor. The Hall.
18. St. William's Chapel on the Ouse Bridge at York, and fourteenth-century house at Chipping Campden.
19. Early sixteenth-century house formerly in Hart Street, London.

#### LIST OF PLATES

20. Richmond Palace from the painting by David Vinckeboons.
21. Two views showing the remains of Richmond Palace in the eighteenth century.
22. Entrance of Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire.
23. Entrance to the Manor at York.
24. Strand front of Somerset House, 1547-1552, from John Thorpe's drawing.
25. The gate of Burlington House, Piccadilly.
26. Sexagonal porch at St. Leonard, Sunningwell, Berkshire. South porch of University Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford.
27. The Royal Exchange, after Hollar.
28. Church at Staunton Harold, Leicestershire.
29. St. John's Church, Leeds.
30. Banqueting House, Whitehall. Raynham Hall, Norfolk.
31. The west front of old St. Paul's, after Hollar and a drawing by Inigo Jones.
32. Air view of St. Paul's Cathedral.
33. Interior view of St. Paul's Cathedral, after Thomas Malton.
34. The Horse Guards, Whitehall, in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries.
35. The Royal Hospital, Chelsea, exterior from the north-west, and elevation, river frontage and gardens.
36. South front of Seaton Delaval, and Vanbrugh Castle.
37. Castle Howard, Yorkshire: general view and entrance doorway.
38. Towers of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, St. Mary-le-Strand, London, and Cathedral of St. Jago de la Vega, Spanish Town, Jamaica.
39. Towers of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London.

#### LIST OF PLATES

40. Governor's Palace and College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.
41. Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
42. White Lodge, Richmond Park, Surrey, and Hackwood Park, Hampshire.
43. North side of Queen Square, Bath, and Pitzhanger Place, Ealing.
44. Richmond Hill in the late eighteenth century. Houses in Gloucester Terrace, London.
45. Church Street, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. The Red Lion Inn, Parkgate, Wirral, Cheshire.
46. Railway station at Buxton, and station at Millers Dale, Derbyshire.
47. South Terrace, Heathcote, Ilkley, Yorkshire.
48. The Victorian skyline and the new Western architecture.

#### REFERENCES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Footnotes have been avoided. Books referred to or quoted in the text are listed under chapters, beginning on page 241. Acknowledgements to sources of illustrations are given in the captions.

Many illustrations in the text have been reproduced from the work of eighteenth and nineteenth century draughtsmen, who were able to record examples of mediaeval architecture before they had been "restored" (which generally meant destroyed or defaced) by Victorian architects.

## ROMAN FOUNDATIONS

**R**OMAN Britain included England, Wales and, for a short time, that part of Scotland which lies south of a line drawn between the Clyde and the Forth; a line once marked by a wall, thirty-seven miles long, linking up nineteen forts, built about A.D. 142, and forming the northernmost border of the Roman Empire when Antonius Pius was Emperor. Twenty years earlier a much longer wall farther south was begun by command of the Emperor Hadrian, completed about A.D. 127, and ran for seventy-three miles between Solway Firth and the Tyne estuary. The only part of Scotland incorporated in the Roman province was the area between those walls, which also included a small section of Cumberland and nearly all of Northumberland. This wild piece of country was never effectually Romanised; before the end of the second century it was abandoned, and the Antonine Wall no longer garrisoned. South of Hadrian's Wall, the province flourished; a network of well-made, straight roads, cleared on either side for the length of a bow shot, made communications easy and comparatively safe; towns were planned and built, and large, comfortable country houses were occupied by prosperous landowners, who worked their estates with slaves and native labour. The system endured from the Claudian conquest in the first century, to the end of the fourth; and to the governing classes, the officials, the landlords and the army, this form of society must have seemed, like Rome itself, to be part of an eternal order of things. Wales was imperfectly absorbed, and there were pockets of savagery, especially in the country north of York, where the Brigantes occasionally asserted their tribal independence; but in the Midlands, the Cotswolds, and the South East, the land was as serene and settled as it was in the eighteenth century. The cities had every Roman convenience: drainage, excellent water supply,

plumbing that would almost have satisfied modern American standards, public baths, temples, commodious government buildings, and sometimes an amphitheatre, usually outside the walls, though for a long time town walls were unnecessary in the relatively peaceful province.

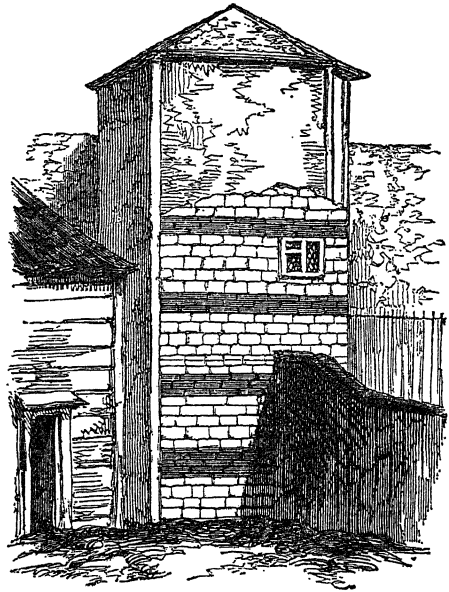
Gildas, writing about A.D. 560, mentioned twenty-eight walled cities in Britain, a statement repeated by the Venerable Bede over a century and a half later, and by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Britonum* later still, in 1139. Some of those cities survived, bequeathing their sites and names, but not their buildings, to the English nation that came out of the barbarian melting-pot of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. A few may have been continuously inhabited from the last days of Roman order to the establishment of the first English kingdoms: some, like Calleva Atrebatum, now called Silchester in Hampshire, and Viroconium, near Wroxeter in Shropshire, fell into ruin, leaving above ground only a few masses of masonry, after they had been used for centuries as quarries for building materials. The ruins of Isca Silurum, Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, were sufficiently impressive in the last quarter of the twelfth century to inspire a lyrical account of their former magnificence by Gerald de Barri, Giraldus Cambrensis, who described the remains of palaces, baths, theatres and temples, aqueducts and heating systems in his *Itinerarium Cambrense*. Some of the Romano-British cities, like Silchester and Verulamium, near St. Albans, never became effectively mature. Although optimistically planned for development and expansion, their planners were unable to sell the Roman way of life to enough people, for they were never built up and fully populated, despite their abundant amenities. Many of those cities were tribal capitals; others had a military origin, and like Chester and York became established as military stations. (Chester was the permanent headquarters of the XXth Legion, Valeria Victrix; and from A.D. 75 to about 120, the IXth Legion, Hispana, was stationed at York, being replaced after that date by the VIth, Victrix.) Some towns were associated with a special industry; there were dyers at Silchester, iron-workers at Viroconium, potteries at Castor (Durobrivae), Northamptonshire, glass works at Wilderspool, near Warrington in Lancashire; and there were large industrial districts, like Ariconium, which has been called





Roman Britain in the third century, A.D. The province between the walls in the North had been abandoned: the country between York and Hadrian's Wall was imperfectly settled, and the Brigantes were unpredictable and intermittently anti-Roman. In the Midlands, South West and South East, the natives had been given the full treatment by Roman officials and for some generations had enjoyed the material benefits of civilisation. Some of the lost cities are shown: Viroconium; Ariconium, "the third century Birmingham"; Isca Silurum; Calleva; Verulamium; the Port of Lemanae, also the site of the Lydney Temple settlement in the Forest of Dean. *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

Remains of a tower on the Roman wall of London, formerly in Houndsditch, but demolished in the second half of the eighteenth century. This drawing by F. W. Fairholt is copied from a sketch made by Gough in 1763, and is reproduced from *Illustrations of Roman London*, by Charles Roach Smith (London: Privately printed for subscribers, 1859).



“a third-century Birmingham”, now buried below fields southwest of the village of Bromsash, near Ross-on-Wye, Herefordshire. The industrial areas resembled those which grew up in England during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; though far smaller in scale, they were organised in much the same way, and in the potteries mass production methods were employed.

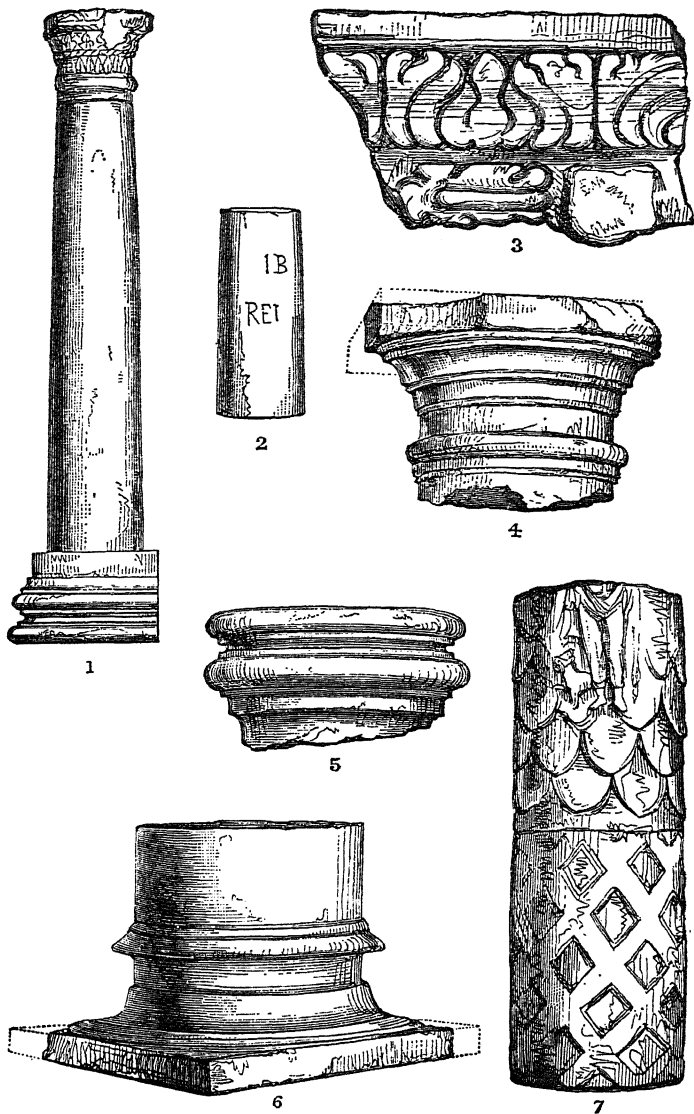
Very different from the small provincial and garrison towns was that cosmopolitan pleasure city, Bath, *Aquae Sulis*, first mentioned about A.D. 150 by the Alexandrian geographer, Claudius Ptolemy, and as popular as a spa in the second, third and fourth centuries as it was in the Georgian period. *Sulis*, one of the many vague local British deities, was the goddess of the hot springs at Bath, and her temple was a magnificent building, conforming, like most large sacred and secular buildings in Roman Britain, with the system of design that was universal throughout the Empire, and indeed throughout all the Graeco-Roman world. This system of design, developed and perfected in Greece, was based on the use of the

Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders of architecture: to those three orders, the Romans added two variations: the Tuscan, which resembled the Doric, and the Composite, which was an ornate, vulgarised version of the Corinthian. The Roman orders, and the characteristic ornamental conventions identified with each, were used throughout Britain as they were in all the provinces of the Empire, from Syria to Spain, from Africa to the Alps. This gave to the Romano-British towns a superficial external likeness to the larger, wealthier cities that sparkled in Mediterranean sunlight. Lethaby once described Roman London, Londinium Augusta, as "a little Rome in the West", and it was a miniature Rome, seen through the mist-filtered sunlight of Britain, a seat of government, a busy port, thronged with traders and merchants, an accommodatingly tolerant place with temples and facilities for the varied and sometimes peculiar religions of the Empire. It was certainly a miniature city, barely 330 acres in extent within the walls, and almost overpowered by the scale and grandeur of its public buildings. For example, the principal basilica, or city-hall of Londinium, stood at the highest point on a site now covered by Leadenhall Market, a great aisled hall with an eastern apse, at least 350 feet long, probably 420 feet, opening on to a forum, or open market-place, which had shops and offices on the three remaining sides. (See upper illustration, plate 2.)

Every city had comparable buildings. At Silchester, the Basilica was 233 feet 6 inches long, 58 feet wide, with an apse at each end: the Forum court was 142 by 130 feet, with the Basilica on the west side, and porticoes on the north, east and south sides. Tuscan columns of Bath stone supported the roofs of the porticoes; Corinthian columns of the same material were used in the Basilica. More detailed knowledge is available about Silchester than any other Romano-British town; the thick wall which still encloses the area is a mile and a half long; the street plan has been recovered, and the character of the public buildings, temples and houses have been imaginatively reconstructed by Mr. George C. Boon, in his comprehensive study of the site, which was published in 1957. These reconstructions include a small building, close to the Forum, 24 feet by 42 feet overall, which exhibits the features of an early Christian church. Because of its important position in the city, and the importance of Silchester as a place, Lethaby thought it was

probably a bishop's church. It was discovered in 1892, and has since been discussed more than any other building in Roman Britain. It was probably built not later than the middle of the fourth century; but no evidence of Christian use has ever been found. The identification of the building rests on its plan alone, and that plan was not exclusive to Christian churches, for it was modelled on the Roman basilica, and had all the features of that secular building; also, when the Silchester church was built, Christianity was still in active competition with other religions, particularly with its most powerful rival, the cult of Mithras. The form of the mithraem, with its sanctuaries and chapels, may well have suggested some of the characteristics of early Christian churches. The Mithraic chapels seldom provided room for more than fifty worshippers; even the largest could scarcely accommodate a hundred. There was a strong resemblance between the Mithraic cult and Christianity: it was a democratic religion, which ignored class barriers—officers and legionaries, patricians and slaves, worshipping together, equal before their god—but women were excluded. It was a man's religion, and very popular with the army.

The conflict between the Christian Church and the pagan cults continued for hundreds of years, and although there is indisputable evidence of a British Church in the fourth century (three British bishops attended the Council of Arles in A.D. 314), the old gods still held the loyalty of provincial Roman citizens, and in Britain there were not only the deities of the Roman pantheon, but local native gods and goddesses, like Sulis at Bath, and Nodens, a god of hunting, who may also have been a god of healing, and to whom a temple was dedicated and built at Lydney, in the Forest of Dean. This temple and the adjacent group of buildings were erected soon after A.D. 364–367: the last, large-scale architectural undertaking in Roman Britain. The Report on the Lydney excavations, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1932, suggests that "With its nave and aisles, its benches, its piscina, and its chapels, all reviewed in relation to its late date, the Lydney temple may be regarded as the consecrated meeting-place of a college or brotherhood, subdivided doubtless into various grades and devoted to a cult which . . . had developed along the lines of the mystery-cults everywhere popular under the later empire.

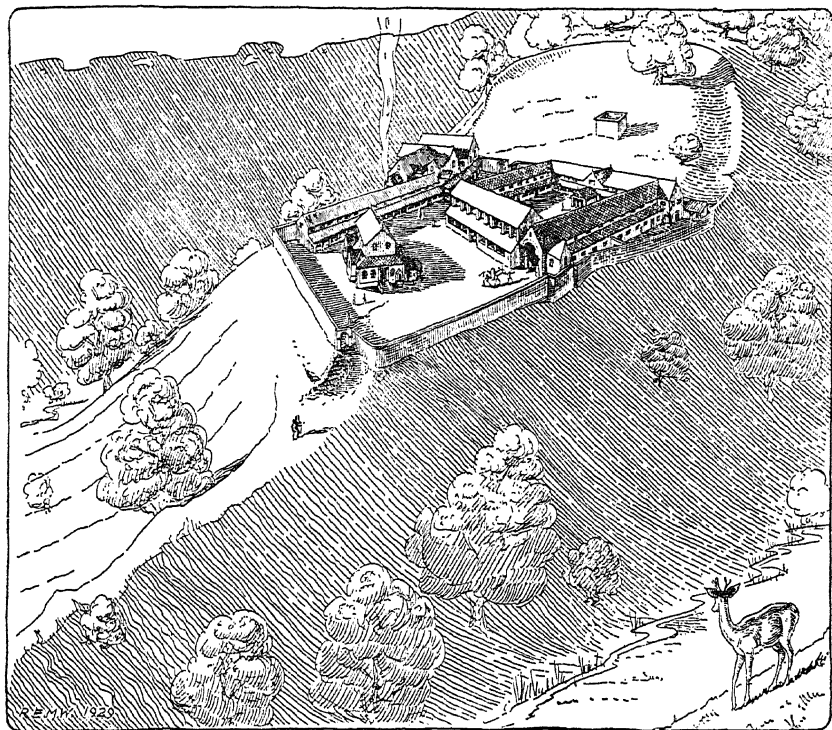


Architectural fragments from one of the lost Romano-British cities, Viroconium near the village of Wroxeter, Shropshire. The column on the left (1) is one of a pair that stands in front of the church at Wroxeter. Reproduced from plate VIII of *The Roman City of Uriconium*, by J. Corbet Anderson (London: J. Russell Smith, 1867).

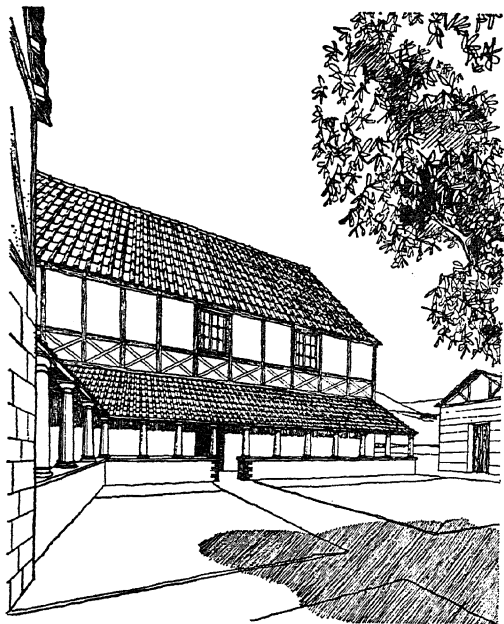
Just as these cults, in their higher forms, had not a little in common with contemporary Christianity—and were, indeed, at one time formidable rivals to it—so it is not unnatural to find that here and there they evolved architectural forms which show a certain similarity with those of the early Christian church. But the pagan mystery-cults lacked the essential strength and unity of purpose that enabled organised Christianity to express itself almost from the outset in an enduring architectural formula. In the fourth century the darkness was already closing rapidly upon them, and they were groping more and more hesitantly towards the goal which Christianity had already reached. The Lydney temple, with its partially transmuted pagan forms, represents the ultimate achievement of some one of these lost rivals of Christianity. Its interest, therefore, is not that of a step in the main evolution of religious architecture. But it is, in its way, a work of real originality, and it enriches the architectural record of the most critical period in the religious history of Europe.”

The reconstruction by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, opposite, shows the extent of the Lydney temple-settlement, and although such restorations are conjectural, enough has been discovered from the excavations to suggest the external character of the buildings. Accommodation for “a college or brotherhood” would present much the same problems as those solved by the builders of mediaeval monastic establishments. (See the prior’s lodging at Much Wenlock, illustrated on page 99.)

In appearance, Romano-British houses, whether in towns like Silchester or adorning the countryside, with their red-tiled roofs and spacious planning, gave a pre-view of the comfort that was to characterise English homes over a thousand years later. They were usually built round courtyards, as indeed were many mediaeval houses, and the materials and structural technique differed little from the timber-framed houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when an upper storey was superimposed on walls of stone or brick. The windows were small, glazed with translucent glass, which chilled daylight with a green or blue tinge, and putty was certainly used, for traces of cement have been found on window glass excavated at Silchester. A wooden framework, with rebated glazing bars to take the small, thick panes, was probably employed. Such meagre windows contributed nothing to the

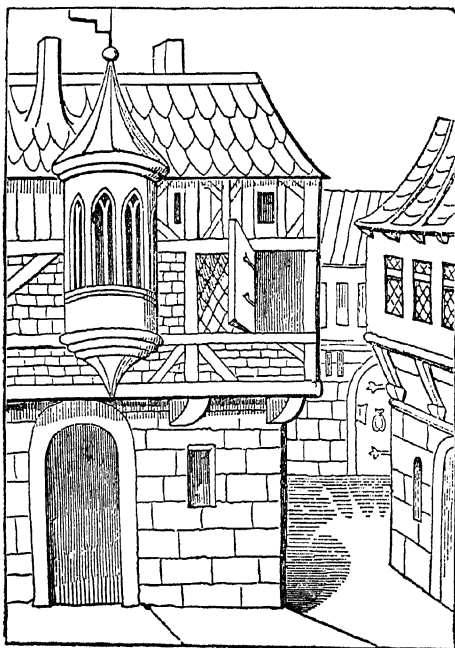


The last large-scale group of buildings erected in Roman Britain. Soon after A.D. 364–367 a temple dedicated to the god Nodens was built at Lydney, in the Forest of Dean. Above: A reconstruction of the temple settlement. The temple is the building on the left; the large building surrounding a courtyard is the guest-house; beyond, at an angle, are the baths. A long building runs behind the temple to the baths, containing a range of small rooms opening on to a verandah. Although such restorations are conjectural so far as external appearance is concerned, it seems probable that Romano-British buildings foreshadowed some of the forms that became familiar in the domestic architecture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Reproduced by courtesy of The Society of Antiquaries of London, from the *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, by R. E. M. Wheeler, D. Lit., F.S.A., and T. V. Wheeler, F.S.A. (Oxford University Press, 1932), fig. 7.

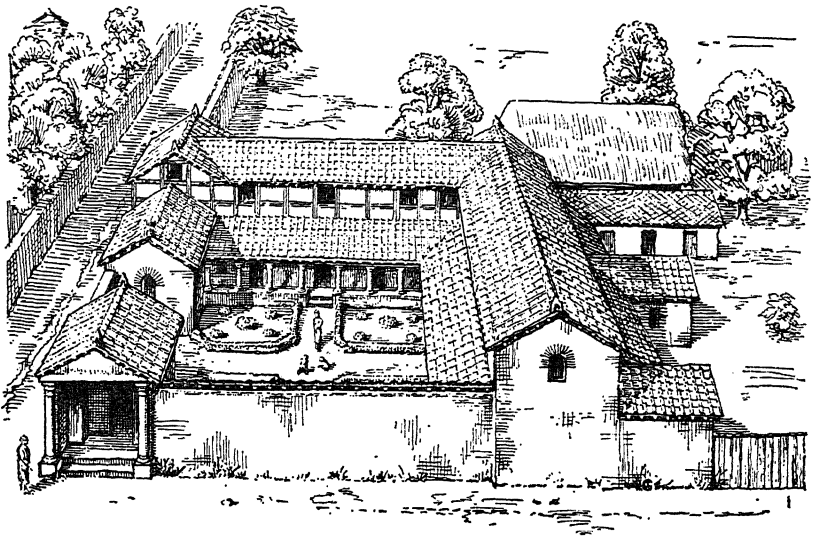


Conjectural appearance of a Romano-British villa house. Such houses were usually built round a courtyard (see opposite page), and the materials and structural technique differed little from the timber-framed houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when an upper storey was superimposed on walls of brick or stone. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

*Right:* Town houses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries differed in plan from Romano-British houses, though many were built round courtyards. Windows were larger and varied in design, and chimneys rose above the roof line. Drawn by F. W. Fairholt from an engraving in the reprint of Alexander Barclay's translation of *The Ship of Fools*, by Sebastian Brant, published in 1570. (Included in Thomas Wright's *History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England*, 1862.)

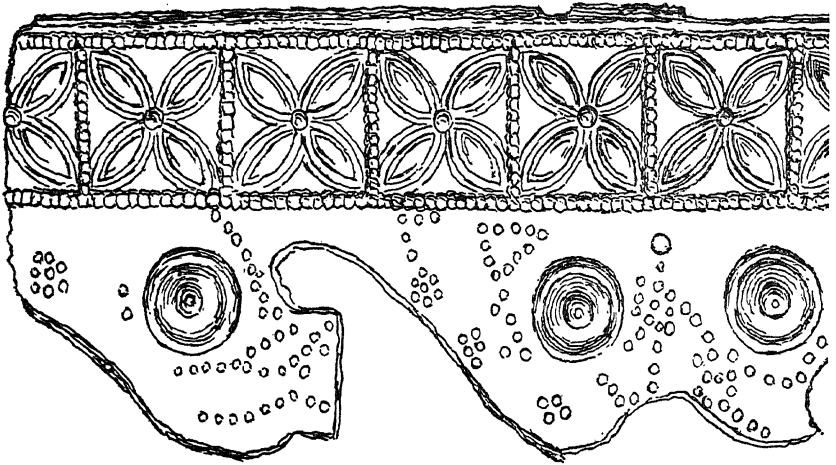




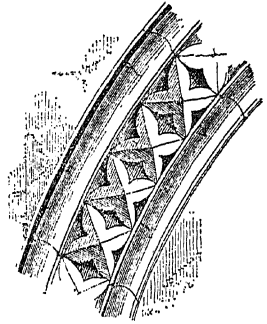


Imaginative reconstruction of a house in the Romano-British city of Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum). From *Roman Silchester*, by George C. Boon, B.A., F.S.A., fig. 26, page 143, Chapter 6. *Reproduced by courtesy of the publishers, Max Parrish and Company Limited, London.*

external character of a house, nor did they provide rooms with a view—at least not in the far western Province of Britain. Such refined partnerships with a landscape were reserved for kinder climates, for luxurious villas in Italy and Gaul. Mr. Boon's reconstruction of a house in Silchester, given above, shows a commodious home, but one enclosed and turned inwards upon itself, for on three sides of the courtyard a covered corridor shades and protects the ground-floor rooms. There are no chimneys, for floors and walls were heated by means of a hypocaust—one of the best systems of central heating ever devised—and hot air warmed floors and walls, passing through ducts below the floors, and ascending, through hollow box-tiles built in with the masonry, to the eaves, where some shelter from rain in the form of a capping or a hood in tile, stone or cement, was probably used. During



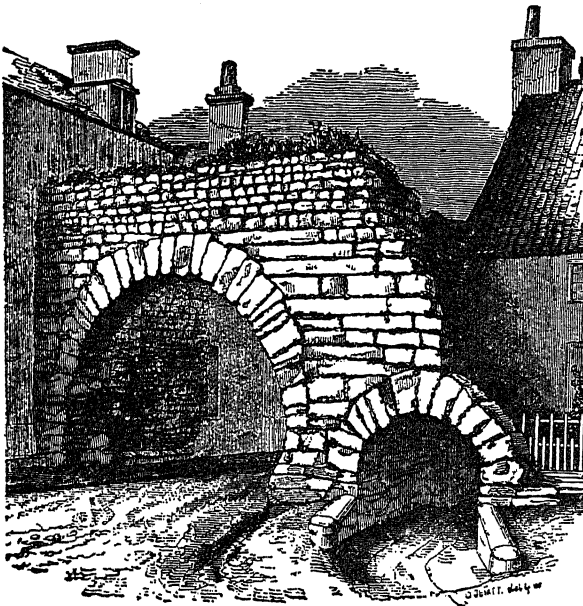
The persistence of pattern. This simple square four-leaved motif appears in metal, stone and wood. *Above*: An incised pattern on a bronze plate, intended for the ornamentation of a wooden surface. Romano-British, from the Lydney temple-settlement, circa A.D. 364-367. Reproduced from *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, by the Rev. William Hiley Bathurst, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1879), plate XXIII. *Right*: Tooth, or dog-tooth ornament, used in the Early English style: another example of the square four-leaved flower motif. From Canterbury Cathedral. Late twelfth to early thirteenth century. From Parker's *Glossary*.



winter, little threads of smoke wavered up from the tops of walls and eaves. Fireplaces have been found in some of the Silchester houses, but this form of heating was extremely rare.

Although Roman Britain survived for nearly four centuries, it bequeathed no architectural heritage to England, as Roman Gaul bequeathed traditions of design and style to France: a few structural hints were handed on, and they struggled back into use not through direct contact with a living tradition, but by imitation of something long dead, far gone in decay, ruinous and forbidding.

A few elementary patterns of ornament may have persisted: nothing comparable with the decorative vitality of the tessellated pavements and the less accomplished mural paintings that have been found in so many town and country houses of the period. The arch reappeared when, after a long, uncreative interval, builders again began to use stone, and little wizened parodies of Doric and Tuscan columns, bloated dwarfs, more like balusters, were the forerunners of mullions in the unglazed windows of a few religious buildings in the Anglo-Saxon states. During the centuries between the settled order of the Roman Province, and the establishment of the English kingdoms, war, general insecurity and the use of impermanent materials hampered builders, who were concerned chiefly with fortification and the repair of town walls. The classic orders of architecture were forgotten; the rules determining their proportions were lost mysteries; over a thousand years passed before they were resurrected in Tudor England, and then they were misunderstood and distorted for another century.



The Roman Gateway at Lincoln. This fragment is far less impressive than the double fortified gate of Verulamium, reconstructed on plate 1, and the quality of the masonry is inferior. From *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, by J. H. Parker.



The Anglo-Saxon States and the British Kingdoms in the eighth century: the latter are shaded. The great extent of Northumbria is apparent, with its southern province of Deira, occupying what is now Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the northern province, Bernicia, embracing Durham, Northumberland and Lothian. *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

## BRITAIN INTO ENGLAND

**V**IEWS about history alter, generation by generation; sources formerly repudiated as unreliable are re-examined and interpreted afresh, while Victorian intolerance for myth and legend is replaced by a more receptive though still critical attitude of mind, especially when exploring those challenging periods that are poor in written records but rich in heroic, semi-mythical figures. Occasionally the archaeologist gives authentic substance to folklore, unearthing the truth about some traditional tale that scholars had dismissed as mere rustic superstition. For example, until the early nineteenth century the cairn named Bryn-yr-Ellyllon (goblin or fairy hill), near Mold in Flintshire, was haunted, so country folk firmly believed, by the ghost of a warrior who wore golden armour. In 1832 that burial mound was excavated by a Mr. John Longford, and when cart-loads of stones had been removed a skeleton was found wearing a corselet of beautifully-wrought gold on a lining of bronze, ornamented in *repoussé* with a nail-head and dotted line pattern. Boyd Dawkins, the Victorian archaeologist, described this corselet as Etruscan, and it may well have belonged to some high-ranking Roman officer, for Mold is only about twelve miles across the Welsh border from Chester, where the XXth Legion was stationed. For fifteen hundred years or more, though the man was forgotten, the dim memory of his magnificent trappings lingered on in the minds of countrymen. That folk-memory carries us back to the Roman Province, like some of the tales in *The Mabinogion*, notably *The Story of Lludd and Llevelys* and *The Dream of Maxen Wledig*, the hero of the latter being Magnus Clemens Maximus, who for a short time was Emperor of Britain, Gaul and Spain, until he was defeated by Theodosius and executed in A.D. 388. (There is a stirring account of Maximus in Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill*,

in the three stories about the defence of Hadrian's Wall in the last days of Roman Britain; a more agreeable portrait of the Spanish-born adventurer than that drawn, no doubt with greater accuracy, by Geoffrey Ashe, which reveals him as an insufferably intolerant Christian, a pioneer of persecution, "a hard, virile Catholic, with anticipatory touches of the Conquistadors".)

The period of our history that is poorest in written records, though notably rich in tales about heroes and holy men, begins after the decay of Roman Britain. Apart from the solitary contemporary voice of Gildas, who wrote his *liber querulus* or Complaining Book about the middle of the sixth century, only legends came down to later ages, which were splendidly embroidered by romantic mediaeval writers. (Dr. Dayrell Reed, in *The Rise of Wessex*, suggests that Gildas wrote before A.D. 547, as he criticises Maglocunus, Malcun, whose death from the plague in that year is mentioned in the Cambrian Annals.) The legends and their presentation by later writers have been studied and reassessed by such authorities as Geoffrey Ashe, who does not reject the possibility that chroniclers like William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth may have used contemporary sources, now lost, on which to base their versions of British history in the post-Roman period. From his two books, *King Arthur's Avalon*, which is the story of Glastonbury, and his comprehensive survey of five centuries of our history, entitled *From Caesar to Arthur*, a coherent picture emerges. Unfortunately there is no archaeological evidence of a continuing, orderly post-Roman civilisation. Any building work done in those troubled centuries between the withdrawal of the Roman legions and the mission of St. Augustine in A.D. 597 was most probably provisional repair work, mending holes in roofs, patching up walls, strengthening fortifications, with materials looted from buildings too far gone in ruin to be worth repairing, but relying chiefly on wood which has not survived. Arts and skills disappeared: bricks and tiles were no longer baked or glass cast; soon nobody knew the secret of mixing the iron-hard mortar and concrete the Roman builders had used, which was composed of clean coarse gravel, finely divided lime, and pounded tiles, that imparted a pink hue to masonry.

By the end of the fourth century much of the efficient apparatus of Roman urban and country life was breaking down; within three

The twenty-eight walled cities of Britain, mentioned by Gildas, may have looked like this. These two views of a walled town are by a ninth-century artist, who illustrated an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the Psalms MS. (Harl., No. 603). A town of any size, like Verulamium, Silchester and Caerleon, would have an amphitheatre outside the walls, like that in the lower illustration.



Both illustrations are copied by F. W. Fairholt, from drawings in the original manuscript, and included in *The Homes of Other Days*, and *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England*, by Thomas Wright (London: 1862).

generations efficient drainage and plumbing and heating systems that worked were recalled only by elderly people as the lost luxuries of a golden age of comfort and security. That phrase, "the good old times", or its equivalent, may have been coined by old men in fifth-century Britain who had once been Roman citizens. In that century the architectural traditions established for four hundred years were submerged by a rising flood of barbarism: any large-scale building work was inspired by fear, as, for example, the roughly-piled earthen rampart put up to reinforce the precinct wall of the Lydney temple-settlement, which attested the urgency of the builders and the crudity of their methods. The British had reverted to their pre-Roman condition. "The intermediate phases of Romanisation had for a time given the native population much that otherwise lay beyond its grasp," said the writers of the report on the Lydney excavations, quoted in the last chapter; "but in giving this, they had at the same time taken from that population such cultural initiative as it possessed before the coming of Rome. The poverty of the post-Roman relics upon the site is eloquent of a population which, behind its refurbished, second-hand earthworks, eked out a sort of second-hand existence entirely lacking in cultural significance."

There may have been a revival of British independence; it is conceivable that King Arthur was as real and efficient and successful as William the Conqueror; but the Britain he ruled created no architecture, and he may well have spent his life in camps, preoccupied with his task of keeping the country free from barbarians, enjoying only intermittent spells of peace, an over-worked and gifted general carrying on Roman military traditions, and delaying the westward advance of Saxon invaders. His followers, remote in thought and feeling and understanding from their Romano-British great-grandparents, probably lacked respect for civilised amenities; may, indeed, have allowed their troops to light fires and cook meals on the faded and broken mosaic floors of ruined houses, marvelling at the baths and hypocausts, wondering perhaps what on earth they were for. The ambiguous additions to existing Romano-British buildings, recovered by archaeologists, suggest an ever-present state of military emergency: no remains have been found which could substantiate the existence of the castles and halls of Arthurian romance; they may have





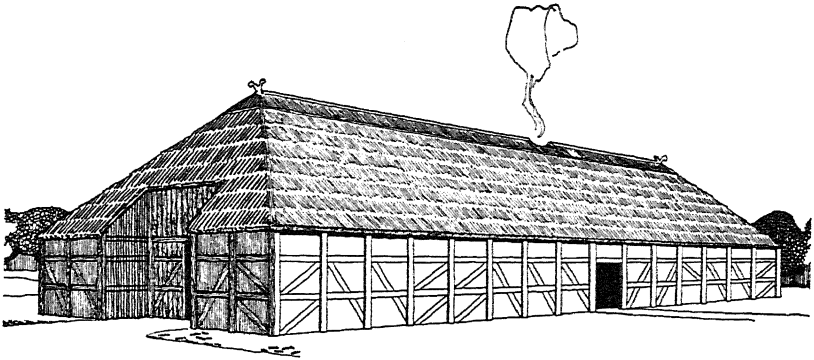
This house suggests a Romano-British model; and the artist has attempted to compress such features as the corridor with its columns and arches, the courtyard, and the living-rooms, to give a complete, if muddled, view of the whole. Although this is one of the illustrations in a ninth-century manuscript of the Psalms, the house copied by the artist may not have been in Anglo-Saxon England. (See pages 21 and 32.) Copied by F. W. Fairholt from a drawing in the original manuscript (MS. Harl., No. 603), and included in *The Homes of Other Days* and *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England*, by Thomas Wright (London: 1862).

existed only in the imagination of mediaeval writers; but accounts of church architecture, written in the eighth century, are much closer to the Arthurian age, and Bede goes back earlier still, to the last century of Roman Britain. His descriptions, though deficient in detail, have an authentic ring. He mentions a stately stone church, alleged to have been built in A.D. 397 by St. Ninian with the assistance of masons brought over from Gaul. It was erected at Whithorn on the western side of Wigtown Bay, in the abandoned Roman province beyond Hadrian's Wall, which is now Galloway.

This church, known as the White House (*Candida Casa*), was apparently still standing when Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History* in A.D. 731. Bede also mentions a Church at Verulamium, built over the grave of St. Alban to commemorate his martyrdom. His vague reference to its erection, "when peaceable Christian times were restored", presumably means when the persecutions under Diocletian had ceased, and Christianity was legally recognised. That would place the building early in the fourth century, after A.D. 303. The site may now be covered by St. Albans Cathedral, but there is no evidence that the building survived. Bede's statement that the place was famous in his day "for the cure of sick persons, and the frequent working of wonders", could apply to a much later structure.

Monastic establishments in Britain may have existed as early as the fifth century: there was an abbey at Ambresbury, the former name of Amesbury, which was destroyed by the Saxons in A.D. 554, and Glastonbury was possibly an earlier foundation. There is a tradition that the original church at Glastonbury was a primitive, impermanent building of wattle-work, which, according to William of Malmesbury, "savoured somewhat of heavenly sanctity even from its very foundation, and exhaled it over the whole country; claiming superior reverence, though the structure was mean". By the sixth century, Glastonbury had, if we accept oral tradition and the writings of later chroniclers, become one of the great religious centres of Britain, a Celtic abbey to which St. David and St. Gildas made additions. One of the best documented and most readable accounts of Glastonbury is Mr. Ashe's study, referred to earlier, *King Arthur's Avalon*, and from this the outlines of a Celtic revival become dimly apparent. (See map on page 14.)

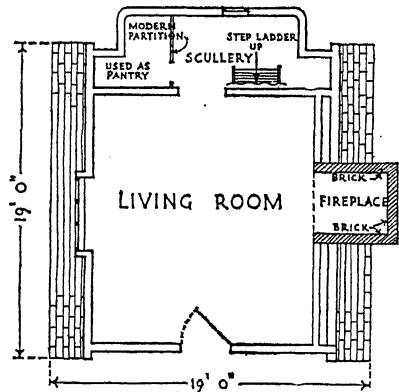
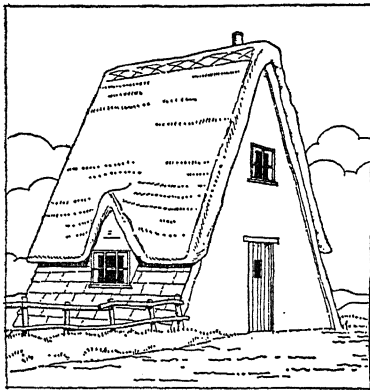
Celtic art, the native art of Britain, had been submerged throughout the Romano-British period, occasionally breaking through and exhibiting a startling virility in sculptures such as the Corbridge Lion, which possessed, as Professor Haverfield observed, "a wholly unclassical fierceness and vigour" that recalled "not the Roman world but the Middle Ages". Beneath the surface of the system that had worked so smoothly and for so long, barbarian impulses seethed and sometimes bubbled over, as they did when some native sculptor conceived and carved the bearded Gorgon



Saxon houses were barbaric hovels by comparison with the commodious, well-built Romano-British homes with their central heating, glazed windows, corridors and courtyards, private apartments, baths, plumbing, and sound, tiled roofs. The Saxon barbarians knew nothing of such comforts, disliked city life, and apparently made no attempt to use the Roman buildings that still remained standing. They erected large halls, constructed of timber framing, roofed with thatch, with apertures in the roof so that the smoke from the open hearths could eventually escape: ill lit, insanitary, crudely furnished and foul smelling, these halls sheltered a gross, sweaty form of communal life. Timber construction was easily mastered by such accomplished shipwrights as the Saxons, Jutes and Angles, who had gradually overrun the former Roman province, and there was an affinity between shipbuilding and architecture: the forester or woodman was unconsciously in partnership with the builder and shipwright. From this association arose the understanding of timber as a material, which fostered a technique of wood-working, and led ultimately to the splendours of mediaeval joinery and carving. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

that glares from the tympanum of the temple of Sulis at Bath. Native art, repressed for centuries by classical conventions of form, could have expanded and blossomed in the release from tradition that followed release from the bureaucratic control of a central government: political independence that came to Britain in the fifth century implied freedom from artistic fashions, but without guaranteeing a settled environment for such new liberties to be enjoyed. The native British were as unready and untrained for independence as the Congolese when the Belgians relinquished control of their country. Political freedom without corresponding security limits the scope and scale of creative work. The structural and monumental concepts of architecture could not exist in a land

of camps and ruins; and this abortive phase of the Celtic revival in Britain may be judged only from bowls and brooches, and small ornamental trifles, which appear to have exhausted the creative impulse of the emancipated Britons, who had too many internal quarrels on their hands as well as recurrent problems of external defence to give much time to art. Matthew Arnold in *The Study of Celtic Literature* suggests other reasons. After quoting Henri Martin's comment that the Celt with his sentimental temperament was "always ready to react against the despotism of fact", he said: "In the comparatively petty art of ornamentation, in rings, brooches, crosiers, relic-cases, and so on, he has done just enough to show his delicacy of taste, his happy temperament; but the grand difficulties of painting and sculpture, the prolonged dealings of spirit with matter, he has never had patience for." But this allegation is refuted by the grotesque power and ferocity of such works as the Corbridge Lion and the Bath Gorgon, which were presumably characteristic expressions of Celtic art. If such latent talent existed beneath the integument of classic convention, only



Exterior and plan of "Teapot Hall", at Scrivelsby, near Horncastle in Lincolnshire, built of two pairs of straight "crucks", extending from the four corners of the house to the ridge of the roof. From *The Evolution of the English House*, by S. O. Addy, revised and enlarged edition, 1933, Chapter II, pages 42 and 43. Reproduced, on a smaller scale, by permission of the publishers, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Teapot Hall was destroyed by fire in 1941.

lack of opportunity and patronage could have hindered a new, unfettered expansion of Celtic art in the fifth century. At that time the Church was not powerful or rich enough to provide patronage for architecture and the ancillary arts: sacred buildings were perforce humble structures, often sited within the walls of abandoned Roman forts, and Collingwood and Myres suggest that this choice of site was prompted either by the presence of British communities already living there, "or to emphasise the truth that Christianity was the spiritual heir of the Roman Empire. . . ."

Gildas, denouncing the "diabolical idols of my country, which almost surpassed those of Egypt, and of which we still see some mouldering away within and without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features, as was customary", implied that they still represented a temptation to wavering or luke-warm Christians. British Christianity was driven farther and farther west, as the invaders, Saxons, Jutes and Angles acquired and settled in fresh territory. A pagan wedge separated the British kingdoms from Christian Europe, and the British Church, cut off from Rome became a partisan Church, disfigured by an unchristian hatred of the barbarians who were founding kingdoms in the eastern half of the island. No British churchmen felt the call to convert the heathen conquerors whose language and habits and gods were so different from their own. They exhorted their own flocks, deplored the moral lapses of princes and nobles, and to some of the more exalted, legendary architectural activities were attributed; but, as Geoffrey Ashe observes, "hagiographers are too fond of this facile church-building", and the accounts of it have a family likeness to traditional tales of giants and enchanted castles; moreover it is doubtful whether people with such a narrow, parochial outlook as the isolated British Christians could have generated the creative spirit that alone inspires architecture. Nothing alleged to have been built by saintly bishops and abbots in the sixth century has come down to us.

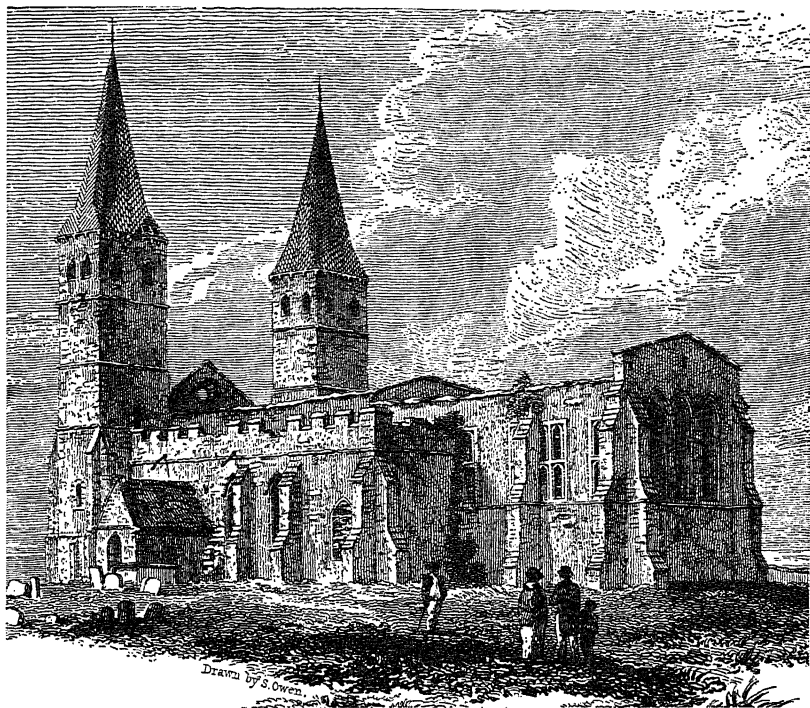
Christian architecture was revived after St. Augustine's mission in 597 to the pagan English kingdom of Kent. Augustine and his fellow missionaries were instructed to use existing buildings, so many of the pagan temples in south-east England were consecrated as Christian churches. There is some evidence to suggest

that a Christian church had existed in Canterbury since Romano-British times; according to Bede it lay on the east side of the city and was "dedicated to the honour of St. Martin, built whilst the Romans were still in the island". The mediaeval church of St. Martin at Canterbury still exists, and its structure includes Roman masonry, brick and tile. There is also a tradition that the church at Reculver in Kent, the Roman Regulbium, originally incorporated Roman columns and masonry and was built over the foundations of a basilica, but the present church—now a mere shell—is almost entirely post-Roman, and the earliest known date of the existence of a church on the site is A.D. 670. Walter Johnson, in *Byways in British Archaeology*, devotes two chapters to the subject of churches on pagan sites, and gives a long list of places where Roman houses or temples were probably used for the foundations of Christian churches. Such buildings would be permanent, and would be structurally absorbed four or five hundred years later in the rebuilding plans and extensions of mediaeval church architects.

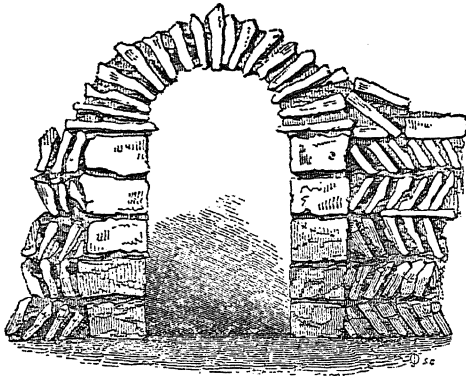
There must have been many temporary structures, such as the church described by Bede, built in A.D. 652 on the Isle of Lindisfarne, with an oak framework, walled with reeds, probably some form of thatching. The reed walling was subsequently removed by Bishop Eadbert, who then covered walls and roof with lead plates. This experiment in building technique has been recorded; but there were probably others, directly the Church was in a position to provide the money, materials and labour for architecture.

Following Saint Augustine's mission, the pagan states of England were gradually converted to Christianity; a period of arduous spiritual work for missionaries which lasted throughout the seventh century. Britain was beginning to change into England. That time saw a great revival of church building, especially in the brilliantly accomplished but short-lived civilisation of Northumbria, a kingdom that in those days reached from the Humber to the Forth and eastwards to the Irish Sea, incorporating what is now Lancashire, with the British kingdom of Strathclyde farther north for an eastern neighbour. Northumbria enjoyed a period of security; architecture and literature flourished, and Bede, a scholar and historian, writing in this tranquil atmosphere, referred with innocent complacency, to "the peaceable and calm disposi-

tion of the times". This was, as Sir Thomas Kendrick points out in his book, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, "the Golden Age of the English Church wherein learning and the arts prospered to such an extent that during the sixty-six years between the arrival of Theodore (669) and the death of Bede (735) the remote province of England,

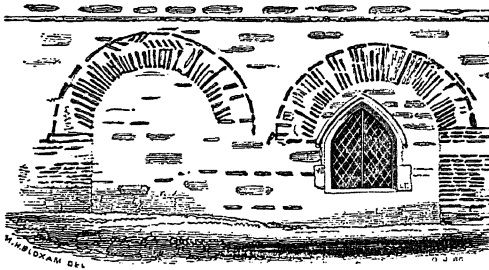


The Church at Reculver, Kent, the Roman Regulbium, as it appeared in 1816. The spires have since disappeared, and the church is now ruinous, only a few fragments of the walls remain, though the towers still stand, surmounted by skeleton spires, which form conspicuous seamarks. Originally the church had a nave with aisles and an eastern apse. It was built during the missionary period of the seventh century, about A.D. 670, and may have been erected on a Roman basilica. The church fell into ruin late in the eighteenth century, though by that period it had been re-modelled and, externally, was an example of Early English Gothic architecture. Within, according to contemporary prints, the aisles were separated from the nave by semicircular-headed arches, springing from square-sectioned columns, with three similar arches separating the nave from the sanctuary.

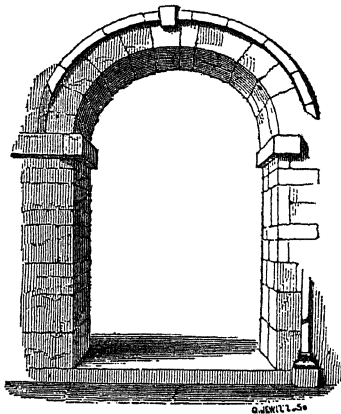


THE PERSISTENCE OF  
THE SEMI-CIRCULAR  
ARCH

Above: Roman arch and masonry at Castor, Northamptonshire, destroyed in the early nineteenth century. From Bloxam's *Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*.



Arches and doorway at Brixworth Church, Northamptonshire, which closely resemble Roman work. *After Bloxam.*



Left: The chancel arch at Corhampton Church, Hampshire. The character suggests a Roman prototype. Compare this example with the semi-circular arches in the nave of St. Nicholas' Church, Leicester, on page 29. *After Bloxam.*



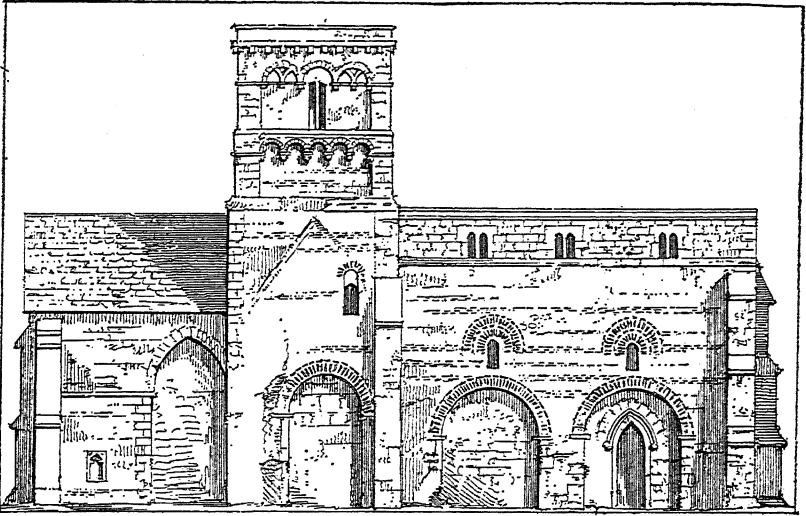
happily aloof from a continent made miserable by barbarian wars and the Arab invasion, achieved a position that without exaggeration may be described as supreme in western civilisation". There was an Anglo-Saxon renaissance in art, in drawing and sculpture. This work had a positive and lucid firmness; clarity of intention and execution distinguish the carved crosses that have survived, and they belong to the classical tradition, not to the Celtic. The indecisions of Celtic design and ornament are often masked by calculated complexity: reaction "against the despotism of fact" is apparent, and this is demonstrated by the contrast between the Lindisfarne Gospels (*circa*. A.D. 700), where decorative inventiveness is disciplined by a classical framework, and the Irish Book of Kells (*circa* A.D. 800), where a classical framework accommodates a blazing splendour of intricate and chaotic ornamental devices. It has been suggested by "Astragal" in *The Architects' Journal* (January 26th, 1961) that some pages of the book of Kells "kept alive not only ancient learning but also Roman planning concepts". The use of apsidal forms in some of the borders certainly gives a superficial resemblance to the plan of a basilica; but such concepts were preserved only on parchment; they found no substance in stone in Britain or Ireland.

In seventh-century England masons had to be brought over from Gaul when Benedict Biscop, the Abbot of Wearmouth, wanted to build a church "in the Roman style". Bede gives the date, A.D. 675, for this event in architectural history. The Abbot also introduced glass-makers from abroad, to glaze the windows of the church, the cloisters and dining-rooms. The art of glass-making, which had never died out on the Continent, was taught to local English craftsmen by these French artificers; but was soon lost again, which suggests that the interchange of craftsmen between England and Europe, common in Norman times and throughout the Middle Ages, was then an exceptional occurrence, for eighty-three years later Cuthbert, another Abbot of Wearmouth, asked Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz, to send him some artisans who could make glass for windows and vessels. Perhaps the political and cultural climate of the Anglo-Saxon states was unfavourable to sustained knowledge of such refined crafts, for although the towers of abbeys and churches rose throughout England, this flowering of sacred architecture was dissociated

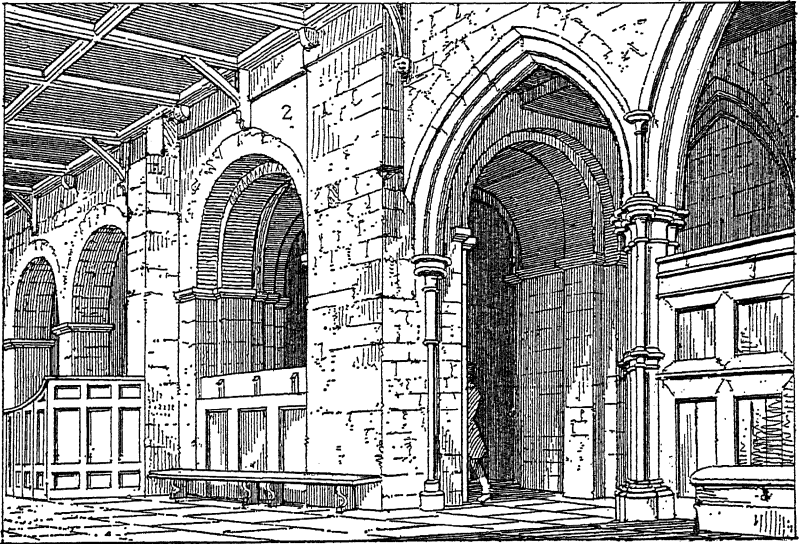
from the buildings that housed landowners and peasants, the people who had replaced the Romano-British landlords and their slave labour-force. Those people, descendants of the land-hungry rovers from Germany, the Low Countries, and possibly parts of Scandinavia, were essentially countrymen.

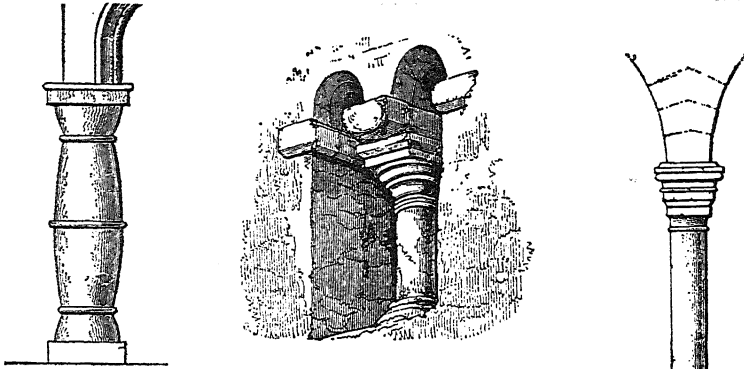
When the original settlers began their westward drive, pushing the Britons before them, they ignored the civilisation they found lingering in and around a few towns: they were farmers by choice, seamen by necessity, because of pressures from hostile peoples trying to expand into their home lands, and after their voyages and successful wars of conquest, they became farmers again. They ignored the solid evidence of Roman technical accomplishment in building, preferring their own methods, for many of them came from countries where abundant timber supplies had fostered an indigenous architecture of wood and encouraged the development of shipbuilding. The Angles and Saxons and Jutes were practised shipwrights and joiners; masters of wood, the material they knew best, and originators of new techniques for using it. Their knowledge of timber construction was more than adequate for their limited needs, and that knowledge deepened and broadened, generation by generation.

By comparison with the commodious, well-built and luxurious Romano-British homes, Anglo-Saxon houses were barbaric hovels, with thatched roofs, pierced with holes to let out the smoke from fires on open hearths, with a few apertures in the walls to admit daylight. (The English word window is derived from the old Norwegian *vindauga*, which means *wind-eye*.) The Romanised Britons would have regarded such places as sordid and barbaric; rightly so, for by the standards of Roman civilisation the Anglo-Saxons were a sordid and barbaric people, strangers to the luxuries provided by well-equipped homes and well-planned towns, and happy in their enjoyment of a gross, sweaty, communal life in those large, timber-built halls, reeking with wood-smoke and less agreeable smells. Structurally those buildings represented a productive partnership between shipwrights, joiners and foresters; and in that far-distant partnership, founded in the transitional period when Britain had declined and England was arising, the English tradition of architecture has its real roots. An attitude of mind towards materials was then acquired by men who thought with their



Roman bricks were used in the building of St. Nicholas' Church, Leicester. The nave was originally Saxon, but Norman builders pierced arches in the lower part, forming arcades, and adding aisles. The windows of the Saxon nave still remain above the Norman arches. Reproduced from *Temples, Ancient and Modern*, by William Bardwell (London: Printed for the author, 1837), plate VIII.



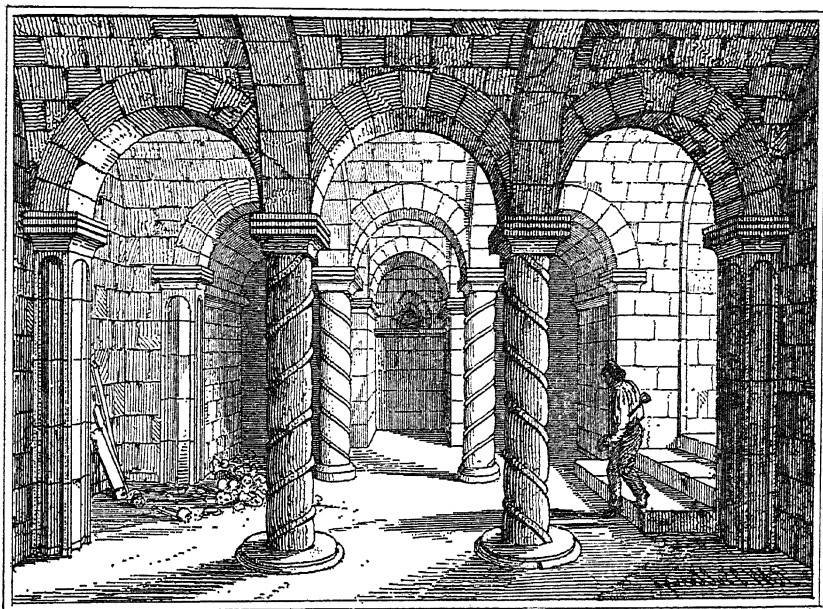


Above are Saxon versions of Doric columns. *Left:* From Earl's Barton church tower. (From Britton's *Dictionary*.) *Centre:* The double window at Wyckham Church, Berkshire. *After Bloxam.* The slender column on the right is from the eastern crypt of Canterbury Cathedral. *After Britton.*

hands; and when, in due time they began to use stone, the lessons they had learnt from wood were apparent, for they had been taught to work *with* a responsive material, not to force it to comply with a pre-conceived idea of shape.

A new form of arch had been evolved in building with timber. Vast oak forests still covered much of the land and provided such a variety of growth that the builder often found timber which would do much of his work for him; for he could select the limbs of a tree that were bent naturally to form the two halves of a pointed arch. Such bent members, erected in two facing rows, resembled the ribs of a boat being built upside down, a likeness strengthened by the continuous line of the roof ridge that joined them—the counter-part of the keel. (The word *keel* is still used to describe the ogee type of pointed arch.) Those bent uprights which framed the walls and supported the roof were called *crucks*. In form and function they represented a structural invention comparable with that of the dome, for they allowed a large space to be roofed from wall to wall without intervening uprights, thus releasing the whole floor from obstructions, encouraging living-space to expand, and the interior of a house to become a great hall.

Country houses and possibly some of the larger village houses were built by this cruck system, which was employed for centuries: even today the outlines of the main crucks are often visible at the ends of half-timbered cottages. Sometimes the roof would rest directly on the ground, ascending to form a house with a triangular interior, like the well-known example at Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire, called Teapot Hall, which had one large living room with a bedroom above. "Teapot Hall, all roof, no wall," was the local jingle that described this building, which was 19 feet in length, breadth and height. (See page 22.) Apart from the great halls, farm-hands were housed in the simplest way: wattle-and-daub huts were good enough for them. Villages were small, and Sir William Savage, in *The Making of Our Towns*, mentions Sutton



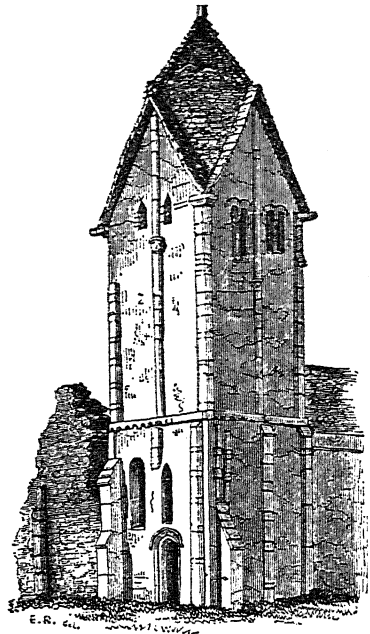
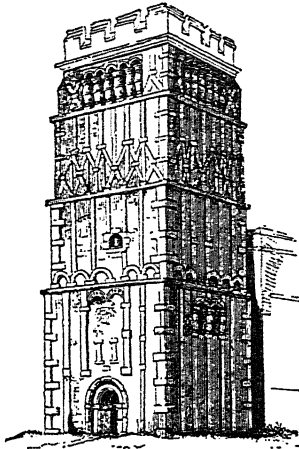
The Saxon crypt at St. Wystan's, Repton, which dates probably from the second half of the tenth century. The columns, capitals and arches, though lacking the refinements of classical detail, certainly owe something to the example of Roman building. Reproduced from Bardwell's *Temples, Ancient and Modern* (1837), plate IX.

Courtenay, near Oxford, which had only about thirty huts. Anglo-Saxon England was a land of villages and halls: occasionally a Saxon noble may have repaired and used a Roman country house; illustrations in some ninth-century manuscripts suggest that such houses still existed, though the artists who depicted them may have seen the originals in France or some other European country that still preserved architectural continuity with the Roman Empire (see page 19). Collingwood and Myres state emphatically that "not a single villa in the country has been found underlying a Saxon dwelling or has yielded evidence of permanent occupation in the Saxon period".

When builders again began to use stone, though almost exclusively for churches, the semicircular Roman arch persisted. Many examples of it survived in the ruined Romano-British towns; some still exist, like the gate at Lincoln, the Jewry Wall at Leicester, which was originally the façade of the basilica, and some were destroyed as late as the nineteenth century, like the example at Castor, Northamptonshire, described and illustrated by Bloxam. (See page 26.) The chancel arch at Corhampton Church, Hampshire, owes its form to a Roman prototype, so do the arches at Brixworth Church, Northamptonshire, and those inside St. Nicholas' Church at Leicester, which was built on the site of the Roman basilica, adjoined on the west side originally by the Forum but later by the Public Bath. Those odd versions of classic columns, mentioned in the last chapter, were inserted here and there in windows to divide an opening, like that in the double window of Wyckham Church, Berkshire, with its top-heavy capital and abacus, stunted shaft and inadequate base. The example from the tower of Earl's Barton Church anticipates the distortions of the classic orders popularised by those sixteenth-century Flemish and German purveyors of architectural copy books, Vredeman de Vries and Wendel Dietterlin. (See pages 30 and opposite, also Chapter 6, page 140.)

How much pre-Norman Romanesque architecture owed to Romano-British remains, and how much was inspired by the transient brilliance of the Northumbrian civilisation, is conjectural. The Danish raids of the ninth century extinguished Northumbrian art, but those raids, and the intermittent warfare that followed them, did not stop, though they may have retarded, the

“STONE  
CARPENTRY”



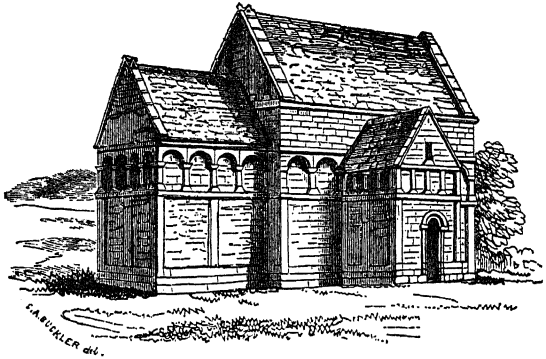
Two Saxon church towers. *Left*: Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire. The battlements are a later, brick addition. The vertical strips, and the so-called "long and short work" up the edges of the tower suggest a wooden prototype, and, lacking any structural significance, have been used as decoration. *Right*: Sompting, Sussex. The same fumbling with forms evolved for wood and not for stone is apparent, as though a carpenter was attempting to become a mason, or a mason, as yet uninspired by the possibilities of stone, was imitating a carpenter. From Parker's *Glossary*.

growth of that first phase of English Romanesque architecture, which had a perceptible affinity with building techniques that had been evolved in wood. The church towers at Sompting, in Sussex, and Barnack and Earl's Barton, in Northamptonshire, demonstrate the aptness of the term "stone carpentry", particularly the last named. In some Saxon churches, stone was supplemented by bricks and tiles removed from Roman ruins, like the arches of Brixworth Church (shown on page 26); while the largest and most impressive example of this practice is the Abbey Church of St. Albans, begun at the end of the Saxon period and completed in

A.D. 1077 by the first Norman abbot, Paul of Caen. Nearly a hundred years earlier, at the close of the tenth century, the Saxon abbots, Ealdred and Ealmer, began to collect materials from the ruins of Verulamium; but church-building in Saxon times was slow. Norman energy soon finished what Saxon vision had initiated, and St. Albans Cathedral today marks the architectural meeting-place of Saxon and Norman, with something much older haunting them both. More than building materials were taken from deserted Verulamium. (See plate 1.)

Three influences, then, helped to fashion the English tradition in architecture: the memory of Roman forms, the cumulative skill of generations of timber-trained Saxon builders, and the virile cosmopolitan Christianity of the Normans, which made England part of Europe again, after five centuries of troubled isolation.

St. Lawrence, the  
Saxon church  
at  
Bradford - on - Avon,  
Wiltshire, circa 700.  
From *An Introduction to  
the Study of Gothic  
Architecture*, by J. H.  
Parker.





## NORMAN POWER

FROM the Norman Conquest onwards architecture in England tells a coherent story in stone, more reliable as evidence than legends about saints and princes with their magical powers and alleged building activities, more grimly factual and revealing about the faith and way of life in any period; so because we need not depend on deductions from oral and literary sources, we may show the development of the English tradition in architecture largely through illustrations. For some generations after 1066 the English were a subject people; much of the country was held down by force, and an architectural coalition between the sacred and secular powers created awesome structures inside important cities and dotted them about the countryside; permanent reminders that Church and State were joint rulers; buildings which endured long after that expedient alliance had ended in the relatively mild gentlemen's agreement from which the Church of England arose. In his provocative and scholarly book, *The Great North Road*, Frank Morley has suggested that as you travel northwards from London the cathedrals become more and more like fortresses: he mentions particularly St. Albans, Lincoln, York, and Durham, observing that: "The noble buildings are patently excessive to the needs or pride of local parishioners." Temporal interests appeared to dominate the monastic institutions within the territory of the old Danelaw, which reached from the Cheviots to the Thames, from the coastline of Lancashire to the North Sea, and cut Mercia in half. It was in that area, as Morley writes, "where the Norman Conquest was least welcome and where a town life had been growing up with an independent civic consciousness, that the pre-emption of the town-centre by the Norman Church aroused the fiercest of Town and Gown feelings".

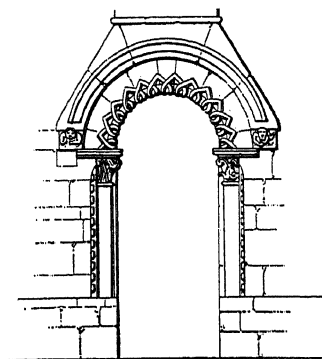
How valid is this suggestion of architectural duality? Something of the fortress element is certainly present in the tower of St. Albans Abbey: the form may have been suggested by the fortified gate houses in the walls of Verulamium. (See plate 1.) The Cathedral Monastery at Durham, standing on a rocky peninsula above the River Wear, with the castle of the bishops crowning an eminence to the north, is one of the finest examples of Norman architecture in England. (See plate 5.) The castle was a purely military structure, built to defend the monastery from raiding Scots and sea-rovers; but had it another function? Was it there to intimidate the townsmen? When Bishop Carilef rebuilt the existing church in 1093 the establishment was changed into a Benedictine abbey. The original church had been erected by Bishop Ealdhune early in the eleventh century, after the see had been removed from Lindisfarne; and the rebuilding, less than a hundred years later, though ostensibly for the glory of God, was indubitably an expression in architectural terms of the power and glory of the Normans, part of that campaign of anti-Saxon propaganda conducted consistently by churchmen and noblemen. Paul, the first Norman abbot of St. Albans, following the example of some Egyptian pharaohs, destroyed the tombs of his predecessors in office. Dr. Adamson has described this denigration of everything Saxon by Norman prelates in his collection of essays, *The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon*, where he records Abbot Paul's allegation that the Saxon abbots "were rude and unlearned although, unlike himself, of royal or noble lineage". The erasure of inscriptions and the demolition of existing buildings were puerile acts, performed for political reasons; unnecessary, too, for the splendour of Norman architecture was outstanding, not only in England, but in Europe, at all those places where Norman adventurers fought and settled and built churches and castles—in Apulia, which William Brasdefer conquered in 1042; in Sicily, where Messina was conquered in 1060, and the whole island by 1090.

The Norman rendering of Romanesque architecture differed in character from French, German, and Italian: the early examples have an air of imperishable serenity, a stability of form arising from a mastery of materials, masses used and weight upheld with the certitude of Egyptian temple builders. This characteristic style of building originated in Normandy and was exported by the

vital and ruthless men who found their homeland too small for their military ambitions. The prototypes of the Anglo-Norman cathedrals and churches and domestic buildings were just across the Channel: the craftsmen who worked on them, masons, joiners, and carvers, passed freely about the growing area of what became, for a short time, the Norman Empire. At Caen the strength and severe purity of the style may be seen in the nave of the Abbaye-aux-Hommes, known as St. Etienne, founded by William the Conqueror, and begun about 1070. Few specimens of Norman domestic architecture exist; so many have been rebuilt, their features distorted or obliterated, but now and then some idea of the original appearance of a façade glimmers through, and the examples on pages 38 and 39 illustrate the strong family likeness between twelfth-century town houses in England and Normandy. A. S. Cook's reconstruction of the Jews' House on Steep Hill, Lincoln (*circa* 1150), shows the three upper windows in their original form (only two now retain their arched heads) with the modern shop fronts on the ground floor omitted. Hilton Wright's drawing of a comparable house at Dol, Ille et Vilaine, shows the amendments and mutilations that have changed the building in the course of eight hundred or more years. Apart from a few surviving examples of town houses, the dwellings of the period are limited by the need for protection. Warfare and preparations for it wither architectural inspiration; and the fortified manor houses and castles with their shrunken windows and guarded doors reveal domestic life in the country as something enclosed, turned away from its surroundings, not from choice, like the Romano-British houses built around their courtyards, but through fear. The moat, the curtain walls, the drawbridge, the main walls with their towers and battlements, and the keep—that last refuge of all, square and high, which could be defended when everything else had failed: those were the military essentials, and living space within the castle was tunnelled out of the thick protective masses. The great halls of castles and manor houses had windows only on the sides that faced inwards: mere slits pierced the outer walls, high above ground-level, too narrow to admit an enemy or allow more than a glimpse of the countryside. Windows, which give life to a wall, are always the first victims in war, and in the troubled century that followed the Norman Conquest the only buildings



Few examples of Norman domestic architecture exist: houses in city streets have been demolished, rebuilt, amplified and changed beyond recognition, shop fronts inserted and windows altered. Only when stone was used had any building a chance of survival, like the Jews' House at Lincoln. The features have been mutilated, but enough remains to deduce that the circular-headed windows had double lights, and the room on the first floor a fireplace, set above the arched doorway on the ground floor. This is a reconstruction, showing the windows in their original form. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.* Compare this English example with the house in the main street of Dol, shown opposite. *Right: Detail of doorway.* (From Britton's *Dictionary*.)





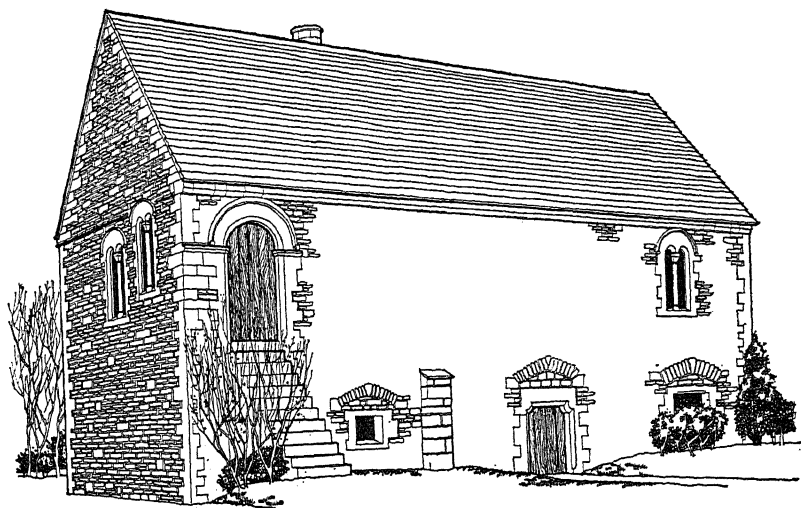
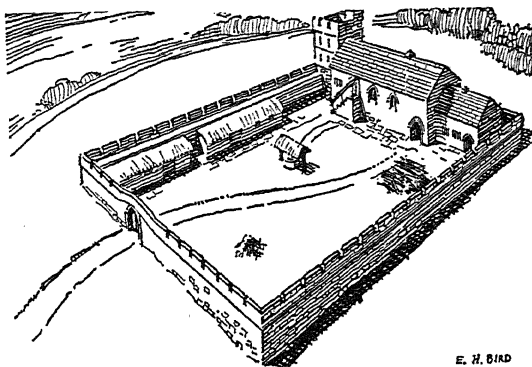
Norman house in the main street of Dol, Ille et Vilaine, Northern France. The resemblance to the Jews' House at Lincoln, on the opposite page, is marked, despite the insertion of windows of a much later date, and a nineteenth-century shop front. A common approach to domestic architecture is apparent. Detail of the column is shown on the right, and its truncated form indicates that the street level was originally much lower. *Drawn by Hilton Wright.*



immune from attack were the monastic establishments, the cathedrals and churches. Those buildings provide a varied and imposing record of Norman achievement; even their ruins attest the genius and firmness of purpose which animated the men who conceived and erected them; perhaps those stone skeletons show even more clearly than edifices still intact their builders' delight in stating structural facts, in the stability of bold, uncomplicated shapes and the inventive use of the arch, which led to the revival of the Roman technique of the cylindrical or barrel vault, a continuous rounded arch that formed a roof.

In the air view of the Cistercian Abbey of Buildwas, shown on plate 6, the ruins of the Abbey Church and the extent of the adjacent buildings disclose the grand scale of planning encouraged by release from the threat of war and destruction. The ruins stand on the south bank of the River Severn in Shropshire; the columns of the nave still support the arcades, stark, simple and illustrating how consistently Norman builders avoided erasing structural lines with ornament. The arches spring from capitals decorated by a scalloped device, shown in detail on page 46, with some variations of it, from the remains of the old Conventual Church at Ely. Mouldings were enriched sparingly and with discretion; nothing lavish appeared until the Crusades generated a cross-fertilisation of Eastern and Western cultures; thereafter an increasing richness of embellishment followed the return of the Crusaders, and new ideas were introduced by masons who had worked as far afield as Sicily, where Saracenic influence provoked fresh and lively variations of familiar ornamental forms. There was never any suggestion of dependence on ornamental motifs, which were always disciplined by a visible framework, and as the Normans found the arch an intrinsically satisfying form, they piled arches on arches, using them as open arcades, or as decorative elements on a wall surface in ranges of blind or intersected arcades, like the range between the two upper tiers of windows on the tower of Tewkesbury Abbey, shown on plate 7 and in greater detail by the drawing on page 44. The use of decorative arcades of varying sizes is illustrated by the bay of the west transept of Ely Cathedral on page 49, and on the west façade of Castle Rising on page 50, where the interlaced effect of the arcading and the sparkling character of the enriched mouldings exhibit a new sense of texture. This is apparent also on the

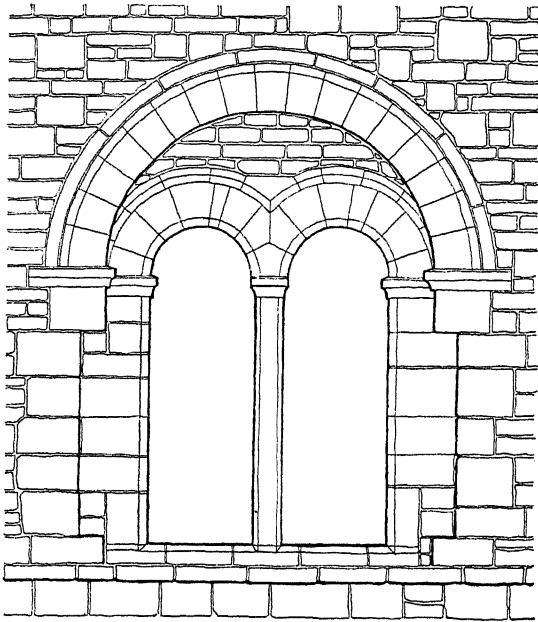
Fortified manor house, with watch tower and great hall. Military needs control the design: no windows face outwards, and even those open to the courtyard are small and high up in the wall. *Drawn by E. H. Bird.*



Close-up of a Norman manor house, showing the external staircase, the meagre windows lighting the upper floor, and the strong stonework. This is an edited version of the twelfth-century manor house at Boothby Pagnell, near Grantham, Lincolnshire: a fifteenth-century window in the upper floor has been omitted, also a door at the side. The doorway and the apertures at ground-level are later than the original building, and the present stairway is not original, nor is the roof. Such buildings were designed as part of a fortified enclosure, like that shown above. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

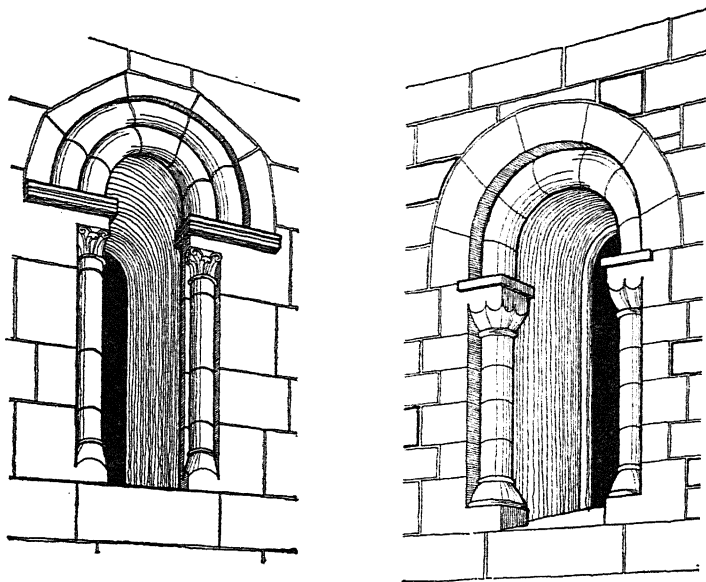
north porch of Southwell Minster, where the enriched mouldings of the inner arch and on the triple windows above the porch have an almost jewelled opulence, an effect enhanced by the extreme simplicity of the exterior archway. (See page 51.)

No concessions to decoration, no experiments with surface variation and texture disturbed the spacious interiors of the great Norman cathedrals; so large an area was enclosed that the massive piers and arches never seemed ponderous or overwhelming, as they did in lesser buildings, for some of the small Norman churches resemble caves, excavated from some stone mass. The loftiness of the nave at Ely Cathedral, for example, emphasises the graciousness of those piers and arches in their relationship with the double



Arched window, with double lights, a simple version of the upper windows in the Jews' House at Lincoln on page 38. This is a restoration of a window in a mid-twelfth century house at Christchurch, Hampshire. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*





Norman windows were unglazed, often resembling dwarf doorways if they were narrow openings like the two examples above, which date from 1130.

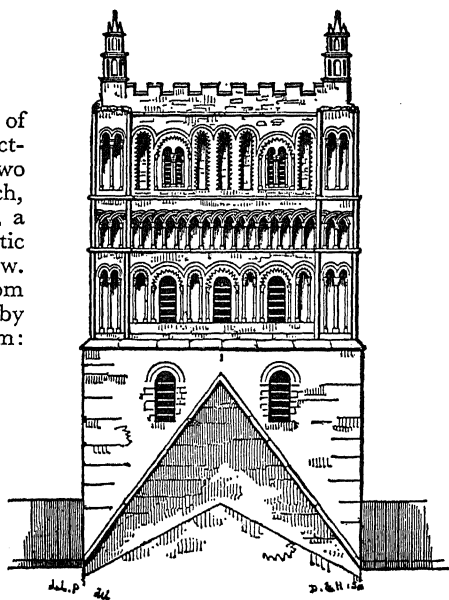
*Left:* Castle Hedingham, Essex. *Right:* Rochester Castle, Kent. The drawings represent the original form of the windows. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

arches of the triforium and the triple arches of the clerestory; sobriety of form achieves a delicacy that is self-sufficient. (See page 48.) In architecture, structural defects may defeat aesthetic intention; but Norman architecture was a proclamation of structural mastery, of power: in sacred buildings the calm and confident power of the Church: in castles and fortresses, like the Tower of London, the brutal reality of military power.

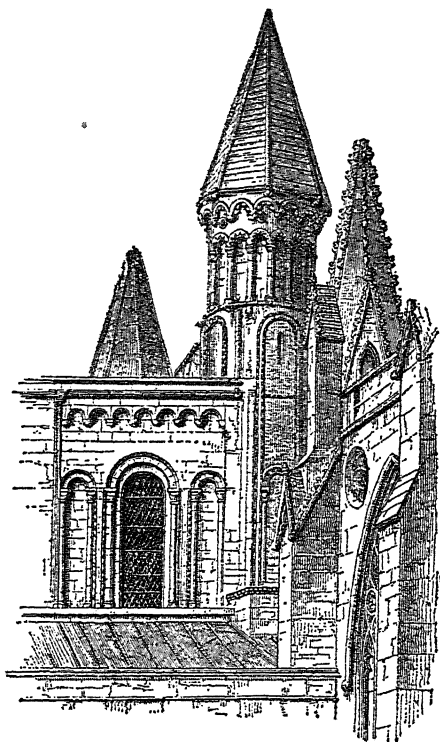
A castle was as uncomfortable and picturesque as a suit of heavy armour: both were designed for defence, and may have originated the belief that thickness and weight mean strength. They did nine hundred years ago, but the belief died hard, haunting the ideas of many English builders and craftsmen until the late seventeenth century, and reappearing in the work of some Victorian engineers. ("The British think weight's strength," said Laughton O. Zigler, the American inventor who figures in Kipling's story, *The Captive*.)

The Tower of London was one of the most intimidating strongholds erected by Norman builders; intended to overawe the City of London—always awkwardly independent and rich enough to be occasionally disrespectful to kings—this fortress had a predecessor, for remains of Roman fortifications have been found below the present site. The keep, flanked by four turrets and known as the White Tower, was built about 1078 by Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester. It appears with vividly white walls against the grey stone of adjacent buildings in the oldest known illustration of London, which dates from the fifteenth century, and is included in the book of verses, compiled and partly composed by Charles, Duke of Orleans, who was made a prisoner at Agincourt in 1415, and spent twenty-five years of captivity in England, some of them in the Tower. (See page 52.) The exterior of the White Tower was restored by Sir Christopher Wren. The engraving made by Wenceslaus Hollar in the mid-seventeenth century, reproduced on page 53, shows it before restoration, and very much as it must have appeared throughout the Middle Ages. Within, much of the

Elevation of the Norman tower of Tewkesbury Abbey. The intersecting range of arches between the two upper tiers of windows gives a rich, ornamental texture to the tower, a delicate foil to the bold, emphatic form of the arches above and below. (See plate 7.) Reproduced from *The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury*, by J. L. Petit, M.A. (Cheltenham: Henry Davies, 1848), page 26.



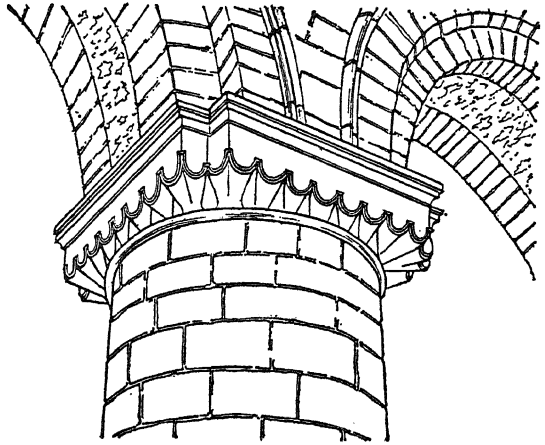
The north-east transept of Ely Cathedral, showing the clerestory east wall and the junction of the Lady Chapel with the Norman triforium. Reproduced from plate 9 of Stewart's *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London: John Van Voorst, 1868).



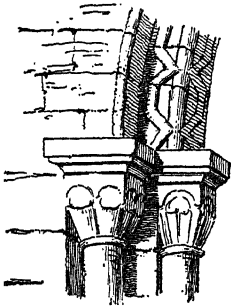
original Norman work remains unaltered, including the Chapel of St. John. Fortress, prison, and intermittently a royal residence from Norman times, it is surrounded by two lines of fortifications, with twelve towers rising at intervals from the inner wall. The royal palace was demolished by Cromwell's orders during the Commonwealth.

The deliberate destruction of castles by the Puritan Government has left innumerable ruins, piles of stones to mark the sites of felled towers and walls blown up by gunpowder, but surviving structures have been so altered and amplified in the course of transformation from fortresses to spacious dwellings that the bleak malevolence of their initial form has been forgotten. The castles were doomed long before Cromwell's demolitions. As early as the fourteenth century the castle erected at Cambridge by William the Conqueror was

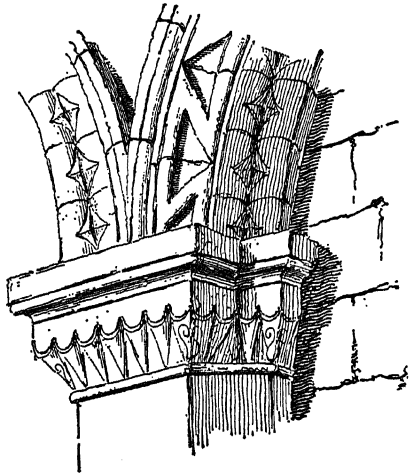
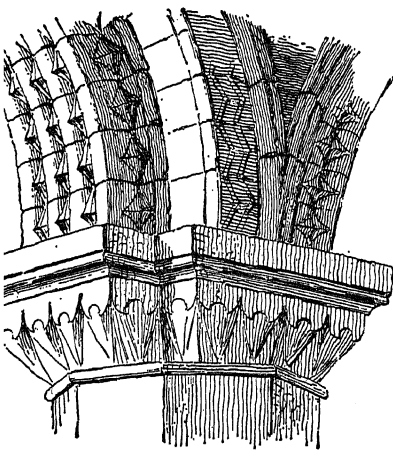
EXAMPLES OF  
NORMAN CAPITALS



*Above:* Scalloped capital from the ruins of Buildwas Abbey. (See plate 6 and page 40.) *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*



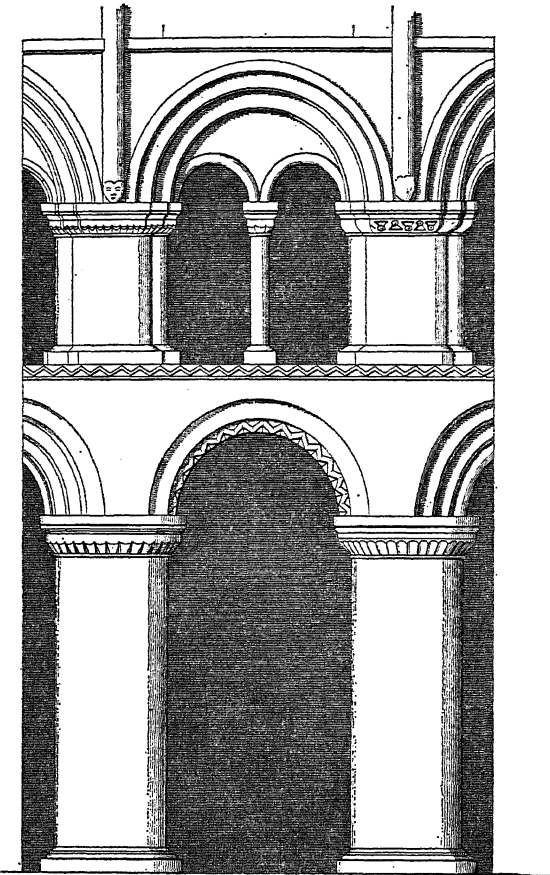
*Left and Below:* Capitals and arches from the remains of the old Conventual Church at Ely. Reproduced from Lysons' *Magna Britannia* (London: 1810), Volume II, plate 48.



being used as a quarry for materials by the college builders, as the walls and watch towers of dead Roman cities had been used by Saxons and Normans earlier still.

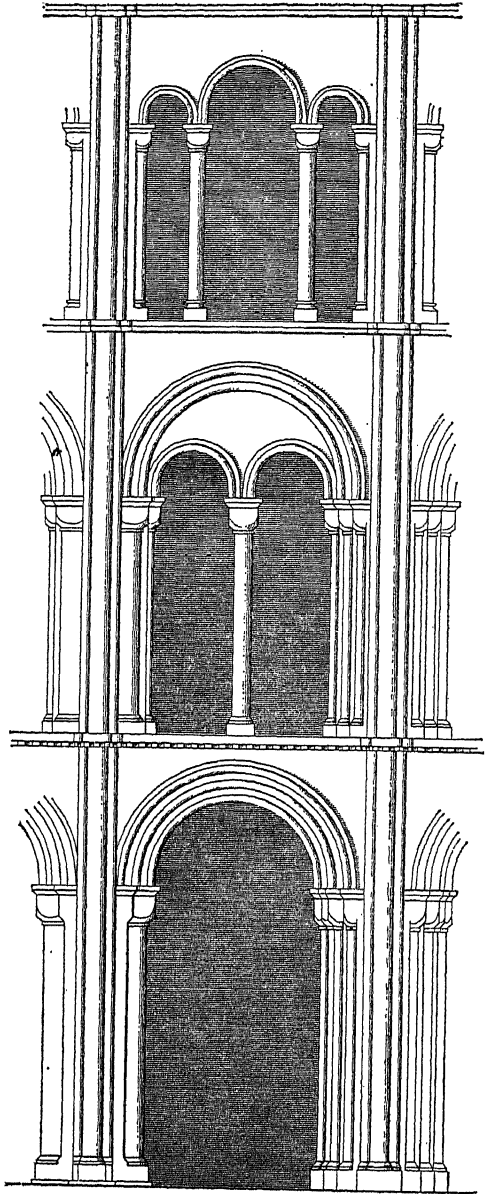
The enduring monuments to the genius of Norman builders were the cathedrals, the monastic establishments, and the country churches. For a time they were content to make a statement of stability, achieving a static beauty of form that was a prelude to new adventures with stone. Meanwhile, in the course of a few generations, the assertive dominance of the Norman rulers, like

[Continued on page 53]

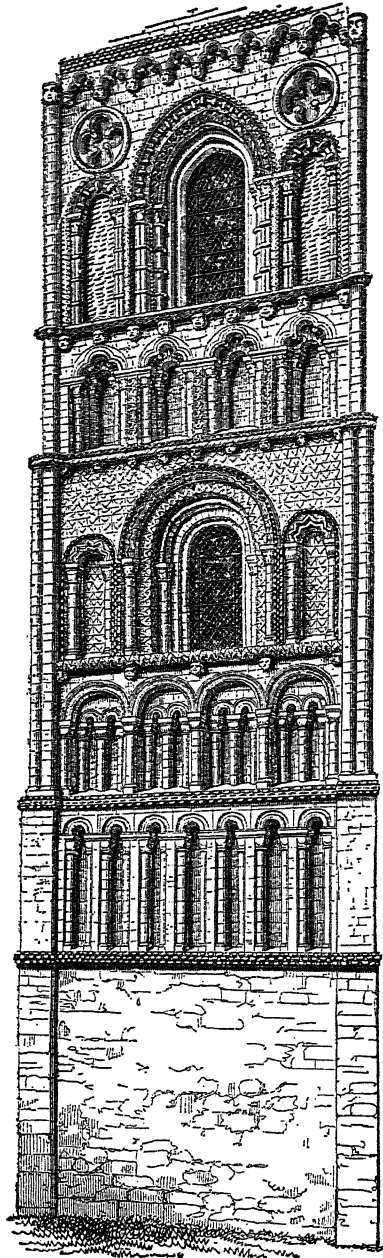


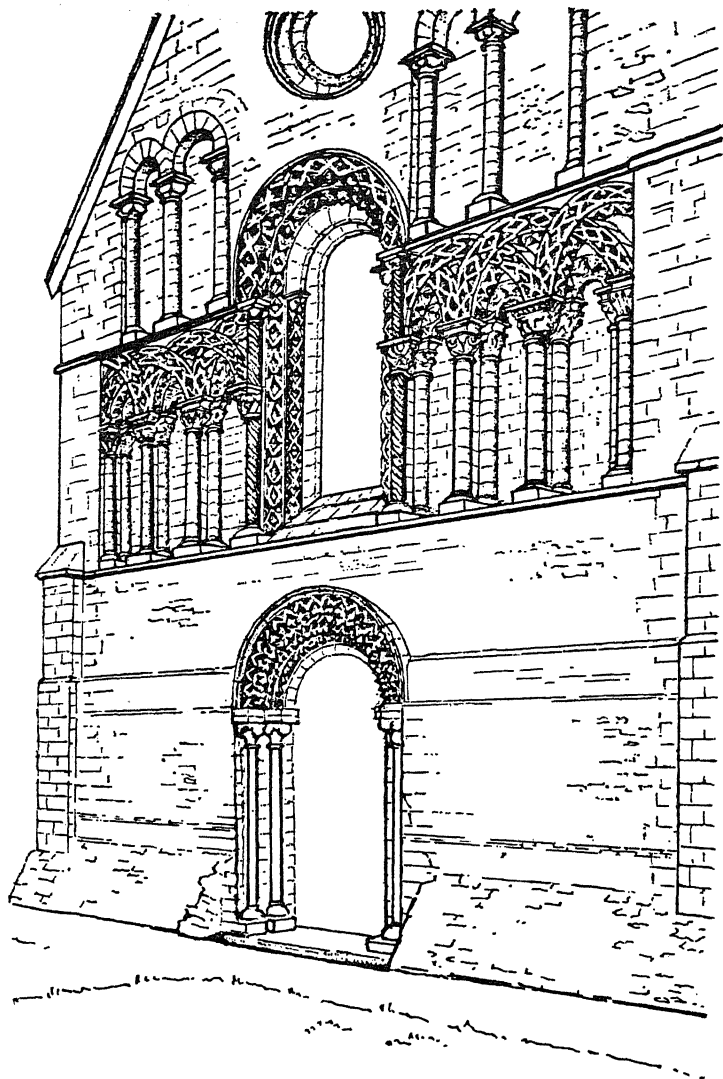
Round churches were introduced to England by the Knights Templars, one of the three great Christian military orders, founded in the twelfth century. This circular form was in imitation of the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, and in the small church of St. Sepulchre, Cambridge, the proportions of the columns have suffered from the use of the circular plan: squat and clumsy, they overpower the interior. Reproduced from Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Volume II, plate 50.

Part of the nave of Ely Cathedral: the lower arch is repeated above as a frame for the double arches of the triforium, and vertical unity is achieved by the triple arches of the clerestory is achieved by slender pilasters which ascend through the three tiers. The nave of Ely shows how Norman builders were on the threshold of new discoveries in stone; the sinewy, flexible lines of Gothic are foreshadowed. Reproduced from Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Volume II, plate 49.



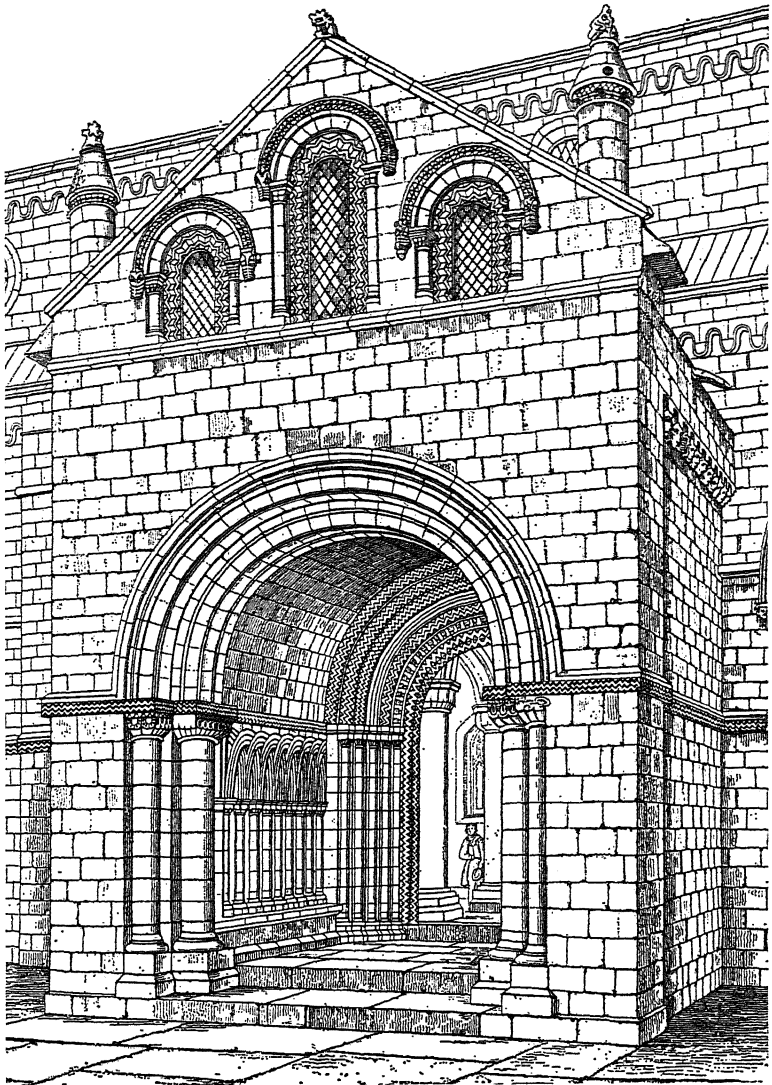
One bay of the west transept of Ely Cathedral, which shows the new feeling for enrichment and understanding of texture characteristic of later Norman work. This is reproduced from Stewart's *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London: John Van Voorst, 1868), and the author describes this view in detail as follows: "Starting with a plain wall for the basement, each successive division of the structure is decorated by bands of arcades of various magnitudes, and the whole surface is profusely enriched with bold diaper patterns; but in the top storey the pointed arch supersedes the round one, and two orders of the window arch mould are carried by banded, clustered shafts, which represent the transitional style of masonry which so rapidly encroached on the rude Norman workmanship". (Chapter III, page 48, plate 11). Compare this treatment with the upper part of the tower of Tewkesbury Abbey on page 44.



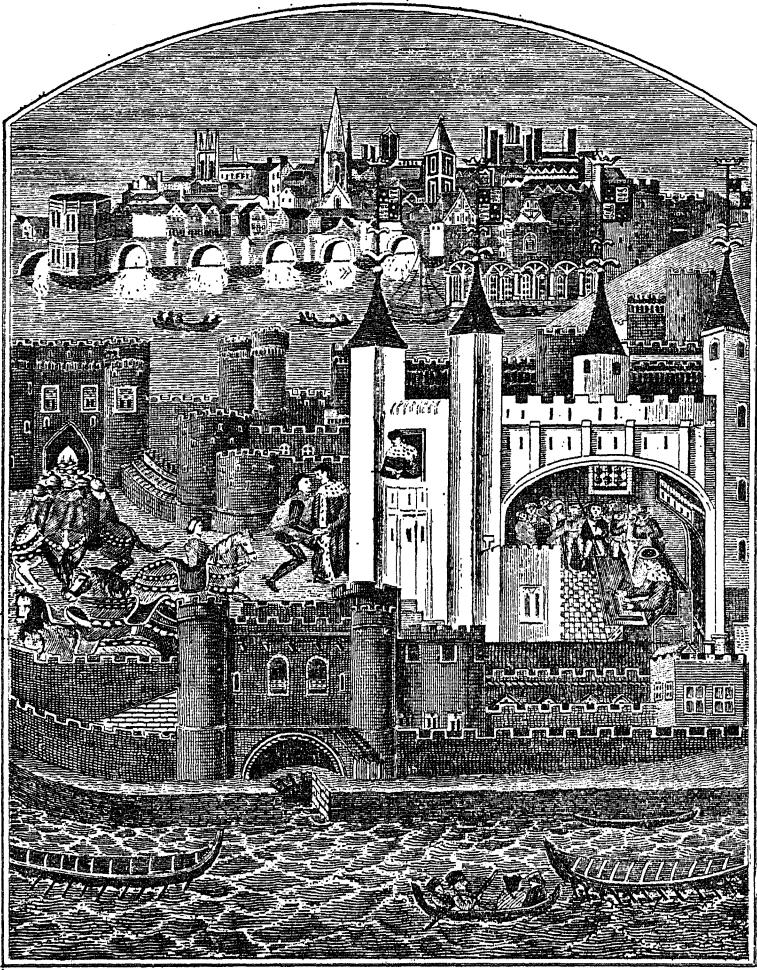


The west façade, Castle Rising, Norfolk, *circa* 1160. The interwoven effect of the arcading and the character of the enriched mouldings exhibit a new sense of texture, which followed the earlier mastery of subtle surface variations, such as those shown on the west transept of the west wall at Ely, on page 49, and on the North porch of Southwell Minster, opposite. *Drawn by Marcelle Barton from a photograph by the author.*



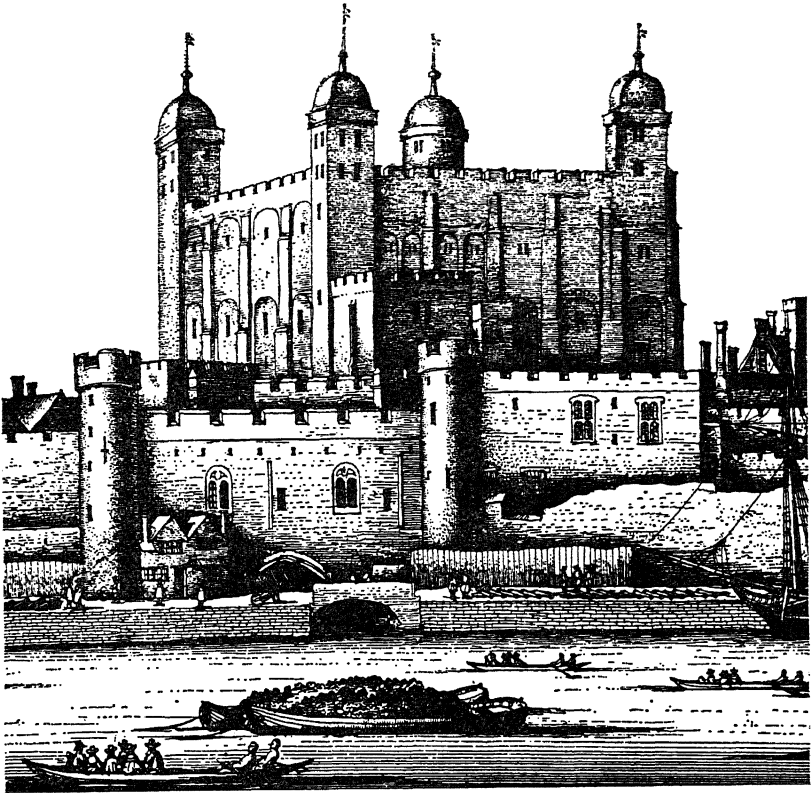


The north porch of Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire, showing the arcading that flanks the interior. An almost jewelled richness of effect is created by the enrichment of the mouldings on the inner arch, and on the triple windows above the porch. Compare with the far more intricate arcading and ornamentation at Castle Rising, opposite. From Thomas Rickman's *Styles of Architecture in England* (Oxford, Seventh edition, 1881).



The oldest known illustration of London, showing the city grouped against the skyline, part of the bridge, with the Tower in the foreground. The original was in colour, and showed the Keep, or White Tower, vividly white against the dark grey stone of the adjacent buildings. The view dates from the fifteenth century, and was included in a book of verses, compiled and partly composed by Charles, Duke of Orleans, who spent twenty-five years of captivity in England, some of them in the Tower, after his capture at Agincourt in 1415. The Keep was built by Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, about 1078. Compare with Hollar's engraving on the opposite page, made two hundred years later.

the assertive dominance of Norman architecture, was modified: and this came about when England ceased to be part of the Norman Empire; when all that remained of the link with Normandy were the Channel Islands, and the rulers of the country thought of it as their home, were English in outlook, and undistracted by the anxieties and obligations of territorial interests in



The Tower of London, seen from the Thames, as it appeared in the mid-seventeenth century. The view on the opposite page, by a fifteenth-century artist, takes a few liberties with perspective and scale, and pierces the wall of the Keep to show an interior scene: Hollar is conscientiously realistic, but the Tower had probably changed very little in two hundred years, though the Keep is no longer white. *Reproduced from an engraving by Hollar, by courtesy of the Trustees of British Museum.*

Europe. Political ambitions remained and died hard; some lasted for centuries, propagating such follies as the Hundred Years' War, and sustaining untenable claims, like the long-drawn-out absurdity of English monarchs insisting that they were also kings of France. Meanwhile England, no longer an appendage of a Continental Dukedom, became an independent entity with a robustly prolific independence of character in architecture. Such artistic independence had long been latent in all the components of United Christendom, and England was the last state to forecast in terms of architecture the nationalism that ultimately destroyed Christian unity. In Europe the signs of future disunity had been apparent in the regional variations of Romanesque architecture; the succeeding phase of architectural development accentuated national characteristics and differences. In England, builders had been disciplined and invigorated by Norman tuition, and when teachers and pupils became indistinguishable, new creative forces were released; they built as Englishmen, and were resourceful revolutionaries. With the Church as their chief patron to direct and encourage and finance their confident innovations, they launched the mediaeval equivalent of a "modern movement", comparable with that which has created the new Western architecture of the twentieth century. They were working in a living tradition, with no opposition from obstinate "traditionalists", although the forms that arose from their spirited exploration of structural possibilities were as animated and unfamiliar then as the work of the "modernists" in the 1930s. With three centuries of accumulated skill behind them, they enjoyed three centuries of opportunity for exerting and expanding it, and between 1200 and 1500 the country was adorned with buildings of unexampled beauty. In that period the English tradition in architecture attained a splendid maturity.

## GOTHIC ADVENTURE

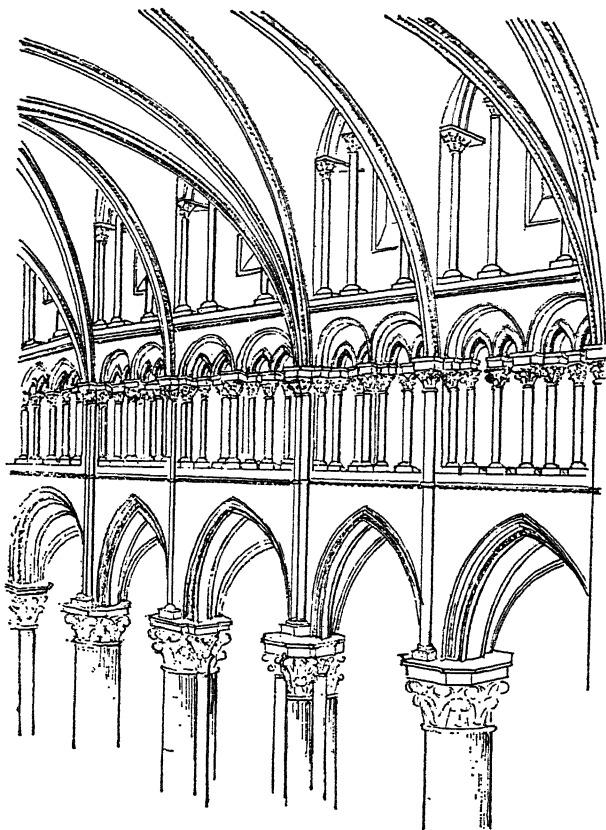
EARLY in the nineteenth century Thomas Rickman (1776–1841) made the first systematic study of Gothic architecture in England, which was published in book form in 1817, entitled *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation*, and became a best-seller, reaching its seventh edition forty years after the author's death. He introduced the now familiar nomenclature to distinguish the four main periods: Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular. These periods are not rigidly divided; they flow into each other, mingling with and obviously related to their predecessors, though there was a break with familiar Norman forms when, late in the twelfth century, the Early English period began, paradoxically, with the work of a gifted French master-mason, William of Sens, architect to the choir of Canterbury Cathedral.

The old choir, built under the direction of Prior Conrad, had been burnt in 1174, and we have a contemporary account of the consternation caused by that disaster. Gervase of Canterbury, the English monk and chronicler, described the despair of the brethren. Thomas Becket had been assassinated in the Cathedral in 1170; two years later he was canonised; already his shrine had begun to attract pilgrims, for plenary indulgences rewarded a visit, and a register was kept of miracles wrought by the saint's relics. The brethren agreed that the restoration of this holy place was imperative, but disagreed about methods: should the whole church be demolished and rebuilt, or should an attempt be made to repair the ruins? A comparable problem arose nearly five hundred years later with old St. Paul's, after the fire of London in 1666, and the same controversy followed: repair or rebuild? Rebuilding implied a change of architectural style: a change that was understood and accepted by the commissioners of St. Paul's when they

employed Wren to design a new classic cathedral, for he made several models, and they knew what type of building they were going to see on the summit of Ludgate Hill. The secular authorities of the seventeenth century allowed just under nine years to pass between the destruction of old St. Paul's and the laying of the foundation stone of Wren's cathedral. The churchmen of the twelfth century made their decision within a few months: faith was the spur that gave urgency to their deliberations; but when, after consultation with French and English architects, they appointed William of Sens to build a new choir, they may not have realised that they were underwriting a revolution in architecture.

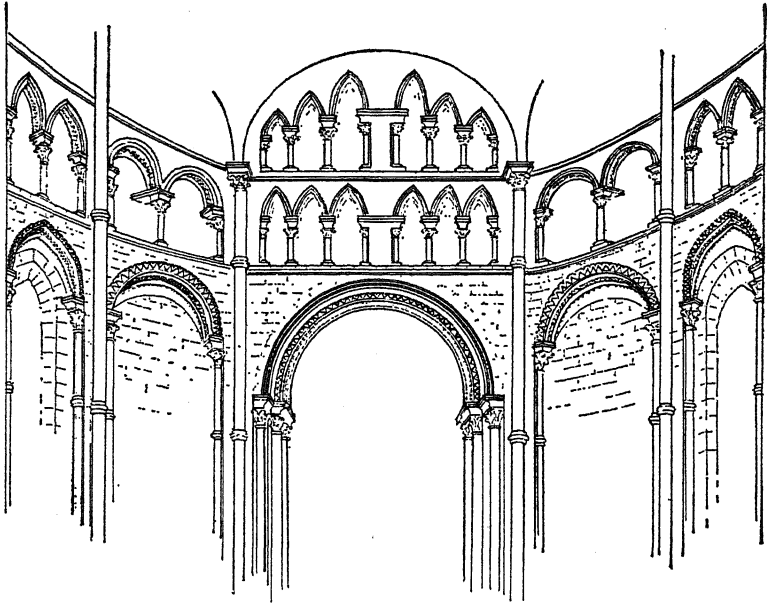
Gervase in his detailed account of the work done during the four years after William's appointment, records that, at the beginning of the fifth year, the master-mason was in the act of preparing appliances for the turning of the great vault when the scaffolding collapsed, he fell fifty feet, and was badly injured. For a time he lay in bed, directing the building operations; but the limited medical skill of the day could do little for him; so he appointed a successor, an Englishman, also named William, returned to his home in France, and died shortly afterwards. The work of these two architects departs from the static, structural frankness of Norman builders. No contemporary of theirs, observing those unfamiliar pointed arches of the choir, could have foretold that they were the progenitors of a new technique of structure that would ultimately change the whole conception and character of church building. Hitherto the interior of a church was a dim, mysterious sanctuary, where shadows retreated reluctantly before wavering candlelight, and memories of the early days of Christianity still lingered, when services were held in catacombs and caves, unidentified memories, too, of dusky Mithraic chapels. The Gothic builders transformed the interiors of churches; ennobling shafts of sunlight sprayed colour over them after passing through stained glass; gloriously glazed voids advanced to the conquest of solids, defeating the wall, until at last the church was, in Lethaby's phrase, "a cage of stone", where every member that carried weight or distributed thrust seemed, in defiance of gravity, to ascend, to stream upwards to Heaven. This was the fulfilment of the revolution that began at Canterbury.

William of Sens gave to the choir tall columns, some cylindrical,



The arcaded triforium of the choir, Canterbury Cathedral. *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

some octagonal, with foliated capitals, like austere relations of the Corinthian order; and from these spring bold, simple, pointed arches, with an arcaded triforium above, where two semicircular arches frame two smaller pointed arches, the central columns from which the former spring being aligned above the apex of the choir arches. The Frenchman's work is clear, confident and experienced. At Sens, his home town, the Cathedral of St. Etienne, begun in 1140, was one of the earliest Gothic buildings in France, and certain of its features were followed at Canterbury. His successor,



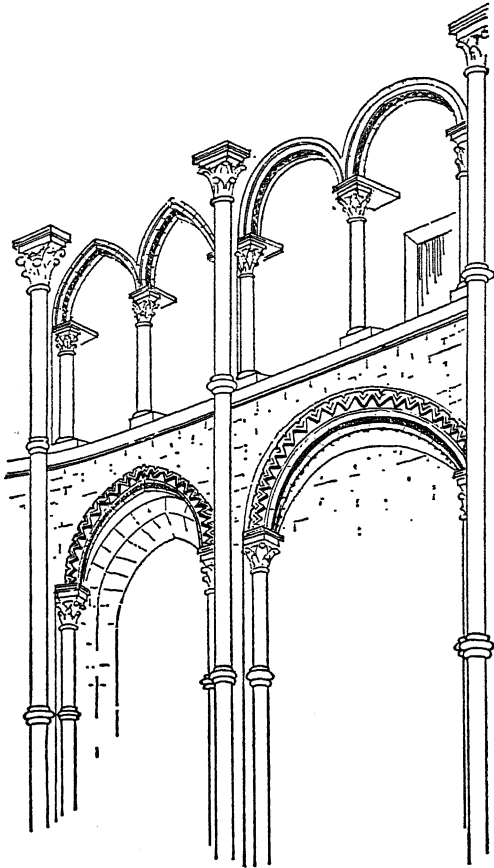
Arches between the Trinity Chapel and the Corona, Canterbury Cathedral, showing the juxtaposition of the round-headed and pointed types. *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

William the Englishman, built the Trinity Chapel, and that easternmost apse of the Cathedral, the Corona or Becket's Crown. In the latter he used slender, attached shafts on the piers, and enriched the arches with zigzag ornament. A suggestion of indecision is apparent in his fidelity to the semicircular arch, which he used between the Trinity Chapel and the Corona and also for the windows adjacent to the Chapel: the other three of the five windows of the Corona have shallow pointed arches, an obvious compromise between the new French ideas and the traditional ways, but carried through without conflict. (See above.) Building began from the western end of the choir; by 1180 work had progressed to the transepts, and was completed by about 1200. The Norman nave had escaped destruction in the fire of 1174, but was rebuilt in the late fourteenth century by Archbishop Sudbury, who began work on a new nave in 1376, and in the



rebuilding perpetuated the variation between the axes of nave and chancel, which is strikingly apparent in a plan of the Cathedral, though scarcely perceptible from within.

This deflection of the eastern limb of a church, inclining it to the north or south, may be deliberately contrived with churches built on the plan of a cross to symbolise the figure of the crucified Christ, with His head inclined to the left, or south side, as in Canterbury, Ely, and York. Lichfield Cathedral, the most conspicuous of English examples of a deflected building, inclines to the north. One school of thought attributes this misalignment between nave and chancel to the defective methods used by



Windows in the Corona, Canterbury Cathedral, where semicircular and shallow pointed arched heads are used. (See pages 57 and opposite). *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

mediaeval builders for setting out a church; a rationalist view, which disregards the pervasive power and significance of symbolism in Gothic architecture and belittles the indubitable competence of architects like William of Sens. This peculiarity was not confined to England or to great cathedrals: European examples are numerous, and in Walter Johnson's *Byways in British Archaeology* a list of smaller English churches is given which includes Bishopstone and Bosham, Sussex; Holy Trinity, Stratford; West Malling, Kent; Chipstead and Mickleham, Surrey; the Priory Church, Tynemouth; and St. Mary's, Coventry. In his chapter on "The Orientation of Churches" the author of that book examines in detail the claims of the rationalists, with their "theory of error", and the far stronger case of the symbolists, which some critics have dismissed as altogether too romantic and imaginative, forgetting that in the fabric of Gothic inspiration romance and imagination are the warp and weft. There is another view, unromantic though honouring the ability of mediaeval architects, that attributes the bend to aesthetic intention, a device to create a perspective effect which produces an impression of greater length when the inclined side wall of the chancel is viewed from the western end of the nave. This illusion of vast length, with the eastern end of the church almost lost in the distance, is especially noticeable at Lichfield. (See opposite.) The creation of such an illusion by a carefully worked out plan was certainly not beyond the capacity of church builders in the Middle Ages, though whether they united mathematics with art to worship the sense of sight, as the Greeks did by correcting with minutely calculated mutations the optical distortions that occurred in the vertical and horizontal members of their temples, seems less plausible than the dedication of their skill to symbolise the agony of the crucifixion.

Churches were designed as instruments to assert Christian truths and to convey to illiterate congregations the stories and miracles of the Faith; through mural paintings, like those in St. Gabriel's Chapel at Canterbury, as stiff and formal as Byzantine mosaics, depicting Christ surrounded by emblems of the Evangelists, with a representation of the naming of St. John the Baptist; through carved stone and wood; and, unforgettably minatory or elating, burning into the consciousness of worshippers, through fiery stained glass in windows that grew and grew in scale till they



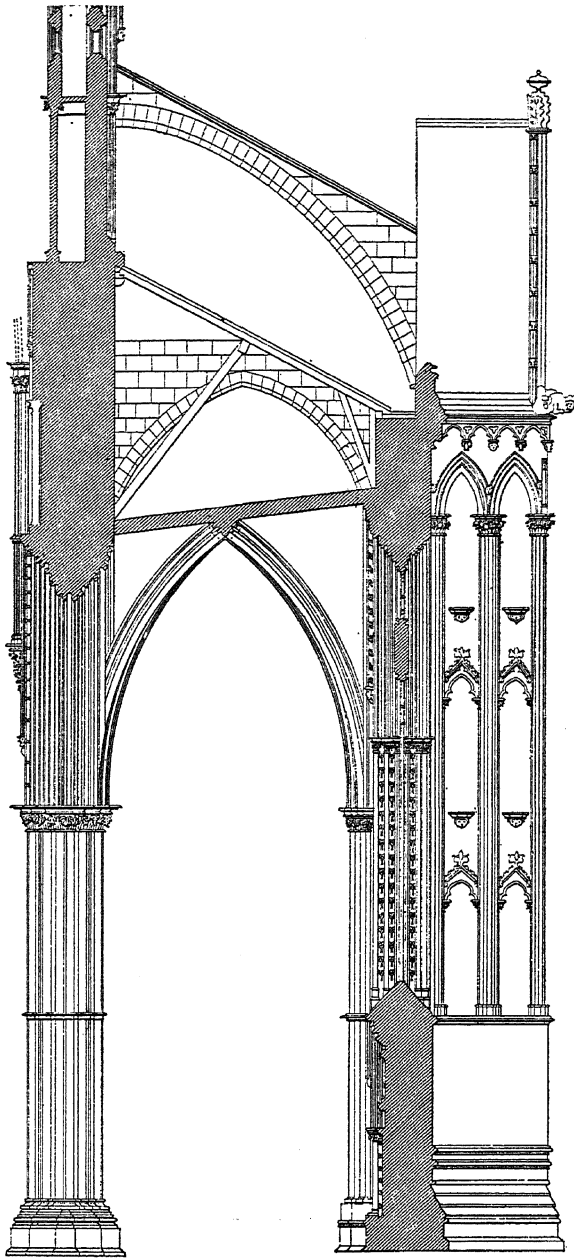
The nave of Lichfield Cathedral, showing the deflection of the choir. This slight inclination to the left enhances the effect of distance. (See page 60.)

*Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

dominated the interior of churches. All these unspoken reminders of Christian duties, sacrifices, rewards, and punishments were competing with furtive, earthy reminders of the old pagan religion which had never died out, and with its jocund naturism, its magical and fertility rites, was powerful enough to claim a dual allegiance from many orthodox Christians, including some churchmen. Professor Margaret Murray suggests that the ancient Dianic paganism survived until the eighteenth century. In her introduction to *The God of the Witches*, she observes that as "the Norman people, like the English, were largely of the Old Faith . . . the Conquest made little difference to the relative position of the two religions. Therefore though the rulers professed Christianity the great mass of the people followed the old gods, and even in the highest offices of the Church the priests often served the heathen deities as well as the Christian God and practised Pagan rites." She cites the example of the Bishop of Coventry who, in 1303, "like other members of his diocese, paid homage to a deity in the form of an animal . . ."

Great architecture cannot be made without substantial emotion; and the emotive power of the holy war against competitive paganism created, through Gothic architecture, an image of strife. The sinewy forms of the Early English cathedrals and abbey churches were as different in character from the grave stabilities of the preceding period as Peter the Hermit from a portly Georgian dean; the placid acceptance and reiterated reminders of secure and righteous authority were displaced by raising stone banners to Heaven as a challenge to Hell. Every arch and vault, tower, pinnacle and spire, pointed upwards, for the builders were fighting with weapons less fragile than the pen, less futile than the sword, impressing on all Christians that there was to be no rest for the faithful, no truce with the wicked. Every wall surface and window battled against the old gods, denounced by the orthodox as the new devils. Even so, some very queer figures occasionally elbowed their way into the sanctified throng of saints and martyrs; imps leered high above worshippers, in the woodwork of roofs, on parapets, below gutters, or spouted their defiant independence as gargoyles.

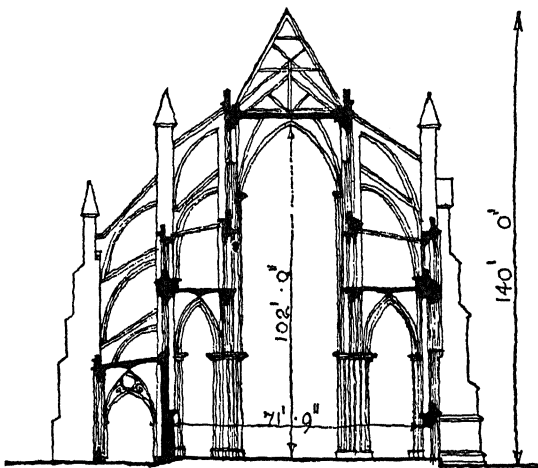
The proliferation of carved ornament was not characteristic of Early English: the fresh graces of the choir and Trinity Chapel and Corona at Canterbury do not anticipate the fluidity of later



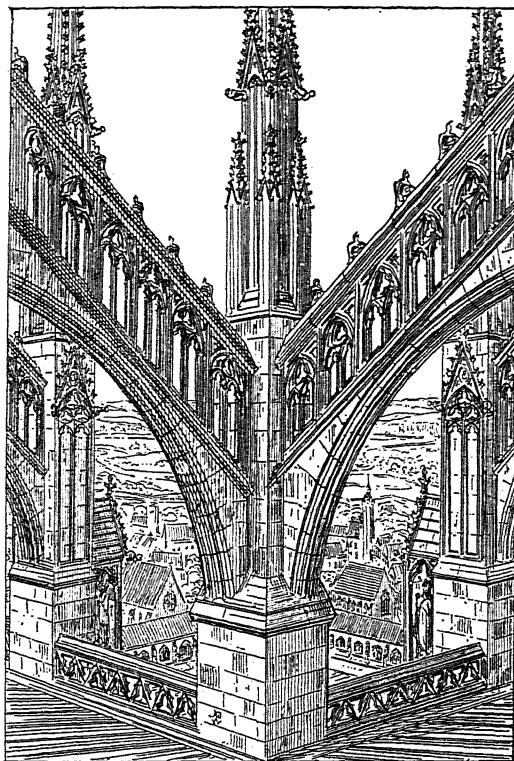
At Lincoln Cathedral, rebuilt by St. Hugh of Avalon (1140-1200), four years after his election to the see in 1186, the pointed arch has been accepted structurally, and the flying buttress used as a thrust-absorber. This section through the aisle is reproduced from Turrell's engraving (published by Thomas Kelly, 1832). (See pages 64 and 65.)

Gothic, although their trenchant lines promise a new, flexible delicacy of form. Lincoln Cathedral, rebuilt some fifteen years after Canterbury by St. Hugh of Avalon, is far more decorative in character. Although the master-mason he employed, Geoffrey de Noiers, used the pointed arch, there was no marked structural progress; some of the features were derived from Canterbury; but the decoration predicted new splendours, fulfilled when the Angel Choir was completed in 1260–1270. The western part of the choir, known as St. Hugh's, was built between 1186 and 1204, and there is a contemporary account of it in *The Metrical Life of St. Hugh* which, in abbreviated form, reads as follows:

“In this structure, the art equals the precious materials; for the vault may be compared to a bird stretching out her broad wings to fly; planted on its firm columns, it soars to the clouds. On the other hand, the work is supported by precious columns of swarthy stone, not confined to one sole colour, nor loose of pore, but flecked with glittering stars and close-set in all its grain.” (The “swarthy stone” was Purbeck marble.) “This stone disdains to be tamed with steel until it have first been subdued by art; for its surface must first be softened by long grinding with sand, and its hardness is relaxed with vinegar. Moreover, it may suspend the mind in doubt whether it be jasper or marble; it is dull indeed for



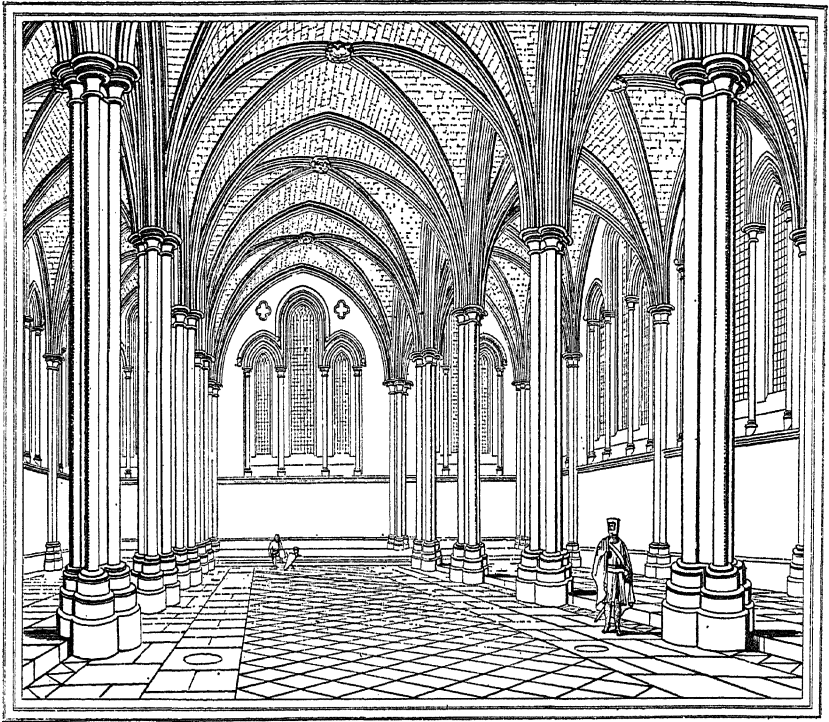
The highest Gothic vault in England is the nave of Westminster Abbey, which is strutted by flying buttresses across the aisles and north cloister. Thrust and counter-thrust, and their absorption by vaulting and buttresses are shown by this section. Drawn by A.S. Cook. (See pages 63 and opposite.)



Flying buttresses, which Pugin described as "those bold arches, as their name implies, by which the lateral thrust of the nave groining is thrown over the aisles and transferred to the massive lower buttresses". (See opposite page.) Reproduced from Pugin's *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, page 4.

jasper, yet, for marble, of a most noble nature. Of this are formed those slender columns which stand round the great piers, even as a bevy of maidens stand marshalled for a dance."

That comparison between the vault and a bird with outspread wings about to fly was poetically apt: flight is constantly suggested by Gothic structure, and the section through the aisle of the nave at Lincoln on page 63 confirms this, so does the section through the nave, aisles and north cloister of Westminster Abbey opposite, showing the highest Gothic vault in England strutted and supported by flying buttresses, and also, on a far smaller scale, the interior view of the Temple Church of St. Mary, on page 66. The masons who began work on the nave of Lincoln in 1225 carried on and amplified the character of St. Hugh's choir, and about the

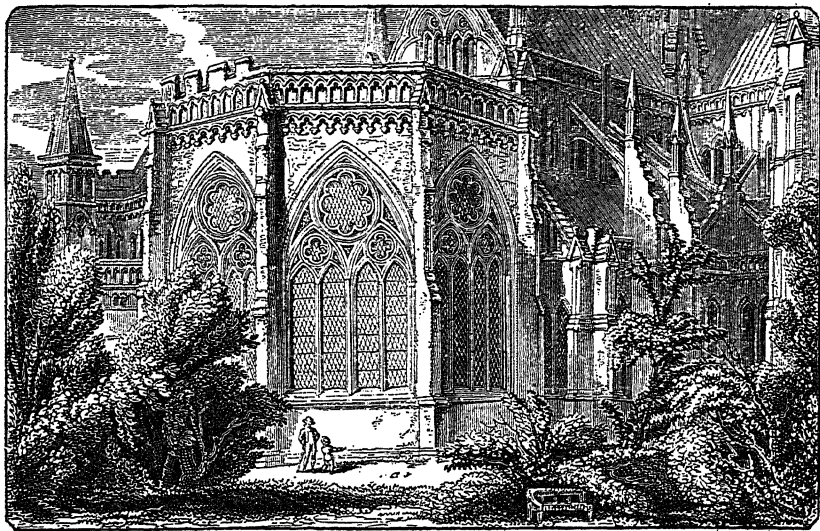


Interior of the Temple Church of St. Mary, looking east from the circular nave. The nave and porch were built, *circa* 1160–1185, and the chancel, *circa* 1220–1240. The church was ruthlessly restored in 1841, by Edward Blore, and bombed a hundred years later. It has since been restored again, but with more sensitivity than Blore could command. Reproduced from Bardwell's *Temples, Ancient and Modern* (1837), plate X.

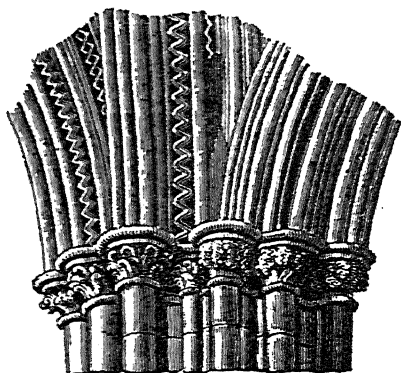
same time they covered the Norman west front with an Early English screen. (See plate 10.) There was greater contrast between the composed sobriety of Norman forms and the adventurous striving of Early English than between the later phases of Gothic: this may be seen by comparing plates 8 and 9, reproduced from Hollar's engravings of the Norman nave and Early English choir of old St. Paul's. Although the contrast is obvious, the two great limbs of the church are unified by the vaulting and the close



relationship of the slender attached columns round the piers. According to a tradition that goes back to the reign of Henry III, St. Paul's was built on a site once occupied by a temple of Diana when London was Londinium, a structure replaced by a Christian church, erected early in the seventh century by Aethelbert, King of Kent, whose kingdom included London. Bishop Maurice began building the Norman cathedral in 1085; the nave and apse were completed about 1155, and when the tower was built in 1221 the apse was removed and replaced by the choir. The lead-sheathed wooden spire, the highest in Europe, rose 489 feet above ground-level. (Some authorities have suggested that it was well over 500 feet.) In 1561 it was struck by lightning, destroyed by fire, and never rebuilt.



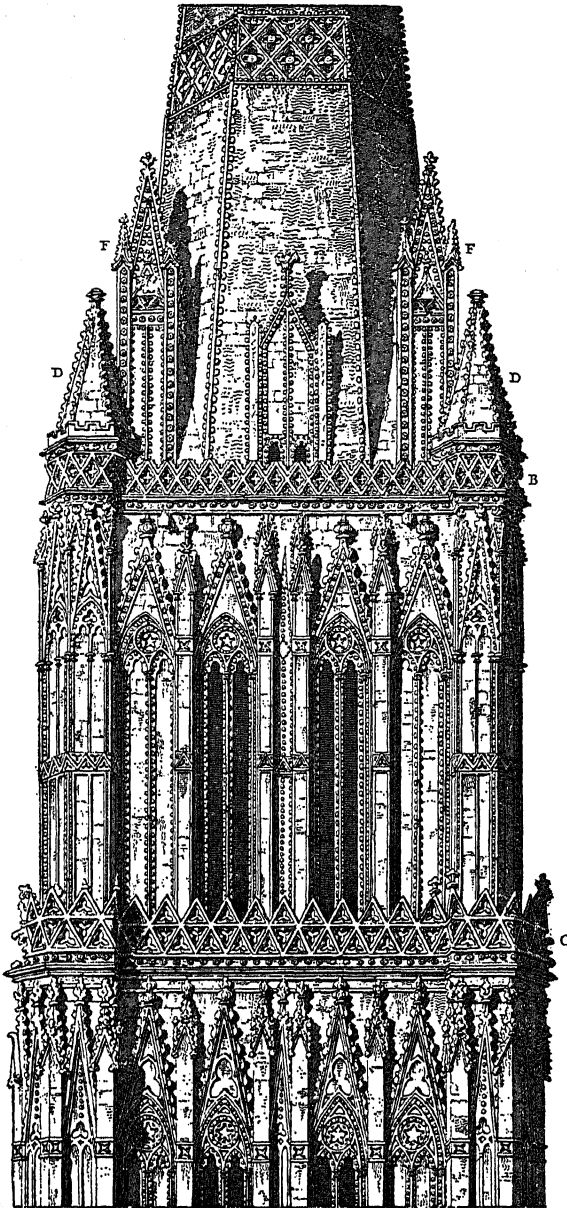
The octagonal Chapter House of Salisbury Cathedral, lighted by eight windows opening between an equal number of buttresses. Windows have a new significance; apart from creating within the church what Christian Barman has called "the celestial cinema", they were beginning their conquest of the solid wall, so that ultimately, in the last phase of Gothic, voids dominated solids. From Britton's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, page 69.



Structural lines which carried weight and distributed it downwards appeared to ascend; jets of stone spurted upwards from foliated capitals to form arches; a complete reversal of the Norman builders' deliberate statement of stability. From Britton's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, page 82.

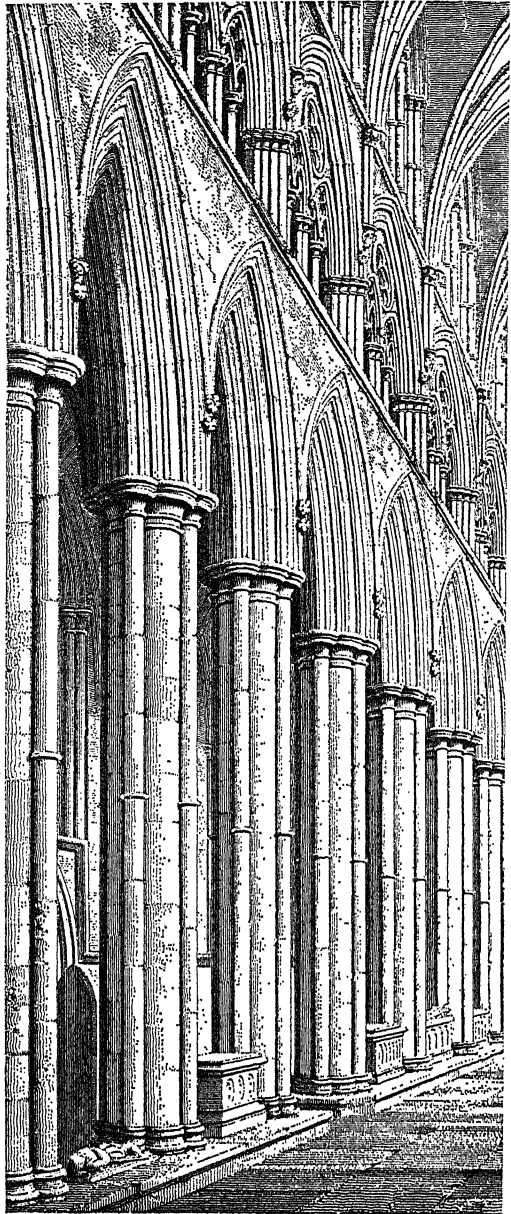
Beginning, then, at Canterbury, the Early English style developed throughout the thirteenth century, with Salisbury Cathedral as an example of the nearest approach to a church erected almost entirely in one style. Built between 1220 and 1258, it was not, like many other cathedrals, the core of a group of monastic buildings, expanding and gaining in diversity century by century. Conceived and finished in a relatively short period, the church was a coherent though still incomplete expression of the new movement in architecture; for without the tower and spire, which were not added until the mid-fourteenth century, it remained a tentative composition, with the aisle windows unduly enlarged, and the interior of the nave marred by the mean dimensions of the triforium. (See page 70.) Richard of Farleigh built the tower and spire, which mark the transition of Early English to Decorated Gothic.

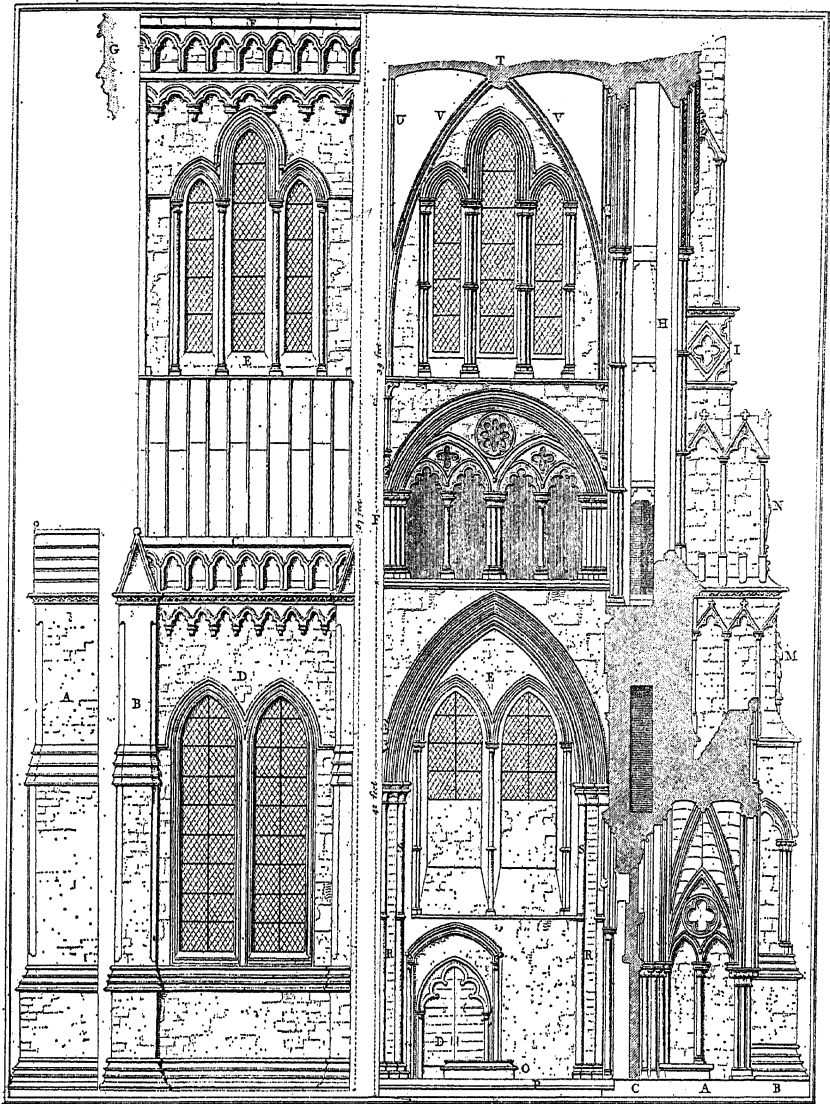
Century after century, cathedrals and churches were webbed with scaffolding: additions or alterations were always in hand: so throughout the country, in many sacred buildings, great and small, all periods of Gothic architecture meet in harmony, as, for example, at Peterborough Cathedral, which, until 1541, was the Abbey Church of St. Peter. The third church to stand on that site, it was founded about 1117 by John de Sais (or Sez), after the destruction of an earlier building in 1116. The founder's work did not extend beyond the choir and apse, which were dedicated about 1140. Martin of Bec built the aisles of both transepts and the south



Portion of the tower and spire of Salisbury Cathedral. The two upper storeys of the tower and the spire are later than the rest of the church, and are early examples of Decorated Gothic. The steeple was the work of the mason, Richard of Farleigh. Reproduced on a slightly smaller scale from Britton's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, plate VII.

Part of the north side of the nave of Salisbury Cathedral. The Cathedral is almost entirely in the Early English Gothic style: there is an uninterrupted completeness in the great space enclosed by its window-pierced walls, for stone even at this early period was beginning to retreat before glass. Erected between 1220 and 1258, Salisbury was never the core of a group of monastic buildings, growing and gaining in diversity century by century: it was conceived and finished in a relatively short period, a coherent expression of the new, adventurous English Gothic. (See pages 67, 68, 69, and opposite.) From Britton's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, part of plate XX.

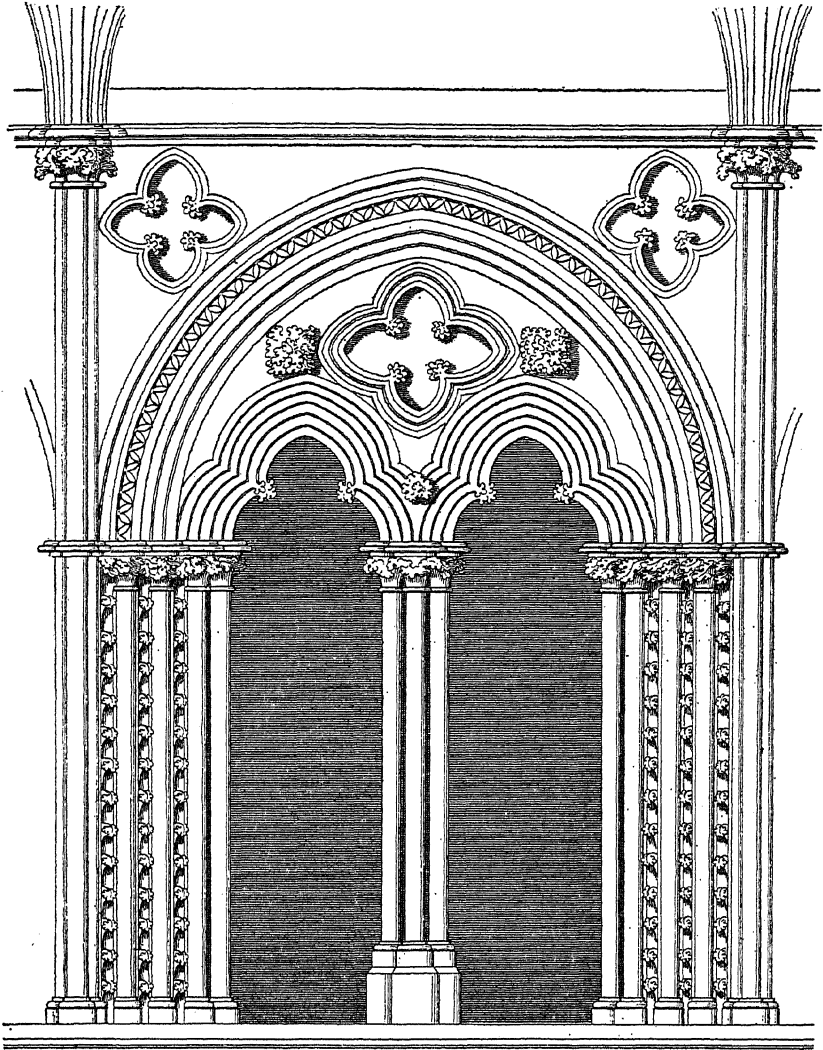




Elevation and section of one compartment of the nave of Salisbury Cathedral, at the west end. Reduced in scale from plate XIX of John Britton's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*.

transept between 1140 and 1155, and work on the transepts was completed and the central tower erected between 1155 and 1175 by William de Waterville. Abbot Benedict built the nave, 1177-1193, and Abbot Andrew the western transepts, which were finished by the beginning of the thirteenth century. Work on the Abbey proceeded for the next hundred years. The west front, with its triple arches, was completed about 1250, the bell tower twenty-five years later, and the Lady Chapel (demolished in the seventeenth century) consecrated in 1290. The pinnacles on the towers of the west front carry the work on into the fourteenth century, when decorated windows were introduced. (See plate 13.) Later, in 1438, work began on an eastern chapel which was finished in just under a hundred years and called thereafter "the new building". For two centuries from its foundation builders were at work on the Abbey, and the last Perpendicular addition accounted for nearly another century. The collective skill of nine generations of craftsmen is embodied in Peterborough, their work guided and animated by the English tradition that re-emerged in the thirteenth century after a hundred years of forcibly arrested development.

Externally the Cathedral appears to be rather squat and massive; the most emphatic vertical features are the tall triple arches of the west front with their flanking towers and spires, but no tower or spire rises to a dominant height above the roof-line. From the air, as plate 13 shows, the great length of the nave in relation to the choir and transepts is apparent. Within, from below the central tower, the harmonious blending of all those generations of work may be apprehended. Far more clearly than in Canterbury an air of impending discovery is conveyed by the rounded transept arches which shoulder the weight of the tower, with the lines of pointed relieving arches above them, while those carrying the tower over the choir are pointed, the broken sweep of their curves hinting at a wide spread of thrust. Although building technique was progressing towards "the cage of stone", that final structural triumph of Gothic architecture, mediaeval churches were not always structurally sound. Towers rose towards Heaven, but sometimes crashed to earth, though tongues were not confounded to curb such soaring aspirations. The faith of Christendom, stronger than the pride of Babel, united craftsmen as a skilled

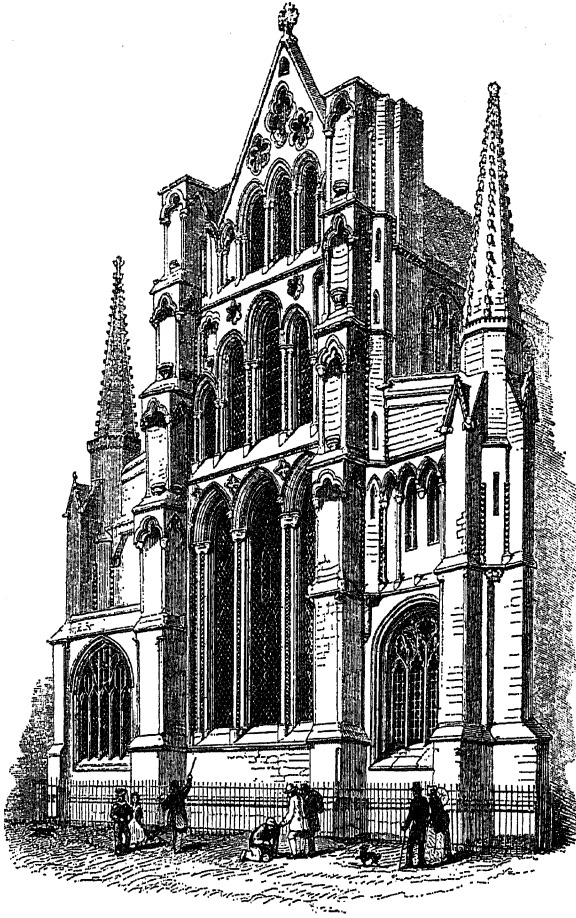


One of the double arches of the triforium in the Presbytery of Ely Cathedral. Built, 1235-1252, by Bishop Northwold, this Early English Gothic addition to the Cathedral repeats the pattern of the nave: single arches on the ground floor, double in the triforium, and triple in the clerestory. Just under half a century separated the completion of the nave in 1189, and the beginning of work on the Presbytery: in that time Norman conceptions of design had passed into architectural history. (See pages 48, 49, and 75.) From Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Volume II, plate 54.

fraternity, within that larger fraternity embracing all men which Christendom then represented and nationalism ultimately destroyed. The technical terms of the mason's craft, with regional variations of pronunciation, probably had a common currency throughout large areas of Europe; and in Europe and England adventurous building suffered casualties. As a result of faulty foundations, the west tower of Gloucester Cathedral collapsed about the end of the eleventh century; the central tower of Winchester fell in 1107; the west tower of Worcester in 1175. The central tower of Ely, for long in a shaky condition, crashed in 1321, but the loss was posterity's gain, as it made way for the erection of the octagon lantern. (See plate 4.) These occasional disasters never restrained mediaeval builders from trying out something fresh, from building still higher, from fining down their stonework. They could always learn from accidents. The fall of a tower, the collapse of a roof, the buckling of a wall, the sudden sinking of a vault, could teach them something; generation after generation masons improved their technique, enlarged their knowledge, and gained greater mastery over materials. The walls of abbeys and cathedrals, even small country churches, were nearly always whitewashed, so the land was dotted with buildings, sparkling in the uncontaminated sunlight of a non-industrial age, the white and gleaming symbols of purity, of Christianity at war with the powers of darkness. The old religion was in retreat; during the thirteenth century it was stigmatised as witchcraft, and, as such, an heretical sect, though its members were not commonly called witches or their god the Devil until the reign of Elizabeth I. It sank out of sight, though not out of mind; the Church was ever aware of the secret enemy, of the power and popularity of rites that were ancient long before Christ was born. Organised persecution came later. Meanwhile, the form of every church must help to turn men's eyes to Heaven, and as form is revealed to us by the light that falls on it, every climbing line was emphasised—croquets, finials, the ornament carved on mouldings, the ribs of vaults and the tracery of windows, all caught and used light to enhance the illusion of ascent.

Today we enjoy two new views of architecture denied to our forefathers. We can fly over cathedrals and churches, castles and palaces, and even recover from their ruins accurate knowledge

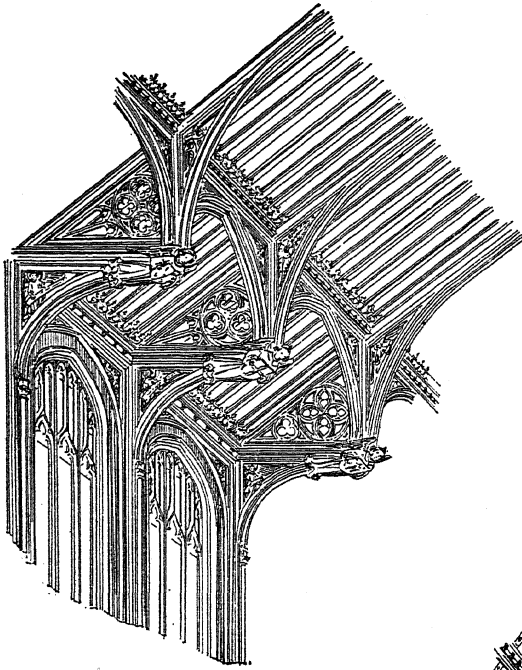




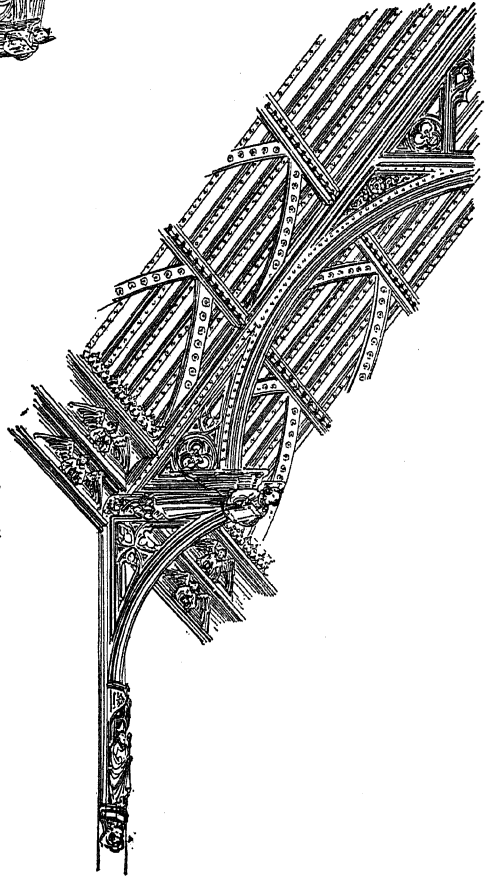
The east end of the Presbytery, Ely Cathedral, built by Bishop Hugh de Northwold, 1235-1252. The tabernacles are empty, the windows of the side aisles have been inserted, and the large square piers from which the gable ascends were probably never finished. From plate 12 of Stewart's *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London: John Van Voorst, 1868).

of their plans and former extent, studying them at leisure from a helicopter and from the results of air photography. What these new powers of observation give us may be judged from plates 4 to 7 and 10 to 15. The invention of floodlighting provides a fresh and revealing view of the significance of moulded detail: striking upwards, like sunlight in reverse, this artificial radiance gives subtle emphasis to surface variations, and new and unsuspected beauties of form emerge which mediaeval builders and Renaissance architects seem unconsciously to have contrived. Gothic architecture,

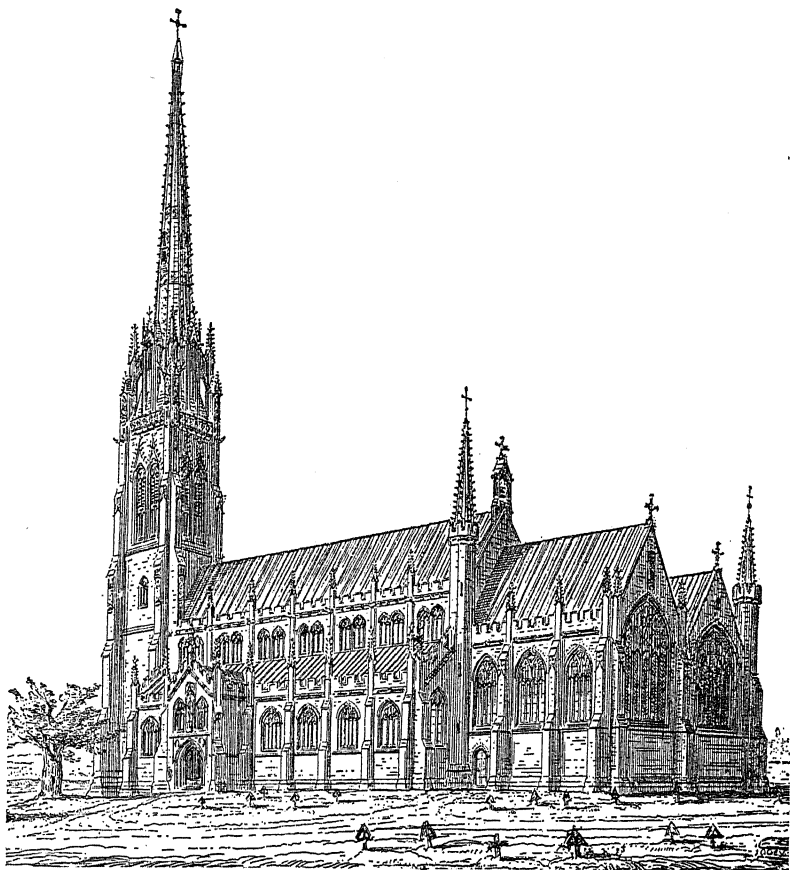
MEDIAEVAL TIMBER  
ROOFS



*Left:* Roof of St. Mary's,  
Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.  
Early fifteenth century.



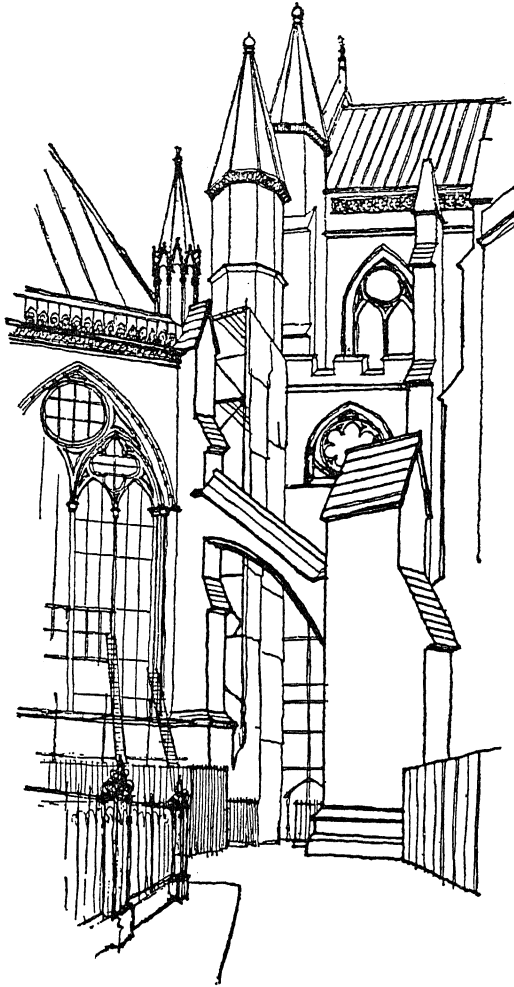
*Right:* Roof of Blakeney Church,  
Norfolk. Both illustrations reproduced  
from Pugin's, *The True  
Principles of Pointed or Christian  
Architecture*, plate VI.



An ideal mediaeval parish church, from Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: John Weale, 1841), page 50. "An old English parish church, as originally used for the ancient worship, was," said Pugin, "one of the most beautiful and appropriate buildings that the mind of man could conceive; every portion of it answered both a useful and mystical purpose." The tower strongly resembles that of St. Mary's, the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Newcastle-on-Tyne, designed by Pugin and built 1842-1844.

lit from below with shadows cast upwards, penetrates the night sky with the same confident purpose that exalts its lines in daylight, and the hard brightness of electric light gives to worn grey stone surfaces a semblance of their former whiteness.

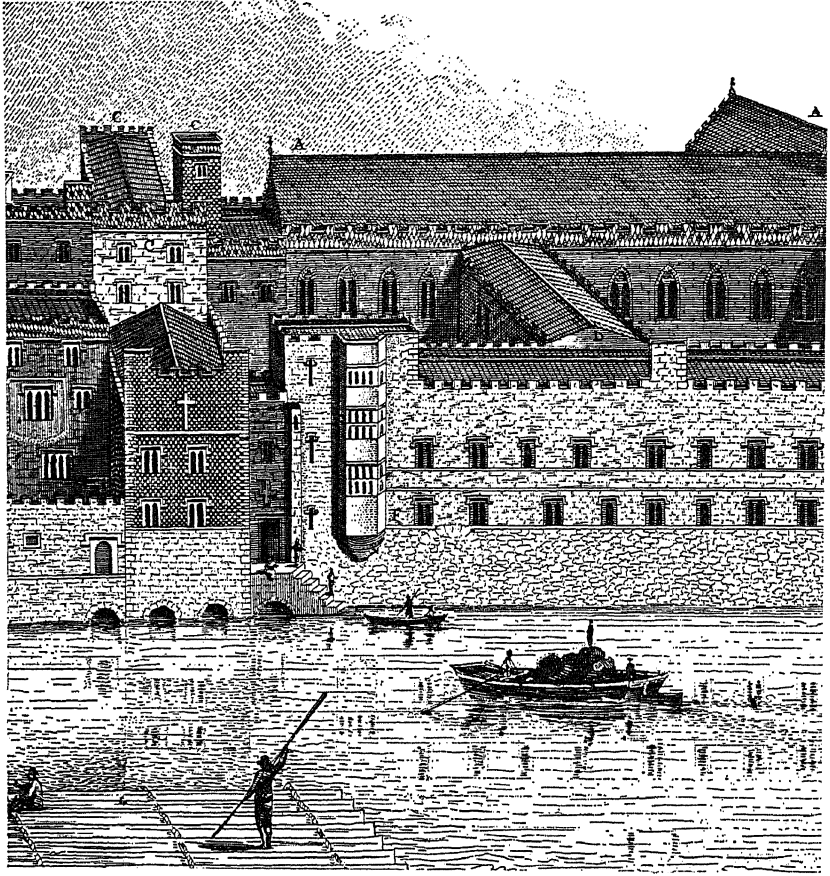
Architect and builder were one and the same person: there was no professional class of designer, working apart from the executant craftsmen. (William of Sens was doing a practical job on the building he had designed when he met with his accident.) The Church provided the richest and most consistent patronage: many prelates had architectural ambitions, which they fulfilled occasionally with such ostentation that worldliness seemed to be masquerading as piety, but princes of the Church were knowledgeable about building, for many brethren of monastic establishments were craftsmen, and an abbot could easily have been a trained mason in his younger days. Thus the patronage exercised by churchmen was informed by an intimate and often personal knowledge of the crafts, so masons, woodworkers, carvers, glaziers and smiths had the advantage of serving people who knew what they wanted, why they wanted it, and what they were talking about. Such confident patronage reinforced the experimental spirit among craftsmen. Behind them, protective, authoritative, and vigilant, were the guilds, which used their considerable powers to maintain high standards of workmanship, without imposing the levelling uniformity of standardisation. Apart from a fraternal regard for the welfare of their members, they had little or nothing in common with the latter-day trades unions. They demanded ability and integrity from their members: they could condemn scamped or incompetent work, fine or punish those responsible for it, and if offences against standards and regulations were repeated, offenders could be expelled from the guild. Membership of a fraternal body like a guild made no alterations to human nature, and while there was no doubt a friendly interchange of skills, mediocre men imitated the methods of those with superior gifts, though guarding their own secrets with the jealous assiduity of small, unoriginal minds. But such interchanges were not confined to England: throughout Europe there was a constant coming and going of craftsmen, promoting a cosmopolitan traffic in ideas, so men who had worked on an abbey in Yorkshire or Wiltshire or a London church might for a time be in contact with those who had experience of building in Flanders, Germany, France, Spain or Italy. They were all expressing through their work a nascent nationalism, inspired alike by the emotional excitement of building for the glory of God. The very intensity of the faith which lit



A corner of the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. Lethaby dates this building, 1245-1250. (*Westminster Abbey Re-Examined*, London: Duckworth, 1925, Chapter VI, page 98.) The windows are much larger in scale than they appear to be in relation to the building, being about  $19\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and 39 feet high. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

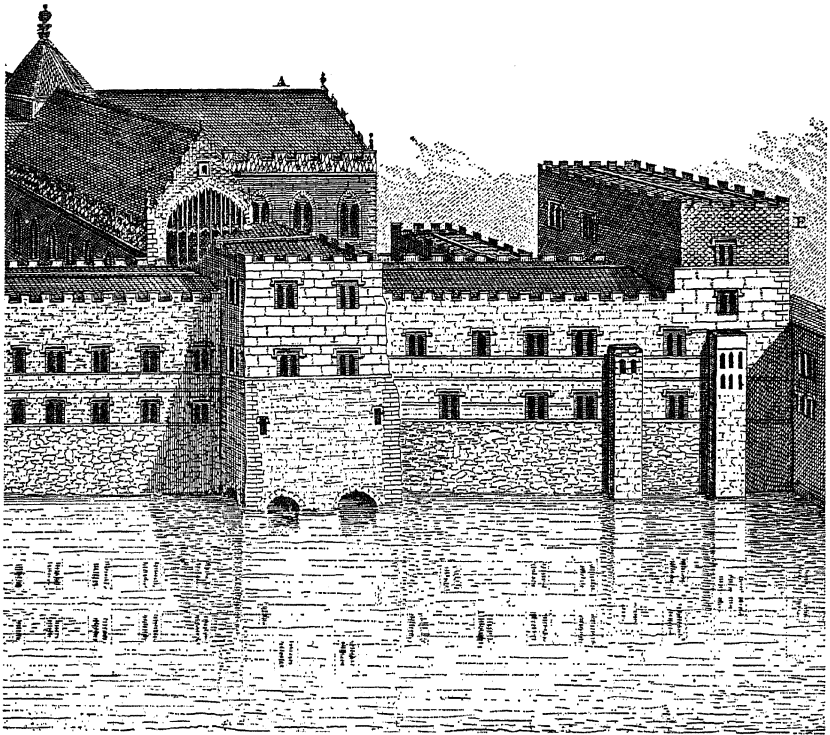
their lives was, some centuries later, to make attempted revivals of their architecture as lacking in vitality as a waxwork. In Georgian and Victorian England, the crucible which contained that mediaeval incandescence had long been broken.

There were other patrons of architecture, royal, noble, civic, and mercantile. Henry III indulged a passion for building, which



### THE SAVOY PALACE FROM THE RIVER THAMES

Built in 1245 by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond, the Palace was burned during the insurrection of Wat Tyler in 1381, and restored by Henry VII. Fortification and security were still powerful influences in architectural design: windows were mean in size, walls were crowned with battlements. Above and opposite: This conjectural view of the original appearance, drawn by George Vertue in 1736, was published as an engraving in 1750 by the Society of Antiquaries. At that time the Palace was in ruins: its condition was depicted in 1792 by Nathaniel Smith. (See opposite, below.) In Vertue's drawing several of the lost features were restored.



*Right: Smith's  
view, from  
Antiquities of  
London.*



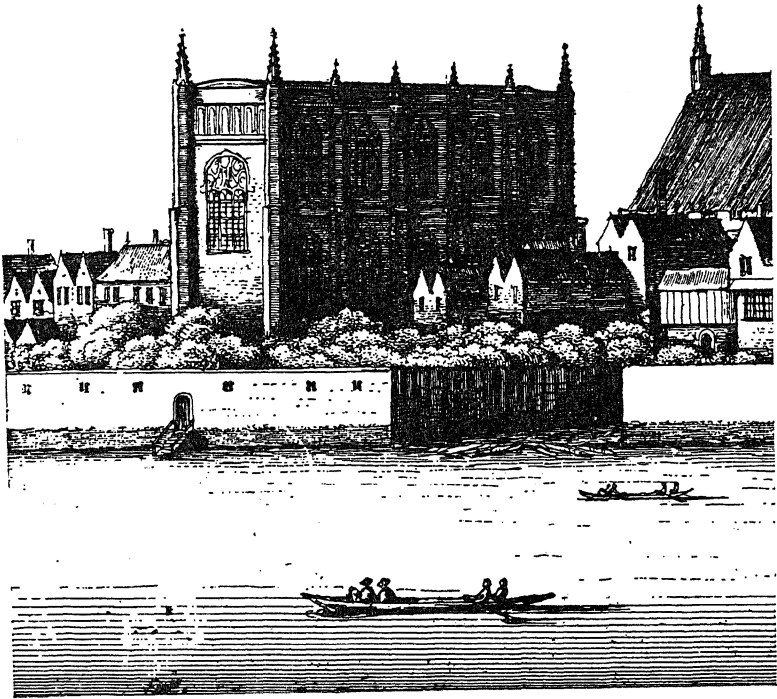
virtually transformed London. Additions and renovations were made at the Tower. (Dr. Salzman in *Building in England* records in connection with the work there the royal order for "our great chamber to be whitewashed and repainted, and all its shutters to be remade with new wood, new catches and hinges, and painted with our arms".) New work extended the royal castles and manors: Winchester, Windsor, Gloucester, Guildford, Marlborough, and Woodstock among them, and the King lavished money on Westminster Abbey. A permanent staff of craftsmen was attached to the King's palace, and Lethaby, in *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, mentions "a chief royal mason, carpenter, smith and painter, just as there were a chief butler and cook; and these officers followed one another in unbroken succession". Royal patronage was often unreliable: money was apt to run out before work was finished, and although Plantagenet kings were more efficient at extracting it from their subjects than the Stuarts, who had to contend with hard-headed Puritans and tough Parliaments, they usually paid a high price for financial aid in the way of concessions and guarantees and charters to the business community, which they despised and would have persecuted if they had risked challenging their power.

Patronage dispensed by noblemen was frequently limited in scope, because even a large town house had to be a semi-fortified place with small windows and high, thick walls—a miniature castle set down in a city. The Savoy Palace was an example of this conflicting duality of function. It was built in 1245 by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond, destroyed by fire during Wat Tyler's insurrection in 1381, and restored by Henry VII. A conjectural view of its extent and architectural character, drawn by George Vertue in 1736 and published as an engraving by the Society of Antiquaries in 1750, is reproduced on pages 80 and 81. Civic buildings, like churches, were not circumscribed by the inhibitions of patrons who suffered from feelings of insecurity, and the merchants who collectively found the money for them built spacious town houses for themselves, without anticipating a siege, though they had strong doors and shutters, for their homes were also places of business and warehouses, too.

The common enemy in a mediaeval city was fire. Nearly all town houses were of wood; a staunch framework, based on mas-



## Parliament House

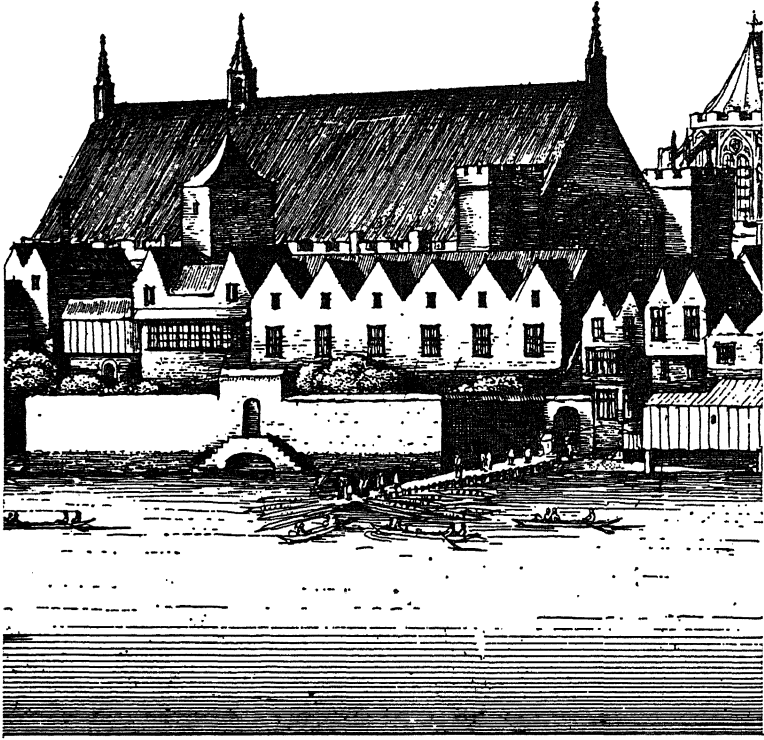


The City of Westminster as it appeared from the Thames in 1647, when Hollar engraved this view. (It is continued on the next two pages.) The Renaissance had not affected this part of Westminster: the Parliament House, shown above, the Hall, the Abbey, and the adjacent buildings were mediaeval.

*Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

sive baulks of timber, with the spaces between the upright and horizontal members filled with wattle-and-daub or plaster, usually roofed with thatch, more rarely with tiles or lead. The first Lord Mayor of London, Henry Fitz Ailwyne (1189 or 1191), tried to introduce building regulations, which provided for stone party walls, three feet thick; but they were ignored, and London continued to catch fire and blaze ruinously. Every great fire was followed by ambitious rebuilding, and as eight took place in just

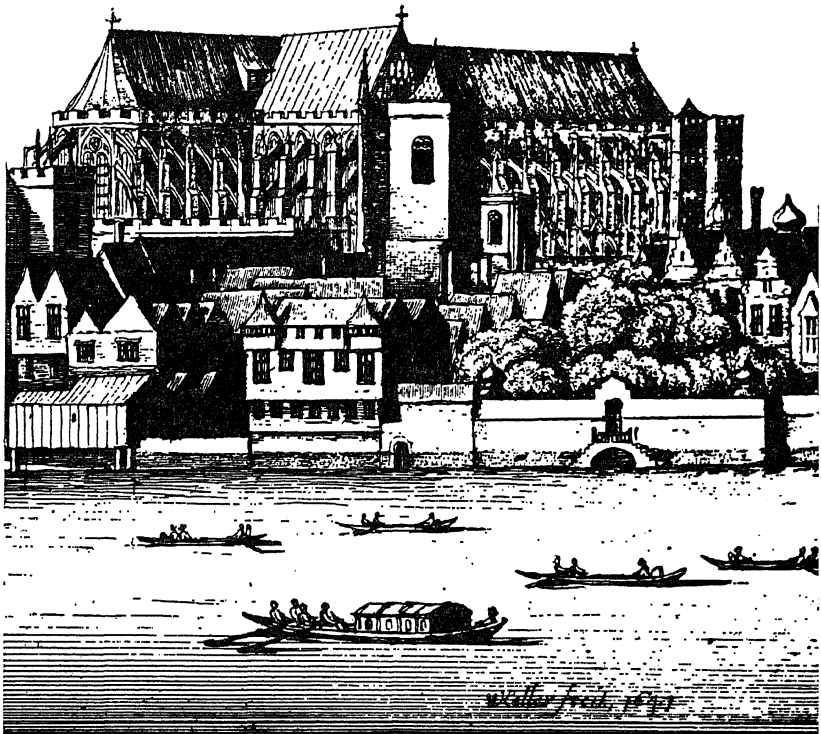
## the Hall



Westminster from the Thames in 1647. This continues the view eastwards from the Parliament House shown on the previous page: Westminster Hall is shown above, and the Abbey on the opposite page. *From Hollar's engraving, reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

over two centuries, London was correspondingly changed. The first of these accidental fires (as distinguished from deliberate destruction, such as that wrought by Boudicca in A.D. 60 and the Vikings in 851) occurred in 961, the last in 1264. There was a fire-free interval of some four centuries, till in 1666 the mediaeval city was finally demolished. Before that, every time London was rebuilt vulnerable timber-framed houses were put up as a matter of course; the infilling improving in quality after brick replaced

## the Abby



Continuation of Hollar's engraving of Westminster from the Thames, showing the Abbey. Italianate fashions had not yet affected the riverside houses that stood between the three Gothic buildings and the river; but Flemish influence is apparent in the stepped gables of the house on the extreme right.

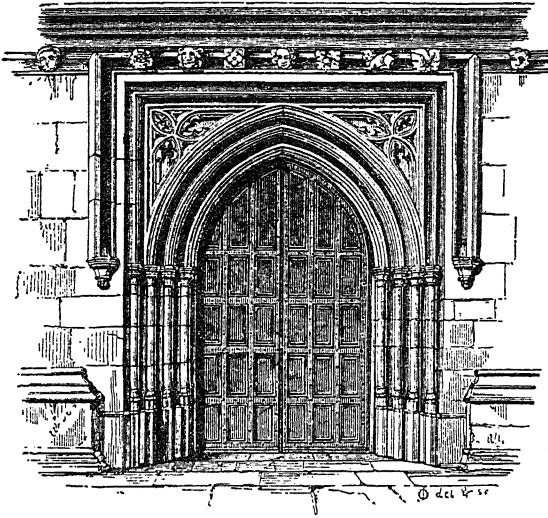
*Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

wattle-and-daub or plaster. The plastering of walls, inside and out, was originally a precaution against fire. Plastering became a recognised and important craft. On page 10 a timber-framed, mediaeval house is contrasted with a Romano-British villa house; and in that example, reproduced from a sixteenth-century illustration, stone is used on the ground floor, brick for the infilling on the first, plaster for the upper storey, and the roof is tiled. Although

this house incorporates permanent materials it differs little in form or vulnerability from the houses that leaned towards each other across the narrow streets of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century London.

The carpenter was the most important craftsman in the building of town houses; joiners' work was confined to interior fittings and furniture, and wood-carvers became highly specialised; but the carpenter was responsible for every type of woodcraft, beginning with the actual felling of trees. Those timber-framed houses were structurally sound, even when three or four storeys high, for the frame was really a cage that locked floors and walls together, and guaranteed stability. Wood and plaster houses only decayed when the framework was skimmed and the plaster ill-mixed and slapped on carelessly. All houses were individual; there were no terraces; no linking of one house with another by repetitive features or ornament; but mediaeval structures flowed easily into architectural relationships in streets, and even when buildings advanced part of the way across bridges, like St. William's Chapel on the Ouse Bridge at York, shown on plate 18, or on London Bridge, which appears at the upper part of the illustration on page 52, with a glimpse of the mediaeval city in the background. That view of London, described in the previous chapter and dating from the fifteenth century, is like a condensed miniature of Hollar's engraving, made in the mid-seventeenth century, which shows a glorious concourse of towers and spires. (See plate 3.)

Hollar's views of the City of Westminster seen from the Thames, reproduced on pages 83, 84, and 85, show how great buildings like the Parliament House, Westminster Hall, and the Abbey dominated the scene. The importance of civic or sacred buildings was not diminished by competitive commercial or domestic architecture; an etiquette of scale was observed; but this did not restrict individual expression in terms of carved wood and moulded and coloured plasterwork. The Decorated period of Gothic architecture, which we know from so many churches, must have impressed its characteristics on innumerable impermanent structures, which probably provided comparable and perhaps more varied opportunities for developing the characteristic forms of the native English style. Because that style, which arose late in the fourteenth century, has been identified with Perpendi-



Doorway at Merton College Chapel, Oxford, *circa* 1424. An early example of the Perpendicular style. From Parker's *Glossary* (Oxford, 1845).

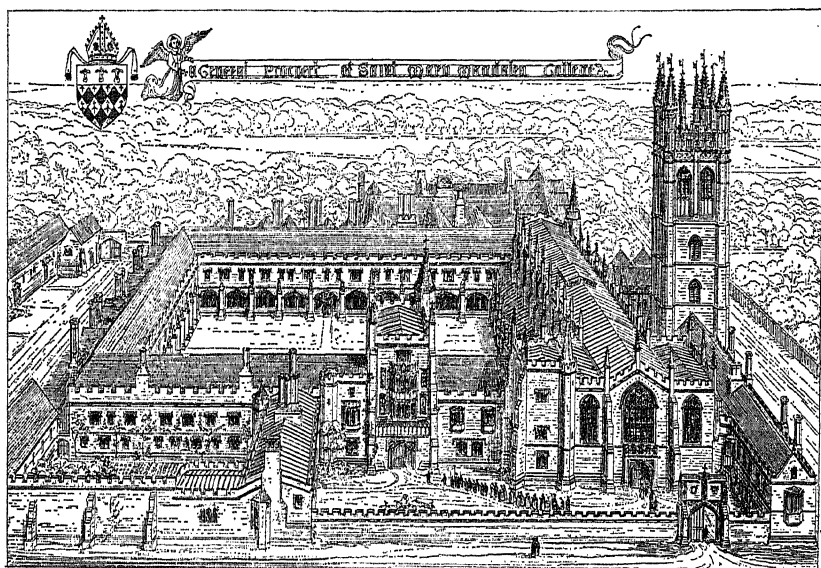
cular Gothic, its independent national significance has too often been ignored or minimised. In church building, it was the consummation of the Gothic adventure: in civic and domestic architecture, it proclaimed that commanding and comfortable alliance of art with skill and common sense that has distinguished the English tradition in all branches of design, from the fifteenth century to the early nineteenth, and is reappearing today.

## THE NATIVE ENGLISH STYLE

**P**ERPENDICULAR Gothic was an architecture of line, not of mass; but the word Perpendicular is misleading, though not so repellent as "Rectilinear", a term invented by Edmund Sharpe in the mid-nineteenth century. Both suggest an inflexible geometric austerity of form, something incapable of diversity, a strait-jacket for imagination, though the buildings of the period refute any suggestion of rigidity. For proof, look at the central towers of Canterbury and Gloucester on plate 12, the vivid variety of the buildings in Pugin's drawing of Magdalen College, Oxford, reproduced opposite, or the superb interior of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey on page 91, which, in Lethaby's words, "witnesses well to the vitality of our national forms of workmanship before they were overborne by the foreign fashions introduced by the king and court". Although the dynamic audacity of earlier periods was modified, vitality never departed, and with the last phase of English Gothic came a new regularity of composition, orderly but never restrictive, bringing a fresh significance to vertical elements, bestowing an air of settled calm, different in kind and character from the almost stolid calm of Norman buildings, because it was generated by work and workmen infinitely more accomplished. The foreign influences had long been absorbed, and the experimental ardours of the Early English and Decorated periods subdued, though no late Gothic structure in England ever became an inert mass; the national genius for using and amplifying a traditional heritage brought new splendours to building. Fresh foreign influences were to come; in Italy the Renaissance was regurgitating classic forms; but a hundred years passed before the vivacious ideas fertilised by that revival of Graeco-Roman architecture arrived in England. Meanwhile the native style established a form of architecture

happily suited to the climate and the people, which has endured in the affections of the English, for it gave substance to the concept of home, and provided an environment for town and country life from which ugliness was excluded. The feeble attempts of modern speculative builders to imitate the superficial characteristics of the style is really a debased form of folk memory, for the results appeal to thousands of people who feel, subconsciously, that such flimsy parodies fulfil the meaning of the word home. Thus the English tradition is presented to them, condensed and distorted, as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* might be presented, condensed and distorted, in a comic strip.

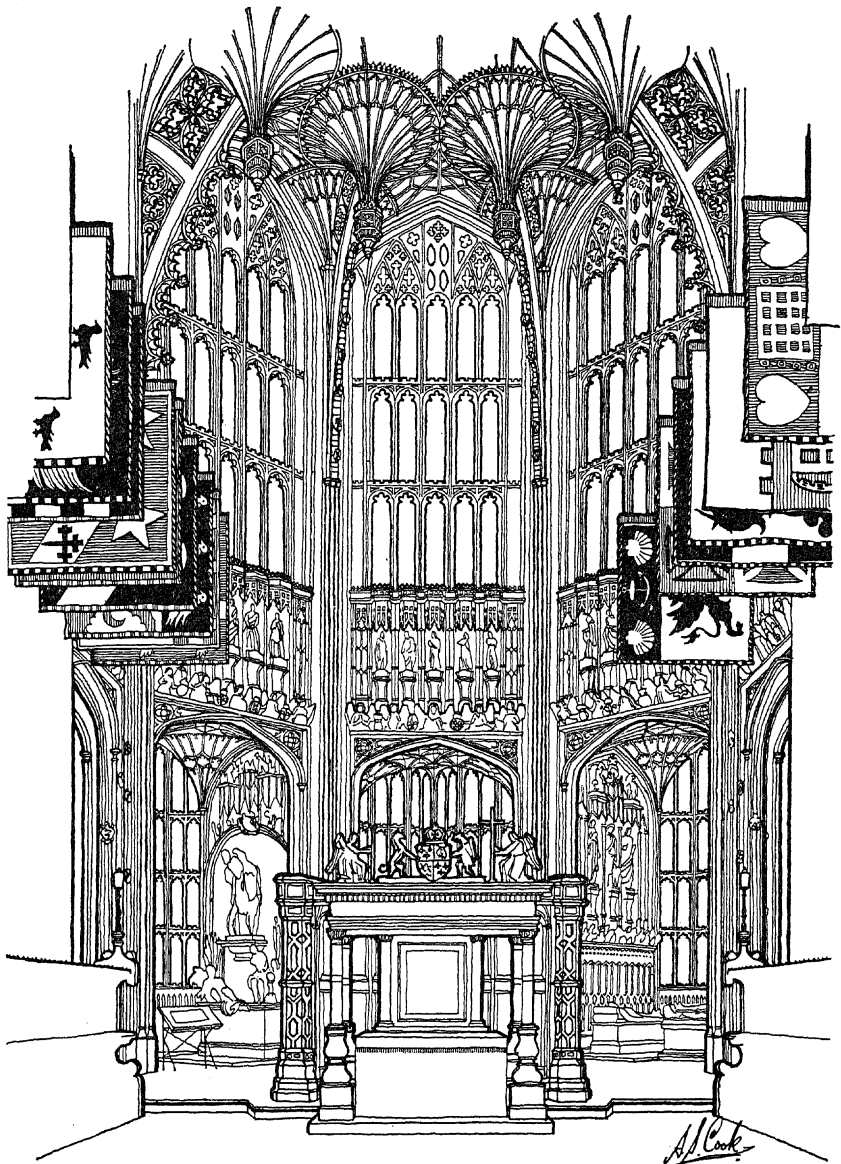
During the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the country grew richer and far more secure, though some regions, which had been almost depopulated by the Black Death in 1348–1349, never fully recovered. The eastern counties suffered heavily



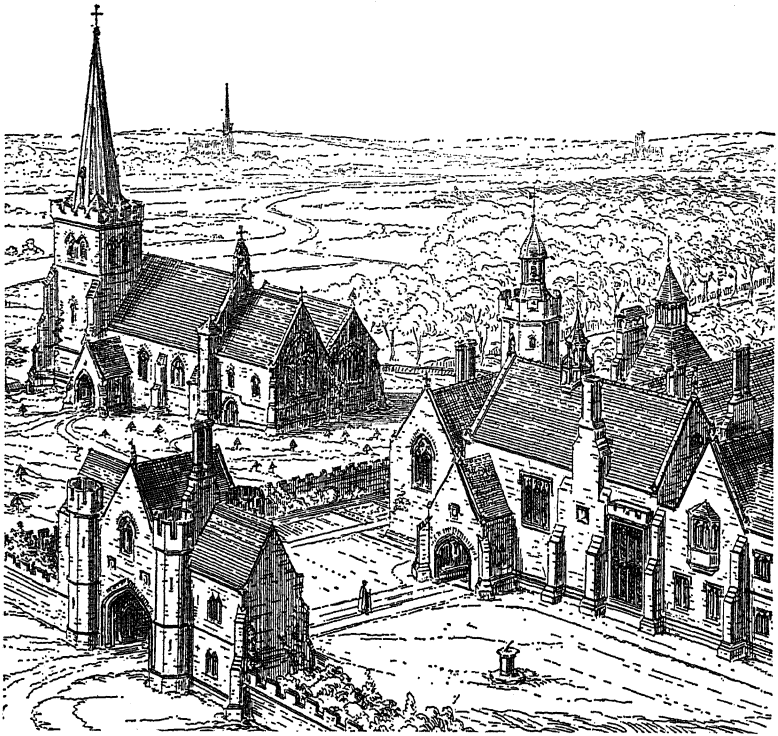
Magdalen College, Oxford, founded in 1458. The bell tower was built between 1492 and 1505 by the mason, William Orchard. This drawing, by Pugin, is intended to show the college as it was before the eighteenth century and later additions and alterations. Reproduced from *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, plate IX.

and have been sparsely populated ever since; in Norfolk and Suffolk many large churches, built originally for thriving communities, now serve a few cottages. Only a hamlet preserves the name of a vanished town. The plague made no class distinctions; it wiped out rich and poor, nobleman and serf, and compelled changes in the social structure. Those changes were reflected, as life is always reflected, by what was built when the country recovered and gradually became prosperous. Domestic architecture lost the grim, hard look impressed by fear, for England had entered a period of peaceful expansion and artistic fecundity. The odious air of warlike readiness lingered only in the border country, in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, northern Yorkshire, and the counties adjoining Wales. There the gloom of fortification still darkened houses and castles; even small country houses were miniature strongholds, with watch towers, thick outer walls, and slits for windows. Elsewhere, even some of the castles became more cheerful places, and manor houses and the larger farmhouses were transformed: they were turning into comfortable homes, albeit the comfort was limited. Even when the fourteenth-century manor house retained its moat, the drawbridge would be replaced by a permanent structure, and the moat, often refreshed by some diverted stream, ceased to be the stagnant obstacle demanded by military necessity. Pugin's reconstruction of a manor house reproduced on page 92 reveals vestigial fortifications, surrounding buildings incomparably superior in grace to the severely functional fortified manor shown at the top of page 41 which had guaranteed security in a savage land, but nothing more. Pugin's ideal manor house is almost free from fear, and sufficiently secure against the ordinary hazards of late mediaeval country life—outlaws, prowling thieves, and the drunken, irresponsible retainers of some great lord's private army. The gate-house arch would still have a portcullis, lowered at night in front of the strong gates. Behind the gate-house a spacious courtyard lay, with buildings grouped about it, shouldering against each other, the agreeably haphazard results of unplanned growth; for a manor house, like a church or monastic establishment, was always growing, and buildings were erected as need arose. This unceasing growth is exemplified by the remains of the Priory buildings at Ely, which became the Deanery of the





Henry VII's Chapel (1502-1515), Westminster Abbey, which, in Lethaby's words, "witnesses well to the vitality of our national forms of workmanship before they were overborne by the foreign fashions introduced by the king and court" (*Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen*, Chapter XI, page 222).  
*Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

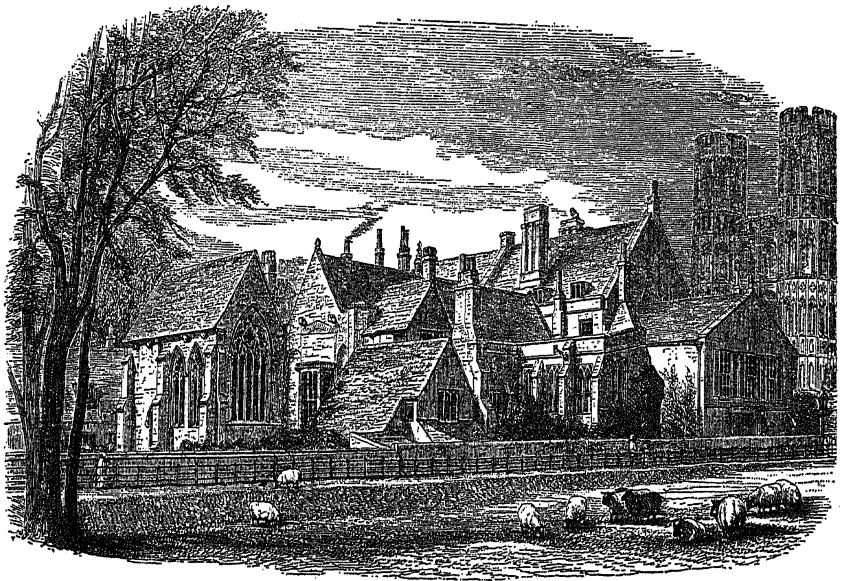


An idealised presentation of an old English mansion, devised by an ardent propagandist for “the good old mediaeval times”, and the Gothic revival. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–1852) was a superb draughtsman: illustrations from *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: John Weale, 1841) have been used in this and the previous chapter, because although emotionally biased in favour of everything built in the Middle Ages, he drew with such sensitive perception, and had studied mediaeval architecture so deeply and understandingly, that many of his reconstructions portray not only the form of Gothic buildings, but recall the spirit which inspired their design and execution.

Compare this conception of the fortified manor with the severely functional reconstruction on page 41: the earlier example guaranteed security in a savage land; Pugin’s building is almost free from fear, lightly fortified, exemplifying security without severity, and enjoying such civilised amenities as generous windows and gardens. (See also pages 76, 77, 89, and 90.)

Cathedral, shown below. With the exception of the Prior's Chapel, these buildings have been extensively reconstructed, but the grouping and harmonious fusion of roofs, gables and chimneys proclaim their late mediaeval origin.

Beyond the gate-house of the manor, the great hall would occupy one side of the courtyard; not the dark, squalid place of former times, but brightened by tall windows, following the design of those used in churches, with stone mullions and transoms and arched heads, filled by tracery forming geometric patterns—crosses, rosettes, circles and quatrefoils, sometimes sparkling with heraldic devices in coloured glass, though glass was still a comparatively rare and costly luxury. Horn panes, fixed in

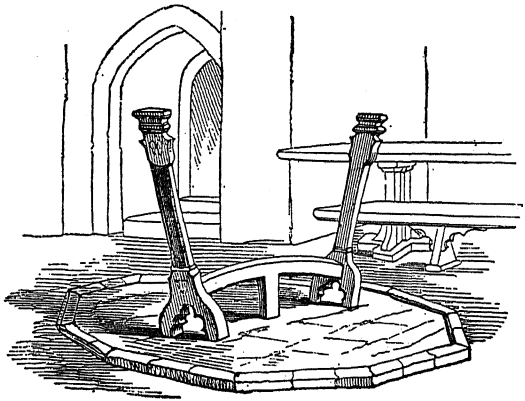


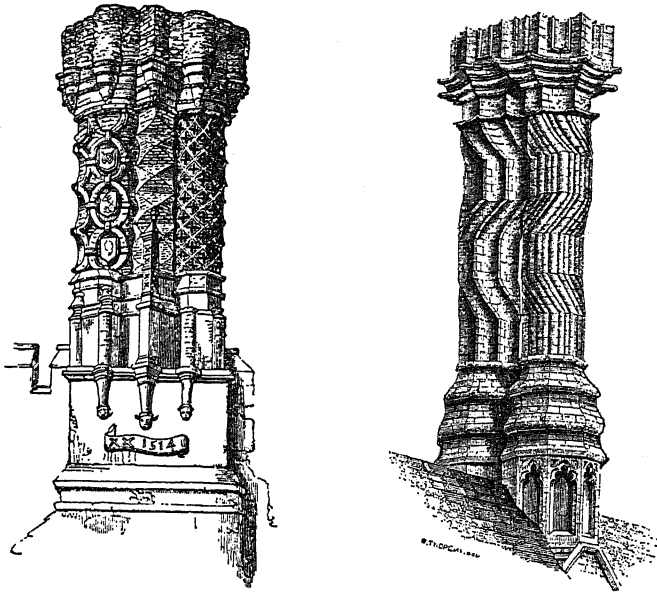
Remains of the Priory buildings at Ely, which became the Deanery of the Cathedral. Although these buildings, with the exception of the chapel of the Prior, have been rebuilt and altered extensively, the grouping and harmonious relationship of roofs, gables and chimneys recall their mediaeval origin. Reproduced from plate 21 of Stewart's *Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London: John Van Voorst, 1868).

lead frames, usually filled the space between the mullions. Windows, which had become so intimate a part of church architecture, had a comparable importance in domestic building. Larger windows let daylight pour into the great hall, undimmed by drifting smoke from a central hearth. When Penshurst Place in Kent was built in 1341 as a country seat for a London merchant, the central hearth installed in the great hall there was already old-fashioned. (See below.) Fireplaces had existed from Norman times, sunk into walls, with canopies or arched openings, and flues ascending in the thickness of the wall to chimneys that rose above roof-level.

Windows and fireplaces were potent influences in the development of the native style: both raised the standard of living, for they made the great hall a far more agreeable place, and the hall was the core of the country dwelling, the focal point of its everyday life. Often it was lofty, occupying the whole height of the building, with the roof carried on massive ribs of timber, for the carpenter had become as adventurously competent as the mason and had his own timber counterpart of stone engineering, and could span wide spaces. The "crucks" used in earlier forms of roof construction were now transformed into huge wooden arches, moulded beams, decorated with carving. Adjoining the hall, a range of smaller chambers met the increasing desire for privacy, for open planning and privacy, then as now, are incompatible. Communal life in the Middle Ages, with the hall as the main living-place, was as socially

The central hearth at Penshurst Place, Kent. Mid-fourteenth century. This was the commonest type of hearth during the Middle Ages. The andirons shown in the drawing are of sixteenth-century design. From *The Homes of Other Days*, by Thomas Wright (London: 1871).

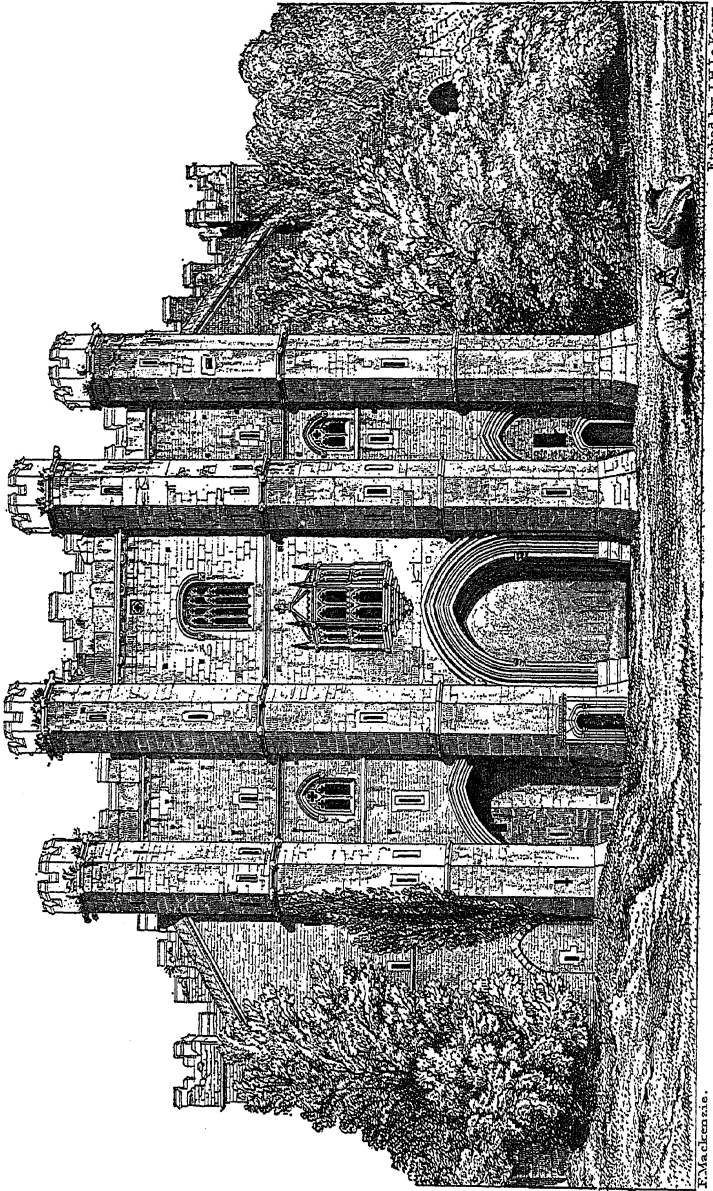




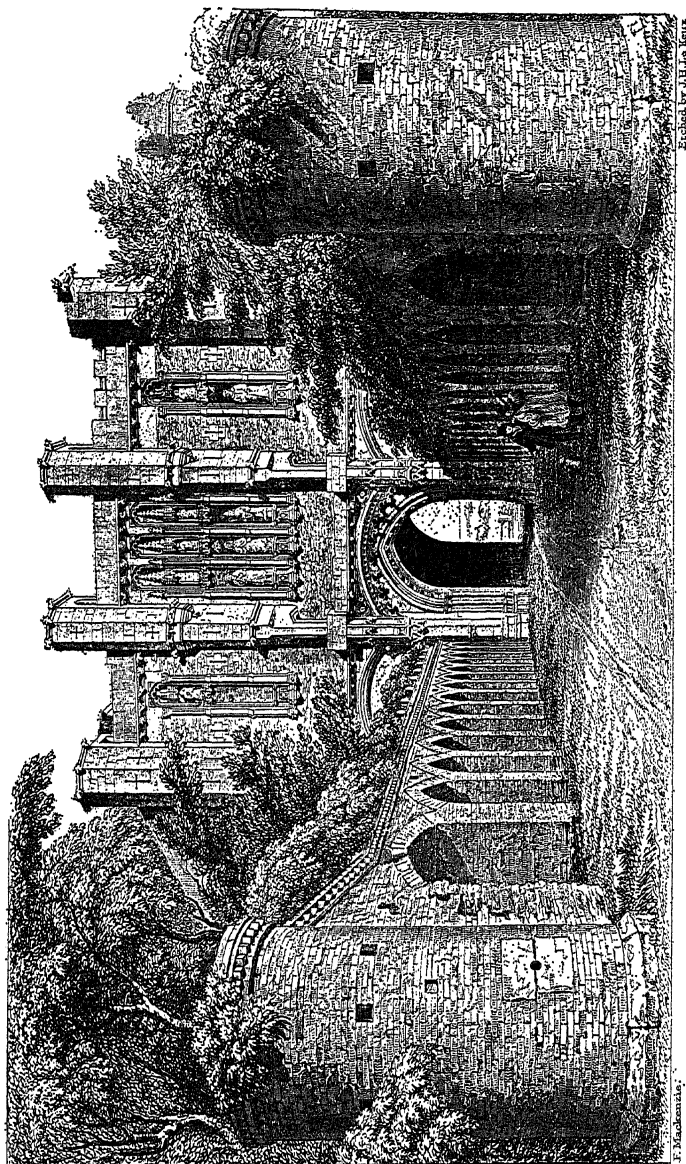
Cut and moulded brickwork on chimney shafts. *Left:* Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire. *Right:* Droitwich, Worcestershire. Both examples from the early sixteenth century, show the variety of decoration used in the native English style. From Parker's *Glossary and Domestic Architecture in England*.

promiscuous as life in the Saxon prototypes of the great hall, those large-scale wooden huts described and illustrated in Chapter 2. Stone stairways, rising inside the thick walls or winding up within turrets built specially to accommodate them, led to various private rooms: the lady's bower, spare rooms for guests, and the solar or withdrawing room, well above the level of the hall but connected with it by a window, which shrank in size until it was merely a spy hole through which the master of the household could observe what went on below.

All these improvements and extensions betokened a sharpening of class divisions. The new exclusiveness provoked resentment. The poet William Langland, born in 1332, deplored the desertion of the great hall. "There the lorde ne the lady liketh noute to sytte," he complained, and decried the superior attractions of the



Gate-house of Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, east side. This is an example of the transition from Decorated to Perpendicular, with an oriel window above the main archway. The west side, shown opposite, was the exterior, and fortified. It was built soon after 1382, and is one of the earliest large-scale buildings in England to be constructed of brick.



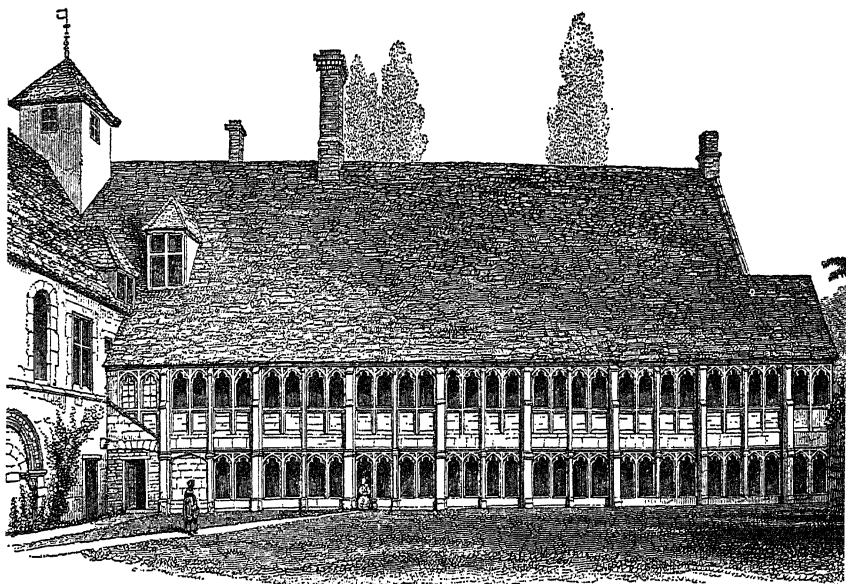
West side of the gate-house of Thornton Abbey. (See opposite page.) The Augustinian Abbey of Thornton was founded in 1139. The church and some of the conventual buildings have been excavated, but the gate-house and the sixteenth-century brick barbican still stand: the latter was probably added by some Elizabethan owner. (See *Monastic Sites from the Atr*, by David Knowles and J. K. S. St. Joseph, Cambridge University Press, 1952, page 200.) Illustrations on both these pages reproduced from Thomas Rickman's *Styles of Architecture in England* (Oxford, Seventh edition, 1881).

“pryve parlour” or the “chambre with a chimneye”, and what they implied in estrangement from old customs. He lived in a period of smouldering discontent, which flamed into rebellion in 1381, when Wat Tyler and his mob of followers attempted to rid the country of serfdom. Langland may have realised that when the private home life of the rich was separated from the communal life of their dependents, stone walls became symbols of class barriers which might eventually destroy the whole ideal of Christian brotherhood, the universal faith that mollified the rigours of life for the poor and exacted from the ruling classes enough practical paternalism to make the whole social system, with its extremes of poverty and privilege, at least workable. In the farmhouse, communal life went on for centuries. There the kitchen was a humbler equivalent of the great hall or house place. The farmer, unlike the lord of the manor, continued to be the visible head of the household, and after the Black Death he was the real lord of the land, for labour was so scarce that the owners of great estates took to sheep-farming. He was also a hard-working and responsible master, with a close knowledge of the lives and troubles and weaknesses of the people who worked on his land: he met them in the fields and at meal-times, and the kitchen fireplace became a rallying-point for social life at the farm—it was not just a space-

White Hall, Oxford, as it appeared in the mid-nineteenth century. This mediaeval survival, dating from the fourteenth century, with additions made in the fifteenth, was little more than two conjoined cottages, unable to accommodate more than ten or twelve scholars. Gothic features and Georgian insertions, in the form of shop fronts and windows, agree, and give the façade the same unmistakable English character as the houses in the main street of Chipping Campden, shown on plate 18. From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Volume III, part II (Oxford, 1859).



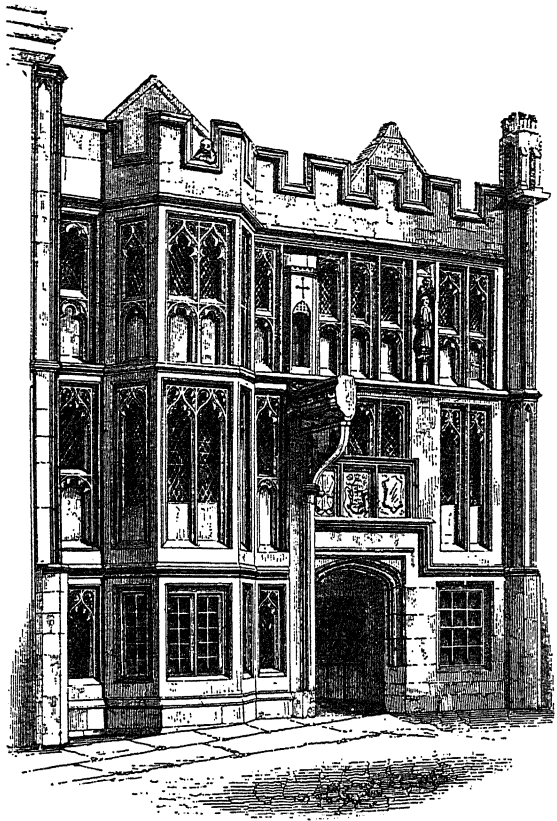




The prior's lodging, at the Cluniac Priory of Much Wenlock, Shropshire. Late fifteenth century. The long rows of windows light a corridor and a gallery. They are still designed as individual windows, placed in a row: no advantage has been taken of the opportunity created by a long, horizontal expanse of glazed voids to design a form that would make the most of it: windows tended to be dominated by vertical divisions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, until mullions and transoms were discarded and casements replaced by the double-hung sash. From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Volume III, part I (Oxford, 1859).

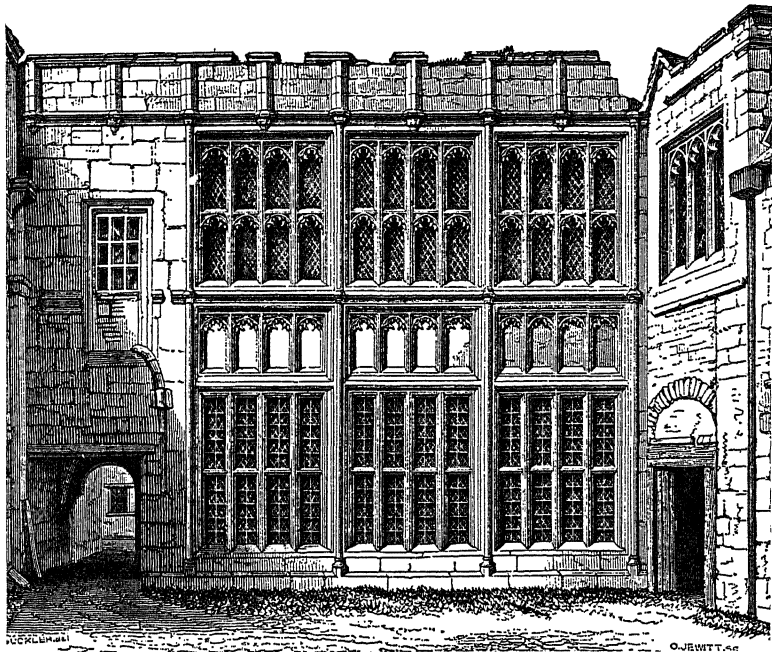
heating and cooking unit, in the loveless jargon of modern bureaucracy, nor a community centre chilled with bleak welfare, but a magnetic institution, which attracted men and women, young and old, and had a lasting effect on the design of English houses. When praising Roman methods of heating in *The Elements of Architecture*, Sir Henry Wotton said he would prefer it, "if the very sight of a fire did not adde to the Room a kind of Reputation. . . ." That opinion was published in 1624: two hundred years earlier fireplaces, apart from those in farm kitchens, were still rare. William Harrison (1534-1593) in his *Description of England* mentions the

The George Inn, Glastonbury, built by Abbot John Selwood about 1480 as a hostelry for pilgrims. From a drawing by William Twopeny, included in Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England* (Oxford, 1859).

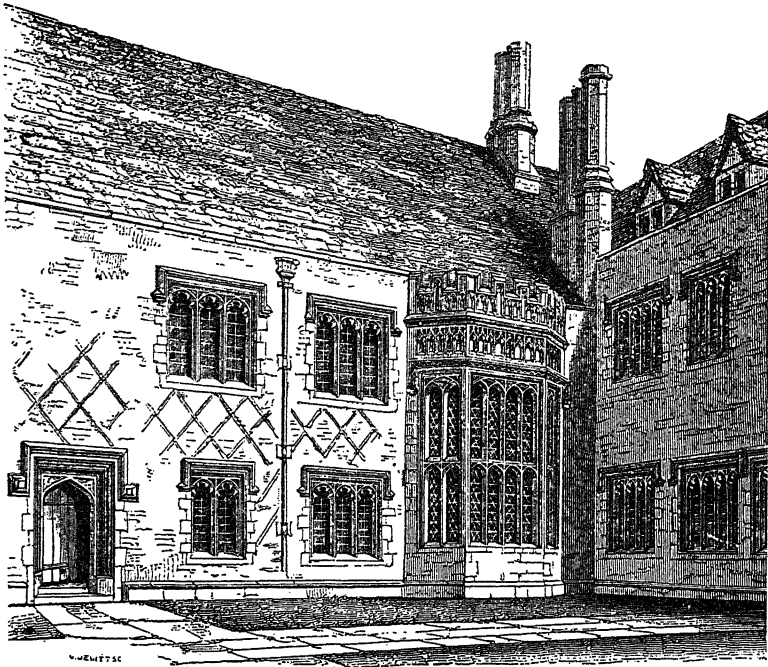


astonishment of old men living in the middle of the sixteenth century at the large number of chimneys. They had, he wrote, "noted three things to be marvellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance. . . . One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yong daies there were not above two or three, if so manie, in most uplandith townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peradventure some great personages) but ech one made his fire against the reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat." Above roof-level those chimneys in cut and moulded brickwork gave decorative diversity to the skyline, like those shown on page 95.

Houses in the native style had the animation and variety of domestic architecture that has grown and developed in response to change. Over a thousand years had passed since comfortable homes had existed in England; but the well-planned, well-heated town and country houses of Roman Britain had little in common with those erected by English builders between the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Compare the reconstruction of the Silchester house on page 11 with any of those illustrated in this chapter, and while the absence of chimneys and the relative unimportance of windows in the Romano-British home are the main



The ascendancy of voids over solids in domestic as in church architecture was characteristic of the last phase of English Gothic, the Perpendicular. This town house, in Small Street, Bristol, is late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century: the treatment of the windows is indicative of a tendency that led to the use of great areas of glass, as at Hardwick Hall in the 1590s (see page 130). From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Volume III, part I (Oxford, 1859).



Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, completed in 1520 by Sir William Compton, a London merchant. A comfortable association of brickwork and stone. (See plate 22.) From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*.

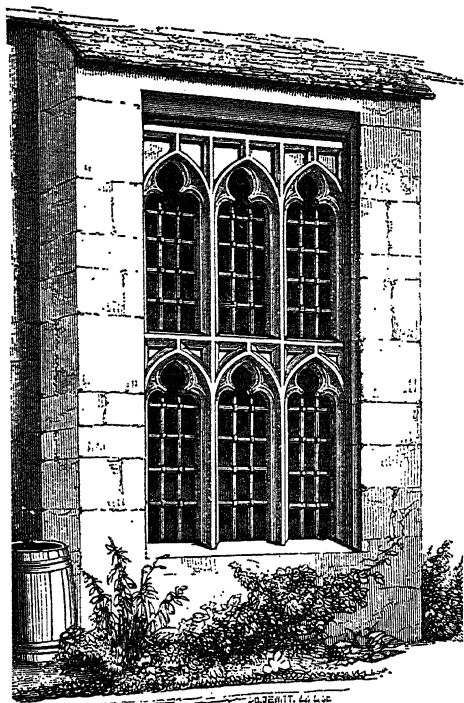
external differences, indicative of even greater differences within, the basic difference is in character. The Romano-British house follows an imposed pattern, unchangingly repeated for nearly four hundred years after the original Roman settlers imported it in the first century: it is wholly unlike anything English builders would have built, for they enjoyed freedoms unknown to the servile craftsmen of a Roman province, and were under no compulsion to conform to a set type of house. They were not fettered by tradition; they were inspired by it; and the transition from Decorated Gothic to Perpendicular and the rise and expansion of the native style attest the quality of their imagination and skill.

That transition from Decorated to Perpendicular is strongly marked by changes in the character of windows. Other changes

followed the reintroduction of brick-making, which gave fresh impetus to every type of building, and also gave longer life to timber-framed houses, for bricks could be used for the infilling instead of plaster. But the window attained a supremacy in sacred and secular architecture that, like the extensive use of the fireplace, had an abiding effect on architectural design. There were many and varied examples of the growing dominance of the window. Transparent glass became available; poorly finished, with uneven surfaces which distorted vision, spotted with defects, and green or pale yellow in colour, seldom white; but glass manufacture improved; so did the design of windows. The casement was perfected, and the bay was invented. In the gate-house of Thornton Abbey,

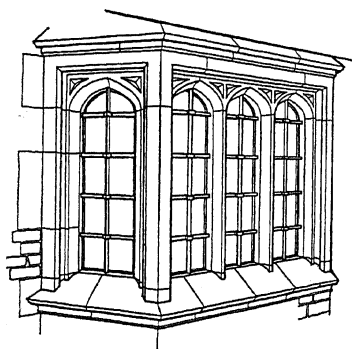
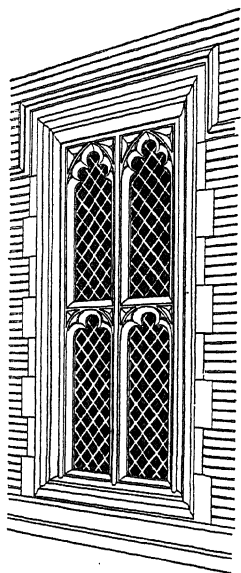


Sutton Place, Guildford, Surrey, built for Sir Richard Weston in 1523-1525. This shows the entrance to the great hall on the south side of the courtyard. Drawn by Hilton Wright, A.R.I.B.A. Reproduced from *Guide to Western Architecture*, by courtesy of the publishers, George Allen & Unwin Limited.

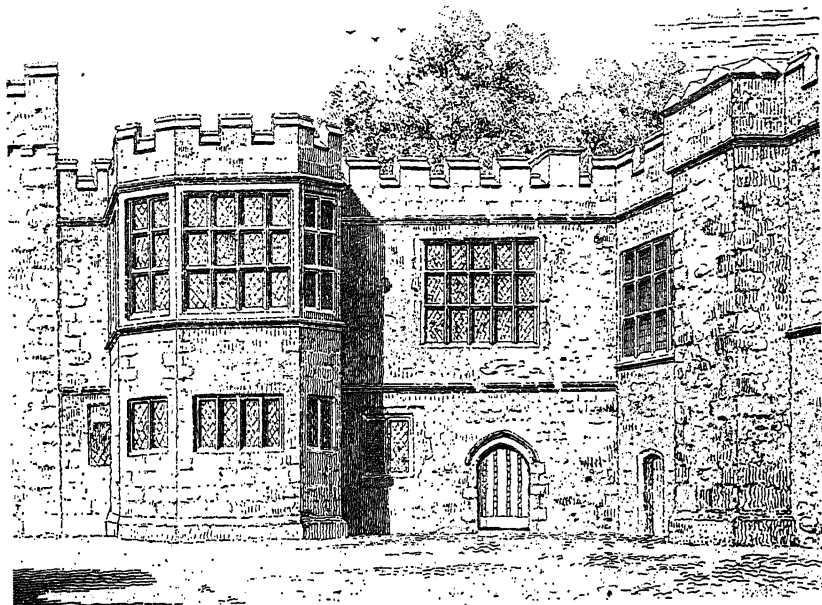


*Left:* Bay window at Yanwath Hall, Westmorland. The use of Gothic tracery persisted far into the sixteenth century. From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Volume III, part I (Oxford, 1859).

*Right:* The transom, mullion, tracery, architrave and all the moulded detail of this window are in terra-cotta. From Sutton Place, Guildford. 1523-1525. Drawn by A. S. Cook.

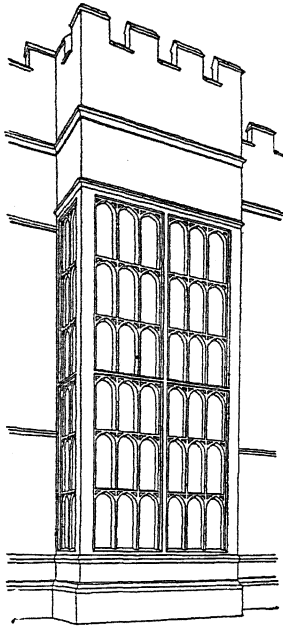
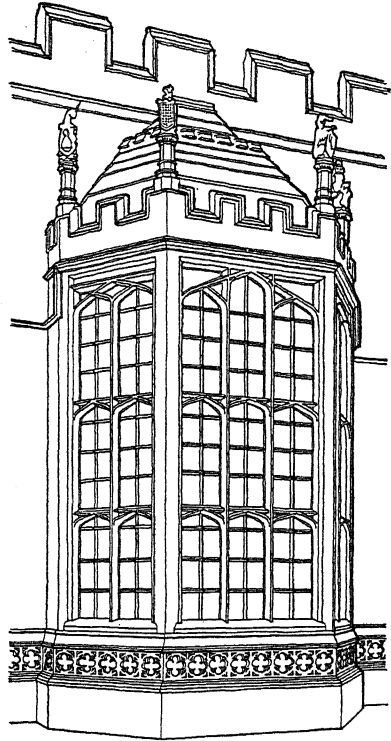


*Left:* A small bay, mid-sixteenth century, which preserves the characteristics of the earlier types, with arched heads springing from the mullions. Little Wolford Manor, Warwickshire. Drawn by A. S. Cook.



Five-sided bay window, ascending through two storeys, in the upper court of Haddon Hall, Derbyshire. From Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Volume V, Derbyshire (London: 1817).

Lincolnshire, which like other buildings of that kind provided ample accommodation for domestic and business purposes, a three-sided oriel window projects above the gateway arch, lighting a large room on the first floor, with a traceried window above on the top storey. (The east side of the gate-house is shown on page 96.) Such projecting windows, corbelled out above ground-level, or three-sided and ascending through two storeys like the tall bay of Sir William Grevel's house in the main street of Chipping Campden, built in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, encouraged the expansion of rooms. (See plate 18.) Directly domestic architecture was designed for comfortable, peaceful home life, the ingenuity of builders opened up the interior of houses, filling rooms with daylight, and, as in church architecture, allowing voids to eat away the solid wall.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE  
BAY WINDOW

*Above:* Window of the Great Hall at Cowdray House. Tall bay windows of this type were the forerunners of the later examples of sixteenth-century bays, which ascended through three or four storeys, becoming glazed attached towers, like those at Hardwick Hall. (See page 130.) The three-sided bay shown at the right is more elaborate. Both examples date from about 1525, and preserve the characteristic detail of the native English style. The second example is

from Hengrave Hall, Suffolk. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

The prosperity of merchants and traders increased throughout the fifteenth century; which was a highly civilised century, and the scope of its civilisation was progressively enlarged, like the country houses and the rapidly growing towns. Fortification was an archaic survival; the need for it had passed. Only the old nobility, also archaic and hopelessly out of date, believed it was

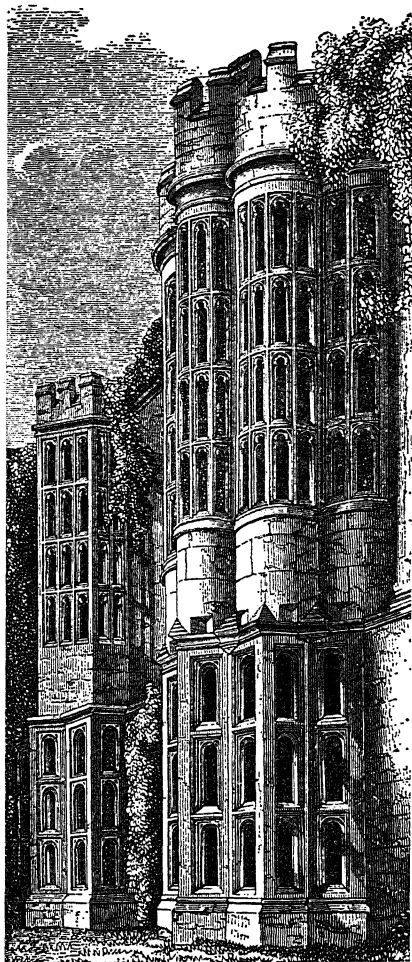


### DEVELOPMENTS OF THE BAY WINDOW

Another early sixteenth-century example of a bay ascending through two or more storeys. Here the form of the bay changes above the ground floor, and it becomes a cluster of tall bows; such segmental grouping recalling the conjoined shafts of a clustered column. (See page 68.) Such windows became the dominating feature of a façade. Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire. From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Volume III, part I (Oxford, 1859).

necessary, and while they made arrangements to commit class-suicide in the Wars of the Roses, the trading and agricultural community kept out of that totally unnecessary civil war, and allowed the feudal lords and their retainers to butcher each other

for twenty-one years. During that time, 1450 to 1471, architecture flourished. Additions were made to religious establishments and churches, towns were adorned with civic buildings and new houses, and city merchants were tempted to invest part of their wealth in the countryside, where they acquired estates, and built spacious houses. Such a house was Ockwells Manor, in Berkshire, built during the 1460s, a timber-framed structure with brick infilling, and many large windows, rising from ground- to roof-level



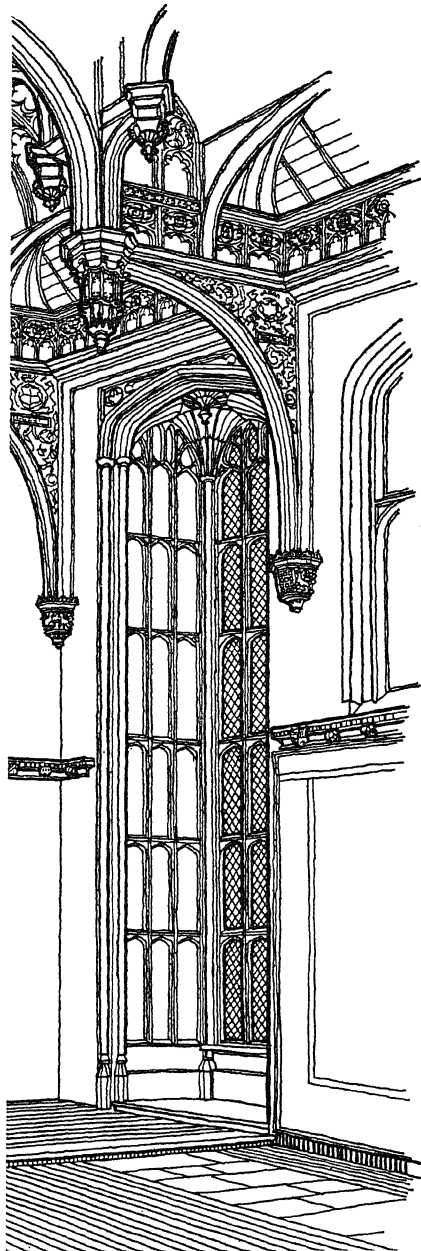
and expanding laterally to form a glazed frieze above the panelling of the hall. (See plates 16 and 17.) A tendency for windows to be dominated by vertical divisions remained, and even a corridor or a gallery was lit by individual windows arranged in series, like the prior's lodging at Much Wenlock, illustrated on page 99, where no advantage has been taken of the opportunity created by a long, horizontal expanse of glazed voids: a screen of repetitive units has been formed, and the repetition does not entirely escape monotony. A more compact building, on page 100, is the hostelry for pilgrims built at Glastonbury by Abbot John Selwood about 1480, now the George Inn, a perfect example of the unity of vertical and horizontal elements; another example, on page 101, is the façade of a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century town house in Small Street, Bristol.

Large or small, houses in the native style possessed an air of invitation; a promise of comfort within; red brick with stone trimmings gave warmth to the exterior, and in the early sixteenth century terra-cotta was occasionally used for fine moulded detail. At Sutton Place, near Guildford, in Surrey, the dressings of windows, doorways and parapet are of that material; the soft buff hue blending perfectly with the thin, rich red bricks. Sutton Place is one of the many large and luxurious houses dating from the first quarter of the sixteenth century: it was built for Sir Richard Weston in 1523-1525, and the entrance to the great hall on the south side of the courtyard is shown on page 103, and details of a window with moulded terra-cotta transom, mullion, tracery and architrave, on page 104. All the terra-cotta work was designed and executed by Italian craftsmen, but the English tradition was still strong enough to impose the characteristic native forms on those foreign workers, who had, so far, only introduced new skills, not new conceptions of architecture. That shallow Tudor arch to the great hall with the elongated spandrels filled with carved decoration has a delicacy which is partly attributable to the nature of the material, partly to the Italian interpretation of English ideas. Compare this with the entrance to the court at Compton Wynyates on plate 22, where positive lines and the virile carving of heraldic motifs in the spandrels boldly assert an English origin. Compton Wynyates in Warwickshire was completed in 1520 by Sir William Compton, a London merchant. No reminder of for-

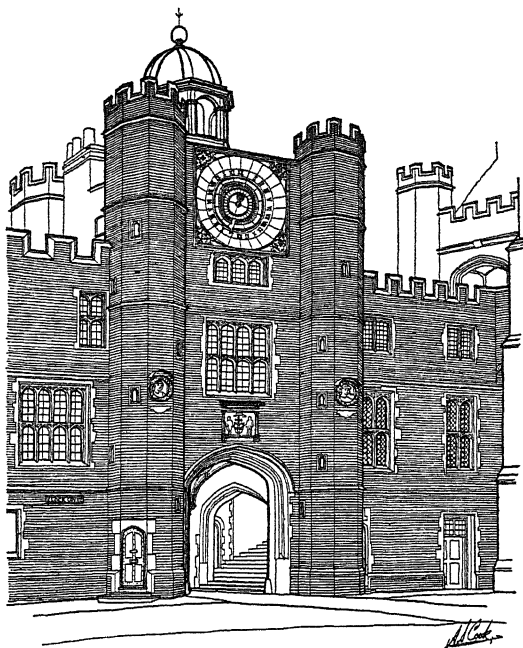
## DEVELOPMENTS OF THE BAY WINDOW

Interior view of the bay window of the Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace. This is more elaborate than the tall bay of the Great Hall at Cowdray House shown on page 106: externally, narrow stone buttresses ascend to the embattled roof above the window, one of them dividing the window centrally. The left-hand side is an unglazed, blank repetition of the mullions and transoms, for it adjoins the east wall of the Clock Court. The Great Hall was built for Henry VIII, and work began on it in 1531. The original glass has gone: when the windows of the Hall were reglazed, between 1840 and 1846, painted glass designed and executed by Willement was put in, who, as Ernest Law observed in *A Short History of Hampton Court*, "deserves much credit for the taste and accuracy of the restoration" (Chapter V, page 116). *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

bidding strength is retained in the design of Sutton Place or Compton Wynyates, or in Cardinal Wolsey's palace at Hampton. There were some survivals of the military approach to design, such as the gate-house of Westow Hall, Suffolk, shown on page 113.



The Clock Tower in the Clock Court (1515-1530), showing the steps on the right inside the archway, which lead to the Great Hall. This Court, sometimes called the Stone Court, was the inner and chief part of Cardinal Wolsey's palace at Hampton. The Great Hall, which occupies the north side, was built for Henry VIII and begun in 1531. (See page 109.)  
*Drawn by A. S. Cook.*



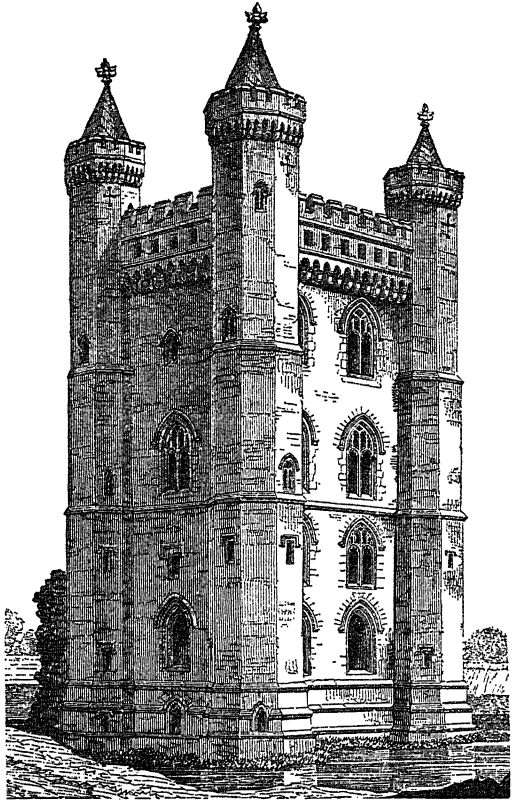
But the outward appearance of fortification may have become a convention instead of a function; and this may account for the archaic form of Tattershall Castle, with its keep. (See page 112.)

When the native style was in its prime, even a palace looked like a home; as though some comfortable house had, without pretentious extravagance, graciously expanded, and this is true of the Tudor parts of Hampton Court and what little is left of Richmond Palace. As Wolsey followed the contemporary fashion for employing Italian craftsmen, terra-cotta medallions of Roman Emperors by Giovanni da Majano, are inserted here and there in the brickwork at Hampton. Two appear in the illustration above, inset in the attached octagonal towers of the Clock or Stone Court, level with the sill of the window above the gateway, but unrelated to the design of the building; a foretaste of the fashion for classical sculpture and ornament that brought such diversified confusion to the opening phase of the Renaissance in England. Wolsey began building at Hampton in 1515; ten years later he

gave the still unfinished building to Henry VIII, who accepted the gift. The King completed the work, added the great hall after Wolsey's death, and Hampton Court became a royal palace.

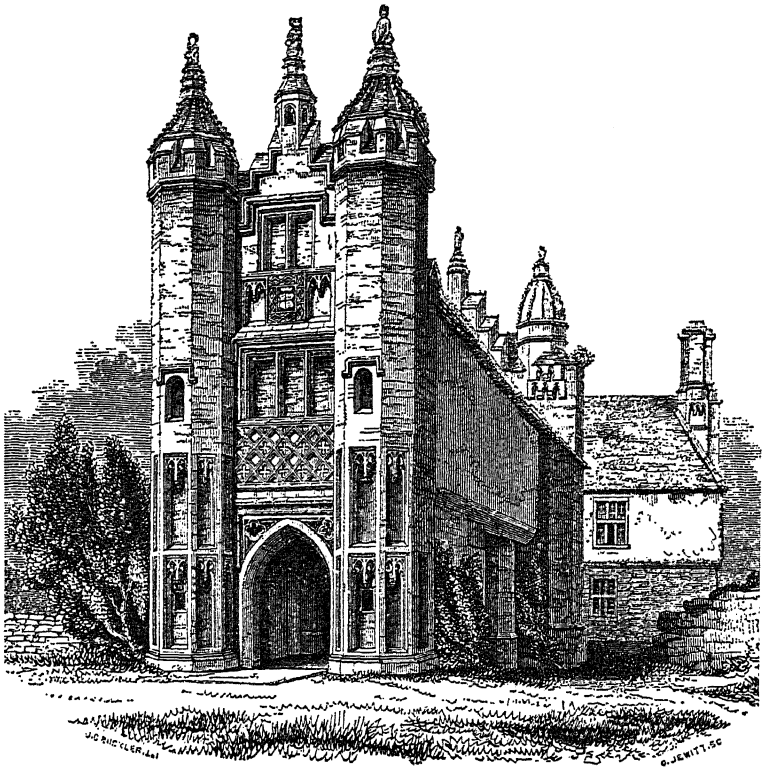
Richmond Palace had been built by Henry VII, and completed in 1501. It occupied an area of about ten acres between Richmond Green and the Thames. Richmond, in Surrey, formerly called Shene, or "Kynge's Shene", had been renamed in honour of the first Tudor monarch, who had been the Earl of Richmond. The Palace replaced a much older building, which had been largely destroyed by fire in 1497. The new building, one of Henry VII's rare extravagances, was the third royal residence built on the site; and although it was recognisably affiliated to the contemporary native style, an irrepressible foreign gaiety gave it an exotic, un-English character. It was built of brick, round a courtyard, a large, irregular structure of three storeys, with twelve rounded and octagonal towers, rising above the battlements, topped by highly ornamental lead crowns flaring up to their summits, and surmounted by vanes. The Palace was almost completely demolished during the Commonwealth. A drawing made of the Thames frontage from the Middlesex bank, by Anthonis van den Wyngaerde in 1562, is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, and several other records exist. In 1618 a frontal view from the Thames was included in part VI of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published in Cologne, and although this is compressed and distorted to fit into the limited space available on a page already crowded with maps and other illustrations, the architectural character of the building, and its decorative wealth of towers, are clearly conveyed. (See page 115.) A view downstream from the Middlesex bank appears in a painting by David Vinckeboons, made in 1629, of which a portion is reproduced on plate 20. This shows a large chapel, standing independently to the southwest behind a one-storeyed roofed extension of the palace, which differs in character from the chapel depicted in Wyngaerde's drawing made sixty-seven years earlier. Less than a century after Vinckeboons had painted it, most of the Palace had been pulled down and the site cleared: early Georgian houses had replaced nearly the whole extent of the Green frontage, their gardens running down to the river. (See plate 21.) The gate-house is the most conspicuous fragment of all that now remains of the Palace:

Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire, a brick structure, with octagonal angle turrets, and a parapet with machioliations. This late reversion to the form of the Norman keep is inexplicable: in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries interest in romantic revivals might have accounted for it, but the castle dates from 1440, when it was rebuilt in this form, in an age when rich noblemen were not susceptible to the charms of inconvenient fashions in architecture. The keep had long been abandoned because of its inconvenience. From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Volume III, part I (Oxford, 1859).

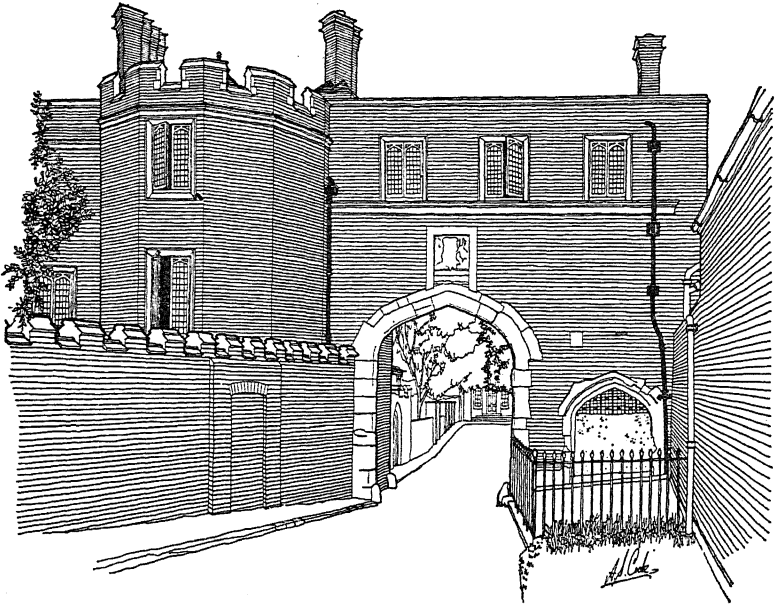


apart from that, and the adjoining house with three faceted bays, nothing survives. (See page 114 and the upper part of plate 21.) This was probably the largest and most important building that embodied nearly all the characteristics of the English style; and may well, as Sir John Summerson observes in his *Architecture in Britain*, "have been the fount of several important features which penetrate into the architecture of much later times".

After the first quarter of the sixteenth century the new "Italianate" fashions led to a chaotic interlude in architectural design. "Italianate" taste, as G. K. Chesterton described it in his *Short History of England*, "meant the perfection of trifles. It was not, as



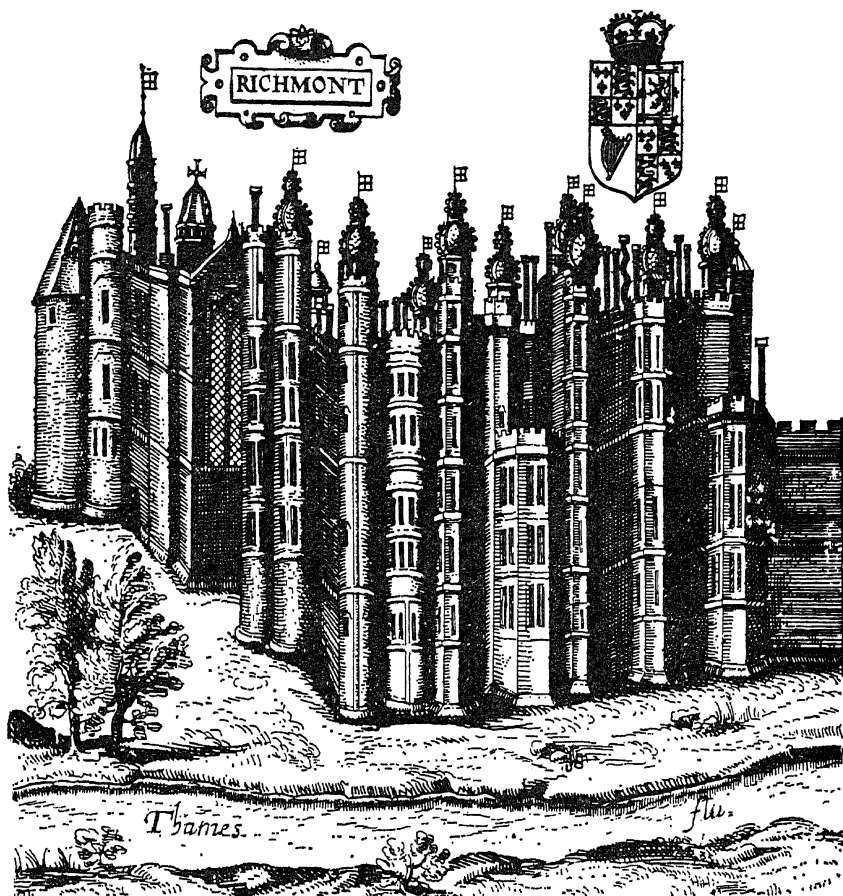
Westow Hall, Suffolk. The gate-house, with octagonal angle turrets, and moulded brickwork. Early sixteenth century. The vestigial forms of military architecture haunted the gate-houses of country mansions for a century and a half after England was settled and civilised, and fortification and the need for it had become fading memories. But the twin towers, the deep gateway, the space for a portcullis, and the nail-studded heavy doors remained, a forgotten link with the pre-mediæval gateways of the Romano-British towns, and the standardised methods and ideas of Roman military engineers. The gateway of Richmond Palace had flanking towers (see plate 21 and page 114); they appear as guardians in Hampton Court (see page 110), and they remained as remote reminders of harsher ages in the form of gate-houses during the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*, Volume III, part II (Oxford, 1859).



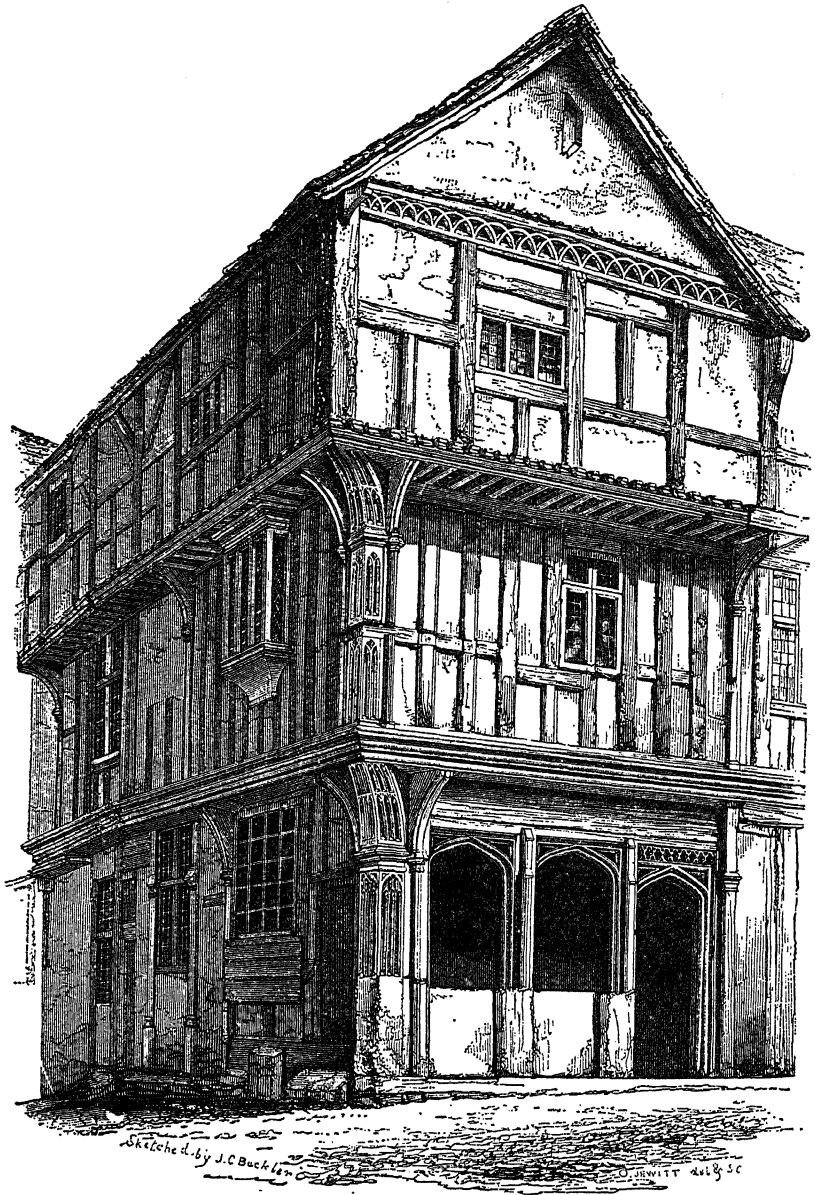
The gate-house of Richmond Palace, on Richmond Green, the most conspicuous part of the small fragment that now remains of this great building of brick and stone. The palace covered a site between the Green and the Thames, and a view from the north bank of the river is included in the painting by David Vinckeboons, of which part is reproduced on plate 20. Apart from the gate-house, and the adjoining house with three faceted bays, nothing survives. Those bays may have been the lower parts of three towers fronting the Green: they ascend through three storeys, and terminate in battlements above a string course, and they appear in Shaftoe's engraving, 1742, very much as they are today: but whether they once rose high above their present level to join the forest of towers depicted by Vinckeboons, or whether they were part of the outbuildings shown in the drawing made in 1562 by Anthonis van den Wyngeerde, is purely conjectural, for we know nothing about the plan of the lost palace. *Drawn by A. S. Cook. See plate 21 for views in 1726 and 1737.*

in popular Gothic craftsmanship, the almost unconscious touch of art upon all necessary things: rather it was the pouring of the whole soul of passionately conscious art especially into unnecessary things. Luxury was made alive with a soul." The native English style, though halted and frustrated, did not die out: for generations it survived, throughout the sixteenth century, far into the seventeenth, and even later, to within living memory. In some

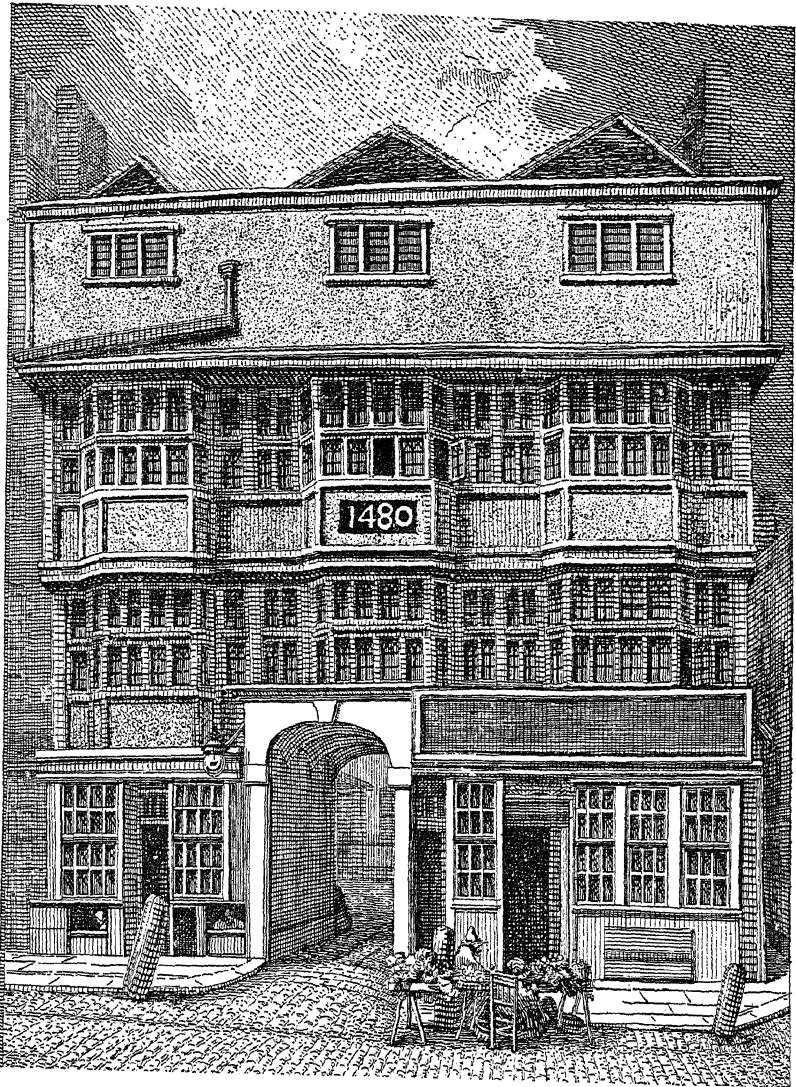




Richmond Palace, a directly frontal view from the River Thames, compressed and distorted to fit into a limited space on a page of engraved maps and other illustrations, and made eleven or twelve years earlier than the painting by Vinckeboons on plate 20. Although the engraving is rather crude, it does show the highly ornamental character of the lead crowns on the towers. The building on the left with the tall window, set well back from the river frontage, appears to be the Great Hall. Reproduced from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, by G. Bruin, S. Novellanus, and F. Hogenbergius; a work issued in six parts between 1574 and 1618. This view is included in Part VI, entitled "Theatre des principales villes de tout l'univers", which was published in Cologne, 1618.



Late fifteenth-century timber-framed house, in Butcher Row, Shrewsbury.  
From Parker's *Domestic Architecture in England*.

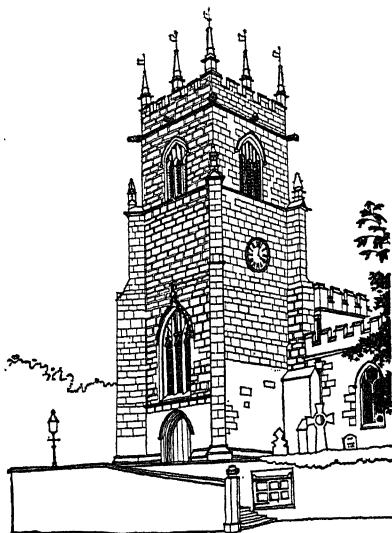


The White Hart Inn, Bishopsgate Street, London, as it appeared in 1800. The first and second storeys, with their wood-framed bay windows, are typical of the town houses built between the late fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. The arch to the inn yard is obviously a much later addition, and the windows and shops on the ground floor are Georgian in character. From J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of London*.

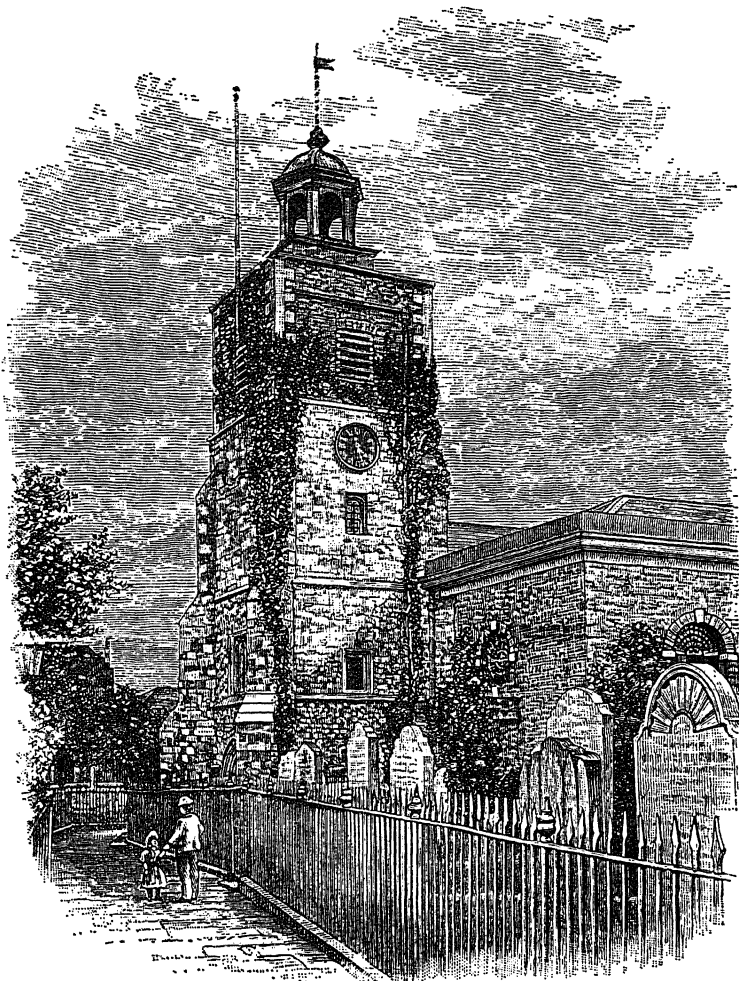


The original parish church of St. Paul, Hammersmith, founded as a chapel-of-ease to the Parish of Fulham in 1628, and opened in 1631. It was demolished in 1882. Drawn from a print dated 1809, by Marcelle Barton.

light: Another example of the persistence of the native Gothic tradition in the tower of St. Michael, Huyton, Lancashire. The upper part, with the eight stone pinnacles, was built in 1664. Drawn by David Owen. (See also plates 8 and 29.)



country districts in the 1920s, notably in the Cotswolds, a few local builders still used late fifteenth-century forms and mouldings for fireplaces and stone dressings for doors and windows. This they did quite naturally, unaffected by transitory modes of taste for "period styles" or "handicraft revivals", and without the conscientious antiquarian research of any architect to guide them, for they were carrying on small family businesses, and doing their work as masons precisely as their fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers had done, and all their forebears, back to the time when Compton Wynyates was a new house and men of their blood

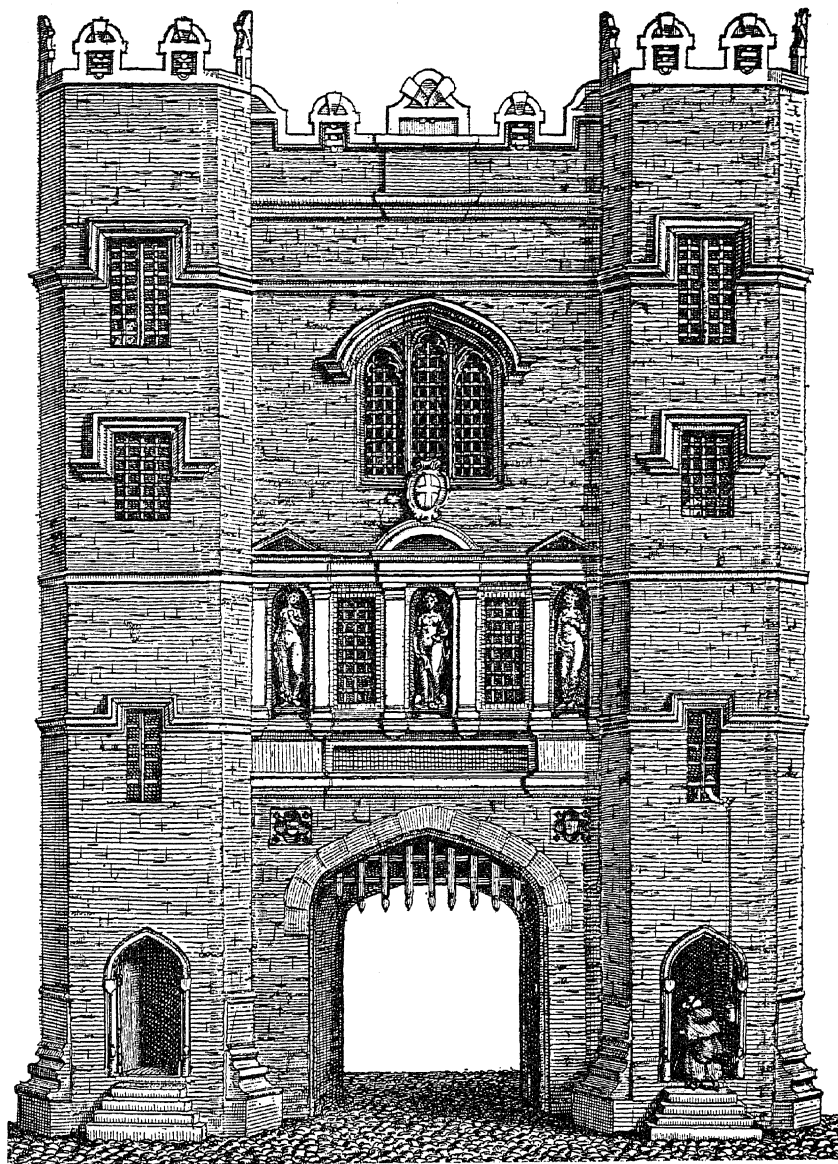


St. Mary's, the parish church of Mortlake, Surrey, was built on its present site in 1543, when the original chapel of the Manor House, at the west end of the village, was demolished by Henry VIII. Like many of the smaller churches built during the last phase of English Gothic, it has been substantially altered. The square, embattled tower at the west end has three storeys of flint and stone in chequer work, with an upper, fourth storey of brick, which was renewed about 1799, with stone dressings, and surmounted by a lantern and cupola. In 1725 the south aisle was rebuilt and enlarged, and further alterations were carried out when the church was repaired in 1816–1817. The church is very plain, and inside a flat ceiling is upheld by Tuscan columns. Reproduced from *A History of the Parish of Mortlake*, by J. E. Anderson (London: 1886).

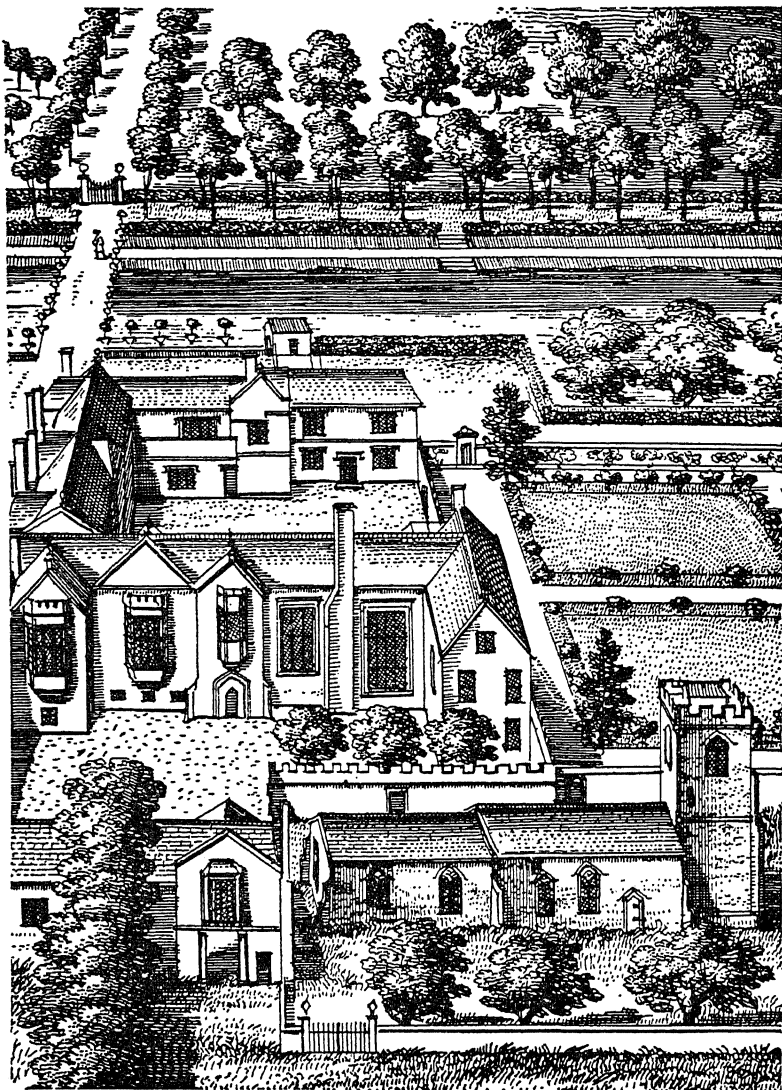
may have had a hand in building it. Up to the beginning of the 1914-1918 War, there were also a few of these "pockets" of the native English style lingering in secluded parts of Suffolk.

The style was preserved by masons, and persisted in the countryside throughout the early English Renaissance period. Despite the fashionable Flemish interpretations of classical architecture and the fragmentary and ornamental use of the Roman orders, masons occasionally used the Perpendicular style for new churches, making additions to old ones, or when continuing work that took over a century to complete, like Bath Abbey Church, begun in 1499 and finished in 1616. Such fidelity to the old style for sacred buildings was confined to masons: carpenters, joiners and carvers conformed with prevailing taste. A large church, like St. John's at Leeds, built in 1632-1633, has an exterior indistinguishable from any late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century edifice; but inside Gothic detail is abandoned, and Flemish and Teutonic variations of classic forms are used for the richly carved screen that runs across the whole width of the church, the pulpit, reading desk, and wainscot pews. The tower and part of the exterior of St. John's are shown on plate 29, and another, far more modest structure, also dating from the early 1630s, appears on page 118, the parish church of St. Paul at Hammersmith, Middlesex. There were several others, notably the church at Staunton Harold, Leicestershire, begun in 1653, which looks like a typical late mediaeval country church, apart from the western door case, with its Flemish trimmings. (See plate 28.)

The native style was interrupted, and its growth diverted, before the middle of the sixteenth century. Over a hundred years of hybrid architecture succeeded it, until the English tradition re-emerged after architects had mastered the classic idiom.



Newgate as it appeared in the late eighteenth century, with a classical feature inserted like a patch into the rebuilt mediaeval structure, for the gate, originally built by Richard Whittington, was severely damaged in the Great Fire of 1666.  
From J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of London*.



A late fifteenth-century house that has outgrown the fortified phase of domestic architecture. Additions made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries give a rambling amplitude of form to these buildings; and a mediaeval church is incorporated in the group. This view of Coberly was engraved by Kip in the late seventeenth century: only part of the engraving is reproduced.



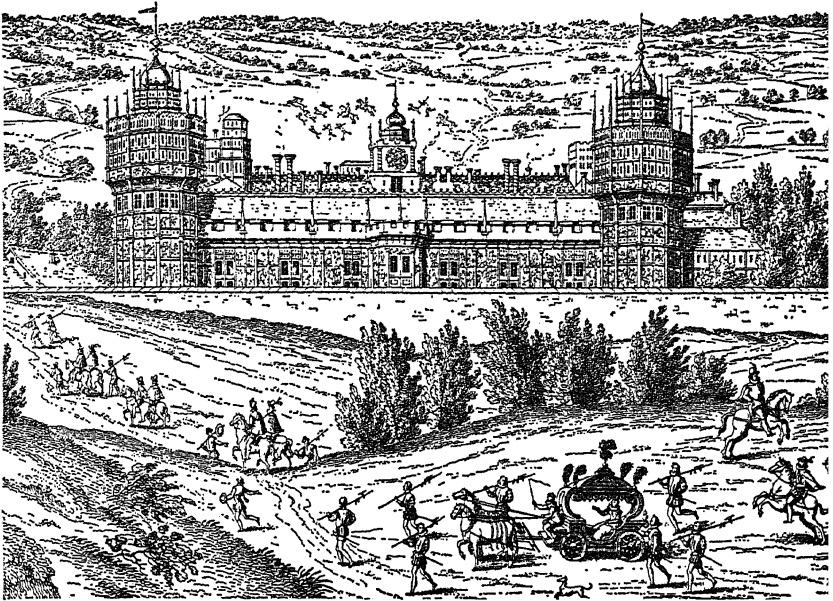
## TRANSITION TO CLASSIC

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY England had no outstanding architectural remains to remind builders, as they were reminded in France, that the country had once been a part of the Roman Empire: some formless masses of masonry survived here and there like those in the fields near Wroxeter, the Jewry wall at Leicester, the walls at Silchester, a few fragments of carved ornament embedded in the walls of Bath, and the roughly finished gateway at Lincoln—nothing comparable with the great amphitheatre at Arles, or the Tomb of the Julii, at Remy in Provence, nothing to suggest the ancient majesty of the classic orders. John Leland (1506–1552), the antiquary, visited the site of Silchester about 1540, described the walls with their four gates, but seemed unaware of the vanished town's Roman origin; Verulamium had long since disappeared, its materials incorporated in St. Albans Abbey; so, lacking any venerated and impressive examples of Roman structures in the country, English builders and their patrons regarded the revival of the classic orders as an Italian fashion, and a purely ornamental fashion at that, not as a basic change in architectural composition. Wolsey's terra-cotta medallions at Hampton Court, and the work of Toto del Nunziata, an Italian artist employed with other foreign craftsmen by Henry VIII for the decoration of Nonsuch Palace, were Italianate embellishments, not examples of fresh, constructive architectural thought.

The first purely classical design in England is the tomb of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, but it is the work of the Florentine craftsman, Pietro Torrigiano, who, in 1512, contracted to make it for £1,500 in marble with figures and ornaments of copper gilt. No English craftsman at that date was capable of such a veracious interpretation of a Roman order: the delicate Corinthian angle pilasters and the composition and moulded detail of

the tomb were wholly the conception of an artist whose native city was the cradle of the Italian Renaissance. The first English attempts to accommodate Italianate ideas were as unsophisticated as the carved corbels and pilasters on the early sixteenth-century house that once stood in Hart Street, Crutched Friars, reproduced on plate 19, from J. T. Smith's drawing, which he made in 1792, nine years before the old house was demolished. On the oak façade classical motifs have been used with a jovial, Gothic frivolity, but the joviality and the explosive vigour of the carved work are explicitly English: the insertion of Ionic capitals on the pilasters of one of the doorways has about the same scrappy relationship to Italianate taste as the words "inky, pinky, parleyvous" in *Madamoselle of Armentieres* has to the French language. The process of Anglicising foreign ideas had begun, disrespectful at first, sometimes resentfully so, but within two hundred years magnificently competent.

The assertive arrogance of English nationalism had impressed foreign visitors long before Henry VIII separated the country from united Christendom. Andrea Trevisano, Venetian ambassador to the Court of Henry VII in 1497, observed "that the English are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that 'he looks like an Englishman', and that 'it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman. . . .'" Early Tudor England certainly seemed to be unpromising soil for sowing foreign ideas; but fashion became the great fertiliser. A new mercantile aristocracy had risen to affluence and power in place of the chivalrous illiterates who despised trade, enjoyed war, and recouped their military expenses with ransoms, if they were lucky, and paid their followers with loot, if they survived. The old nobility, killed off or financially ruined by the Wars of the Roses, was indubitably picturesque, very different from the hard-headed businessmen who gained power under Henry VII and Henry VIII. The Tudor monarchs had the practical sense to identify themselves with the business community, and to ennoble its leaders; and there they differed fundamentally from their Plantagenet forerunners and Stuart successors. Henry VII was the first royal man of business: Henry VIII encouraged merchants,



Nonsuch Palace, which Henry VIII began to build in 1538 at Cheam, in Surrey. This huge, fantastic amalgam of so many ideas was both unusual and un-English in character: it is not a rich, warm exaggeration of the native English style, like Richmond Palace (see plates 20 and 21, and page 115): it is an alien essay in magnificence. It may have been modelled on the Château de Chambord, though the skyline and octagonal towers have greater clarity of form than the French château, with its bristling conical roofs and angle towers. The flanking octagonal towers splayed outwards as they rose above the roof-line of the main building, and the broader upper part contained many pavilions. The Palace was demolished about 1670. This illustration is a simplified version of the drawing made in 1568 by Joris Hoefnagel, and is reproduced from Lysons' *Environs of London* (Volume I, Second edition, 1811).

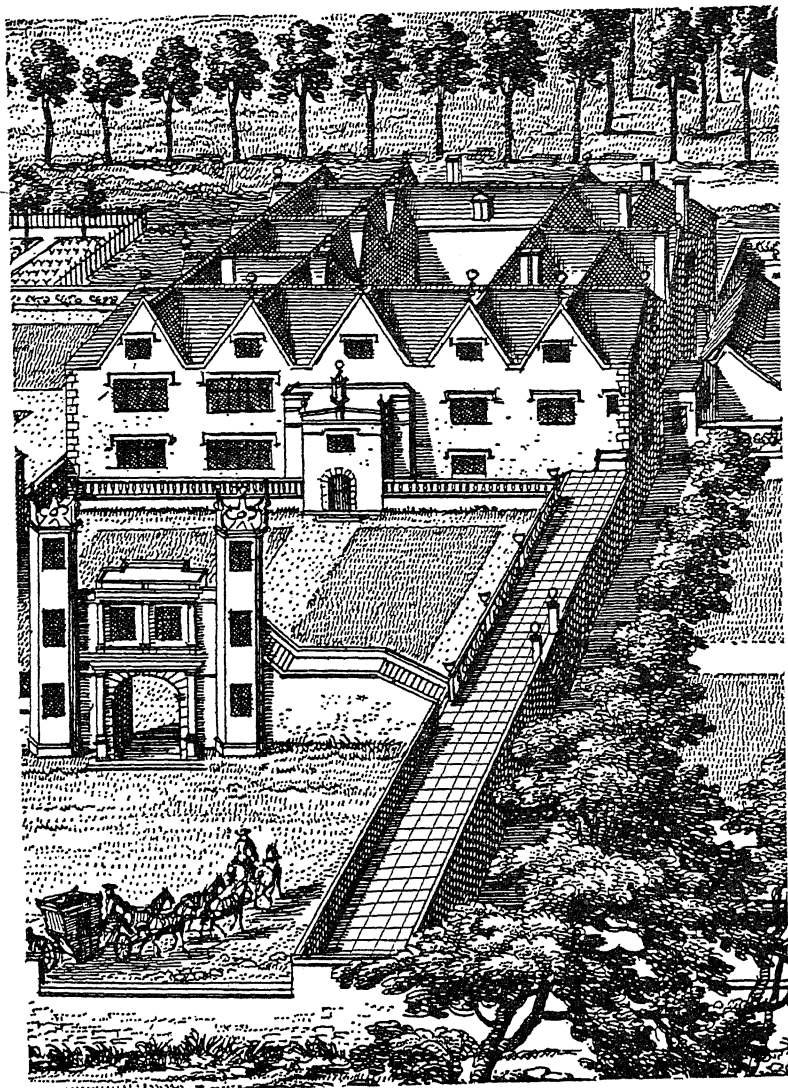
and provided an efficient Navy to protect their ventures: Elizabeth I honoured her traders and gentlemen adventurers, dined with them, received them at Court, and took a cut of their profits while turning a blind eye to their depredations overseas. These new men were confident, acquisitive, and vain; their abundant opportunities for enriching themselves sharpened and gave fresh direction to the arrogance that Andrea Trevisano had remarked; and, like self-made men in all periods and countries, they wanted to do the

right thing, the modish thing, to impress the world at large with the power and glory of their wealth and personal importance. And for "commencing gentlemen" after the second quarter of the sixteenth century the right and modish thing to be was "Italianate". They sent their sons to Italy, from whence they returned, according to William Harrison, with "nothing but meere atheisme, infidelite, vicious conversation, & ambitious and proud behaviour, whereby it commeth to passe that they return far worse men than they went out". Harrison was a traditionalist; a conservative English churchman who disapproved of many of the changes he recorded in his engaging *Description of England*, but although the popular rhyme of the times might assert:

"The Englishman Italianate  
Is the Devil incarnate,"

the English Renaissance had begun, though nobody in England recognised it as the rebirth of the classic architecture that had adorned the public buildings and great houses of the Roman province of Britain over a thousand years earlier.

All these fashionable ideas very obviously came from Italy; the country was thronged with Italian artists and craftsmen, who soon went much farther than merely refining details of the native style, such as the terra-cotta trimmings at Sutton Place; royal patronage had brought men like Torrigiano from Florence, and others followed—Benedetto da Rovezzano, Giovanni da Majano, who modelled Wolsey's terra-cotta medallions at Hampton Court, Toto del Nunziata, who was one of a team of foreign artists and craftsmen engaged on Nonsuch Palace. At first this Italianate work overlaid the firm lines of the native style; it was in the nature of applied decoration; an alternative method of embellishing door- and window-frames and chimney-pieces; but soon the classic orders came marching back, like Roman Legions reconquering a lost province, all five of them, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Composite, and Tuscan. Regarded at first as the ingredients of a new ornamental opulence, their columns and capitals, entablatures and pediments, and scrolls of acanthus, were associated with Gothic features, usually with unhappy results. The new aristocracy had an appetite for magnificence and all too often lacked the restraint that would have absolved their taste from vulgarity. The spirit of the time was attuned to lavish experiments in



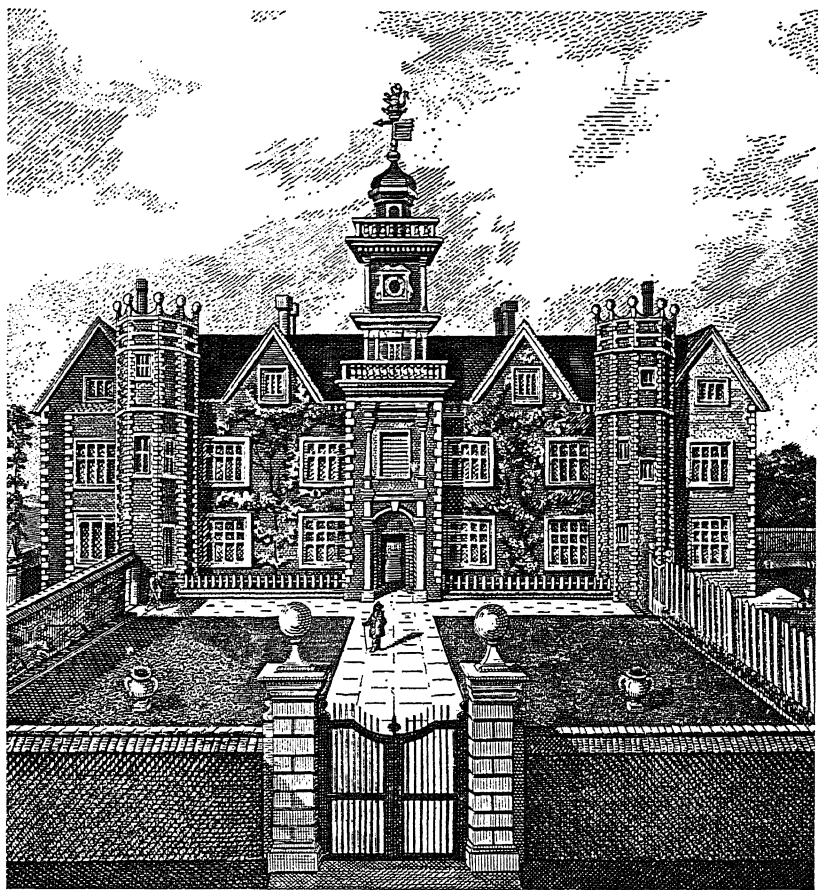
Shipton Moyne, engraved by Kip in the late seventeenth century. The native English style is still preserved in this late sixteenth-century house, but classic features are introduced in the gate-house with its flanking octagonal towers. There is little difference externally between the façade of this house and that of the late fourteenth-century example at Chipping Campden shown on plate 18. Only part of the engraving is reproduced.

material splendour, which changed ideas not only about the scale of buildings but about the character of towns. In 1516, Sir Thomas More had described an ideal city in the second book of his *Utopia*. Of this imaginary city of Amaurote he wrote as follows:

“The streets be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also against the winds. The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and on the street side they stand joined together in a long row through the whole street without any partition or separation. The streets be twenty feet broad. On the back side of the houses through the whole length of the street, lie large gardens inclosed round about with the back part of the streets. Every house hath two doors, one into the street, and a postern door on the back side into the garden. These doors be made with two leaves, never locked nor bolted, so easy to be opened, that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and shut again alone.”

His account of the houses of Amaurote accorded with the new, hard practical sense about building, which accompanied the desire for richness of effect. Those houses were “curiously builded after a gorgeous and gallant sort, with three storeys one over another. The outsides of the walls be made either of hard flint, or of plaster, or else of brick, and the inner sides be well strengthened with timber work. The roofs be plain and flat, covered with a certain kind of plaster that is of no cost, and yet so tempered that no fire can hurt or perish it, and withstandeth the violence of the weather better than any lead. They keep the wind out of their windows with glass, for it is there much used, and sometimes also with fine linen cloth dipped in oil or amber, and that for two commodities. For by this means more light cometh in, and the wind is better kept out.”

Everybody with money to spend wanted houses of “a gorgeous and gallant sort”, and despite the inflation of prices during the first part of the century, early Tudor England was a prosperous country, and the redistribution of wealth that followed the dissolution of the monasteries, supplied the new rich and the King with abundant spending money—especially the King. One of the results of this royal affluence was the building of Nonsuch Palace, that huge, fantastic amalgam of so many ideas: French, Italian, German, and—though almost obliterated—English. Unlike



Bruce Castle, Tottenham, Middlesex, as it appeared in 1686. A brick house with stone facings, incorporating some of the fabric of a much older building, and in the form shown here probably built in the opening decades of the sixteenth century. The faceted towers, attached to the façade, recall those on Richmond Palace (see page 114 and plate 21), but the central tower is unhappily bedaubed with classical oddments, columns, pilasters, balconies, clumsy cornices, and a clock with a lantern above: a jumble of ill-proportioned features. The architectural taste of the original owner who commissioned and found good such ornamental additions was as low as that of a Victorian plutocrat. From J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of London*.

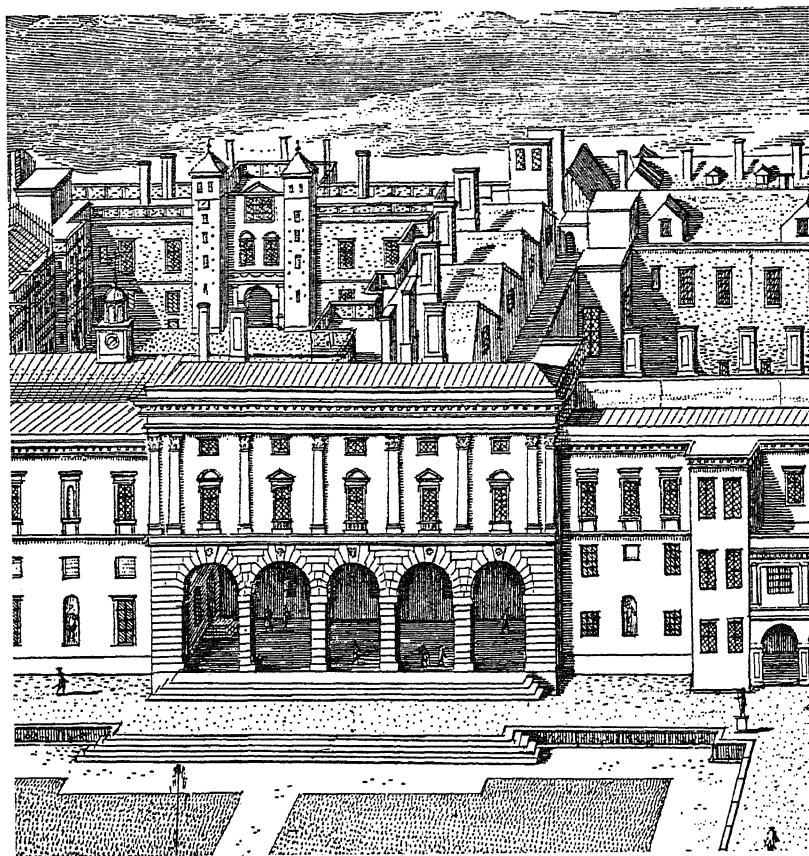
Richmond Palace, it was not a gay foreign relative of the native English style; it was an alien essay in ostentation, which may have been modelled on the Château de Chambord, though the skyline and octagonal towers of Nonsuch had a greater clarity of form than the French château, with its bristling conical roofs and angle towers. We know what the Palace looked like, for Joris Hoefnagel made a drawing of the elevation in 1568. The building was flanked by tall octagonal towers, which splayed outwards as they rose above the roof-line of the main structure; and the broad upper parts contained many pavilions. (A simplified version of Hoefnagel's drawing is reproduced on page 125.) Work began on the Palace in 1538; the site was in Surrey, near Cheam, and the Priory Church of Merton was demolished to provide building materials. The village of Cuddington was demolished, too, so that views from the Palace windows were not marred by the sight of humbler buildings.

Nonsuch, with its lofty angle towers and pinnacles and cupolas, was an architectural freak: there was nothing remotely like it anywhere in the country: it was like a drop scene of a king's palace



The east wing of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 1590–1597. Voids predominate over solids, as they did in the late Perpendicular Gothic churches: rooms and galleries have been brought into a visual partnership with the surrounding scenery. From Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Volume V, Derbyshire (London:





Old Somerset House, from a drawing by L. Knyff made about 1720, engraved by Kip. Only the central part of the engraving is reproduced, which shows the New Gallery, built 1661-1662, and demolished in 1776. The design of this classic addition is attributed to Inigo Jones, and the courtyard and gate-house of the original mid-sixteenth-century building is shown behind it: the gate-house, and the buildings flanking it, lined the south side of the Strand, and from the street gave little indication of the scale of the house that the Duke of Somerset erected, 1547-1552, and the spaciousness of the quadrangle and the gardens that ran down to the Thames. The Strand front is a significant example of early English Renaissance design. (See plate 24.)

in a pantomime, and was rather too "gorgeous and gallant" and insistently decorative to look, as other palaces looked, like a home. It was demolished in 1670, after it had passed into the hands of Charles II's mistress, Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland. Pepys records a visit there in 1665. "To Nonsuch, to the Exchequer, by appointment, and walked up and down the house and park; and a fine place it hath heretofore been, and a fine prospect about the house. A great walk of an elme and a walnutt set one after another in order. And the house on the outside filled with figures of stories, and good painting of Rubens' or Holben's doing. And one great thing is, that most of the house is covered, I mean the post, and quarters in the walls, with lead, and gilded." (*Diary*, September 21st.) A few months later John Evelyn made the following entry in his *Diary*: "I supped in Nonsuch House, whither the office of the Exchequer was transferred during the plague, at my good friend's Mr. Packer's, and took an exact view of the plaster statues and bass-relievos inserted betwixt the timbers and puncheons of the outside walls of the Court; which must needs have been the work of some celebrated Italian. I much admired how they had lasted so well and entire since the time of Henry VIII, exposed as they are to the air; and pity it is they are not taken out and preserved in some dry place; a gallery would become them. There are some mezzo-relievos as big as the life; the story is of the Heathen Gods, emblems, compartments, &c. The palace consists of two courts, of which the first is of stone, castle-like, by the Lord Lumleys (of whom it was purchased), the other of timber, a Gothic fabric, but these walls incomparably beautified. I observed that the appearing timber-puncheons, entrelices, &c. were all so covered with scales of slate, that it seemed carved in the wood and painted, the slate fastened on the timber in pretty figures, that has, like a coat of armour, preserved it from rotting." (January 3rd, 1665-1666.)

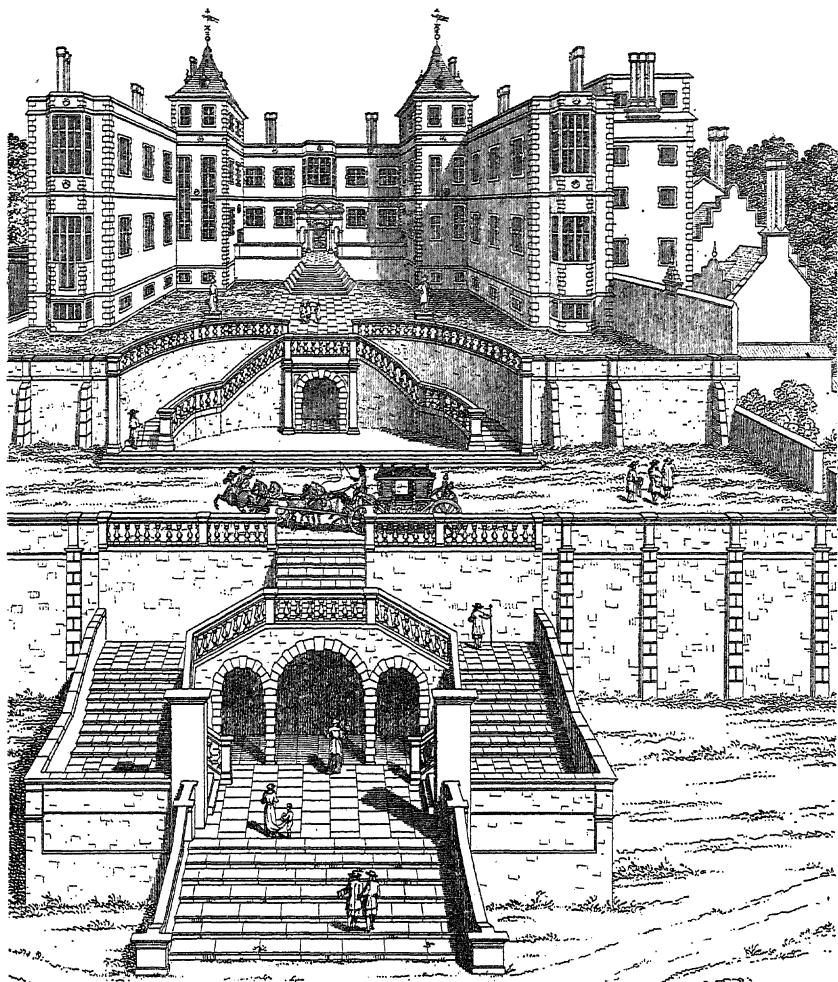
Nonsuch was still unfinished when Henry VIII died in 1547, and in Queen Mary's reign it was given to Henry Fitzalan, the twelfth Earl of Arundel, who completed the building. It became a royal residence again when Queen Elizabeth I bought it from Lord Lumley. Nonsuch was not imitated, apart from its use as an inlaid ornamental motif on the fronts of chests, which were known as Nonsuch chests; the design bequeathed nothing to the form or

character of architecture in the second half of the sixteenth century. Only a king could have commandeered the site, found the money, and enrolled such a diverse team of artists and craftsmen. Apparently the structure alone was English, and there is the testimony of Pepys and Evelyn to prove how staunch it was.

By the middle of the century the character of patronage was transformed. Changes had begun even before the seizure of Church property when the Monasteries were dissolved. The great religious establishments had employed large numbers of masons and other building craftsmen, often on a permanent basis. Some of those skilled men found work in connection with various royal projects, though their natural capacity for expressing the native style was often subordinated to the new foreign fashions, as at Nonsuch. Many had no work at all. Unemployment, that evil by-product of the Tudor social and economic revolution, had come to England. The more fortunate of those disbanded craftsmen were engaged on building new country and town houses, enlarging old ones, or adapting empty abbeys and priories for their secular owners. Very many of the new houses were, like Richmond Palace and Hampton Court, built of bricks, set in courses to bind or bond the wall into a firm mass. There were different systems of bonding, the commonest being English, with alternative courses of headers and stretchers, and Flemish, with headers and stretchers in each course. (The long part of a brick is a stretcher, the end part a header.) Decorative patterns were formed by using vitrified bricks, burnt to a blue-black colour, and this diaper work gave richness of texture to wall surfaces.

The mediaeval layout was abandoned for country houses: buildings were no longer grouped about a courtyard: the house as a complete mass was visible to the eye, rising to three and sometimes four storeys. But old methods of construction and old forms also persisted. The engraving of Shipton Moyne, reproduced on page 127, shows a house built late in the century, with the characteristic features of the native style preserved, and the new classic ideas honoured, after a fashion, by a gate-house flanked by octagonal towers. There is little difference between the façade of this house and that of the late fourteenth-century example at Chipping Campden on plate 18. Harrison highly praised the comforts and spaciousness of contemporary houses, but regretted the passing of

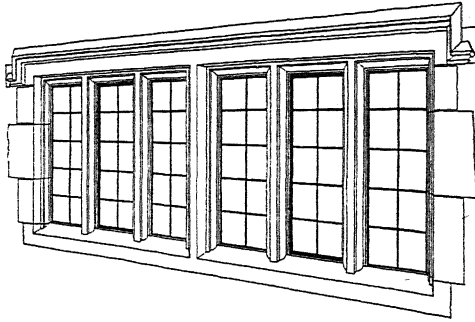
the timber-framed house. "The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen", he wrote, "are yet, and for the most part of strong timber, (in framing whereof our carpenters have been and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations). Howbeit such as be latelie builded are commonlie either of brick or hard stone (or both); their rooms large and comlie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with brick and hard stone, as provision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron doth often match (in our daies) with some honours of princes in old time. So that if ever curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our years, wherein our workmen excell, and are in manner comparable with skill with old *Vitruvius*, (*Leo Baptisa*), and *Serlo*." He qualified the compliment by explaining that English workmen charged too much, and that strangers were cheaper to employ as they were "more reasonable in their takings, and less wasters of time by a great deal than our owne". They were also less resistant to the imposition of foreign styles; for the whole idea of "style" was alien to English builders, who either made boisterous parodies of it, like the façade of the house in Hart Street mentioned earlier, or slapped on to a Gothic building an assortment of classical odds and ends, columns, pilasters, balconies and obese cornices, like those bedaubing the central feature and tower of Bruce Castle, shown on page 129, a house that stood formerly at Tottenham, Middlesex. A palpable application of classic features to an existing building, even when ill conceived and executed, was preferable to such crudities as the sexagonal porch added to the parish church of St. Leonard, at Sunningwell, Berkshire, shown on plate 26. This addition is reputedly the work of John Jewel (1522-1571), who ultimately became Bishop of Salisbury, and was made vicar of Sunningwell in 1552—the date attributed to the porch. This young man of thirty had a distinguished career at Oxford, and in the year of his appointment to Sunningwell had graduated B.D., and been made public orator of the University. Like other educated men of his time, he was familiar with the superficial characteristics of classic architecture, but insufficiently informed to understand the proportions and details of the Ionic order, which was used for the porch at Sunningwell, and apparently unaware of the conflict of



Wimbledon House, Surrey, begun in 1588 for Thomas Cecil; probably the first large house to be built on an H-plan, it became the prototype of many of the large houses of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was demolished early in the eighteenth century. The Italianate features are handled with confidence, incorporated in the design, not applied as they are in Bruce Castle on page 129. The drawing, reproduced from Lysons' *Environs of London* (Volume I, Second edition, 1811), is copied from an engraving by Henry Winstanley, made in 1678, when the house belonged to the Earl of Danby.

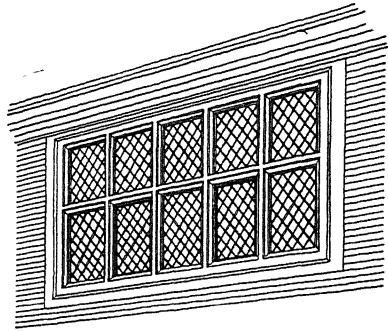
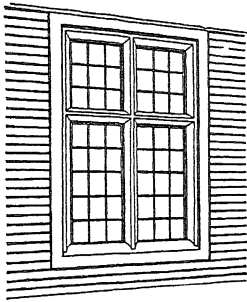
those columns and the rather odd entablature above them with the nondescript Gothic windows which disrupt the composition. As a different stone is used for the walls of the porch and the columns, it is at least possible that the porch existed before the columns and entablature were added. Jewel's whole career suggests that he was ambitious, and his faith judiciously flexible; so he may have been eager to display his classical erudition in terms of architecture, with an eye on some well-travelled potential patron; while the retention of Gothic windows could have represented a prudent compromise, for the old religion was on the way back, and as public orator of Oxford he had composed a congratulatory epistle to Queen Mary on her accession to the throne. All this is conjectural, but whatever motives prompted the man who commissioned that porch at Sunningwell, the design suffered from the immaturity that distorts or disfigures so many examples of early English Renaissance architecture.

Some buildings of the mid-sixteenth century exhibited an enlightened understanding of the classic orders as a system of design, which distinguished them sharply from the compositions where the orders were used as ornamental adjuncts, and such a building was the London house of Protector Somerset, built between 1547 and 1552. The design is attributed to his Steward, Sir John Thynne, whose greatest architectural work was Longleat House in Wiltshire. John Thorpe's drawing of the Strand front of Somerset House is reproduced on plate 24. French influence is apparent in the character of the gateway: true English mastery of the classic idiom has not yet been achieved: the confidence that inspires the work of Inigo Jones, Wren and the Georgian architects is missing. Mr. Frank Jenkins, in *Architect and Patron*, observes that "Thynne was one of many similar gentlemen, wealthy and astute, who to a greater or lesser degree led the developing taste of this country during the second half of the sixteenth century. Their approach to architecture was as typical of the age as were the voyages of Raleigh. They shared the same curiosity; the same delight in discovery and invention. The slashed doublet and fantastic ruff on which the tailor expended the whole resources of his invention paralleled the nobleman's house with its fairy-tale silhouette and the 'cunnyng' allegories of its fireplaces, the products of equally uninhibited imaginations. With its incredible mixture of spontaneity



LATE SIXTEENTH  
AND EARLY  
SEVENTEENTH  
CENTURY WINDOWS

*Above:* Arched heads and tracery have gone, but the stoutness of the stone mullions still links the design with an earlier age, and the moulded detail is Gothic in character. *Below, left:* The division of the window area into four by a single mullion and a transom set at two-thirds of the height of the opening had a significant effect on the proportions of windows. (See plate 24.) *Below, right:* A horizontal window that breaks with the tradition of a row of vertical glazed units (see page 99). Late sixteenth century. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*



and Machiavellian deceit, coarseness broken by moments of exquisite loveliness, majesty and squalor, it is difficult to find a general descriptive term for the age, but 'adolescent' is perhaps appropriate."

That assessment of the intellectual and artistic environment of the Elizabethan age discloses the ferment of ideas that gave virility to the new architecture; "adolescent" is the just word, for there is a youthful excitement, an enterprising adventurousness about the great houses that were built, the new ideas that were tried out, and the ecstatic display of material wealth. It was a period lit by

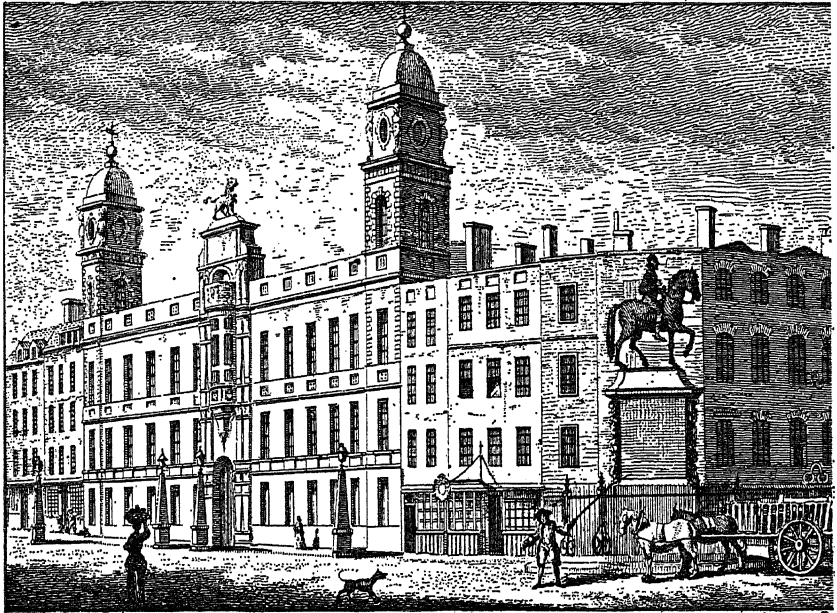
a passionate love for the arts of life, a period of national pride, expanded and sustained by achievements on land and sea, when men lived with an irrepressible enthusiasm for the mere act of living. The gaiety of their clothes and the range of their accomplishments, their superlative belief in their country, themselves, and the future, and their delight in rich possessions, demanded elaborate surroundings. They could enjoy the present and plan for posterity. They conversed and dined and slept in rooms that were as overcrowded with ornate furniture and as richly decorated as Victorian interiors; and in many ways the Elizabethans resembled the Victorians, but they had what the Victorians lacked—a sense of style. Their grandfathers had made an economic and social revolution: they made a cultural revolution. New great houses arose, as recognisably English in character as those in the native style, with judiciously selected Italianate features, but without horizontal and vertical elements conforming with the proportions laid down for one or other of the classic orders. If used at all, the classic orders would be inset, to give ornamental grace to some feature, like the columns on the ground floor of Hardwick Hall, shown on page 130, or confidently incorporated in the design, as at Wimbledon House on page 135.

Hardwick Hall, in Derbyshire, 1590–1597, was one of the tall, spacious houses that benefited from the expansion of windows, so that rooms and galleries were brought into visual partnership with the surrounding scenery: Robert Smythson (? 1536–1614), most talented of Elizabethan architects, was probably responsible for the design. He had been concerned with Wollaton, Worksop Manor, and Longleat, where he was employed by Thynne on the final rebuilding. Hardwick Hall is rectangular in plan, with projecting bays ascending through four storeys, topped by pierced scrollwork, with the initials E.S., for Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury. The bays are virtually glazed towers, rising above the third storey, and the multiplicity of windows in the house prompted the popular rhyme: “Hardwick Hall, more glass than wall.” Probably the first large house to be built on an H-plan was Wimbledon House, Surrey, begun in 1588 for Thomas Cecil, Burghley’s son. The Italianate features are discreetly unobtrusive, and the affiliation with the native style is obvious. Columns, pilasters, rounded arches and balustrades are part of the design: they are not applied,



like the ill-assorted oddments on Bruce Castle. Wimbledon House, which is shown on page 135, was demolished early in the eighteenth century. Although its windows were not on the same generous scale as those at Hardwick Hall, they are large and lofty, especially those in the bays at the end of the wings and in one of the towers that flank the entrance.

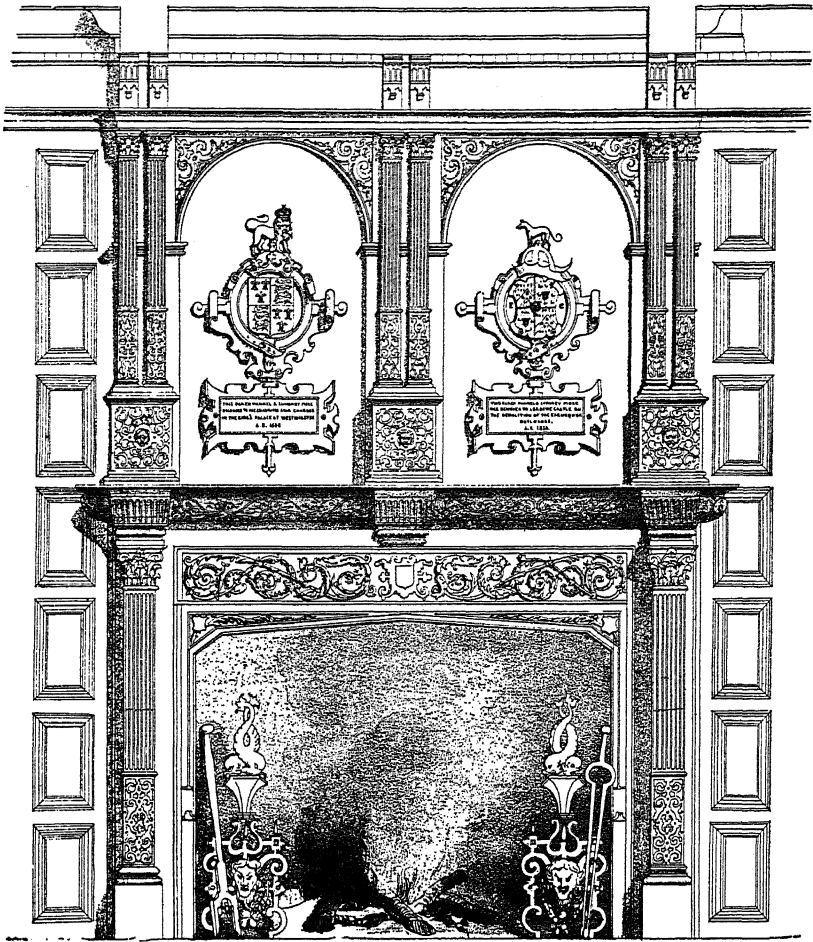
✓ Glass-making had improved during the second half of the sixteenth century: new centres of manufacture were established, and the industry spread westwards, then north to the Midlands,



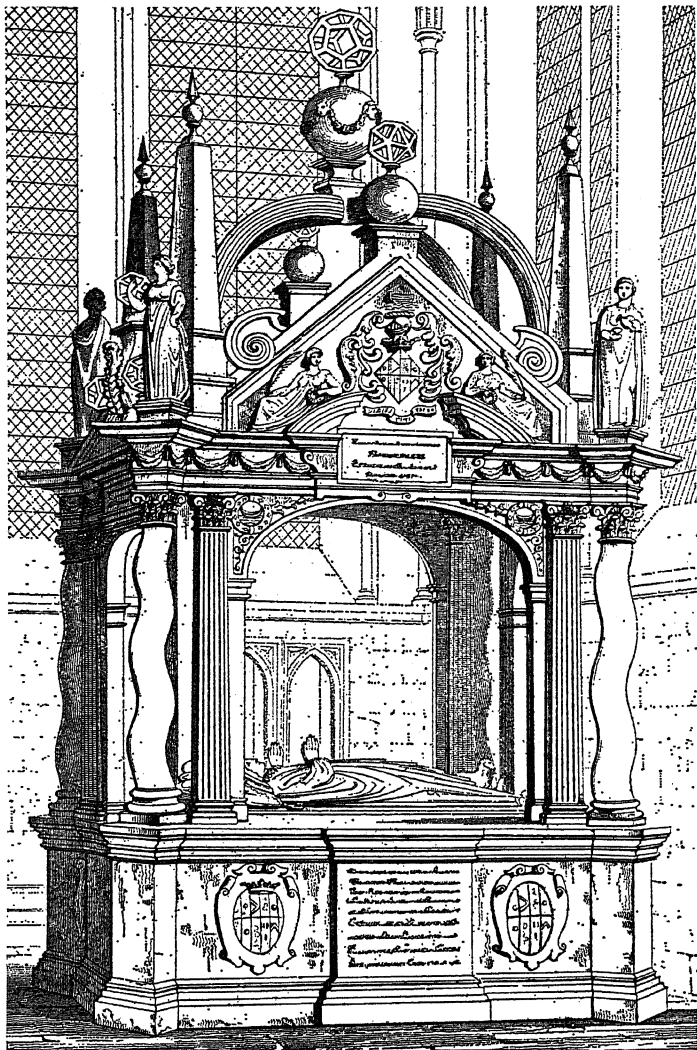
Northumberland House, Charing Cross, as it appeared in the mid-eighteenth century. Built early in the reign of James I for Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, probably to the designs of Bernard Johnson, it had on the Strand front, a decorative central feature, ascending through three storeys, rising above the parapet, with a triumphal arch crowning it, and three flanking orders of pilasters: the whole composition in the Flemish taste with its peculiar and characteristic interpretation of the classic orders. This large and impressive Jacobean mansion was destroyed in 1874. Reproduced from *London and its Environs Described* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), Volume V.

with a considerable branch at Stourbridge, Worcestershire. Foreign talent was introduced: a twenty-one-year monopoly for making window glass was granted in 1567 to Jean Carré, a Fleming living in London, and Peter Briet, and following this a contract was made with Thomas and Balthazar de Hennezel, Protestant artificers from Lorraine, to set up furnaces in England for making window glass. With the improvement in the quality of glass, the size of panes increased, but not before many decorative variations of the diagonal patterns formed with lead glazing bars had come into use: it was long before those diamond-shaped panes were replaced by small rectangular panes, but the change took place during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Windows were still divided by stone or wooden transoms and mullions when Wimbledon House was built, and the examples on page 137 show how this type of framework was related to diamond and rectangular panes.

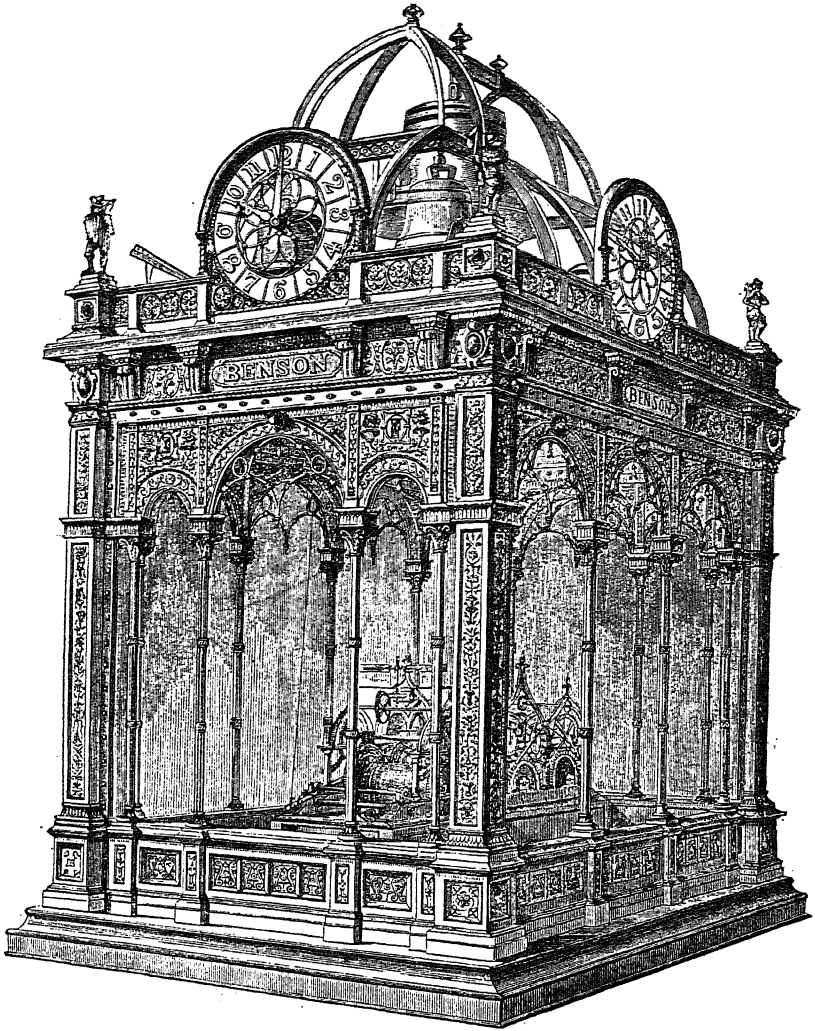
Although the classic orders were used during the second half of the sixteenth century, they were not derived from a pure Italian source; nothing comparable with Torrigiano's work at Westminster Abbey supplied examples to guide and inspire English masons, and though English architecture was influenced by the published works of the north Italian architect, Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1552), who Harrison called Serlo, a far more potent influence was exerted by published interpretations of classical designs from German and Flemish sources. The intricacies of strapwork decoration came from Antwerp: a medley of interlacing bands and scrolls, interspersed with diamond and lozenge-shaped patches, shells, shields and cartouches. Strapwork sprawled over surfaces, on stone, plaster and wood; coiling, crinkling and curling over, as though cut from paper or parchment. "And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Island," said Harrison, "yet they are rather curious to the eie [like paper worke,] than substantiall for continuance. . . ." Innumerable distortions of the classic orders were illustrated in the copy-books that came from Swiss, German and Flemish presses. Hans Blume's *Quinque Columnarum*, first appeared in Zurich in 1550; the *Architectura* of J. Vredeman de Vries came from Antwerp in 1563, his *Compartimenta* in 1566, and towards the end of the century, Wendel Dietterlin's *Architectura* was published in Nuremberg. A more correct English guide to the classic orders



The chimney-piece from the Star Chamber, originally in the Royal Palace of Westminster, but removed after the demolition of the old Exchequer Buildings in 1836 to Leasowe Castle, in Wirral, Cheshire. Although the date 1500 is inscribed on one of the panels, the inscription was made at the time of the removal, and that date is far too early: fifty to seventy years later is more likely. The designer had a clearer idea of the correct proportions of the Corinthian order than most Elizabethan or Jacobean wood-carvers. From *The History of the Hundred of Wirral*, by W. W. Mortimer (1847).



The architectural high spirits of the Jacobean period could inspire and approve such examples of extravagant complexity as the monument to Sir Thomas Gorges, Knight, which stands at the east end of the north aisle of Salisbury Cathedral. He died in 1610, and they did their best for his memory with this assortment of twisted columns, pilasters, pediments, globes, obelisks and indifferent statues, which were supposed to represent the cardinal virtues. On a smaller scale it would have resembled a Victorian mantelpiece clock. From *Britton's History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*.



Compare this Victorian clock shown at the International Exhibition of 1862 with the Jacobean monument on the opposite page. Both were produced in ages of great wealth, when ostentation was mistaken for taste and ornament for design; both exhibit the ill-disciplined desire for richness of effect, achieved at the expense of good proportion. The clock was made by James W. Benson of Ludgate Hill, and was "adapted for a cathedral, town-hall, or any public building of magnitude. . . ." The case was designed by an architect named Liddell. Reproduced from *The Art-Journal Catalogue of The International Exhibition, 1862*, page 176.

was John Shute's *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, largely derived from Serlio, which appeared in 1563, the year of the author's death.

Not only were Flemish books imported, but when the Royal Exchange in London was built the work was commissioned in Flanders by Sir Thomas Gresham, and was carried out by a Fleming, a master-mason named Henryk. Begun in 1566, it was opened by Queen Elizabeth I in January 1571, and destroyed by fire in 1666. Hollar's engraving of the building is reproduced on plate 27, and this shows the great courtyard, surrounded by a loggia, with the arches springing from the capitals of Doric columns, and Ionic pilasters continuing the vertical line of the columns on the upper storey and separating the niches. Decision and clarity marked the use of the two orders, which were neither burdened nor distorted by extraneous decoration of the type that characterised so much Flemish work of the period. This design may well have crystallised the ideas of English architects, whose tentative use of the orders was often and evidently darkened by perplexity. The Royal Exchange was unmistakably a Flemish building, just as the large wooden building on London Bridge, called Nonsuch House, which was imported in sections from Holland and erected in 1577, was unmistakably Dutch. (See Hollar's view of London Bridge on upper part of plate 3.)

A discreet use of strapwork ornament and a well-proportioned rendering of the Corinthian order on the chimney-piece from the Star Chamber at Westminster, on page 141, suggests an Italian rather than a Flemish model; and this suggestion is reinforced by the delicacy of the carved acanthus scrolls on the frieze of the fireplace, below the mantelshelf. This design has a refinement totally lacking in the entrance to the Manor, at York, on plate 23, where vigorous confusion of motifs is comparable with the façade of the Hart Street house on plate 19; but the masons and carvers who made the York Manor gateway had fed their invention on a diet of Flemish ideas. The same ideas had contributed to the decorative central feature of Northumberland House at Charing Cross, on page 139, which rose through three storeys to terminate in a triumphal arch above the parapet, and was flanked by three orders of pilasters. (This fine Jacobean mansion was demolished in 1874.)

A much later example of Anglo-Flemish work is the south porch of the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, built in 1637 under the influence of Archbishop Laud, and executed and probably designed by John Jackson, a master-mason. Two views of it are given on plate 26, and the design has the reckless vivacity of Continental baroque. English baroque, which developed late in the seventeenth century, was always under control; but this



The yard of a galleried inn, the Angel, Islington, as it appeared in the early nineteenth century. Many of the coaching inns had direct architectural continuity with their mediaeval forerunners: the balustrades and the supporting columns of the galleries usually being of late sixteenth or early seventeenth origin.

composition is completely out of control, with far too many conflicting elements. (This sort of thing was being done, with much less competence, in many places, like that astonishing essay in complexity, the tomb of Sir Thomas Gorges in Salisbury Cathedral, reproduced on page 142.) Was Jackson's patron, the Archbishop, at his elbow, making ecclesiastical rather than practical suggestions? The whole congested muddle may be partly the result of pious interference. The lush Corinthian capitals, almost as vulgar as composite, uneasily perched on those ungainly twisted columns—twists that were to be handled far more gracefully a few years later by

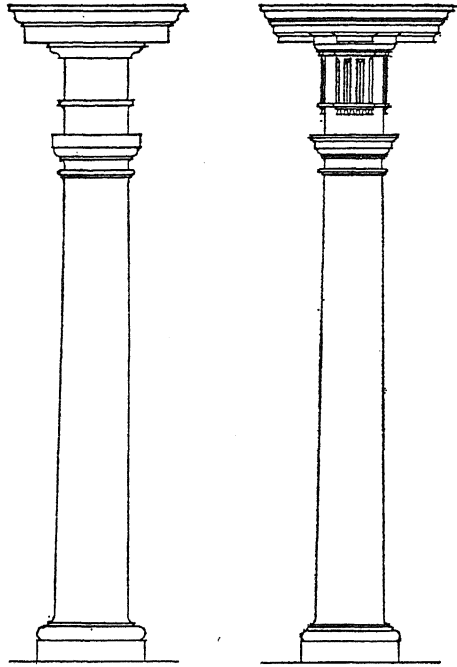
wood turners for chair and table legs—; the broken pediment, with its overweight scrolls; the shell niche, incongruously sheltering the statue of the Virgin and child, an addition insisted on by Laud and used in evidence against him later by his Puritan accusers; the almost Victorian angels, sliding down the spandrels of the arch and apparently holding on to a moulding; and the Gothic boss, depending from the plinth of the statue, all suggest a clash between two strong-minded men of different taste and training. The Holy figure could be accommodated only by using the Gothic style, as Laud used it for church building. But everything else is un-English. This was no contribution to national understanding of the classic idiom: on a smaller scale, it was just as much a freakish architectural dead-end as Henry VIII's Nonsuch Palace.

The first and greatest contribution to full comprehension of the classic orders as a universal system of design was made by Inigo Jones (1573-1651), whose work gave coherence to the English Renaissance, and led to the golden age of English architecture.



## THE GOLDEN AGE

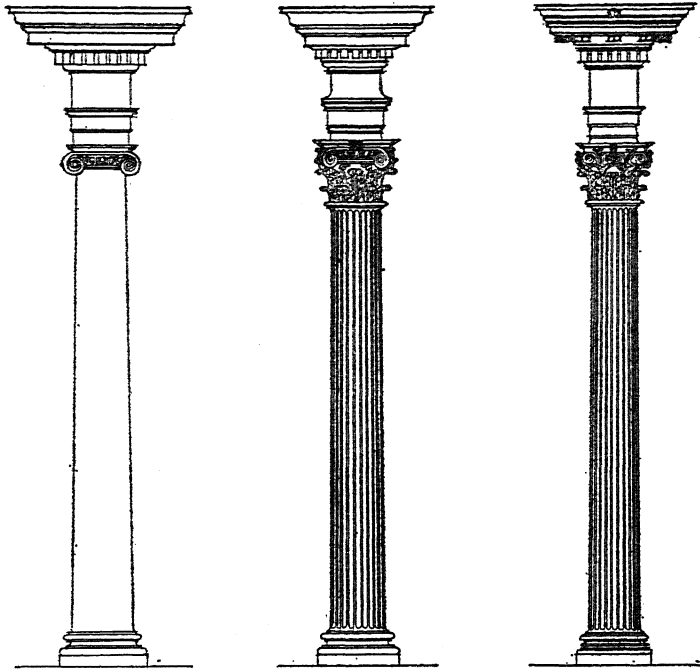
EARLY in 1619 the Banqueting House at Whitehall had been burnt down, a disaster that drew attention to the deplorably dilapidated state of the rest of the Palace; so the King's Surveyor of Works was instructed to prepare plans for a new palace. That office had been held for six years by Inigo Jones, who was then forty-six, and, apart from his designs for the elaborate masques staged to entertain the Court, had not yet revealed his mastery of classic architecture. His career as an architect began when he was middle-aged: of his early life and education little is known. He was the son of a Smithfield clothworker, and London was his birthplace. The first recorded reference to him occurs in the accounts of the Earl of Rutland, in 1603, where he is described as a picture-frame maker. He had certainly visited Italy before that date, and made a second visit in 1613-1614, as a member of Lord and Lady Arundel's suite. In Italy he had studied the work of Andrea Palladio (1518-1580), in particular the buildings at Vicenza. One of the most important sources of information about Inigo Jones is his own annotated copy of Palladio's *I quattro libri dell' Architettura*, now in the library of Worcester College, Oxford. He was manifestly inspired by Palladio, but his own designs were informed by a close familiarity with Roman buildings and monuments, a familiarity that was evident in his work for the court masques. He transformed the character of the English theatre. He interpreted the description of picture-frame maker on a grand scale, for he regarded the stage with the scenery and actors as an animated picture, and for this he contrived an impressive frame, the proscenium, separating players from audience. He followed an Italian prototype, the Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza, designed by Palladio and completed by Vincenzo Scamozzi. This theatrical designing was ephemeral, prelusive to



### THE ROMAN ORDERS

*Left: Tuscan. Right: Doric. The Greek Doric order is shown on page 198. After Rickman.*

the real architectural career which began when he designed the Queen's House at Greenwich. But recognition of the fresh, clear vision he brought to the use of the classic idiom was delayed, for although the building was begun in 1616, it was incomplete for over twenty years. Work was apparently stopped in 1617, and two years later the Queen, Anne of Denmark, died. Sir John Summer-son has pointed out in his *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, that to regard the Queen's House as "the first strictly classical building in England" is probably correct, "for, the foundations once laid, Jones was committed to the plan, and the work seems to have been taken up to first-floor level before being abandoned". The great opportunity came with the King's order to design a new palace of Whitehall. For this he prepared two designs: one of ambitious dimensions and arrogant grandeur. Had the Palace been completed, one of the main façades would have fronted the Thames, bounded on the west by St. James's Park. One section only was built, the Banqueting House, which was apparently one of four



## THE ROMAN ORDERS

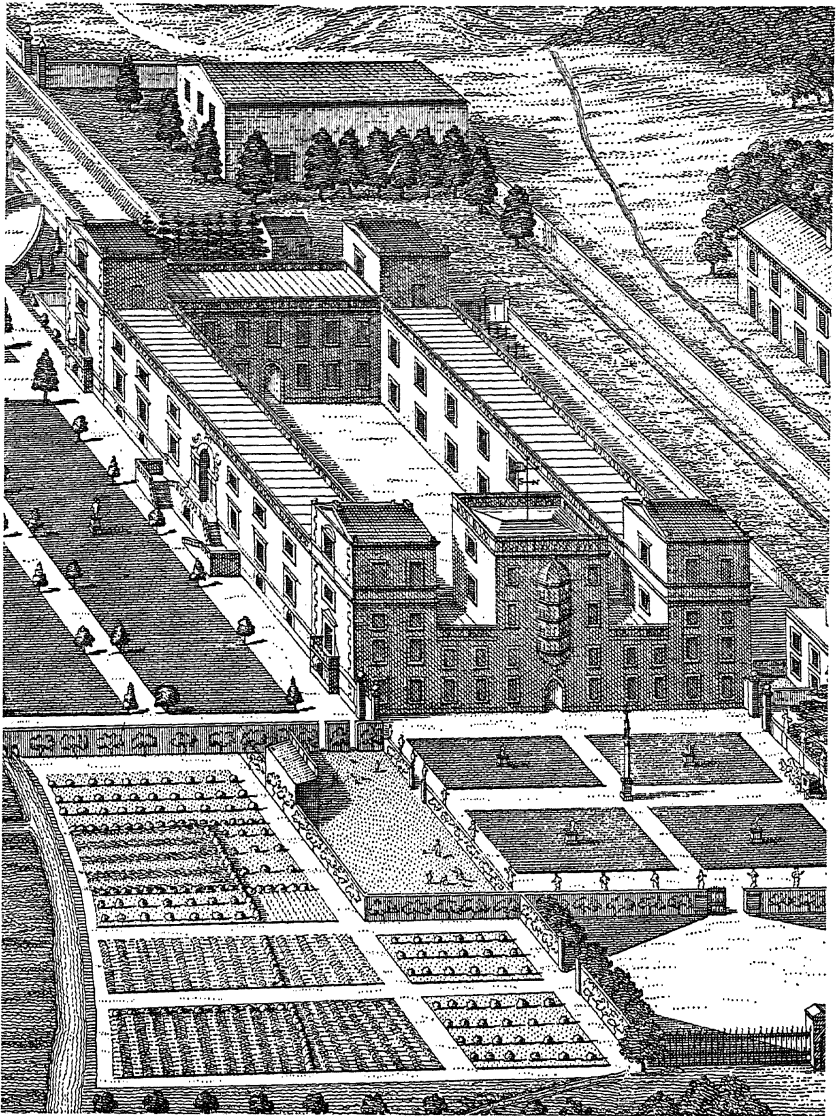
*Left: Ionic. Centre: Composite. Right: Corinthian. See opposite page, also page 198 for Greek Ionic and Corinthian orders. After Rickman.*

similar sections, intended to form one of the subsidiary buildings of a huge court, 800 by 400 feet in extent, twice the size of the Louvre.

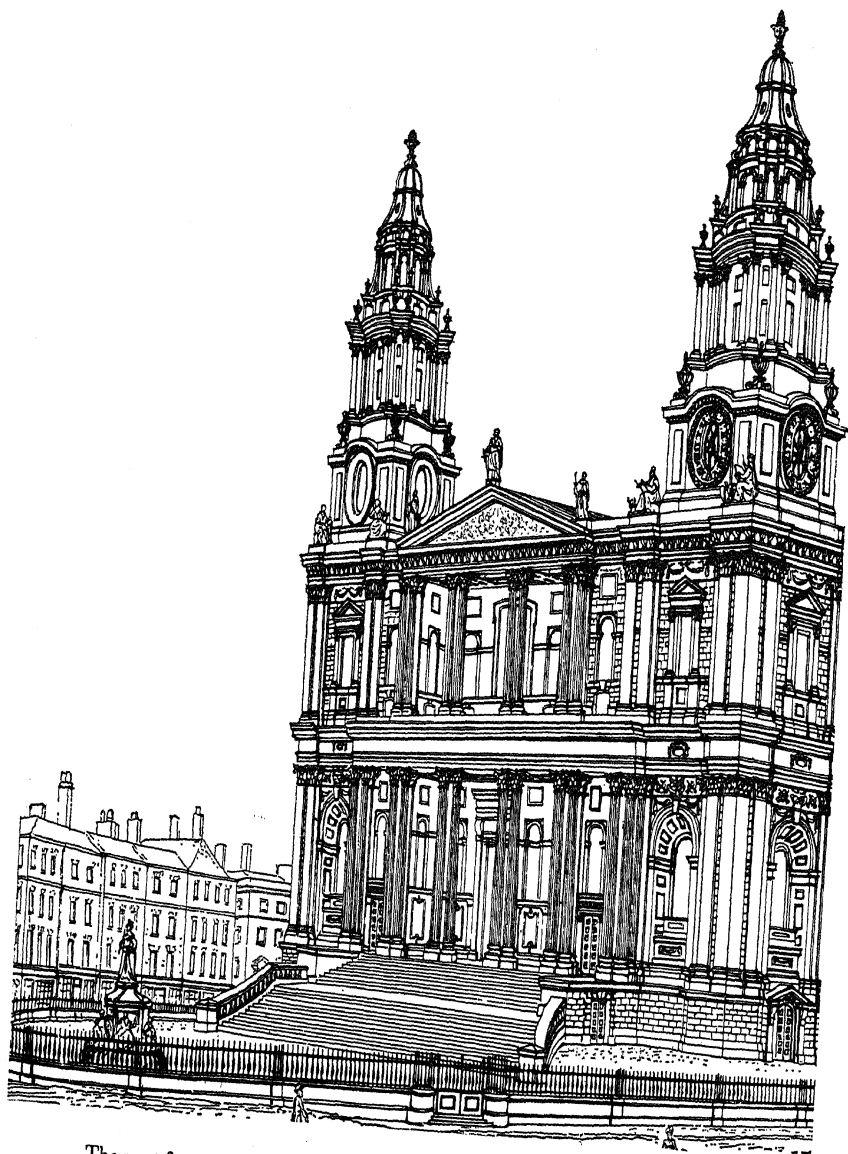
The Banqueting House was an architectural revelation; the first of the buildings that, in the words of Stanley C. Ramsey, "were not mere Italian transcripts, but were as English as the stone of which they were built". The English tradition was reasserted: the native English style was to re-emerge, having absorbed and anglicised the foreign influences. Geoffrey Scott, writing of the law of coherence in *The Architecture of Humanism*, said: "The eye and the mind must travel together; thought and vision move at one pace and in step. Any breach in continuity, whether of mood

or scale, breaks in upon this easy unison and throws us back from the humanised world to the chaotic." During the early Renaissance in England the eye and the mind had not been travelling together; they had followed separate routes since the breach of continuity with the native English style, with chaotic results. Inigo Jones ended the chaos. The Banqueting House, completed in 1619-1622, is the great exemplar which resolved the indecisions and anomalies of Elizabethan and contemporary Jacobean architecture, and established a new conception of design—formal but vehemently alive, expressing, as all authentic national interpretations of the classic orders expressed, a quite un-Roman freedom and imaginative power. (See plate 30.)

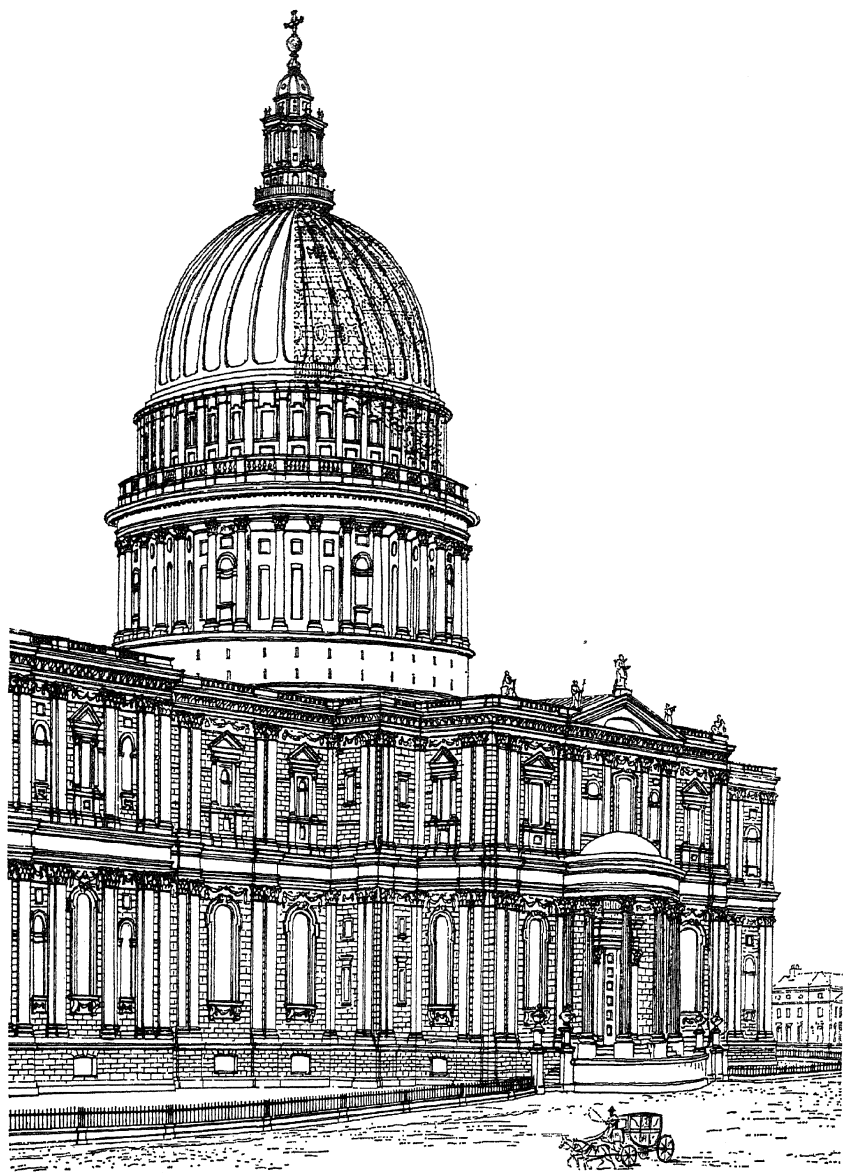
The architecture of the Italian Renaissance had transcended the rigidity of Roman standardisation: since the beginning of the fifteenth century, when that ardent revival of the arts of the ancient world began in Florence, the architects of Italy and every state in Europe had taken liberties with Roman forms, but they were qualified liberties: the proportions and basic character of the orders remained unchanged. There were some repulsive exceptions, like those depicted by the plates of Wendel Dietterlin's *Architectura*, which exhibit a morbid inventiveness, more suitable as settings for monstrous rites and ceremonies than for civic and domestic buildings. The liberties taken by Inigo Jones were neither eccentric nor grotesque: his imagination had been released when, at some stage in his studies of antique prototypes, he apprehended the inexhaustible flexibility of the classic orders: from that moment of awakened perception in the mind of a genius, English recognition and acceptance of the classic idiom was assured. The example of his work eventually gave to all concerned with building—patron, designer, and craftsman—a common framework of reference, adopted and understood, so that within a hundred years the village carpenter and the local squire who often employed him, the busy and fashionable architect and the teams of masons, joiners and woodcarvers who worked on his various jobs, and the nobility and gentry who did the paying, could make their ideas known to each other, for those ideas were regulated by a comprehensive system of proportions. Within half a century much of the dexterous liveliness of common art had been restored to the service of architecture, for executant craftsmen were



Wilton House, Wiltshire. The garden front was rebuilt after 1647 by Inigo Jones for Philip Herbert, the fourth Earl of Pembroke (1584–1650). Behind this front were the two magnificent State rooms: the Cube Room and the Double Cube Room, one opening into the other. Reproduced from a portion of plate 57, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume III.

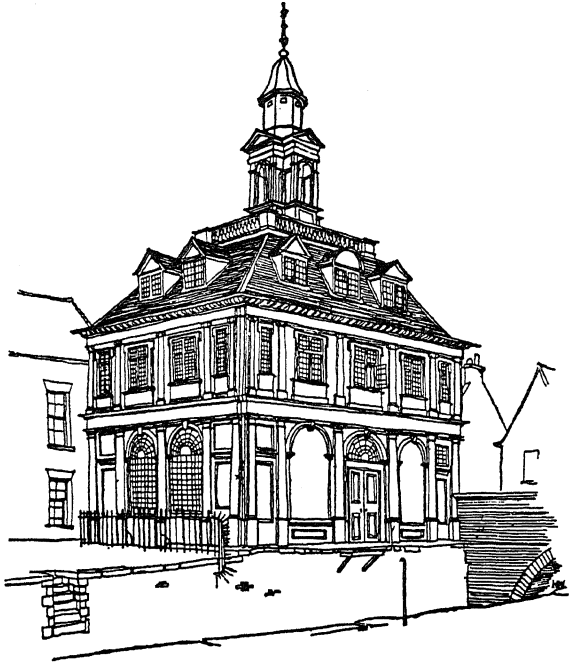


The west front of St. Paul's Cathedral. This view, and the continuation on the opposite page, is reproduced from Booth's Architectural Series of London Churches, published in 1818. *Drawn and engraved by John Coney.*



The south façade of St. Paul's. Above is the drum, encircled by the Corinthian peristyle, the gallery, and the attic supporting the dome. A conical dome of brick bears the weight of the lantern, ball and cross. (See plates 32 and 33.)

The Customs House, formerly the Exchange, at King's Lynn, Norfolk, built in 1683 and designed by Henry Bell. Drawn by Hilton Wright, A.R.I.B.A. Reproduced from *Guide to Western Architecture*, by courtesy of the publishers, George Allen & Unwin Limited. An example of pre-Georgian Classic.

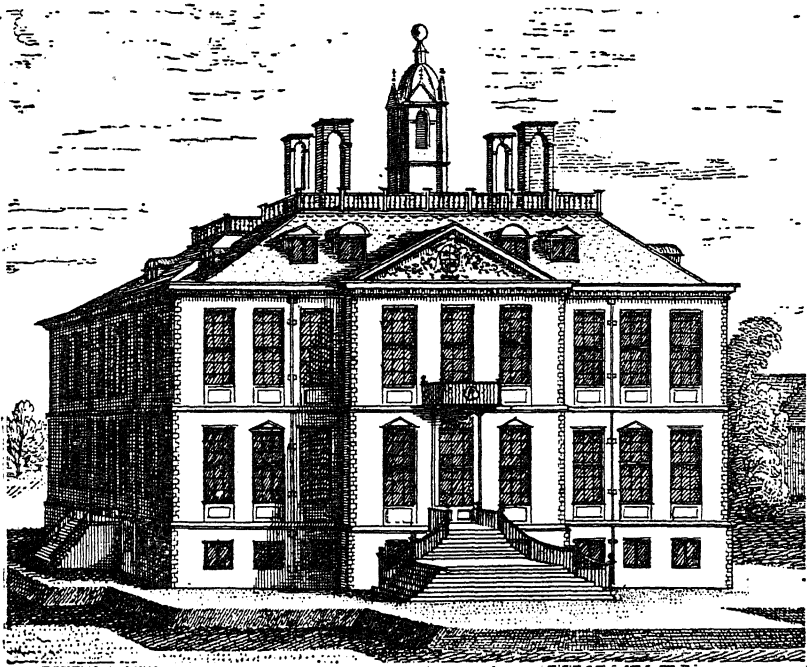


no longer excluded from intimate participation in the design and details of building as they had been when Italianate fashions were first superimposed on the native style. The ambiguities of Elizabethan and Jacobean taste were succeeded by informed appraisal; the stringencies of the Puritan period, when luxury and ostentation were condemned, may have contributed a refining influence, for at the Restoration of Charles II, England entered a golden age of good design which lasted for one hundred and seventy years, from 1660 to 1830.

Although comparatively few buildings were completed to his designs, the educational impact of Inigo Jones and his work on contemporary architectural taste was unparalleled. He was a Royal architect; his close association with the Court of James I, his long, intermittently acrimonious collaboration with Ben Jonson in the production of the masques, and his ascendancy over the dramatist when Charles I succeeded his father, have given us a picture of the man himself. He emerges not only as the first classic



English architect, but as the first English architect with a recognisable personality: vain, ambitious, socially accomplished, jealous, impatient, and capable of arousing fury. "When I want a word to express the greatest villain in the world, I call him an Inigo," Ben Jonson had once said to Charles when he was still Prince of Wales. Eric Linklater has amplified the portrait for us in his book, *Ben Jonson and King James*, in these few sentences: "Jones was a great artist, and for posterity that is all that really matters. But under cover of his Palladian scenery lived for his contemporaries' benefit a social success. He won constant applause by his

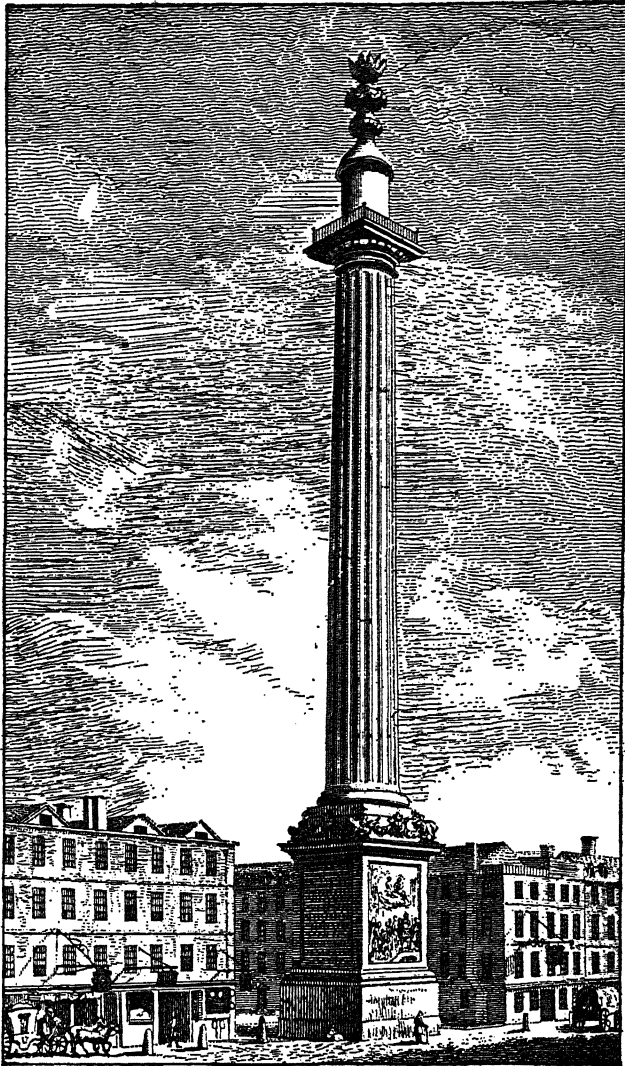


Melton Constable Hall, Norfolk, built in 1687, and attributed by some authorities to Sir Christopher Wren. The robust, comfortable qualities that characterised the native English style of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are apparent here. Reproduced from a view by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, published in 1741.

imitations of celebrities, and such was his store of amusing gossip and tales of foreign travel that a party was hardly considered complete without him. To present company he was gaily complimentary, and he always knew something to the discredit of unpopular absentees. And then he sang, and was equally willing to explain the science of mathematics, and he had an amusing trick of jumping over chairs. He had good hopes (under Charles) of elevation to the peerage."

Good hopes were often the only reward of an architect who worked for the Stuarts, whose sympathetic patronage was seldom supported by enough money to finish off anything. The long delay in completing the Queen's House at Greenwich, and the relatively tiny section of the Palace of Whitehall that was actually built, are examples of this financial debility. Delays and disappointments increased for Inigo Jones as the gloom engendered by rising Puritan power descended on England. Although identified with an innovating, experimental age, he was of the old Faith, and a Roman Catholic was always exposed to the calculated malice of intolerant Puritans. Many buildings were marked by his influence; only a few can be attributed to him. For example, Raynham Hall, in Norfolk, shown on plate 30, was built by Sir Roger Townshend, who may have directed the work himself, but had certainly learnt something from the designs of Inigo Jones, who was reputedly concerned with a number of other large country houses, for private practice was open to the King's Surveyor. As holder of that office, he was concerned with the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, but though his work was destroyed in the fire of 1666, his additions to the west front have been preserved in Hollar's illustrations to Sir William Dugdale's history of the Cathedral, which was published in 1658. A preliminary design for the west front was discarded, and the tall Corinthian portico that was ultimately built had the matchless perfection of a Roman temple. The façade from which it projected was intended to do as little violence as possible to the Gothic bulk of the Cathedral. (Hollar's engraving and the architect's preliminary drawing are shown on plate 31.)

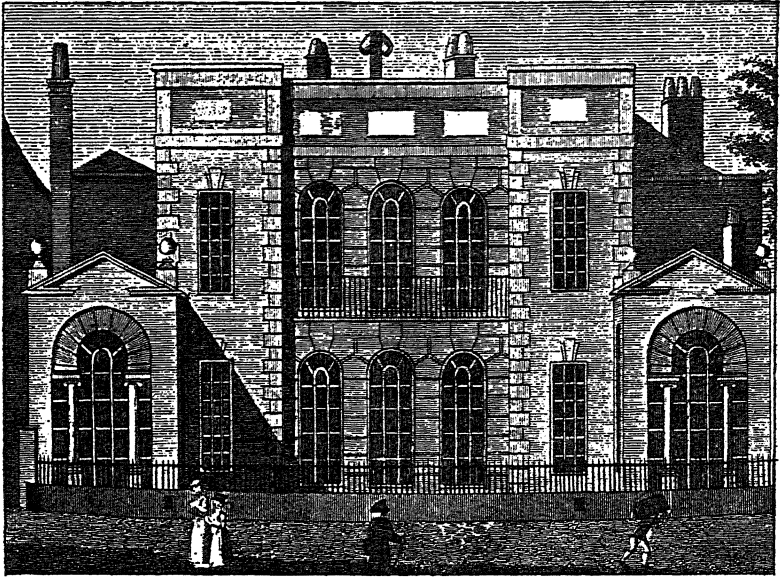
The difficulty of identifying authentic work by Inigo Jones is increased by the assumptions and conjectures of eighteenth-century writers and architects. For many years the York Water Gate, in Victoria Embankment Gardens, was presumed to be his



The Monument, on Fish Street Hill, erected to commemorate the Great Fire of London. It was built to the design of Sir Christopher Wren, 1671-1676, though possibly Robert Hooke had a hand in it, and was, according to John Aubrey, the architect of "the Pillar", as he called it in his *Brief Lives*. Reproduced from *London and its Environs* (1766), Volume V.

work; but it was designed by Balthazar Gerbier, 1626–1627: Coleshill House in Berkshire was another false attribution, accepted until 1928, when the notebooks of Sir Roger Pratt (1620–1684) were published, and his authorship of the design indisputably established. (Coleshill was burnt down in 1952.) Pratt was one of several accomplished amateur architects who had made first-hand studies of Roman buildings, for like many other English gentlemen he found the spiritual climate of Puritan England uncongenial, and had travelled extensively. In Rome he had met and for a time stayed with John Evelyn. (Ten years later Evelyn referred to their acquaintance in his *Diary*, July 14th, 1655.)

Architecture was becoming an obligatory accomplishment for educated gentlemen, complementary to classical learning, agreeably available for study at home as well as abroad, for a popular literary interpretation of the philosophy of Roman design had appeared concurrently with the early work of Inigo Jones. This was Sir Henry Wotton's paraphrase of Vitruvius, published in 1624, and entitled *The Elements of Architecture*, an essay in two parts, which described the orders with genial precision, "according to their dignity and perfection", contained a lot of practical information about building and materials, and in conclusion gave some guidance for the critical appraisal of design, setting forth the matters "which every man should run over, before he pass any determinate *Censure* upon the Works he shall view". His descriptions of the orders had the racy informality of social gossip in the smoking-room of a patrician club. He made their characters come alive, all five of them, beginning with the Tuscan, which, he said, "is a plain, massie rural Pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limb'd Labourer, homely clad. . . ." It was "of all the Rudest Pillar, and his Principal Character *Simplicity*". The Doric was "the gravest that hath been received into civil use, preserving, in comparison of those that follow, a more *Masculine Aspect* and a little trimmer than the Tuscan that went before, save a sober garnishment now and then of *Lions heads* in the *Cornice*, and of *Tryglyphs* and *Metopes* always in the *Frize*. . . . The *Ionique Order* doth represent a kind of Feminine slenderness, yet saith *Vitruvius*, not like a light Housewife, but in decent dressing, hath much of the *Matron*. . . . The *Corinthian*, is a *Columnne* lasciviously decked like a Curtesan, and therein much participating (as all



Goose-pie House, Whitehall, the house Sir John Vanbrugh built for himself in 1699-1700. The wings were added in the eighteenth century, and when this engraving was published in the *European Magazine* in February 1797 it was the town house of Lord Cathcart. The building was demolished in 1898.

Inventions do) of the place where they were first born: *Corinth* having been (without controversie) one of the wantonest Towns in the world. . . . The last is the *Compounded Order*: His *name* being a brief of his *nature*. For this *Pillar* is nothing in effect, but a *medly*, or an *amasse* of all the precedent *Ornaments*, making a new kind, by stealth; and though the most richly tricked yet the poorest in this, that he is a borrower of all his Beauty. . . .”

Wotton’s restatement of basic principles has been quoted by writers on architecture for over three hundred years. “In *Architecture*,” he said, “as in all other *Operative Arts*, the *End* must direct the *Operation*. The *End* is to build well. *Well-building* hath three Conditions, *Commodity*, *Firmness*, and *Delight*.” With those pregnant sentences he opens the first part of his essay. His impeccable taste is always in evidence, as faultless as his graceful style. “In *Architecture*, there may seem to be two opposite affectations,” he wrote;

“*Uniformity* and *Variety*, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilment, as we may see in the great pattern of *Nature*, to which I must often resort: For surely, there can be no *Structure* more uniform than our *Bodies* in the whole *Figuration*: Each side agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the quality, and in the measure of the *Parts*: And yet some are round, as the *Arms*; some flat, as the *Hands*; some prominent and some more retired: So as upon the matter we see that *Diversity* doth not destroy *Uniformity*, and that the *Limbs* of a noble *Fabrick* may be correspondent enough, though they be various: Provided always, that we do not run into certain extravagant *Inventions*, whereof I shall speak more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole *Work*. We ought likewise to avoyd Enormous heights of six or seven *Stories*, as well as irregular *Forms*; and the contrary fault of low distended *Fronts*, is as unseemly: Or again, when the *Face* of the *Building* is narrow, and the *Flank* deep: To all which extreames some particular *Nations* or *Towns* are subject, whose *Names* may be civilly spared. . . .”

Wotton consistently advocated a courteous moderation in the criticism of architecture; but as a realist was always conscious of the potential conflict between the ideas of Vitruvius and the needs of seventeenth-century Englishmen. “Care should be taken that all buildings are well lighted,” Vitruvius had said in Book VI, Chapter IX. Referring in particular to this passage, Wotton concluded that “our *Master* . . . seems to have been an extream Lover of *Luminous Roomes*; And indeed, I must confess, that a Frank Light can mis-become no *Aedifice* whatsoever, *Temples* only excepted; which were anciently dark, as they are likewise at this day in some *Proportion*. *Devotion* more requiring collected then diffused *Spirits*. Yet on the other side, we must take heed to make a *House* (though but for civil use) all *Eyes*, like *Argus*, which in *Northern Climes* would be too cold, In *Southern* too hot: And therefore the matter indeed importeth more then a merry comparison. Besides, There is no part of *Structure* either more expencefull then *Windows*, or more ruinous; not only for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather; but because consisting of so different and unsociable pieces as *Wood*, *Iron*, *Lead*, and *Glass*, and those small and weak, they are easily shaken. . . .”

Those “so different and unsociable pieces” ceased to give so

much trouble after the double-hung sash was introduced, with its wood glazing bars and larger panes. Lead and iron were gradually abandoned, except for the casement windows of country dwellings. At some time during the seventeenth century sash windows were brought over from Holland. The earliest record of their use is 1685, when they replaced the original windows of the Banqueting House in Whitehall. The proportions and moulded details of window openings had been carefully regulated, the pre-sash window still retained mediaeval affinities. A mullion and a transom divided the glazed area into two rectangles below the transom with two squares above, thus an opening based on a double square had a dividing cross of stone or wood, which obstructed the admission of daylight, and narrowed the view from a room. Windows of this type appear in the Strand front of old Somerset House, on plate 24, and in the first floor of the Customs House at King's Lynn, on page 154. Many of the seventeenth-century buildings that survive today have had their original windows replaced with sashes, like Raynham Hall on plate 30. Sash windows admitted more daylight than casements, providing those "Luminous Roomes" beloved by Vitruvius, and bringing to façades a gleaming cheerfulness. Apart from what they gave to individual houses, they gave to the streets of London and other cities an orderly relationship. Even the general use of the classic orders with correct proportions and ornamental details could not give those streets more than a fragmentary horizontal relationship: the sash window was the unifying element which minimised the general irregularity of street architecture. The vertical rectangular form, not invariably but very often a double square, became for over two hundred and fifty years a characteristic feature of domestic building in England and North America. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries a double square opening was generally divided into four vertical and six horizontal sections, making twenty-four panes, like those in the windows of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on plate 39; the divisions varied, sometimes twelve panes were used with three vertical and four horizontal divisions, but usually for smaller windows such as those in Wren's design for the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia, on plate 40. The twelve-paned type was used most frequently in the mid- and late eighteenth century, with

the glazing bars progressively diminishing in section, attaining an elegant slenderness by the early nineteenth century. A tax on windows was imposed in 1697, and to avoid it many existing windows were blocked up, and new houses were designed with blank recesses in the walls, framed by architraves, to preserve the symmetrical disposition of the façade.

Although houses in the English tradition never became, as Wotton warned, "all *Eyes*, like Argus", the generous use of windows and their admirable proportions gave to the domestic architecture of the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries a smiling urbanity. The tax had diminished the number of windows, but not the individual glazed area. Houses worth more than £5 annual rental value were assessed and the tax levied according to the number of windows and openings over six. This penalised the middle classes, the professional men and small merchants and traders, while leaving the cottager unaffected and the wealthy indifferent. Six increases in the tax were made between 1747 and 1803, but it was reduced in 1823. Nobody liked "the damnable tax on light", and even the nobility and gentry, who could well afford to pay, disapproved, unless they were in the Government and therefore welcomed the annual revenue it earned—over a million pounds, and as much as £1,200,000 in the first year it was levied. The tax may have been a subconscious restriction on design, retarding the progress, which began in the mid-sixteenth century, towards what Raymond McGrath calls: "the contemplative use of the window; 'open sesame' between the house and the outdoor world; the expression of civilised elbow room". When the tax was repealed in 1851 an emotional impediment reduced the amount of light admitted through the fine plate glass which was then available, for thousands of Ruskin's disciples were busily filling window openings with mock-Gothic tracery. Such earnest obscurantism would have astonished patrons and amateurs of architecture living in the 1650s, who had improved their knowledge by reading Wotton and studying in Italy, and almost certainly endorsed John Evelyn's reference to "the Gothic barbarity", from which Italian design had recovered after the Renaissance. (*Diary*, November 6th, 1644.) Critical, observant and well-travelled Englishmen would reject any idea of deliberately restoring the supremacy of Gothic forms, which were no longer

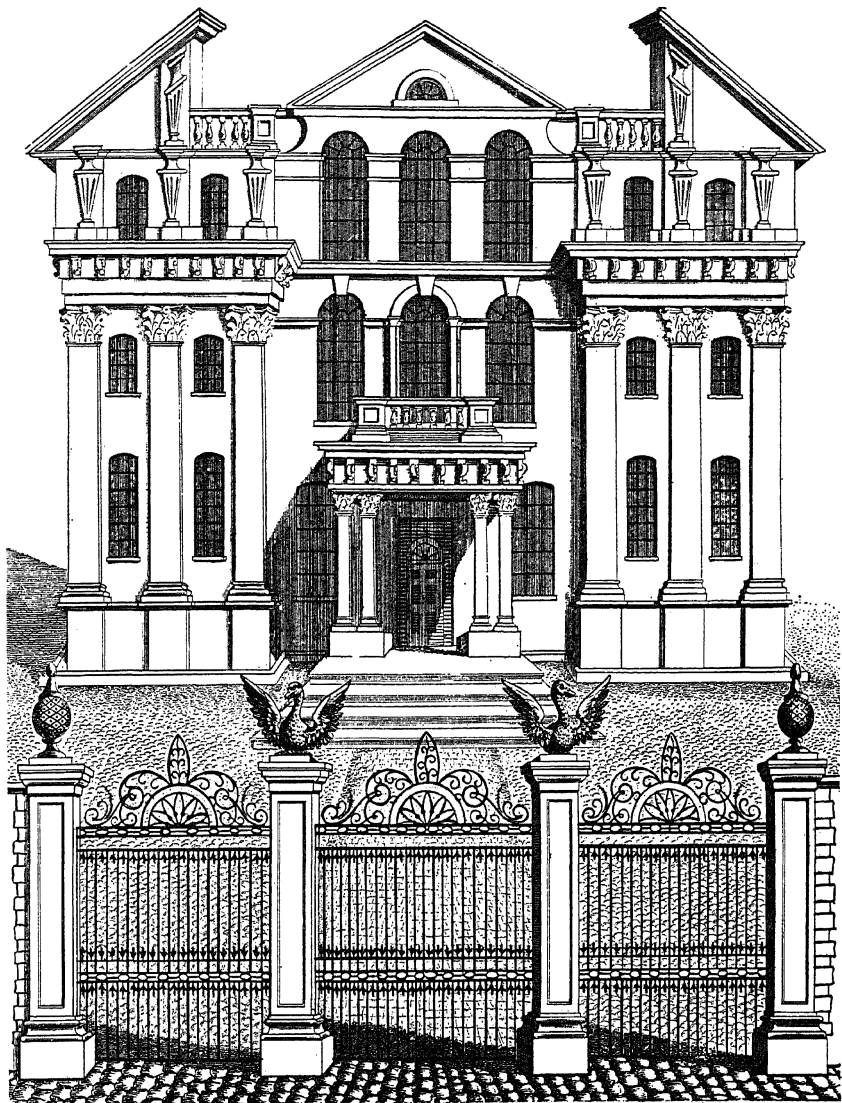


associated in their minds with the image of architecture. They may have been aware that a few belated Gothic buildings were being erected, like Charles Church at Plymouth, *circa* 1657, the church at Staunton Harold mentioned in Chapter 5, and the more conspicuous and much later example, Brasenose College Chapel at Oxford, completed in 1666, but those were survivals not revivals, lingering evidence of the traditional loyalties of masons to the old style, not conscious attempts to reinstate or even perpetuate that style. Meanwhile the broad, prodigal stream of imagination that flowed from the work of Inigo Jones inspired the architects who created English baroque.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 changed the moral and spiritual climate of the country; the bracing air of freedom refreshed and invigorated the arts; the Puritan Beast retired to its lair for a century and a half; and English architects and craftsmen could work with all the resources of released imagination and improved skill without being accused of pandering to sinful luxury. The Court of Charles II was consistently uninhibited, unlike the French court, where the amours of priest-ridden Louis XIV were usually followed by periods of bleak repentance, which had a sobering effect on fashions. At Whitehall the atmosphere was unclouded by the moods of the royal, good-humoured sensualist who was a man of his age, interested in science and the arts, and particularly in architecture, who encouraged magnificence and seldom allowed his tastes to be curbed because money was short. Regal extravagance was imitated: the nobility and gentry wished to live as splendidly as their means allowed, not because they felt it was the correct thing to do or to curry favour at court, but because they rejoiced in living a full life. Many attempts to live a full life were doubtless trivial and ridiculous: energy in security unlit by moral or creative purpose may easily become either vicious or absurd, though neither viciousness nor absurdity preclude a lively appreciation of the arts. Pepys, in many ways a representative Englishman, was often lured by viciousness into absurd and embarrassing situations; but despite his gloating love of money and possessions, he was no Philistine; he shared the excellent taste of the Establishment, the Court intelligentsia that composed the Royal Society group, and had the ear of the King, and pulled all kinds of official and unofficial strings. John Evelyn, his austere

fellow diarist, described Pepys as "a very worthy, industrious and curious person". (*Diary*, May 26th, 1703.) Like all members of the Royal Society he was interested in everything. The Society included several amateurs of architecture, Christopher Wren among them, and this influential group of people represented the innovating, scientific spirit of the times, though in architecture they approved only of what Wren called a "good Roman manner", which still had the novelty of a "modern movement" in design. The members of the group were arbiters of taste rather than leaders of fashion: the light-hearted men and women about the Court dictated the fashions, and their houses and rooms and furniture reflected their dedication to pleasure, though the ornamental excesses of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods were not repeated. Ornament was now under civilised control.

After the first raptures of relief when Puritan tyranny ended, the pursuit of pleasure for its own sake sobered down into the more stable enjoyment of gracious living. The environment for gracious living was provided by the classic orders and all that they implied, inside and outside houses, in the streets and public buildings and new churches, in everything an architect designed or a craftsman fashioned. Their authority was unchallenged and everywhere apparent, and the most spectacular assertion of that authority was the rebuilding of London after the fire of 1666. The city was rebuilt, but not replanned; a comparable opportunity was missed after the Second World War. The fire began on September 2nd, and after the disaster the King ordered Wren to survey the ruined area. The year before, Wren had been appointed assistant to Sir John Denham, the Surveyor-General, and now he produced a plan for a new London. On September 27th, Evelyn in a letter to Sir John Tuke, said: "They are now busied with adjusting the claimes of each proprietor that so they may dispose things for the building after the noblest model: Everybody brings in his idea, amongst the rest I presented his Majestie my owne conceptions, with a Discourse annex'd. It was the second that was seene, within 2 dayes after the Conflagration: but Dr. Wren had got the start of me. Both of us did *coincide* so frequently, that his Majestie was not displeas'd with it, & it caus'd divers alterations; and truly there was never a more glorious Phoenix upon Earth,



Monmouth House, Soho Square, built for the Duchess of Monmouth, circa 1710, and demolished 1773. The design is attributed to Thomas Archer (1668–1743), though the clumsy upper storey is uncharacteristic: Archer's conscientious respect for the niceties of classic detail was temporarily in abeyance if he really did design the work above the entablature. (See pages 176–177.) From Smith's *Antiquities of London*, 1791.

if it do at last emerge out of these cinders, & as the designe is layd, with the present fervour of the undertakers.”

Had Wren's plan been adopted, London could have expanded without congestion. Broad axial streets, an embankment extending from the Temple to the Tower, and an orderly system of open spaces at main street junctions, could have eased future traffic problems. The plan was not rejected by any faction: that legend has been demolished by T. F. Reddaway in *The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire*: it never received the approval of Parliament, though it was considered with other plans, before the idea of having a new plan at all was discarded. “The difficulties were too great,” according to Mr. Reddaway, so “finally the whole matter seems to have been relegated to the royal commissioners and the City surveyors”. Wren was one of them: the others were Robert Hooke and Peter Mills, who had both made plans, and three architects, Hugh May, Edward Jerman (or Jarman), and Roger Pratt, the designer of Coleshill and Clarendon House, Piccadilly, who was knighted for his services in 1688. “No more sympathetic body could have been found,” wrote Mr. Reddaway, “but, after a month's hard work, the adoption of a different policy showed that the idea had been abandoned.” The towers and steeples of Wren's churches gave London's skyline a grandeur denied to the streets, while St. Paul's Cathedral occupied and preserved one of the great dominating spaces of the unrealised plan, though it was soon surrounded by mean buildings and Ludgate Hill was never broadened to become a worthy approach.

Sir Christopher Wren was born in 1632 and lived to be ninety-one. He was primarily a man of science, that rare combination, a mathematician and an artist; he had been Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and, like many other distinguished members of the Royal Society, had studied architecture as an intellectual exercise. His career did not begin until his appointment in 1661 as Denham's assistant; even then he may not have realised his vocation, or ever entertained even a fleeting suspicion that he would become the greatest architect of the English renaissance. A gentle and modest man, he was unconsciously great, and the diversity of his interests indicates an activity of mind and invention that enriched not only his own life but the lives of his contemporaries. Some seven pages of Bishop Sprat's *History of the Royal*

*Society* are occupied by an account of Wren's contributions to the proceedings of the Society—experiments, papers, and descriptions of new inventions. Wren was ingenious in devising experiments. He originated a practical technique of blood transfusion: he improved astronomical and optical instruments. "He has fitted and hung *Quadrants*, *Sextants*, and *Radii*, more commodiously than formerly," Sprat recorded. He had also "found out perpetual, at least long liv'd lamps, and Registers of Furnaces, and the like, for keeping a perpetual temper, in order to various uses; as hatching of Eggs, Insects, Production of Plants, Chymical Preparations, imitating Nature in producing Fossils and Minerals, keeping the motion of Watches equal, in order to *Longitudes* and *Astronomical* uses, and infinite other advantages". A mind with this range of interests and scientific knowledge allied to the sensitivity of an artist had not been brought to the service of architecture since the death of Leonardo da Vinci, and though Wren was not, like the great Florentine, an executant craftsman, he knew how to employ and instruct craftsmen.

In 1662, when he was thirty, he was appointed to survey old St. Paul's, by then in a very shaky condition: in the following year work began on his designs for Pembroke Chapel, Cambridge, and the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford. In 1665 he visited Paris, where he spent eight months, returning in the spring of 1666. While there, he met and talked with Bernini, and was allowed a quick and tantalising peep at the designs for the Louvre, which, he wrote, "I would have given my skin for, but the old reserv'd Italian gave me but a few minutes view. . . . I had only time to copy it in my fancy and memory." He was critical of the influences that affected French taste, particularly feminine whims, observing that as women "make here the Language and Fashions, and meddle with Politicks and Philosophy, so they sway also in Architecture; Works of Filigrand, and little Knacks are in great Vogue; but Building certainly ought to have the Attribute of Eternal, and therefore the only Thing incapable of new Fashions".

Since his appointment to survey old St. Paul's, Wren had been pondering a complete rebuilding of the Cathedral. At first he had considered reconstructing the interior "after a good Roman manner", to harmonise with the Corinthian portico added by Inigo Jones and the scheme of exterior refacing which had been



Part of the High Street, Oxford, with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses, and the screen of Queen's College. The screen, and the design of the front quadrangle, are attributed to Nicholas Hawksmoor, but the cupola above the entrance was modified by the contracting mason, William Townsend. *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

partly completed; but the enormous damage done to the old church by the Great Fire made the need for rebuilding obvious and imperative. Nevertheless, a committee was formed to devise some way of patching up the tottering, roofless fabric, and over a year passed before everybody was convinced that clearance of the ruins and a new design were the only solutions. In his preliminary and final designs for the Cathedral, Wren showed his command of the "good Roman manner". The dome still dominates the city; to the world it is emblematic of London; to architects, the progenitor of English baroque. The air photograph on plate 32 shows the dome and the lantern in greater detail than is possible in views taken from ground-level. Thomas Malton's drawing of the nave, crossing and choir on plate 33, depicts the revolutionary change Londoners had to accept, perhaps uneasily. To thousands of

people who had worshipped in the Norman nave of the old church, and looked along the Early English choir to the rose window at the east end, the contrast between the dim, arched spaces, "anciently dark", as Wotton had said, and Wren's proficient composition in the Corinthian order must have seemed almost like a change of religion. (See plates 8 and 9.) The decoration of the interior, though robust, has a cool dignity, unfussed by the ornate convolutions and encrustations of Continental baroque. Ornament does not confuse or obscure structural forms: the Corinthian order has not been permitted to become an overwrought, grandiose extravaganza, as in some of the contemporary Italian and German churches. But despite the architect's moderation, the classic successor to old St. Paul's never had the sacred profundity, the holy calm and dusky mystery of a cathedral built in the age of faith, and certainly none of the animated sparkle and colour of European Renaissance cathedrals. The interior, with an almost pagan clarity, suggests the character of the new scientific age of enlightenment, that prelude to the age of reason, when good manners were valued equally with good works, and the Church of England God was a perfect gentleman, with Heaven discreetly in the background and Hell on the way out. Within a century the reaction against the classic style for churches had set in, and William Woty, writing in 1780, could be assured of sympathetic attention for these lines:

"*Gothic* the Stile, and tending to excite  
 Free-thinkers to a sense of what is right,  
 With length'ning ayles, and windows that impart  
 A gloomy steady light to chear the heart,  
 Such as affects the soul, and which I see  
 With joy, celestial *Westminster!* in thee.  
 Not like Saint PAUL's, beneath whose ample dome,  
 No thought arises of the life to come.  
 For, tho' superb, not solemn is the place,  
 The mind but wanders o'er the distant space,  
 Where 'stead of thinking on the GOD, most men  
 Forget his presence to remember *Wren.*"

Wren's work was always national in character; and the unpromisingly English air of his additions to Hampton Court

Palace, where he rebuilt the south and east wings, 1689–1694, is in harmony with the surviving Tudor work. Not that he showed any tenderness for the old Palace: the death of William III stopped his new plan for Hampton Court before it was brought to completion: had the work been finished, the original Palace would have been reduced to a few fragments, like Richmond. Few people in the seventeenth century appeared to have any sense of responsibility about historic buildings: the fate of Nonsuch and Richmond reproaches their casualness. John Evelyn was perhaps an exception; but he was a man of outstanding artistic sensitivity. Respect for the architectural achievements of the past grew out of the Georgian taste for Gothic, and was motivated only by mediaeval buildings, preferably ruinous.

Wren's capacity for work was prodigious in extent and variety. St. Paul's was begun in 1675 and finished in 1711. He rebuilt fifty-two churches in the City of London after the Fire, and many of the towers revealed a new world of ascending lines, with the orders rising in diminishing tiers to support a cupola or spire. He invented the classical steeple, of which one of the finest examples is St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, 1670–1677, severely damaged in the Second World War, but now rebuilt. (See plate 38.) This invention richly compensated London for the loss of its Gothic towers and spires, and for nearly two hundred years gave churches designed in the classic idiom a dominating vertical element of incomparable grace. From the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century the towers of churches and civic buildings in England, the American Colonies and, later, the United States, owed their form and character to Wren's archetype. (See plates 39 to 41.) A few of his city churches had been rebuilt in the Gothic style, like St. Dunstan in the East, and St. Michael, Cornhill; the latter may have been modelled on Magdalen Tower, Oxford; but Wren was seldom at ease with the Gothic style. The exception is the Tom Tower, which rises above Wolsey's Gateway at Christ Church, Oxford, built 1681–1682, which accords so well with the existing Tudor work that some authorities have suggested Wren interpreted an earlier record left by Wolsey's architects. The Gothic form of the tower is boldly unorthodox, but it is not, like Barry's Houses of Parliament, a classic composition veneered with Gothic detail: it has the forthright emphatic lines



of the last phase of the native English style, and may have been influenced by the master-mason Wren employed, Christopher Kempster of Burford, for masons, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, had inherited loyalties to the old style. (Tom Tower was built only fifteen years after the Gothic chapel at Brasenose was completed.)

“With the possible exception of Inigo Jones, no English architect has been the victim of more reckless and ill-informed attributions than Wren,” Mr. H. M. Colvin reminds us, in his *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects*. These attributions, misleading and confusing though they may be, indicate the lasting power of their work as exponents of classical architecture. The relative potency of their influence was condensed in two sentences by Stanley C. Ramsey, when he wrote: “Inigo Jones is our great architectural preceptor, but Sir Christopher Wren is our great national architect, more vital, more domestic, and more countrified. In any study of Jones a comparison with Wren is almost inevitable; they represent the two sides of the classic medal, and any English building of the conscious and considered kind must have some reference, however indirect, to the works of one or other of these great prototypes.”

The English tradition in architecture was “vital, domestic, and countrified”, and Wren restored those characteristics. The domestic and civic architecture of the late seventeenth century was comparable in character with the native English style that was submerged over a hundred years earlier. The house of moderate size rather than the town mansion or the country villa records this revival of national architecture, so different from its Continental counterpart, where, as Steen Eiler Rasmussen has said, “architects worked with the house as a ponderous accumulation of heavy stones. Even when the building was comparatively slender they tried to give the spectator a certain impression of heaviness. The base had to be especially heavy and large: rough square stones akin to the sluggish soil out of which the buildings grew. Higher up the house became less bulky, seeming to pretend that the lower, rustic part enveloped the fine body of a building, which grew up with its smooth fronts between pilasters crowned at the top by a cornice which was not heavy in the least, developing into the most delicate plant ornaments. The buildings might be

simpler, but the artistic means was always the same, namely the relation between the 'weight' of the different parts. English domestic architecture was not based on these ideas at all. The house did not pretend to be especially heavy below and light at the top, it was but a shell round the rooms. While the Continental architect considered it his task to make the fronts of the building as imaginative as possible the English endeavoured to let them express what had to be said in the simplest and most concise way."

This clarity of intention, characteristically English, was compatible with allegiance to the classic orders. Larger houses and public buildings record the well-marked phases of English architecture from 1660 to the early nineteenth century: Baroque, Palladian, and Neo-Classic, the last beginning with the work of the brothers Adam and their contemporaries, and ending with the Greek Revival.

English baroque as a style depended on composition in depth, on the skilful organisation of mass, and its exponents, though honouring the orders, were liberated from that exacting pre-occupation with the disposition of classical elements, inherent in the work of Inigo Jones and Wren. Architects began to design with a new amplitude of vision, almost as though they had just realised the extent of their freedom to work in three dimensions; discovering a lost world of light and shade, known to the mediaeval cathedral builders and the Greeks of classical antiquity, but temporarily forgotten in an age when the harmonious adjustment of horizontal and vertical rhythms and the surface variations of a façade demanded conscientious scholarship. There was an impetuous vitality about baroque, and the style developed and became affluently mature between the end of the seventeenth century and the death, in 1726, of Sir John Vanbrugh. In the hands of Vanbrugh, Hawksmore, and, to a lesser extent, Archer, English baroque acquired a florid emphasis; certainly "vital", but certainly not "domestic" or "countrified".

Sir John Vanbrugh, born in 1664, was, like Wren, an amateur. Before taking up architecture at the age of thirty-five, he had been a soldier, and, later, a successful playwright. He was of Flemish descent; his grandfather, Giles van Brugg, escaping from Catholic persecution in Ghent, had settled in England. Throughout his architectural career he was closely associated with Nicholas



Maids of Honour Row, Richmond Green, Surrey, built in 1724 to house the Maids of Honour attending the Princess of Wales. The storeys are marked horizontally by white string courses, and the top storey has a series of recessed brick panels, which continue the vertical lines of the windows above the cornice line. (See plate 21.) *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

Hawksmore, who had been Wren's assistant. A social gulf separated their lives: Vanbrugh was a modish man of the world, on easy terms with the Establishment: Hawksmore was a professional man, an official who remained all his life a back-room boy, despite his creative contributions to the work of his two masters. Vanbrugh designed in the grand manner, and his boldly original compositions were intensely individual. The lavish scale and opulent decoration of Castle Howard, Yorkshire, his first work, revealed his flair for magnificence. That great country house, built for the third Earl of Carlisle and begun in 1699, looked like a palace in a rural setting. The expansiveness of the design may be judged by the reproduction—much reduced in scale—of a bird's-eye view from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, on plate 37, and the felicitous handling of classic detail from the close-up of the entrance doorway with its Ionic columns and angular capitals, on the same plate. He composed his designs like a painter; his inspiration was not derivative; nothing comparable with his lusty genius was to be found in Europe or England, and he used the classic orders with an expansive confidence that some critics found overbearing. Blenheim

Palace, his greatest work, built for the first Duke of Marlborough, 1705-1720, was rather too ostentatious for English taste—worse, it was unpractical, as Pope maliciously observed in the last four lines of his verse on the great house:

“Thanks, sir, cried I, ’tis very fine,  
 But where d’ye sleep, or where d’ye dine?  
 I find, by all you have been telling,  
 That ’tis a house, but not a dwelling.”

Seaton Delaval, Northumberland, built for Admiral Francis Delaval, *circa* 1720-1728, was altogether more restrained, though as richly original in conception as his other houses. The main front, illustrated on plate 36, has an Ionic portico ascending through two storeys, and octagonal corner towers—an odd throw-back to the native style, contributing to the variety of features on the façade. Even a comparatively small house like Seaton Delaval had the “larger than life” air so often associated with Vanbrugh’s designs. His unconventional but adroit handling of masses and his ability to unify apparently conflicting elements irritated his contemporaries and also critics of later generations. Abel Evans condensed the current prejudices about his work when he wrote this mordant epitaph:

“Under this stone, Reader, survey,  
 Dead Sir John Vanbrugh’s house of clay.  
 Lie heavy on him, Earth! for he  
 Laid many heavy loads on thee!”

Half a century later Horace Walpole could assert that “Vanbrugh with his ponderous and unmeaning masses overwhelmed architecture in meer masonry”. A shallow judgement, indicative of Walpole’s fastidious regard for the excessive delicacy of prevailing fashions. Goose-pie House, which Vanbrugh built for himself in Whitehall in 1699-1700, was modest enough. (See page 159.) Another house, built at Greenwich for his own use in 1717, and known as Vanbrugh Castle, was an odd exercise in the style of a mediaeval fortress; but apart from the battlements on the square towers and an obvious desire to raise a frowning bulk, the design had no affinities with anything Gothic, and only succeeded in looking heartily comfortable, in a thick, cosy, almost Victorian way. (See



Early Georgian domestic architecture in Richmond, Surrey. Houses in Ormond Road, known formerly as Ormond Row. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

plate 36.) The design suggests a mood of romantic relaxation on the part of the architect, and Vanbrugh Castle was the forerunner of the sham castles that arose in so many parts of Georgian England, fulfilling Wotton's conditions of commodity and firmness, and, for patrons romantically inclined, delight.

Christian Barman in his monograph on Vanbrugh, quotes a letter the architect wrote from York to his friend Brigadier Watkin on August 26th, 1721, in which he said: "Here are several gentlemen in these parts of the world that are possess'd with the spirit of building." And on this Barman comments: "Does not that phrase aptly summarise the frame of mind in which Vanbrugh himself approached his art? Was there ever an architect who exhibited to

a greater degree, not the economy of perfect appropriateness, not the fascinating ease of mature scholarship, but—*the spirit of building?*”

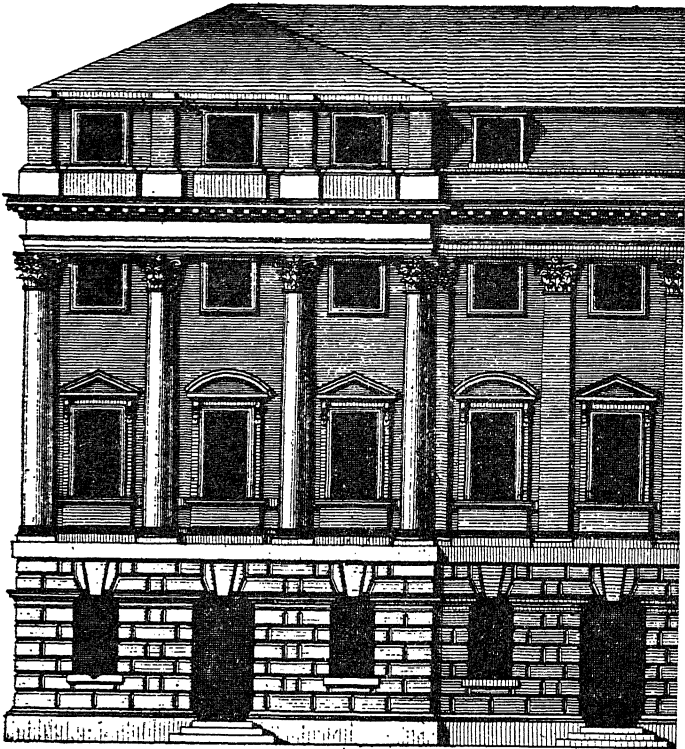
“The spirit of building” pervaded the opening decades of the eighteenth century. Vanbrugh and Hawksmore were uninfluenced by Continental baroque, unlike Archer, who used forms derived from the work of Italian architects, particularly Francesco Borromini. Buildings by Nicholas Hawksmore (1661–1736) were as uncompromisingly English as those by Wren. He had entered Wren’s service when he was eighteen, and after three years became his trusted and responsible assistant. His association with Vanbrugh began early in the century; he was employed as his assistant both at Castle Howard and Blenheim, and in 1707 started in practice on his own account. He built several London churches, including St. Mary Woolnoth; St. Anne, Limehouse; Christchurch, Spitalfields; St. George, Wapping; St. George, Bloomsbury; and he completed the Gothic steeple of St. Michael, Cornhill, begun by Wren. St. George, Bloomsbury, has one of the finest Corinthian porticoes in London; rivalled, though not surpassed, by that of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, which Gibbs designed. Hawksmore’s buildings, particularly his churches, were relieved from any suggestion of heaviness by skilfully disposed horizontal elements, arched heads for windows, an imaginative use of pilasters, and mouldings that gave an artful play of light and shade. Like Vanbrugh, he was the last of the great independent nationalists in design. Thomas Archer (1668–1743), whose gifts were interpretative, used all the first-hand knowledge he had acquired of Roman baroque during the four years he spent abroad after leaving Oxford. The results are apparent in his work. He designed the north front of Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, for the Duke of Devonshire; Roehampton House, Wandsworth, Surrey; and a peculiar and not very creditable design is attributed to him, Monmouth House, built on the south side of Soho Square about 1710, for the Duchess of Monmouth. The huge, broken pediment, gaping wide to accommodate the small, ill-proportioned pediment, pierced by a semicircular eye, that surmounts the central feature above the arched heads of the third-storey windows, and the clumsy decorative devices on that storey above the entablature, are uncharacteristic of contemporary English baroque. The

house was demolished in 1773, and its appearance was recorded in Smith's *Antiquities of London*. (See page 165.) Archer's churches included St. Philip, at Birmingham, now the Cathedral; St. Paul, Deptford; and St. John, Smith Square, Westminster.

Some of the characteristics of English baroque persisted in the work of James Gibbs (1682-1754) and William Kent (1685-1748); both had studied in Italy, but they practised in the early Georgian period when architects and their patrons were being re-educated in classical taste, and Kent was the protégé of the nobleman who encouraged the Palladian movement, Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington (1694-1753). Horace Walpole began his selective and partial account of architects in the reign of George II, by saying: "It was in this reign that architecture resumed all her rights. Noble publications of Palladio, Jones, and the antique, recalled her to true principles and correct taste; she found men of genius to execute her rules, and patrons to countenance their labours. She found more, and what Rome could not



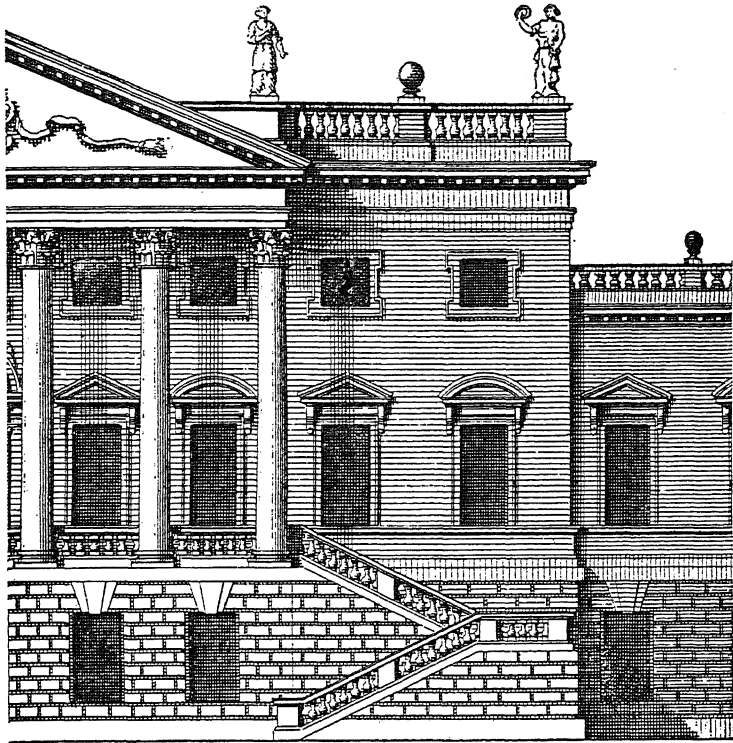
Early Georgian houses at the south-west corner of Richmond Green, Surrey. Drawn by A. S. Cook.



Part of the elevation of the building occupying the north side of Queen Square, Bath, shown on plate 43. Designed by John Wood, senior, in 1728 and built 1729-1736. Reproduced from an engraved plate in Wood's own book, entitled *An Essay Towards a Description of Bath* (Second edition, 1749), Volume II.

boast, men of the first rank who contributed to embellish their country by buildings of their own design in the purest style of antique composition. Before the glorious close of a reign that carried our arms and victories beyond where Roman eagles ever flew, ardour for the arts had led our travellers to explore whatever beauties of Grecian or Latin taste still subsisted in provinces once subjected to Rome; and the fine editions in consequence of those researches have established the throne of architecture in Britain, while itself languishes at Rome, wantons in tawdry imitations of the French in other parts of Europe, and struggles in vain at Paris



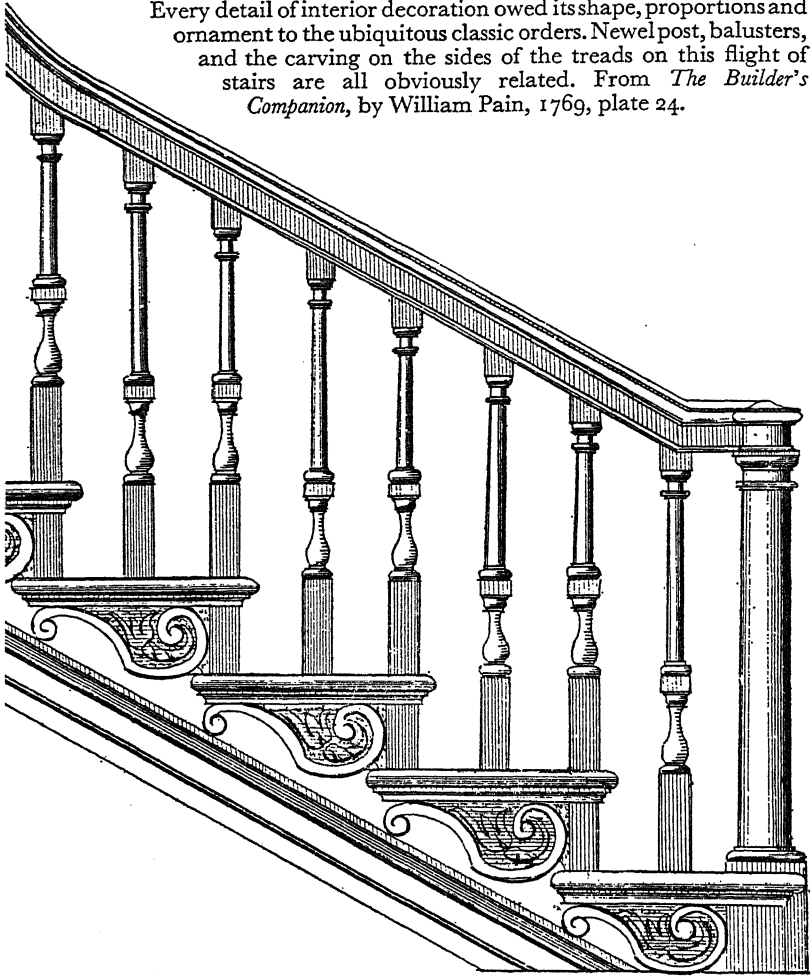


Part of the elevation of the west front of Wanstead House, Essex, designed by Colen Campbell. Reproduced from *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume III, plate 40. The treatment of the windows in the façade is almost identical with Wood's design shown opposite and on plate 43. (See also Isaac Ware's designs for windows on page 193.)

to surmount their prepossession in favour of their own errors—for fickle as we call that nation, their music and architecture prove how long their ears and eyes can be constant to discord and disproportion.”

Horace Walpole, honestly proud of his country's achievements like most educated men in the Georgian age, had every reason for comparing English architecture favourably with contemporary work in Italy and France. Those strictures appear in the fourth and last volume of *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, which was not published till 1780, though it had been printed nine years earlier

Every detail of interior decoration owed its shape, proportions and ornament to the ubiquitous classic orders. Newel post, balusters, and the carving on the sides of the treads on this flight of stairs are all obviously related. From *The Builder's Companion*, by William Pain, 1769, plate 24.

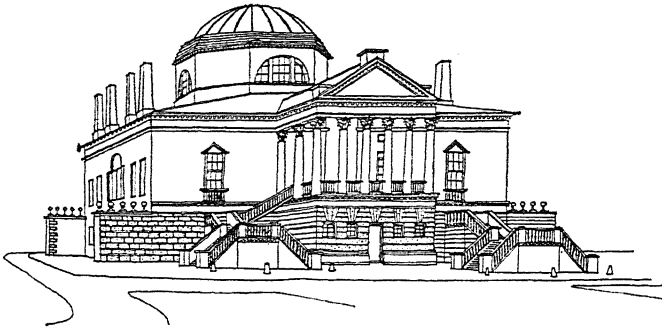


and written some time before that. The delay in publication was occasioned, Walpole said, "from motives of tenderness. The author, who could not resolve, like most biographers, to dispense universal panegyric, especially to many incompetent artists, was still unwilling to utter even gentle censures, which might wound the affections, or offend the prejudices of those related to the persons whom truth forbade him to commend beyond their

merits." But he was not as gentle as Wotton, and the architectural shortcomings of Italy and France were not "civilly spared". He wrote at a time when the brilliancy of the Italian renaissance was tarnished, and French taste was involved with the breathless complexities of the rococo style. In the Advertisement to that last volume he said: "To architecture, taste and vigour were given by Lord Burlington and Kent—they have successors worthy of the tone they gave. . . ." They had undoubtedly. The Georgian period is celebrated not only for the work of many architects of genius, but for the general standard of excellence in the design of buildings and in all the crafts—cabinet-making, the work of goldsmiths and silversmiths, pottery and glass manufacture—and the inspired common sense which pervaded common art, and was universally honoured. In his verses to Burlington, Pope had written:

"Something there is more needful than expense,  
And something previous even to taste—'tis sense:  
Good sense, which only is the gift of Heaven,  
And, though no science, fairly worth the seven. . . ."

Critical interest in good design was lively, consistent, and well informed. In that age people knew what they were talking about; words were used to convey meaning, not to obscure it; technical jargon had not been invented; and men of breeding and wealth were not apologetic about their advantages but enjoyed them with relish, and building was one of their most productive forms of enjoyment. Dull and clumsy buildings were put up now and then, such as the Mansion House in London, which anticipated the banalities of late Victorian classic. The architect, George Dance senior, was Clerk of the City Works, an office that gave him a virtual monopoly of civic building in the capital. A contemporary view of the Mansion House is shown on page 191: the top-heavy front attic was removed in 1842. Generally, the discipline of the orders corrected the aberrations of mediocre talent; they were no substitute for imagination, but architects, builders, and patrons, felt at their ease with them: Wotton had given them a human likeness, implanting a habit of mind which persisted. "Architecture, indeed, has in a manner two sexes," wrote Walpole; "its masculine dignity can only exert its muscles in public works and



Lord Burlington's ornamental villa at Chiswick, a superficial imitation of Palladio's Rotunda, built in 1725, which Horace Walpole described as "a model of taste, though not without faults, some of which are occasioned by too strict adherence to rules and symmetry". *Drawn by David Owen.*

at public expense; its softer beauties come better within the compass of private residence and enjoyment." And Gibbon could observe with bland confidence, that "The practice of architecture is directed by a few general and even mechanical rules." Lord Chesterfield compared his son's "awkward, ungraceful, ill-bred . . . vulgar air and manners" with the Tuscan order, "the strongest and most solid of all the orders; but, at the same time, it is the coarsest and clumsiest of them. Its solidity does extremely well for the foundation and base-floor of a great edifice; but, if the whole building be Tuscan, it will attract no eyes, it will stop no passengers, it will invite no interior examination; people will take it for granted, that the finishing and furnishing cannot be worth seeing, where the front is so unadorned and clumsy. But if upon the solid Tuscan foundation, the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian orders rise gradually with all their beauty, proportions, and ornament, the fabric seizes the most incurious eye, and stops the most careless passenger, who solicits admission as a favour, nay, often purchases. Just so will it fare with your little fabric, which at present, I fear, has more of the Tuscan than of the Corinthian order. You must absolutely change the whole front, or nobody will knock at the door. The several parts, which must compose this new front, are elegant, easy, natural, superior, good-breeding; an engaging address; genteel motions; an insinuating softness in your

looks, words, and actions; a spruce, lively air; fashionable dress; and all the glitter that a young fellow should have." (Letter CCII, November 1749.)

The "noble publications of Palladio, Jones, and the antique" established a new code of architectural manners, purifyingly beneficial to design, though also encouraging some dull-witted gentlemen to discover satisfaction in a Palladian veneer of stone on a square box of brick, varied to suit the needs and dimensions of a country seat or a town house. Patrons studied the new books with avidity. A translation of Palladio's *I quattro libri dell' Architettura* was issued in two folio volumes in 1715, with plates re-drawn by Giacomo Leoni, an architect who enjoyed Lord Burlington's patronage. Fifteen years later, Burlington published his own book of fine engravings made from Palladio's drawings, which caused Pope to express concern.

"You show us Rome was glorious, not profuse,  
And pompous buildings once were things of use,  
Yet shall (my lord) your just, your noble rules  
Fill half the land with imitating fools;  
Who random drawings from your sheets shall take,  
And of one beauty many blunders make. . . ."

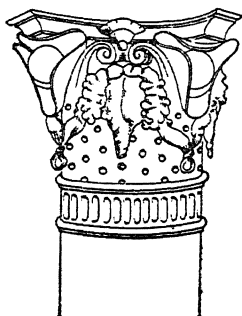
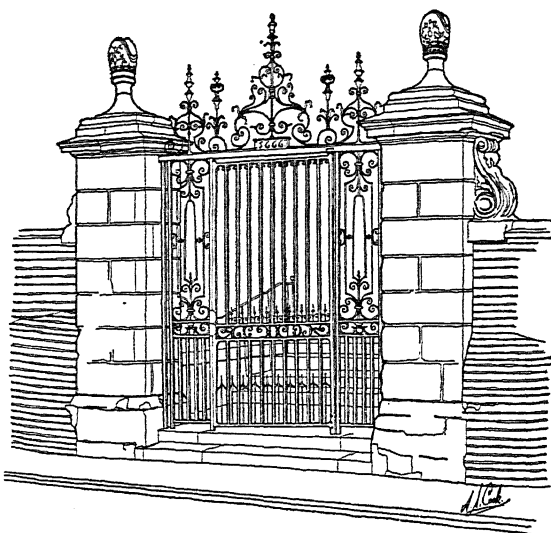
But the "imitating fools" had plenty of practical guidance from the works on architecture and the copy-books that came from the press in increasing numbers. Gibbs issued his *Book of Architecture* in 1727; Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* was published in 1735 and many times reprinted. In the preface, Ware had deprecated love of magnificence. "Architecture", he wrote, "has been celebrated as a noble science by many who have never regarded its benefits in common life: we have endeavoured to join these several parts of the subject, nor shall we fear to say that the art of building cannot be more grand than it is useful; nor its dignity a greater praise than its convenience." This reaffirmation of a common-sense approach to design was salutary, moreover it was typically English. Robert Morris, whose *Essay in the Defence of Ancient Architecture* had appeared in 1728, wrote with passion about contemporary departures from antique precedents. "If the major part of our modern Builders were not irrecoverably lost to all Sense of Shame," he thundered, "abandon'd in the strictest Sense

to the common Law of Reason; nay, to all Motives to Virtue; they would without dispute be reclaim'd from their guideless, ungrounded, and thoughtless Fancies. Without doubt, if they had any Value even for themselves, and Sense of their own Weakness and Insufficiency (and how openly they expose their Follies to the Censure of the Learned and Judicious Imitators of Antiquity) they must certainly acknowledge, that the old Paths are the safest ways to tread in, the ancient Guides the most sure to follow; since so many noble and worthy Men, who penetrated into the Value and Beauty of Antiquity, have not disdain'd to be esteem'd as Admirers, Encouragers, and even Professors of it; contenting themselves, without airy Flights of Self-Opinion, to be led by the most ancient and safe Rules. . . ." Here, too, is the authentic voice of conservative England, clamouring for that fatal anodyne, "safety first". Fortunately for English architecture, nobody paid much attention, and he apparently assumed that his words would be ignored by those who preferred innovation to stagnation. "But alas!" he exclaimed, "what Power, what Force or Assistance can elude the Incursions, or withstand the Attempts of that never-failing fatal Law, the Law of Liberty? This is the Source and Foundation, the Spring which flows so plenteously with Novelty and Error: From this Stream, and this alone, arose the Floods of Follies we see every day unhappily flowing in upon us, and driving and bearing all the beautiful Ideas of Knowledge into the Gulph of Simplicity and Error."

This has quite a modern ring, recalling the pained criticism of the new Western architecture of our own century by ageing obscurantists. Morris thoroughly approved of Wren's innovations. He praised Bow Church in Cheapside in these lyrical words: "What a Sweetness is there in the whole Piece? How bold in the Performance? how easy and airy in the last Degree? Every articulate Member consentaneous to its Place and Design, every Vacuity adapted to the Force of the Solidity, every Part proportionate and necessary, useful and ornamental; there seems nothing wanting to make it perfect or compleat."

Despite the departures from antique purity deplored by Robert Morris, no architect was disloyal to the orders. Isaac Ware observed that "nothing can give so great an air of dignity and nobleness to a structure as their proper use. . . ." He sharply discouraged

The entrance gate to Bromley College, Kent, 1666. The use of mitres as finials to the gateposts shows how extraneous forms could be associated happily with the mouldings and characteristic ornament of the classic orders. Drawn by A. S. Cook.

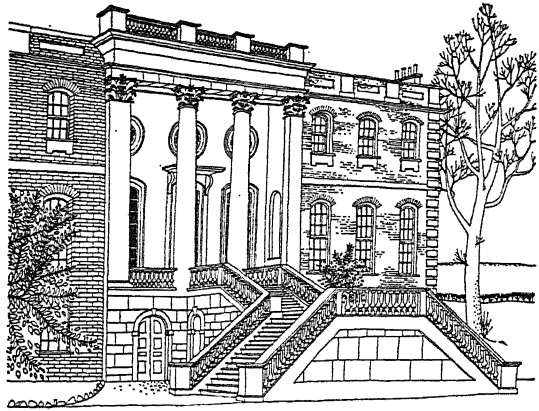


Left: A fanciful capital composed of wigs and hats, designed by Hogarth. Drawn by Marcelle Barton.

any monkeying about with their conventional ornamentation. "The *French*, by fixing cocks heads and flower de luces upon the *Corinthian* capital, have attempted a new order idly," he said—an attempt comparable with Hogarth's agreeable piece of fooling, when he devised a capital composed of periwigs and three-cornered hats. But extraneous forms could be happily associated with the mouldings and characteristic ornament of the orders, as exemplified by the use of bishops' mitres as finials on the gateposts of Bromley College, shown above with Hogarth's comic capital. The classic system of design was infinitely accommodating: Chinese and Indian motifs, and what passed for Gothic, could melt into congenial partnerships with any architectural composition, without distorting proportions or misusing materials.

Structures as different as Richmond Bridge, Surrey, designed by James Paine and opened in 1777, and the first cast-iron bridge in the world, which spanned the Severn between Madeley and Broseley in Shropshire, designed by Thomas Farnolls Pritchard and erected in 1777-1779, were equally elegant versions of the

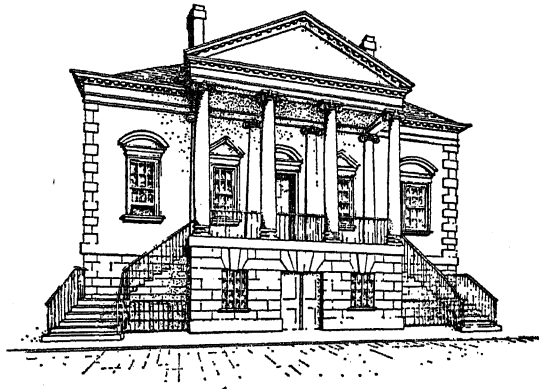
Sudbrooke Lodge at Petersham, near Richmond, Surrey, built by James Gibbs for the second Duke of Argyll, 1726-1728. Drawn by David Owen.



classic idiom. (See pages 197 and 212.) Cast iron was then a new and promising material, excitingly versatile, and as stimulating to ideas in the eighteenth century as concrete is in the twentieth. In that bridge over the Severn its properties were gracefully employed; but within a few years it was being used to imitate stonework. (Nash's colonnades in Regent Street had one-hundred-and-forty-five cast iron Doric columns, with granite plinths.)

The power and the glory of the orders were unassailable. Conceptions of their use might change: they could confer a super-Roman character on an entire city, as at Bath, where John Wood (1704-1754) undertook a vast rebuilding plan for the Duke of

The Customs House at St. George's Quay, Lancaster, designed by Richard Gillow, the architect son of Robert Gillow, founder of the Lancaster firm of furniture-makers. Built 1764. Drawn by Marcelle Barton.





Chandos, and with his son who succeeded him designed those august examples of Georgian architecture, Queen Square, the Circus, and the Royal Crescent. (See plate 43 and page 178.) The fashionable architects with prosperous practices had no monopoly of talent. Two small civic buildings, eighty-one years apart in time, illustrate the fecundity of local designers: the Customs House, formerly the Exchange, at King's Lynn, Norfolk, built by Henry Bell in 1683; and the Customs House at St. George's Quay, Lancaster, built in 1764 by Richard Gillow, the architect son of Robert Gillow who founded the Lancashire firm of cabinet-makers. These examples, illustrated on pages 154 and 186, both show a correct use of the orders, but in Bell's design, the superimposed pilasters, Tuscan on the ground floor, Ionic on the first, the entablatures they support, and the balustrade above the attic storey, are ornamental adjuncts; the composition does not arise from their character; they do not determine though they accentuate the proportions of the building. Some traces of Dutch influence are discernible, naturally enough, for King's Lynn traded with Holland, and Norfolk had close contact with that country earlier in the seventeenth century when the Fens were drained under the direction of the Dutch engineer, Cornelius Vermuyden. Gillow's building is wholly classic. The four Ionic columns, fifteen feet high and formed from single stones, have angular capitals, and such details as the window architraves and pediments may well have been taken from *A Complete Body of Architecture*. (Some of Ware's suggestions for such features are reproduced on page 193.)

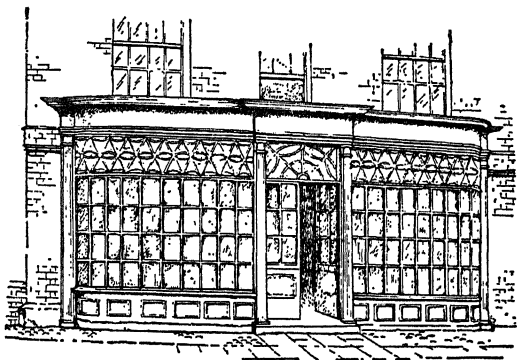
Small and large buildings exhibited their classic graces throughout the country, and in the American Colonies, too, for the copy-books went overseas, and regional variations of Georgian architecture adorned the cities and countryside of the thirteen colonies, which later became the United States. In New England, in Pennsylvania, Virginia and other states on the eastern seaboard, churches that recall the work of Hawksmore and Gibbs were constructed of wood, painted white, and periodically rebuilt. Public buildings, like Independence Hall, Philadelphia, enjoy the urbane distinction conferred by a competent and imaginative use of classic proportions, and have something, too, of the warm, assuringly comfortable air of the English tradition. (After all, they were built by Englishmen for Englishmen who happened to have

their homes and businesses in English colonies, and who described themselves as loyal subjects of the Crown—a valid description before 1776.) Independence Hall, Philadelphia, designed by the Speaker of the Assembly, Andrew Hamilton (1676–1741), was completed twenty years after the foundations were laid in 1731. (See plates 39 and 41.) The Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, Virginia, built in 1705, was the prototype of many large country houses, erected by wealthy tobacco planters during the Colonial period: it was rebuilt in 1932. (See plate 40.)

In England the views of architects about the employment of the orders changed from decade to decade: the alert interest and spirited criticism stimulated by architecture as a subject encouraged their ingenuity: otherwise Palladianism might have paralysed imagination, becoming symbolic of good form and little else. Sir William Chambers and Robert and James Adam were contemporaries; but there is a world of difference between the virile masculinity of Chambers's compositions and the refinements of the "good Roman manner" introduced by the brothers Adam. Compare the river front of the Adelphi with that of Somerset House: they are shown opposite each other on pages 200 and 201. In the view of the Adelphi the work is still incomplete, with all the raffle of builder's odds and ends and appliances in the foreground and some of the arches boarded up; the broad cobbled embankment between the arches and the river had not been made; and in the caption of the engraving, which was published in 1771 the site was still called "late Durham Yard". The scheme looked unprepossessing, as incomplete schemes generally do, and the

Shop fronts, even in small country towns, exhibited the architectural elegance of the Georgian period. This example is in Bedford Street, Woburn, Bedfordshire.

*Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*



architects, who had used their own limited fortune to launch the project, ran into serious financial trouble, and only avoided bankruptcy by running a lottery for the houses: 4,370 tickets at £50 apiece, with 108 prizes. Light, gay, and elegant, the houses of the Adelphi standing on their brick catacombs, level with the Strand, were admired, criticised, and imitated. The contrast between the Adelphi and Chambers's eminently correct, dignified Somerset House is the contrast between gay invention and convention. In a vastly different manner, both exhibit accomplished handling of classic composition, and both are as English as the Thames. (The Adelphi was demolished in 1937.)

Periodically fresh encouragement was given to the study of classical remains: the rediscovery of the buried cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum reminded professional and amateur architects that a vast and largely unexplored treasury of antique buildings existed, available for record, perhaps for recovery by excavation, or ruinous and partly concealed by or incorporated with later buildings. In 1734 the Society of Dilettanti was formed by a group of educated gentlemen to promote the study of Greek and Roman remains in the more inaccessible of the ancient Roman provinces, which were under Turkish rule, and dangerously unsuitable for travellers. Robert Adam lived in Italy from 1754 to 1757, making during that time an intensive study of Roman monumental planning, and crossing the Adriatic to Spalatro in the old Roman province of Illyricum (now called Split in Yugoslavia), where he explored and measured the ruins of Diocletian's palace. In 1764 he published the *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*: thus supplying a fresh source of authentic information for practitioners of the "good Roman manner". Two years earlier the first volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* had been issued. This work, four volumes in all, sponsored financially by the Society of Dilettanti, was by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who described themselves as painters and architects. They embarked for Greece from Italy in 1751, spending five years in making measured drawings of a great number of ruins, and the beautifully engraved plates of those volumes attest their diligence and unflinching patience, for they worked under great difficulties in a land misruled by a corrupt, barbaric Oriental government. The dangers of such expeditions never deterred Englishmen who were dedicated to the study

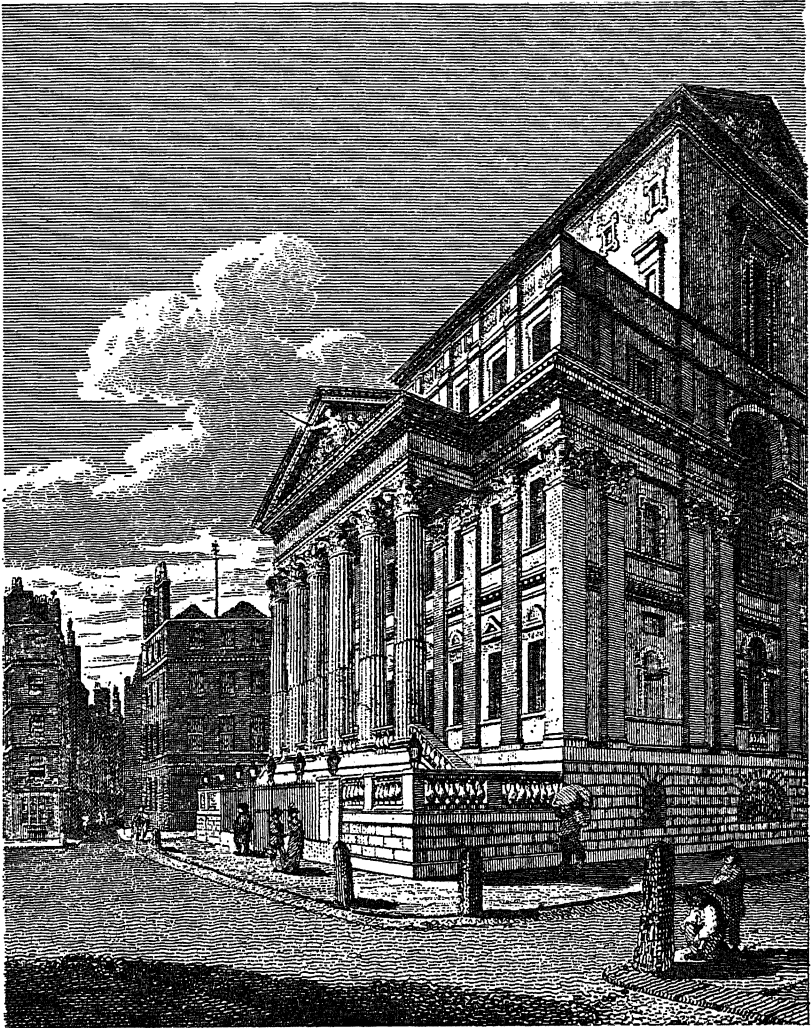
of the despoiled and neglected remnants of the Graeco-Roman civilisation, and their enterprise and persistence produced finely illustrated books which reinforced the authority of the classic system of design. *The Ruins of Palmyra* and *The Ruins of Balbec* were two such works, issued in 1753 and 1757, following surveys made in Syria by Robert Wood, John Bouverie and James Dawkins; three years of work, undertaken by adventurous gentlemen who were not architects, but desired to increase existing knowledge of antiquity. They were accompanied by an Italian draughtsman

The Parsonage at Woburn, Bedfordshire, built about 1765, and attributed by some authorities to Sir William Chambers. Drawn by Marcelle Barton.



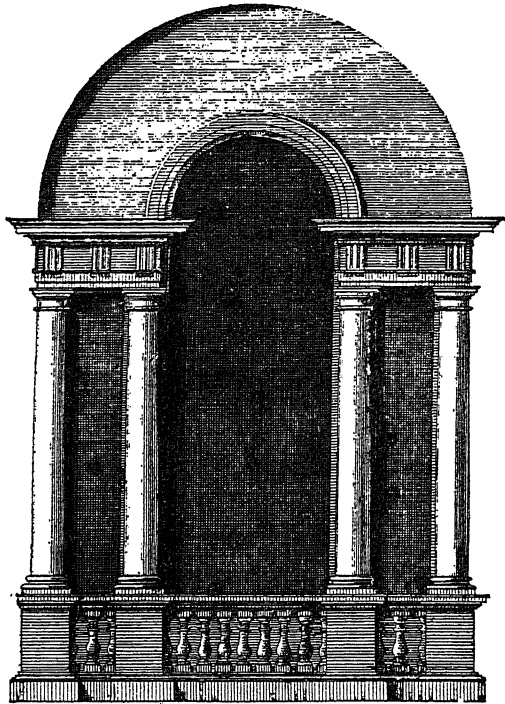
named Borra. (Bouverie did not survive the journey.) But the most potent of these publications was *The Antiquities of Athens*, and the appearance of the first volume in 1762 was perhaps the starting-point of the Greek Revival, which affected architectural taste in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, particularly in the United States, where an Hellenic style developed in New England and the South, dignifying state buildings with Ionian porticoes and houses with Doric temple façades.

The Greek revival justified the remarks made long before by Robert Morris, for in his *Defence of Ancient Architecture* he had said: "The three *Greek* Orders are of themselves sufficient to raise the greatest, noblest, and most magnificent Structure that Mankind can possibly invent, without the least Assistance of the *Latin* or *Roman*; which are borrow'd from the Excellencies contain'd in the former, and when compar'd to the Antiquity of the other, but of modern Extraction." The Greek revival encouraged some architects to reassess their loyalties: a close study of the Greek orders revealed a serenity of form that the noblest and most imposing

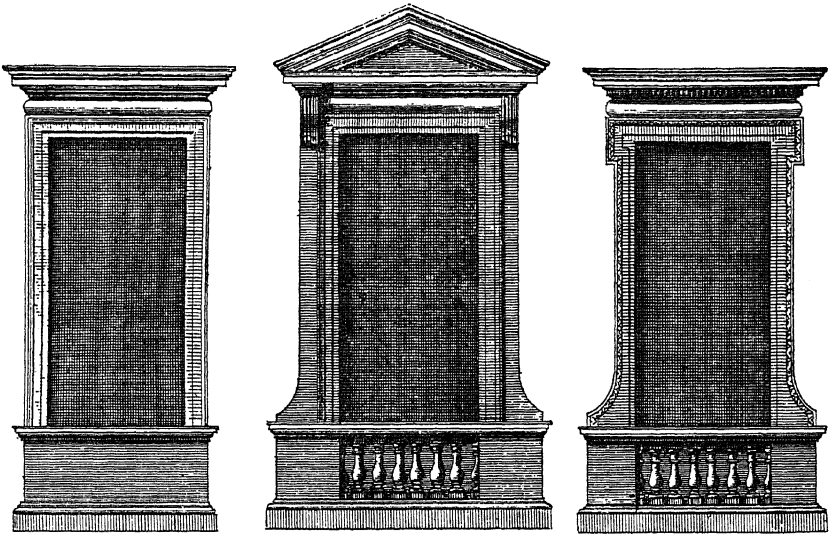
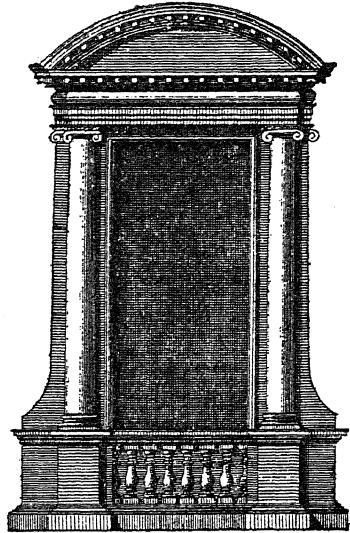
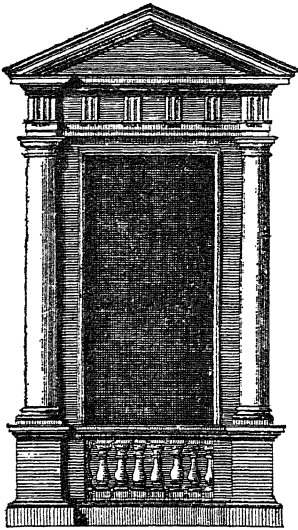


The Mansion House, London, by George Dance, the elder, built 1739-1753. The front attic was removed in 1842. Large, clumsy, and devoid of Georgian graciousness. Reproduced from *London and its Environs Described* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), Volume IV.

A Venetian window with semi-circular head, a balcony, and coupled columns, from Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture*. He described this type as "a kind calculated for shew, and very pompous in their nature; and, when executed with judgement, of extreme elegance". (See opposite page.)

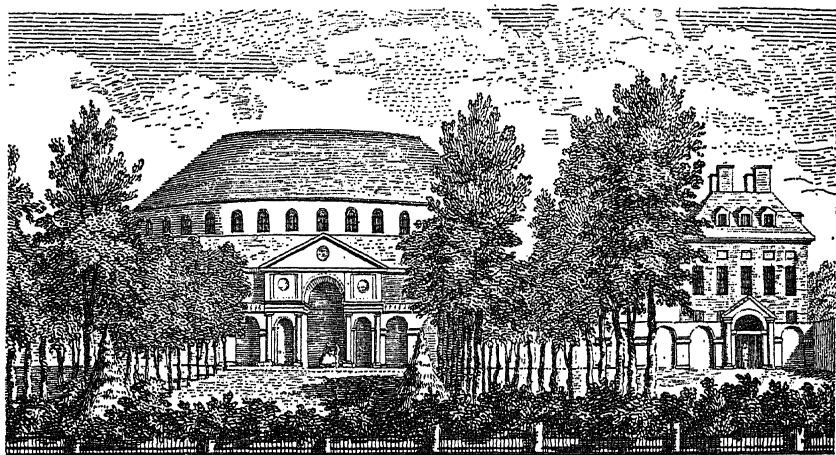


Roman examples never attained. That some deep, some fundamental difference existed between Greek and Roman architecture was an inescapable conclusion, but the subtle nature of that difference remained a mystery until the second half of the nineteenth century, when detailed measurements of the Parthenon, made by Francis Cranmer Penrose (1817-1903), disclosed that the Greek builders had, by elaborate calculation and with immense labour, corrected the defects of human vision, so a level surface was deliberately made unlevel in order to appear level, while every column, every part, every stone of the Doric temple was deflected from mechanical regularity so that ascending and lateral lines were adjusted to give visual perfection of a kind never before achieved and never approached since. The Greek Revival clarified and purified classical design concurrently with the disruptive and expanding influence of the romantic taste for Gothic.



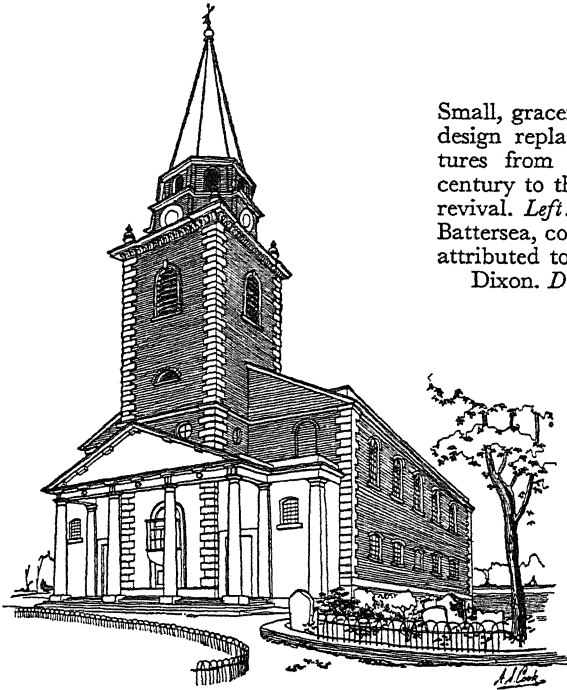
Designs for windows from *A Complete Body of Architecture*, by Isaac Ware, which came out in 1756. Of these, he wrote: "If the plain decoration of architrave, frieze and cornice, the addition of the pediment, or the ornaments of sculpture, do not give satisfaction, let no false, foolish and fantastic decorations be added, but at once admit an order." (See pages 183 and 187.)

The English renaissance passed through a tranquil phase during the first decades of the nineteenth century, when the "softer beauties" of architecture were apparent in the great residential developments of the Regency and the reign of George IV. A new look was given to building by the use of stucco in the prosperous localities, and a miserably bad look in poorer quarters, where cheap bricks, black mortar, and greed gave industrial cities acres of back-to-back houses that were slums from the moment their slate roofs were on. They did not remotely resemble cottages. "All degrees of nations begin with living in pigstyes," wrote Sydney Smith. "The king or the priest first gets out of them; then the noble, then the pauper, in proportion as each class becomes more opulent. Better tastes arise from better circumstances; and the luxury of one period is the wretchedness and poverty of another." This is the social and economic background of all architecture, and only some disaster like a barbarian conquest reverses such progress. In many ways the industrial revolution was comparable with a new barbarian conquest. The speculative builders who ran up those rows and rows of slums for factory workers had no standards



A Georgian pleasure building: the Rotunda at Ranelagh Gardens. The Gardens were contiguous with those of the Royal Hospital (see plate 35), downstream on the right. From *London and its Environs Described* (1766), Volume V.





Small, graceful churches of classic design replaced mediaeval structures from the mid-seventeenth century to the days of the Gothic revival. *Left:* St. Mary's Church, Battersea, completed in 1777, and attributed to the architect Joseph Dixon. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

of construction or design: anything that would stand up was good enough. The results were barbaric without the honest savagery and crude splendour of barbarism: an architecture of misery, conceived in the counting house, and inflicting on thousands of people something new in English experience: a hideous environment. Even in Hogarth's "Gin Lane" and "Beer Street" the ruinous and dilapidated buildings are neither ugly nor monotonous: only the people portrayed in those moral pictures are repellent.

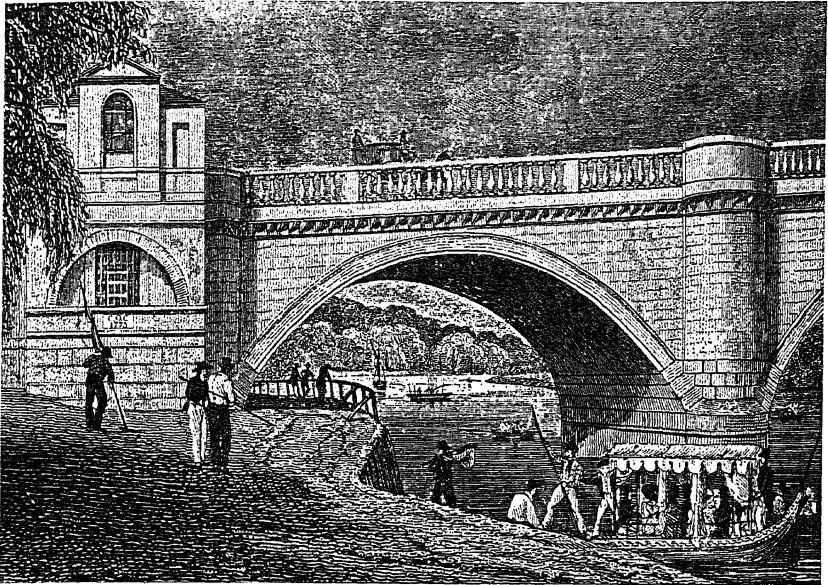
The country worker in his cottage was far better off, though by modern standards that cottage might seem cramped, insanitary and innocent of any labour-saving devices; but it was well built of local stone or brick, and in some of the eastern and southern counties, was timber-framed with walls of weather-boarding, like the standardised timber-built houses of North America, with tiles, stone slates or thatch for roofing. The casement window was

still used in many districts. Some of the characteristics of the pre-renaissance native style survived in cottages; and when the romantic movement and the taste for mediaeval remains acquired momentum during the eighteenth century, cottages were acclaimed as picturesque and essential features of the rustic scene. Not so long before the growth of such tender regard for humble dwellings, they had been ignored or thought of as a blot on the landscape, and occasionally demolished to allow unimpeded views from the windows and lawns of some country seat. Their design, construction and external appearance were presently imitated by architects who catered for the taste of people who wanted to live on a modest scale in rural or semi-rural surroundings.

In town and country the English tradition lived on, with a delicate variety of form, through the last period of classic design. Two great names are associated with that period: Nash and Soane. Of the two, John Nash (1752-1835) did more to change the face of contemporary architecture, partly by demonstrating on a large scale that great civic achievement of the Renaissance, the unity of the street, and partly by his use of stucco. Squares and crescents and terraces of tall houses with bow windows and verandahs reflected light from brightly painted surfaces of smooth stucco, which made every locality seem brighter even on a dull day. Nash gave London what was at the time the finest shopping street in the world, Regent Street, with its quadrant and colonnades (which were removed in 1848), also the terraces of Regent's Park; while elegant, pale-hued stucco houses lined the streets of Brighton and Hove, Tenby, Leamington and Cheltenham, and other watering-places and fashionable spas. Many critics compared those refreshingly bright stucco houses unfavourably with the more obvious solidity of brick. During 1826 the *Quarterly Review* printed this attack on Nash:

"Augustus at Rome was for building renown'd,  
And of marble he left what of brick he had found;  
But is not our Nash, too, a very great master?  
He finds us all brick and he leaves us all plaster."

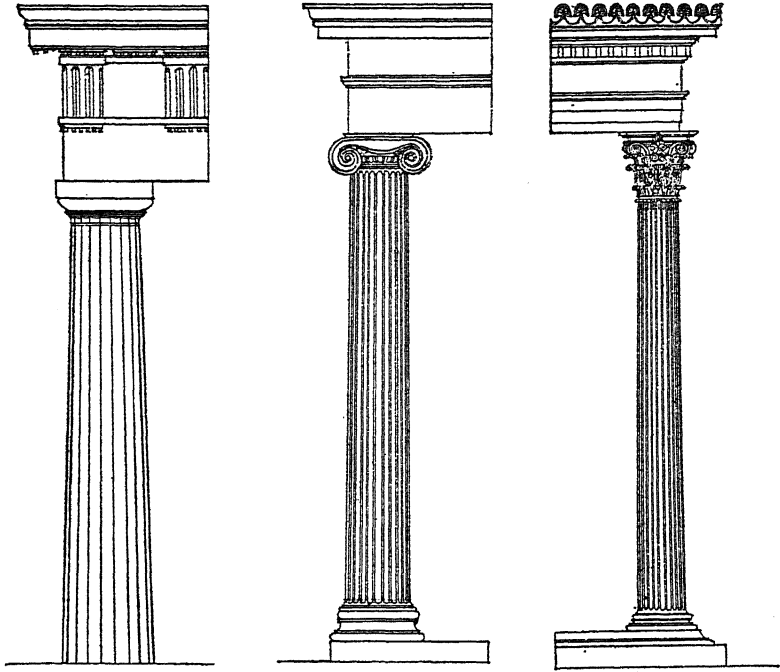
Sir John Summerson, quoting this verse in his biography of Nash, suggests that "this was evidently not its first appearance in



Richmond Bridge, Surrey, designed by James Paine and opened in 1777. The toll houses on the Surrey side are examples of the lightness and elegance that distinguished even the smallest structures in the Georgian period. From *Views of Richmond and its Vicinity*, engraved by W. B. Cooke (London: 1837).

print". The smooth painted surfaces, the replacement of cornices by plain bands of slight projection, and a restrained use of ornament, gave those rows of stucco houses an air of great simplicity, once again comfortably English in character. The glazing bars of sash windows had now reached the final stage of attenuation: knife-like in section, with the blade facing inwards, they became the thinnest of dividing lines. In bow windows the panes were curved to correspond with the curve of the frame, and that glazed door, known as the french window, was introduced.

Apart from fantasies like the Pavilion at Brighton, Nash was faithful to the classic system; his buildings, always well mannered, escaped those excesses of dignity that lower the vitality of design. "All establishments die of dignity," said Sydney Smith; and the classic system, established, honoured, and understood everywhere, could and did pass through static periods, when the breath of life



### THE GREEK ORDERS

*Left:* Doric, from the Parthenon. *Centre:* Ionic, from the Temple on the Ilissus.  
*Right:* Corinthian, from the Monument of Lysicrates. *After Rickman.*

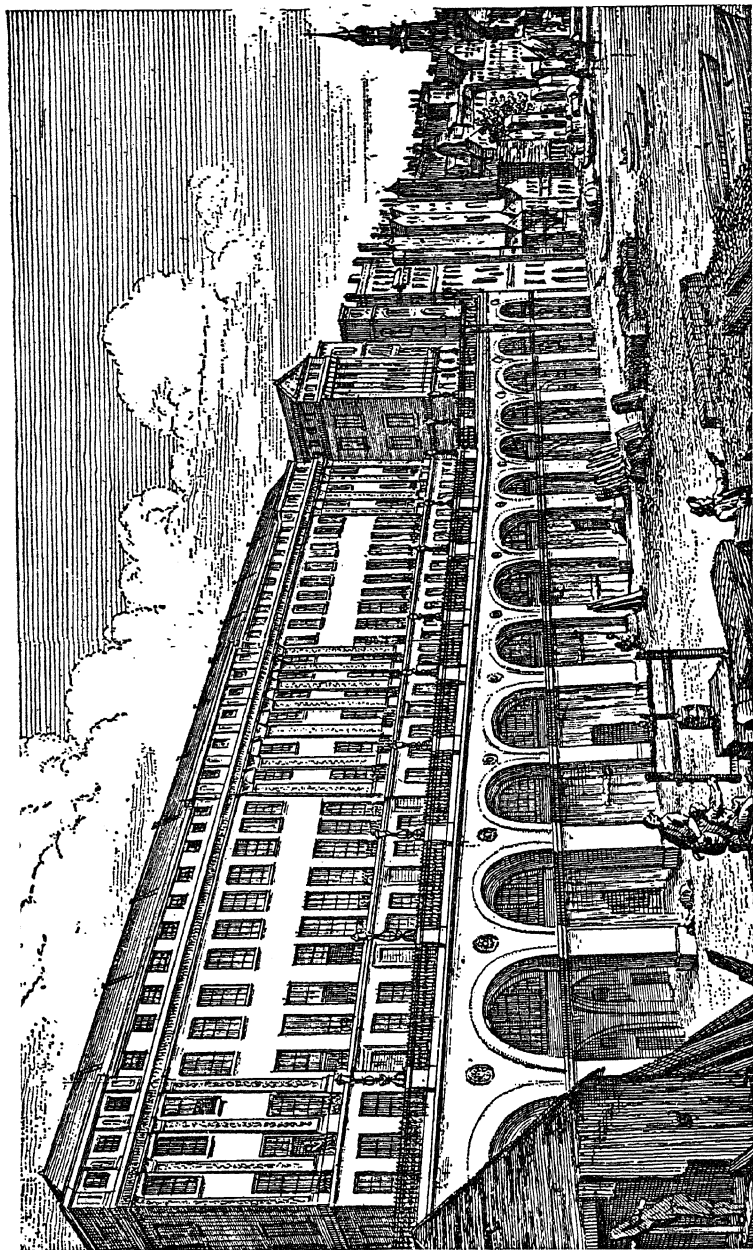
almost departed. Palladianism could have killed it by providing an alibi for the unimaginative; but there were too many gifted architects working in the Georgian period for that to happen.

Sir John Soane (1753-1837) was one of the great individualists, like Vanbrugh; wary of current trends of fashion, able to resist the allurements of the Greek Revival or the romance of Gothic, and renewing in his own intensely personal work the copious freedoms latent in the classic system—freedoms often repressed in the interests of an illusory academic perfection. In the hands of a lesser man his innovations might have become outrageous; but his gift for using well-tried, familiar themes with an unconventional disrespect for precedent enabled him to invent his own style. In decoration, he abandoned the classical column and entablature and

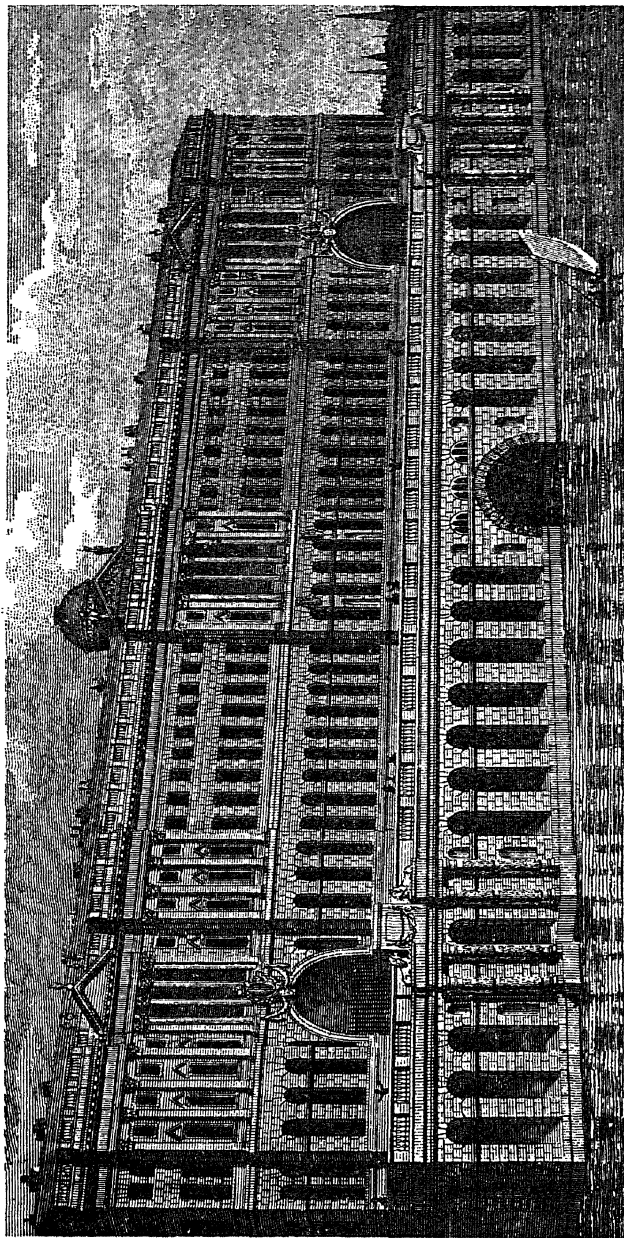
the mouldings associated with the orders, replacing them by linear ornament and antique motifs like the Greek fret used on the exterior of his own house at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, shown on page 206. His rejection of the orders for interior use led him to abolish all projections from walls, such as cornices and pilasters, leaving the surfaces clear for delicate lines of incised ornament. His use of shallow domes and segmental arches gave a smooth spaciousness to his well-proportioned interiors, such as those at the Bank of England, which he rebuilt 1788-1833. Externally he employed the orders; occasionally with an audacious ingenuity which outraged certain architectural theories, when, for example, he put single detached columns in front of a façade, with the entablature breaking forward, so the column, relieved of its



An almost fastidious elegance characterised the work of the brothers Adam. They used Greek and Roman ornament with a delicacy of touch which gave new graces to Georgian architecture, as exemplified by the Greek anthemion motif on the pilasters, frieze and balcony railings of No. 7 Adam Street, Adelphi, designed by Robert Adam, *circa* 1770.  
*Drawn by David Owen.*



The river front of the Adelphi, the large residential scheme designed and developed by the brothers Adam on the site of Durham House, 1768–1772. *From an engraving made in June 1771.*



The river front of Somerset House as it appeared before the Victoria Embankment was built. Designed by Sir William Chambers, and built 1776-1786, the wings were completed in 1835 and 1836. Compare this virile, masculine handling of a classic façade with the refinement of the Adelphi river frontage on the opposite page, and with No. 7 Adam Street on page 199.

structural function of supporting a lintel, merely supported the entablature with a statue above. This device appears in the Lothbury Courtyard of the Bank of England, again at Pitzhanger Place, Ealing. (See plate 43.) Soane was perhaps the last architect of the English renaissance, for whom the classic system was such a pliant servant.

Fashions in taste came and went; and until the end of the eighteenth century were properly regarded as ephemeral diversions, which assuaged an appetite for picturesque forms, and were



The Duke of Northumberland's boathouse on the Thames near Syon House, Middlesex. This small, graceful structure, often wrongly attributed to Robert Adam, was designed by James Wyatt, who had a comparable delicacy of touch when handling the classic idiom. From a drawing by J. D. Harding, engraved by W. B. Cooke, and included in Barbara Hofland's *Richmond and its Surrounding Scenery* (London: 1832).



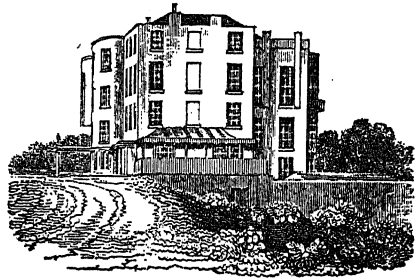


The use of shallow recesses to give variation to wall surfaces is illustrated by this gatekeeper's lodge, at the Richmond Hill Gate of Richmond Park, Surrey. This small building stands inside the gate, opposite Ancaster House. (See page 204.) It has been attributed to Lancelot "Capability" Brown, who may have designed it for George III. The enclosed porch is a later addition. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

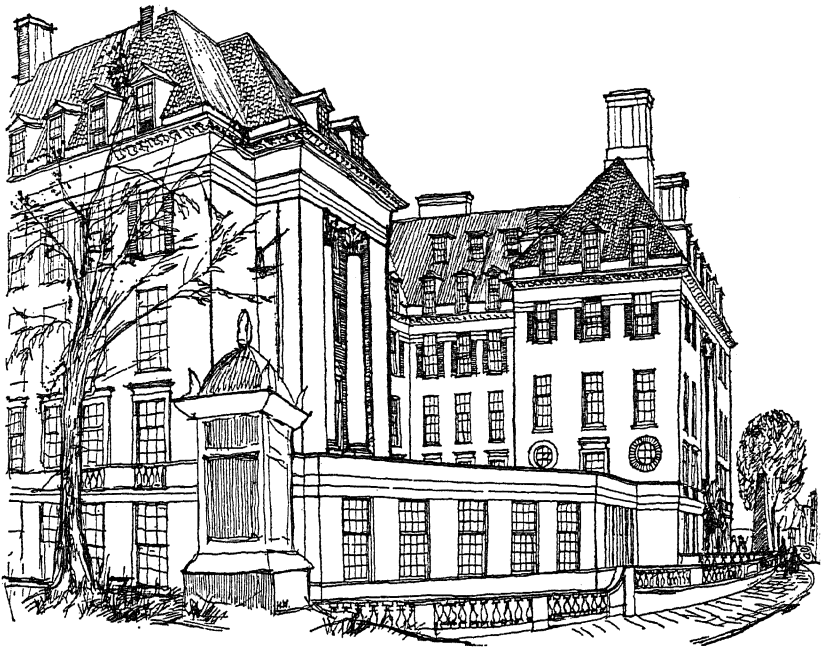
neatly fitted into the comprehensive system of architectural design. Buildings which had to serve entirely new needs, and accommodate the noisy mechanical life of industry, displayed the external urbanity of other Georgian structures, like the Albion Flour Mills designed by John Rennie in 1784 and built on the Thames near the south-east end of Blackfriars Bridge. (See page 213.) Only the houses of wealthy people were marked by the transitory whims of fashion, and then usually in some superficial manner. But there were exceptions, and by the second half of the eighteenth century the Gothic taste had acquired an air of permanence. Amateur architects like Sanderson Miller (1717-80) were prepared to Gothicize their own property and the houses of their friends; Horace Walpole had bought Strawberry Hill, and was enjoying rich satisfaction by "imprinting the gloomth of abbeys and cathedrals" on his "little plaything house"; while William Whitehead, writing in *The World*, denounced the whole trend in these words: "A multiplicity of minute ornaments; a



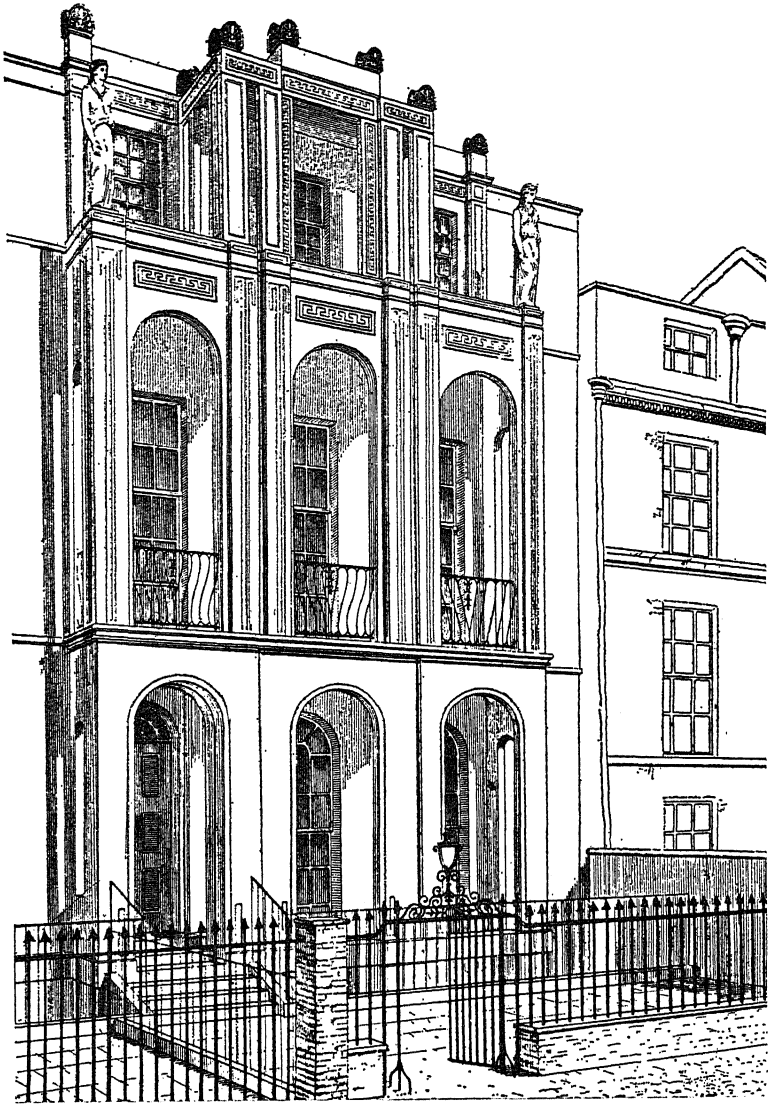
*Above:* The modest elegance of late Georgian architecture is exhibited by Ancaster House, built in yellow brick at the corner of Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey, and the Hill Gate of the Park. *Drawn by Hilton Wright.* Erected in 1772, for Peregrine, third Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven (1714-1778), Lord Great Chamberlain of England. *Below:* Opposite Ancaster House was a large tavern and hotel, "the Star and Garter, more like the mansion of a nobleman than a receptacle for the public", as Dr. John Evans said in *Richmond and its Vicinity* (Richmond: second edition, 1825, page 74). The illustration is reproduced from Kidd's *Picturesque Pocket Companion to Richmond and its Vicinity* (London: 1833, page 99). This building was dwarfed and almost obliterated in 1864 by a pseudo-French Renaissance design by E. M. Barry. After 1888, the original Georgian building had disappeared, and in 1924 Sir Edwin Cooper's gargantuan edifice was erected. (See opposite page.)



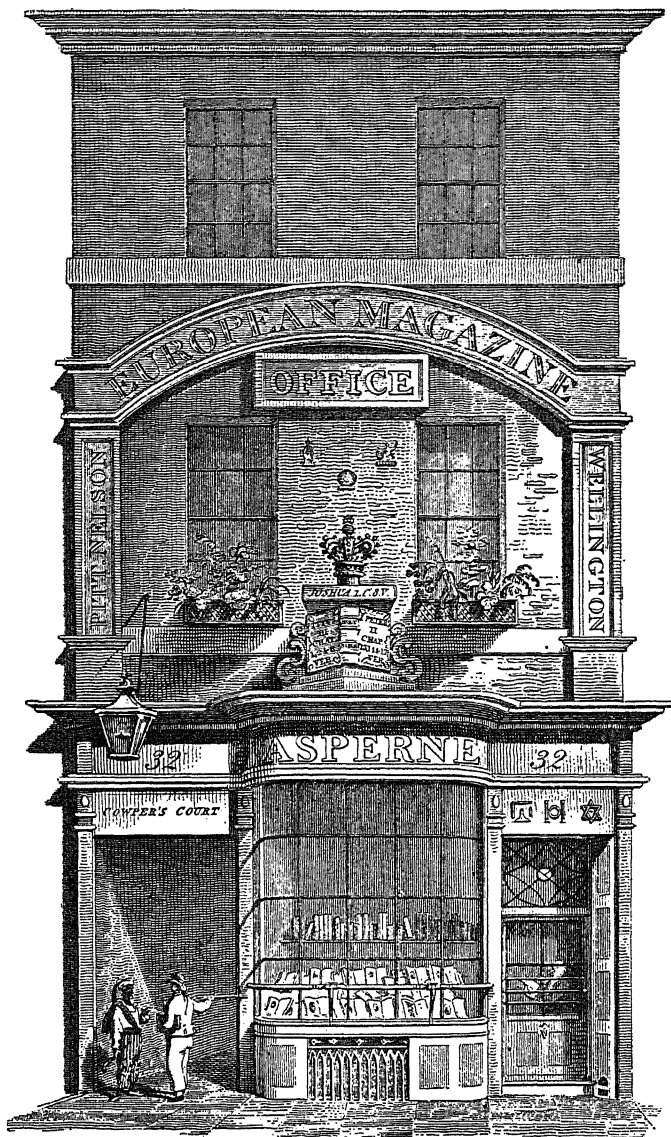
vast variety of angles and cavities; clusters of little columns, and a crowd of windows, are what distinguish MEANNESS OF MANNER in building from GREATNESS; that is, Gothic from the Grecian; in which every decoration arises from necessity and use, and every pillar has something to support." He added: "Nothing therefore offends me more than to behold the revival of this barbarous taste, in several villas, temples, and pleasure houses, that disgrace the neighbourhood of this metropolis. Nay, sometimes in the front of the same edifice to find a Grecian plan



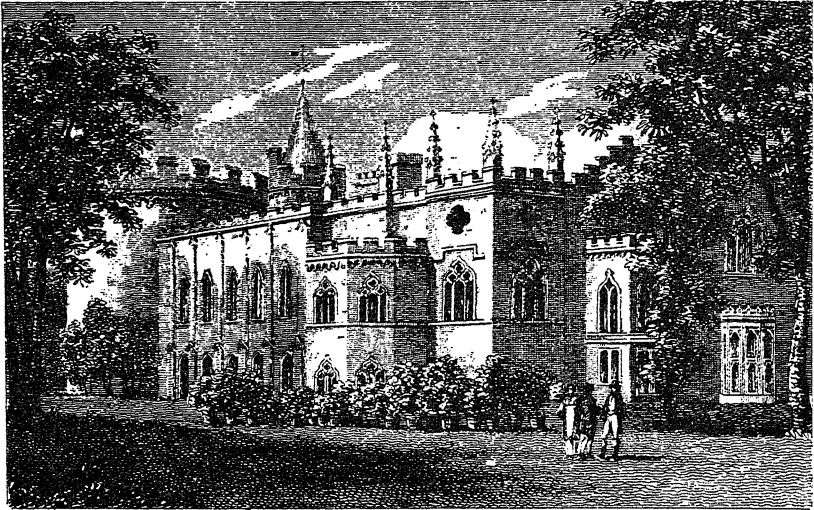
Gigantic Georgian. A Georgian revival of a minor kind took place after the 1914-1918 War, and what came to be called "Bankers' Classic" appeared in every city, bringing to many streets huge, intimidating buildings which finally completed the destruction of scale which had begun in the mid-nineteenth century. Many buildings were designed in the classic idiom, but the features of the Georgian façade were so enormously enlarged that the results looked like country houses for the inhabitants of Brobdingag. This use of the magnifying glass by architects produced such structures as the Star and Garter Home, on Richmond Hill, by Sir Edwin Cooper (1924), which replaced the Victorian Hotel that formerly crowned the summit. *Drawn by Hilton Wright.*



Sir John Soane's house, No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, built for himself, 1812-1813, which he left to the nation as a Museum for "the study of Architecture and the Allied Arts". From an engraving published by *The European Magazine*, December 1st, 1812.



“The Bible, Crown and Constitution”, at 32 Cornhill: the office of the *European Magazine* in the early nineteenth century. Very thin glazing bars are used in the shop window and the sashes on the upper floors. *Reproduced from the frontispiece of Volume 69.*



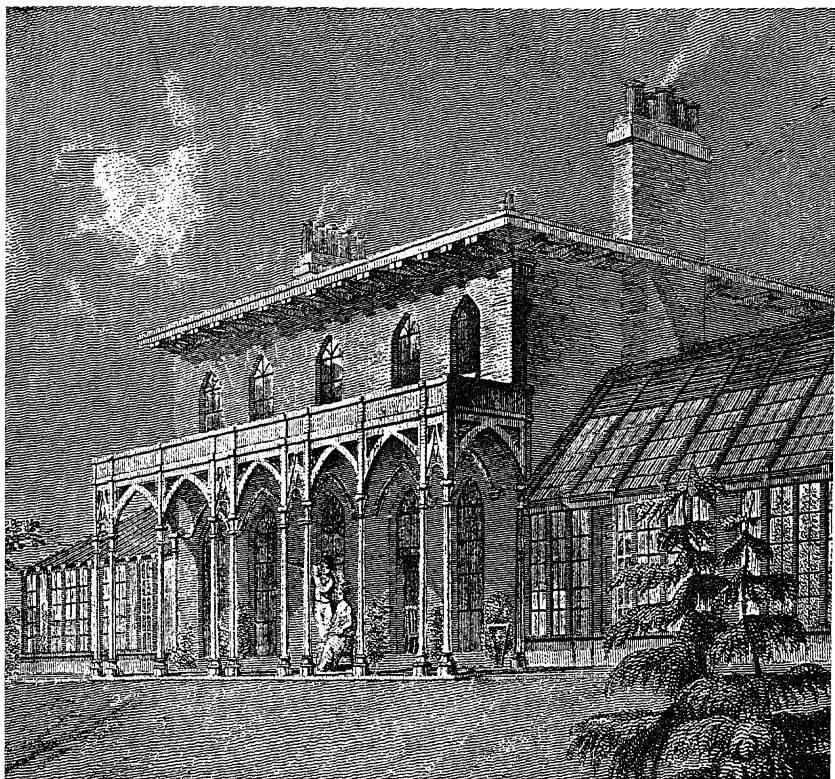
Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, Horace Walpole's "little plaything house", which he acquired in 1747 and transformed, so that it became the most conspicuous and best-remembered example of the "Gothic taste" in its fashionable phase. From an engraving dated June 4th, 1810, included in the eleventh edition of *The Ambulator* (London: 1811).

adulterated and defiled by the unnatural and impure mixture of Gothic whimsies." (June 28th, 1753.)

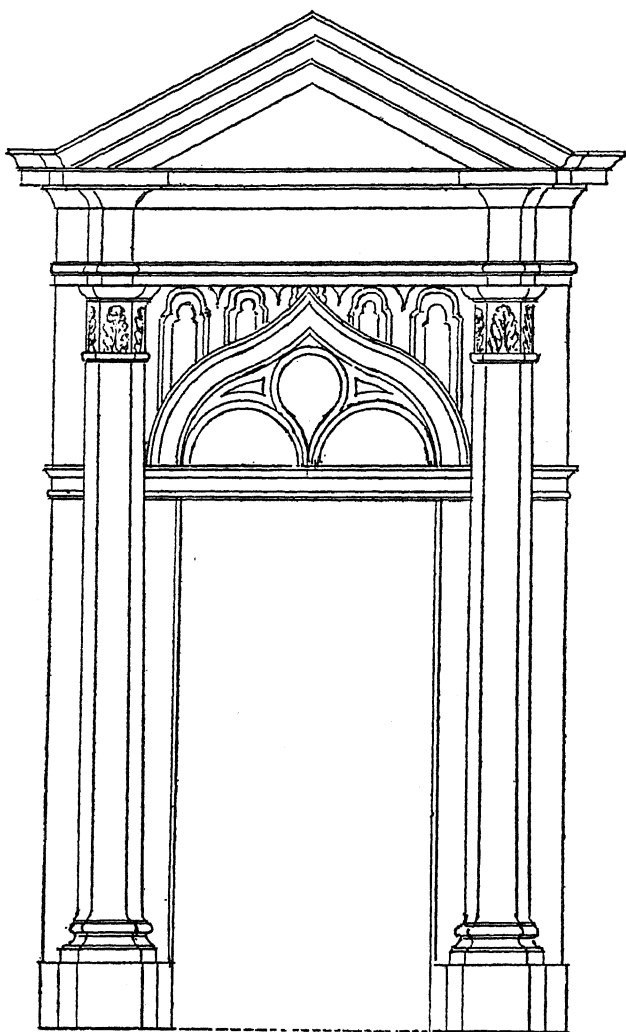
This is an echo of Evelyn's "Gothic barbarity". There were attempts to regularise Gothic forms. That prolific author of text-books and copy-books, Batty Langley (1696-1751), invented five "Gothic" orders, and his endeavour "to adapt Gothic architecture to Roman measures" was condemned by Horace Walpole, who, with the delicate irritability of a man of taste, said: "All that his books achieved, has been to teach carpenters to massacre that venerable species, and to give occasion to those who know nothing of the matter, and who mistake his clumsy efforts for real imitations, to censure the productions of our ancestors, whose bold and beautiful fabrics Sir Christopher Wren viewed and reviewed with astonishment, and never mentioned without esteem."

Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, shown above, became the most conspicuous and best-remembered example of the Gothic taste.

Although he took such consistent pleasure in dressing up his villa in a rich mediaeval fabric, his fondness for Gothic forms never led him to deny the authority of the orders, and he disliked Elizabethan and Jacobean buildings. When he described Gosfield House in a letter to George Montagu, he said: "The rest of the house is

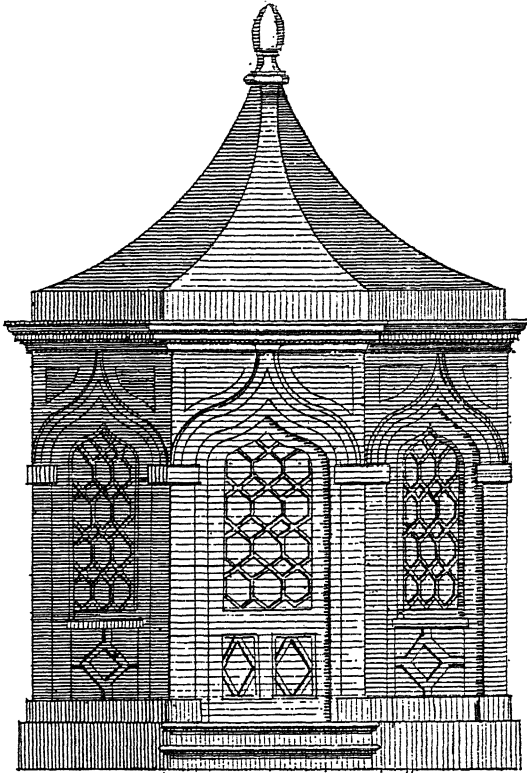


The influence of the "Gothic taste" is apparent in the form of the windows and the verandah arches of this small country house. The verandah, introduced from India during the 1790s, was usually of cast iron. The overhanging flat roof of this house anticipates what Andrew Jackson Downing called "the bracketted style", some forty years later, in his designs for small country houses in North America. This is a view of Mount Arrarat, the seat of Edward Clarke Esq., published, December 2nd, 1797, by I. Stockdale, Piccadilly. *From an engraving in the author's possession.* (See page 214 for the typical early nineteenth-century development of the cast-iron verandah.)



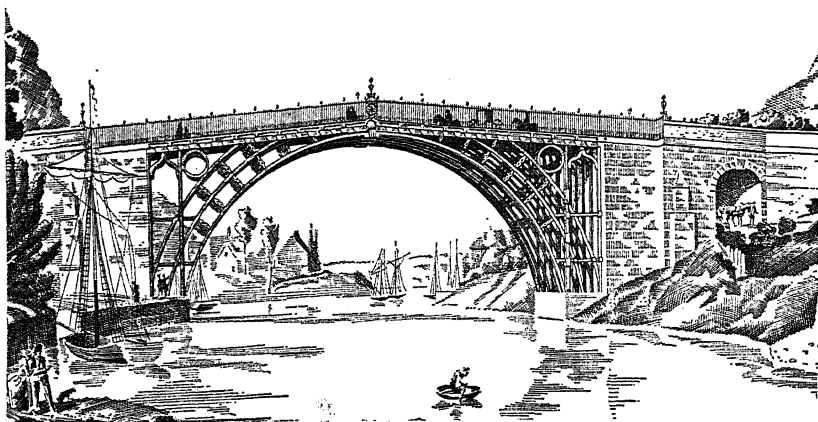
A "Gothick" frontispiece "for outside work", from *The Builder's Companion*, by William Pain, 1769, plate 80. Gothic details are fitted into a classic framework. (See opposite page.)





A "Gothick Temple", from *The Builder's Companion*, by William Pain, 1769, plate 91. The proportions are classic, and the lattice work of door and windows reflects the Chinese taste, which was concurrent with the Gothic fashions of the mid-eighteenth century. (See opposite page, also pages 208 and 209.)

all modernised, but in patches, and in the bad taste that came between the charming venerable Gothic and pure architecture." (July 25th, 1748.) His own antiquarian adventure provoked occasional doubts. When he wrote to Richard Bentley about Mereworth, built in 1723 to Colen Campbell's design, he said it was "so perfect in a Palladian taste, that I must own it has recovered me a little from Gothic. . . ." (August 7th, 1752.) There were many attempts, apart from Batty Langley's "orders", to regularise the style. The temple and the frontispiece reproduced



The first cast-iron bridge in the world was designed by Thomas Farnolls Pritchard, an English architect and builder of Shrewsbury. Crossing the River Severn between Madeley and Broseley in Shropshire, the bridge was constructed by Abraham Darby, the ironfounder of Coalbrookdale, and erected in 1777-1779. It was designed, like nearly everything else during the Georgian period, in the classic idiom; the material was recognised as a new, promising and versatile substance, and its best characteristics were fully employed. It was not used then, as it was later, to imitate stonework. Drawing made from an engraving, *circa* 1782, in possession of the Coalbrookdale Company.

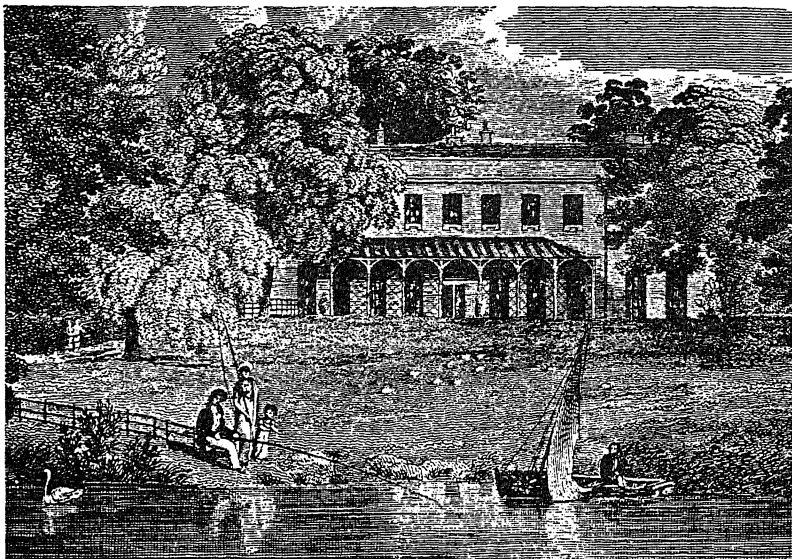
from William Pain's *Builder's Companion*, on the previous pages, show Gothic details fitted into a classic framework, and the lattice work on the doors and windows of the temple reflects the Chinese taste which flourished concurrently but not competitively with Gothic. Oriental forms, seductively gay and decorative though they might be, were so manifestly transplanted from an alien civilisation, and though promiscuously mingled with the Rococo style in France, were always strangers in England.

One effect of the periodic popularity of Chinese decorative motifs was to foster interest in irregular composition, and from this arose the form of taste known as *sharawadgi* or *sharawaggi*. The word was first used by Sir William Temple in his *Essay on Gardening*, written about 1685, in which he discussed the comparative charms of regularity and irregularity in laying out and planting gardens, with some hesitant approval of the asymmetrical effects devised by the Chinese. Walpole attributed the founding of the *sharawadgi*

taste to his friend, the Hon. Richard Bateman. Nearly a century after Temple's essay appeared, Walpole in a letter to the Earl of Strafford, mentioned his conversion of a macaroni named Storer to the Gothic taste, and said: "I am as proud of such a disciple as of having converted Dicky Bateman from a Chinese to a Goth. Though he was the founder of the Sharawadgi taste in England, I preached so effectually that his every pagoda took the veil." (July 13th, 1781.)



The early industrial buildings had the same external urbanity as other Georgian structures: they might accommodate a totally different kind of life, a new noisy, mechanical life, but to the world they exhibited classic proportions and good manners. Above: The Albion Flour Mills on the Thames, near the south-east end of Blackfriars Bridge, designed by John Rennie in 1784 (and destroyed by fire in 1791), who reunited the functions of engineer and architect which had become separated early in the seventeenth century. From *The European Magazine*.



Temple Grove, East Sheen, Surrey, the Seminary of the Rev. William Pearson, as it appeared in a print published in 1812. The verandah in this form was a characteristic feature of country and suburban villas during the opening decades of the nineteenth century.

How could such engaging fluctuations of fashion be taken seriously? Gothic forms and ornament were used with a bland indifference to their origin and function. During the seventy-eight years that passed between the completion of Vanbrugh's Castle at Greenwich, and the beginning of work on Fonthill Abbey, which James Wyatt built for William Beckford, 1795-1807, the taste for mediaeval fantasies spread throughout the country. No architects, professional or amateur, attempted to revive the old native style; they were concerned only with creating "charming and venerable" effects, and the villas with their pointed door and window openings, the sham castles, and the ruins, actual or contrived, became components of picturesque landscape architecture. Nobody read any moral purpose into these polite exercises in design; nobody indeed identified the Gothic taste as a "revival" until towards the end of the eighteenth century, when the religious

aspects of the style began to impress not only churchmen but a few earnest people, like William Woty, whose verses on St. Paul's were quoted earlier in this chapter. The taste had been encouraged in the early Georgian period by the work of artists and engravers, and a series of engravings of ruined abbeys, churches and castles, made by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck in the late 1720s, had a fabulous sale. "Antiquity, like every other quality that attracts the notice of mankind, has votaries that reverence it, not from reason, but from prejudice," wrote Dr. Johnson. "Some seem to admire indiscriminately whatever has been long preserved, without considering that time has sometimes co-operated with chance."

Time and chance certainly co-operated to provide many owners of country estates with genuine ruins. The country was dotted with the doleful remains of mediaeval religious houses, roofless skeletons awaiting inevitable obliteration through decay, inviting imitation, but not evoking interest in restoration or preservation. Some were still being demolished, year after year, by Puritan landlords. When William Stukeley, the antiquary, visited Glastonbury the Abbot's House was still standing, and in his *Itinerary* he recorded its appearance, *circa* 1723; but the Abbey buildings were then owned by a presbyterian named Thomas Prew, who was busy blowing up the vaults with gunpowder, pulling down the Abbot's House, using the stone it yielded for a new house for himself and selling what was left over for road-mending. A further period of destruction followed when the property passed to another presbyterian owner, one John Down, who held the Abbey for sixty years during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, and continued to break up the ruins with the morbid relish of a fanatic. The loss of authentic ruins was apparently condoned, and, while regrettable, was less exciting than the grouping of Gothic or classic fragments, to complete a vista, or crown an eminence with an assortment of broken arches or ravaged colonnades. The sharawadgi taste had helped to gain acceptance for asymmetrical compositions, and the romantic enthusiasms of the picturesque period—which dates from the 1790s—eroded respect for classical design and encouraged some fantastic experiments with mediaeval forms, which expanded the so-called "castellated style", and went far beyond Walpole's gentlemanly restraint. Some of the results suggested that architect

and owner, uncertain whether they wanted a castle or an abbey, arrived at an uneasy compromise by amalgamating features from both; others were so very obviously an architect's sentimental holiday, suggesting by the fluidity of their irregular lines and intimidating masses, an irresponsible escape from the bonds of discipline. The magnanimous gaiety of the Age of Reason was fading. The emotional fervours of the romantic movement replaced the sophisticated whimsicality of Strawberry Hill. The way was open for the excesses of those who believed that Gothic architecture had a spiritual mission.

The English tradition lived on in many small, unpretentious buildings; in the streets of country towns, like Church Street, Aylesbury, shown on plate 45, where houses of the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are good companions, for their builders had a common approach to the use of materials and skill and a heritage of common sense that linked them with the Middle Ages. The tradition, checked and submerged by the sixteenth-century revolution and the Italianate fashions, had re-emerged triumphantly, flourished exceedingly during the Golden Age of architectural design, and became an anonymous force during the dark age of bad taste that followed.

## REVIVALS AND THE HIDDEN STYLE

NO convulsive fashions celebrated the economic revolution of the nineteenth century, nothing comparable with those following the Tudor economic revolution. There were social changes and a new rich class arose, but the changes were unmarked by any dramatic upheaval like the dissolution of the monasteries, and as the new rich disliked any form of levity, fashion in building was frowned on: building was a solid and serious investment. As a class, they had hardly any political power, no inherited sense of social responsibility, and a gift for dullness: their prosperity, nourished by industrial enterprises, was reflected by creeping vulgarity. Political power came to them later; meanwhile they used their considerable economic power, and when they began to build, as all prosperous classes do sooner or later, and had passed through the nervously imitative stage when they played for safety and merely did what had been done before—though a little thicker and richer—they were ready to take sides in the “Battle of the Styles”.

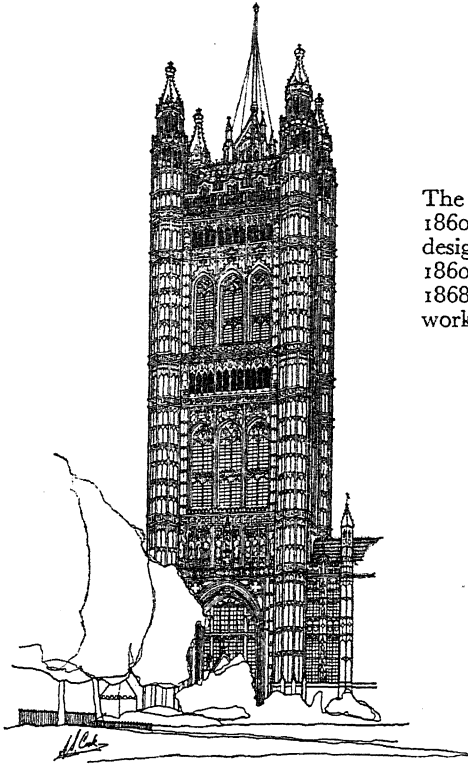
This uncritical preoccupation with styles followed the decay of educated patronage: you paid your money and you took your choice: classic or Gothic. The classic became limp and lifeless, with a few exceptions; and the well-mannered and romantic Gothic of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was supplanted by earnest Gothic, a sanctimonious style, intended to give reverent rather than aesthetic satisfaction. Soon the engaging frivolities and orderly graciousness of Georgian design were identified with loose morality and pagan tolerance: moral and mental states abhorred by the new puritans, for the new rich were bleakly religious, and unhappily combined moral earnestness with a distrust of all art, though they were worldly enough to be purse-proud.

The Gothic revival of the nineteenth century, which reached

the height of its expansive ugliness in the Victorian period, was an architectural disaster that debilitated English taste and closed the eyes of all classes to the significance of form and colour and temperance in design. Sir Charles Reilly, writing in 1924, on the destruction wrought by the Gothic revival, said: "It is appalling . . . to imagine the infinite damage that that movement of earnest but archaeologically-minded men has done for us and our inheritance. We pride ourselves as a nation on our strong conservatism and common sense, but in truth we are more sentimental, more easily swept away by romantic highfalutin than any other race except the purely Teutonic ones. Ruskin simply turned us, or rather our houses, upside down. The quiet dignified old England of Rowlandson's drawings—I refer to the houses not to the people—was changed to a speckled red and white, the pink and blue irregularly strewn crumbs of any awkward pointed shape of which Bournemouth, wholly built in Ruskinian and post-Ruskinian times, provides the supreme example." Though the Gothic revivalists believed, quite sincerely, that they were restoring the glories of tradition, the revival was a break with tradition; an interruption that deprived architects and builders of a known and reliable system of design, and put nothing in its place. The strenuous uncertainties of existence in the second half of the twentieth century may excuse nostalgic regrets for what G. M. Young once called "the busy, happy, humming vitality at the heart of Victorian life", but only "romantic highfalutin" can excuse nostalgic regrets for the infirmities of Victorian Gothic architecture. Why was all that surplus vitality wasted in the futile hostilities of the "Battle of the Styles"? The light of the Renaissance was sinking to a flicker: revived Gothic was born dead on the drawing-board. A new age of confusion had begun. Even a fine composition like Barry's Houses of Parliament was a classic design veneered with Perpendicular Gothic ornament. Pugin, who designed most of the decoration, saw through that. "All Grecian, Sir!" he exclaimed to a friend, when viewing the riverside façade; "Tudor details on a classic body."

The authentic architecture of the Victorian period, the architecture that was inspired by the industrial revolution and accommodated its needs and ennobled its achievements, was not merely ignored, but was unrecognised as architecture in its own right,

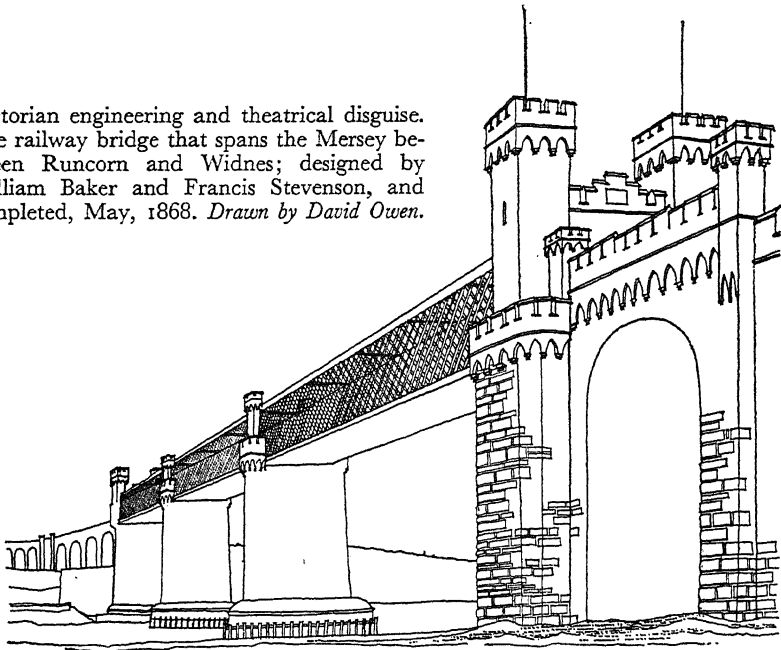




The Victoria Tower, completed in 1860. The Houses of Parliament were designed by Sir Charles Barry (1795–1860), and built between 1840 and 1868. After the architect's death, the work was finished by his son, E. M. Barry. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

though admired as engineering. Because a frank statement of functional fact in iron and steel had the quality of temperance in design, which the Victorians neither liked nor understood, those stark, splendid statements had to be disguised with fashionable architectural clichés. Georgian patrons and architects would never have stooped to antics such as the railway bridge over the Mersey, shown on page 220. The Georgian approach to the use of new and promising materials had been demonstrated when that first cast-iron bridge had been built at Coalbrookdale. They would have brought the new techniques for using iron and steel and glass into an urbane partnership with the classic idiom, as some of the architects of the early railway stations did with a success that was demonstrated all over England. The examples on plate 46 of the

Victorian engineering and theatrical disguise. The railway bridge that spans the Mersey between Runcorn and Widnes; designed by William Baker and Francis Stevenson, and completed, May, 1868. *Drawn by David Owen.*

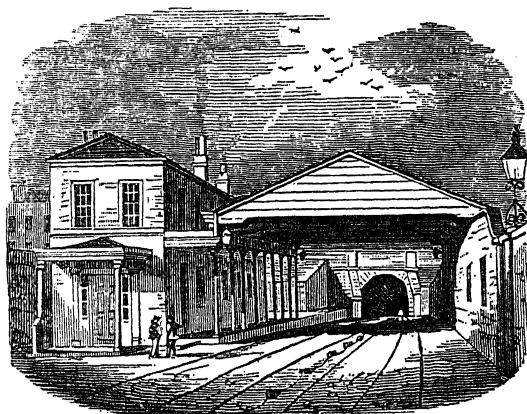


stations at Buxton and Millers Dale in Derbyshire show how the classic idiom was revitalised by the architectural needs of the railways, and how the English tradition was re-emerging in fresh forms, in the frets on the valances of station roofs, on signal boxes and bridges; while men like Isambard Kingdom Brunel, who recombined the functions of architect and engineer, separated since the seventeenth century, showed what new graces this new architecture could command. Too many engineers were indoctrinated with current ideas about “applied” art, and often called in an architect to supply clothes for the naked truth of their work, or, worse still, invented the clothes themselves. Brunel called in Matthew Digby Wyatt to devise ornament for the huge metal shed of Paddington Station (1852–1854).

Brunel and Wyatt were exceptional men. Wyatt realised that architecture and engineering were becoming reunited. “It has become difficult”, he wrote, “to define where civil engineering

ends and architecture begins." Of Brunel he had said: "His independence of meretricious and adventitious ornament is as great and as above prejudice as his engineering works are daring in conception and masterly in execution. From such beginnings", he had added, "what glories may be in reserve, when England has systematised a scale of form and proportion—a vocabulary of its own, in which to speak to the world the language of its power, and freedom of thought and feeling, we may trust ourselves to dream, but we dare not predict." Of Paxton's Crystal Palace, which was the most spectacular example of the unacknowledged architectural revolution, he had said "that the novelty of its form and details will be likely to exercise a powerful influence upon national taste". Wyatt was one of the rare Victorian architects who could see beyond the current conflict of styles. Few of his contemporaries were immune from blind dedication to Gothic or Classic.

A pure stream of classic design flowed from the Georgian period into the Victorian, though by the 1860s it was muddied by commercial pretentiousness, especially in residential building. But some of the large-scale work would have been outstanding in any period. For example, the Greek Doric portico at Euston Station, one of the landmarks of London, designed by Philip Hardwick, 1835–1837, and destroyed in 1960 by an art-proof bureaucracy with the sanction of an insensitive Government; St. George's Hall, Liverpool, by H. L. Elmes, Sir Robert Rawlinson, and C. R.

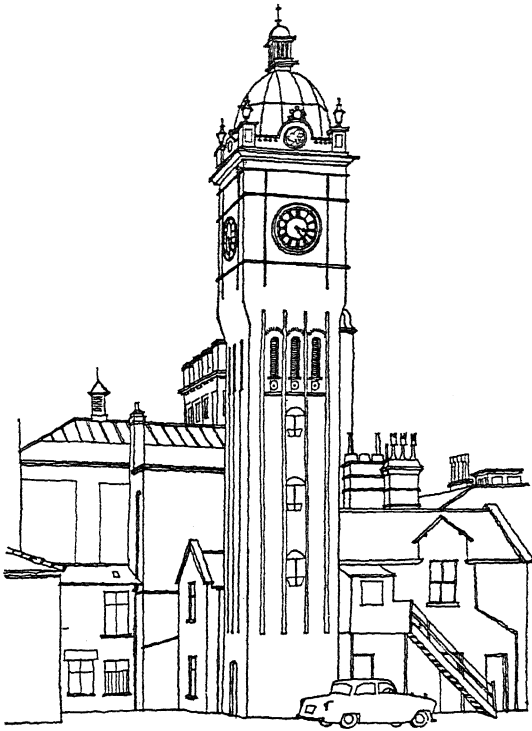


Many of the early railway stations continued the classical tradition of design, and by the use of slender columns of cast iron gave to such structures a light, elegant character. This engraving shows the station and tunnel entrance at Edge Hill, Liverpool, and is reproduced from *The Roads and Railroads* (London: John W. Parker, 1839), page 150.

Cockerell; the Coal Exchange, in Lower Thames Street, London, by J. B. Bunning; clubs like the Reform in Pall Mall, by Sir Charles Barry; the Royal Exchange by Sir William Tite; and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, by George Basevi and C. R. Cockerell, to name only a few. Some of the civic buildings, like the Town Hall at Leeds, by Cuthbert Brodrick, showed an enfeebled grasp of good proportions: the details of the Corinthian order are scrupulously correct, but the tower is debased Baroque, so ponderous that, by comparison, the rest of the building seems little more than a plinth for its massive bulk.

Towers had a special appeal for Victorian architects and their civic and private patrons. They sprouted, with spiky urgency, from public buildings, country houses, and the more pretentious type of suburban villa. Few of those in the revived Gothic style attained the dignity of the Victoria Tower of the Houses of Parliament: those on the Law Courts in the Strand strove to imitate the characteristics of thirteenth-century architecture, like the rest of that draughtsman's exercise, with its medley of tourelles and arches. (See pages 219 and 225.) When allegiance to Gothic weakened, as it did during the second half of the nineteenth century, architects dabbled in a multiplicity of styles, sometimes devising mixtures as perplexing as "the great strange stone block" in Portland Street, Manchester, described by Sir Charles Reilly in *Some Manchester Streets and Their Buildings*. "It starts", he wrote, "with a strong battering base broken by two rather fine Genoese Renaissance entrances. The basement from its batter may be said to be Egyptian. The ground floor is certainly Italian, the first Elizabethan, the second Italian, the third François Premier, the fourth a plain storey of square columns without windows—the most satisfactory—and above, at intervals, four square towers, each containing large French Gothic rose windows." This resembles Charles Kingsley's description of Harthover House in *The Water Babies*, which "had been built at ninety different times, and in nineteen different styles, and looked as if somebody had built a whole street of houses of every imaginable shape, and then stirred them together with a spoon".

In South Kensington, the Natural History Museum in Cromwell Road displayed a mock Romanesque façade, faced with terra-cotta slabs and ornamented with zoological subjects, with



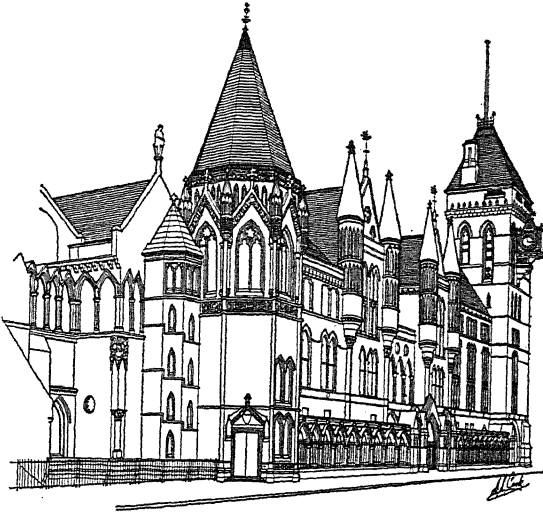
Towers all over the country rose to honour one side or other in the Battle of the Styles. This pseudo-classic clock tower was one of the features of Hurst House, at Huyton, Lancashire, when a small Georgian house was lavishly enlarged and virtually rebuilt early in the 1880s. *Drawn by David Owen.*

the inevitable pointed towers rising above the central and flanking blocks; while the Imperial Institute broke the skyline with three copper-roofed towers, shaped and embellished with motifs borrowed from early French Renaissance buildings, like the Château de Chambord. The fumbling reproduction of early Renaissance architecture was as devoid of vitality as imitation Gothic. Pugin had foreseen the anarchy which lay ahead, when he wrote *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*, which was published in 1843. "Private judgement runs riot," he wrote; "every architect has a theory of his own, a beau idéal he has himself created; a disguise with which to invest the building he erects. This is generally the result of his latest travels. One breathes nothing but the Alhambra—another the Parthenon—a third is full of lotus cups and pyramids from the banks of the Nile—a fourth,

from Rome, is all dome and basilica; whilst another works Stuart and Revett on a modified plan, and builds lodges, centenary chapels, reading-rooms, and fish-markets, with small Doric work and white brick facings. Styles are now *adopted* instead of *generated*, and ornament and design *adapted to*, instead of *originated by*, the edifices themselves.

“This may, indeed, be appropriately termed the *carnival* of architecture; its professors appear tricked out in the guises of all centuries and all nations; the Turk and the Christian, the Egyptian and the Greek, the Swiss and the Hindoo, march side by side, and mingle together; and some of these gentlemen, not satisfied with perpetrating one character, appear in two or three costumes in the same evening! Amid this motley group (oh! miserable degradation!) the venerable form and sacred detail of our national and Catholic architecture may be discerned; but *how* adopted? Not on consistent principle, not on authority, not as the expression of our faith, our government, or country, but as one of the disguises of the day, to be put on and off at pleasure, and used occasionally as circumstances or private caprice may suggest.”

That phrase, “the *carnival* of architecture”, was justly descriptive of what happened to design after the middle of the century. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–1852), a champion of the Gothic revival, was an interpreter of the spirit of mediaeval architecture, not merely a diligent copyist like so many of his contemporaries. His illustrated satire, the book of *Contrasts*, attacked the squalor of the industrial age. For him the Gothic revival was a Crusade, with the restoration of Christian architecture as its glorious and holy objective; and being an architect of genius and not only a critical writer and lecturer, or what the Victorians called an *architecturalist*—a professed student or connoisseur of architecture—he loathed all shams, whether Gothic or classic, and urged a return to the basic principles of design. “To advocate Christian architecture merely on the score of its beauty, can never prevail with those who profess to think that all art and majesty is concentrated in a Greek temple,” he wrote. “We must turn to the principles from which all styles have originated. The history of architecture is the history of the world; as we inspect the edifices of antiquity, its nations, its dynasties, its religions, are all brought before us. The belief and manners of all people are em-



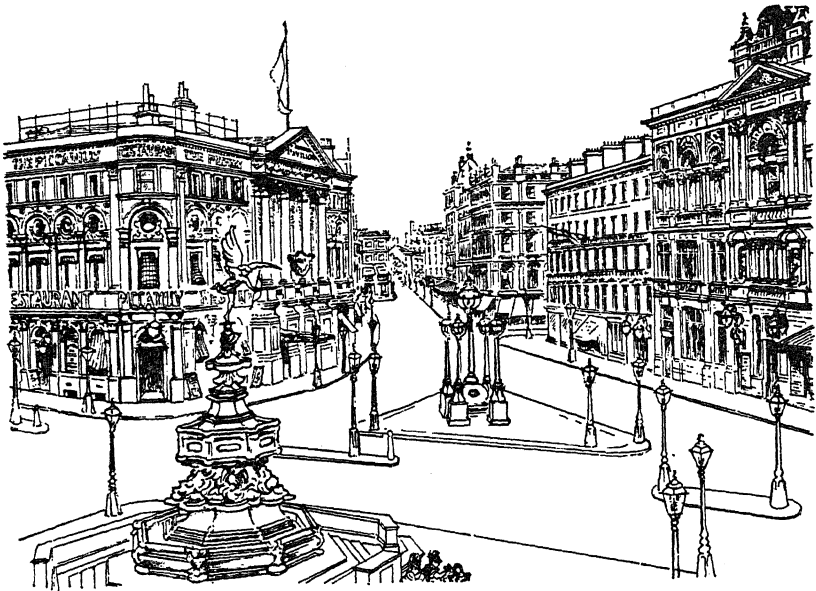
The Law Courts in the Strand: the last large public building in London in the revived Gothic style, designed by George Edmund Street, begun in 1868, completed in 1882, two years after Street's death. This Victorian version of thirteenth-century architecture is an example of eclectic exhumation: no spark of mediaeval vitality could galvanise this drawing-board exercise.

*Drawn by A. S. Cook.*

bodied in the edifices they raised; it was impossible for any of them to have built consistently otherwise than they did: each was the inventor and perfecter of their peculiar style; each style was the type of their Religion, customs, and climate."

He was sceptical about the survival value of contemporary architecture; "even supposing it solid enough to last", he doubted whether it would give posterity "any certain clue or guide to the system under which it was erected". The posthumous message of such work would be useless, because of its failure to convey "existing opinions and circumstances", revealing instead "a confused jumble of styles and symbols borrowed from all nations and periods. Are not the adapters of pagan architecture violating every principle, that regulated the men whose works they profess to imitate?" he asked. "These uncompromising advocates of classic styles would be utterly repudiated by the humblest architect of pagan antiquity, were he now to return to earth. Vitruvius would spew if he beheld the works of those who glory in calling him master."

He believed that "The restorers of Christian architecture are more consistent followers of classic *principles* than all these boasted

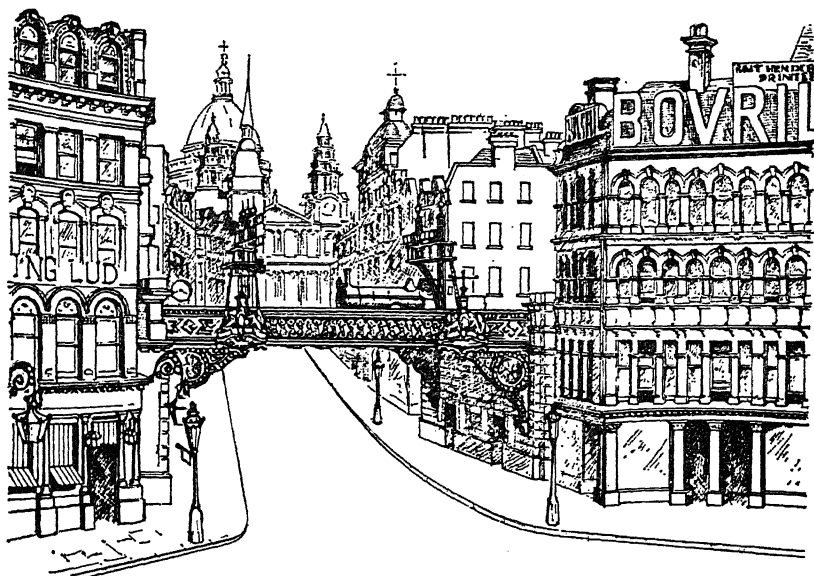


The debased classic architecture of the last quarter of the nineteenth century justified Max Beerbohm's criticism, when he wrote: "Long before the close of the Victorian Era our architects had ceased to be creative. They could not express in their work the spirit of their time. They could but evolve a medley of old styles, some foreign, some native, all inappropriate" (*Yet Again, "The Naming of Streets"*, London: William Heinemann, 1922 edition, page 203). This view of Piccadilly Circus, from a photograph taken in the mid-1890s, shows the London Pavilion, on the left, designed in 1885 by Worley and Saunders, and the Criterion, on the right, designed in 1874 by Thomas Verity. The Pavilion was on the same scale as Nash's Regent Street, and by comparison painfully inferior to the classic elegance of those late Georgian façades: the Criterion exhibits the muddled forms and fantasies that were almost invariably produced by architects who mistook ornament for design. (See plate 48.) *Drawn by Marcelle Barton.*

Greeks; they understand antiquity, and apply the ancient consistent rules to the new dispensation. The moderns, in their pretended imitation of the classic system, are constantly producing the greatest anomalies; and we are called upon to admire their thrice-cooked hashes of pagan fragments (in which the ingredients are amalgamated in utter confusion) as fine national monuments of the present age."



Pugin's estimate of architects who used the classic idiom was prompted partly by an extreme disrelish for "the revived pagan style", as he liked to call it, and partly from the manifest incapacity of men who had forgotten or never understood that the orders represented a system of design. Without that understanding, attempts to use classic forms were as irresolute as many Elizabethan and Jacobean compositions, and vastly inferior to the buildings of that trial period of the English renaissance, which were at least bold and florid experiments with the orders: late Victorian classic was either inertly respectable or restlessly ornamental. Classic columns and pilasters were used as surface decoration. Two examples of the weak and fidgety results are shown on the previous page, in the view of Piccadilly Circus in the mid-1890s: the Criterion on the south side, designed in 1874



Ludgate Circus in the mid-1890s, with Victorian classic buildings on the approach to Ludgate Hill. The only example of contemporary architecture is the cast-iron railway bridge, spanning the foot of the Hill, built in 1865; a lively, decorative structure, disfigured by signals which interfered with the view of St. Paul's. *Drawn by Marcelle Barton from a contemporary photograph.*

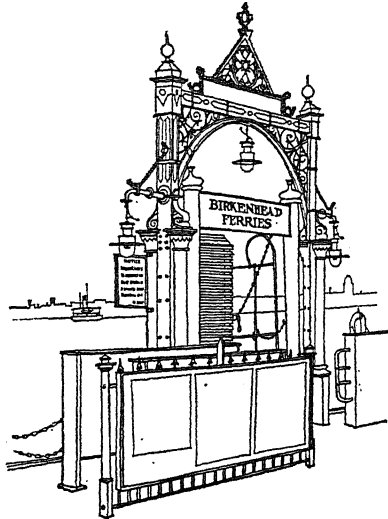
by Thomas Verity, with its congested, ill-proportioned façade; and the London Pavilion, on the north, designed in 1885 by Worley and Saunders, so painfully inferior to the late Georgian elegance of Nash's Regent Street. Static respectability is illustrated opposite by the Board of Works Offices, at East Hill, Wandsworth, designed by W. Newton Dunn and completed in 1888. When this was built there were many Georgian houses still standing in Wandsworth, and the Board of Works was a reasonably good neighbour, although the texture of the bricks and the quality of the stonework were poor. At least the building is unpretentious; the architect used ornament sparingly, and apart from the heavy chimney stacks, which suggest the ear-shaped chimneys of the March Hare's house, the composition is well balanced, but the composition does not arise from the use of the orders, Ionic pilasters on the first floor and Tuscan columns on the portico, nor do they accentuate the proportions of the building with the subtlety of the Tuscan and Ionic pilasters and entablatures used by Henry Bell on that example of pre-Georgian classic, the Exchange at King's Lynn. (See page 154.) Bell's design is fully and richly alive: separated in time by just over two centuries from the blameless, almost nervously discreet, and wholly uninspired example of Victorian classic at Wandsworth.

Architectural inspiration bled to death in the battle of the styles. The decadence of Victorian classic was not caused by a Gothic victory: neither style won in that sterile conflict. The Gothic revivalists made more noise, and certainly created more confusion, but the champions on both sides identified ornament with design, and this aesthetic myopia destroyed the well-bred air of residential streets, and gave to many public buildings and large houses a philistine arrogance, for architecture could be aggressively vulgar or pompously dull in a classic or a Gothic garb.

The uglification of England and the suppression of the classic tradition were partly attributable to the influence of John Ruskin (1819-1900), who preached the Gothic revival with immoderate passion, condemned the Renaissance as a "foul torrent", and proclaimed that "Whatever has any connection with the five orders, or with any one of the orders; whatever is Doric or Ionic or Corinthian or Composite, or in any way Grecised or Romanised; whatever betrays the smallest respect for Vitruvian laws or



Victorian Classic. The Board of Works Offices, East Hill, Wandsworth, designed by W. Newton Dunn and completed, 1888. This building has Ionic pilasters on the first floor, discreetly used as vertical contrasting elements with the arched windows. The architect has used ornament sparingly, and apart from the heavy chimney stacks, the design is well proportioned. When it was built, Wandsworth was rich in Georgian houses, and although the texture of the bricks and the quality of the stonework were poor, the Board of Works was a reasonably good neighbour in a late eighteenth-century environment, possessing an unpretentious, quiet dignity of character. Compare this with Bell's Customs House on page 154, and the case of neo-Georgian elephantiasis at Richmond on page 205. *Drawn by A. S. Cook.*



Since the mid-eighteenth century, cast iron had provided a ductile, easily moulded material. Isaac Ware in *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1767 edition) said it was “a very serviceable article to the builder, and a vast expense is saved in many cases by using it; in rails and balusters it makes a rich and massy appearance, when it has cost very little, and when wrought iron much less substantial would come to a vast sum” (Chapter XXVII, page 89). While Georgian architects used the material with a sense of proportion, Victorian architects and engineers were intoxicated by its alluring decorative possibilities, and hybrid compositions, like the ferry gangway-portals on Prince’s Landing Stage, Liverpool, exhibited a medley of ornamental motifs. *Drawn by David Owen.*

conformity with Palladian work—that we are to endure no more.” As a writer and lecturer he was taken with a seriousness which he regarded as his due, for strong artistic convictions, an Evangelical upbringing, early literary successes, and a superabundance of moral earnestness, set him on the road to egomania. Quite early in life he appeared to regard himself as the bearer of a message that had Divine authority, and, with the humourless intentness of a fanatic, and the iconoclastic zeal of a Cromwellian puritan, he urged his readers and hearers to destroy the tranquil beauty achieved in the Georgian age. He rejected all shapes unless they were derived from nature, for “all high art”, he said, “consists in

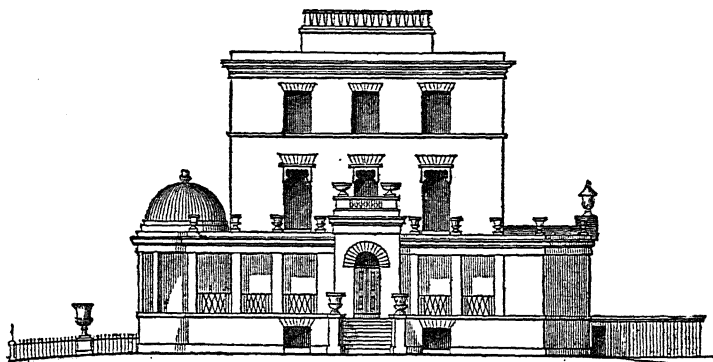
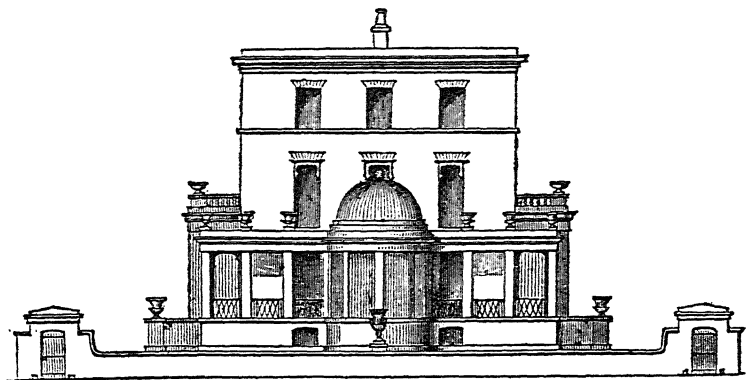
the carving or painting of natural objects, chiefly figures. . . .” He believed “that the architect who was not a sculptor or painter, was nothing better than a frame maker on a large scale”. When he first apprehended the significance of this revelation, “every question about architecture immediately settled itself without farther difficulty”, and he realised “that the idea of an independent architectural profession was a mere modern fallacy. . . .” Nearly everything he believed was opposed to the character of the English tradition, though he was apparently unaware of this, and unaware, too, of the real nature of that tradition, which had always absorbed new techniques and confidently used new materials. Blinded by Gothic forms and a false vision of mediaeval craftsmanship, he could see no promise whatever in the use of cast and wrought iron for pre-fabricated units in such structures as the Crystal Palace, doubting whether they would “ever become important elements in architectural effort”. In one of his *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, given at Edinburgh, he supported this belief, referring to his audience as “a company of philosophers”, and saying: “but you are not philosophers of the kind who suppose that the Bible is a superannuated book; neither are you of those who think the Bible is dishonoured by being referred to for judgment in small matters”. After observing that “the things which the Bible uses for illustration of eternal truths are likely to remain eternally intelligible illustrations”, he said: “Now, I find that iron architecture is indeed spoken of in the Bible. You know how it is said to Jeremiah, ‘Behold, I have made thee this day a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls, against the whole land.’ But I do not find that iron building is ever alluded to as likely to become *familiar* to the minds of men; but, on the contrary, that an architecture of carved stone is continually employed as a source of the most important illustrations. A simple instance must occur to all of you at once. The force of the image of the Corner Stone, as used throughout Scripture, would completely be lost if the Christian and civilised world were ever extensively to employ any other material than earth and rock in their domestic buildings: I firmly believe that they never will; but that as the laws of beauty are more perfectly established, we shall be content still to build as our forefathers built, and still to receive the same great lessons which such building is calculated to convey. . . .”

No mid-Victorian audience, especially a Scottish audience, would have challenged the authority of the Bible: to doubt the validity of a scriptural reference, Jeremiah i, 18, or a statement by Ruskin would have seemed equally blasphemous. "His strong belief in himself led him to conclude it to be the final proof of error and wrong-mindedness for another to differ from him." That was written in 1874, and appeared in a lucid assessment of his character and teaching, published by *The Art Journal*. Far more serious than his uncompromising rejection of contemporary materials, and his sneers at the achievements of engineering, was his urgent advocacy of reckless individualism in street architecture. In the second of his *Lectures on Architecture and Painting* he told the audience not to fear incongruities and not to think of unities of effect. "Introduce your Gothic line by line and stone by stone; never mind mixing it with your present architecture; your existing houses will be none the worse for having little bits of better work fitted to them; build a porch, or point a window, if you can do nothing else; and remember that it is the glory of Gothic architecture that it can do *anything*. Whatever you really seriously want, Gothic will do it for you; but it must be an *earnest* want."

Unfortunately much of his advice was followed, not only by people wealthy enough to build their own houses, but by innumerable speculative builders who followed it unconsciously, using as guides one or other of the copy-books that depicted villas in

Terrace of small houses, formerly standing on the Lower Richmond Road, at the north side of Mortlake Green. Built about 1835, of red brick, with moulded plaster door and window architraves, and slate roofs, they inherit the graces of the Georgian period, and were demolished in 1960. Drawn by David Owen.





Double detached suburban villa, designed by John Claudius Loudon, and built in Porchester Terrace, Bayswater. The front elevation is shown above, the side elevation below. The houses were linked by a conservatory, with a glazed dome. Loudon lived in the right-hand house and had his office there. From *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (1838).

various styles. Of these the most popular was Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, first published in 1833, which went into several editions and was for many years a best-seller. The compiler, John Claudius Loudon (1783–1843), was a landscape gardener, an architect, and what can only be described as a compulsive encyclopaedist. (In 1822 he had produced an *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, in two volumes; an *Encyclopaedia*



SUBURBAN  
DEVELOPMENT,  
1860-1880.

The west and east sides of Vardens Road, Battersea. The west side, developed between 1860 and 1868, shown above, had semi-detached houses, nearly all finished in stucco and painted. They preserve traces of the classic tradition, and owe something to the influence of Loudon. Those on the east side, shown below, were built in two terraces during the 1880s. The houses on the left, show traces of Ruskin's ideas of ornament, filtered through the mind of a speculative builder. (See pages 231 and 232.) *West side drawn by David Owen; east side by A. S. Cook.*



*of Agriculture*, in 1825, also in two volumes; an *Encyclopaedia of Plants* in 1829, and an *Encyclopaedia of Trees and Shrubs*, in 1842.) He helped to change the face of England during the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century, as Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852), an industrious American author of copy-books, helped to change the face of the Eastern and mid-Western States. Now when Ruskin advised people "to insist upon having a pure old Gothic porch, walled in on both sides, with its pointed arch and gable roof above", their architects and builders could so easily lift something from Loudon's thronged pages. The inco-



herencies of residential development between the 1840s and 1880s may often be traced to his *Encyclopaedia*, though some of the simpler semi-detached houses were also suggested by the examples he gave of "Italian" and "Grecian" villas; and his own double detached suburban villa in Porchester Terrace, Bayswater, was a prototype which was copied and edited in many suburbs. He published details of this house in 1838 in his book, *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*. (See page 233.) The semi-detached houses on the west side of Vardens Road, Battersea, an area developed between 1860 and 1868, have a perceptible connection with the classic tradition, and obviously owe something to Loudon. They are typical of the modest comfort of the new suburbs that were changing the character of semi-rural localities like Battersea. The houses on the east side were built later, during the 1880s, in two terraces, and represent the speculative builder's interpretation of Ruskinian directions, for the terrace that occupied rather more than half the north end of the road had three storeys, with bay windows ascending through two floors, panels of ornamental brickwork below the first-floor window sills, and Gothic ornament on the keystones of the arched doorways and on the capping of door and window piers. (Both sides of Vardens Road are shown opposite.)

The suburban civilisation of the Victorian age was still linked with the architectural character of the Georgian period, and the streets of terraced houses, with their painted stucco surfaces, bow or bay windows, porches with twin pillars, and three storeys above a basement or sub-basement, announced the prosperity of the middle class. There was something soothingly secure about this display of comfortable respectability; the suburban civilisation was something new in the world; and the world then was dedicated to progress in everything except architectural design. The English tradition lived on, without animation, somnolent, static, and unadventurous in those tall terraces, where the houses could be as different as those in Paddington, shown on plate 44, or on St. John's Hill, Battersea, on page 236. In the mid-1830s there was still some liveliness in the classic idiom, as exhibited by the terrace of small houses on the north side of Mortlake Green illustrated on page 232. (The terrace was demolished in 1960.) By the close of the century the English tradition was submerged. Compare the



#### SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT, 1860-1870

Terrace houses on St. John's Hill, Battersea, *circa* 1860-1870. Like the houses on the west side of Vardens Road on page 234, they were built when Battersea was losing its semi-rural character and becoming a prosperous suburb, adjacent to Clapham Junction, then one of the largest railway junctions in the world. This terrace preserves the unity of the street, though with less distinction than Gloucester Terrace on plate 44. St. Paul's Church stands at the east end, a Chapel of Ease to St. Mary's Battersea, designed by H. E. Coe, completed and consecrated in 1868, and built of stone with a high spire. *Drawn by David Owen.*

Red Lion Inn at Parkgate, Wirral, on plate 45, with the Spread Eagle Hotel, Wandsworth, shown opposite. The former, with its agreeable irregularities unified by well-proportioned windows and white walls, was built in the early years of the century when Parkgate was still a flourishing port, from which the Dublin packets sailed before the River Dee silted up; the Spread Eagle, built in 1898, is typical of the spacious and extremely comfortable public houses found in every prosperous and busy suburb, with a pretentious façade complicated by unrelated features, casually borrowed from various sources and demonstrating that fatal confusion of ornament with design that was increased by a succession of revivals during the late Victorian period. Reilly's

description of that building in Portland Street, Manchester, quoted earlier, shows what was happening all over England. How amply Pugin's forebodings were justified.

The fashions that arose from the Gothic revival, spread to the United States, where nearly every phase of Victorian taste in architecture and interior decoration was reflected. In America the Greek and Gothic revivals developed concurrently, with a considerable start for the Greek, to which American architects long remained faithful. A monumental classic tradition persisted even after the Civil War, that war between the states which debilitated so many architectural traditions. America had an equivalent of Loudon in Andrew Jackson Downing, who published his first book in 1841, entitled *Cottage Residences; or a Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas, and their Gardens and Grounds adapted to North America*, and his most ambitious work, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, in 1850. Both were illustrated with examples ranging from cottages in the "English or Rural Gothic style" to villas in the "Italian style, bracketed". The results may be seen all over the Eastern States and the Middle West, often absurdly incongruous in a countryside that had preserved a traditional technique of frame-house construction, with weatherboarding and double-hung sash windows, in use since Colonial times. Downing



The Spread Eagle, in Wandsworth High Street, built in 1898, and typical of the spacious, comfortable public houses of the last decades of the nineteenth century. The entrance is sheltered by a canopy of cast iron and glass. *Drawn by David Owen.*

laid out the grounds of the Capitol, the Executive Mansion, and the Smithsonian Institute, at Washington, though the work was finished after his death, for he was drowned in a steamboat accident at the age of thirty-seven. In his short professional life he acquired a great reputation, and, like Loudon, he wrote with confident authority.

There were other revivals in England, Byzantine, French renaissance, Queen Anne, and a tender, picturesque style, that magnified the features of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century houses. That vigilant critic, John T. Emmett, writing on "The Profession of an 'Architect'," in *The British Quarterly Review* for April, 1880, said "a ghastly crop of 'Villas', 'Eagles' Nests', and 'Granges', constantly increasing year by year, is making England hideous. These expensive follies are a demonstration of the wealth and 'culture' of a sort of men who being called 'self-made' relieve the Providence above of great responsibility. They are not building art, but only graphic sketches done in wood and stone. The charming prettiness and manufactured 'picturesque' are soon discovered to be worthless and a bore; and the perplexed proprietor is stamped as ill-conditioned, prominent, and vulgar."

Calculated attempts to recapture the English tradition failed largely because those who made them believed it was something that must be studied and copied rather than a dormant force, awaiting a chance for fresh growth. William Morris (1834-1896) in *News from Nowhere* described a socialist utopia where the native English style of the early sixteenth century had continued to grow. But Morris repudiated the scientific industrial age: he looked for inspiration and guidance to mediaeval England, and inaugurated yet another revival—the handicraft revival. The architectural setting of that revival was supplied by the house designed for him by Philip Webb at Upton, in Kent. The plan was L-shaped, with two storeys, red brick walls and a high-pitched red-tiled roof. Called The Red House, it became a prototype for thousands of cosy, "cottagey" villas in the countryside and in the constantly growing suburbs of London and other cities.

By the opening of the twentieth century architecture had lost its human relationship. Buildings no longer honestly expressed function, gaiety, or the rich variations of national character; class consciousness had intruded and maintained a false, meretricious

note. Lethaby saw what was wrong; saw how the revivals, variously grotesque, tender, sentimental and ridiculous, had excluded architects from participation in the splendid potentialities of the scientific industrial age. "The method of design to a modern mind," he said, "can only be understood in the scientific, or in the engineer's sense, as a definite analysis of possibilities—not as a vague poetic dealing with poetic matters, with derivative ideas of what looks domestic, or looks farmlike, or looks ecclesiastical—the dealing with a multitude of flavours—that is what architects have been doing in the last hundred years. They have been trying to deal with a set of flavours—things that looked like things but that were not the things themselves. Old farm-houses and cottages are things themselves—cottages and farm-houses. Now we, the best of us, are trying to build things which shall *look like* farm-houses and look like cottages, and so on." Lethaby included that in a paper called "The Architecture of Adventure", which he read before the Royal Institute of British Architects on April 18th, 1910.

Over a century and a half earlier Dr. Johnson had said: "Such is the general conspiracy of human nature against contemporary merit, that if we had inherited from antiquity enough to afford employment for the laborious, and amusement for the idle, what room would have been left for modern genius or modern industry? Almost every subject would have been pre-occupied, and every style would have been fixed by a precedent from which few would have ventured to depart."

There were other revivals on the way, exaggerations of Tudor and Jacobean architecture, and gargantuan classic. There were some pure notes. After Soane, the last great architect of the English renaissance was Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944), whose handling of classic composition was comparable with Vanbrugh's, though his work had greater refinement, a lightness of touch, to which Vanbrugh was a stranger. (See plate 47.) Like all designers of genius who used the classic idiom, he was outstandingly individual; and although he had great opportunities for exerting his powers, he was born out of time. His work belonged to the Golden Age, both in spirit and execution. He contributed nothing to the new architecture, the hidden style, conceived in the nineteenth century, that has grown to young strength in the mid-twentieth. That style, through which the English tradition is

slowly re-emerging, has yet to attain maturity. Buildings as different in function and character as the T.U.C. headquarters in Great Russell Street, London, by David du R. Aberdeen, and the new Coventry Cathedral by Sir Basil Spence, may disclose to future generations the real significance of an architectural change as great as that following the invention of the orders, the first structural use of the arch and the dome, and the stone engineering of the mediaeval master-masons. Like all great architecture, it is *of* its own time, *for* its own time, employing contemporary skills and materials, and free from imitation.

## BOOKS USED OR QUOTED

### Chapter I

- Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, by R. G. Collingwood, F.B.A., and J. N. L. Myres. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1936.)
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England). An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London.* Vol. III. *Roman London.* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1928.)
- Illustrations of Roman London*, by Charles Roach Smith. (Privately printed, London, 1859.)
- Londinium: Architecture and Crafts*, by W. R. Lethaby. (London: Duckworth and Co., 1923.)
- London Before the Conquest*, by W. R. Lethaby. (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1902.)
- Roman London, A.D. 43-457*, by Gordon Home, F.S.A. (Scot.). (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, new edition, 1948.)
- Warrington's Roman Remains*, by Thomas May, F.E.I., F.S.A. (Scot.). (Warrington: Mackie & Co. Ltd., Guardian Office, 1904.)
- Roman Silchester. The Archaeology of a Romano-British Town*, by George C. Boon, B.A., F.S.A. (London: Max Parrish, 1957.)
- Verulamium: a Belgic and two Roman Cities.* Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London. No. XI. By R. E. M. Wheeler, D.Lit., V.P.S.A., and T. V. Wheeler, F.S.A. (Oxford University Press, for the Society of Antiquaries, 1936.)
- Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, by the Rev. William Hiley Bathurst, M.A. With Notes by C. W. King, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1879.)
- Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire.* Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London. No. IX. By R. E. M. Wheeler, D. Lit., V.P.S.A., and T. V. Wheeler, F.S.A. (Oxford University Press, for the Society of Antiquaries, 1932.)

- The Romanization of Roman Britain*, by F. Haverfield. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923.)
- Mithraism*, by W. J. Phythian-Adams. (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1915.)
- The Mythology of the British Islands*, by Charles Squire. (London: Blackie & Son Ltd., 1905.)
- The Itinerary through Wales and the Description of Wales*, by Giraldus Cambrensis. (London: Everyman's Library edition, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.)
- The Making of our Towns*, by Sir William Savage. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1952.)
- Map of Roman Britain*. (Published by the Ordnance Survey Offices.)
- Ancient Town Planning*, by F. Haverfield. (Oxford: 1913.)

#### Chapter 2

- Early Man in Britain*, by William Boyd Dawkins. (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1880.) Pages 431-433.
- The Mabinogion*. (London: Everyman Library edition, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.)
- The Battle for Britain in the Fifth Century*, by Trelawney Dayrell Reed. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1944.)
- The Rise of Wessex*, by Trelawney Dayrell Reed. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1947.)
- King Arthur's Avalon. The Story of Glastonbury*, by Geoffrey Ashe. (London: Collins, 1957.)
- From Caesar to Arthur*, by Geoffrey Ashe. (London: Collins, 1960.)
- The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, by The Venerable Bede. (London: Everyman Library edition, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.)
- William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England*, by J. A. Giles, D.C.L. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1847.)
- The British History, Translated into English from the Latin, of Jeffrey of Monmouth*, by Aaron Thompson, late of Queen's College, Oxon. (London: Bowyer and Innes, 1718.)
- Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, by T. D. Kendrick, M.A., F.S.A. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1938.)
- The Study of Celtic Literature*, by Matthew Arnold. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1900.)
- Byways in British Archaeology*, by Walter Johnson, F.G.S. (Cambridge University Press, 1912.)



- Religion and the Rise of Western Culture*, by Christopher Dawson. (The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh, 1948-49. London: Sheed & Ward, 1950.)
- A Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe*, by J. J. Bartholomew. (Everyman Edition, 1923.)
- Map of Britain in the Dark Ages* (South sheet). (Ordnance Survey.)
- The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, by Matthew Holbeche Bloxam. (London: David Bogue, 1849.)
- History in Leicester*, by Colin Ellis, M.C., M.A., F.S.A. (Leicester Publishing Department, 1948.)
- A Dictionary of the Architecture and Archaeology of the Middle Ages*, by John Britton, F.S.A. (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1838.)

#### Chapter 3

- A History of the English House*, by Nathaniel Lloyd. (London: The Architectural Press, 1931.)
- Building in England*, by L. F. Salzman, F.S.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1952.)
- The Great North Road*, by Frank Morley. (London: Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1961.)
- The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon*, by John William Adamson. (Cambridge University Press, 1946.)

#### Chapter 4

- The Metrical Life of St. Hugh*, edited by J. F. Dimock (London: 1860), from two MSS. in the British Museum and Bodleian Library. Quoted by G. G. Coulton in, *Social Life in Britain, from The Conquest to the Reformation*. (Cambridge University Press, 1919.) Section XIII, 4, page 472.
- Gertrude of Canterbury*, translated by Charles Cotton. Canterbury Papers, No. 3. (The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, 1930.)
- An Outline of European Architecture*, by Nikolaus Pevsner. (Penguin Books: Sixth, Jubilee edition, 1960.)
- Byways in British Archaeology*, by Walter Johnson, F.G.S. (Cambridge University Press, 1912.)
- Architecture, Nature and Magic*, by W. R. Lethaby. (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1956.)
- Westminster Abbey and The King's Craftsmen*, by W. R. Lethaby. (London: Duckworth & Co., 1906.)

- Westminster Abbey Re-examined*, by W. R. Lethaby. (London: Duckworth & Co., 1925.)
- Architecture*, by W. R. Lethaby. (London: Home University Library Edition, Williams & Norgate. No date.)
- Medieval Panorama*, by G. G. Coulton. (Cambridge University Press, 1938.)
- Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*, by G. G. Coulton, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1919.)
- The God of the Witches*, by Margaret Alice Murray, D.Lit. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd. No date.)
- The Divine King in England*, by Margaret Alice Murray. (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1954.)
- Gothic England. A Survey of National Culture 1300-1550*, by John Harvey. (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1947.)
- Ruined and Deserted Churches*, by Lucy Elizabeth Beedham. (London: Elliot Stock, 1908.)

#### Chapter 5

- Richmond*, by Kathleen Courlander. (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1953.)
- Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, by Sir John Summerson. (Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1953.)

#### Chapter 6

- England as Seen by Foreigners*, by William Brenchley Rye. (London: John Russell Smith, 1865.)
- A Short History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800*, by Sir Reginald Blomfield. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900.)
- Architect and Patron*, by Frank Jenkins. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961.)
- The Architect in History*, by Martin S. Briggs. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927.)
- "The Inflation of Prices in Early Sixteenth Century England", by Y. S. Brenner. *The Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1961. Pages 225-239.
- The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838*, by W. H. B. Court. (Oxford University Press, 1938.)
- Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, by Sir John Summerson. (Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1953.)

- Theory and Elements of Architecture*, by Robert Atkinson and Hope Bagenal. (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1926.)
- Glass in Architecture and Decoration*, by Raymond McGrath and A. C. Frost. (London: The Architectural Press, 1961.)

### Chapter 7

- Inigo Jones*, by Stanley C. Ramsey. (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1924.)
- The Architecture of Humanism*, by Geoffrey Scott. (London: Constable and Company Ltd., Second edition, 1924.)
- Ben Jonson and King James*, by Eric Linklater. (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1931.)
- Reliquie Wottonianae*, by Izaak Walton. (London: 3rd edition, 1672.)
- The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio*, translated by Joseph Gwilt. (London: Priestley and Weale, 1826.)
- Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830*, by Sir John Summerson. (Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1953.)
- The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire*, by T. F. Reddaway. (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1940.)
- The History of the Royal Society of London*, by Thomas Sprat, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Rochester. (London: Third edition, 1722.)
- Heavenly Mansions*, by Sir John Summerson. Essay on "The Mind of Wren". (London: The Cresset Press, 1949.)
- Wren the Incomparable*, by Martin S. Briggs. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1953.)
- Nicholas Hawksmoor*, by H. S. Goodhart-Rendel. (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1924.)
- Sir John Vanbrugh*, by Christian Barman. (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1924.)
- The Life and Works of James Gibbs*, by Bryan Little. (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1955.)
- Poems on Several Occasions*, by William Woty. (Derby: Printed for the Author by J. Drewry, MDCCLXXX.)
- London: The Unique City*, by Steen Eiler Rasmussen. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937.)
- A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840*, by H. M. Colvin. (London: John Murray, 1954.)

- Anecdotes of Painting in England*, Collected by the late Mr. George Vertue; and now digested and published from his original MSS., by Mr. Horace Walpole. (London: J. Dodsley.) Third edition, 1786. Volume IV.
- An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture; or a Parallel of the Ancient Buildings with the Modern*, by Robert Morris, of Twickenham. (London: 1728.)
- John Nash*, by Sir John Summerson. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935.)
- A History of Cast Iron in Architecture*, by John Gloag and Derek Bridgwater. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1948.)
- Cast Iron in Building*, by Richard Sheppard, F.R.I.B.A. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1945.)
- Georgian London*, by Sir John Summerson. (London: Pleiades Books, 1945.)
- An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence*, To Sanderson Miller, Esq., of Radway. Edited by Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton. (London: John Murray, 1910.)
- Sir John Soane, 1753-1837*, by John Summerson. (London: Art and Technics, 1952.)

### Chapter 8

- Some Architectural Problems of To-day*, by C. H. Reilly. (Liverpool University Press, 1924.)
- Daylight and Champagne*, by G. M. Young. (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1937.)
- Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock. (Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books, 1958.)
- Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, by Henry-Russell Hitchcock. (London: The Architectural Press, 1954.)
- Matthew Digby Wyatt*, by Nikolaus Pevsner. (Cambridge University Press, 1950.) The quotations in Chapter 8 are from pages 19-20.
- Some Manchester Streets and Their Buildings*, by C. H. Reilly. (Liverpool University Press, 1924.)
- Form in Civilization, Collected Papers on Art and Labour*, by W. R. Lethaby. (Oxford University Press, 1922.)
- The Englishman's House, from a Cottage to a Mansion*, by C. J. Richardson. (London: John Camden Hotten, 1870.)

- Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, by J. C. Loudon. (London: Longmans, 1833.)
- Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin and his Father, Augustus Pugin*, by Benjamin Ferrey, F.R.I.B.A. (London: Edward Stanford, 1861.)
- Pugin, a Mediaeval Victorian*, by Michael Trappes-Lomax. (London: Sheed & Ward, 1933.)
- Contrasts: or a parallel between the Noble Edifices of the Middle Ages, and Corresponding Buildings of the Present Day, shewing the Present Decay of Taste*, by A. Welby Pugin, Architect. (London: Charles Dolman, Second edition, 1841.)
- The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, set forth in Two Lectures delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott, by A. Welby Pugin. (London: John Weale, 1841.)
- An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*, by A. Welby Pugin. (London: John Weale, 1843.)
- Cottage Residences; or a Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas, and their Gardens adapted to North America*, by A. J. Downing. (New York and London: Wiley & Putnam, Second edition, 1844.)
- The Architecture of Country Houses*, by A. J. Downing. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850.)
- "The Seeing Eye", by Sir Francis Meynell, R.D.I. Paper delivered before the Royal Society of Arts, October 25th, 1954. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Volume CIII, No. 4939.
- The Life of William Morris*, by J. W. Mackail. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899.)
- The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, by Christopher Hussey. (London: Country Life Ltd., 1950.)
- The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, by A. S. G. Butler. (London: Country Life Ltd., 1950.)
- Sir Edwin Lutyens*, by Robert Lutyens. (London: Country Life Ltd., 1942.)
- The Gentleman's House*, by Robert Kerr. (London: John Murray, 1864.)

## THE PLATES

THE forty-eight plates follow the historical sequence of the eight chapters and supplement the illustrations in the text. Some are deliberately placed out of sequence to facilitate comparison, as with 2 and 3, of Roman, mediaeval, and Georgian London, and 24 and 25. Air views have been used for eleven subjects, to illustrate the plan and general layout of monastic and other groups of buildings.

Apart from the frontispiece, which shows the interior of Sir Basil Spence's great cathedral at Coventry, and a building in the background of plate 48 which forms a contrast with some Victorian fantasies, no contemporary structures have been included.

The English tradition is only now beginning to find fresh expression through the new Western architecture which has arisen from the structural revolution of the last hundred years. That revolution has been openly acknowledged in England for barely a quarter of a century. At some future time—fifty or more years hence—a characteristic style may be identified with the second half of the twentieth century, but the merits of that style, still vigorously immature, cannot be fully apprehended by those now living. Enough contemporary work exists to prove that English architects are beginning to restore the grace, elegance, and honesty that, before the emergence of the modern movement in design, had been forgotten—obliterated by a plethora of nostalgic revivals.

PLATE 1. *Right:* The tower of St. Albans Abbey, built from materials taken from the nearby ruins of the lost city of Verulamium. Reproduced from *The Pictorial History of St. Albans Abbey*, by permission of Pitkin Pictorials Ltd. *Below:* The prototype of the Abbey tower: a model of the south-east gate of Verulamium. Reproduced by permission of the Verulamium Museum, St. Albans. Compare with illustration on page 13.

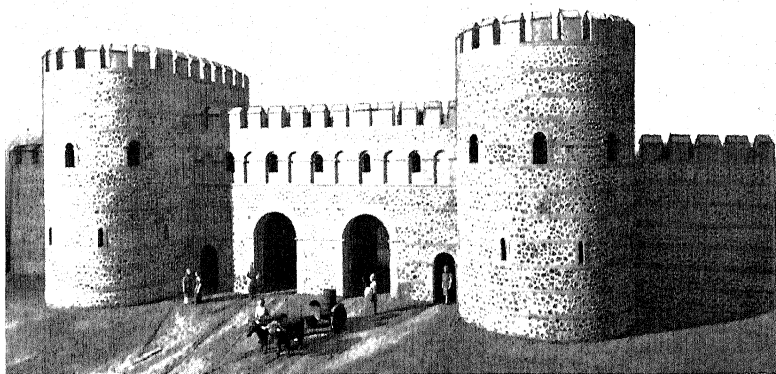
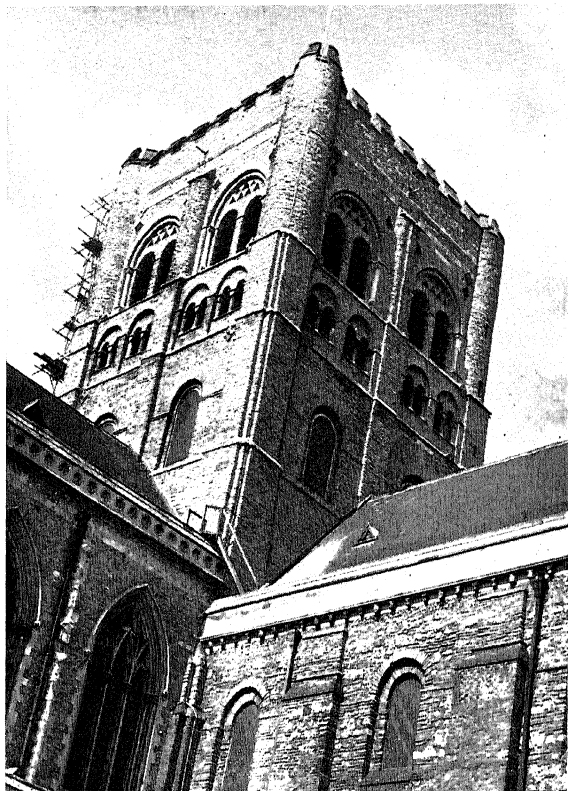




PLATE 2. Two classical versions of London. *Above*: Roman London, Londinium, A.D. 300: reconstructed in a drawing by Alan Sorrell. The large group of buildings in the centre is the Basilica and Forum, occupying the site of what is now the Leadenhall Market. (See page 5.) *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the London Museum.* *Below*: Early nineteenth-century London, with its Baroque and Georgian churches and buildings intact, before the invasion of industrial structures and factory chimneys or the brutalism of Victorian design had marred the skyline and the streets. *Reproduced from an engraving made about 1840, in the author's possession.*







PLATE 3. London as it appeared before the fire of 1666. *Above:* The view eastwards from Dowgate to Billingsgate, with part of the Bridge. The large building on the Bridge at the right is Nonsuch House, pre-fabricated in Holland and erected 1577. (See page 144.) *Below:* Continuation of the view to the walls of the Tower. (See pages 52, 53.) *Reproduced from a part of Hollar's engraving, by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Compare with plate 2.*



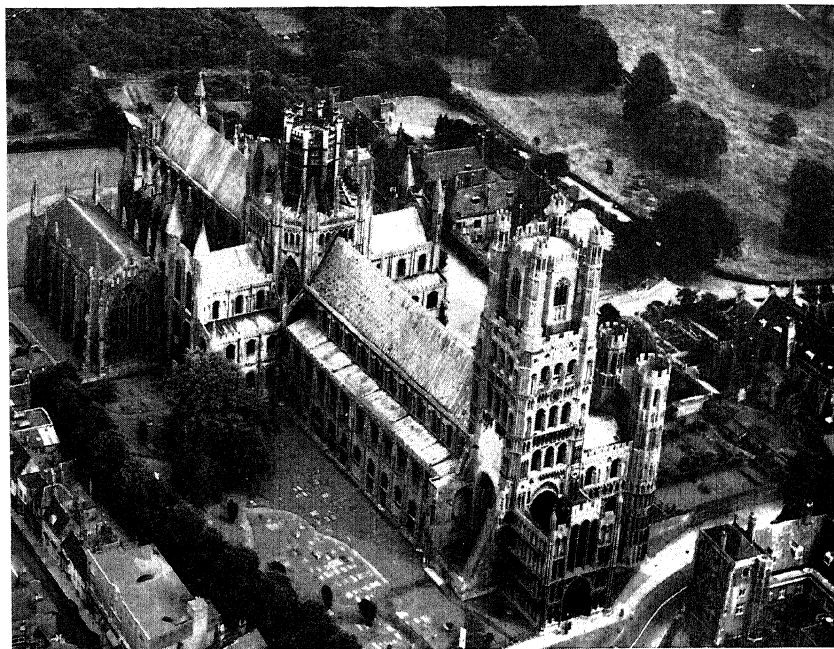
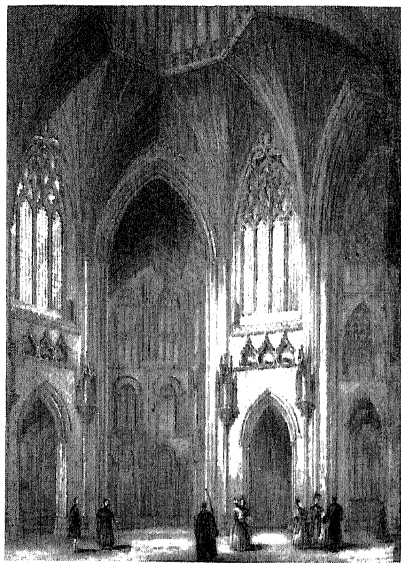


PLATE 4. Ely Cathedral, where the robust Norman work dominates the exterior. *Above*: Air view, showing the west front, and the octagon and lantern, which replaced the original square tower that collapsed in 1321. *Photograph by Aerofilms.* *Right*: The interior of the octagon: the design has been attributed, on scanty evidence, to the sacrist, Alan of Walsingham. Reproduced from Winkles's *Cathedrals of England and Wales* (London: 1838), plate 75.



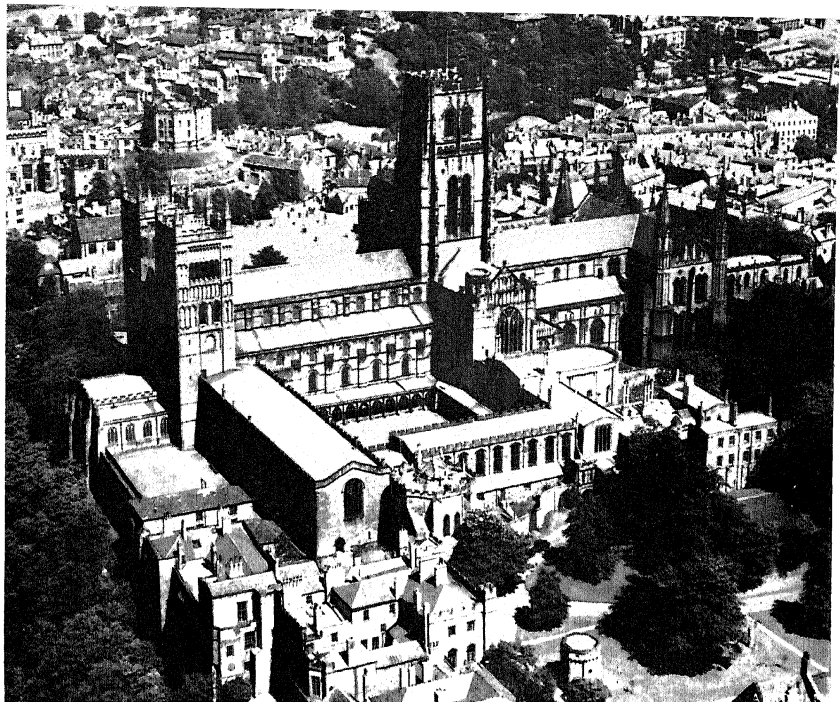


PLATE 5. The Cathedral Monastery at Durham stands on a rocky peninsula above the River Wear. This air view looks north, and beyond the Cathedral, crowning an eminence, is the castle of the bishops, a defensive, military structure, built to protect the Monastery; for the north of England was always open to attack by sea rovers and raiding Scots. This Cathedral of St. Cuthbert was founded by refugee monks from Lindisfarne, who removed the body of the saint from its original tomb in 995 to this peninsula of Dunholme—the original name of Durham, meaning Hill Island. The monks were escaping from Danish raiders, and the see of Lindisfarne was removed to Durham, where a church was built by Bishop Ealdhunc. In 1093, Bishop Carilef rebuilt Ealdhunc's church, and the establishment was changed into a Benedictine abbey. Durham is one of the finest examples of Norman architecture in England, and the nave with its massive columns is rivalled only by Ely. (See plate 4.) The Norman work covers a period from 1093 to 1133. The western towers have an Early English superstructure above the Norman, and the central tower is Perpendicular. The cloisters and monastic buildings are at the south of the Cathedral. *Photograph by Aerofilms.*

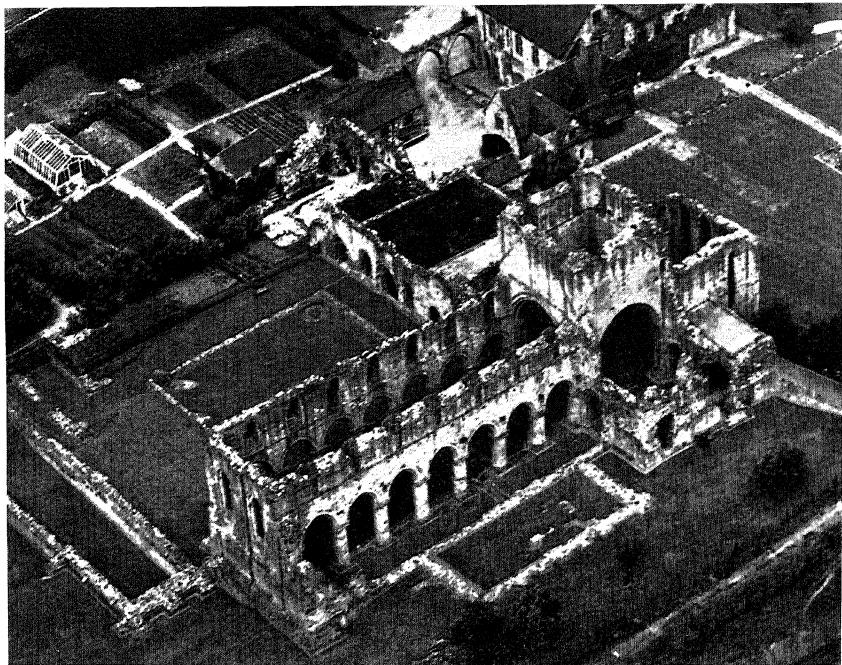


PLATE 6. The ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Buildwas, on the south bank of the River Severn in Shropshire. This example of Norman work was begun about 1135 and completed in 1170. *Above:* The ruins from the air, showing the nave, central tower, and chapter house. *Photograph by J. K. St. Joseph. Crown Copyright Reserved.* *Right:* The nave arcade, south-east bay. *Reproduced by permission of The Ministry of Works. Crown Copyright Reserved.*





PLATE 7. The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, consecrated in 1125. An example of early Norman work, this cruciform structure has a nave with side aisles, transepts, and a choir terminating in an apse, surrounded by an ambulatory. Nave, choir and transepts are united by a central tower, 46 feet square and rising to 135 feet: the largest Norman tower in Europe. (The rich arcading of the tower is shown in the drawing on page 44.) The west front is dominated by a huge arch, which streams upwards to the roof line. Norman work still gives a bold, massive character to the interior, although the church was restored in the Decorated period. Unlike Buildwas (plate 6), Tewkesbury survived: when the Abbey was suppressed in 1540, the Abbey Church was bought from the King's Commissioners by the people of Tewkesbury, and it became their parish church. *Photograph by Aerofilms.*



PLATE 8. The Norman nave of old St. Paul's. Since Britain was a Roman province, Ludgate Hill has always been crowned by a sacred edifice. There is a tradition that a temple of Diana occupied the site when London was Londinium Augusta, over 1,500 years ago. The Norman cathedral replaced an older church of St. Paul, built in the seventh century by King Aethelbert of Kent, and was begun in 1085; the nave and apse were completed about 1155. The tower was built in 1221, when the apse was removed and replaced by the choir shown on the opposite plate. (See page 169 and plate 31.) From an engraving by Hollar. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

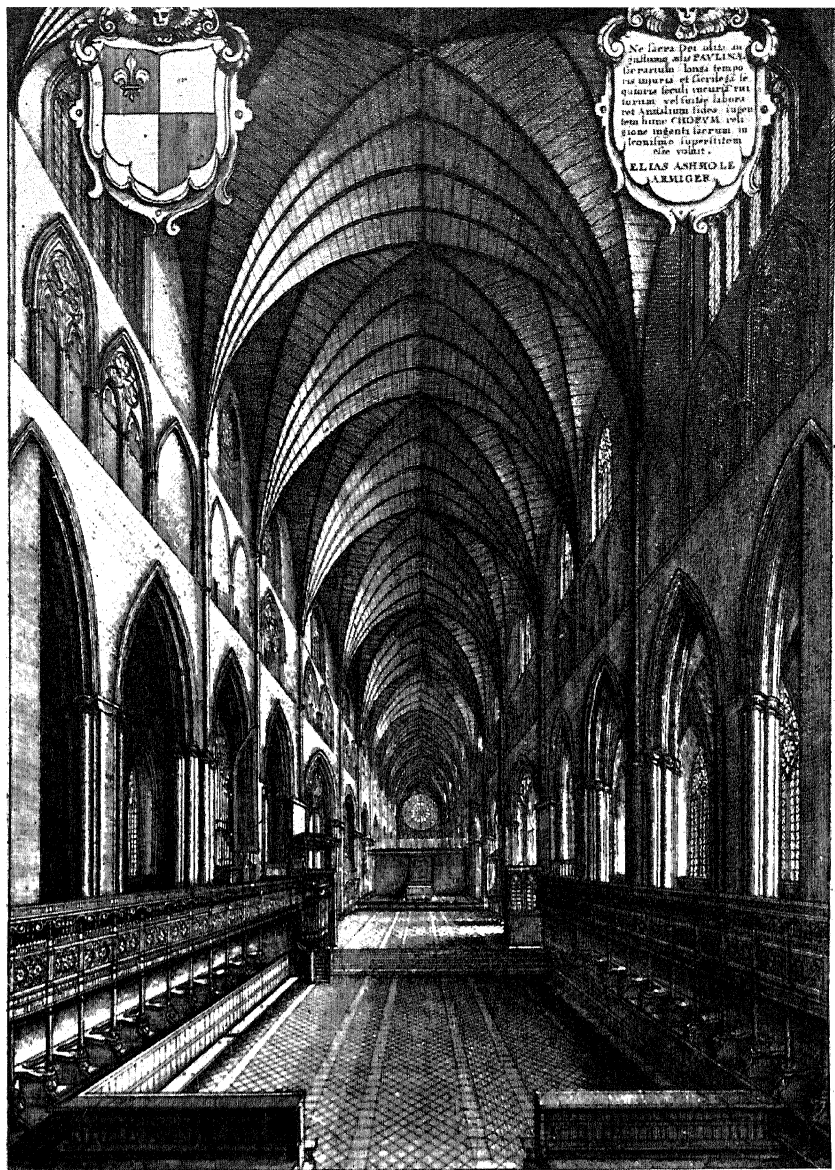


PLATE 9. The choir of old St. Paul's. This example of Early English Gothic was begun in 1221; the eight eastern bays were built between 1255 and 1283, and the square east end was adorned by a rose window, with seven large, wide lights below. From an engraving by Hollar. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*

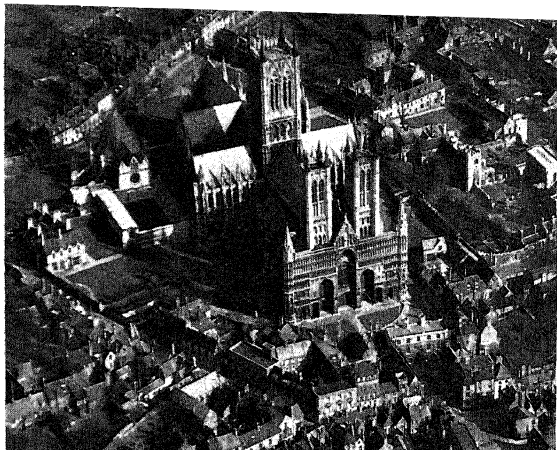


PLATE 10. Lincoln Minster: the Cathedral Church of the Virgin Mary.

*Above:* Air view, showing the Early English screen built over the Norman front with the west towers rising behind. *Photograph by Aerofilms.*

*Right:* The west towers once had spires. They were threatened with removal in 1726, as their weight endangered the security of the towers. The city objected; there were riots, and the spires remained. They were finally removed in 1807, as they were insecure. Reproduced from Bartholomew Howlett's *Views in the County of Lincoln* (London: 1798).

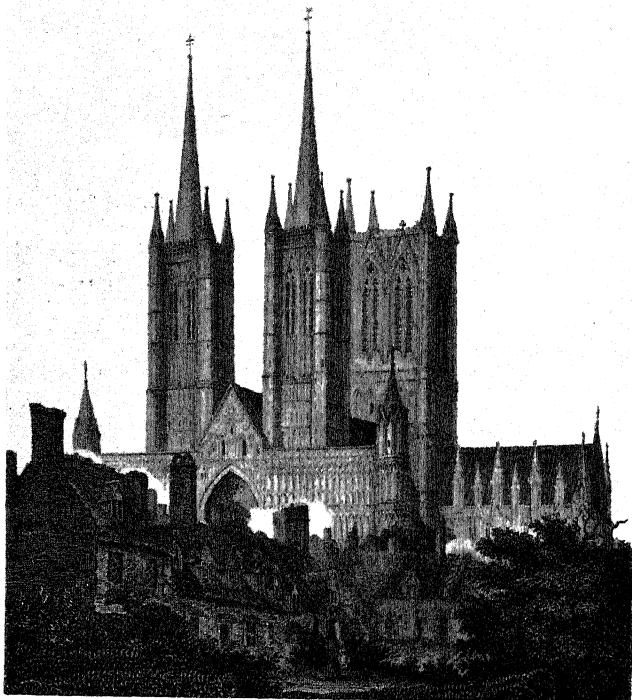
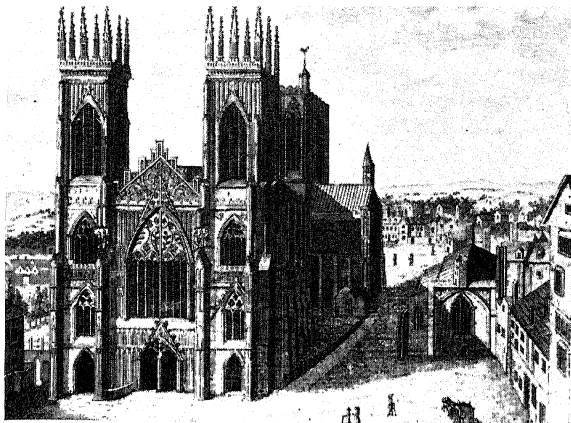




PLATE II. The Cathedral Church of St. Peter, York, usually known as the Minster.



*Above:* The west front and twin towers of the Minster. The central tower was rebuilt in the Perpendicular style in the fifth decade of the fifteenth century. In this engraving, published in 1783, a small turret adorns the south-west corner. Reproduced from *An Accurate Description and History of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York*, plate 1. *Below:* Air view of the Minster, showing the cruciform plan. Photograph by Aerofilms.



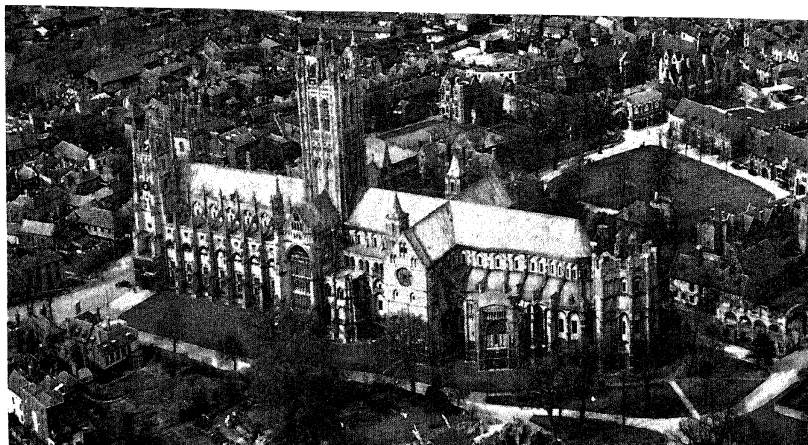
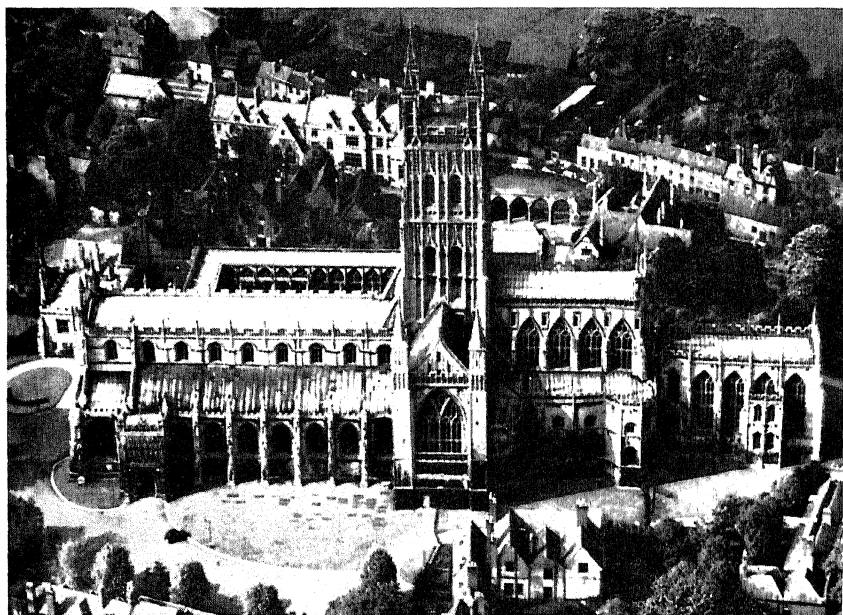


PLATE 12. *Above*: Canterbury Cathedral, showing the 235-foot Perpendicular tower—the most conspicuous external feature of the building. *Photograph by Aerofilms.* *Below*: Gloucester Cathedral, which incorporates in its structure every phase of English architecture from Norman to Perpendicular. *Photograph by J. K. St. Joseph. Crown Copyright Reserved.*



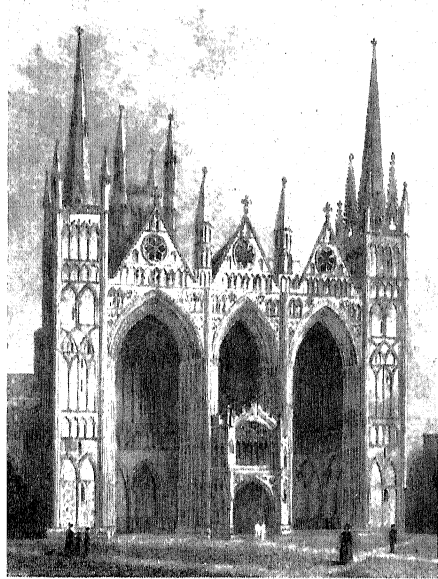
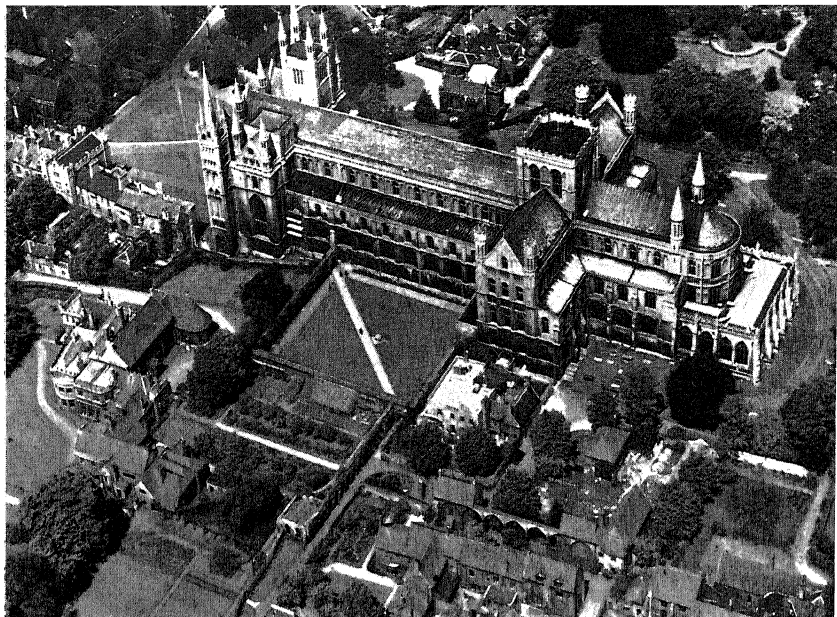


PLATE 13. The Abbey Church of Peterborough, converted into a Cathedral by Henry VIII. *Above*: An air view which shows the great length of the nave in relation to the choir and transepts. From ground level the building looks rather squat and massive: no vertical feature rises high above the roof line. *Photograph by Aerofilms. Left*: The west front. Reproduced from Winkles's *Cathedral Churches of England and Wales* (London: 1838), plate 79. (See pages 68 and 72.)

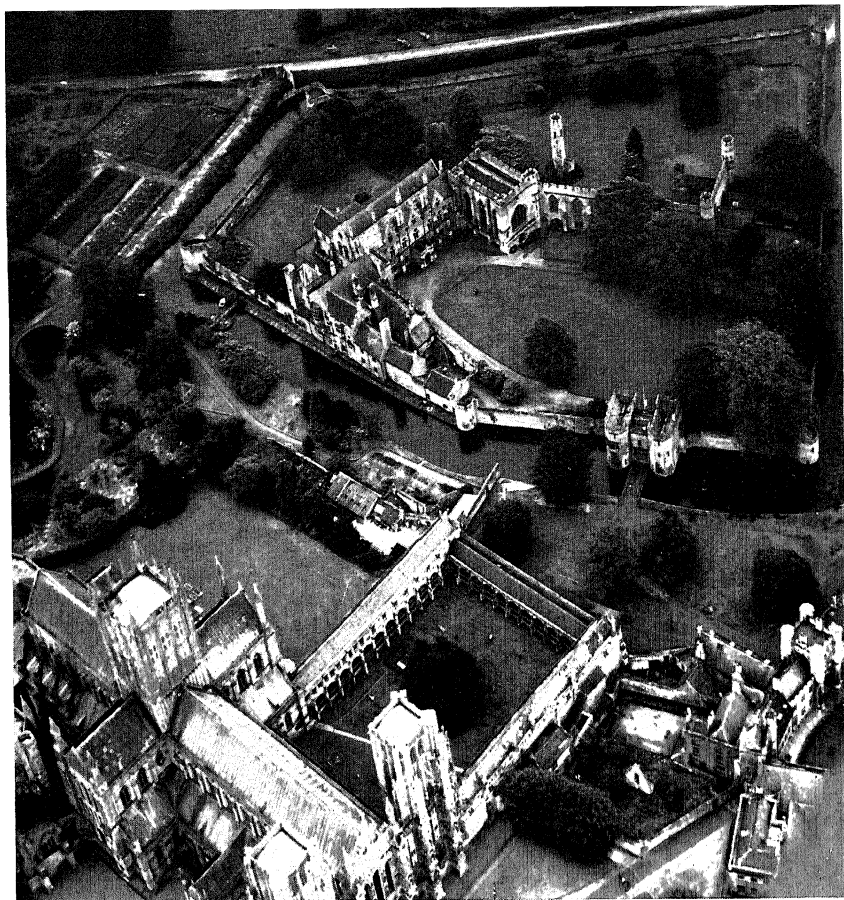


PLATE 14. The Cathedral and Bishop's Palace at Wells, Somerset. This air view shows the extent of the cloisters. The central tower was built early in the fourteenth century, and the twin towers of the western front were never taken up to their full height; they remain truncated, incomplete. Building began late in the twelfth century and continued for two hundred years. The Bishop's Palace, on the south side of the cathedral, has a fortified wall, a moat and a gate-house. The hall and chapel date from the fourteenth century. *Photograph by J. K. Joseph. Crown Copyright Reserved.*

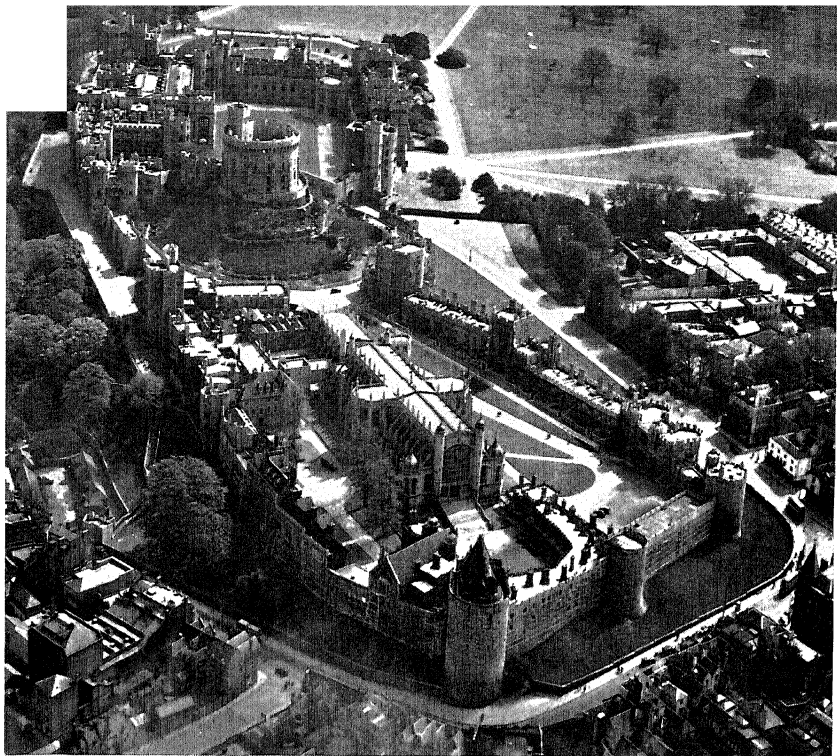


PLATE 15. Windsor Castle, with St. George's Chapel in the foreground. When England was composed of a group of disunited states at the time of the Heptarchy, the large circular mound at Windsor was a stronghold, and William the Conqueror replaced the original wooden enclosure by a stone circuit wall. About 1272 the first round tower was built, reconstructed and enlarged about 1344, and finally dolled-up to look more mediaeval than any tower had ever looked before by George IV's court architect, Sir Jeffrey Wyatville. Since the Norman Conquest, Windsor has been a royal residence. *Photograph by Aerofilms.*

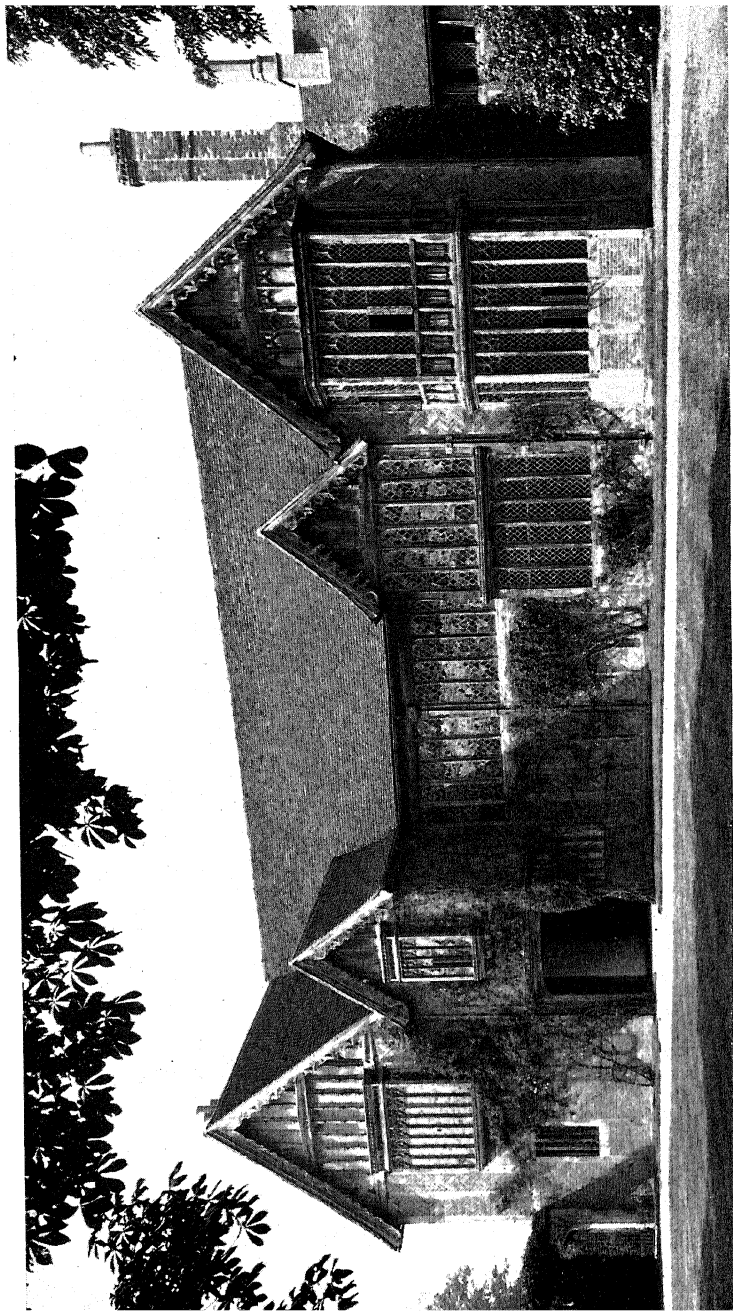


PLATE 16. Ockwells Manor, Berkshire, circa 1465. View from the north-east, showing the bay and frieze windows of the Hall. (See plate 17.) Copyright, "Country Life".

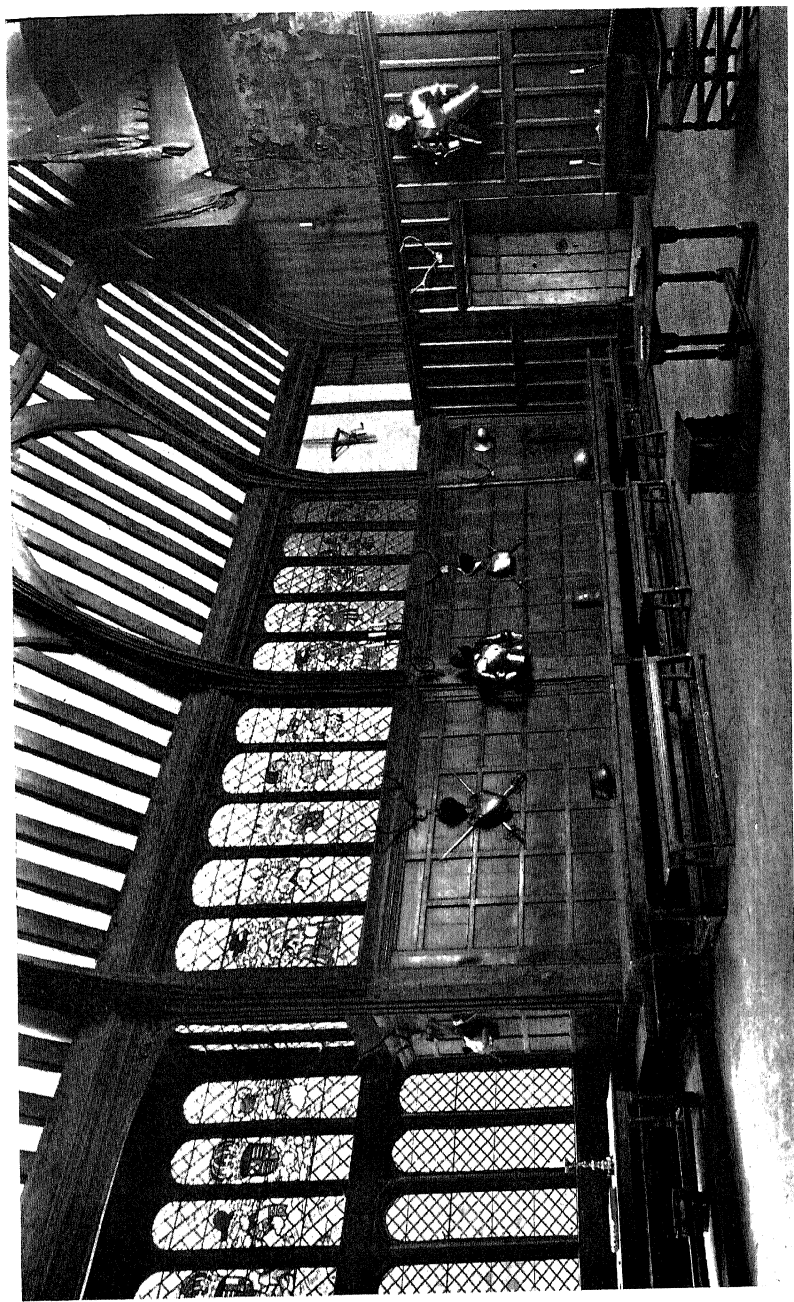


PLATE 17. The Hall, Ockwells Manor, Berkshire. Copyright, "Country Life".

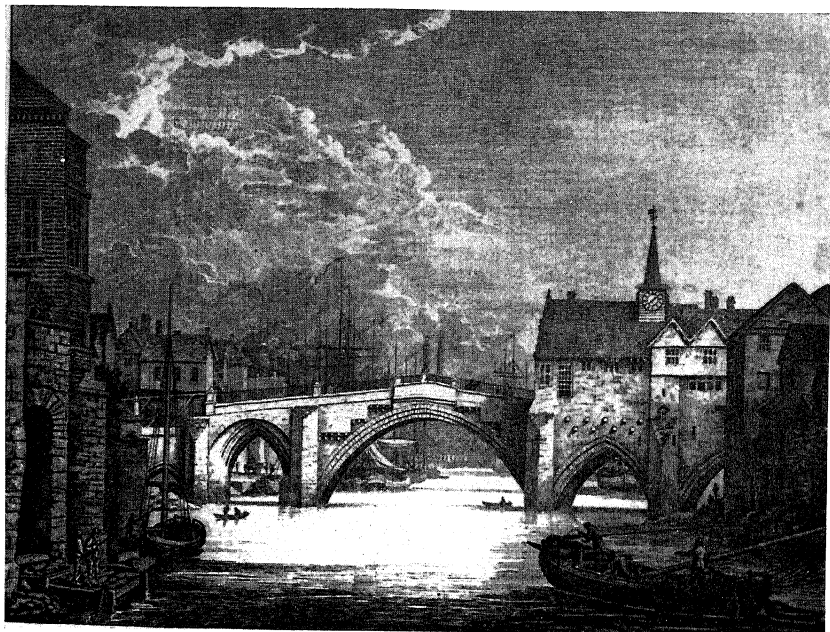


PLATE 18. Mediaeval structures flowed into easy architectural relationships. *Above*: St. William's Chapel, advancing across the Ouse Bridge at York, carried on small pointed arches. From Joseph Halfpenny's *Fragmenta Veluste* (London: 1807). *Below*: Sir William Grevel's house in the main street of Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire, built in the late fourteenth century, with a bay window ascending through two storeys. Adjoining on the right are early seventeenth-century houses, with Georgian sash windows, all built of Cotswold stone, a material that has been handled in much the same way by Cotswold builders from the Middle Ages to the present day. *Photograph by the author.*





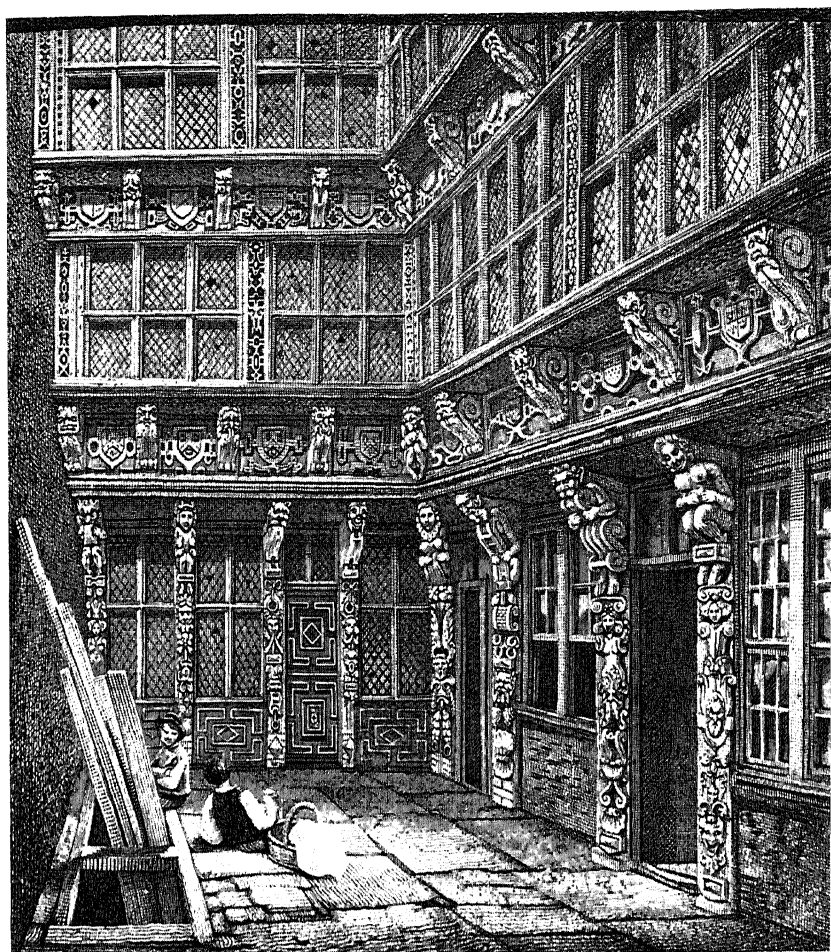


PLATE 19. Early sixteenth-century house, formerly in Hart Street, Crutched Friars, London, with a façade of carved oak. The grotesque figures on the corbels and pilasters have the robust, explosive vigour of mediæval carving, pagan rather than Christian in character; almost obliterating by sheer vitality of conception and execution the tentative trifling with classical motifs. The insertion of Ionic capitals on the pilasters of the doorway at the right, the scrolls and shells and other ornamental scraps that are dragged in, cannot compete with the crouching figures and malicious, grinning masks. The heraldic emblems are of secondary importance in the decorative composition. The house, demolished in 1801, was drawn and etched by J. T. Smith in May 1792, and published in his *Ancient Topography of London*. He described it as a "specimen of the Armorial style".

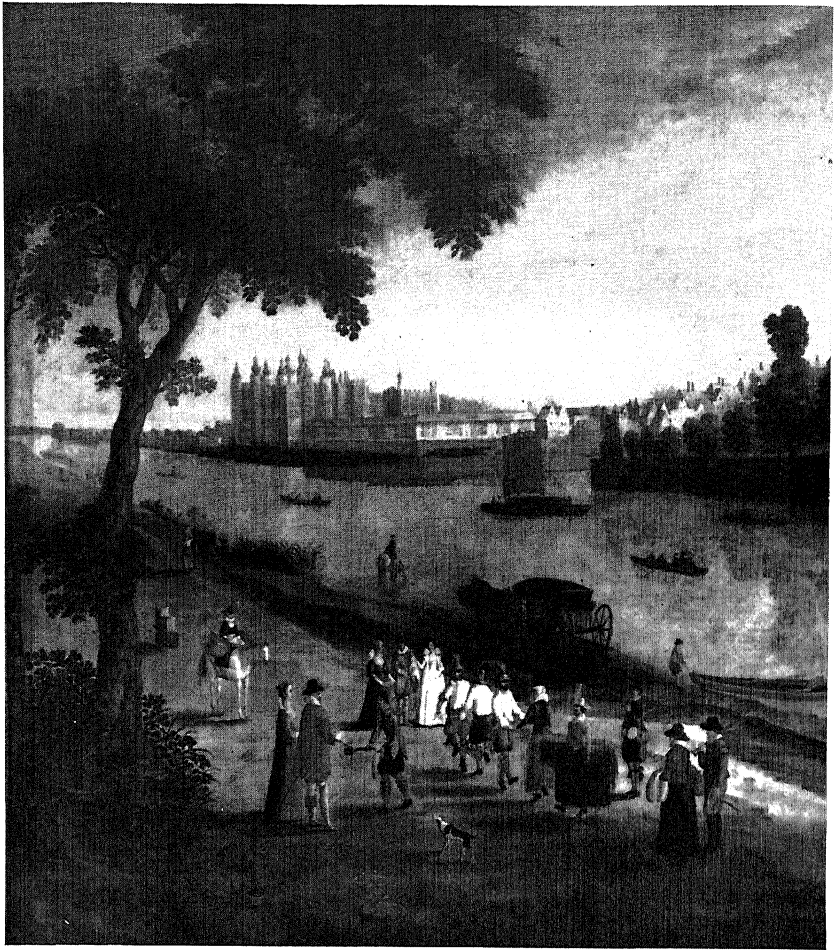


PLATE 20. The palace built at Sheen for Henry VII, completed in 1501, and called Richmond Palace. Built of brick around a courtyard, with tall, narrow towers, it had some of the features of a mediaeval castle. Like Nonsuch, it was an exceptional building; one of Henry VII's rare pieces of extravagance; unmistakably English in character, though its slender towers, rounded and octagonal, with lead crowns flaring up from their summits, proclaim a foreign origin. The palace was largely destroyed during the Commonwealth, but was intact about 1629, and was included in the painting of "The Thames at Richmond", by David Vinckeboons. The left-hand part of that painting is shown above, and is reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Only the gate-house on Richmond Green survives today. (See pages 114, 115.)

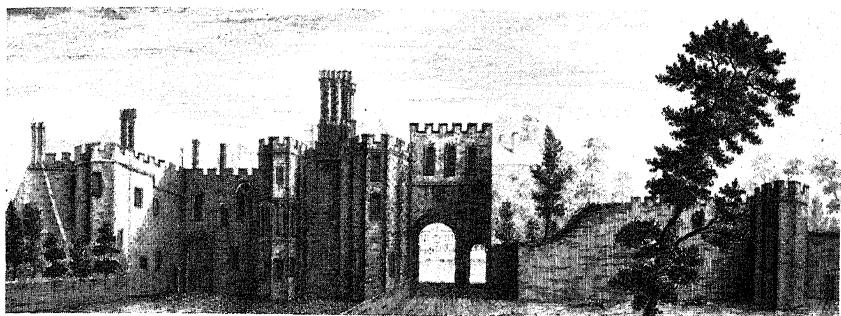


PLATE 21. The remains of Richmond Palace, facing Richmond Green, depicted by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, in 1737. The gate-house has since lost its battlements, and the ornamental brick chimneys have been replaced. (See A. S. Cook's drawing on page 114.) *From an engraving in the author's possession.* Henry Overton and J. Hook, in their bird's-eye view of Richmond, engraved about 1726, showed much the same extent of buildings, including the south side of the courtyard behind the gate-house. The relevant part of this view is shown below. Early Georgian houses have encroached upon the area formerly occupied by the palace, Maids of Honour Row to the south, built 1724-1725, (see page 173), and two tall, narrow houses to the north, with a fragment of the Palace wall and an angle tower beyond them. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Richmond Public Library Committee.*



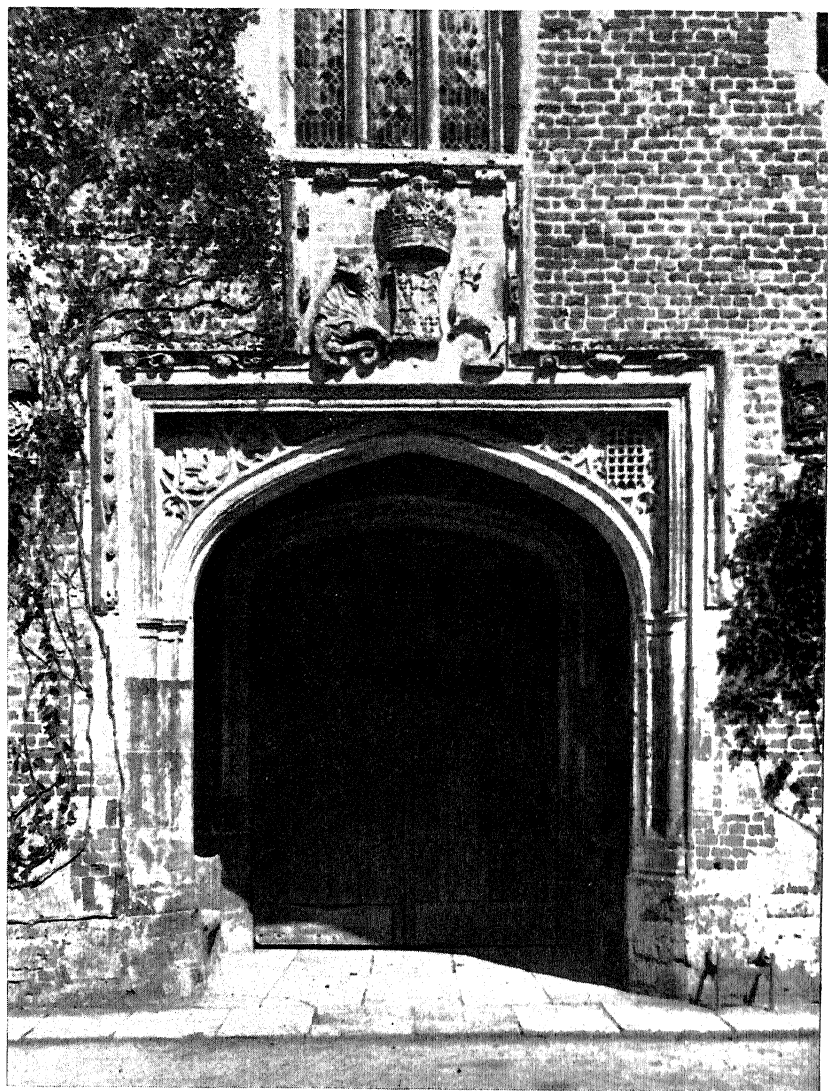


PLATE 22. Entrance to the court at Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire, the brick mansion built by Sir William Compton in the reign of Henry VIII: a superb example of the native English style of domestic architecture. The vigour of the heraldic motifs above the arch and in the spandrels, the mouldings and the sweep of the arch proclaim a confident command of materials and design. Compare this with the treatment of the doorway on plate 23 opposite.  
*Reproduced by courtesy of the National Buildings Record.*

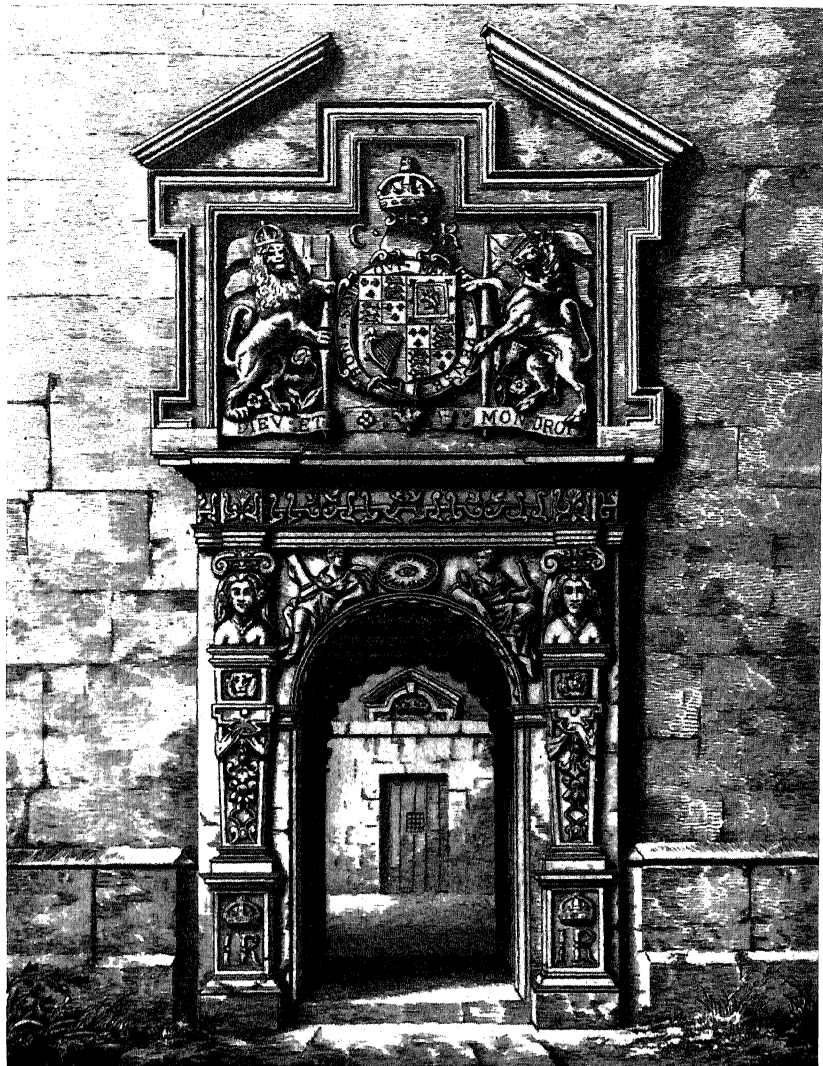


PLATE 23. Entrance to the Manor, York. The plinths of the pilasters bear the initials of James I; above the doorway, an obviously later addition, are the arms of Charles I. Here the native English style has been replaced by an ill-digested mess of alien ideas, borrowed largely from Flemish copy-books, replete with misunderstanding of classical motifs, which are jammed in anywhere and anyhow; Ionic capitals, like curly cocked hats, perched on the heads of the busts that surmount the pilasters, supporting an architrave, frieze and cornice, weighed down by the heraldic composition and its clumsy framework. From Joseph Halfpenny's *Fragmenta Vetuste* (London: 1807).

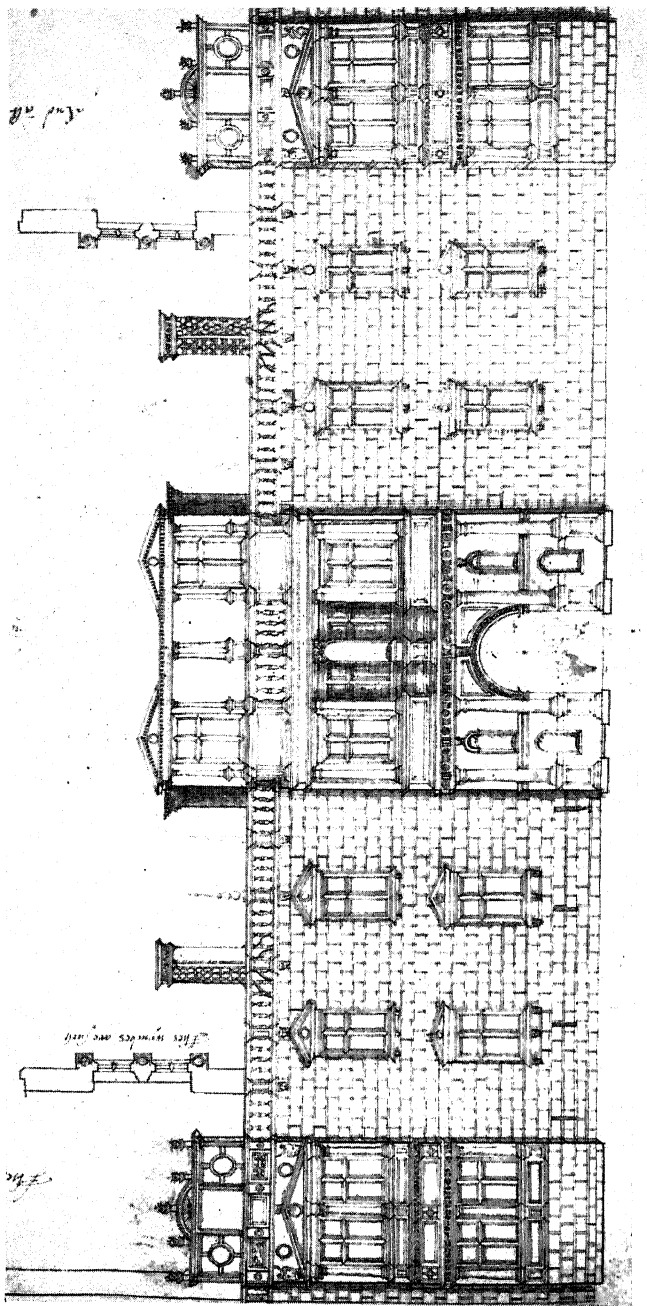


PLATE 24. John Thorpe's drawing of the Strand front of Somerset House, London, 1547-1552, attributed to John Thynne. Although this early example of English Renaissance architecture exhibits a greater understanding of the classic orders as a system of design, it lacks the confident command of the classic idiom that distinguishes the work of the late seventeenth-century and Georgian architects. (See plate 25, also page 131.) *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Sir John Soane Museum.*

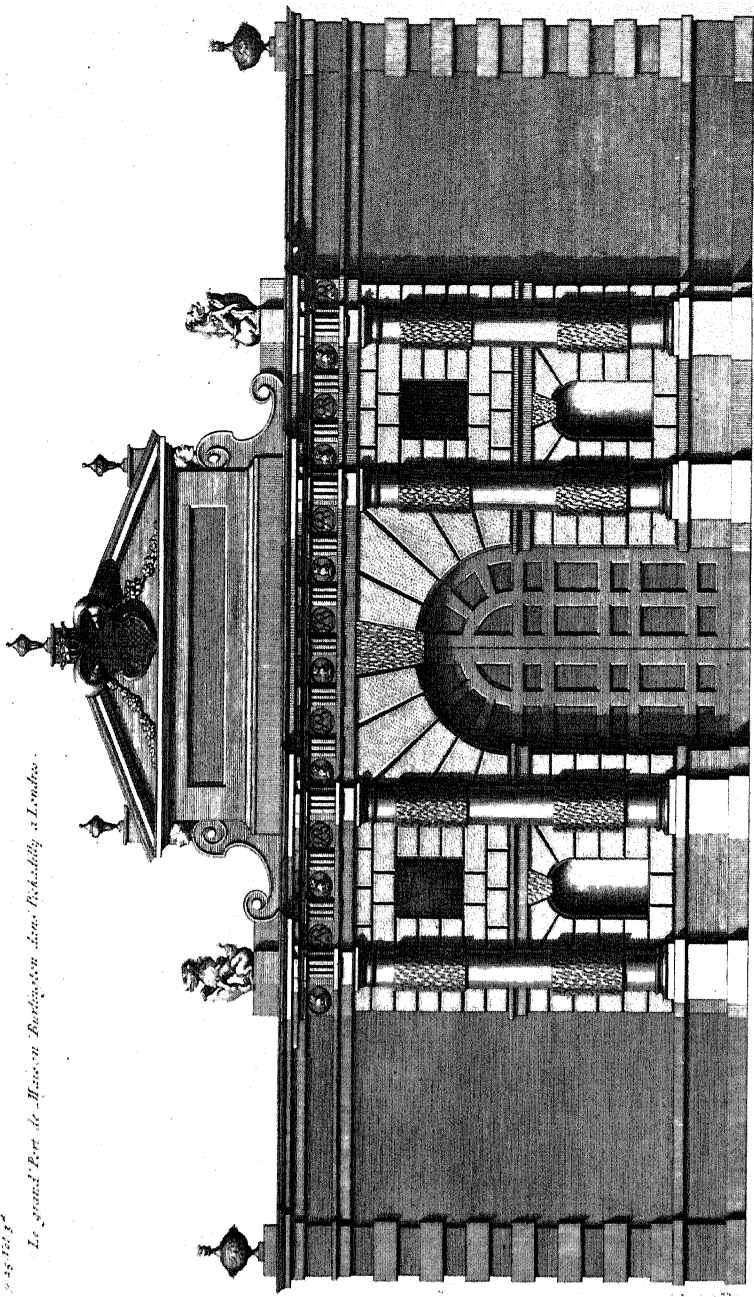


PLATE 25. The gate of Burlington House, Piccadilly, designed in 1718 by Colen Campbell. From *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume III, plate 25.

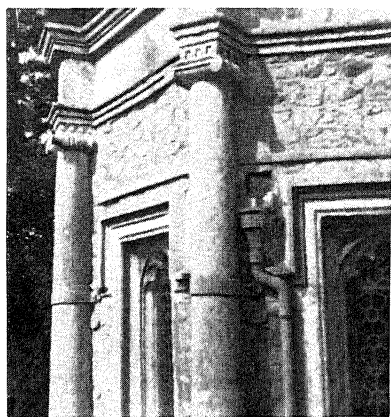
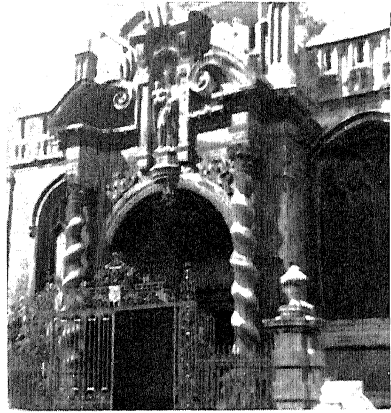
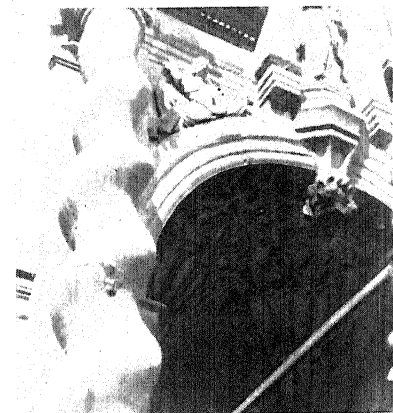


PLATE 26. *Above, left:* The hexagonal porch, added to the parish church of St. Leonard, Sunningwell, Berkshire, about 1552. In that year, John Jewel, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, graduated B.D., was made vicar of Sunningwell, and public orator of the University. He is supposed to have added this porch to the parish church. It is an unhappy mixture of classic and nondescript Gothic features. A different stone is used for the walls of the porch and the Ionic columns. *Above, right:* Detail of columns and entablature. (See pages 134-136.)



*Above:* The south porch of the University Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, built under the influence of Archbishop Laud, 1637, and executed and probably designed by John Jackson, a master-mason. This barely controlled composition, with its exuberant conflicting elements, is a foretaste of English baroque. (See pages 145, 146.) *Photographs by the author.*





PLATE 27. The Royal Exchange, London, founded by Sir Thomas Gresham (1519–1579), and one of the first buildings to be entirely Flemish in style, for the work was commissioned in Flanders by Gresham, and the master-mason who carried it out was a Fleming named Henryk. The principal feature of the building was a great courtyard, surrounded by a loggia, with the arches supported on Doric columns, and Ionic pilasters on the upper storey between the niches. The two orders were used with clarity and decision, undistorted by the fanciful additions that often characterised Flemish interpretations of classic architecture. This building may well have exerted an influence on English architects who were experimenting with the use of the classic orders. It was begun in 1566, opened by Queen Elizabeth I in January 1571, and destroyed by fire in 1666. This view is from an engraving by Hollar, 1644. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.*



PLATE 28. Perpendicular Gothic did not die out in the sixteenth century, but survived, and found spasmodic expression during the first half of the seventeenth, and even later. One of the late examples was this church at Staunton Harold, Leicestershire, begun in 1653, and Perpendicular throughout, save for the west door, which is Flemish in character. An earlier and far simpler example is the original parish church of St. Paul, at Hammersmith, which was opened in 1631 (see pages 118 and 120), and the most ambitious in scale, St. John's, Leeds, shown on plate 29. *National Buildings Record*.

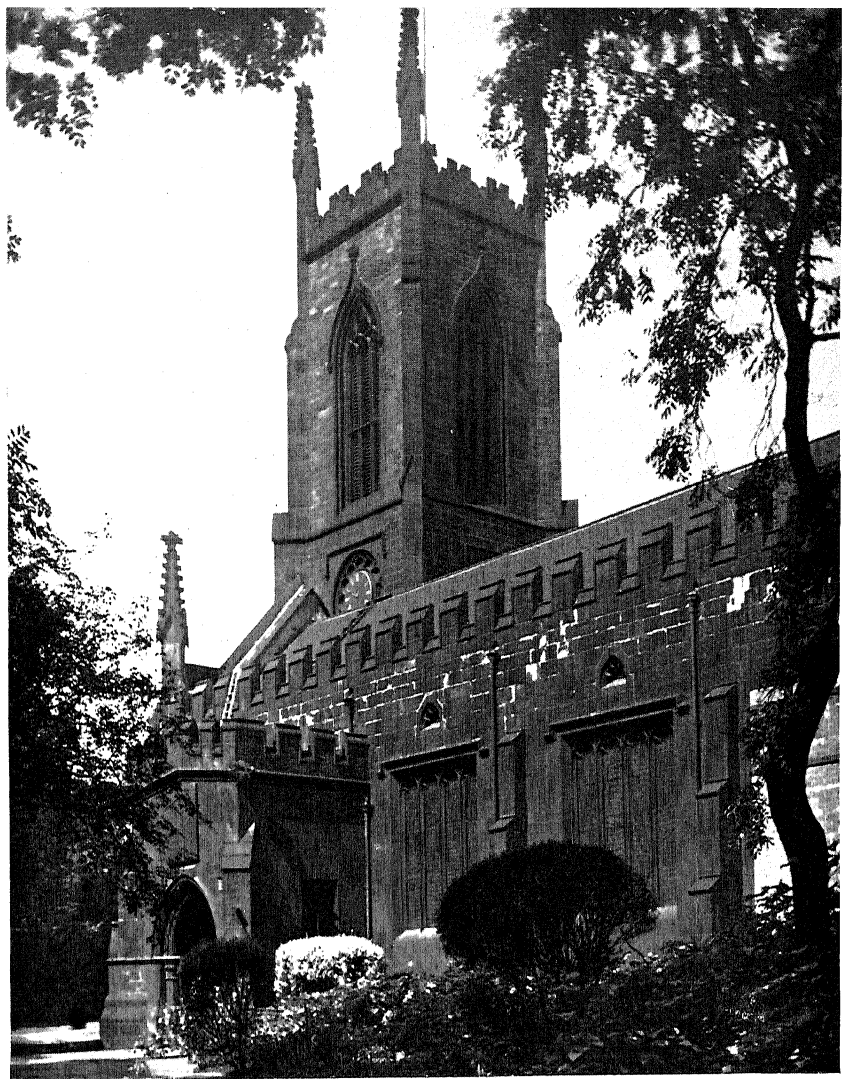


PLATE 29. St. John's Church, Leeds, 1632-1633, built to replace the former parish church, which had become too small for the congregation. The masonry perpetuates the Gothic tradition, but the joiners and carvers responsible for the interior rejected Gothic detail, worked in the contemporary version of classic, and constructed an elaborately decorative Jacobean screen across the whole width of the church. Externally, the building could easily be taken for something erected a hundred years earlier. *National Buildings Record*.

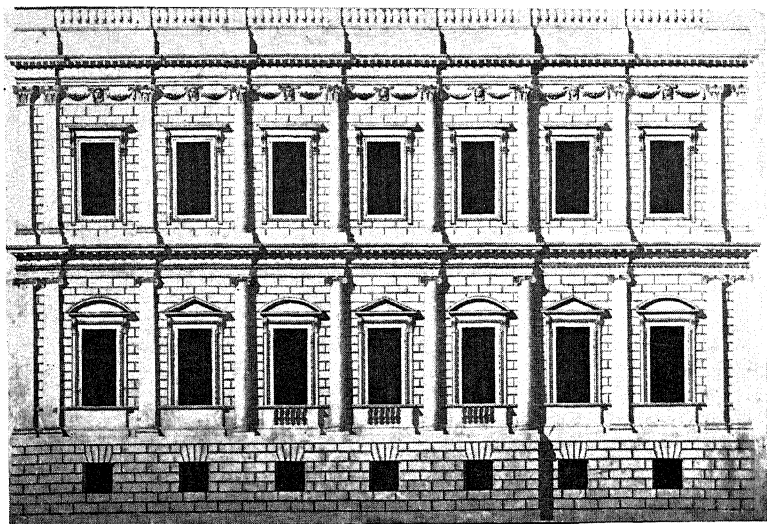


PLATE 30. *Above:* The Banqueting House, Whitehall, by Inigo Jones, 1619–1622. The first example of English mastery of the classic orders. From Sir John Soane's Silver Medal drawing, 1772. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Sir John Soane Museum.*



Raynham Hall, Norfolk, *circa* 1635–1638. Built by Sir Roger Townshend, who may have directed the work himself, and was certainly influenced by the designs of Inigo Jones. *National Buildings Record.*

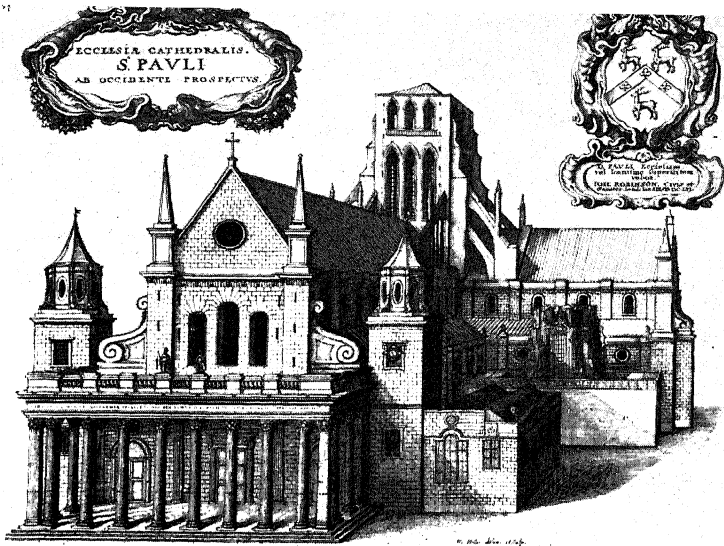
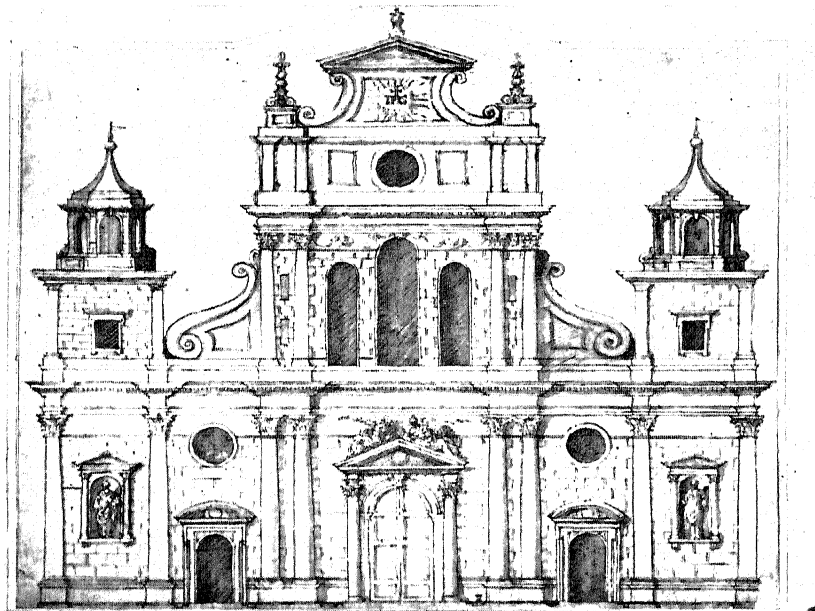


PLATE 31. *Above:* The west front of old St. Paul's, showing the classical additions by Inigo Jones. From an engraving by Hollar in Sir William Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1658. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.* *Below:* Drawing for the west front, by Inigo Jones. *From the Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects.* (See page 156.)



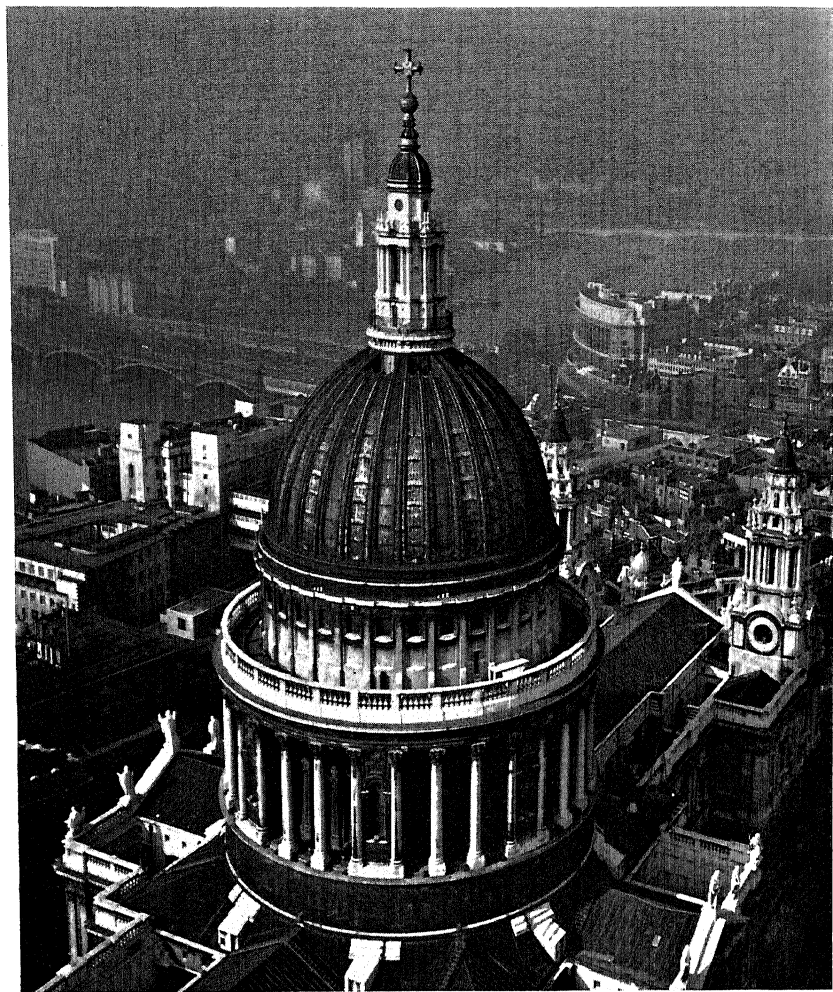


PLATE 32. An air photograph of St. Paul's Cathedral, showing the dome and lantern in greater detail than is possible in views taken from ground-level. Wren's classic masterpiece was built on the site of its Gothic predecessor, between 1675 and 1711: the building was finished in 1698, except for the dome, the west front, and the western towers. The enormous contrast between this Baroque composition and old St. Paul's with its Norman nave and Early English choir is shown by plates 33, 8 and 9. Externally the contrast was equally marked, though the additions to the Gothic fabric shown on plate 31 had already familiarised Londoners with classical features. *Reproduced from a balloon photograph by Aero Stills Limited. (See also pages 152-153.)*



PLATE 33. The nave, crossing, and choir of St. Paul's, seen from the west entrance. Reproduced from Thomas Malton's *Picturesque Tour of London and Westminster*, by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



PLATE 34. The Horse Guards, Whitehall, London, built to the designs of William Kent, after his death, by John Vardy and William Robinson, 1750–1758. From a contemporary engraving in the author's possession. Kent's classic composition replaced the miscellaneous conglomeration of buildings shown below, which were the stables of the Horse Guards as they appeared in the reign of Charles II. The Banqueting House in Whitehall stands at the left in the background (see plate 30), and the view includes one of the gates and the old Treasury building. Reproduced from an engraving in Thomas Pennant's, *Some Account of London* (Fifth edition, 1813). The gate-house of the Treasury, with its battlements, angle towers and turrets, is on the right of the Banqueting House.

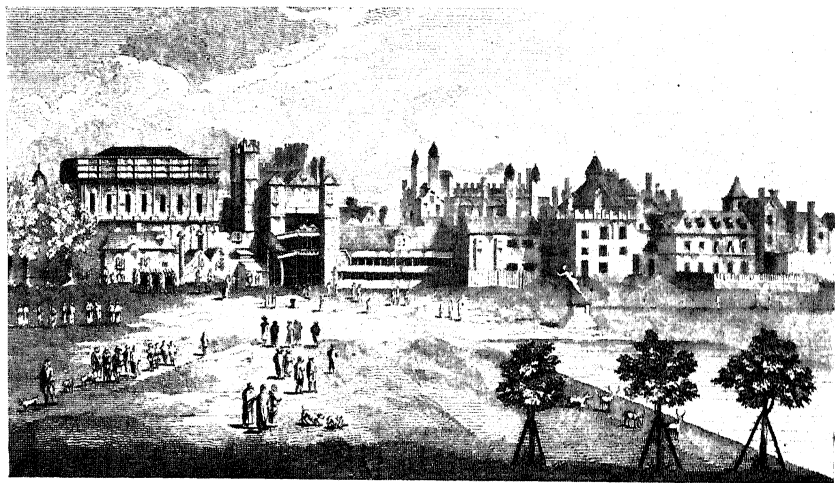
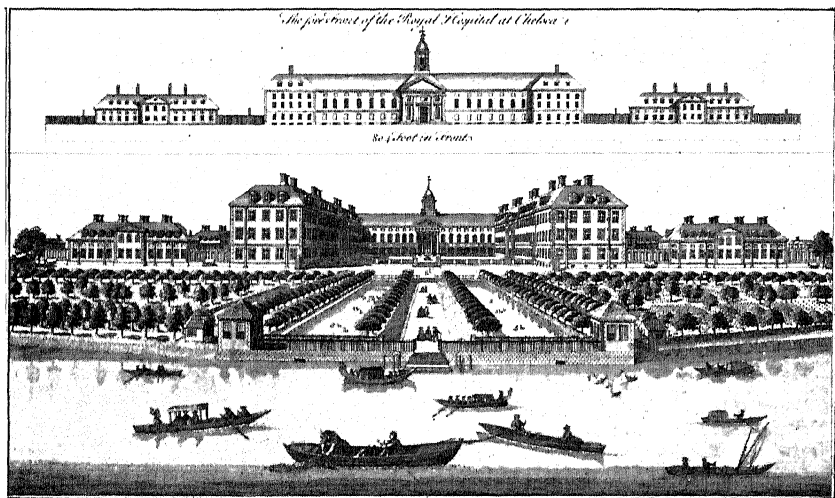




PLATE 35. The Royal Hospital, Chelsea, by Sir Christopher Wren, built 1682-1691.

*Right: Exterior from the north-west. National Buildings Record.*



*Above: The elevation of the Royal Hospital, and, below, the river frontage and gardens. Reproduced from a contemporary print in the author's possession.*

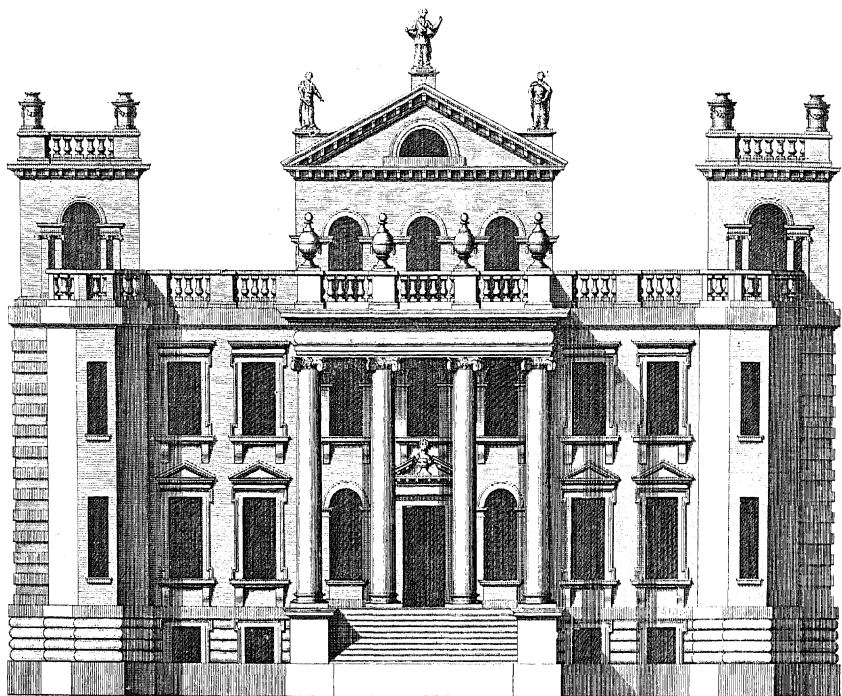


PLATE 36. Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), soldier, playwright, architect, and for ten years Comptroller of Her Majesty’s Works, was the most exuberant exponent of English Baroque. Like Wren, he was an amateur: like Inigo Jones, his initial concern with the theatre gave a dramatic emphasis to his work. Even when he was concerned with houses of relatively modest dimensions, like Seaton Delaval in Northumberland, of which the south front is shown above, he displayed a flair for magnificence, composing his designs like a painter magically empowered to work in three dimensions. Reduced from plate 21, of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume III.

*Right:* Vanbrugh Castle, Greenwich, built 1717. The forerunner of the “sham” castles of the Georgian period. Photograph by Derek Stow, A.R.I.B.A.



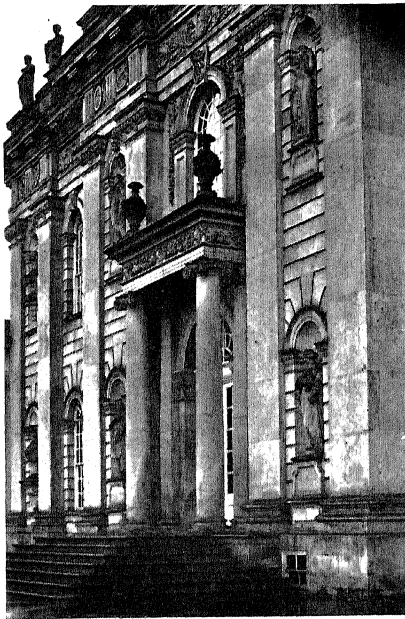
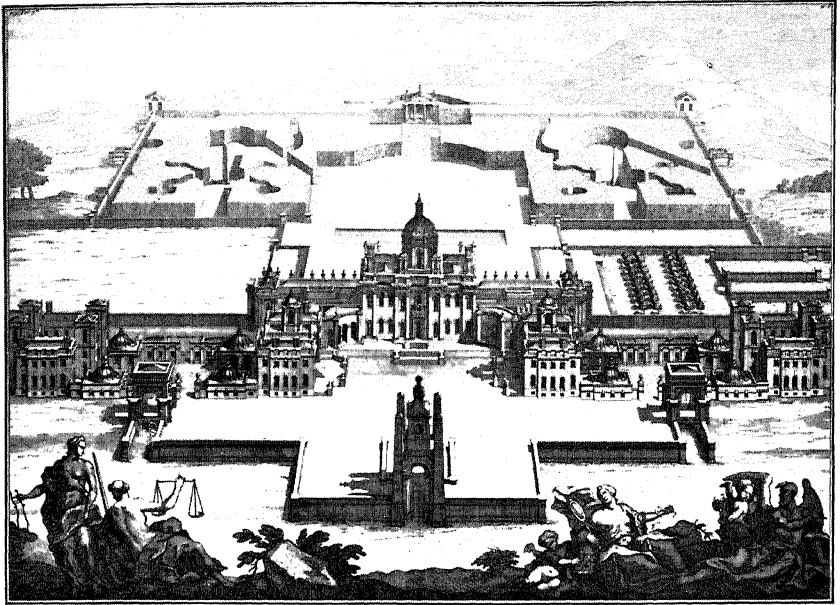


PLATE 37. Castle Howard, Yorkshire, 1699–1712, designed for the Earl of Carlisle, and the first work of Sir John Vanbrugh, who began his career as an architect with this example of the grand manner. The view above shows the scale of the design, and is reduced from plates 5 and 6 of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, Volume III. *Left*: The entrance doorway. From a photograph by F. R. Yerbury. *Reproduced by courtesy of the Architectural Association.*

PLATE 38. Towers and spires in the Classic idiom.



*Above:* St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, London, 1670-1677, designed by Sir Christopher Wren. Reproduced from Thomas Malton's *Picturesque Tour of London and Westminster*, by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. *Left:* St. Mary-le-Strand, 1714-1717, by James Gibbs. From a print published in 1749, in the author's possession. Compare this with the tower of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, on plate 39.

*Right:* The tower and wooden spire of the Cathedral of St. Jago de la Vega, Spanish Town, the old capital of Jamaica. Dating from the early eighteenth century, the church has been altered and restored, and Victorian Gothic additions made. The spire with Ionic pilasters in the storey above the tower is an unusual version of the pagoda form. *Photograph by the author.*

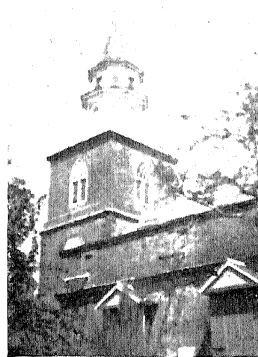




PLATE 39. Towers and spires in the Classic idiom.  
*Left:* Independence Hall, Philadelphia, 1731-1751, by Andrew Hamilton.  
*U.S.A. National Park Service Photograph.* (See plate 41.) *Right:* St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1722-1726, by James Gibbs. *From a contemporary engraving in the author's possession.*

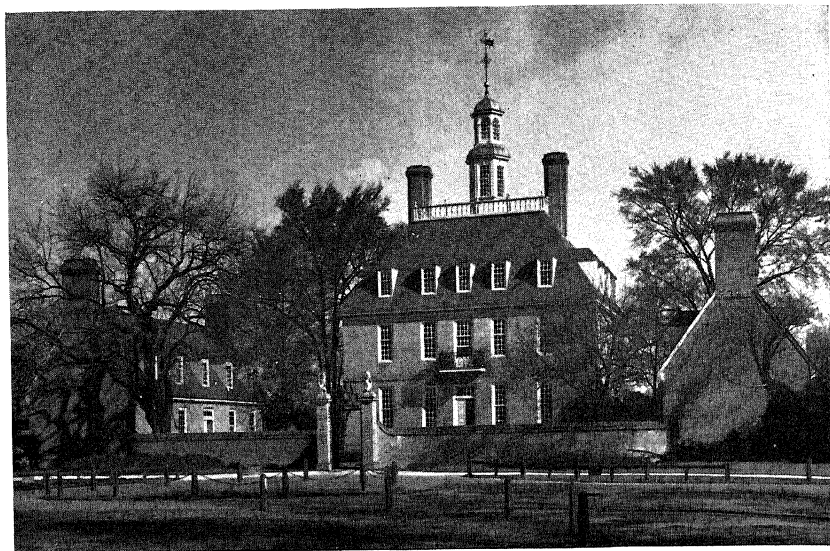
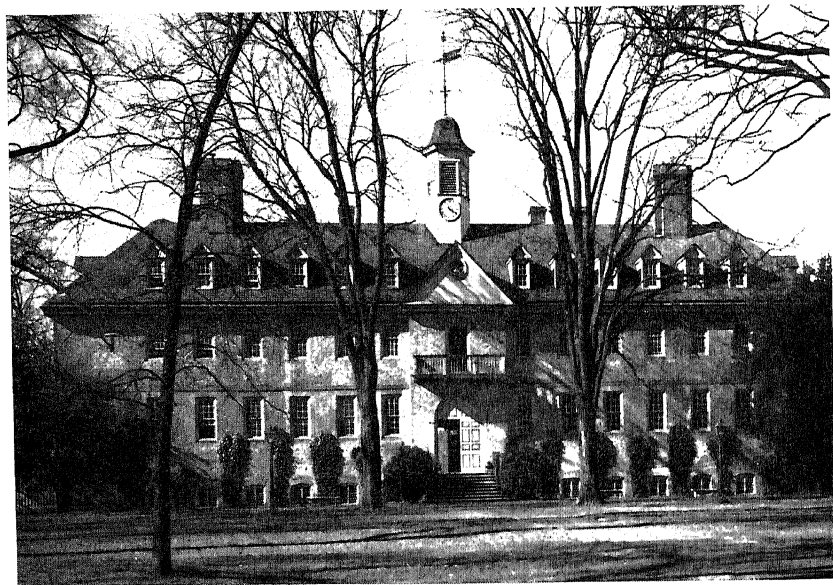


PLATE 40. *Above:* The Governor's Palace at Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A., the prototype of many of the large classical mansions built by wealthy tobacco planters during the Colonial period. 1705. Rebuilt, 1932. *Below:* The College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, founded 1693, and attributed to Sir Christopher Wren. *Reproduced by courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg.* (See pages 187 to 188.)



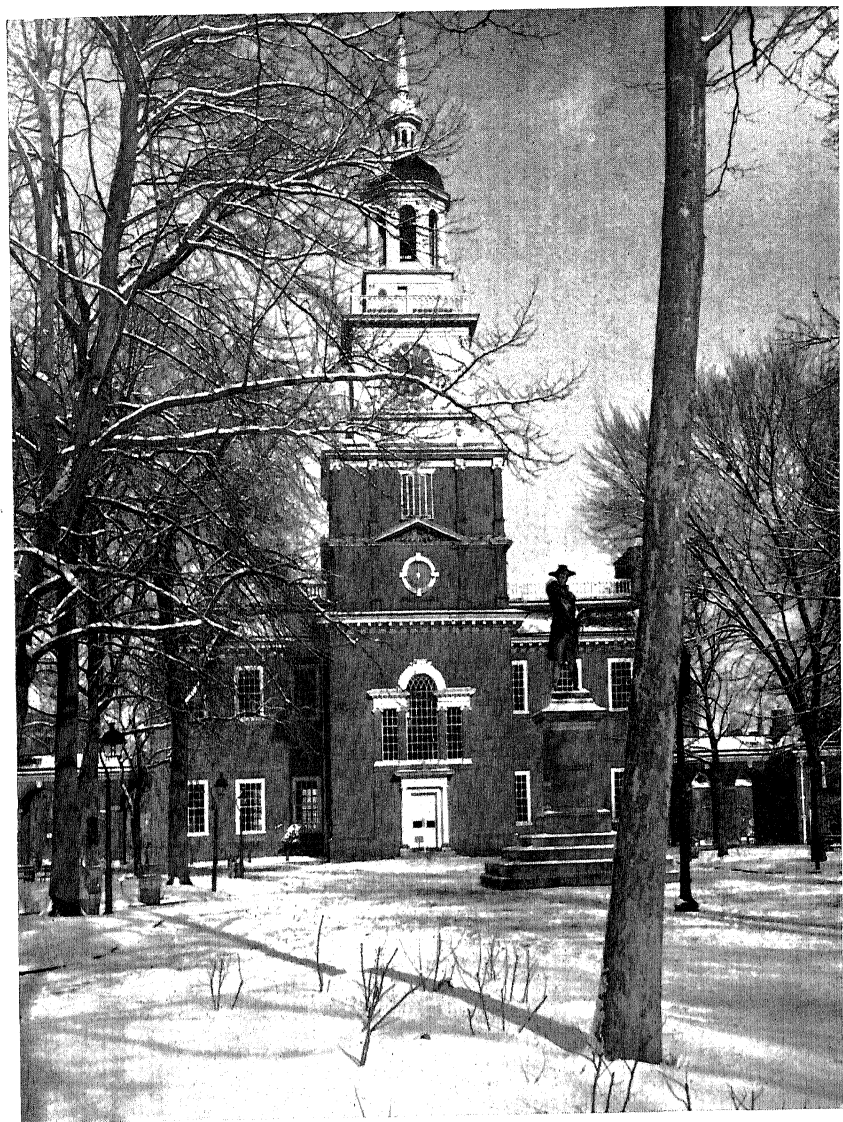


PLATE 41. The English tradition was transplanted to the American Colonies, and flourished there with regional variations, developed within the framework of the classic system of design. Independence Hall, Philadelphia, is an example of mid-Georgian Colonial architecture. Designed by the Speaker of the Assembly, Andrew Hamilton (1676-1741), the foundations were laid in 1731, and the building completed in 1751. *U.S.A. National Park Service Photograph.*

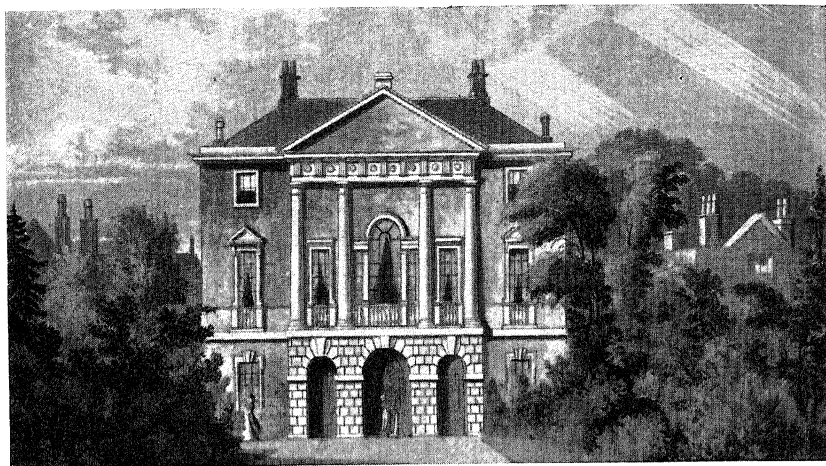


PLATE 42. *Above:* White Lodge, Richmond Park, Surrey, designed by Henry Herbert, ninth Earl of Pembroke (1693–1751) for George II, and built about 1721. Roger Morris (1695–1749) was Clerk of the Works, and in *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Volume IV), 1767, was named as the architect. Reproduced from Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*. *Below:* Hackwood Park, Hampshire, as it appeared in 1830, after being remodelled by Lewis William Wyatt (1778–1853), for Lord Bolton, 1805–1813. The original house had been designed by James Gibbs for the first Duke of Bolton. *Reproduced from a drawing by J. P. Neale.*





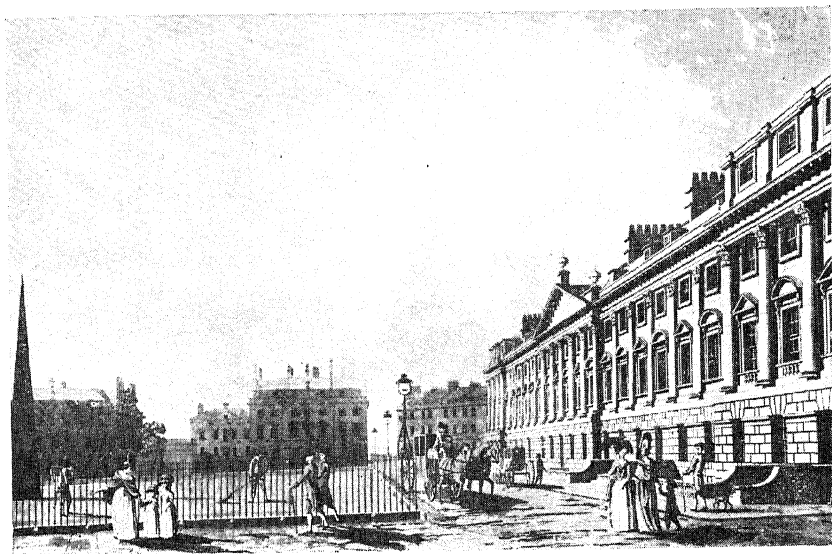
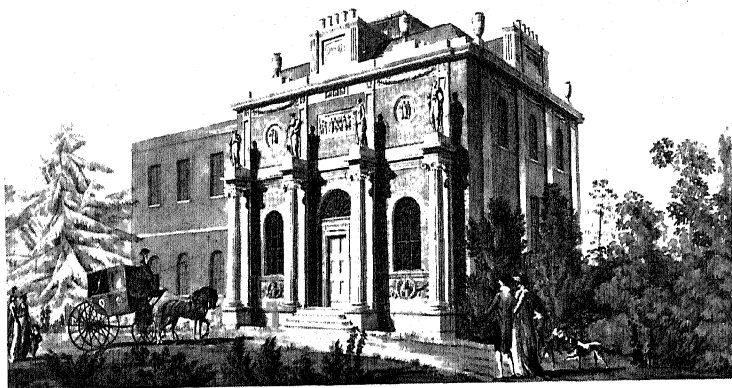


PLATE 43. *Above:* The north side of Queen Square, Bath, built 1729-1736, and designed by John Wood, senior (1704-1754). From an engraving by Thomas Malton, jun., 1775. (See page 178.) *Below:* Pitzhanger Place, Ealing (now Ealing Public Library), reconstructed 1800-1803 by Sir John Soane for his own use. (See illustration of his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields on page 206.) *Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Sir John Soane Museum.*



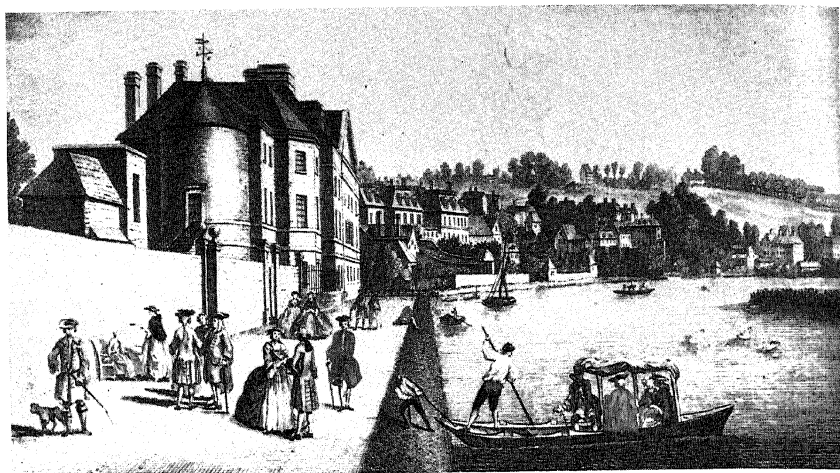
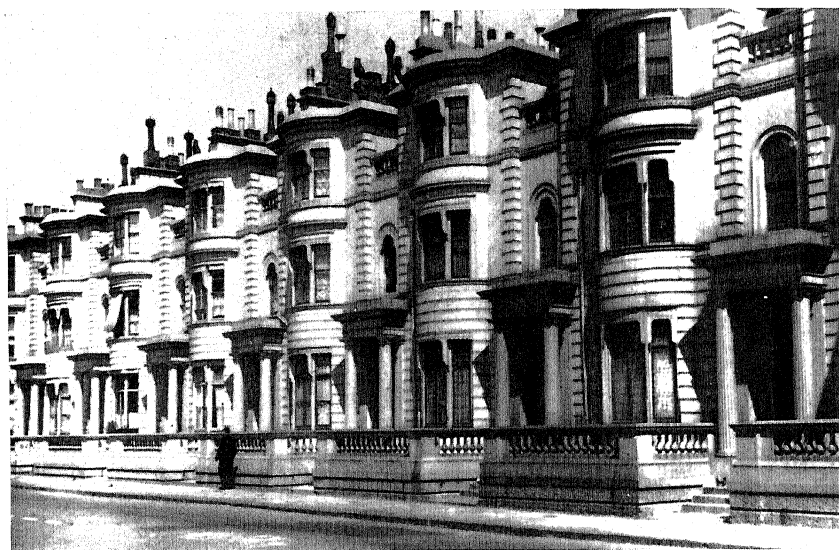


PLATE 44. View of Richmond Hill, Surrey, showing the riverside villas.  
*From a contemporary print, 1749.*



Houses in Gloucester Terrace, Paddington, circa 1850–1860. The bow windows and Doric porticos give far greater variety and distinction to the street than the terrace houses on St. John's Hill, Battersea, shown on page 236. *Reproduced by courtesy of Sir John Summerson.*



PLATE 45. Church Street, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire: the west side looking south-west. Houses of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries rub shoulders with each other in complete harmony. The approach of the builders to the use of materials was unchanged, although fashions in the proportions of door and window openings varied. *Reproduced by courtesy of H.M. Stationery Office. Crown copyright.*



*Left:* The Red Lion Inn, Parkgate, Wirral, Cheshire. An early nineteenth-century building, with the irregularities of the façade unified by well-proportioned windows and a white surface for the walls. Parkgate was a flourishing port, from which the Dublin packets sailed, until the Dec silted up. *Photograph by G. M. Gloag.*

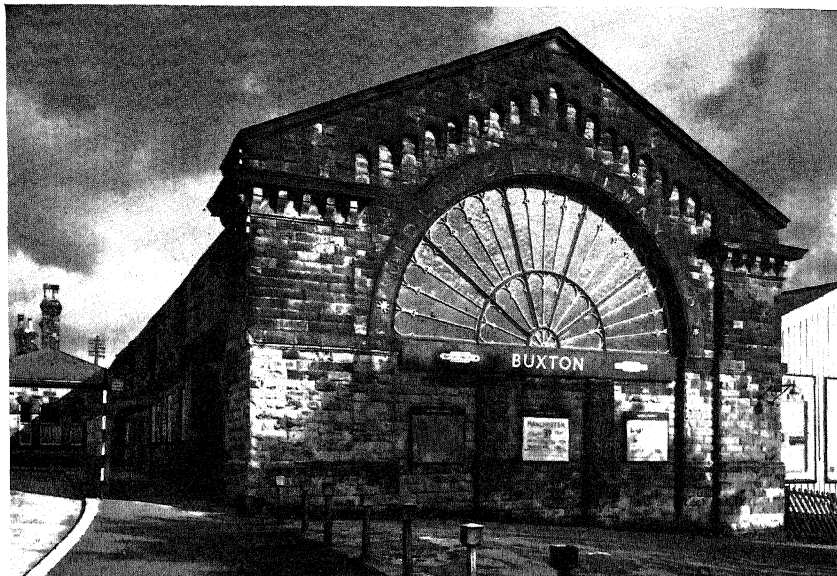


PLATE 46. *Above:* The station at Buxton, Derbyshire, built *circa* 1863, to the design of W. H. Barlow, the engineer in charge of construction for the Midland Railway, in association with the engineers of the Stockport Railway, and the London and North-Western Railway. The final design was approved by Sir Joseph Paxton, who was a director of the Midland Railway. Sandstone is used, and some unusual glasswork: a happy union of industrial with traditional materials. *Below:* The fret of the verandah valance, and the cast-iron columns and decorative brackets at Millers Dale station, Derbyshire, are vigorous examples of the characteristic English style that re-emerged in much of the early railway architecture. Designed by the Midland Railway Engineering Department, and built about 1863. *Reproduced by courtesy of the British Transport Commission.*





PLATE 47. The south terrace, Heathcote, Ilkley, Yorkshire, built in 1906. This house, designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, is in the classic tradition of the great English Renaissance architects, of whom Lutyens was the last. *Copyright, "Country Life"*.

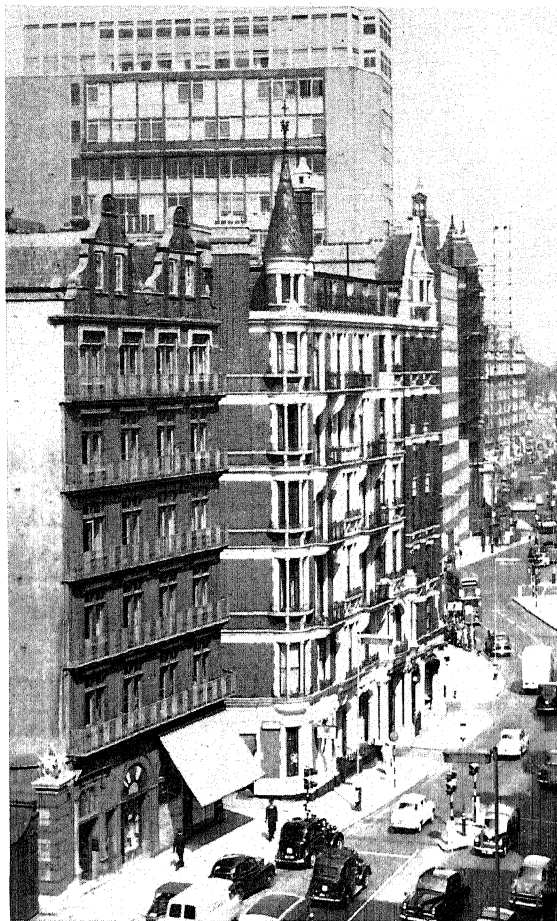


PLATE 48. The Victorian skyline and the new Western architecture. The contrast between the warmly expressed fantasies of late nineteenth-century design and the light but emphatic grace of mid-twentieth century architecture is shown by this view of the north side of Knightsbridge, looking west towards Hyde Park Corner.

## INDEX

Where page numbers are given in italics, thus, 143, they refer to a caption.

- Aberdeen, David du R., 240  
 Adam, James, 172, 188, 199, 200  
 Adam, Robert, 172, 188, 189, 199, 200, 202  
 Adamson, John William, quoted, 36  
 Addy, Sidney Oldall, 22  
 Adelphi, London, 188, 189, 199, 200  
 Aethelbert, King of Kent, 67  
 Albion Flour Mills, Blackfriars Bridge, 203, 213  
 Amaurote, 128  
 Ambresbury, *see* Amesbury  
*Ambulator, The*, 208  
 Amesbury, 20  
 Ancaster and Kesteven, Peregrine, third Duke of, 204  
 Anderson, J. E., 119  
*Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 179  
 Angel, Islington, 145  
*Anglo-Saxon Art*, 25  
 Anne of Denmark, 148  
 Antiquaries, Society of, 6, 9, 80, 81, 82  
*Antiquities of Athens, The*, 189, 190  
*Antiquities of London*, 81, 117, 121, 129, 165, 177  
 Antonine Wall, 1  
*Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England, An*, 223  
 Apulia, 36  
 Aquae Sulis, *see* Bath  
 Archer, Thomas, 165, 172, 176, 177  
*Architect and Patron*, 136  
*Architectura*, 140, 150  
*Architectural History of Ely Cathedral*, 45, 49, 75, 93  
*Architecture in Britain*, 112, 148  
 "Architecture of Adventure, The," 239
- Architecture of Country Houses, The*, 237  
*Architecture of Humanism, The*, 149-150  
 Argyll, second Duke of, 186  
 Ariconium, 2, 3, 4  
 Arles, Council of, 6  
     amphitheatre at, 123  
 Arnold, Matthew, quoted, 22  
*Art Journal, The*, 232  
*Art-Journal Catalogue of The International Exhibition, 1862, 143*  
 Arthur, king, 18  
 Arundel, Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of, 132  
 Arundel, Thomas Howard, second earl of, 147  
 Ashe, Geoffrey, quoted, 16, 20, quoted, 23  
 "Astragal", *The Architects' Journal*, quoted, 27  
*Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation, An*, 55, 96, 97  
 Aubrey, John, quoted, 157
- Baker, William, 220  
 Bank of England, London, 199, 202  
 Banqueting House, Whitehall, 147-50, 161  
 Bardwell, William, 29, 31, 66  
 Barman, Christian, quoted 67, 175-6  
 Barnack, Northamptonshire, church tower at, 33  
 Barry, Sir Charles, 170, 219, 222  
 Barry, E. M., 204, 219  
 Basevi, George, 222

- Bateman, the Honourable Richard, 213
- Bath, 4, 123  
 Abbey Church, 120  
 Queen Square, 178, 187  
 Circus, 187  
 Royal Crescent, 187
- Bathurst, Rev. William Hiley, M.A., 12
- Battersea, residential development at, 234, 235, 236
- Becket, Thomas, 55
- Beckford, William, 214
- Bede, the Venerable, 2, 19, quoted 20, 24, 24-25, 27
- Beerbohm, Sir Max, quoted 226
- Bell, Henry, 154, 187, 228
- Ben Jonson and King James*, 155-6
- Benson, James W., 143
- Bernini, Giovanni Lorenzo, 167
- Biographical Dictionary of English Architects*, 171
- Biscop, Benedict, Abbot of Wearmouth, 27
- Bishopstone Church, Sussex, 60
- Black Death, 89, 90
- Blakeney Church, Norfolk, 76
- Blenheim Palace, 173-4, 176
- Blore, Edward, 66
- Bloxam, Matthew Holbeche, 26, 30, 32
- Blume, Hans, 140
- Board of Works Offices, Wandsworth, 228, 229
- Boathouse, by James Wyatt, 202
- Book of Architecture*, 183
- Boon, George C., 5, 11
- Boothby Pagnell, Lincolnshire, Norman manor house at, 41
- Borromini, Francesco, 176
- Bosham Church, Sussex, 60
- Boudicca, (Boadicea), 84
- Bouverie, John, 190
- Brasenose College Chapel, Oxford, 163, 171
- Brief Lives*, 157
- Briet, Peter, 140
- Bristol, town house in Small Street, 101, 108
- British Quarterly Review*, *The*, 238
- Britton, John, F.S.A., 30, 38, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 142
- Brixworth Church, Northamptonshire, arches and doorway at, 26, 32, 33
- Brodrick, Cuthbert, 222
- Bromley College, Kent, 185, 185
- Bromsash, *see* Ariconium
- Brown, Lancelot "Capability", 203
- Bruce Castle, Tottenham, Middlesex, 129, 134, 135, 139
- Brugg, Giles van, 172
- Brunel, Isambard Kingdom, 220, 221
- Bryn-yr-Ellyllon, cairn at, 15
- Buck, Samuel and Nathaniel, 155, 215
- Builder's Companion*, *The*, 180, 210-12
- Building in England*, 82
- Buildwas, Shropshire, Cistercian Abbey of, 40, scalloped capital at, 46
- Bunning, James Bunstone, 222
- Burlington, Richard Boyle, third earl of, 177, 181, 182, 183
- Butcher Row, Shrewsbury, 116
- Buxton Station, Derbyshire, 220
- Byways in British Archaeology*, 24, 60
- Caen, Abbaye-aux-Hommes, St. Etienne, 37
- Caerleon, Monmouthshire, 2, 17
- Caesar to Arthur*, *From*, 16
- Calleva Atrébatum, 2, 3
- Cambrian Annals, *The*, 16
- Cambridge, castle, 45, 47  
 Fitzwilliam Museum, 222
- Campbell, Colen, 179, 211
- Canterbury Cathedral, 12, 30, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62, 88
- Carleif, Bishop, 36
- Carlisle, third earl of, 173
- Carré, Jean, 140
- Cast-iron Bridge, over Severn, 185, 186, 212, 219
- Castle Hedingham, Essex, 43
- Castle Howard, Yorkshire, 173, 176
- Castle Rising, Norfolk, 40, 50
- Castor, Northamptonshire, potteries at, 2  
 Roman arch and masonry at, 26, 32
- Cecil, Thomas, 135, 138
- Chambers, Sir William, 188-9, 190, 201
- Chambord, Château de, 125, 130, 223



- Chandos, first duke of, 186-7  
 Charles I, 154  
 Charles II, 154, 163, 164  
 Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, 176  
 Chesterfield, fourth earl of, quoted  
     182-3  
 Chesterton, G. K., quoted, 112, 114  
 Chipping Campden, Sir William  
     Grevel's house at, 105, 127, 133  
 Chipstead Church, Surrey, 60  
 Chiswick, Lord Burlington's villa at,  
     182  
 Christ Church, Oxford, Tom Tower  
     at, 170, 171  
 Christchurch, Spitalfields, 176  
*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 111, 115  
 Clarendon House, Piccadilly, London,  
     166  
 Cleveland, Barbara Palmer, Duchess  
     of, 132  
 Coal Exchange, London, 222  
 Coberly House, 122  
 Cockerell, C. R., 222  
 Coe, H. E., 236  
 Coleshill House, Berkshire, 158, 166  
 Collingwood, R. G., F.B.A., quoted  
     23, quoted 32  
 Colvin, H. M., quoted 171  
*Compartimenta*, 140  
*Complaining Book (liber querulus)*, 16  
*Complete Body of Architecture*, A, 183,  
     187, 192, 193, 230  
 Compton, Sir William, 102, 108  
 Compton Wynnyates, Warwickshire,  
     102, 108, 109, 118  
*Concise Glossary of Architecture*, A, 12, 33,  
     87, 95  
*Contrasts*, 224  
 Conventual Church, Ely, 40  
     capitals and arches, 46  
 Cooper, Sir Edwin, 205  
 Corbet Anderson, J., 7  
 Corbridge Lion, The, 20, 22  
 Corhampton Church, Hampshire,  
     chancel arch at, 26, 32  
*Cottage Residences; or a Series of Designs  
     for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas,  
     and their Gardens and Grounds adap-  
     ted to North America*, 237  
 Coventry Cathedral, 240  
 Cowdray House, Midhurst, 106  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 45  
 Crystal Palace, London, 221, 231  
 Cuddington, Surrey, 130  
 Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth, 27  
 Danby, Thomas Osborne, earl of, 135  
 Dance, George, senior, 181, 191  
 Darby, Abraham, 212  
 Dawkins, James, 190  
 Dawkins, Sir William Boyd, 15  
 Dayrell Reed, Dr. Trelawney, 16  
 de Barri, Gerald (Giraldus Cambren-  
     sis), 2  
*Defence of Ancient Architecture*, 190  
 Deflected chancels, 59, 60  
 de Hennezel, Thomas and Balthazar,  
     140  
 Delaval, Francis, admiral, 174  
 de Noiers, Geoffrey, 64  
 Denham, Sir John, 164, 166  
 de Northwold, Hugh, bishop, 73, 75  
 de Sais (or Sez) John, 68  
*Description of England*, 99, 126  
 Devonshire, William Cavendish, Duke  
     of, 176  
 de Waterville, William, 72  
*Dictionary of the Architecture and Archae-  
     ology of the Middle Ages*, A, 30, 38  
 Dilettanti, Society of, 189  
 Dietterlin, Wendel, 32, 140, 150  
 Dixon, Joseph, 195  
 Dol, Ille et Valaine, Northern France,  
     37, 39  
*Domestic Architecture in England*, 95,  
     98-102, 104, 107, 112, 113, 116  
*Description of Bath, An Essay towards a*,  
     178  
 Downing, Andrew Jackson, quoted  
     209, 234, 237-8  
 Dugdale, Sir William, 156  
 Dunn, W. Newton, 228, 229  
 Durham Cathedral, 35-6  
 Durobrivae, potteries at, 2  
 Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire,  
     church tower at, 30, 32, 33, 33  
*Ecclesiastical History of the English  
     Nation*, The, 20  
*Elements of Architecture*, The, 99, 158-9,  
     160  
 Elizabeth I, 125, 132, 144  
 Elmes, H. L., 221

- Ely, Cathedral, 40, 42, 45, 48, 49, 59, 73, 74, 75, 90, 93, 93  
 Prior's Chapel, 93  
 Priory Buildings, 93
- Emmett, John T., quoted 238  
*Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, 233, 235  
*England, Short History of*, 112, 114  
*Environs of London*, 125, 135  
*Essay in the Defence of Ancient Architecture*, 183  
*Essay on Gardening*, 212  
*European Magazine, The*, 206, 207, 213, office of, 207  
 Euston Station portico, 221  
 Evans, Abel, quoted 174  
 Evelyn, John, quoted 132, 133, 158  
 quoted 162, quoted 163-5, 170, quoted 208  
*Evolution of the English House, The*, 22
- Fairholt, F. W., 4, 10, 17, 19  
*First and Chief Groundes of Architecture, The*, 144  
 Fitz Ailwyne, Henry, 83  
 Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire, 214
- Galloway, 19  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 2, 16  
 George Inn, Glastonbury, 100, 108  
 Gerbier, Balthazar, 158  
 Gervase of Canterbury, 55, 56  
 Gibbon, Edward, quoted 182  
 Gibbs, James, 176, 177, 183, 186, 187  
 Gillow, Richard, 186, 187  
 Glastonbury, 20  
 George Inn, 100, 108  
 Abbot's House, 215  
 Gloucester Cathedral, 74, 88  
*God of the Witches, The*, 62  
 Goose-pie House, Whitehall, 174  
 Gorges, Sir Thomas, tomb of, 142, 145  
 Gosfield House, Essex, 209
- Gothic  
 Decorated, 86  
 Georgian "Gothick Taste," 203, 205, 208-9, 211-16  
 introduction to England of, 56-57  
 Perpendicular, 87-8  
 Revival, 217-18, 228, 237
- Rickman's classification of periods, 55  
 structural character, 62, 64-65, 72  
 "Gothick", frontispiece, 210  
 temple, 210  
*Great North Road, The*, 35  
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, 144  
 Guildford Castle, 82  
 Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, 44, 52
- Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, 105  
 Hadrian's Wall, 1, 3, 16, 19  
 Hamilton, Andrew, 188  
*Hampton Court, A Short History of*, 109  
 Hampton Court Palace, 109-10, 113, 123, 126, 133, 169-70  
 Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, 130, 138, 139  
 Hardwick, Philip, 221  
 Harrison, William, 99, 133, quoted 100, 126, 134, 140  
 Hart Street, Crutched Friars, house in, 124, 134, 144  
 Haverfield, Professor F., quoted 20  
 Hawksmoor, Nicholas, 168, 172-3, 176, 187  
 Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, 106  
 Henry III, 79  
 Henry VII, 80, 82, 124  
 Chapel of, 88, 91  
 Palace at Richmond of, 111  
 Tomb of, 123  
 Henry VIII, 109, 110, 111, 119, 123, 124, 125, 128, 132  
 Henryk, Flemish master mason, 144  
*Historia Britonum*, 2  
*History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, 67-71, 142  
*History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England*, 1862, 10, 19  
*History of the Hundred of Wirral, The*, 141  
*History of the Parish of Mortlake, A*, 119  
*History of the Royal Society*, 166-7  
*History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 156  
 Hoefnagel, Joris, 125, 130  
 Hogarth, William, 185, 185, 195  
 Hollar, Wenceslaus, 44, 53, 66, 84, 85, 86, 144, 156  
 Holy Trinity Church, Stratford, 60  
*Homes of Other Days, The*, 17, 19, 94  
 Hooke, Robert, 157, 166

- Houses of Parliament, Westminster,  
170, 218,  
Victoria Tower, 219, 222  
Hurst House, Huyton, Lancashire,  
223
- Illiterate Anglo-Saxon, The*, 36  
Imperial Institute, London, 223  
Independence Hall, Philadelphia,  
161, 187, 188  
*Inigo Jones*, 149  
*Introduction to the Study of Gothic Archi-  
tecture, An*, 13, 34  
Isca Silurum, 2, 3  
*Itinerarium Cambrense*, 2
- Jackson, John, 145  
James I, 148, 154  
Jenkins, Frank, quoted 136-7  
Jerman (or Jarman), Edward, 166  
Jerusalem, Rotunda of Holy Sepul-  
chre at, 47  
Jewel, John, bishop of Salisbury, 134  
Johnson, Bernard, 139  
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, quoted, 215, 239  
Johnson, Walter, 24, 60  
Jones, Inigo, 131, 136, 146, 147, 148,  
150, 151, 154-6, 158, 163, 167,  
171-2, 177, 183  
Jonson, Ben, 154, quoted 155  
Julii, Tomb of, 123
- Kells, Book of, 27  
Kempster of Burford, Christopher,  
171  
Kendrick, Sir Thomas, quoted 25  
Kent, William, 177  
*King Arthur's Avalon, The Story of Glas-  
tonbury*, 16, 20  
Kingsley, Charles, quoted 222  
King's Lynn, Norfolk, The Customs  
House at, 154, 161, 187, 228  
Kipling, Rudyard, 15, quoted 43  
Knights Templars, 47  
Knowles, David, 97
- Lancaster, Customs House at, 186, 187  
Langland, William, quoted 95, 98  
Langley, Batty, quoted 208, 211
- Laud, William, archbishop, 145-6  
Law Courts, Strand, London, 222,  
225  
Law, Ernest, quoted 109  
Leadenhall Market, site of basilica, 5  
Leeds Town Hall, 222  
Leicester  
St. Nicholas' Church, 29, 32  
Jewry Wall, 32, 123  
Roman basilica site, 32  
Forum and Public Bath, 32  
Leland, John, 123  
Leoni, Giacomo, 183  
Lethaby, William Richard, 79, quo-  
ted 5, 56, 82, 88, 91, 239  
Lichfield Cathedral, 59-60, 61  
Lincoln, Roman Gateway at, 13, 32,  
123,  
Jews' House on Steep Hill, 37,  
38  
Lincoln Cathedral, 35, 63, 64-66  
Lindisfarne, church on Isle of, 24  
removal of see from, 36  
Lindisfarne Gospels, 27  
Linklater, Eric, quoted 155-6  
Little Wolford Manor, Warwickshire,  
104  
Liverpool, Edge Hill station, 221  
St. George's Hall, 221  
Prince's Landing Stage, 230  
*Lludd and Llevelys, The Story of*, 15  
Londinium Augusta, 5  
basilica, 5  
temple of Diana, 67  
London  
15th century view, 52, 86  
rebuilding after 1666, 164, 166, 170  
*London and its Environs Described*, 139,  
157, 191, 194  
Longford, John, 15  
Longleat House, Wiltshire, 136, 138  
Loudon, John Claudius, 233, 233,  
234, 234, 235, 237  
Ludgate, Circus, 227  
Hill, 166  
Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz, 27  
Lumley, John, baron, 132  
Lutyens, Sir Edwin, 239  
Lydney excavations, Report on, 9,  
quoted, 6, 18  
Lydney, temple settlement, 3, 6, 8, 9,  
12, 18

- Mabinogion, The*, 15  
 Magdalen College, Oxford, 88, 89  
     Tower, 170  
 Maglocunus, Malcun, 16  
*Magna Britannia*, 46-48, 73, 105, 130  
 Majano, Giovanni da, 110, 126  
*Making of our Towns, The*, 31  
 Manchester, Portland Street, 222, 237  
 Mansion House, London, 181, 191  
 Marlborough, John Churchill, first  
     Duke of, 174  
 Martin of Bec, 68  
 Martin, Henri, quoted 22  
 Maurice, bishop, 67  
 Maximus, Magnus Clemens, 15-16  
 May, Hugh, 166  
 McGrath, Raymond, quoted 162  
 Melton Constable Hall, Norfolk, 155  
 Mercia, 35  
 Mereworth Castle, Kent, 211  
 Mersey, railway bridge, 219, 220  
 Merton College Chapel, Oxford, 87  
 Messina, Sicily, 36  
*Metrical Life of St. Hugh, The*, 64  
 Mickleham Church, Surrey, 60  
 Miller, Sanderson, 203  
 Millers Dale Station, Derbyshire, 220  
 Mills, Peter, 166  
 Mithras, 6, 56  
*Monastic Sites from the Air*, 97  
 Monmouth House, Soho Square, 165,  
     176  
 Monument, Fish Street Hill, the, 157  
 More, Sir Thomas, quoted, 128  
 Morley, Frank, quoted, 35  
 Morris, Robert, quoted, 183-4, 190  
 Morris, William, 238  
 Mortimer, William Williams, 141  
 Mortlake, houses on Green, 232, 235  
 Mount Arrarat, Gothic villa, 209  
 Much Wenlock, prior's lodging, 8, 99,  
     108  
 Murray, Professor Margaret, quoted  
     62  
 Myres, J. N. L., quoted 23, 32  
  
 Nash, John, 186, 196, 197, 226, 228  
 Natural History Museum, South Ken-  
     sington, 222  
 Newgate, 121  
  
*News from Nowhere*, 238  
 Nodens, 6, 9  
 Nonsuch House, London Bridge, 144  
 Nonsuch Palace, 123, 125, 126, 128,  
     130, 132, 133, 146, 170  
 Northampton, Henry Howard, earl  
     of, 139  
 Northumberland House, Charing  
     Cross, 139, 144  
 Northumbria, 24  
 Nunziata, Toto del, 123, 126  
  
 Ockwells Manor, Berkshire, 107  
 Orleans, Charles, Duke of, 44, 52  
  
 Paddington Station, 220  
 Pain, William, 180, 210, 211, 212  
 Paine, James, 185, 197  
 Palace of Diocletian, Spalatro, 189  
 Palladio, Andrea, 147, 177, 183  
 Parthenon, Athens, the, 192  
 Paul of Caen, first Norman abbot of  
     St. Albans, 34, 36  
 Pavilion, Brighton, 197  
 Paxton, Sir Joseph, 221  
 Pembroke Chapel, Cambridge, 167  
 Pembroke, Philip Herbert, fourth earl  
     of, 151  
 Penrose, Francis Cranmer, 192  
 Penshurst Place, Kent, 94, 94  
 Pepys, Samuel, quoted 132, 133, 163,  
     164  
 Petit, J. L., 44  
 Piccadilly Circus, 226, 227-8  
 Pitzhanger Place, Ealing, 202  
 Plymouth, Charles Church at, 163  
 Pollio, Marcus Vitruvius, 124, 158,  
     225, quoted, 160-61  
 Pope, Alexander, quoted 174, 181, 183  
 Porchester Terrace, Bayswater, Lou-  
     don's semi-detached villa in, 233,  
     235  
 Pratt, Sir Roger, 158, 166  
*Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Archi-  
     tecture, The*, 26, 30  
 Priory Church, Merton, 130  
 Priory Church, Tynemouth, 60  
 Pritchard, Thomas Farnolls, 185, 212  
 Ptolemy, Claudius, 4  
*Puck of Pook's Hill*, 15

- Pugin, Augustus Welby Northmore, 76, 88, 89, 90, 92, 237, quoted, 65, 77, 218, 223-6, 227
- Quarterly Review*, quoted 196
- Queen's College, Oxford, 168
- Queen's House, Greenwich, 148, 156
- Quinque Columnnarum*, 140
- Ramsey, Stanley C., quoted 149, 171
- Ranelagh Gardens, Rotunda, 194
- Rasmussen, Steen Eiler, quoted 171-2
- Rawlinson, Sir Robert, 221
- Raynham Hall, Norfolk, 156, 161
- Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire, The*, 166
- Reculver, Kent, 24, 25
- Reddaway, T. F., quoted, 166
- Red House, Upton, Kent, 238
- Red Lion Inn, Parkgate, Wirral, 236
- Reform Club, Pall Mall, 222
- Regent Street, London, 186, 196, 226, 228
- Regent's Park, 196
- Reilly, Sir Charles, quoted 218, 222, 237
- Rennie, John, 203, 213
- Revet, Nicholas, 189
- Richard of Farleigh, 68, 69
- Richmond and its Surrounding Scenery*, 202
- Richmond and its Vicinity*, 204
- Richmond and its Vicinity, Views of*, 197
- Richmond, Surrey
- Ancaster House, 204
- Bridge, 185, 197
- gatekeeper's lodge, Richmond Park, 203
- houses, Ormond Row, 175
- houses, Richmond Green, 177
- Maids of Honour Row, 173
- palace, 110, 111, 113-15, 125, 129, 133, 170
- Star and Garter Home, 205
- Star and Garter Hotel, 204
- Rickman, Thomas, 51, 55, 96, 97
- Roads and Railroads, The*, 221
- Rochester Castle, Kent, Norman windows, 43
- Roehampton House, Wandsworth, Surrey, 176
- Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, 12
- Roman London, Illustrations of*, 4
- Roman City of Uriconium, The*, 7
- Roman Silchester*, 11
- Rovezzano, Benedetto da, 126
- Royal Exchange, London, 144, 222
- Royal Society, The, 164, 166
- Ruins of Balbec, The*, 190
- Ruins of Palmyra, The*, 190
- Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro*, 189
- Ruskin, John, 162, 218, 234, quoted 228, 230-2, 234
- Rutland, Francis, sixth earl of, 147
- St. Alban, 20
- St. Alban's, Abbey Church, 33, 34, 123
- Abbey tower, 36
- Cathedral, 20, 34, 35
- St. Anne's Church, Limehouse, 176
- St. Augustine, 16, 23, 24
- St. David, 20
- St. Dunstan in the East, church, 170
- St. Etienne Cathedral, Sens, 57
- St. Gabriel's Chapel, Canterbury, 60
- St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, 176
- St. George's Church, Wapping, 176
- St. Gildas, 2, 16, 17, 20, quoted 23
- St. Hugh of Avalon, 63, 64
- St. John's Church, Leeds, 120
- St. John's Church, Smith Square, Westminster, 177
- St. Joseph, J. K. S., 97
- St. Lawrence, Saxon church, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, 34
- St. Leonard's Church, Sunningwell, Berkshire, 134, 136
- St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, 176
- St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, 24
- St. Mary-le-Bow Church, Cheapside, 170, 184
- St. Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 77
- St. Mary's Church, Battersea, 195
- St. Mary's Church, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, 76
- St. Mary's Church, Coventry, 60

- St. Mary's Church, Mortlake, Surrey, 119
- St. Mary the Virgin, university Church, Oxford, 145
- St. Mary Woolnoth Church, London, 176
- St. Michael's Church, Cornhill, 170, 176
- St. Michael's Church, Huyton, Lancashire, tower of, 118
- St. Ninian, 19
- St. Paul's, London,  
cathedral by Wren, 152-3, 166-9  
old St. Paul's, 55, 56, 66, 67, 167, 168  
restoration by Inigo Jones, 156
- St. Paul's Church, Deptford, 177
- St. Paul's Church, Hammersmith, 118, 120
- St. Peter's, Abbey Church of Peterborough, 68, 72
- St. Philip's Cathedral, Birmingham, 177
- St. Sepulchre Church, Cambridge, 47
- St. William's Chapel, on Ouse Bridge, York, 86
- St. Wystan's, Repton, Saxon crypt at, 31
- Salisbury Cathedral, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 142, 145
- Salisbury, Elizabeth, Countess of, 138
- Salzman, L. F., quoted 82
- Savage, Sir William, 31
- Savoy Palace, 80, 81, 82
- Savoy and Richmond, Peter, earl of, 80, 82
- Scamozzi, Vincenzo, 147
- Scott, Geoffrey, quoted 149-50
- Seaton Delaval, Northumberland, 174
- Selwood, John, abbot, 100, 108
- Serlio, Sebastiano, "Serlo", 134, 140, 144
- Sharawadgi, 212, 215
- Sharpe, Edmund, 88
- Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, 167
- Ship of Fools, The*, 10
- Shipton Moyne, house at, 127, 133
- Shute, John, 144
- Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum), 2, 123  
basilica, 5  
church, 6  
houses, 8, 11, 11, 12, 101
- Smith, Charles Roach, 4
- Smith, J. T., 117, 121, 124, 129, 177
- Smith, Nathaniel, 80, 81, 165
- Smith, Sydney, quoted 194, 197
- Smythson, Robert, 138
- Soane, Sir John, 196, 198-9, 202  
house of, 199, 206  
*Some Manchester Streets and their Buildings*, 222
- Somerset, Edward Seymour, Duke of, 131  
Protector, 136
- Somerset House, old, 131, 136, 161  
Sir William Chambers' design, 188, 189, 201
- Sompting, Sussex, church, 33, 33
- Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire, north porch of, 42, 51
- Spence, Sir Basil, 240
- Sprat, Bishop, 166, quoted 167
- Spread Eagle Hotel, Wandsworth, 236, 237
- Star Chamber, chimney-piece from, 141, 144
- Staunton Harold Church, Leicestershire, 120, 163
- Stevenson, Francis, 220
- Stewart, The Rev. D. J., 45, quoted 49, 93
- "Stone carpentry", 33
- Stourbridge, Worcestershire, glass works at, 140
- Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, 203, 208, 208, 216
- Street, George Edmund, 225
- Stuart, James, 189
- Study of Celtic Literature, The*, quoted 22
- Stukeley, William, 215
- Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion, The*, 233, 235
- Sudbrooke Lodge, Petersham, Surrey, 186
- Sulis, British goddess, 4, 6  
temple of, Bath, 4  
bearded Gorgon at temple, 20, 22
- Summerson, Sir John, quoted, 112, 148, 196-7
- Sutton Courtenay, near Oxford, 31, 32
- Sutton Place, Guildford, 103, 104, 108, 109, 126

- Tattershall Castle, 110, 112  
 "Teapot Hall", Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire, 22, 31  
 Temple Church of St. Mary, 65, 66  
 Temple Grove, East Sheen, Surrey, 214  
 Temple, Sir William, 212-13  
*Temples, Ancient and Modern*, 29, 31, 66  
 Tewkesbury Abbey, 40, 44  
*Tewkesbury, The Abbey Church of*, 44  
 Theodosius, Emperor, 15  
 Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire, 95, 107  
 Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, gatehouse, 96, 97, 103, 104  
 Thorpe, John, 136  
 Thynne, Sir John, 136, 138  
 Tite, Sir William, 222  
 Torrigiano, Pietro, 123, 126, 140  
 Tower of London, 43, 44, 52, 53, 82, White Tower, 44, 52  
 Chapel of St. John, 45  
 Townesend, William, 168  
 Townshend, Sir Roger, 156  
 Trevisano, Andrea, Venetian ambassador, quoted 124, 125  
*True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture, The*, 65, 76, 77, 89, 92  
 T.U.C. headquarters, Great Russell St., London, 240  
 Tuke, Sir John, 164  
 Tyler, Wat, 80, 98
- Utopia*, 128
- Vanbrugh Castle, Greenwich, 174, 175, 214  
 Vanbrugh, Sir John, 172-3, 174-6, 198, 239  
 Verity, Thomas, 226, 228  
 Vermuyden, Cornelius, 187  
 Vertue, George, 80, 81, 82  
 Verulamium, 2, 3, 123  
 church at, 20  
 ruins, 34  
 walls, 36  
 Vicenza, Teatro Olimpico, 147
- Vinckeboons, David, 111, 114  
 Viroconium, 2, 3, 7  
 iron-workers at, 2  
*Vitruvius Britannicus*, 151, 173, 179  
 Vitruvius, *see* Pollio  
 Vries, Jan Vredeman de, 32, 140
- Walpole, Horace, fourth earl of Orford, quoted 174, 177-82, 203, 208, 208, 209-11, 212, 213, 215  
 Wanstead House, Essex, 179  
 Ware, Isaac, quoted, 183, 184-185, 187, 192-193, 230  
 Washington, D.C., U.S.A., 238  
 Webb, Philip, 238  
*Wessex, The Rise of*, 16  
 West Malling Church, Kent, 60  
 Westminster Abbey, 82, 85, 86, 140  
 Henry VII's Chapel, 88, 91  
 Henry VII's Tomb, 123  
 nave, 64, 65  
*Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, 82, 91  
*Westminster Abbey Re-Examined*, 79  
 Westminster  
 Parliament House, 83, 86  
 Hall, 84, 86  
 Weston, Sir Richard, 103, 108  
 Westow Hall, Suffolk, 109, 113  
 Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, 8, 9  
 White Hall, Oxford, 98  
 Whitehall, palace of, 147, 148, 149, 156, 163  
 White Hart Inn, Bishopsgate Street, London, 117  
 Whitehead, William, quoted 203, 205, 208  
 Whithorn, Wigtown Bay, 19  
 White House (Candida Casa), 20  
 Whittington, Richard, 121  
 Wilderspool, Lancashire, glass works, 2  
 William III, 170  
 William of Malmesbury, 16, quoted 20  
 William of Sens, 55-57, 60, 78  
 William the Conqueror, 18, 37, 45  
 William the Englishman, at Canterbury, 56, 57, 58  
 Williamsburg, Virginia,  
 College of William and Mary, 161  
 Governor's Palace, 188

- Wilton House, Wiltshire, 151  
 Wimbledon House, Surrey, 135, 138,  
     139, 140  
 Winchester Castle, 82  
 Winchester Cathedral, 74  
 Window tax, 162  
 Windsor Castle, 82  
 Woburn, shop front in Bedford Street,  
     188  
     Parsonage, 190  
 Wollaton House, Nottinghamshire, 138  
 Wolsey, Cardinal, 110, 111, 123  
     Palace of, 109, 110  
 Wood, John, junior, 187  
 Wood, John, senior, 178-9, 186  
 Wood, Robert, 190  
 Woodstock, 82  
 Worcester Cathedral, 74  
 Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire,  
     138  
*World, The*, 203  
 Wotton, Sir Henry, quoted 99, 158-  
     60, 162, 169, 175, 181  
 Woty, William, quoted 169, 215  
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 44, 56, 136,  
     155, 157, 161, 166-72, 176, 184,  
     208, quoted 164, 167  
 Wright, Thomas, 10, 17, 19, 94  
 Wroxeter, Shropshire, 2, 3, 7, 123  
 Wyatt, James, 202, 214  
 Wyatt, Matthew Digby, quoted 220-1  
 Wyckham Church, Berkshire, 30, 32  
 Wyngaerde, Anthonis van den, 111,  
     114  
 Yanwath Hall, Westmorland, 104  
 York, Cathedral, 35, 59  
     Manor gateway, 144,  
     St. William's Chapel, Ouse Bridge,  
     86  
 York Water Gate, 156  
 Young, G. M. quoted 218



*Also by John Gloag*

## GEORGIAN GRACE

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF DESIGN FROM 1660—1830

“Without doubt one of the most comprehensive works dealing with the fine arts and even finer crafts of the eighteenth century.” SIR ALBERT RICHARDSON

## VICTORIAN COMFORT

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF DESIGN FROM 1830—1900

“The Victorian world was unique. Mr. Gloag has conveyed it admirably.” SIR CHARLES PETRIE

## VICTORIAN TASTE

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF ARCHITECTURE AND  
INDUSTRIAL DESIGN, 1820—1900

“His knowledge of building, lay and ecclesiastical, of decoration, and bric-a-brac, is wide, and he conveys it without pedantry. . . . He is excellent on the basic difference between Victorians and Georgians.”

THE TIMES

ADAM & CHARLES BLACK

*Also by John Gloag*

## THE ENGLISH TRADITION IN DESIGN

With 40 plates and 72 illustrations.

“Originally published in 1947 as a *King Penguin*, this book was a handy guide for the layman to the development of architecture and its ancillary crafts from medieval times until the present. It is now issued in a considerably enlarged form with an excellent selection of photographs.”

DESIGN MAGAZINE

## ENGLISH FURNITURE

Fourth edition, with 138 photographs and drawings.

“Mr. Gloag is a well-known exponent of what constitutes good design in architecture and all its appurtenances. He uses his wide knowledge to trace the development of design in English furniture from about 1500 to the present day.”

THE TIMES

“This is a delightful book. In it Mr. Gloag has achieved the great feat of writing still one more work on English furniture and yet saying something worth while, which has not been said before.”

PROF. SIR CHARLES REILLY IN THE ARCHITECT'S JOURNAL

ADAM & CHARLES BLACK





## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

John Gloag, born in South London in 1896, was educated at the Battersea Grammar School and the Regent Street Polytechnic School of Architecture. Served on the Western Front in the First World War. He has written fifty-seven books, including seventeen novels, three volumes of short stories, and works on architecture, social history, and industrial design. Elected President of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain in 1960, he is an Hon. Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and Hon. Fellow of the Society of Industrial Artists, and in 1958 was awarded the Bi-centenary Medal of the Royal Society of Arts for his services to industrial design.

UNIVERSAL  
LIBRARY



116 264

UNIVERSAL  
LIBRARY