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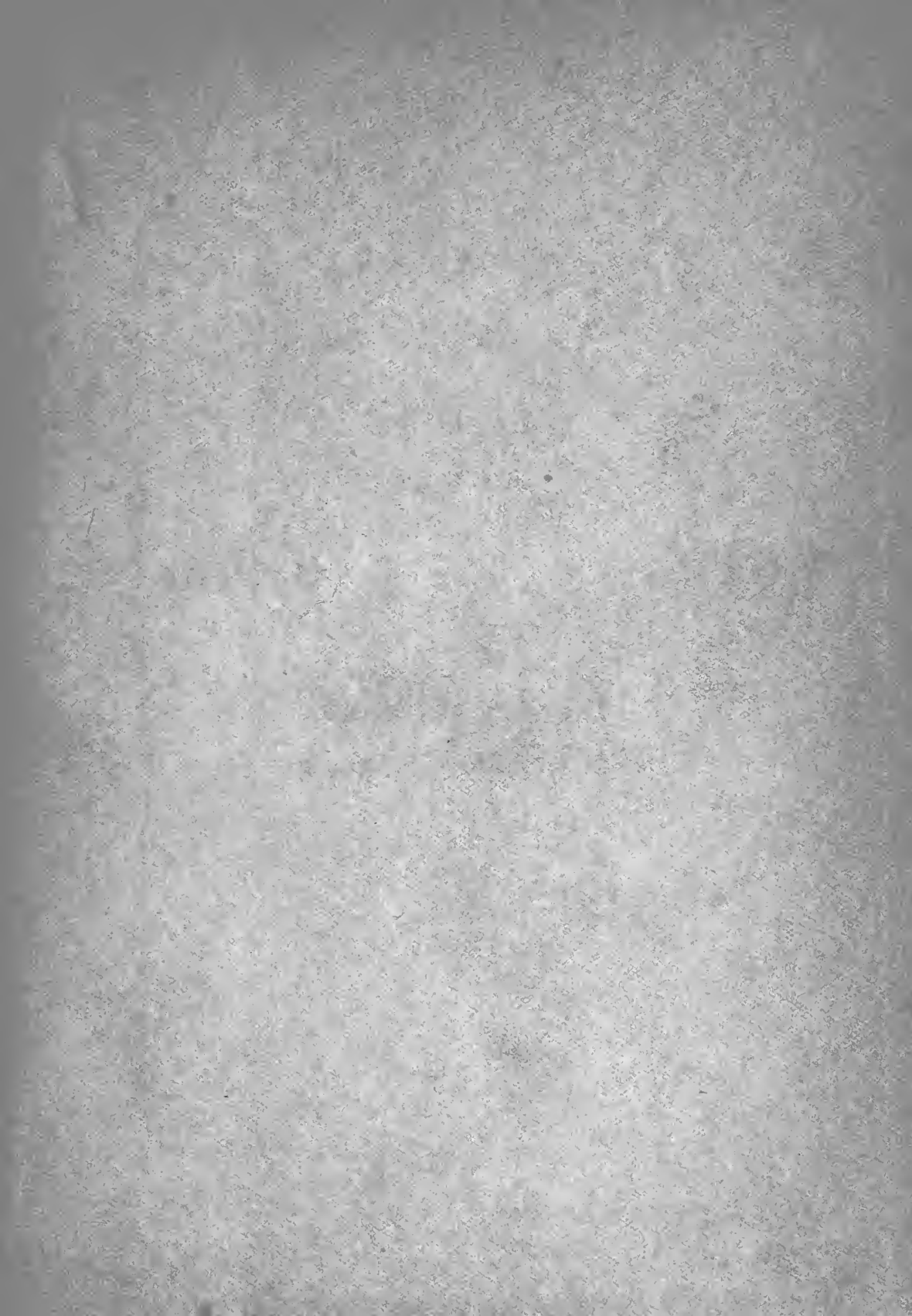
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THE LIVES OF THE  
BRITISH ARCHITECTS

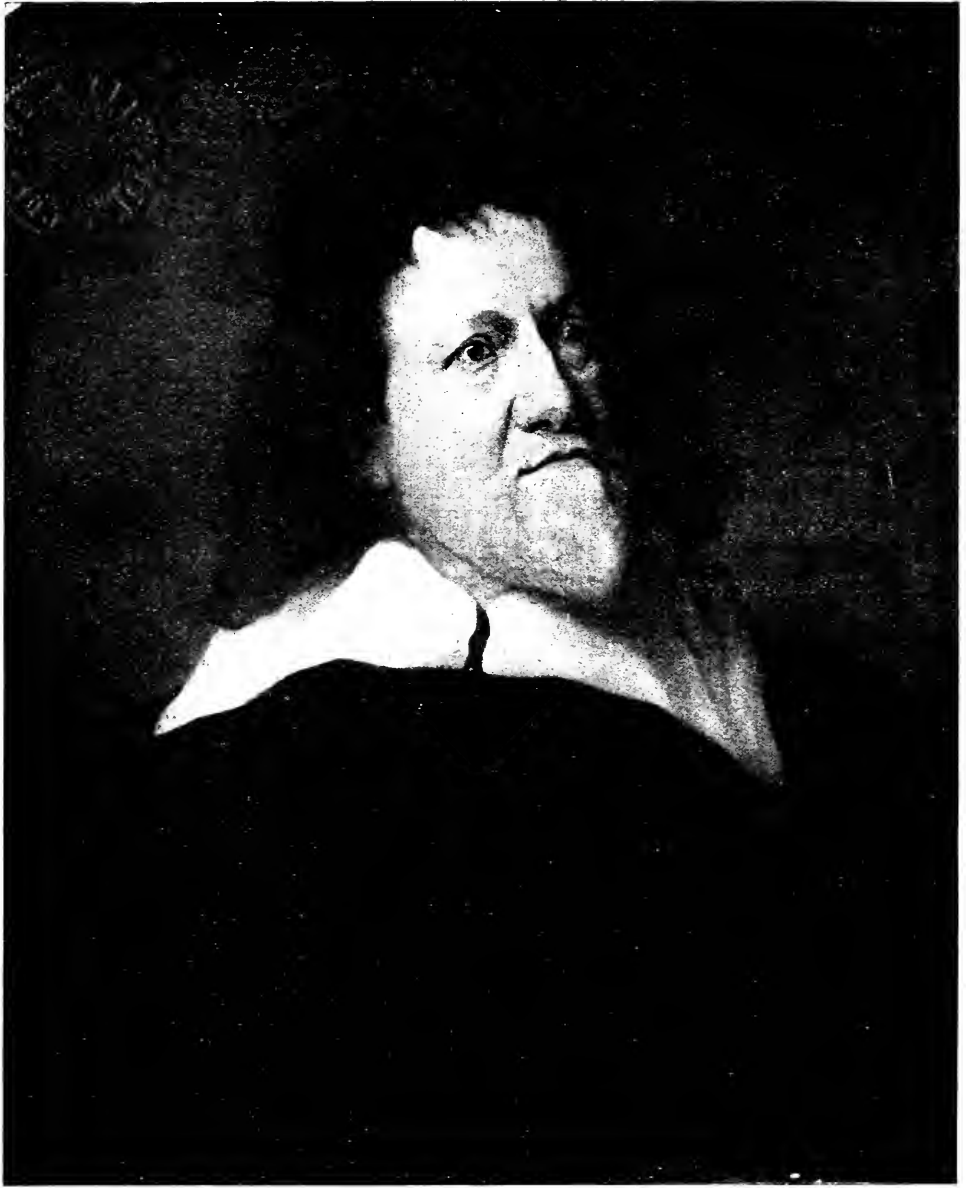
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INIGO JONES

*Emery Walker*

*Frontispiece*



THE LIVES OF THE  
BRITISH ARCHITECTS  
FROM WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM  
TO SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS

BY

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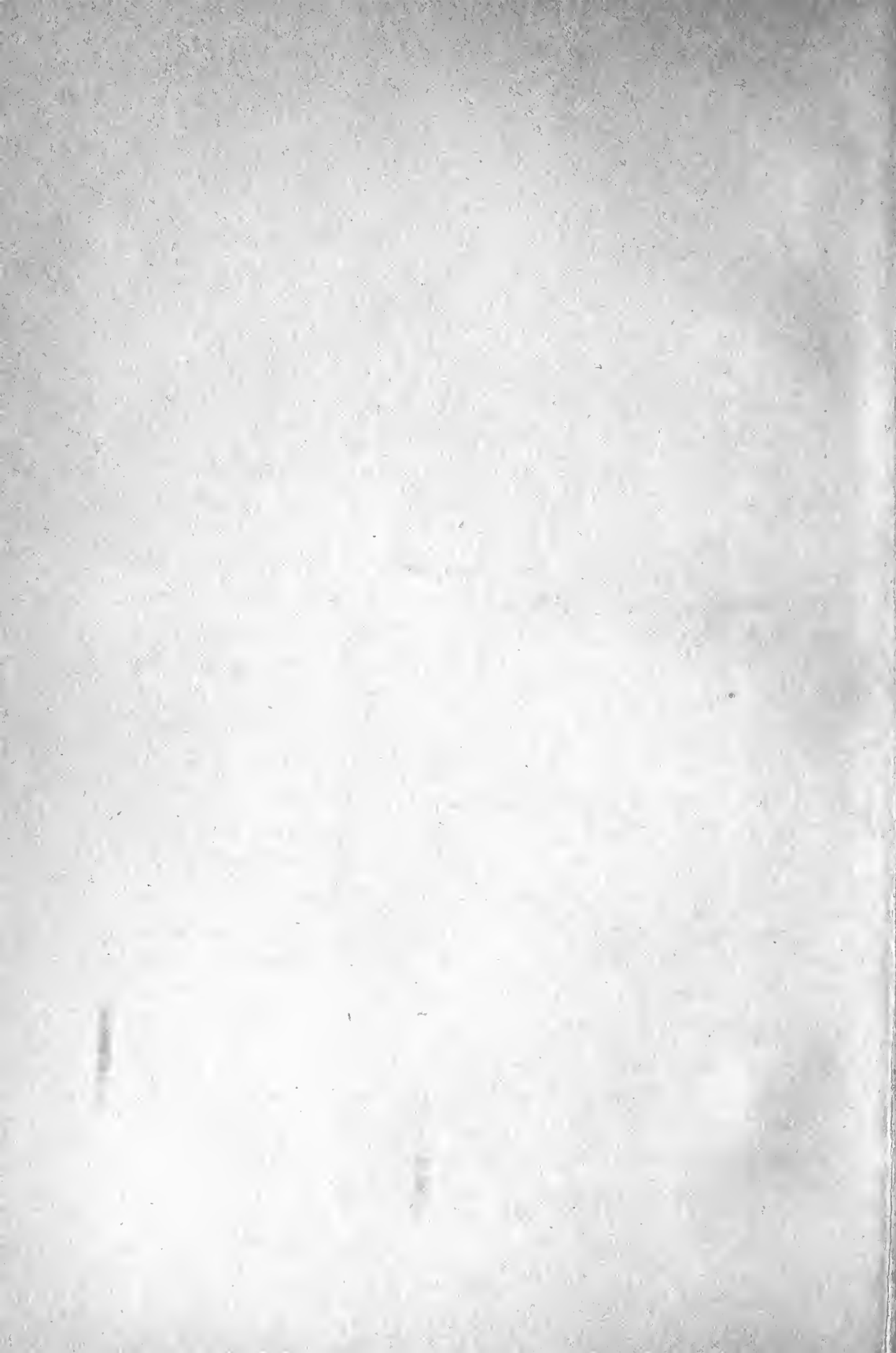
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*First Published 1909*  
*Re-issued 1911*

TO  
MY FATHER



## PREFACE

THE object of this book is to give a more or less concise account of the lives of the British Architects, from the days of William of Wykeham to those of Sir William Chambers. As this has never been done before, it is my hope that the following pages may to some extent fill a want, however inadequately.

It is true that Cunningham, in his "Lives of the Painters," dealt with a few of the better-known men; but Cunningham wrote so long ago (1830) that his work is quite out of date, besides being not always accurate, nor wholly satisfactory in other ways. A few of the architects dealt with here, notably Inigo Jones, Wren and Chambers, have, of course, had their special biographers, and to those works I am indebted, and wish to record my obligations. But the only book that has something to say about most of those treated of in these pages, is Mr. Reginald Blomfield's authoritative work on the Renaissance Architecture in England. The very scheme of that book, however, primarily concerned as it is with architecture and not the lives of the architects, obviated the necessity of Mr. Blomfield's dealing with the latter, except in a more or less cursory way. For the rest, what has been written by others (and how much it is!) on architecture in this country, has been practically confined to the technical side of the matter.

In the following pages I have attempted to combine, to some extent, these points, although I have said little in criticism, because I think that judgment in such circumstances should be left to those whose technical knowledge gives weight and authority to their opinions.

The architects dealt with comprise the most important of those who have laboured in this field of activity in Great Britain down to the close of the eighteenth century. I have, however, not thought it necessary to speak of James (Athenian) Stuart, because, although he was responsible for a few private houses, he was rather an authority on classical architecture, a purveyor of antiquities, and a writer of books, than a practical architect. It will also be observed that I have confined what I have to say about William of Wykeham to his architectural achievement, somewhat ill-defined and illusive as that achievement is, for a volume alone would have been necessary had I dealt with the ecclesiastical and political side of his career.

In addition to my authorities, a list of some of which is given at the end of this book, I have received valuable help, in a variety of ways, from, among others, Mr. Blomfield, Mr. Spiers, Custodian of the Soane Museum, whose friendly assistance has been most helpful, and Mr. Inigo Triggs, and I here most gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to them.

E. B. C.

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BUST OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM. 1394  
*On a corbel in Muniment Room, Winchester College*

*To face p. 1*

## CHAPTER I

### WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM AND HIS PREDECESSORS

ALTHOUGH William of Wykeham can in a way claim to be the first of those British architects of whom we have any adequate record,<sup>1</sup> there must have been before his day many a mute inglorious builder whose work is preserved in the stately fabrics of our great cathedrals, and whose energy must have been expended on the erection of many a fortress; but their names have not been preserved, and when we ask ourselves who erected such masterpieces as York Minster or Canterbury Cathedral, we are forced back on the hypothesis that such wonders of architectural skill were more or less the fortuitous outcome of many minds.

Indeed the process seems to have evolved itself in something like the following way: the plans and dimensions were discussed, it would seem, by a council of ecclesiastics,<sup>2</sup> who had given more thought to such matters than their brethren, and had received by word of mouth some general principles which they incorporated in their scheme; these

<sup>1</sup> The great and good Hugo of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, is said to have designed and partly built Lincoln Cathedral, but he was not an Englishman. For an account of this fine character, see Froude's "Short Studies."

<sup>2</sup> As at Battle Abbey, where the first buildings were entrusted to William Faber, Theobald Vetulus, William Cocke, Robert de Boloigne, and Robert Blanchard; or at Dorchester Abbey, where the monks altered and enlarged the monastery founded in 1140 by the third Bishop of Lincoln—to take these two from a thousand instances.

## 2 LIVES OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS

plans and dimensions were then probably handed on to underlings whose care it was to conduct the business arrangements, *i.e.*, the enrolling of workmen, the acquisition of material, and the purchase, where necessary, of sites ; and finally the actual work of construction would be placed in the hands of a trained body of craftsmen, principally masons who, while following the general rules submitted to them, may conceivably have here and there given free play to their own natural fancies.<sup>1</sup> Thus when we read that one Henry Latomus rebuilt Evesham Church in 1319,<sup>2</sup> we shall not be far wrong if we regard his surname as a sort of anglicised Lithotomus, or stone cutter, and the man himself as probably the chief of the masons who were engaged on the work ; and we seem to be as far off as ever from any recognised head from whose brain the welding together of the ideas of various people would, in our own day, be due.

There are, however, certain names which have come down to us, to the bearers of which we can traditionally at least allocate the carrying out if not the actual inception of architectural landmarks. The first of these is that of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, who is stated to have been appointed surveyor and overseer of the works connected with the erection of the Tower, by William the Conqueror. According to Stow, quoting Fitzstephen, Gundulf, was during this time (1078) lodged in the house of one Edmere, a burgess of London, and even if we may doubt whether Gundulf can be properly enrolled among British architects,<sup>3</sup> as he was Bishop of an English See, and as, moreover, that portion of the Tower for which he is said to have been responsible was the great White Tower which has come to be regarded as one of our most important and cherished national possessions, I think his inclu-

<sup>1</sup> See Prior's "Cathedral Builders of England," &c. &c.

<sup>2</sup> John Leland.

<sup>3</sup> He was in fact born at Rouen, and was a monk of the Abbey of Bec before accompanying William to England at the time of the Conquest.

sion may be regarded as justified. At one time he was also credited with the erection of Rochester Castle, but that fine relic has since been proved to be of a later date. He appears to have died thirty years after the commencement of his work at the Tower, which leisurely proceeding was not even completed in his life time.

Peter of Colechurch is the next claimant to the title of architect, although little enough is known about him. He is said, by Stow, to have first repaired, and then rebuilt London Bridge, in timber, in the year 1163. Where, however, Stow obtained this information is not very clear, and it is certainly better established that this "priest and chaplain of Colechurch," as he is called, erected the first stone bridge thirteen years later. Towards this work it is interesting to know that Richard, elected Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Becket, contributed 1000 marks, appropriately, as it would seem, according to the line contained in some old verses preserved by Leland :

"Another blesséd besines is Brigges to make."

Peter of Colechurch died in 1205, but the bridge was not yet completed, and even before his death, King John appointed another architect in his place, one Isembert de Xaintes, who had already had experience in this particular kind of work, as he had superintended the erection of the bridges in his native town and at Rochelle. But even Isembert did not participate in the completion of the lengthy undertaking which occupied no less than thirty-three years, for we find (1209) it being finished by Serle Mercer, William Almaine, and Benedict Botewrite, who are styled "principal masters of that work," and whom we might assume to have been architects or at least surveyors, if we did not know that they were merchants.

In the centre of the bridge stood a chapel and crypt, in which its first architect, Peter of Colechurch, was buried in 1205, four years before the completion of the work ; and when the bridge was pulled down in 1832, bones,

## 4 LIVES OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS

supposed to be his, were found beneath the flooring of the chapel.

The names of the other architects, anterior to Wykeham, that have come down to us are obviously those of men who accompanied the Conqueror to this country or came hither at a later date from France or Normandy; of such were William de Sens, who built the choir of Canterbury; Helias de Berham, who was apparently occupied for no less than twenty-five years on work connected with Salisbury Cathedral, and Edward Fitzodo, who was surveyor, under Henry III., of the works then undertaken at Westminster.

Of these very little is known beyond the bald facts here stated; it is probable, however, that Helias de Berham is identical with that Elyas who is mentioned in a record for the year 1209, as being employed in superintending work at the king's palace at Westminster; while in the Cotton MSS. there is a letter of Gervasius, a benedictine monk of Canterbury, relative to the building of that cathedral after 1174, which throws a little additional light on the personality of William of Sens, for in this epistle, which contains a minute account of Bishop Lanfranc's original structure and the restoration which it underwent, it is stated that this work was carried out under the direction of William of Sens, and a certain William the Englishman who is said to have completed the structure, and who, according to Dallaway, "is the first architect or master-mason, a native of this country, concerning whom anything satisfactory is known!" The same authority says also that he was the first "who boldly attempted to work the ribbed and vaulted ceiling in stone and toph."<sup>1</sup>

This is extremely tantalising because, although we do know a fact or two about William of Sens, we appear to have no record at all of William the Englishman of whom Dallaway thus speaks, other than this note which is to be

<sup>1</sup> The letter of Gervasius was incorporated in the "Decem Scriptores," published by R. Twisden in 1652. It is of the highest value because of the rarity of any MS. on architecture so early as the reign of John.



found in Walpole's "Anecdotes of Painting," and which seems to indicate that its writer was well acquainted with the details of his life, and merely spared us this crumb, as supposing, apparently, that all the world was equally well informed. It seems fairly obvious that the title of "the Englishman" was assigned to this particular William to differentiate him from William of Sens; but who this shadowy personage was, will probably never be more clearly shown. Carter, in his "Ancient Sculpture," points out, in England not a single original plan, as drawn by the architects of great abbeys and churches survives, as they do on the Continent; and this, of course, sufficiently accounts for the obscurity of the genesis of these great buildings and the disappearance of the names of those who, if not architects in the modern acceptation of the term, took a leading part in the design and construction of edifices that still exist. In this connection, however, it is interesting to know that in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel at Worcester Cathedral there are two bas-reliefs representing an architect in the act of presenting a plan to the superior of a monastery, and receiving what appears to be a carved head from a lady. Although the actual period of these interesting relics is unknown, they are of great antiquity and are said, by Bloxam, to date from the middle of the thirteenth century. If proving nothing else, these reliefs help to show that ecclesiastical buildings were not erected without a plan.

When we come to the days of Wykeham himself, three names appear which we can connect more or less closely with the architecture of the period. The first is that of Walter de Weston, who, by a patent dated 1331, is stated to have been employed on work at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Walpole, as edited by Dallaway, gives him something of an *imprimatur* by including his name among the architects—but he does no more.

Alan of Walsingham has a somewhat better claim, for he is at least known to have been responsible for much of the beauty of Ely Cathedral, notably the octagon and the

## 6 LIVES OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS

louvre, and if he is identical with Alan the Sacrist mentioned in the life of Bishop Hotham,<sup>1</sup> then he also constructed the Campanile Novum which occupied twenty years in building, and cost the great sum, for those days, of over £2400. Alan is styled "*Vir venerabilis et artificiosus Frater*"; and although this might equally well denote a mastery in mason's work, I think we may safely assume that he occupied a position as near that of an architect of our own day as was consistent with the building methods of the period in which he lived and worked.

The name of William Winford is more familiar to us, for, as I shall have occasion to mention later, he was Wykeham's right-hand man during the restoration of Winchester Cathedral, and superintended the work during the absence of Wykeham himself. As there is every reason to suppose that he also co-operated in the designs, just as a head pupil in a modern architect's office might do, we can with safety place him among the early architects of this country. Wykeham specifically mentions him in his will in the following words: "*Volo etiam et ordino quod dispositio et ordinatio hujusmodi novi operis fiant per Magistrum Wilhelmum Winford et alios sufficientes, discretos, et in arte illa approbatos, ab executionibus meis, si oportuerit, deputandos.*" From the fact that Wykeham chose Winford as his chief coadjutor in the great work of restoration at Winchester Cathedral, it seems not improbable that he may have also employed him in the earlier undertakings at Oxford and Winchester; and that he thus places him, by name, first of those whom he wishes to continue his schemes after his death, is sufficient evidence of the confidence he reposed in Winford's capabilities as an architect and integrity as a man.

Contemporary with Wykeham and Winford was William Rede, Bishop of Chichester in 1369. He is said to have been the best mathematician of his time, and is credited

<sup>1</sup> Leland.

with the erection of the Castle of Amberley,<sup>1</sup> whose ruins may still be seen in the beautiful valley of the Arun, and the Library at Merton College, Oxford. It is, at this distance of time, impossible to say exactly what this tradition means. If in both these cases Rede acted merely the part of the patron, he cannot be regarded in any other light than that of a munificent and far-seeing prelate who divided his wealth between the claims of learning and the requirements of a troublous period; if, on the other hand, he actually designed the buildings at Oxford and at Amberley, and as a mathematician of great repute this is not at all improbable, then he may in some way take his place beside the great prelate-architect, about whose career I must now say something.

So much has been written concerning Wykeham, and his career touches on so many sides the history of the country, that it will here only be necessary to speak of him in his connection with the architectural development of his time. He was born at Wickham, in Hampshire, in 1324, and, after being educated at Winchester where, among other things, he paid particular attention to geometry, "the science of which is called masonry," he was taken into the household of Sir John Scures, as secretary. Sir John was at this time Governor of Winchester Castle, and custodian of other strongholds in Hampshire, and there seems some reason to believe that Wykeham acted as a kind of clerk-of-the-works to his patron. In 1340, Scures was succeeded in his post by Sir Robert Daundley with whom Wykeham remained, and having been presented by Daundley to Bishop Edingdon, the latter introduced him to the notice of the king. He was just the man Edward, who at this time was bent on vast building designs at Windsor and elsewhere, wanted, and, although on first entering the royal service, Wykeham's position seems to have been a subordinate one, it was not long to remain so.

By 1356 he had been created Surveyor of the Royal

<sup>1</sup> It seems more probable that Rede's predecessor in the see, John Langton, built the castle, and that Rede enlarged and improved it.

## 8 LIVES OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS

Works at Windsor, and powers had been given him to obtain all the necessary material for the projected works, as well as to "press" into his service such artificers as he might require. His personal allowance was fixed at one shilling a day as long as he remained at Windsor, and two shillings a day when his duties called him elsewhere, a salary that was doubled by a grant dated November 14 of the following year. Wykeham appears to have received *carte-blanche* from the king for the contemplated improvements; and he set to work to destroy the existing fortress and to build a palace in its place.

From a contemporary chronicle<sup>1</sup> we learn that, at Wykeham's instigation, Edward caused many fine buildings at Windsor to be levelled to the ground, and on their site to be built many more beautiful and sumptuous erections. Stone-masons and carpenters were pressed into the service from all parts of the country, so much so, indeed, that no one was able to find any of either trade to do work for him, unless he could manage to employ them secretly. In a word the king and his energetic architect had absorbed the whole building trade of the country in the erection of the lordly pleasure house that was gradually rising at Windsor.

There can be little doubt as to the excellence and beauty of the new fabric which Wykeham raised. It was unlike anything else in the country, for it far surpassed any other royal or noble dwelling; and with this beauty was combined strength. The nature of the site, of course, stood for much in this respect; but then the site had not been able to differentiate the old castle from anything but a fortress, and there is no doubt that it was Wykeham's genius that created a royal abode so durable that it might still be standing in its entirety, as the Round Tower, its chief characteristic, does so stand; and so adaptable to

<sup>1</sup> "Continuatio Chronici Ranulphi per Johannem Malverne ab an. Dom. 1326, ad an. 1394." The MS. is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, and it is quoted by Lowth in a note to his *Life of Wykeham*.

later requirements that not till the reign of George IV. was there any suggestion that it was not fitted to be the abode of the monarchs of this country.

We all know the wonderful pile as it exists to-day, and if little of Wykeham's original work still remains intact, or at least unrestored,<sup>1</sup> there seems reason to believe that Wyatville rebuilt the greater portion on the lines of the original, and, as one of Wykeham's biographers says, that "the spirit of the clerical architect was awakened in the layman."

There is a well-known story told in connection with Wykeham's work at Windsor, which, even if apocryphal as some have suggested, is yet not uncharacteristic of the architect's readiness of wit. It is said that on one of the walls of the castle Wykeham had caused to be cut the words "Hoc fecit Wykeham." The king's attention was drawn to these words, and thinking, perhaps, that they denoted too much vainglory in the architect, he complained to him about the circumstance, and showed that he resented it, whereupon Wykeham is said to have replied that the words were not intended to indicate that "Wykeham made this," but that "This made Wykeham," inferring that the work he had been commissioned to do for his royal master had been the means of making his fortune, as it undoubtedly had. Whether the king forgave the act for the ready wit which had enabled the architect to extricate himself from a difficult position, or whether the ambiguity of the Latin made it impossible for him to contradict such an assertion, report does not say, but that he bore no ill-will to Wykeham on account of the incident, is proved by the fact that his satisfaction at the result of the work done at Windsor, not only found vent in the preferments he heaped on the head of its author but also in the growing favour and even affection with which he regarded him.

Mr. Moberly gives the following details of the work undertaken by Wykeham at Windsor: "To the east of the

<sup>1</sup> Much of the foundation work executed by Wykeham remains.

round keep was a square plateau, with a precipitous side to the north. Around three sides of this were built certain walls with apartments behind them, the keep itself closing in the fourth or west side." This, of course, coinciding roughly with the present position of the royal apartments, the visitors' apartments, the Saloon and Waterloo Chamber, &c. "The entrance gate to the whole castle was at the western end of the south side of this square," in fact where St. George's Gateway still stands; "but the king's palace was a block of buildings adjoining the north wall. You entered the castle gate, and crossed a spacious court to the palace gate, which again was at the south-west of the palace. To your left as you entered—and therefore to the west, and thus defended both by the proximity of the keep, and by the precipice on the north—was the square of the king's and queen's apartments, built round a court called the Brick Court, where probably Wykeham exercised his skill for the first time in working this material, which had recently been imported from Flanders, the native country of Queen Philippa. To your right as you entered lay the hall and chapel, forming a long continuous range of building, divided by a partition wall, exactly as at Wykeham's two colleges at Oxford and Winchester, while a transverse range connected them with the apartments to the north, and thus separated (divided) the enclosed space into two oblong courts, called respectively the Horn and the Kitchen Court."

The Winchester Tower standing to the north-west of the Round Tower perpetuates by its name the great architect who first contrived a palace out of what had formerly been but a stronghold. The actual fabric was completed in 1363, and was then ready for the glazing, to which end glass was sought for throughout the country and glaziers were remorselessly pressed into the royal service. In this year the expenditure on the works is estimated at £55,000 of our present money; nor did this actually complete the improvements which appear to have been inter-

## WYKEHAM AND HIS PREDECESSORS 11

mittently going on for at least another six years, by which time the building was considered finished.

Simultaneously with the great work at Windsor, Wykeham was employed by the king (1361) in the erection of Queenborough Castle. Here he had natural obstacles to overcome consequent on the lowness of the ground on which the building had to be raised, as well as the inequalities of the site; but he was not a man to be daunted by such circumstances; and the difficulties being so pronounced, the triumphant success of the undertaking helped to further display the ability that the work at Windsor had shown him to possess. From a plan by Hollar, reproduced by that industrious Captain Grose whom Burns has immortalised, we gain some idea of the formation of this castle of which little now actually exists. The keep, of an irregular circular formation, was about 200 feet in diameter, within it being a courtyard; around it were five small round towers, and the entrance was guarded by a square turret, while linking up these towers was a raised fortification adapted to the need of warfare which was then largely carried on by bow and arrow. On the ground floor of the keep were a dozen chambers, and some forty more were contained in the higher stories; a moat, 48 feet wide, surrounded the outer wall, and enclosing this moat appears to have originally existed another wall; access to the *enceinte* of the castle being by two bridges on the west and north-east respectively. This elaborate work occupied some six years in building, but it is probable that had there not been such a general press for men to work at Windsor, it would have been completed in a much shorter time.

By the age of forty-four Wykeham had reached a dual position of power and splendour seldom attained by a subject; still a young man, he was able to throw all a young man's energy into a hundred schemes for the betterment of life and education, which his comprehensive brain conceived, and which the power he had attained enabled him to execute. The first of these to which he now turned

his attention was the rebuilding of the already dilapidated religious houses, and the amendment of the rules by which they were governed. With this object in view he ordered the executors of his predecessor in the bishopric, Edington, to put into thorough repair the various erections under the episcopal jurisdiction. These, we are told, comprised no fewer than twelve different castles, manor-houses, or palaces belonging to the cathedral of Winchester, and it is interesting to know that they were situated at Wolvesey, South Waltham, Merwell, Sutton, High-Clere, Farnham, Esher, Wargrave, Southwark, Taunton, &c. Wykeham also received, as property of the See, vast quantities of cattle of all sorts, as well as a sum of money amounting to over £1800, equal now to about £25,000, in lieu of crops that had been either alienated or destroyed.

Nor was this requisition merely made with the object of swelling Wykeham's own coffers; he had better motives, as we shall see, and he determined that he would exact what was due to him and his See, in order that he might husband it for the great schemes that were already forming in his brain. With the same object in view, he personally visited all the religious houses in his diocese, and having noted improvements to be made and abuses to be corrected, he subsequently sent commissioners to attend to the one and to reform the other. His early training as an architect and a surveyor stood him in good stead in the next great work of reformation to which he set himself: the repairing of all the episcopal buildings under his jurisdiction.

One of the first steps he took towards this extensive scheme was to purchase the stone quarries of Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight, in order that he might have an ample store of the best building material to draw upon. The Abbot of Quarr also associated himself with Wykeham in the matter, and largely through his influence numbers of workmen from the neighbourhood were drafted into the service of the bishop who, in order to leave no stone unturned, wrote a circular letter to other ecclesiastical authorities in the island desiring their co-operation in collecting



both skilled and unskilled labour. All these workmen were paid liberally by Wykeham himself, who is said to have expended no less than 20,000 marks (£13,000) on the repairs and reconstruction of the episcopal buildings within his diocese.

But it was not only the structural improvements of these religious houses that received the bishop's care and attention; he directed with as much ardour his investigations into their internal administration, and in the progress he made through the diocese in the summer of 1373, he visited each of them, and having noted abuses and irregularities, he, during the following year, sent commissioners with full power to correct them. The list of these monasteries, religious houses, and churches, which Lowth gives in a foot-note, comprises no less than forty odd, and sufficiently shows how large was the work undertaken by Wykeham. Nor was he content with one such investigation. Three several times, at varying intervals, did he visit them all, after each perambulation issuing orders for their better administration.

It is interesting to learn that amidst all this activity in his diocese generally, Wykeham already had an eye to his own cathedral which, twenty-three years later, was to receive such magnificent additions at his hands. Mr. Moberly quotes part of a letter written by Wykeham, in April 1371, two days before his circular to the clergy of the Isle of Wight, in which, referring to some new work going on at the cathedral, he makes complaint of certain unknown depredators having "stolen from their place stones hewn and unhewn, chalk and cement, and sundry instruments for the new work of our church aforesaid, which were got ready at great expense for making good the building"; and he solemnly excommunicates them for these misdeeds which, apart from their illegality, may be supposed to have touched him as an architect very nearly.

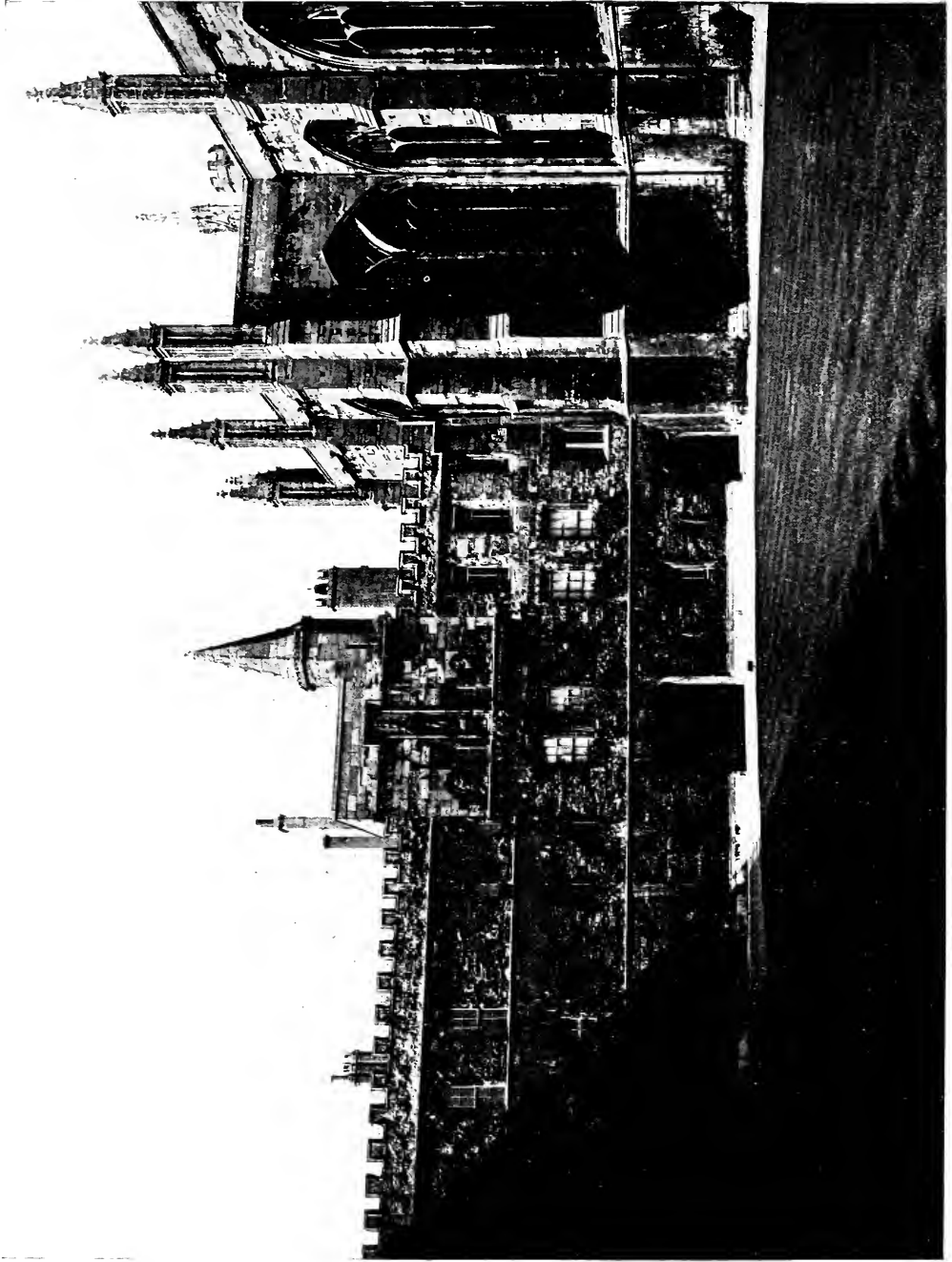
After the cathedral itself, that which is more closely associated with Wykeham's name than any of the other buildings in his diocese is the Hospital of St. Cross, which

## 14 LIVES OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS

had been originally instituted in 1132 by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester and brother of King Stephen, and which Wykeham spent no less than six years in reforming according to the original intentions of its founder. These institutions may be summarised thus: That thirteen indigent men should receive lodging, clothing, and a daily allowance of bread and beer, "three messes each for dinner, and one for supper"; and that, in the event of any regaining health and strength enabling him to obtain work, he should be discharged and his place filled up. Besides this, it was intended that one hundred poor "of modest behaviour, and the most indigent that can be found," should each be served daily with a loaf of coarse bread and an allowance of beer, with permission to carry away with them what remained over from their dinner; while it was also ordered that charity generally should be distributed to deserving objects as the funds of the Hospital allowed.

Like many men, whose career has not been initiated by a thorough grounding in classical education, and who have made a name for themselves, Wykeham continually felt the want of such an early training, particularly as the position he had attained was ever and anon bringing him into contact with those luckier than himself in this respect, who had gained in the schools of France and Italy what they could not easily have obtained at home. This latter point struck him forcibly, and he, no doubt, considered it little short of scandalous that there were in England so few seats of learning in which the scholars should be fitted with a relatively liberal education and prepared for the struggles of the world. His wealth was great; as a churchman he had no direct heirs; his frugality patent to all eyes; indeed, he seems not to have escaped the charge of parsimony in a generation in which outward show was regarded as a necessary concomitant to power and position; but he had an object in view, and he bore the imputations which were directed against him in silence, until all his plans were completed, and he at length surprised his con-





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NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

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temporaries by announcing his resolve to erect a college for the perpetual maintenance and education of no less than two hundred scholars. The country had hardly time to cease wondering at such a splendid destination for the wealth which all the world knew he had been accumulating, before it heard that much of the ground on which the college was to rise was already purchased,<sup>1</sup> that magnificent plans had already been prepared, and that men and materials were already engaged for carrying out this princely project.

The founding of New College, the institution of Winchester School on its present basis, and the restoration of Winchester Cathedral, were the three great schemes which made the latter years of Wykeham's life in a way the most remarkable of his whole career.

With regard to the first of these great projects Wykeham had already made a start, by the assembling of scholars at Oxford, the purchase of land in that city, and in other ways. No sooner had he been successfully re-established in the royal favour, which, through no fault of his own, he had for a time forfeited, than he began to erect the college whose architectural outlines and internal administration he had already formulated. The agents, Buckingham and Rounceby, who had before acted for him in the acquisition of ground, were at once set to work to buy more, and in 1378 they appear to have purchased sufficient for building operations to begin.

Having carefully felt his way as to his rights to enclose ground, Wykeham, on June 30, 1378, obtained a royal charter for the foundation of what was then termed, as it continues to be, New College; and in the following November, Wykeham himself issued his own charter of foundation, in which the college is called "St. Mary College of Winchester in Oxford," constituted to afford education for seventy scholars, with a warden at their

<sup>1</sup> In 1369 and the following year various parcels of land were purchased as they happened to be in the market, and their position seems to have determined the site of New College.

head. On Monday, March 5, 1380, at eight o'clock in the morning, the first stone was laid, but not by Wykeham who was detained in London on urgent State business.

The building operations lasted about six years and comprised the great quadrangle which was the first to be designed and finished; and the chapel and hall on the north side of the quadrangle which was guarded by the city wall. "The chapel," says Mr. Moberly, "is to the west, 150 feet in length; the dining hall in the same block with it, on the east, 80 feet in length. Upon this side is built a rectangular figure of nearly square shape, so as to enclose a quadrangle of 168 feet long by 129 broad. All the western side south of the chapel was appropriated to the warden's lodgings; all the eastern to the library. The southern block consisted of the students' chambers, thirteen in number, each for six or seven inmates, of whom one, a senior fellow, kept order amongst the others"; and from another source, we learn that in each chamber were places for three or four beds; the rest were truckle beds, or beds on wheels, which ran under the principal beds, and accommodated the junior students.<sup>1</sup>

The scholars whom Wykeham had assembled at Oxford before he had actually commenced building operations were lodged in certain halls which their patron had apparently rented for this purpose. At least three of these adjoined his new college, and three years after the first stone had been laid Wykeham purchased these—known as Sheld (or School) Hall, Maiden Hall, and More Hammer Hall—and having levelled them with the ground, built on their site the cloisters abutting on the chapel on the west; at the same time he erected the Tower and placed three bells in it, which having been duly dedicated, were consecrated on October 19, 1400, by the Bishop of Dunkeld. It was in this year that the statutes which Wykeham drafted with such care and exact deliberation, and which he so often revised and amplified, took their final shape.

As to the architectural work at New College, for which

<sup>1</sup> "Stat. Oxon." quoted by Mr. Moberly in his *Life of Wykeham*.

Wykeham is responsible, the perpendicular style, initiated at Gloucester, found its most striking exposition here as it did in Winchester Cathedral. Restoration has of course been necessary often enough since his day, but so substantially and so completely did he house his foundation, that relatively little change, other than by addition, has been required in the actual fabric which he left.

Twenty years earlier certain repairs had been carried out at Winchester Cathedral; and it is reasonable to suppose that other work was done, as it became needful from time to time; but in 1393, when Wykeham made one of his visitations to the Priory and Convent of St. Swithun into which so many abuses had crept that most drastic measures were needful to rehabilitate them according to the intention of their founder, Bishop Athelwold (964), his attention was drawn to the fact that a wholesale restoration of the cathedral had become necessary; this he arranged for by compelling these religious houses to provide 200 marks for seven years towards the work. But a still larger scheme seems at the same time to have entered his head; in short, nothing less than a transformation of the nave into the perpendicular style, and he determined to undertake it and to pay the whole cost himself, excusing the Priory and Convent from contributing the sum already agreed upon.<sup>1</sup>

The fabric, as it then stood, had been erected by Bishop Walkelin, who began its erection in 1079. It was in the Saxon style of architecture, with its round pillars, round-headed arches and windows, and plain exterior walls without buttresses; and, indeed, was still largely composed of that rough timber-work of which the Saxon word for building—to timber—indicated the frequent and in some cases the sole use.

There is a tradition that as the work proceeded, so ruinous were shown to be various parts of the cathedral that Wykeham wished he had begun by pulling down the whole. Considering what reverence was, even in those

<sup>1</sup> Moberly.

days, shown to any ecclesiastical remains by the churchmen of the day, it is not probable that Wykeham would have applied any such drastic method to the cathedral, but it is, no doubt, a fact that as the restoration progressed, fresh causes, necessitating more work, were being constantly brought to light.

Although the Priory and Convent of St. Swithun had been excused any money payment in regard to the restoration, they were responsible for certain contributions in kind to the work; thus, they agreed to find the whole of the necessary scaffolding; they also gave Wykeham permission to dig and carry away chalk and sand from their land; and they allowed the stones of the old building to be incorporated in the new undertaking.

The work of restoration began on the Wednesday after All Saints Day, 1394, William Winford being employed as architect, Simon Membury as surveyor and paymaster on Wykeham's part, and John Wayte fulfilling the same offices on behalf of the Priory and Convent of St. Swithun.

It has been assumed because Winford occupied the position of architect, that the designs of the new nave, &c., were his sole work; but I do not think that this necessarily follows. It was obviously important to have an actual architect continually on the spot in a work of such magnitude, and Wykeham himself was largely precluded from giving close personal attention to the matter, not only on account of his ecclesiastical duties, but also from the fact that his health was in a precarious state. There is, therefore, I think, every reason to believe that the general scheme was Wykeham's own, and that he left Winford<sup>1</sup> to work out its details, and possibly gave him a free hand in the matter of such modifications in the design as may have appeared necessary during the progress of the work.

Certain repairs had already been done by Wykeham's predecessor, Bishop Edingdon, at the west end of the

<sup>1</sup> Winford, Membury and Wayte are all mentioned in Wykeham's will, being directed by him to carry out the work in the event of his death.







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WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

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cathedral, and, as it was unnecessary to touch this, Wykeham commenced his alterations at the south-west corner of the nave; but, careful to preserve any substantial portion of the existing work, an example of restraint which later restorers have not been always ready to follow, he did not entirely demolish the nave, but added perpendicular mouldings to the existing Saxon pillars. There may have been another reason for this. The site of the cathedral is a low one, and Wykeham not improbably thought it safest to rely on the foundations already tried, than to risk new ones that might in course of time prove less secure.<sup>1</sup>

It was this grafting, as it were, of new work on the old that gives to Winchester that composite character which has been urged as a reproach against it. Indeed as it stands to-day it leaves much to be desired, massive and beautiful as are many of its component parts; but we must remember that in Wykeham's time the buildings of the monastery adjoined the whole of its south side, and formed with their collateral features an integral portion of the cathedral. As such Wykeham regarded them, and when the zeal of the Reformation swept them away, and thus left bare the south side of the main fabric, the absence of buttresses and pinnacles gave an appearance of bareness and incompleteness which was not apparent in Wykeham's day and for long after.

From what the bishop did at Winchester and Oxford when untrammelled by the work of predecessors it seems probable that had he demolished the entire structure of the old cathedral and erected a new one in its place, we should have at Winchester something almost as fine as exists at York, and a rival in architectural beauty to the consummate splendour of Canterbury.

It does not fall within my scheme to trace the technical details of Wykeham's work at Winchester Cathedral; the volumes of Britton and others sufficiently do this for those

<sup>1</sup> Recently, as we all know, the foundations have given cause for the gravest apprehensions.

who are specifically interested in this phase of the matter, but a characteristic of his architectural achievement should be mentioned, I mean his ability to combine that sense of beauty and even magnificence with what was at once durable and utilitarian, and in this the work has a not remote resemblance to the character of the man himself. Perhaps the recognition of art for art's sake was not so dominant a note in his personality, as the striving after what would endure as a lasting benefit to his country; he may not have reached the great heights to which those who were responsible for, to take an instance, Salisbury Cathedral, attained, but in many respects his work at Winchester was as beautiful, and as I have said, it might conceivably under different conditions, have equalled some of the finest of those examples of "petrified religion" which still attest the splendid conceptions of what we are wont to term the Dark Ages; as it is, no less an authority than Gilpin, and many masters of the art have agreed with him, considered that the nave of Winchester Cathedral was the most magnificent in England.

We have seen that by 1378 Wykeham's agents had secured sufficient land at Oxford for the site of the new college, and it was about the same time that Wykeham began his preparation for the founding of Winchester School. Much of the ground on which it stands was then the property of the see, and what was required further was purchased from the Convent of St. Swithun and from certain private persons. By 1383, the bishop had acquired all he wanted with the exception of a narrow strip of land which forms the frontage of the main buildings. As Wykeham did not secure this till a month before the opening of his new foundation, it is obvious that he must have made sure of obtaining it, and inasmuch as it was Crown property we can understand that no difficulty was likely to arise. It was, in fact, granted by the king to Wykeham on March 1, 1393.

New College, Oxford, had been opened in the spring of 1386, and just a year later, the first stone of Winchester

School was laid, the ceremony taking place on March 26, 1387. It was sufficiently advanced for use six years later, and on March 28, 1393, was inaugurated with a solemn and impressive ceremony. But although it was thus opened, the buildings were not actually completed for another two years when the chapel was finished, and even then the tower and cloisters were not built till after Wykeham's death. In 1395, the king granted the Royal Charter which secured those privileges to the foundation which it has, with one notable exception, since enjoyed.

Wykeham's last years, notwithstanding advancing age and much ill health, were hardly less strenuous than his earlier career had been, for besides his important civil employment, the administration of his diocese and the work of restoration on Winchester Cathedral fully occupied him. In addition one final labour was undertaken, and it appropriately marks the close of his ecclesiastical as well as his architectural career: the erection of a chantry in honour of the blessed Virgin, on the very spot where as a youth he had attended mass said by Richard Pekis, one of the brethren of St. Swithun's Priory, and "vulgarly called Pekismass."<sup>1</sup>

Hardly had Wykeham arranged with the Priory of St. Swithun that three of its body should say mass here daily, than, on September 27, 1404, he drew his last breath at his residence at Bishop's Waltham whither he had retired, in broken health, two years earlier.

<sup>1</sup> Aylward.

## CHAPTER II

### JOHN THORPE AND OTHERS

FROM the reign of Henry IV. to the close of that of Mary, a period of just upon one hundred and sixty years, there is no record of any great architect in this country. The reasons for this are various; in the first place both the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. were periods of storm and stress; those of Henry VI. and his immediate successors were still more unsettled; Henry VII., it is true, erected some splendid buildings, notably the far-famed Richmond Palace and the magnificent Chapel at Westminster, and under Henry VIII., the ostentation of Wolsey was responsible for palaces on a scale of grandeur hitherto unknown. But the name of no Englishman of any great eminence has ever been connected with any of the architectural work undertaken during these periods. Indeed the splendid traditions left by Wykeham do not appear to have had the effect of awakening any particular talent which might be supposed to be lying dormant in some embryo architect; and although ecclesiastical and other building activity necessarily went on, it seems to have been undertaken by those whose combined efforts were alone able to effect what the genius of a single man at an earlier, and also at a later, age produced.

One might have imagined that after the havoc wrought by the Wars of the Roses, some genius would have appeared to do something similar to that which Wren did after the Great Fire; but no such man was forthcoming, and

perhaps there is a sufficient reason for this: foreign work seems to have had, intermittently, a greater attraction for the sovereigns of this country than native talent. Charles I. was a splendid exception, and Charles II., with such a man as Wren to his hand, could hardly help being another, and so we find that when Richmond Palace was erected by Henry VII., it was planned after the so-called "Burgundian" style, and when the poetry of architecture was exemplified in the amazingly beautiful chapel at Westminster, it had its genesis in what was learned in France and thence brought into England.

In the same way when Henry VIII. built the palaces identified with his name, his architects were such as Jerome de Trevisa or that shadowy personage John of Padua; while the genius of Holbein, which seems to have been equally facile in designing details of houses and in portraying the lineaments of royalty, dominated the period in which, under royal protection, it had fuller play than that of any but two British architects has ever enjoyed.

The Italian influx in the reign of Henry inaugurated the Renaissance which went on gathering strength and influence until in the hands of Inigo Jones, and later of Wren, it reached its *apogee*; but it also helped to swamp native talent, for it was not till the close of Henry's reign that there was any attempt on the part of English architects to assert themselves, and even then what was effected was done in the teeth of the Germans who followed the Italians. I am not prepared to say that these two foreign influences did not in the end make for the improvement and the advancement of architecture in this country, but I do think that, coming as they did after a time of stress in the annals of this country, they helped to still further nip what native talent there may have been in the bud.

The result is that when we seek for the names of British architects who may, however feebly, form a connecting link with the greater names in what becomes later a splendid chain, we find, and have to be content with, such facts as that

one Nicholas Walton,<sup>1</sup> was a master-carpenter and engineer in the reign of Richard II. ; that John Kendale<sup>2</sup> was a supervisor of the royal buildings in that of Edward IV., for between these periods not even such names are forthcoming ; and that Thomas Wolvey or Wolven and his son Richard were Latomi—or stonecutters, at a later period.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that tradition has associated the name of Wolsey with certain portions of the magnificent buildings erected largely at his expense at Hampton Court and Oxford, and has even attributed the design of the famous Magdalen Tower to the great Cardinal, who was twice bursar of the college during the progress of the work ; but we have no better authority than tradition, and it seems probable that what share Wolsey may have had in the architectural portion of his foundations was restricted to those rough outlines which were at that period given to the actual workmen more for their general guidance than as designs which they should implicitly follow.

At Hampton Court the main fabric was the work of English masons and bricklayers, the more decorative portions being supplied by foreigners, of whom Giovanni de Maijano is known to have been responsible for much of the terra-cotta work.<sup>4</sup> We know that James Bettes was "Master of the works," and that Nicholas Townley was clerk comptroller, but even the industry and minute investigation of Mr. Ernest Law was unable to discover the actual architect, unless it was, as the historian of Hampton Court inclines

<sup>1</sup> Dallaway remarks that the stupendous timber roofs of Westminster and Eltham were probably designed and executed by Walton. He is mentioned in a Patent 17, Richard II.

<sup>2</sup> In a Patent of 1 Edward IV. A fee is assigned Kendale for life as "supervisor of all the King's works throughout the realm."

<sup>3</sup> Walpole prints two inscriptions in the Church of St. Michael at St. Albans, relating to these two men. Thomas is called "Latomus in arte," and died in 1430 ; Richard, who died in 1490, is simply described as "Lathomus."

<sup>4</sup> See a letter from him to Wolsey, requesting payment for work at Hampton Court, in Ellis's "Original Letters," 3rd series, vol. i. p. 249.



to believe, one "Mr. Henry Williams, priest, surveyor of the works at Hampton Court."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Mr. Law infers that if it could be conclusively shown that Williams was also surveyor of the works at Oxford, and designed the Great Hall at Christ Church, the assumption that he was also architect of Hampton Court would be a fairly strong one. In the absence, however, of any proof as to this, the style of the buildings erected by the Cardinal, and those that followed their architectural lines, are known generally as "The Wolsey Architecture," and the phrase, perhaps, fairly indicates the supervision and influence of their great builder. Nor can we trace any actual work to that Hector Asheley who is mentioned as having been much employed by Henry VIII., for whether he fulfilled the functions of an architect, or merely that of a supervisor or clerk of the works, is not recorded.

On the other hand, Sir Richard Lee, or Lea, is known to have been a military engineer, and is even spoken of as an architect, but as no example of civil architecture can be attributed to him, it is fairly obvious, I think, that the erections for which he may have been responsible were in the nature of purely military works, some of which he is known to have designed at Berwick, and in Scotland where he held the post of Master of the Pioneers.

What makes this particular *lacuna*<sup>2</sup> in the history of English architects the more curious, is the fact that during the reign of Henry VIII. many of those splendid mansions of which some exist, but of more of which no traces are left, were erected. Besides Wolsey's great buildings, Hampton Court and the Tower at Esher, York House in

<sup>1</sup> See "History of Hampton Court Palace," by Ernest Law. There is a brass in Farnham Royal Church, Bucks, to the memory of Eustace Marshal, dated 1567, in which he is described as "clerk of the works to Cardinal Wolsey, at the building of St. Frideswide's in Oxford, and for several years chief clerk of accounts for all the buildings of King Henry VIII. within twenty miles of London."

<sup>2</sup> Dallaway mentions John Druell and Roger Keys, as the architects of All Souls, Oxford, and W. Orchyerde as that of Magdalen; but I have been unable to find anything further about them.

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Whitehall, and Christ Church at Oxford, the Duke of Buckingham built Thornbury in Gloucestershire, and the Duke of Suffolk, Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire; Kenninghall and Mount Surrey, in Norfolk, once attested the magnificent conceptions of the Duke of Norfolk, and of his son, Lord Surrey; and Haddon and Hever, Layer Marney and Hengrave, Cowdray and Gosfield, Wolterton and Harlaxton and Raglan, to name but these, all date from the same prolific period.

The fact, however, remains that, notwithstanding these evidences of a recrudescence of architectural energy, the first name to which we can with any certainty apply the title of architect, after that of Wykeham, is that of John Thorpe, in the reign of Elizabeth. But although Thorpe has been credited with much of the domestic architecture of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., curiously little is known about the man himself; and, with the exception of a passage in Peacham's "Gentleman's Exercise," no reference to him in contemporary literature, or in the diaries or letters of the period, has come to light; indeed, considering that his name is so well known, and the attributions of so many fine specimens of domestic architecture placed to his credit with something almost approaching certainty, his personality is the vaguest of those who made a reputation for themselves during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As, however, we know that he was of the "Parish of St. Martin's in the Fields," we are able to claim him as a Londoner, and there is some ground for identifying him with that John Thorpe who married, on September 15, 1592, Rebecca Greene (who apparently died in June, 1604), and who took as his second wife, Margaret Sherry, whom he married on September 16, 1605. In the St. Martin's Register the name of Thorpe occurs some eighteen times, of which entries eleven are given under baptisms, and include that of Rebecca Thorpe, who was christened on December 27, 1608, and is stated to have been the daughter of John Thorpe; but which of the other Thorpe children named were the offspring of John Thorpe

it is impossible to say, especially as a George Thorpe (not improbably a brother of John) married Margaret Porter in July 1600, and was in all likelihood the father of some of those given in the Register of Baptisms, while I think that perhaps the John Thorpe who is stated to have been buried on March 26, 1601, was the father of *our* John Thorpe; as, however, Thorpe the architect was essentially the first and last of his family, the matter is not of such importance as to warrant a more extended conjectural hypothesis.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Thorpe is said to have studied at Padua at the beginning of his professional career has given rise to the supposition that he was identical with that other shadowy personage, John of Padua, and that he assumed this name "in accordance with the custom, so very usual with artists of his time."<sup>2</sup> I fear, however, that the evidence is not sufficiently clear to allow of this conjecture being received without the greatest caution. John of Padua, whoever he was (and Walpole probably quite rightly calls him an Italian architect) was working for Henry VIII. in 1544, which, I cannot but think, was too early a period for Thorpe to have reached such a position, even (and this is uncertain) if he was then actually born. The fact seems to be that, given two men of whose lives hardly any data exist, but who were approximately of the same period, an attempt has been made in order to elucidate the career of each, to resolve them into one and the same individual.<sup>3</sup>

Excess of caution on the other hand has even led to the questioning of Thorpe's claim to be an architect at all, but I do not think greater weight attaches to this scepticism than to the attribution to him, once freely made chiefly through Walpole's rather uncritical allocation, of all the great buildings erected during the latter part of the reign

<sup>1</sup> The Ralph Thorpe mentioned in a letter from Sir John Puckering to the Lord Mayor, dated April 29, 1595, may have been a relative. See "Remembrancia," p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> See "Notes and Queries," 6th series.

<sup>3</sup> Even Dr. Caius of Cambridge has been identified with John of Padua.

of Elizabeth and the early years of that of James I. When Walpole discovered the now famous book of drawings which Thorpe has left us, he, not perhaps unnaturally, in the absence of any other great architect to whose genius he could trace these splendid mansions, assumed them all to be the product of Thorpe's brain. Certain circumstances, however, as we shall see, have since modified reliance on this wholesale conjecture; but there seems no reason to doubt that Thorpe was an architect, as we understand the title, and that he was a great architect.

That as an illusive personage, so far as his private life is concerned, he stands in good company at least cannot be denied, and works emanating from his hand can be traced to him practically with as much certainty as can the great epics to Homer and the immortal plays to Shakespeare, and we may, I think, at any rate assume with the flippant critic of these great men, that if what is attributed to him was not executed by him, then it was done by some one else of the same name!

Before passing to a consideration of the works assigned to Thorpe, or more certainly known to be his, I may mention that in the churchwarden's accounts for St. Martin's in the Fields, one or two entries occur which not improbably refer to the architect, and which in the absence of more precise data have the value of *mémoires pour servir*, if of nothing else. Thus, in 1597, "Mr. Thorpe" contributes five shillings towards the church expenses, and seven years later we find John Thorpe, no doubt the same individual, acting as churchwarden; while an entry among the burials for the year 1602, reads: "Marche. Item the XXV. daie was buried *Wm.* Thorpe." Now in place of the "*Wm.*" had first been written John, and it is not improbable that as John Thorpe was a well-known man at this time, whoever made the entry may have fallen into the mistake of allowing his pen to first trace the Christian name of one who had made for the first time the surname of Thorpe illustrious. I am not unprepared to be told that this is the barest of conjecture; and so it is, but after all it is

something, even if a hypothetical something, which in the absence of any more exact data may, I think, be permissibly allowed to stand.

The first actual record of Thorpe's work as an architect dates from 1570 in which year he began the building of Kirby Hall in Northamptonshire. The plan of this house among the drawings left by him and now in the Soane Museum, bears his own written evidence to this fact, thus: "Kerby whereof I laid the first stone 1570." The mansion was erected between this year and 1575, for Sir Humphrey Stafford, and although as Mr. Blomfield and others have pointed out, the actual building differs in many points from the extant plan, there is a sufficient resemblance to identify their connection with each other, and in view of Thorpe's statement that he was responsible for it (if his marginal note may be so read) it indicates the kind of work which at this period of his life exercised his ingenuity. This being so it has been objected that his claim to be regarded as the designer of Wollaton,<sup>1</sup> Notts (a plan of which is also included among his drawings) suffers, because it is unlikely that he would have been able to vary his style so considerably as to plan two such different erections; but there is at least something to be said on the other side. In the first place I am not sure that we should be too ready to assume that an architect, at this early period, was so tied down by convention as to be unable to assimilate new ideas, or to venture on experiments hitherto untried at least in this country. Thorpe's career of activity coincided with the decline of the old perpendicular style of architecture and the inauguration of the Renaissance in England, and the very fact of his having left, unlike Inigo Jones and Wren, no personal impress on the architecture of this country seems to indicate to some extent that his mind was rather impressionable than creative, and would account for the variety of conception in the works attributed

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Wollaton was presumably not his work but that of Smithson, as we shall see, does not affect the principle of my argument.

to him on the ground of their plans and elevations being included in his book of drawings.

Another reason adduced by those who question his right to be considered the author of many of these erections is the fact that had he been, his name would in all probability have found its way into contemporary records if not into contemporary literature; but much the same argument might be adduced (indeed it has been adduced) in the case of Shakespeare, whose medium of self development might reasonably be supposed to lend itself to contemporary notice, and makes the few references to him extant, still more surprising. When we realise how relatively few of the great architects whose work still exists around us, and some of whom are living in our midst, are known even by name to the general public, I think it is easy to realise that a great worker in this medium might quite conceivably have lived and died and produced great work in those less advertising days than ours, without his name receiving any more permanent record than what he might himself have set down in his private note-books or professional memoranda.

Although we are able to settle the year in which Thorpe began the building of Kirby Hall, in view of his existing written statement, we are not so lucky with respect to the other great mansions he designed or at least had a hand in, and if we can, with some certainty, place the execution of the plan for the Palace of Eltham at the year 1590,<sup>1</sup> we can only approximately guess at the dates of those great houses with which his name is more or less identified. It would, however, appear that the year 1618, or thereabouts was the period of his greatest activity, for it was then that he either built or enlarged a number of important mansions. There was, too, some political justification for this excursion into building development on the part of the great nobles at this particular period. With the close of

<sup>1</sup> There is record of a Bond of John Thorpe not to found or sell iron ordnance without a licence from the Queen. February 22, 1574, Domestic State Papers.

the Tudor rule, a more peaceful *régime* seemed to promise immunity from foreign aggression and civil disturbance, and such an epoch was not unnaturally regarded as a favourable moment for prosecuting the more peaceful arts. Before the accession of James I., however, two mansions were erected which are with some probability assigned to Thorpe, *i.e.*, Old Longford Castle, and Rushton Hall. The former was commenced in 1580, for Sir Thomas Gorges. It is triangular in form, each apex of the triangle consisting of a circular tower, and it is said to owe its peculiar formation to the fact that Lady Gorges was a Swede, and desired that her English home should resemble as much as possible the Castle of Uranienborg in her native land. The towers are connected by buildings enclosing a court-yard, and the surface of the brickwork is divided into oblong panels by bands of white stone and black flints alternately ;<sup>1</sup> a characteristic that would appear to be peculiar to this part of the country, thus helping to prove the purely English genesis of this portion of the fabric, which is likewise attested by various other parts of the work.

Certain circumstances point to the fact that when so much of it had been erected, the building was stopped ; one excellent reason given being that Sir Thomas Gorges had practically exhausted his resources in doing as much as he had. Later, however, Lady Gorges is known to have obtained a grant of one of the ships of the Armada which had been wrecked on the coast, and this particular vessel containing much bullion, she was enabled to continue the building of Longford. As we have seen Lady Gorges's taste in architecture was essentially un-English, and it is therefore probable that it was she who decided to have the façade which was then commenced, decorated with arches and terminal figures in the extravagant manner beloved by the Germans at this period.

The heterogeneous character thus given to the building makes it difficult to assign the authorship of it, as a whole,

<sup>1</sup> Blomfield.

to any particular architect; certainly the later portion cannot be attributed to Thorpe, and the plans extant among his drawings, which, by the bye, do not tally much with the lines of the place as it exists, seem to point to the fact that he was responsible for the ground plan and for so much of the structure as was completed during the first period of building, while that portion of the elevation in the drawings which coincides with the elaborate later work was probably merely made after the place was completed, as a record of it in its entirety. This is a case in which the difficulty of estimating the exact extent of Thorpe's work from the only existing data left by him, is particularly marked, as what he obviously did in this case, he in all probability did in others, and for a few designs contained in his book of plans and elevations, that can with any certainty be traced to him, there are numbers which he must merely have copied from the work of others either as specimens of the architecture of the period or as patterns to serve as hints for his own productions.

Rushton was erected for Sir Thomas Tresham, and as plans not only of it but also of other houses, notably Rothwell and Lyvedon, built for him are contained in Thorpe's book of designs, Mr. Gotch has assumed that the latter was the architect of these as well. From this, however, Mr. Blomfield dissents as, from a comparison of Thorpe's known work at Kirby and Rushton with the buildings of Rothwell and Lyvedon, he assumes that they are not by the same hand, and he is inclined to attribute the two latter erections to Tresham himself, who, he reminds us, was a man "of considerable ability," if of "eccentric tastes"; while he also places the triangular lodge at Rushton to Tresham's credit. There is something to be said for both contentions, and it is not unlikely that in all the work executed for Tresham both he and Thorpe had a hand, that of the architect perhaps curbing the too luxuriant fancy of the novice, that of the novice giving unconventional, and therefore valuable,



hints to the more accepted artificiality of the professional designer.

Among the Thorpe plans is one of Holdenby in Northamptonshire which was erected for Sir Christopher Hatton some time before 1580, but which is now merely a fragment. When investigation into such matters was not carried on so critically as it has been since, the presence of this plan was taken to indicate that Holdenby was one of Thorpe's designs; Mr. Wyatt Papworth, however, who has left some valuable MS. notes in the volume in the Soane Museum, of which he was once custodian, has conclusively proved that Thorpe's only connection with this house was that of surveyor, and that the personality of its actual architect, if it can be assigned to any one man, is still wrapt in obscurity.

At that period, when a great noble wished to build himself a lordly pleasure-house, he himself not infrequently laid down the outlines of what he wanted, and with the help of master-masons, artificers in stone, and, as often as not, merely unskilled local labour, contrived some one of those splendid palaces which even the skill of professional architects has since found difficulty in emulating and seldom in surpassing. It is probable, therefore, that Holdenby was an example of this, as was, it may be assumed, Burghley (built 1577), and certainly Hatfield (about 1611) and Blickling. Tradition stood for so much in the erection of such places, that a certain purity of style discernible in their outlines is the more apparent when contrasted with the fastidious and meretricious exaggerations that gradually found their way from Germany and became to some extent identified with the saner, if less ambitious, work which had preceded their introduction.

At the same time it must be remembered that much of the beauty discernible by us in many of these fine houses is a beauty rather consecrated by age than one inherent in these fabrics when they were first fashioned; and it is not improbable that, satisfactory as they may have appeared to contemporaries, they would have proved tasteless to any

one who might have possessed a more accurate and comprehensive knowledge of architectural rules. Their chief defect seems to have been a superabundance of detail and an overcrowding of ornament which at once betrays the 'prentice hand; and it is this want of artistic restraint that chiefly helps to differentiate them from the work of trained intelligence. We have seen how this was the case at Longford, and if we make use of the same criterion to gauge the extent of Thorpe's work on other buildings in which he is conjectured to have had a hand, we shall probably approach as near as is now possible to a conception of his genius and the value of his architectural activity.

Besides Longford, Kirby, Rushton, and Holdenby, the Thorpe collection of drawings comprises plans of Buckhurst in Sussex, Audley End, Wimbledon House, Copthall, Wollaton, Loseley, Burghley House, Aston Hall, Burghley on the Hill, Holland House, and Somerset House; in fact, of all the principal mansions erected in England at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Walpole's deduction from this, that Thorpe was responsible for all these great houses, has been disposed of, but several interesting assumptions have survived his day. Thus, as Somerset House is said to have been built by John of Padua, about whom as little is known as about Thorpe himself, it has been conjectured that these two architects were one and the same person; but, as I have before pointed out, this statement falls to the ground on a question of dates; again, Burghley House, apparently because of the absence by name of any other architect, coupled with the fact that it is represented in Thorpe's drawings, has been assigned to him; but, as Mr. Blomfield very pertinently remarks, as there is no mention of Thorpe in the extant documents relating to the building of this house, whereas certain Germans are so mentioned, it is unlikely that he had anything to do with it, unless it was in some quite subsidiary character—certainly not as architect in anything approaching our conception of that term. Even had he been employed on its erection in a lesser

capacity, it seems probable that his name would have been preserved in this connection, as were those of Roger Warde, the mason; Peter Kemp, who apparently designed a brew-house for the mansion; and John Shers and Dominique Troisriex, who appear to have been engaged by Sir William Cecil (for whom Burghley was built) to collect objects of art wherewith to fill his new country seat.

As in the case of Burghley, Audley End and Longleat and even Theobalds<sup>1</sup> appear to have been assigned to Thorpe on insufficient grounds. Longleat, which was commenced by Sir Thomas Thynne in 1567, has also been attributed to John of Padua, which, of course, for those who identify the two architects as a single person, comes to the same thing as allocating it to Thorpe. All that can be said, after all, is that there is no actual documentary evidence in support of either contention, and although it cannot be said positively to be the work of Thorpe, on the other hand it cannot be proved not to be.<sup>2</sup>

Much the same uncertainty pervades the question as to who designed Audley End (Fergusson says Jansen did), which was begun in 1603, for the first Earl of Suffolk, and completed some thirteen years later. There is a tradition that the model for it was obtained in Italy, and had this been borne out by the completed lines of the building, it might have gone for something towards Thorpe's claim to be considered its architect, whether as identified with John of Padua or on his own account, but as Mr. Blomfield points out, the details are obviously German in character and the ground-plan as incontestably English in arrangement; besides which, the fact that it has little or nothing in common with Kirby and Rushton, although not in itself a conclusive disproof, is, when taken together with other negative evidence, sufficient to give us pause in

<sup>1</sup> In the Cotton MSS. is a tinted plan or survey on vellum of Theobalds, supposed to be the work of Thorpe.

<sup>2</sup> Nor is this inconsistent with the fact that Robert Smithson was employed on it as "Free Master Mason" during the entire period of its construction.

attributing either its design or even subsidiary work on it to Thorpe, and its inclusion among his drawings may have arisen, as apparently was the case in other instances, from one of two causes: either that he was subsequently employed to survey it and to suggest various improvements, which may or may not have been adopted; or he may have wished to preserve a record of a notable building of the period, with a view to making suggestive improvements for his own use, which the various alterations and additions made to certain of the other plans in his book seem to suggest as not improbable.

Amphill is another of the houses, plans of which were made by Thorpe. In this case the words "enlarged by J. Thorpe" are appended to the drawing. This inscription is valuable as suggesting that he was actually employed to add to the original building, although doubt has even been thrown on this, and the word "enlarged" taken to simply mean that Thorpe executed a drawing of the place on a larger scale than some earlier one. I fail to follow this suggestion, however, because it presupposes a previous plan in Thorpe's possession, which, unless he had something more than subsidiary work to do on the building, does not appear likely; and had he merely wished to give larger measurements it would not necessarily have required a larger plan to do it.

This, I confess, seems to me one of the instances in which those who refuse to give the architect credit for anything err as much as those who would attribute to him all the great buildings erected in England during his lifetime.

In the year 1600, Thorpe apparently spent some time in Paris, and it has been conjectured that, as he is known to have filled the office of surveyor to Amphill, a crown possession, this official position accounted for his journey; in any case, when in the French capital, he seems to have done work for Marie de Medicis, for among his drawings is one inscribed: "Queen Mother's house Faber St. Jarmin alla Parie, altered per J. Thorpe"; although the argument that the "enlarged" on the Amphill plan merely

indicated the preparation of a plan on a larger scale of that mansion might as easily be applied in this instance, and the "altered" be construed into the meaning that he merely made alterations in the *plan* of the French Queen's residence. Personally I do not think this, any more than I think the "enlarged" has the signification given to it by some authorities; especially as Thorpe's position as Crown surveyor would have made what was done at Amptill the natural outcome of his office.

While in Paris, Thorpe was evidently engaged on other than royal work, for he apparently designed a house for one Monsieur Jammet, a plan of which is preserved among his drawings. Some years after his return, notably in 1606, he was busy on one of the buildings of which some of the credit, at least, has been allowed him even by those who contest his claims in other instances; this was the now famous Holland House, practically the only existing example of Jacobean domestic architecture remaining in London, and sharing with Ham House a claim to beauty and picturesqueness of detail unsurpassed by anything produced at that period which still exists.

Among the Thorpe drawings is a plan executed in different inks, and inscribed "Sir Walter Coap at Kensington, perfected by me, J. T." Holland House was built for Sir Walter Cope whose family was long connected with this part of the town; and although there does not seem much ground for denying to Thorpe the credit of its erection, the somewhat enigmatic nature of the inscription on the drawing has given rise to the question as to what share he had in its erection. "Perfected" may, of course, mean that the architect designed, superintended the erection of, and completed, the house; or it may merely signify that he put the finishing touches to some one else's work. I prefer the former solution for several reasons; the use of this particular word as meaning the entire conduct of a matter is consistent with its earlier, as differentiated from its present less ample, signification; and if Thorpe did not design the

house, there is no evidence to prove that any one else did; and I therefore think he may be left in as undisturbed possession of the credit of its erection as he is of that of Rushton and Kirby, the main portions of Longford, and other lesser houses. I would, indeed, go a step further and ask, in the absence of any proof to the contrary, why, if Thorpe designed Holland House he may not also have had a dominating hand in that very similar mansion, so far as its main outlines are concerned, Ham House.

Another building which can also with some degree of certainty be traced to him is the curious house shaped on the outlines of his initials thus: I—T, which he explains by the following lines, in a note to the plan and elevation of it among his drawings,

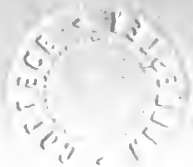
*“Thes 2 letters I and T  
Joyned together as you see  
is meant for a dwelling house for me.”*

The plan shows us a three-storied house with octagon buttresses, and gables somewhat similar to those at Knole; and the building is characteristic of the more modest dwellings erected during the latter part of the sixteenth century. It probably no longer exists, or if it does it has not been identified, which, in the case of a residence designed on so eccentric a plan, seems to indicate conclusively that it has long since disappeared.

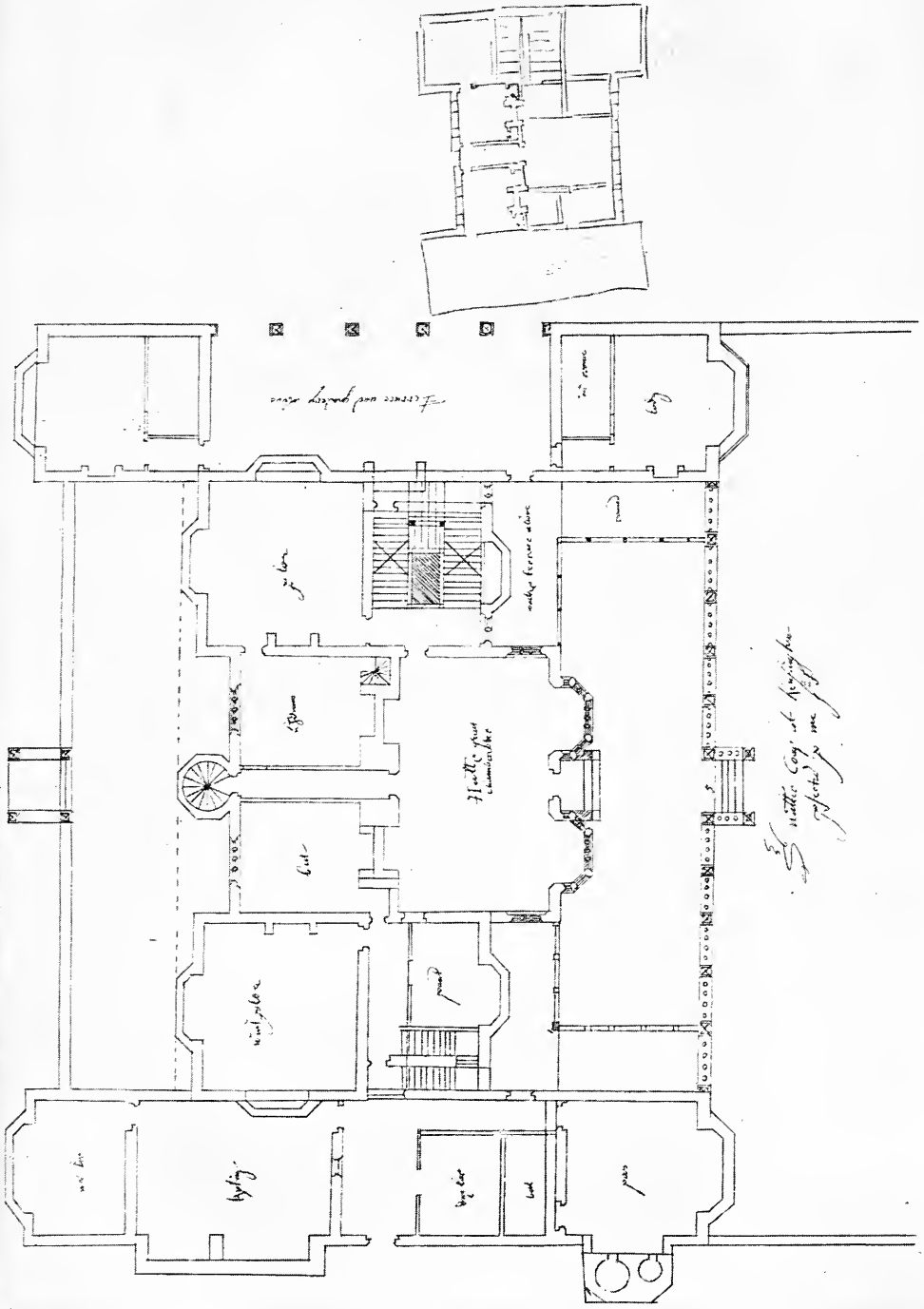
The investigations of the late Mr. Wyatt Papworth have added something to our knowledge of Thorpe and some of the offices he filled, if they are not successful in incontestibly proving the extent of his work; thus we learn, from this source, that in 1609, he was named as king's commissioner for surveying the Duchess of Richmond's land; and that two years later, he received the sum of £52 3s. for repairs to the fence in Richmond Park (the present old Deer Park) which had been damaged by the flooding of the river during the previous winter; while among the Salisbury Papers is a letter from Sir Henry Nevill to Sir Robert Cecil, dated Paris, May 16, 1600 (the



HOLLAND HOUSE







GROUND PLAN OF HOLLAND HOUSE

(BY JOHN THORPE)



year in which Thorpe was in France), recommending the suit "of Mr. Thorpe, one of the clerks of her Majesty's works, for a reversion of one of the higher places of that kind."

It is now generally recognised that Thorpe had a son, also named John, and that this son was also an architect. The discovery is interesting, but a little disconcerting, because it is highly probable that the latter may have been responsible for some of the work attributed to the former; at the same time it creates the possibility of the father working on, and perhaps improving, the more immature plans of the son, so that the "perfected," in connection with Holland House, which I discussed before, may also be twisted into meaning that the son drew out the first rough plan, and that the father altered and improved it. The fact, too, makes the accurate attribution of the plans in the Thorpe book of drawings still more difficult.

In any case, we may, I think, regard Thorpe (the father, or was it the son?) as at least the most shining example of those architects, or master-masons, or builder-designers, which we will, who first began to emancipate themselves from the earlier traditions by which the art, if it could be so-called, passed by a sort of hereditary descent from father to son, relying on old formulas and innocent of those attempts at originality which were soon to raise it into the domains of a fine art. The pattern-book may have been used by Thorpe, but his native talent first helped to give its teaching a deeper significance than had before attached to its dry and jejune details. Thorpe's period, too, coincided with the transition from mediævalism to the first dawn of that Renaissance which was to develop gradually into so rich and fruitful a phase of architectural endeavour, and I think that, whatever we deny him, we may at least allow him the credit of being one of the most notable of its forerunners.

The actual volume of plans, to which I have referred, is a small folio of 280 pages of thick drawing-paper; and the plans, elevations, &c., with which it is filled vary very considerably, some being more or less finished drawings

accompanied by a scale ; others being mere *ébauches* without scale ; some are executed in ink ; some are merely rough pencil drawings ; some depict buildings which are well known ; others represent apparently immature ideas for great houses which were never carried into effect ; a few are accompanied by the names of the respective buildings and of their proprietors ; and one or two are actually signed either with Thorpe's full name or initials. In most of them alterations are observable, and as these appear, from close observation, not always to have been made by the same hand, the difficulty of accurately estimating Thorpe's personal share in their production is proportionately increased.

One thing seems fairly obvious, and that is that the volume represents Thorpe's architectural note-book, in which he not only entered plans of houses for which he was personally responsible, but also designs and details of ornamentation from other sources, such as the scroll-work taken from Vignola and P. Le Scot, interlaced on friezes, or applied in other ways, which struck him as useful and applicable to his own work.<sup>1</sup>

A few names of lesser known architects (so-called) may not inappropriately be mentioned here, although the bearers of some of them are chronologically slightly later than the great man with whom I deal in the next chapter, and many of them can only be termed architects in that extended signification of the term under which those at an earlier day are included.

Of these, Gerard Christmas deserves to be noticed, although it seems probable that, if he actually had a hand in the designing of Northumberland House, Charing Cross, with which his name is associated, he worked in conjunction with Bernard Jansen. At the same time there is a slight

<sup>1</sup> The volume was in the library of the Hon. Charles Greville ; and at the sale of these books on April 10, 1810, it was purchased by Sir John Soane, who offered it to Lord Warwick at the price he had paid for it. This offer was declined, but as Walpole speaks of the volume as being in Lord Warwick's possession in his day, it possibly belonged to the Earl before passing to his kinsman, Charles Greville.

piece of evidence to support his claim to having taken an important part in its erection, or at least in the construction of the chief façade; for on this was sculptured in stone the letters "C. Æ.," which Vertue assumes to have stood for the words "Chrismas Ædificavit." On the other hand, little or nothing seems to be known of Chrismas beyond this, whereas the name of Bernard Jansen, a Fleming, is associated with the building of Audley End, and with that splendid monument to Sutton in the chapel of the Charterhouse, on which he was engaged in conjunction with Nicholas Stone. The assumption, therefore, that Chrismas was but a master-builder, and perhaps sculptor, carrying out Jansen's designs at Northumberland House (completed in 1605), as Stone carried them out on Sutton's cenotaph, is based on probability.<sup>1</sup>

The claims of Ralph Symons, who seems to be identical with the Rudolph Simons or Symonds, mentioned by Walpole and Dallaway, are founded on better grounds. He is known to have resided, and to have done considerable work, at Cambridge, although he was not a native of that town but of Berkhamstead. In 1598 he began the beautiful quadrangle of St. John's, considered by many the best example of contemporary building at Cambridge, and erected at the charge of Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury. Probably about the same time he designed the Kitchen Bridge at the same college; while it is known that he supplied plans to Dr. Nevile, who between 1593 and 1615 was engaged in erecting the tower which replaced that of Edward III, the upper storey to the Great Gateway, the Queen's Tower,

<sup>1</sup> Chrismas is, besides, said by Vertue to have furnished the design of Aldersgate, and to have sculptured the bas-relief of James I., with which it was decorated. He had two sons, John and Mathias, who were stonemasons, and who carved the ship built by Peter Pett in 1637. In Gough's "Topography" (vol. i., p. 676) is mentioned a panegyric on "Mayster Gerard Chrismas, for bringing pageants and figures to great perfection, both in synmetry and substance, being before but unshapen monsters, made only of slight wicker and paper."

and the Hall, of Trinity. Symons, whom Mr. Hamilton Thompson<sup>1</sup> calls "that admirable genius," was the architect for all these extensive works, and probably designed the Centre Fountain of the college, erected in 1602, which is one of the most beautiful examples of English Renaissance work in existence. He also planned Nevile's Court beyond the Hall, and here surpassed himself in the beauty of the arcades—"the very crown of Renaissance work in Cambridge." At Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex Colleges Symons also designed the courts. The former was erected between 1584 and 1586, the latter, which is three-sided, about ten years later; the whole college being completed in 1599.

Symons, who worked much in conjunction with one Gilbert Wigge, certain designs and elevations being signed with their joint names and preserved in the library of St. John's, is said to have lost a hand during the progress of the works at this college, which in other ways seems to have proved a thorn in his flesh, for over the question of accounts he became involved in a lawsuit, and as Wigge is known to have been thrown into prison in 1605 in connection with the same matter, the two were probably in actual partnership. Symons eventually disappears from Cambridge, but Wigge having been released on making an *amende honorable* to the authorities, is found erecting some buildings in Walnut Tree Court, at Queen's College, during the years 1616-19.

Symon's portrait is still preserved at Emmanuel, and bears the following inscription:

"Effigies Radulphi Simons. Architecti sua ætate peritissimi qui præter plurima ædificia ab eo præclare facta, duo collegia Emanuelis hoc Sydneii illud extruxit integre. Magnam etiam partem Trinitatis reconcinnavit amplissime."

Perhaps Dr. Caius, who refounded Gonville and Caius College, may be regarded as another Cambridge architect,

<sup>1</sup> "Cambridge and its Colleges."

for he not only greatly altered the college as he found it, adding, among other things, a court, but he seems to have been responsible for the two somewhat fantastic gates, that of Humility, no longer standing, and that of Virtue, in which he blended Gothic and Renaissance; while the Gate of Honour, finished in 1574, may also have been his work, for the once generally received tradition that it was set up for him by Theodore Haveus, a native of Cleves, has been doubted by later research. Although in the college records Haveus is described as “*artifex egregius et insignis architecturæ professor*,” the only thing that is now generally attributed to him is the stone column which once stood in the college precincts.<sup>1</sup>

As Cambridge had its own particular architect in Symons, so had, about the same time, Oxford in the person of Thomas Holt, born in Yorkshire and originally a carpenter. He is said to have taken up his residence at Oxford in 1600. Three buildings are attributed to him—the Fellows Quadrangle of Wadham, that of Merton, and the new Schools which were at this time being begun by Sir Thomas Bodley. The striking resemblance between the two former seems to indicate a single hand in their design, but I fear that there is no satisfactory evidence to prove that hand to have been Holt's. Indeed, most authorities now concur in regarding him merely as a master-carpenter who, as Mr. Blomfield surmises, used “to contract for the design and execution of the wood-work” in the various buildings such as those at Oriel, Jesus and Exeter on which he is known to have been engaged in addition to his traditional association with Wadham and Merton. He died on September 9, 1624, and was buried in Holywell Churchyard, where his epitaph indicates a more important connection with the building of the Schools than seems consistent with fact.

<sup>1</sup> There is a portrait in Gonville and Caius College, which Walpole considers to be of Haveus who may in any case have been a kind of consulting architect to the college generally and to Dr. Caius in particular.

Such men as Acroyde who also worked on the Schools, Arnold who was employed at Wadham, and Westley who was connected with certain buildings at Emmanuel and Clare at Cambridge, as well as Thomas Grumbold who added ornaments to the turrets and bridge of the latter college, cannot be regarded in any other light than that of masons, who may conceivably have supplied here and there a design cribbed from a pattern book, but can certainly not lay claim to the distinction of being actual architects; although as master-builders or builder-designers, whichever we like to call them, they may be said to have formed slight connecting links between those who were.

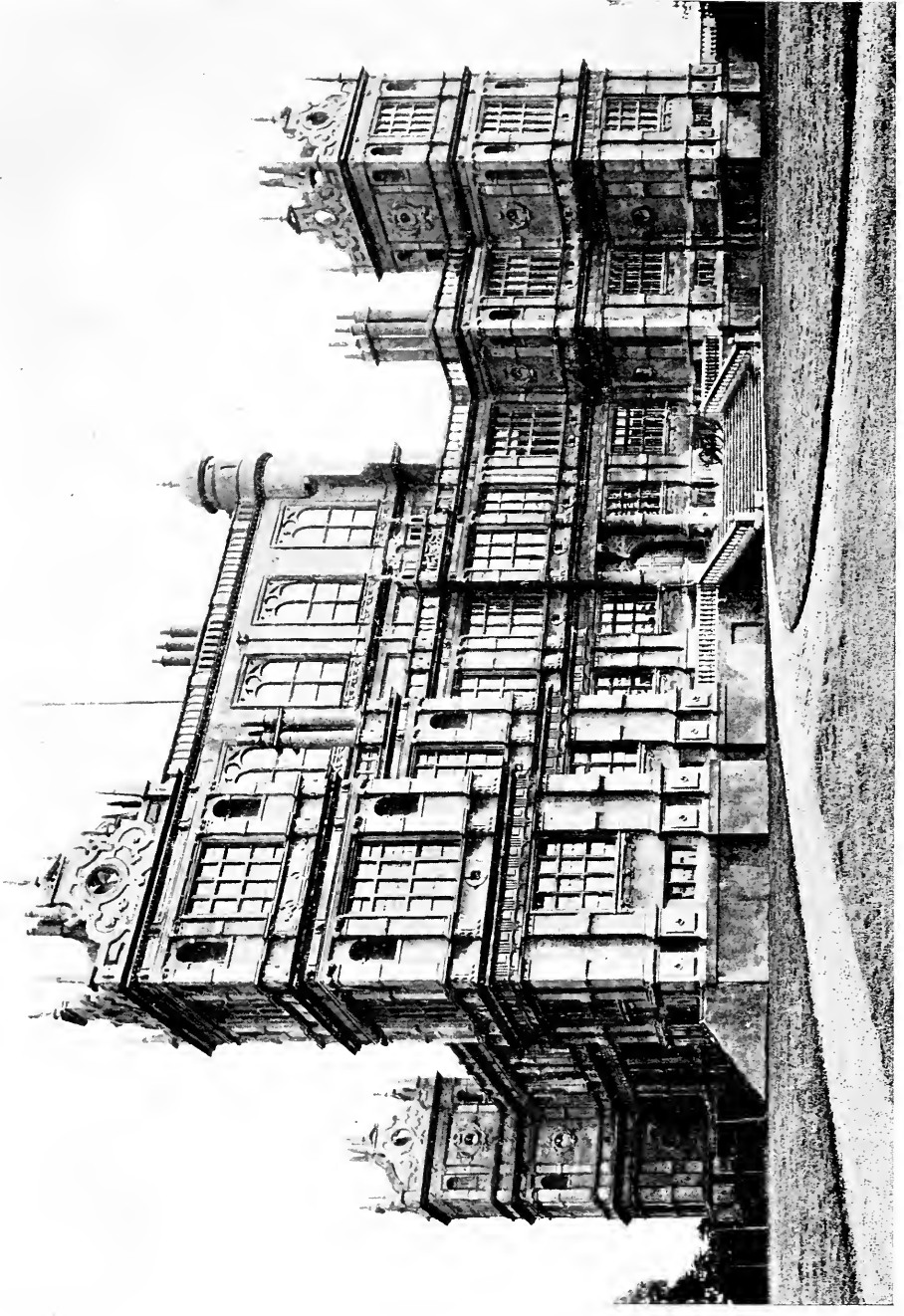
As in the case of Holt's epitaph, that of Robert Adams may not improbably have protested a little too much, for on the latter, in Greenwich Church, we read "*Egregio viro, Roberto Adams, operum regionum supervisorì architecturæ peritissimo. ob. 1595. Simon Basil operationum regiaram contrarotulator hoc posuit monumentum 1601.*" It seems a pity that the piety of Simon Basil did not go a little further, and indicate on what he based his friend's claims. As it is, so little is known of Adams that, beyond being one of Queen Elizabeth's surveyors, he has come down to posterity merely as the author of two plans, one of Middleburgh, dated 1588, and the other entitled "*Thamius Descriptio*," on which is shown how the passage of hostile ships from Tilbury to London may be prevented by the mathematical precision of cannon balls fired at certain points. Walpole, in recording these two efforts of Adams, takes occasion to say that he "seems to have been a man of abilities," which may be regarded as one of those generalisations that serve so often to cover ignorance of any actual grounds on which to base the assumption.

Although, as I have pointed out, among Thorpe's plans is one of Wollaton, giving a slight basis to the supposition that he was the sole architect of that building, it seems more probable that he shared the honour with Robert Smithson.<sup>1</sup> Dallaway thought so; and I confess I do

<sup>1</sup> Walpole calls him John.







*Bedford Lenzere*

*To face p. 45*

WOLLATON

not regard, as some have done, the wording on Smithson's tomb in Wollaton Church to be conclusive testimony that the latter alone designed the great house. The epitaph runs thus: "Mr. Robert Smithson, gent., architect and surveyor unto the most worthy house of Wollaton with divers others of great account." Smithson may very well have been the resident surveyor and architect (the fact that he lies buried in the church there in some degree points to this), but that does not prove that he designed the mansion, while, given that he had a hand in it, it is not at all improbable that Thorpe was called in to help and advise in the work. The last words of the epitaph are capable of a different interpretation to that obviously accorded them, and may mean that Smithson worked "with divers others of great account."

Wollaton was commenced in 1580 for Sir Francis Willoughby. In many respects it is extraordinarily fine and imposing, but it suffers from being overloaded with detail, and the centre portion rises so far above the front as to dwarf the beauty of the façade. Smithson seems also to have been employed as a "Free master-mason" at Longleat, which was begun in 1567; and both Mr. Blomfield and Mr. Gotch attribute the mass of detail at Wollaton to what Smithson learned from the Italians who decorated Sir John Thynne's palace.<sup>1</sup>

According to Walpole, Smithson built a portion of Welbeck in 1604; but Walpole is no safe guide in this instance, for he seems to have so mixed up the Smithsons (there were three of them) that he adds that Robert Smithson whom, by the bye, he calls John, also erected the riding-house there in 1623, and the stables two years later, and that he died in 1648. As a matter of fact, Robert Smithson died in 1614, aged 79; and the work attributed to him by Walpole was done much later. His son, Huntingdon Smithson, also an architect, died on December

<sup>1</sup> It is said to have been built by John of Padua, but no satisfactory evidence of this is forthcoming.

27, 1648, and was buried in Bolsover Church, with the following inscription on his tomb :

“ Reader, beneath this plain stone buried lie  
Smithson’s remainders of mortality ;  
Whose skill in architecture did deserve  
A fairer tomb his memory to preserve :  
But since his nobler works of piety  
To God, his justice and his charity,  
Are gone to heaven, a building to prepare  
Not made with hands, his friends contented are,  
He here shall rest in hope, ’till th’ worlds shall burn  
And intermingle ashes with his urn.”

This Huntingdon Smithson was responsible for Bolsover Castle, which was commenced in 1613 by Sir Charles Cavendish. He also worked for Sir Charles’ son, William Cavendish, created Earl of Newcastle in 1628, but the riding-house and stables at Welbeck are considered of a later date, and therefore may not improbably have been the work of yet another Smithson, John, son of Huntingdon, who is known to have been an architect, and who died in 1678, but about whom nothing else has, so far as I know, been recorded.<sup>1</sup> Huntingdon Smithson is said to have been sent to Italy by his patron in order to gather materials and designs, and this, together with the traditions he had learned from his father, was probably responsible for his skill in architecture, but at the same time for the over ambitious nature of his elevations and decorative ornaments.

Speaking of Smithson’s chief work, Mr. Blomfield says : “ Bolsover Castle has many points of interest in regard to the development of English architecture. Its details show a singular mixture of Gothic tradition, of classical ideas inspired by German examples, and of the individuality of Huntingdon Smithson himself, who, though evidently of a thoughtful and inquiring turn, was not able to fuse these

<sup>1</sup> It was probably the hazy knowledge of the existence of this “John” that caused Walpole to make the mistake just referred to.

three into a consistent architectural design"; and he adds that the work of both the Smithsons shows knowledge of architectural detail and a good deal of ingenuity, though it failed in attempting too much.

It is thus, as we see, difficult to arrive at any very clear conception of the personalities of the Smithsons, or to gain any accurate knowledge of their work. Nor is the matter made very much clearer by the discovery of a book of Smithson drawings, now in the possession of Colonel Coke of Brookhill Hall, on which Mr. Gotch read a most interesting and valuable paper some little time ago;<sup>1</sup> and on which Mr. Maurice B. Adams wrote a paper in the journal of the R.I.B.A. in February 1907.

These drawings are attributed to Huntingdon Smithson; but in only a single instance is the Christian name of their author even hinted at, and this occurs on one entitled "The platte of the Seelinge of the Greate Chamber at Thyballes taken 8th of November, 1618, by *Jo. S.*;" This is sufficiently vague, but not so much so but that we may regard it as indicating John Smithson. Now the only John Smithson known to us (and that in but a shadowy way) is, as I have stated, the John, probably son of Huntingdon, who is said to have died in 1678. And, although it would indicate that he was an old man at the time of his death (say eighty), there is no reason why he should not have drawn the plan mentioned when he was a young man of twenty. But given that this is so, are we to assume that the drawings are all by John Smithson. Hardly, for one is dated so early as 1599, another 1605, and another 1609; while there are others of Bolsover which we are distinctly told was the work of Huntingdon Smithson, and there is a plan of Wollaton in which we know Robert had a hand. The question therefore arises as to whether there was not another and earlier John Smithson than the one of that name just referred to, and if so one can only vainly ask, it would seem, in what relation did he stand to Robert and Huntingdon?

<sup>1</sup> Before the Royal Institute of British Architects, November 16, 1908.



Perhaps more interesting still is the record of the various places in London or its neighbourhood, with which Smithson had to do, to be found in the collection; thus there are several of Arundel House, with details of windows, chimney-pieces, grates, &c., bearing various dates, such as 1618 and the following year, on one of which is a letter addressed to "Mr. Smithson," from "your loving ffriend, Tho: Ashby," in which the latter says that his price "to paterne it in every poynt" is £100. There is, too, a plan of "The Banketinge house at the Whitehall in London"; and another of "The fyrste storye of the Newe Banketinge house." Another bears the title: "The Fronte of Bathe House: Sir foulke Gryvelles (Grevilles) in houlborne 1619"; another "My Ladye Cookes house in Houlborn at London" dated the same year; and yet another, "The Platforme of my lord of Northamtons house in London"; while there are also plans of "The Newe Building at Sant Jeames 1619"; "The Platforme of the Kings Chapell at Westminster," with other details of the Abbey, and "The Platforme of Somersett Gardens"; and to make an end, there is a plan of "The Inner Courte of my Lo. of Bedfordes at Twitnam," and "The Platforme of Sur Tho: Vavesers house at Peterson in Surree," the present Ham House.

The fact that many of these places could hardly have been the work of the Smithsons leads one to the conclusion that the Smithson Collection like the Thorpe Collection represents not only what its compilers actually accomplished themselves, but also much that they thought worthy of preservation for reference.

The existence, however, of these two valuable assemblages of drawings is sufficient to differentiate the Smithsons and the Thorpes from the other designers of the time; and it is conceivable that to them may be due, if not all, at least the better part of the splendid mansions that came into existence at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

I have spoken of Huntingdon Smithson in order to place

him in collocation with his father, but in doing so I have had to anticipate the later period which I shall presently be dealing with. To be chronologically correct I ought to have placed Stephen Harrison, who flourished about the beginning of James I.'s reign, after Robert Smithson. Stephen Harrison has the dignity of a niche in the Dictionary of National Biography, and as he is termed a joiner and architect, or rather termed himself so, he should rightly be included here, although Vertue and Walpole could find little about him save that he designed triumphal arches; and the writer of his memoir in the Dictionary of National Biography does not add much to this statement. On what little he gives, however, I base the following facts. Stephen Harrison is probably identical with that "Stephen Harryson son of Peter Harryson" whose baptismal entry is to be found in the register of St. Dionis Backchurch, under date of May 25, 1572. Nothing is known of him till the year 1604, when a thin folio volume was published by John Windet, bearing the following title: "The Archs of Triumph erected in Honor of the High and Mighty prince, James the first of that name, King of England and the sixt of Scotland, at his Maiesties Entrance and passage through his Honourable Citty and Chamber of London, upon the 15th day of March 1603. Invented and published by Stephen Harrison, joyner and architect, and graven by William Kip." The work is a rare one, and besides the engraved title contains seven full-page plates. It was sold "at the authors house in Lime Street, at the Sign of the Snayle," and, in addition to thus giving us this interesting information as to Harrison's place of residence, is otherwise valuable as it contains two prefatory odes to which the great names of Webster and Dekker are attached.

It appears that the arches described were erected under Harrison's personal supervision, 300 men being employed on the work from the beginning of April till the end of August when, owing to the plague, James's state entry to



the City was postponed till the following year, the preparations being proceeded with in February 1604.

From these data it will be seen that Harrison's claim to the title of architect, as we understand the term, is not a very sound one ; but the man who could successfully design the elaborate triumphal arches that were erected in those days may be credited with the ability to have done more enduring work ; and that there is no record that he did so, is perhaps rather because no opportunity presented itself, than from want of capability on his part.

Another so-called architect of this period, who seems to have added painting to his other accomplishment, was Moses Glover, who flourished during the reigns of James I. and Charles I. Glover is supposed to have been connected with the building of Northumberland House, Charing Cross,<sup>1</sup> on which we have seen Gerard Christmas engaged ; that he was the actual architect, however, I think quite unlikely, but he may probably have worked under Jansen as Christmas did, and that there is some reason for supposing this, is the fact that Glover is known to have drawn on vellum the large survey of Syon House, at Isleworth, in 1635,<sup>2</sup> and he would thus seem to have been in the employ of the Percy family, particularly as a plan for the rebuilding of Petworth, at that time belonging to the Percies, dated 1615 and still preserved there, has also been attributed to him. Beyond this, no details of his work remain, and only one incident in his private life seems to be recorded ; that is his marriage ; and among the licences of the Bishop of London's Court,<sup>3</sup> may be read that on September 30, 1622, a licence was issued to M. Glover of Isleworth, painter-stainer, and Juliana Gulliver of the same, widow of Richard Gulliver, painter, to marry at St Botolphs, Aldersgate.

<sup>1</sup> In the "New Description of London," it is said that from some letters on the front it was inferred that he was the architect, but this is so like the tradition with regard to Christmas that I imagine the writer to have confused the two men.

<sup>2</sup> See Aungier's "History of Syon."

<sup>3</sup> Harleian Soc.

It will be seen that up to this point, with one or two exceptions, the architects named have no great claims to that title; they were for the most part little better than master-masons or builder-designers who carried through work that was based rather on traditional designs and the assistance of the pattern book, than on the outcome of their own unaided imagination; they could lay claim frequently to ingenuity but not to genius; they were essentially artisans not artists, and did we not know how largely the influence and actual work of the Italians and the Germans entered into the plans and erection of the splendid houses that arose in the time of Elizabeth and James I., we might well wonder how it is that no one even slightly comparable with Inigo Jones is to be found among them; while the relative mystery that surrounds the name of the one man who stands out, to some extent, from those of his contemporaries, will seem the more astonishing and the more incomprehensible. The reasons have been so variously and so ably handled by those who have written not so much on the architects but on the architecture of this period that it would be superfluous and unnecessary to recapitulate them; but the fact remains that notwithstanding the existence of many architects (as they were then termed) and of innumerable magnificent buildings, the first really great British architect was Inigo Jones.

## CHAPTER III

### INIGO JONES

INIGO JONES was born on July 15, 1573, in the Parish of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and was christened four days later, as is proved by the baptismal register of the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, where can be read the entry: "Enego Jones, the sonne of Enego Jones, was christened the sixth day of July, 1573." In two other entries concerning brothers and sisters of Inigo, the Christian name of the father is variously spelt Enygo, Enygoe, and Inygoe, and the surname Johnes and Johans.

Inigo's father, who bore the same unusual Christian name as his son, was a cloth-worker, and resided either actually in, or in the close vicinity of, Cloth Fair. He seems to have been at first in easy circumstances, but the violence of his passions, as well as the "untamed vehemence of his language," attributes that seem to have been inherited to some extent by his son, were perhaps responsible for his later financial troubles. There is extant an interesting corroboration of his freedom of language, which at the same time, however, seems to indicate a sort of anticipation of the Pickwickian sense, in a letter from the Lord Mayor to the Lord Chancellor, dated September 13, 1581, concerning a suit pending between one Elizabeth Rascall as plaintiff, and Inigo Jones defendant, "touching certain slanderous words," in which a verdict had been found for the plaintiff, and damages had been assessed by the jury at £10 and costs. This the Lord Mayor con-

sidered excessive, and had reduced the fine by half, because he could find no reason for such heavy damages, "the plaintiff being very little damaged by the words which were spoken only in jest, without any appearance of malice"; whereupon he complains to the Chancellor that the plaintiff, egged on "by some troublesome and busy solicitors," had procured a writ to obtain judgment against Jones, and he asks that his Lordship will give the matter his consideration, and order the writ to be stayed.<sup>1</sup> Here the matter ends, and we are not told whether the Lord Mayor's point was upheld, or whether Jones was made to pay up.

Of Inigo's mother nothing appears to be known; of his curious name, Webb, his nephew and son-in-law, thus writes: "It is observable that his Christian name is in Spanish and his father's in Latin,<sup>2</sup> for which some have assigned this reason, that, as his father was a considerable dealer in the woollen manufactory, 'tis probable some Spanish merchant might have assisted at his baptism." This may have been the case, although there was so little love lost between the English and the Spaniards at that period that it seems more probable that the father may simply have wished his son to bear the same Christian name as himself; and, notwithstanding that Webb speaks of the elder Jones's name as being Ignatius, he was certainly called Inigo, although in those easy-going days of nomenclature, the name was occasionally Latinised.

In 1589, the elder Jones was obliged to compound with his creditors, and a decree to that effect in the "Queen's Honourable Court of Requests" is extant, dated November 15 of that year. Whether in consequence of this or no, he removed to the Parish of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, and there, some eight years later, he died (his wife having predeceased him). His will is dated February 14, 1596-97, and as it was proved on the following April 5, his death must have taken place between these two dates. In

<sup>1</sup> Remembrancia.

<sup>2</sup> He calls him Ignatius, but the name is not so rendered in the church registers.

it he appoints his son Inigo as his executor ; desires that his body shall rest beside that of his wife in St. Benet's Church ; and leaves what property he had to leave between his son and his three daughters, Joan, Judith, and Mary, which thus indirectly indicates that his other son or sons had already predeceased him.

With regard to Inigo's early training little is known, and even Webb who might be supposed to have gathered something reliable about it, is forced to admit that "there is no certain account in what manner he was brought up, or who had the task of instructing him." There is, indeed, a tradition that he was apprenticed to a joiner in St. Paul's Churchyard, but it is only a tradition ; while the remark made by the anonymous author of the account prefixed to the "Stonehenge" book, that Inigo was "early distinguished by his inclination to drawing, and was particularly taken notice of for his skill in the practise of landscape-painting," savours a little too much of the inference deduced by posthumous knowledge to convey much conviction.<sup>1</sup>

One thing, however, seems fairly obvious : Inigo must have had some grounding in Latin to have successfully held his own, as he did, in the pedantic Court of James I., where a bowing acquaintance, at least, with the classics was a *desideratum* ; while his work on Stonehenge bristles with classical allusions, and could hardly have been undertaken by one who had little Latin and no Greek. Ben Jonson, from the heights of his own attainments in such matters, looked upon Inigo Jones as illiterate ; but Jonson's pen was steeped in gall, and what may have appeared elementary to him did not necessarily stamp a man as being wholly uneducated.

The *lacuna* in Jones's career which it is difficult to fill, is the period between his giving up whatever trade or profession he was following, and his being sent to Italy ; and we only

<sup>1</sup> The same authority mentions a tradition that Jones was once at Cambridge, but this seems so unlikely that it hardly requires consideration.

know more or less vaguely the name of the nobleman who became his patron—if, indeed, any such patron really was forthcoming. The two names mentioned in this connection are those of the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke, both well-known lovers of art. The former was born in 1586, the latter in 1580, and as we know that by the year 1605 Inigo Jones had not only returned to England but was even then regarded as a great traveller, the youthful ages of the two Earls seem to militate against the fact of their acting in the light of patrons to him. Walpole and others<sup>1</sup> have given their names, but without any confidence, and rather, perhaps, because they were both men who in later life had an instinctive love for art, and who did afterwards befriend Jones, and were about the only wealthy noblemen in England at the time to whom the care of rising artists could be attributed. Webb says nothing on the matter, which, had it been based on fact, he would have naturally enough been ready to do; and I am inclined to believe, therefore, assuming, as has been stated, that Inigo's father was—at least, at one time—a well-to-do man, that he, perceiving the bent of his son's genius, may have himself sent him abroad, his business with foreign merchants, perhaps, making this an easier thing to accomplish than it would have been to the majority of men in his position.

Inigo himself thus refers to these years at the beginning of his "Stonehenge Restored": "Being naturally inclined in my younger years to study the arts of design," he says, "I passed into foreign parts to converse with the great masters thereof in Italy, where I applied myself to search out the ruins of those ancient buildings which, in despite of time itself and violence of barbarians, are yet remaining." The fact that he makes no mention of either Lord Arundel or Lord Pembroke who were then both alive and whom he could hardly have decently passed over had

<sup>1</sup> Among them the anonymous writer of the memoir prefixed to "Stonehenge Restored," who says Jones attracted Lord Pembroke's notice by his skill in landscape-painting.

they contributed to the expenses of his travels, seems rather conclusive that they had nothing to do with the matter.

It is not known in what year Inigo Jones left England, nor is the date of his departure from Italy recorded; what, however, is known is the fact that he seems not only to have impressed the Italians with a sense of his capabilities, but that the report of these reached so far north as Denmark where the King, Christian IV., the brother-in-law of our James I., himself somewhat of an amateur architect, heard of Jones and invited him to enter his service. This occurred probably about the year 1603, but what Jones did in Denmark in an architectural capacity is very uncertain, and the tradition that he designed the Castles of Fredericksborg and Rosenberg, and the Bourse at Copenhagen, is unsupported by any conclusive testimony. Cunningham, indeed, quotes a Danish gentleman as once remarking: "Your great architect left nothing to my country but the fame of his presence"; while Mr. Blomfield assumes that Jones's sole business was merely to assist the King in some of his excursions into amateur architecture.

In 1604 Jones returned to England, but under what circumstances is not quite clear. Possibly he had done all he could for King Christian; and he may have had a natural yearning to be again among his own people. Chalmers speaks of his accompanying Christian to this country in 1606, which is obviously inaccurate on a question of dates alone; Walpole, on the other hand, says that James I. found him at Copenhagen; but this is as erroneous, for James never was in Denmark after his accession to the English throne. In any case, Jones came home, probably with recommendations from the Danish King, for not long after he had arrived he was appointed surveyor to Anne of Denmark. At this period he seems to have had a greater reputation as a traveller than as an architect, and it was in the former capacity that he attracted the attention of the authorities of Oxford University; for when, in 1605, they were making arrange-

ments for entertaining James I. with certain plays in the hall of Christ Church, they hired, among others, according to Leland, "one Mr. Jones, a great traveller, who undertook to further them much and furnish them with rare devices, but performed very little of that which was expected. He had for his pains, as I heard it constantly reported, £50."

It must have been about this time that Jones was introduced to the notice of Queen Anne, for we find him in the same year associated with Ben Jonson in the production of one of those portentous masques in which the Court delighted. This particular one was presented on Twelfth Night (1605) at Whitehall, and Ben Jonson has left a vivid description of the scenery, largely painted by Jones who was no mean artist,<sup>1</sup> and the machinery with which his mechanical skill contrived a fitting setting to the poet's lines.

This "Masque of Blackness," as it was called, was followed during the next year (1606) by the "Masque of Hymen," also the joint work of Jonson and Jones, which celebrated the marriage of Robert Earl of Essex and Lady Frances, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, a union which was followed by disgrace and crime, as students of the reign of James I. know. Jonson speaks of this masque with enthusiasm: "There was not wanting either in riches, or strangeness of the habits, delicacy of dances, magnificence of the scene, or divine rapture of music," he writes, adding: "Only the envy was, that it lasted not till now, or, now it is past, cannot by imagination, much less description, be recovered to a part of that spirit with which it glided by."

Jones seems to have put the coping-stone to his work in the arrangement of such ephemeral splendours, in the famous "Masque of Queens," and during the reign of James he was continually employed in gratifying the royal love for these shows, in which his ingenuity, no less than his artistic taste, made him pre-eminent.

<sup>1</sup> Indeed, he seems to have followed the art of painting before taking up architecture, and at Chatsworth there is a landscape from his brush.



By a curious anomaly it is in the records of Ben Jonson that we learn of Jones's successes in this field, just as it is by the poet, at a later date, that we are furnished with any details of his extraction or education, which were likely to throw, if not discredit, at least ridicule on the architect. But whatever their feelings towards each other at a later day, it is evident that at this time the playwright and the architect worked together harmoniously enough in their efforts to please their royal patrons and amuse their Court.

Jones did not confine his labours to those in collaboration with Ben Jonson, however, for when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, in 1610, the masque which was given on that occasion was the joint work of Daniell and the architect, and the former has left this generous record of the circumstance: "In these things, wherein the only life consists in show, the art and invention of the architect gives the greatest grace, and is of most importance, ours the least part and of least note in the time of the performance, whereof and therefore have I intersected the description of the artificial part which only speaks M. Inigo Jones." Prince Charles performed in this, as he and other members of the royal family had done in other masques,<sup>1</sup> and there can be little doubt that the association with Jones, who, I imagine, acted as a kind of stage-manager, into which the Prince was thus brought, did much to strengthen that bond of sympathy between them which in after days Charles still further consolidated.<sup>2</sup>

It is also obvious that in these masques, apart from the many trivialities with which, as it seems to us, they abounded, Jones made use of much of the architectural

<sup>1</sup> For details see Ben Jonson's works, Winwood's 'Memorials,' and contemporary letters, &c. *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> For another masque, probably exhibited in 1609, Jones's bill was £238 odd, and he received as a fee for himself £40, a like amount being given to Ben Jonson; while in one which was presented by Prince Henry in the banqueting house of Whitehall on New Year's Eve 1610-11, and which was written by Ben Jonson, and entitled "Oberon," Jones as its "devyser" received £16. Account of the "Revels at Court," printed for the Shakespeare Society.

knowledge he had gained in Italy; and it is not difficult to suppose that when courtiers saw representations of splendid palaces as the backgrounds of sylvan scenes, and gorgeous temples from which dramatic divinities issued, they regarded their constructor as a man who could worthily rear in stone and marble what he had so well simulated in pasteboard and paint. Indeed the masque of 1610 seems to have greatly strengthened Jones's grip on the Court, for it was in this year that he was appointed Surveyor of the Works to Henry, Prince of Wales,<sup>1</sup> and among the fees paid to members of the Prince's household the following entries occur:

Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the Workes, for his fee, at iij per diem for one whole year and a halfe, and x<sup>l</sup><sup>tie</sup> dayes, begonne the 13<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1610 (1611) and ended at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, 1612 . . . . Lxxxij ij vj<sup>d</sup>  
 Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the Princes Workes, for his fee by (Lres) pattentes at iij per diem for xxxiiij days, begonne the first of October 1612 and ended the vj<sup>th</sup> of November followynge . . . . . cxj<sup>l</sup> (£111)

In addition to these payments, the architect also received a gift of £30 from the Prince.

In his new capacity Jones superintended various works at Richmond and St. James's, and in the "Domestic State Papers" are references to alterations and repairs carried out under his supervision at these two royal residences; while in 1611 he, together with Francis Carter, clerk of the works at Richmond, drew up a report and estimate of "the charge of the pyling, plancking, and brickwork for the three islands (aits) at Richmond;"<sup>2</sup> an undertaking apparently first suggested by Solomon de Caux who had been the previous Surveyor of the Works

<sup>1</sup> Birch's "Life of Prince Henry," appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Domestic State Papers, May 17, 1611, where there are other references to the same work.

and had in that capacity built a picture-gallery at Richmond Palace, and had also laid out the gardens at Wilton.

It is difficult to say whether Inigo Jones did any purely architectural work at this period of his career, no signed design of his earlier than 1616 being in existence, and it seems not improbable that what work he did for his royal master, or for the courtiers, if any, was rather in the nature of alterations and the renovation of earlier buildings than the original outcome of his own genius. There is a tradition that he designed Bramshill and Charlton House, which are known to have been residences of Prince Henry, but although there is a similarity, between the latter and Chilham, which was Jones's work, it does not prove that he designed Charlton; indeed, according to Evelyn, that residence was the work of Sir Adam Newton, and was erected in 1599. Nor does there seem anything but tradition for assigning Bramshill to the architect.

On the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1612, Jones's appointment lapsed, and he seems to have considered this a favourable opportunity for making a second visit to Italy, to perfect himself in the architectural education which he had so well begun during his former sojourn in that country. He had, too, been assured of the reversion of the office of Surveyor-General,<sup>1</sup> which was then held by Simon Basil who was growing old and infirm, and he may have thought that, with such a prospect in view, a year or two would be better spent among the glories of Rome and Venice than in superintending masques in England. Walpole assumes that "those buildings of Inigo which are less pure, and border too much on that bastard style, which one calls *King James's Gothic*," were produced by him between his two Italian visits; but, as Mr. Blomfield points out, there is no direct evidence for this, and even if Jones did any work in design other than that for masques, before his return from his second tour on the Continent,

<sup>1</sup> By a deed executed on April 27, 1613. Domestic State Papers.

it could not have been of any particular importance, and was only significant in feebly indicating, as first attempts sometimes do, his possession of exceptional architectural ability.

Indeed it was this second visit to Italy that, in all probability, determined him in the final choice of a profession; hitherto he had expended something of his latent gifts in designing masques and superintending repairs; he returned from the land of Palladio, with his brain teeming with ideas which only required opportunity to become splendid concrete conceptions.

There seems to be some doubt as to how long this second Italian journey lasted, Gifford in his *Life of Ben Jonson*, says that Jones left England in the winter of 1612; on the occasion of the wedding festivities of the Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth which took place in the middle of the following February, however, a masque, presented by the Inns of Court, was performed, written by Chapman, and "invented and fashioned by our kingdom's most artful and ingenious architect Inigo Jones," as the title phrases it.<sup>1</sup> As it is probable that Inigo Jones personally superintended this entertainment, it seems likely that he left England some time later in February or in the following March, which would be consistent with the statement that he went in the winter of 1612, as, it will be remembered, the New Year did not commence at this period till March 25.

In the following September, he was in Vicenza, as a drawing preserved on the margin of the "Palladio" formerly in his possession, and now in the library of Worcester College, Oxford, testifies. The first date in the book, written by his own hand, is Vicenza, Thursdaie, 23 Sepr. 1613"; then follow: "Tivoli, June 13, 1614"; "Rome, 1614"; "Naples, 1614"; "Vicenza, Aug. 13, 1614";

<sup>1</sup> There is preserved at Montacute House, Somersetshire, a receipt signed by Jones for £110 which he had received in the preceding year (January), towards preparations for this masque, which incidentally shows the time expended on these matters.

and lastly, "London, Jan. 26," 1614 (1615). This interesting volume seems to have accompanied its owner in all his excursions; the margins of its pages are crowded with notes and rough sketches; and we can imagine Jones among the remains of antiquity jotting down impressions or making rapid drawings for future reference and use.

He remained in Italy about a year and a half, returning home apparently in the autumn of 1614, although there are some reasons for believing that he came back to England for a short time in the January of this year.

In Italy he made a comprehensive study of the architectural remains at Rome, Vicenza, Venice and Tivoli; and he carefully applied himself also to the works of the famous architects, Palladio, Serlio, Vignola, Fontana, &c. He seems to have acted, at the same time, as an agent for the Earl of Arundel in the acquisition of some of those treasures of antiquity with which Arundel House, under this splendid art-patron, was gradually being filled; while the intervals between these studies and vicarious duties, were occupied by conversations with some of the notable architects then residing in Rome and elsewhere.

On his return to England, Jones entered the service of James I. as Surveyor of the Works.<sup>1</sup> He was obliged, in this capacity, to wear a regulation livery, and among the royal household expenses is an order, dated March 16, 1615, to the Master of the Wardrobe, giving directions for the preparation of this badge of office. The salary commenced on Oct. 1, 1614, and amounted to 8*s.* a day "for entertainment," £80 a year for "recompence for avails," or as we should say

<sup>1</sup> Apart from his employment by the King in the preparation of masques, he had, on one occasion in 1609, gone on a mission to France for him, the nature of which has not transpired, except so far as can be gathered from the following record: "To Inigo Jones, upon the Earle of Salisburie's warrante, dated 16 June 1609, for carreinge Lres (letters) for his Ma<sup>ts</sup> servyce into France, xij<sup>li</sup> vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>." The relative largeness of this amount for a single journey leads me to think that he may have been sent several times, and, indeed, may have acted as a kind of King's messenger. On one occasion when in France, he visited Chambord, and in his copy of "Vitruvius" has left a manuscript note on the remarkable staircase there.

for his services ; and *2s. 8d.* a day for travelling expenses. The details of the dress have been preserved. Thus he was to be furnished with “five yards of broad cloth for a gown, at twenty-six shillings and eightpence a yard ; one ‘fur of budge,’ for the same gown, price four pounds ; four yards and a half of baize to line the same, at five shillings the yard ; for furring the gown, ten shillings ; and for making it, ten shillings ;” while the royal order, under James’s sign manual, further commands, that a similar provision shall be made to Jones every year on the Feast of All Saints, so long as he shall occupy the position of Surveyor of his Majesty’s Works. The date of this document is March 16, 1616.<sup>1</sup>

Inigo Jones had now an opportunity of proving what Walpole terms Roman disinterestedness, and I give the details of the circumstance in the words of Webb : “The office of His Majesty’s works of which he was supreme head, having through extraordinary occasions, in the time of his predecessor contracted a great debt, amounting to several thousand pounds, he was sent for to the lords of the Privy Council, to give them his opinion what course might be taken to ease his Majesty of it, the exchequer being empty, and the workmen clamorous. When he, of his own accord, voluntarily offered not to receive a penny of his own entertainment, in what kind soever due, until the debt was fully discharged. And this was not only performed by him, himself ; but upon his persuasion the Comptroller and Paymaster did the like also, whereby the whole arrears were discharged.”

Indeed, Jones does not seem to have profited largely by his office, for the salary he received can hardly be termed liberal, even had it been regularly paid, which we know was not the case for there is a document extant, under the King’s sign manual, which states that : “Whereas, there is due unto Inigo Jones, Esquire, Surveyor of his Majesty’s Works, the sum of thirty-eight pounds, seven shillings and sixpence, for three years arrears of his levy

<sup>1</sup> MS. in the British Museum.

out of the Wardrobe . . . these are therefore to will and require you to make payment unto the said Inigo Jones, or his assignees: and for so doing this shall be your warrant."

It seems obvious that if Jones could wait three years for his payment, and still more if he could, as we have seen he did, forego his fees altogether until a heavy debt on his office had been wiped off, he must have had private means, and as he could hardly as yet have saved anything from what he gained by devising masques and doing other intermittent work, it seems probable that his father before his death must have retrieved his fortunes, and left his son comfortably off.

Apart from his ordinary duties as Surveyor of the Works, Jones, who was one of those adaptable men to whom nothing comes amiss, was, in 1616, given the charge of the furniture and pictures of the Chapel Royal, which was, however, probably but an honorary appointment, carrying with it certain privileges but no monetary recompense.

In the following year he started his first actual architectural work, and prepared designs for the Queen's House at Greenwich. The plans must have been completed in the spring of 1617, for we find Chamberlain writing to Carleton, in the June of that year, and remarking that: "The Queen is building at Greenwich, after a plan by Inigo Jones." But although begun thus early, the completion of this scheme was so much delayed that the residence was not finished till 1635. At the same time Jones was engaged in designing new buildings for the Star Chamber, "which," writes Chamberlain, "the King would fain have built, if there were money." Want of funds, indeed, prevented the scheme from being carried out, and all there is to show for it are the original drawings, preserved in Worcester College, Oxford.

Another work, dating from 1617, which *was* carried out, was the new chapel of Lincoln's Inn intended to replace, on an adjoining site, the old one which tradition attributes

to William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, and which had become ruinous. Jones's estimate for the work was £2000, a sum raised by voluntary contributions and by a tax levied on the members of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting as being the only authenticated instance of the architect's use of the Gothic style,<sup>2</sup> a style that he was obviously forced to adopt to suit his design to the existing buildings of the Inn.

In the following year (1618), Jones was appointed one of the Commissioners to lay out Lincoln's Inn Fields, and he was asked to prepare a plan for this purpose. A rare, if not unique, print, attributed to Hollar, a copy of which is contained in Mr. Heckethorn's book on Lincoln's Inn Fields, shows the complete nature of Jones's conception—a conception unfortunately never realised, for had it been we should have possessed a remarkable example of the domestic architecture of this period from the hand of its greatest exponent. As it is, Lindsay House is the only existing specimen of Jones's work in the square; unless indeed, as has sometimes been supposed, he really designed the insignificant archway that gives access to Sardinia Street; which is quite unlikely.<sup>3</sup> Lindsay House is in the Doric style, and is one of the best examples of Jones's purely domestic architecture, while it is also interesting as showing the manner in which he intended, more or less, the whole square to be built. Originally it had a beautiful entrance gate and six brick piers, but the former has long since disappeared, and of the latter only two remain.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heckethorn's "Lincoln's Inn Fields." The chapel was consecrated in 1623.

<sup>2</sup> Although St. Catherine Cree and St. Alban, Wood Street, destroyed in the Great Fire, and built in the Gothic style, were attributed to Jones, there are no good grounds for this.

<sup>3</sup> There was, however, a fragment of his design for the west side standing till recently.

<sup>4</sup> The ornamental column and fountain, formerly in the centre of New Square, were also designed by Jones. He has, besides, left one or two examples of his treatment of gates; one at Chiswick, which will be spoken of later, and the one at Holland House, for which he designed the stone piers which were executed by Nicholas Stone.



But a far more heroic scheme even than the laying out of Lincoln's Inn Fields was to occupy the architect during the following year. In the January of 1619, the old Banqueting House in Whitehall had been destroyed by fire, and the rest of the buildings had fallen into a dilapidated state; Jones was accordingly ordered to prepare designs for a new palace. It seems improbable that the King contemplated anything beyond a rebuilding of the existing fabric on practically the same lines, or at any rate nothing more daring than what would bring it up to then modern requirements. The ideas of Jones, however, were very different. He had, for those days, travelled much; he had become imbued with the glories of Italian architecture; his brain was teeming with memories of Vitruvius and Palladio; and his genius conceived a palace which should out-rival anything in France or Italy. His great opportunity had arrived, and mindless of self-seeking parasites and a perennially empty exchequer, he produced a scheme at which succeeding generations have wondered; he created, on paper, a palace that should far outshine the glories of the Louvre; and it is safe to say that had his conceptions been put into concrete form, they would alone have succeeded in rescuing the reign of James I. from the insignificance that attaches to it.

As if to give no loophole for his royal master to escape from the realising of his scheme, Jones prepared two sets of plans. The first of these was relatively moderate in size, the outside dimensions being 630 feet by 460 feet;<sup>1</sup> but Jones's appetite grew on what it fed on, and he soon produced another set in which the dimensions were no less than 1280 by 950 feet.<sup>2</sup> This latter is entitled: "The

<sup>1</sup> This, preserved in Worcester College, formed the original of the set published by Colin Campbell in his "Vitruvius Britannicus" in 1717-25. Campbell dates them 1639, but they appear to be merely draughts by Webb from Jones's designs of 1619.

<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to anticipate some years here in order to say all I want to about Jones's Whitehall scheme. Of course, it was carried on in the reign of Charles I., although nothing but the Banqueting Hall was ever completed.

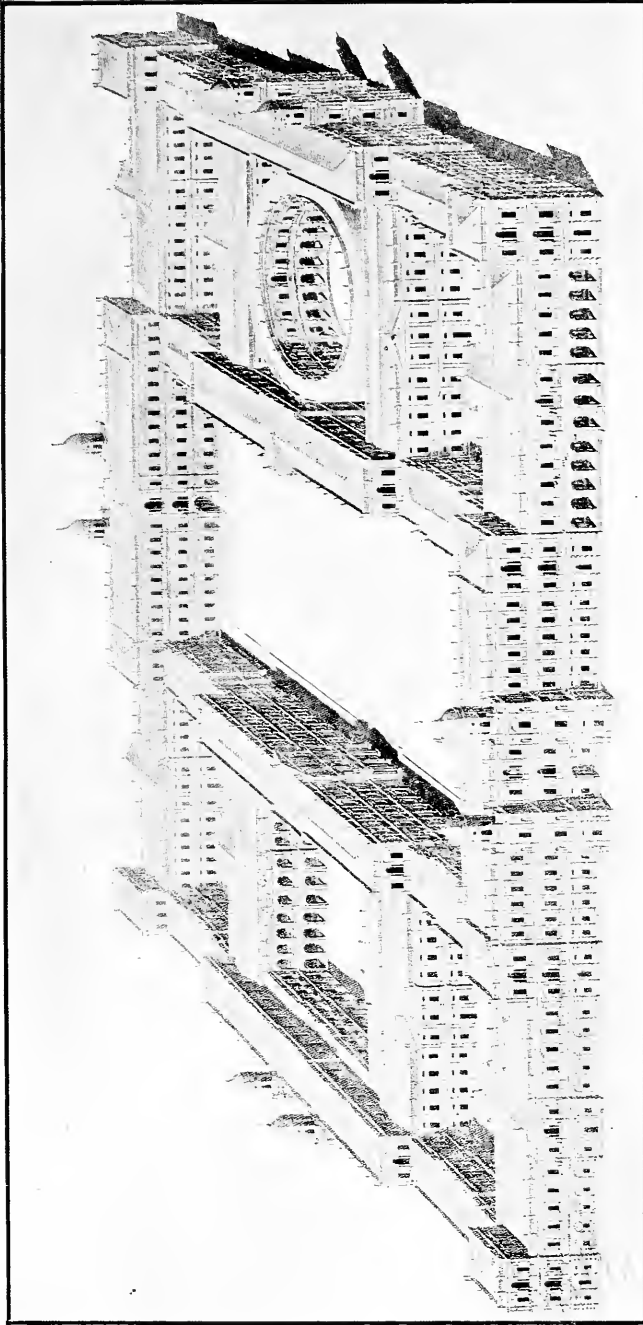
ground plant for the palace of Whitehall for King Charles ye first taken John Webb architect," and is now preserved at Chatsworth, having been that from which Kent or rather Lord Burlington published the set of plates, in 1727.

It is not necessary here to indicate the various alterations that were made in the plans as they progressed; and the bird's-eye view of the final form Jones wished the Palace to take, will give a better idea of the vastness of his conception than whole pages of description. It may, however, be pointed out that the site it was intended to occupy was roughly from Whitehall Gardens to ground at the back of the Treasury. One of its principal façades was to have faced the river and to have been divided from it by a long and broad terrace; on its north it would probably have been open to Charing Cross; its south side would have reached to what is now Parliament Square; while St. James's Park would have formed a fitting boundary on the west.

Mr. Loftie in his valuable monograph on Whitehall,<sup>1</sup> deals elaborately with the various details of this stupendous scheme, and as the bird's-eye view here reproduced does not show the river frontage, I cannot do better than quote his description of it, although, as he himself says, no description can do it adequate justice.

"The centre was of three storeys, the lowest with rusticated pilasters. The next storey has features common to much of the design, but two flanking buildings only two storeys high are marked by a studied plainness, flat pilasters being between the windows. At either end of the front we find three storey pavilions, we can hardly call them towers. They, like the centre, have engaged columns standing well out. The most beautiful thing on this front is a projecting portico in the centre, three arches wide and one deep. This beautiful balcony—the most elegant little bit in the whole design—is of the Corinthian order, two storeys high, the lower rusticated,

<sup>1</sup> "The Portfolio," No. 16, April 1895.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF WHITEHALL

*To face p. 68*



and on a balustrade above are the statues with which Inigo always liked to relieve his sky-line."

Nicholas Stone, the then fashionable statuary, who was master-mason in the building of the Banqueting Hall, and who made the famous dial in the Privy Garden, would undoubtedly have been employed on these statues, the total number of which intended by Jones may be realised when it is known that 176 were provided for on the Westminster front alone. When it is remembered that Jones's immense pile would have outrivalled in size any of the great continental palaces, even the Escorial and the still larger palace at Mafra, and that every detail had been carefully thought out by him personally, even to the subsidiary ornaments on the terrace embankment, some idea can be gained of the comprehensiveness of the architect's designs. Of course certain parts are open to criticism; fault has been found with the inner circular court, although in our own day the idea has been used in the new Local Government Board buildings, but as a whole no conception on such a scale has ever emanated from an architect's brain, and the one point against it, as a whole, seems to be that it was too vast even for a royal residence.

The exquisite fragment that exists—so small a part of the whole that four similar sections alone were to have been subsidiary buildings in the great court—is known to all as the Banqueting Hall. This was the first portion to be built, in order, as I have said, to replace the former one destroyed by fire and it really thus forms the keynote of the great palace. It was begun hurriedly for it was urgently needed. Jones's estimate for it was £9850,<sup>1</sup> and a model was submitted for the king's approval.<sup>2</sup> The first stone was laid on June 1, 1619, and the work was completed on March 31, 1622.

In the accounts of the Paymaster of the Works, which

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of State Papers, April 19, 1619.

<sup>2</sup> Jones was paid £37 under a council's warrant, dated June 27, 1619, for models of this and of a new Star Chamber

Peter Cunningham first printed, is a roll entitled : “ Charges in building a Banqueting House at Whitehall, and erecting a new pier in the Isle of Portland, for conveyance of stone from thence to Whitehall,” by which we find that the total cost of the erection of the building was £14,940 odd, and the expense of the pier £712, thus exceeding the original estimate by nearly £6000. Considering what we know of the dilatory methods of payment which obtained at this period, it is not, perhaps, surprising to learn that this account was not finally settled till eleven years after the completion of the work.

The technical description of the Banqueting House as given in this document is as follows :

“ A new building, with a vault under the same, in length 110 feet, and in width 55 feet within ; the wall of the foundation being in thickness 14 feet, and in depth 10 feet within ground, brought up with brick ; the first storey to the height of 16 feet, wrought of Oxfordshire stone, cut into rustique on the outside and brick on the inside ; the walls 8 feet thick, with a vault turned over on great square pillars of brick, and paved in the bottom with Purbeck stone, the walls and vaulting laid with finishing mortar ; the upper storey being the Banqueting House, 55 feet in height, to the laying on of the roof ; the walls 5 feet thick and wrought of Northamptonshire stone, cut in rustique, with two orders of columns and pilasters, Ionic and Composite, with their architrave, frieze, and cornice, and other ornaments ; also rails and ballasters about the top of the building, all of Portland stone, with fourteen windows on each side, and one great window at the upper end, and five doors of stone with frontispiece and cartoozes ; the inside brought up with brick, finished over with two orders of columns and pilasters, part of stone and part of brick, with their architectural frieze and cornice, with a gallery upon the two sides, and the lower end borne upon great cartoozes of timber carved, with rails and ballasters of timber, and the floor laid with spruce deals ; a strong timber roof covered with lead, and under it a ceiling divided into fret made of great cornices enriched with carving, with painting, glazing, &c.”

Such is, as it were, the skeleton of the beautiful building, the ceiling of which was afterwards to be adorned by that Apotheosis of James I., which Rubens painted in 1635, which remains, to-day, one of the most perfect architectural features of London and a small but eloquent proof of its designer's splendid conception.

The year after it had been begun, Jones was busy on several other matters. One of these was his duties as architectural adviser to the Commission that had been appointed to draw up a schedule of all the buildings erected in London since the accession of James, and to report on them, as well as to enforce certain regulations that had been passed as to the size and position of new erections. Walpole notices a commission, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, to the Earl of Arundel, Inigo Jones, and others "to prevent building on new foundations within two miles of London and the Palace of Westminster," to which there is a further reference in several of Garrard's letters, in the *Strafford Papers*. Another important matter was his share, a leading one, in the proposed repairs to St. Paul's, a scheme, however, which was not proceeded with till 1633, owing largely to that want of funds which perennially handicapped the king in such matters; although we know that James had countenanced a sermon in favour of the project being preached at Paul's Cross.

The third scheme which occupied the architect's attention was one which Walpole designates as "very unworthy of his genius"; this was his investigation into the origin of Stone-henge. In the book he subsequently wrote, in which he incorporated the fruits of his labours, he thus speaks of the circumstance which gave rise to them. "King James, in his progress in the year 1620, being at Wilton, and discoursing of this antiquity, I was sent for by William, then Earl of Pembroke, and received there his Majesty's commands to produce out of mine own practice in architecture and experience in antiquities abroad, what possibly I could discover concerning this of Stone-Heng."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Five years earlier he had been at Wilton during the King's former

It does not appear that Jones hurried himself in the matter ; perhaps it was hardly one that could be hurried ; indeed the printed result of his inquiries did not appear till three or four years after his death, notably in 1655. In consequence of the scarcity of this edition, most of the copies of which were destroyed in the Great Fire, another, together with Webb's vindication, was issued in 1725, with the following title : "The Most Notable Antiquity of Great Britain, vulgarly called Stone-henge, on Salisbury Plain, restored by Inigo Jones, Esq., &c." With all the enthusiasm of an admirer, Webb speaks of the work as being "wrote with so much accuracy and skill, that 'tis uncertain which most deserves our commendation his (Jones's) Industry or his Sagacity"—and he proceeds to summarise the conclusions arrived at, thus : "After much reasoning, and a long series of authorities, he concludes at last, that this antient and stupendous Pile must have been originally a Roman Temple inscribed to *Coelus*, the senior of the Heathen Gods, and built after the *Tuscan* order."

Jones's theory did not meet with the approbation thus accorded it, in other quarters, and in 1663, Dr. Charlton published his "Chorea Gigantum," in which he confutes the architect, and proves, at least to his own satisfaction, that not the Romans but the Danes were responsible for this collocation of seemingly meaningless stones. Although Dryden wrote a panegyric on Charlton and his work, the conclusions of the latter did not appeal to the learned any more than Jones's had to him, and in the controversy that ensued—a clergyman, in 1730, falling foul of both writers—Webb championed Jones's work in a book entitled "Vin-

stay there, as is evidenced by the following extract from a letter addressed by Lord Arundel to Lady Salisbury, dated July 30, 1615, and printed by Mr. Inigo Triggs in his "Inigo Jones and his Works" :

"Upon Thursday nexte, the Kinge dineth at Wilton by which time my lo. of Pembroke hopes that Mr. Jones will be come hither. I tell him I hope he will, but I cannot promise because I spake not with him of it when I came out of towne. I mean (by God his grace) to be at Arundell on Tuesday or Wednesday come seavennight w<sup>ch</sup> is the eighth or ninthe of Auguste. If Mr. Jones come hither I will bring him w<sup>th</sup> me, if not you must w<sup>th</sup> you."



dication of Stone-henge restored." Since that day much has been written on the subject, and in 1792 a daring gentleman even produced a poem on it; but no satisfactory solution seems to have been arrived at; and Stone-henge, in common with the authorship of the "Letters of Junius" and the identity of the Man in the Iron Mask, will probably always be one of those debatable matters, about which the disputants—even if an angel from Heaven imparted the truth—would still continue to argue and vociferate.

Little of architectural importance is traceable to Jones in his official capacity during the remainder of James I.'s reign, and what work he did other than that connected with the ordinary duties of his office as surveyor, seems chiefly to have been in the nature of repairs and alterations. Thus in the Calendar of State Papers, under date of September 25, 1622, we read that New Hall, in Essex, then recently acquired by Buckingham, "is to be altered by Inigo Jones, the King's surveyor." In the following year, when the Spanish match was regarded as a *fait accompli*, Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, in May, remarks that the Spanish Ambassador (Gondemar) surveyed the lodgings for the Infanta, in course of preparation at Denmark House and St. James's, and ordered a new chapel to be fitted up in both places, "which Inigo Jones is to prepare with great costliness"; and on June 14 following we are told that the Duke of Richmond and six other nobles went to Southampton<sup>1</sup> to arrange pageants for the reception of the Infanta and that "Inigo Jones and Allen, the old player, went with them," but, adds the writer, "could have done just as well without so many Privy Councillors."

But one important work on which Jones had been employed for some years, was completed in 1623; this was the rebuilding of the chapel in Lincoln's Inn. The first proposal for a new chapel was mooted so early as 1609; nothing, however, appears to have been done till 1617 or 1618, when, as we have seen, commissioners were appointed

<sup>1</sup> On this occasion Jones was made a burgess of the town.

for laying out Lincoln's Inn Fields. Certain embellishments which Jones added, such as the rather fanciful parapet and the vases which were placed on the buttresses, have been removed; but in the crypt those "Roman Doric pilasters creeping up the sides of the bastard Gothic" which Cunningham mentions, and other additions are thought to have irrevocably spoilt the original work, although the chapel has since undergone so many other alterations that one should hesitate to accuse Inigo Jones of the various incongruities that to-day exist in it. The first stone was laid by the famous Dr. Donne who also preached the consecration sermon on Ascension Day 1623, the Bishop of London performing the actual ceremony of consecration.

Jones was never quite at home in dealing with Gothic work, and it is probable that nothing but a desire for consistency with the adjacent buildings in Lincoln's Inn, and perhaps the wishes of the Benchers, would have induced him to attempt anything of the sort.

Among other lesser works which occupied the architect during the year 1623, were various repairs and additions to Theobalds, the favourite residence of James, and there is extant a letter written by Jones, and dated August 16 of this year, referring to the matter and mentioning some stables that he was erecting for his royal master there.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of the King, Jones was naturally selected to design the funeral car which, after the custom of the times, was one of those elaborate arrangements formerly associated with the last earthly journey of sovereigns.

At this point a word may be conveniently said about the somewhat mysterious origin of the quarrel between Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones. When this actually began, it is rather difficult to say, although the cause of it seems to have been that caustic, rather quarrelsome, and very jealous nature which actuated Jonson in his various passages of arms with men like Marston, Dekker and

<sup>1</sup> Preserved in the Soane Museum.

others. Certain it is that so early as Christmas 1610, when the playwright produced his masque of "Love freed from Ignorance and Folly," although so much of its success was due to Jones's scenic skill and mechanical contrivance, no mention whatever was made of him in the printed copy of the work; nor did his name appear in that of "Oberon" given on New Year's Eve, 1611, although he is elsewhere expressly termed its "designer." Indeed, unlike Daniell who, as we have seen, generously attributed the success of one of *his* masques to Jones's cooperation, Jonson seldom seems to have been willing to concede anything to the architect, or where he does, concedes it in a grudging and condescending way. By 1617 the tension between them had become so acute that Jonson is said to have told Charles, Prince of Wales, that "when he wanted words to express the greatest villain in the world, he would call him an Inigo."<sup>1</sup>

Instead of passing years smoothing over such asperities, they seem to have exacerbated them, and even Jones tried some retaliation; for Jonson having printed his name before that of the architect on the title-page of "Chloridia," the latter was so annoyed that he is said to have used his influence to Jonson's detriment on the occasion of the production of Townshend's "Albion's Triumph" in 1632. Jonson retorted by his "Expostulation with Inigo Jones" and his "Corollary to Inigo Marquis would be," and would have held him up to ridicule as Vitruvius Hoop in his "Tale of a Tub," had not the licenser of plays, Sir Henry Herbert, a friend of Jones, struck out the offending part before the play was performed.

But Jonson was not to be thus baulked of his prey, and in a piece he wrote for the entertainment of the king when the latter stayed at Bolsover in 1634, he brought the architect on to the stage as a ridiculous character, one "Coronal Vitruvius." Here, however, he reckoned without his host, for Charles was so annoyed that soon afterwards Howell, the

<sup>1</sup> "Conversations of Jonson with Drummond of Hawthornden." Edited by the Shakespeare Society, 1842.

letter-writer, advised Jonson to cease his satiric attacks, as the king "was not well pleased therewith." This seems to have given Jonson, who was, besides, quite old enough to know better, pause, and two years afterwards the grave closed over the indomitable and irreconcilable old fighter.

With the accession of Charles I., it might have been thought that an ampler day still was dawning for Jones's genius. The king was a man of the most cultivated taste, and of consummate judgment in whatever pertained to the arts, his patronage was extended to the great painters of the time, and his gallery was already largely filled with the productions of earlier artists. Charles had long been associated with Inigo Jones. He had, as we have seen, taken part in many of those gorgeous masques in which the architect's capabilities had first shown themselves; he had, undoubtedly, carefully studied the designs for Jones's great palace at Whitehall; and he must have taken a very close and personal interest in the work at Denmark House and St. James's. His accession thus promised great things for the architect, and, inasmuch as the latter was continued in his office of Surveyor of the Royal Works, and went on designing those splendid masques, which, in the early years of this reign, reached their apogee, his hopes were to some extent fulfilled. But other circumstances occurred to embitter his later years. Jonson, with whom he had so long worked amicably, turned upon him with all the bitterness of one who could bear no brother near the throne; his restoration of St. Paul's brought upon him the wrath of the Parliament, and like many another friend of the unfortunate Charles, his closing years were clouded by grief and misfortune. This is, however, anticipating matters.

During the time that had elapsed since Jones first entered the royal service, he had been occasionally employed on the building or restoration of private houses in

various parts of the kingdom, and one of the earliest instances we have of his domestic architecture was the addition he made to Houghton Hall, Bedfordshire, for Mary Sidney Herbert. What he appears to have done here was the addition of the north front, which is said, for it is now a ruin, to have resembled the Convent della Carita at Venice, the work of Palladio, and the open Ionic loggia, a characteristic of the great Italian, although then new to this country, was used effectively here by Jones just as he used it about the same time at the Queen's House at Greenwich, and as Webb did subsequently at Amesbury.

The difficulty which has been experienced in identifying the architects of the majority of Jacobean houses, has caused many to be attributed to the one man who had then made a name for himself, and so we find Flixton Hall, built in 1616, Dorfield Hall, Crewe Hall, Aston Hall, the garden front of Brympton, and certain parts of Hinton St. George, Wimbledon House in the Strand erected in 1628 and very soon after burnt down, and Forty Hall, Middlesex, built in the following year, for St. Nicholas Raynton, assigned to Jones. There does not, however, appear any good reason for supposing that he had a hand in all of these. Tradition may, of course, be nearer truth than those who require chapter and verse for every attribution are willing to allow, and the fact that many of these houses do not exhibit the now recognisable characteristics of Jones's work, should, I think, be no more regarded as absolute disproof in his case than it should be in that of Thorpe, as I have already pointed out. For instance, another private residence that *is* conceded to Jones is Chilham Castle, in Kent, where the Jacobean doorway, similar to that at Houghton, so far as can be traced of the latter, is quite unlike Jones's later work, and where the curious hexagonal plan of the mansion more closely approximates to what Thorpe might have produced. Chilham was built in 1616 for Dudley Digges, the author of that well-known contribution to Civil War literature,

“The Unlawfulness of Subjects Taking up Arms against their Sovereigne,” first published in 1647.

Another lesser domestic work, which can be allotted to the latter part of James I.’s reign, was the gateway at Beaufort House, Chelsea, which Jones designed in 1621, for the Lord Treasurer Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who was occupying the place from 1619 to 1625.<sup>1</sup> When Sir Hans Sloane purchased the property in 1736, he demolished the old house and presented the gateway to Lord Burlington, who had it re-erected in the grounds of Chiswick House, a circumstance thus recorded by Pope :

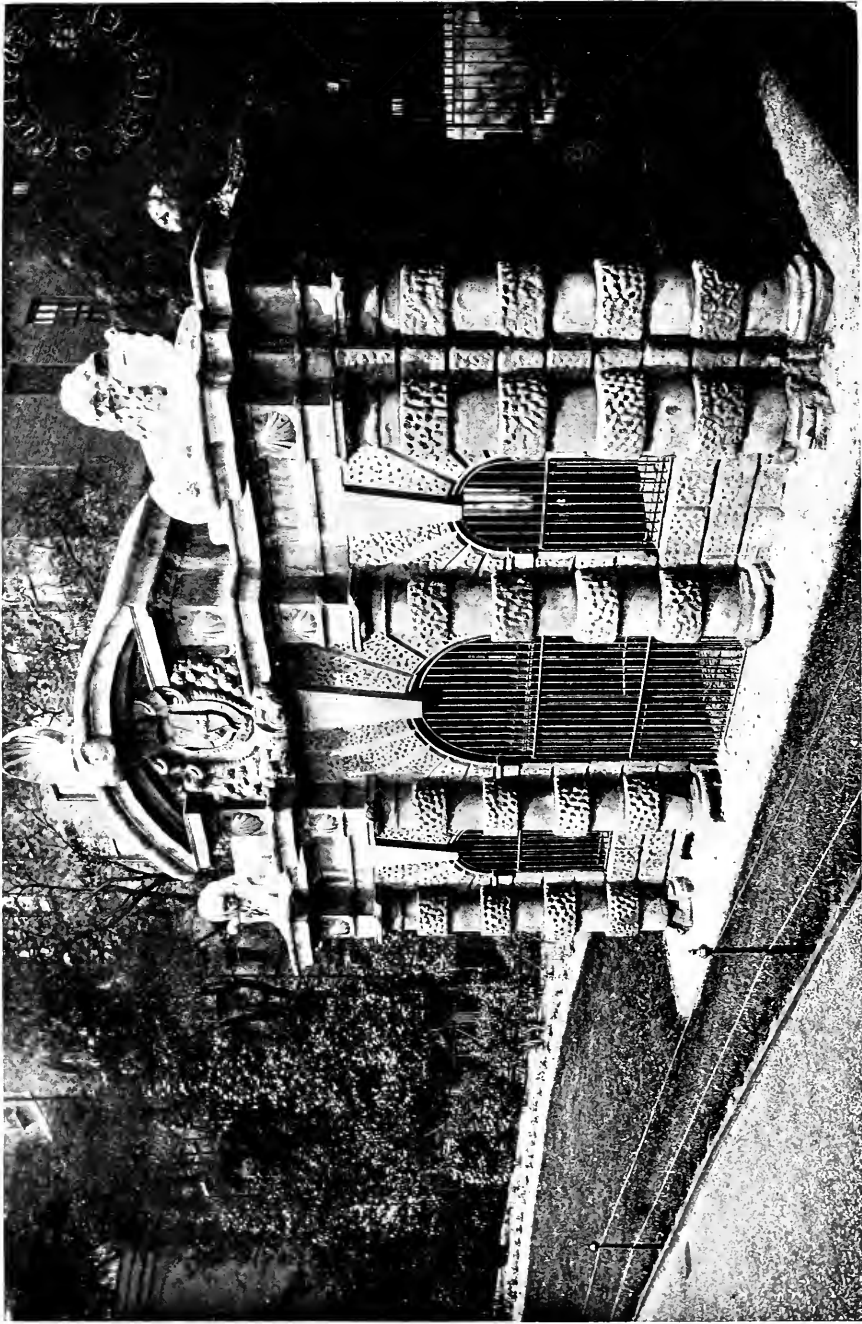
“PASSENGER. O gate, how camest thou here?  
 GATE. I was brought from Chelsea last year,  
 Battered with wind and weather,  
 Inigo Jones put me together ;  
 Sir Hans Sloane  
 Left me alone,  
 Burlington brought me hither.”

Three years after he had designed this gateway, Jones was employed in adding a gallery to Castle Ashby, where he was also engaged later in other work, which, however, was interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War. Local tradition also attributes the design of the Town Hall at Bath to him. He is known to have visited the city about the time James had commissioned him to undertake his work on Stone-henge in 1620, and according to Wood of Bath, the architect, the citizens took this opportunity of engaging him to prepare a design for their municipal buildings.

Jones’s work in the reign of Charles I. was appropriately inaugurated by one of his smaller but most famous creations—the celebrated water-gate, which he designed for the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, and which was executed by Nicholas

<sup>1</sup> See for drawings of this gateway and a technical description, “Inigo Jones and his Works,” by H. Inigo Triggs and Tanner. There is a letter from Lord Middlesex to Inigo Jones, dated 1622, in the Sackville MSS.





*Spencer*

YORK WATER-GATE

*To face p. 79*



Stone. Buckingham had only recently (1624) acquired York House; and when he demolished the old residence, he erected a large building chiefly to store the wonderful collection of pictures which he was getting together.<sup>1</sup> It seems almost certain that had he lived the Duke would have built a mansion consonant with his grandiose ideas, and probably Inigo Jones would have been its architect, although the Duke's factotum, Sir Balthazar Gerbier, designed the temporary house, and has for this reason been credited by some with that of the water-gate itself. Stone too, who actually carved it, says in his account book that he "dessined" it; but I think there can be little doubt that its creation emanated from Jones's brain and from his only; and I also think it probable that Buckingham intended it merely as an "episode" in the scheme for a new and magnificent palace to be carried out by the architect.

When, in 1767, a suggestion was made to remove this work of art, various protests were made, in one of which, drawn in the form of an epitaph: "Sacred to the Memory and Reputation of Inigo Jones," the gate is made to exclaim: "I am the only perfect Building of the kind in England," while another contains the lines:

" 'Twas Inigo Jones  
Plan'd the piling these stones,  
And superb is the architecture."

The arms and motto of the Villiers are still traceable on the front of the gate; and that rustic work which Jones was so fond of introducing into his buildings is, perhaps, more appropriate in an erection of this kind than in any other.

The gateway designed for Lord Weymouth at Oatlands Park, and the beautiful south entrance porch to St. Mary's

<sup>1</sup> Gerbier, writing to the Duke on December 2, 1624, says, "The surveyor, Inigo Jones, has been at York House to see the house, and he was like one surprised and abashed. It would only require me to get the reversion of his place to be an eyesore to him, for he is very jealous of it. He almost threw himself on his knees for your Secretary of Titian."—Bishop Goodman's "Court of James I."

Church, Oxford, erected in 1637, at an expense of £230, by Laud's chaplain, Dr. Morgan Owen, have both been assigned to Jones, although no evidence, other than their intrinsic merit and style, is forthcoming to support the supposition.

But Jones was soon to be engaged on a far more important work—the erection of the Church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and the laying out of that piazza which to all intents and purposes inaugurated the square of later days. The scheme was due to Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, who commissioned the architect to prepare plans.<sup>1</sup> The piazza was formed and the church built in 1631. As may be seen from old prints, this piazza ran along the entire north and east sides of the square, the church completing the west, and the gardens of Bedford House extending along the south. The church was completed and consecrated by Bishop Juxon in 1638. In 1795 it was destroyed by fire, but was rebuilt on the original plan and elevation, and although certain minor alterations have been made since, it substantially remains as planned by Jones. “No architect but Inigo Jones,” says Mr. Blomfield, “could have made such an audacious design. The elements are very simple. A plain Doric portico, with a triangular pediment and a cupola above it, form the east elevation; but, as usual with Inigo Jones, his genius is shown in his treatment of these simple elements.” Speaker Onslow used to relate a story which, if only *ben trovato*, is at least apt after these remarks: “When the Earl of Bedford sent for Jones, he told him he wanted a chapel for the people of Covent Garden, but,” he added, “I sha'n't go to much expense—in short, I would not have it much better than a barn.” “Well, then,” replied Jones, “you shall have the handsomest barn in England.”

In the same year in which Jones was engaged on the Piazza and Church of Covent Garden a commission was issued for that long crying want, the repair of St. Paul's. The cathedral had been in an almost ruinous state for

<sup>1</sup> A coloured plan of Covent Garden Piazza is at Wilton.

many years, and, so far back as 1620, Jones had been ordered to survey and report upon it. Want of money seems to have been chiefly responsible for the delay in the work, and it was not until Laud, who always had such matters closely at heart, became Bishop of London, that any active steps were taken with regard to it. The idea seems to have been to rebuild the entire fabric, and the bishop, with all the zeal of a churchman and the ardour of one who was working for a pet scheme, raised the great sum, for those days, of £101,000 towards this object.

A commission, appointed on April 10, 1631, ordered, among other matters, that once a year a certificate should be made of money contributed; that the work should not be begun until there was £10,000 in the Bank, and that when building was commenced and the scaffolding erected, "two or three chests should be set in the church, in convenient places, for receiving the benevolences of well-disposed persons."<sup>1</sup> A certain number of Commissioners was also chosen to negotiate and compound with the owners of houses in the vicinity, which it was found necessary to demolish, and with regard to the adjacent St. Gregory's Church, it was first resolved that a vault beneath it which threatened to affect the foundation of the cathedral should be shortened, afterwards that the wall of the church should be demolished, and, finally, that the entire building should be pulled down and the congregation, numbering about 3000, provided for elsewhere.

The work was begun in 1631, and continued until the outbreak of the Civil War put an end to it. By this time Jones had only got so far as the south transept; but he had completed the portico, which Webb describes as "magnificent," and by which Lord Burlington was so impressed that, on seeing Wren's completion of the cathedral, he exclaimed, "When the Jews saw the second temple they reflected on the beauty of the first, and could not refrain from tears." Hollar executed a print of the

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth.

west front as finished by Jones, and this shows it to have been much finer than the original drawing prepared by the architect; Mr. Blomfield accounts for this by the fact that Jones (as did Wren) trusted far more to personal supervision of his work, and to directions to be given as the building proceeded, than to his original draught.<sup>1</sup>

The restoration of St. Paul's proved, in other ways besides the initial delays caused through want of funds, a very unsatisfactory business for Jones. In the course of the work he had found it necessary to demolish the Church of St. Gregory, which was actually adjoining the south wall at the west end of old St. Paul's. This proceeding appears to have given great annoyance to the citizens, not only on account of the actual pulling down of the church, but because the work was undertaken by a Roman Catholic working under the auspices of a bishop who, in the popular eye, was all but one; and some years later (1640) Jones was brought before the Long Parliament on a formal complaint from the citizens. In vain he pointed out that by the removal of St. Gregory's he had increased the dignity of St. Paul's and added to the beauty of the city, and that, after all, he had been but obeying orders specifically given him, even if based on his advice, by the King in Council. This last plea was just then only calculated to add fuel to the fire of popular indignation, and, irritated by the rough treatment he experienced in his examination, Jones scornfully told the Parliamentarians that he would take the whole responsibility on his own shoulders. This was probably all that was wanted, and the architect was incontinently mulcted in a large sum; according to certain authorities no less than £500.

To return to the date of the commencement of his work on St. Paul's, we find Jones occupied with the designs for the Queen's House at Greenwich which was completed in 1635. Among his drawings, now preserved in the Soane Museum, are two showing the river front, and the side

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Renaissance."

elevation of King's Charles's block, as it was called, which it is conjectured are from the hand of the architect himself. There is no doubt that this was one of Jones's most successful and beautiful designs, although Wren's magnificent work has cast somewhat into the shade that of his great predecessor.

One or two lesser works occupied Jones's time during these years; thus, in 1633, he restored the Church of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and it was probably about the same time that the older portions of West Woodhay House and Aldermaston Manor House, as well as the red-brick Pendhill or Glyd's House as it was sometimes called, near Bletchingly, Surrey, all of which seem with good reason to be attributed to him, were completed; although in the case of additions which he made to many private dwellings, the actual year is, in the absence of any authoritative *data*, a difficult matter to determine with any certainty.

The years 1636-7 were full ones for the architect, for during the former, besides the superintendence of the masque which was presented by Prince Charles (afterwards Charles II.) to the King and Queen at Richmond, on September 12, one of the many in which Jones collaborated during the reign of Charles I.,<sup>1</sup> and his exacting labours in connection with St. Paul's, he was engaged in designing the Barber Surgeons' Hall, in Monkwell Street. Nothing of Jones's work here now remains, for much has been taken down and other portions were rebuilt by Lord Burlington in 1752, but Walpole speaks of it as one of the architect's best works, although he owns that he (Walpole) wanted the taste to appreciate it. Unfortunately the last remains of what Jones erected were demolished in 1783; but its original design and proportions can still be seen in

<sup>1</sup> Among them were "Love's Triumph," by Jonson and Jones, 1630; "Chloridia," by the same, in the same year; "Albion's Triumph," ditto, Twelfth Night, 1631; "The Temple of Love," by Davenant and Jones, 1634; "Cælum Britannicum," by Carew and Jones, 1634; "Britannia Triumphans," Twelfth Night, 1637; "Salmacida Spolia," by Davenant and Jones, January 21, 1639; "Love's Mistress," by Heywood and Jones, 1640.

the drawing preserved in Worcester College. The architect was also engaged on the Chapel of Old Somerset House, which was completed in 1637. It is probable that this work drew the King's attention to the necessity for improvements to Somerset House itself, as in the following year, Jones prepared those plans for additions and alterations to the palace, which are now also to be seen at Worcester College. As we know, nothing came of the scheme, and the plans are marked "*not taken*" or as we should say "not used." To this year also belongs the choir-screen which he designed for Winchester Cathedral, but which was taken down about 1820.

In 1640, Jones was engaged on some works at the Tower, and I find a record of an estimate he prepared for taking down defective walls, filling up stabling, and removing certain battlements and turrets, &c., the whole to cost something over £700. During the year, too, he was busy reporting with others, on various buildings in London; <sup>1</sup> while Thanet, afterwards Shaftesbury, House once one of the glories of Aldersgate Street, which is assigned, with every degree of probability, to Jones, was possibly erected between 1640 and 1642, at about which time Lindsay House, Lincoln's Inn Fields, was also built. It is curiously similar to the houses in Great Queen Street, which have been attributed to him, but which were actually erected by Webb, and merely based on one of Jones's designs.

The architect had now become a justice of the peace, in which capacity we hear of him sitting, on December 29 and 30, 1641, when one Benjamin Downes gave evidence of certain disturbances in Whitehall, disturbances that appear to have been but the rumblings that denoted the coming storm! Indeed, although Charles on his return from Scotland in the previous November had been, through the instrumentality of the Lord Mayor who was a Royalist, received with a magnificent welcome, constant riots broke out in London during December; and in the following January, after the abortive attempt to arrest the five

<sup>1</sup> Calendar of Domestic State Papers, *passim*.

members, the King left London for York, never to return to it till just before his death.

In the previous July, Charles was at Beverley, and Inigo Jones was either there or he sent from somewhere else the £500 which he at this moment lent his royal master. In the Domestic State Papers is an entry dated from the Court at Beverley, July 28, of a receipt given for this loan which, it states, that the King "promises to satisfy again," but which it seems more than probable he never had an opportunity of doing.

That Jones had also left London on the outbreak of hostilities seems certain, and there is a tradition that before he left, he, with the help of Nicholas Stone, buried what money he had about him in Lambeth Marshes, after having first concealed it in a private place in Whitehall, probably in the garden of his official residence there.<sup>1</sup> He had reason to fear for his treasure if not for his own safety. He was a Roman Catholic; he was an adherent of the royal cause; his manners were considered somewhat arbitrary, perhaps as a justice of the peace he had not improved this reputation; and therefore we can hardly be surprised to learn that in 1643 he was deprived of his office, and as a "malignant," was forced to pay £545<sup>2</sup> by way of composition for his estate.

It seems hard that a man of seventy, who, as Walpole rightly says, "had saved England from the disgrace of not having her representative among the arts," should have been thus harassed; but, however much these misfortunes may have affected him as a man, they were powerless to militate against his activity as an architect; and, as we shall see, he still had work to do, and did it in such a way as to prove, if nothing else of his had remained, his remarkable ability.

<sup>1</sup> It is said that four of his workmen knew of this, and gave information to the Parliament which had encouraged servants to act as spies.

<sup>2</sup> In a list of those who compounded for their estates, given by Fellowes in his "Historical Sketches of the Reign of Charles I.," however, Jones, who is described as of Martin's-in-the-Fields, is stated to have only paid £345.

Perhaps what affected him most was the cessation of the work on St. Paul's, and the contumely with which the mighty fabric was treated. He is said to have wandered about London at a later day, contemplating with sorrowful eye the stately portico with which he had ornamented the cathedral, and where he now saw "the shops of seamstresses and other trades"<sup>1</sup> set up, and the statues thrown down and broken; or in Whitehall, the splendid fabric of what he had intended to be an unrivalled royal palace, from one of the windows of which his master had stepped to a tragic death.

But in the country he could for the moment forget some of his troubles, and to the country he went,<sup>2</sup> and there for the next few years was engaged on some of that domestic architecture with which his name is associated. What architectural work Inigo Jones did during this period is, beyond one or two exceptions, rather doubtful. Walpole gives a long list of mansions which the architect designed, or which have been attributed to him with more or less probability; but he gives no dates as to the exact, or even approximate, year of their erection. Many of these are now known to have been executed by Webb, although based on Jones's designs, such as Ashburnham House; Gunnersbury (demolished in 1802), and Amesbury. Brympton was entirely Webb's work, but Lindsay House and Shaftesbury House, in London, were both, as we have seen, probably finished between 1640 and 1642, at which time Jones designed new buildings for Furnival's Inn (1640), and the garden façade of Northumberland House (1642). The stairs and some of the ceilings at Ford Abbey and The Grange, in Hampshire, have Mr. Blomfield's *imprimatur* as being Jones's work, as well as Castle Ashby, in which, as I have said, he was inter-

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale.

<sup>2</sup> In 1644 he was at Basing House and remained there during the famous siege of that mansion. When it was taken by Cromwell, Jones, as well as the engravers, Peake, Faithorne, and Hollar, fell into the conqueror's power.



rupted by the outbreak of the Civil War. Chevening is attributed to him by Walpole, who also says that Sir William Stanhope demolished a house at Wing which had been erected by Jones; while another mansion which is no longer in existence, but which is allocated to him, was the residence of Sir Edward Peyto, near Banbury, and Mr. Triggs says that the red rubbed brick gateway which leads into the churchyard, is evidently a relic of the old mansion, and the design of Jones.

I can now mention one or two later works to which a date may be assigned, in their proper place. Of these the most important was what he did at Wilton between 1647 and 1649. It is said that Charles I., so much earlier as 1633, had suggested to Philip, fourth Earl of Pembroke, that he should commission Jones to design the garden front. As, however, the architect was then busily engaged on the Queen's House at Greenwich and the restoration of St. Paul's, he appears to have recommended M. Solomon de Caux—who, we know, had once been in the service of Henry Prince of Wales, at Richmond—to do the work, which he accordingly completed to the Earl's satisfaction. In 1647 the south front of Wilton was destroyed by fire, and it was then rebuilt from Jones's design, Webb acting as superintendent of the work.<sup>1</sup> Jones also designed a remarkable ceiling which was not carried out, although the interior of the south wing was entirely his; he also, says Mr. Blomfield, "recast the east elevation, but this and the north side of the house were altered by Wyatt, when the forecourt was shifted from the east to the north side, and all that is now left of Inigo Jones's work is a portion of the east side and the south block (partly altered), including the suite of rooms on the first floor." These apartments include the famous Double Cube Room, with its glorious chimney-piece, which well earns the distinction of being "probably the most beautiful room in any house in this country"; and the great Banqueting Hall, of a similar shape, 110 feet by 55 feet; both of

<sup>1</sup> Blomfield.

which are remarkable examples of Jones's powers at their ripest and best.

To those who know anything of the history of that worse than eccentric peer, the fourth Earl of Pembroke, it will hardly be surprising to learn that Inigo Jones could not get on with him. Anthony Wood tells us that "he was so illiterate that he could scarcely write his name," and the lampoons of the day, amongst which is that curious "Testament" said to have been written by Samuel Butler in 1650, show the hatred and contempt felt for him by the Royalists whose ranks he deserted. Walpole says that the disagreement between the Earl and the architect "was probably occasioned while the latter was at Wilton." This is very likely. Jones was of an imperious temper, and he was a devoted adherent to the Royal cause, and it is not at all impossible that the Earl gave expression to some remarks reflecting on the King which caused annoyance to the architect. In the Harleian Library was a copy of the work on "Stone-henge," on the margins of which Lord Pembroke seems to have vented his spite against his architect in the form of innuendoes and abuse of all kinds. There he calls him "Iniquity Jones," and twits him for receiving £16,000 from the King for merely keeping his houses in repair. The quarrel must, one imagines, have had its source in some sudden disagreement, for otherwise Lord Pembroke would hardly have commissioned Jones to do the work at Wilton at this time, particularly as the King had recommended his employment.

Wilton is probably the finest example of Jones's domestic architecture; but luckily other authenticated work of his in this direction beyond what I have already mentioned is extant. Thus Raynham Park, the seat of the Townshends, which was built earlier, about 1636 it is supposed, is an excellent specimen of his quieter, more restrained methods, and in the admirable dignity of its exterior, and the beautiful refinement of its internal decorations, it remains an excellent object-lesson in Jones's well-known habit of attending personally to every detail in any house he

designed, and of stamping his individuality on all its features.

In 1647, the architect was engaged on some additions to Kirby of which, as we have seen, John Thorpe laid the first stone in 1570; and he also did certain work at Cobham Hall, Kent. At Worcester College, is a drawing by Webb, styled: "Purfyle of ye Duke's Pallace at Cobham, 1648," but as has been pointed out, the date on this particular façade is 1667, which shows that Inigo Jones had nothing to do with its actual erection, although he may conceivably have prepared plans for it, which were not carried out till after his death.

Another building assigned to this year (1647), and certainly by Jones, is the west wing of Cranborne Manor; while Coleshill, in Berkshire, which was erected three years later is another, and such a complete, example of his later manner, that it has been described as his "most perfect work" in this *genre*; and Lord Burlington is even said to have commissioned Ware to make drawings of it, in order that he (Lord Burlington) might have them to study continually. Its erection must have preceded by only a very short time Jones's last design, which was, however, never carried out—that for the College of Physicians.

Jones was now an old man, and a sad one. He had seen disappear tragically that brilliant court for which he had conceived so many spectacular marvels; many of his most cherished plans, such as the building of Whitehall and the restoration of St. Paul's, were never to be completed; he had been forced to pay a large sum to satisfy the greed of those who had murdered his master and set the kingdom by the ears; he had, indeed, "outstayed his welcome while," and, in the absence of any authoritative information as to the actual cause of his death, we may rightly attribute it to that gradual wearing out of the body to which so many strong old men quietly succumb, accelerated, in his case, by that breaking of the spirit which only those experience who have outlived happier days and have seen

their friends, not falling in the course of nature, but snatched away tragically by inexorable fate.

His death occurred at Somerset House, on July 21, 1651<sup>1</sup>, when he had exceeded his seventy-eighth year by exactly six days. He was buried, by the side of his father, in St. Benet's Church where a monument on the north wall, some distance from his grave, for the erection of which he left £100,<sup>2</sup> once marked his last resting-place. The old church, however, was destroyed in the Great Fire, so that no memorial remains of the man who was one of England's most illustrious architects.

There has been a question as to whether Inigo Jones was ever married. At Charlton House, Kent, were certainly two portraits stated to be of the architect and his wife, and Cunningham<sup>3</sup> says that early in life Jones had become a husband, but he has to confess that both the maiden name of the lady and the date of the marriage are unknown; while the so-called daughter, Anne, who married John Webb, a nephew of Jones, seems to have been really his niece.

Of his various residences one is said to have been at Staines where, perhaps, on this account, the steeple of the church was traditionally regarded as his work; another, known as Cherrygarden Farm, at Charlton, in Kent; and in London he once had a house in St. Martin's Lane, and for a time occupied the official residence of the Crown Surveyors in Whitehall, whence a letter of his, dated August 16, 1620, is addressed from the "Office of Works, Scotland Yard."

Several portraits of Inigo Jones are in existence, one of the earliest being a print executed by Villamoena when

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Wood, on the authority of James, son of John Webb, states this, although in another place he affirms that Jones died on June 24, 1652, and that he was buried two days later, which is confirmed by the Parish Register, quoted by Dallaway in his edition of "Walpole's Anecdotes."

<sup>2</sup> He also left £100 for his funeral expenses, but I grieve to say only £10 to the poor.

<sup>3</sup> "Lives of the Painters."

the architect was in Italy. Vandyck painted him two or three times; one of his portraits being engraved by R. V. Vorst; while another, *en grisaille*, was engraved by Hollar in 1655, and later by R. Hall. There is also a portrait by the same artist in the possession of Lord Darnley, while there used to be one at Houghton Hall, Norfolk. There is besides the one (with that called "his wife") at Charlton House, and there are also extant prints by Gaywood and Bannerman. Besides these there is a medallion in lime-wood of Jones in the Victoria and Albert Museum; and a terra-cotta bust of him in the Royal Society of British Architects' possession, which Society also possesses a most interesting and valuable brown ink sketch of his head drawn by himself.<sup>1</sup> Among his sketches that have been preserved are those in Worcester College Library, Oxford, bequeathed by Dr. Clarke; those illustrating costumes and scenes for masques now at Chatsworth, where is also his original sketch-book from which a few facsimile copies were taken, one of which, presented by the Duke of Devonshire to Sir John Soane in 1832, is in the Soane Museum; the plans for shifting scenery of masques in the Lansdowne MSS., and the many drawings and plans in the Soane Museum and the Library of the Royal Society of British Architects.

Beyond his Stone-henge book it is not known that Jones made any excursions into authorship, although some very bad verses of his were printed in Coryat's "Crudities."

"It was," says Webb, "*vox Europæ* that named Inigo Jones Vitruvius Britannicus, being much more, than at home, famous in remote parts, where he lived many years, designed many works, and discovered many antiquities, before unknown, with great applause." A later day has, however, recognised that in Inigo Jones England found her finest exponent of architectural art, for his influence

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to know that Jones also secured the immortality of a sign, for Dart's "Cathedral of Canterbury" was published in 1726 by "J. Smith, at Inego Jones's Head, near the Fountain Tavern."

in firmly establishing a recognised standard of design in place of the uncertain experiments that had preceded him, was no less memorable than was the consummate mastery which he brought to bear on the details and general conception of the buildings he designed. The scope of his imagination was unbounded; but his vigorous understanding and the admirable quality of restraint that characterises his work prevented his ever wandering into the realms of flamboyant exaggeration. Like all great masters of their art, he gave as much attention to minute detail as he did to comprehensive design. His universality enabled him to plan palaces and to construct summer houses and grottos; to superintend a masque and to design a windmill.<sup>1</sup> In his character as a man, as in his capacity as an architect, he was ever, to use words of his own in another connection, "masculine and unaffected." Knowledge of superior mental power made him at times arbitrary and *difficile*; but in the two conflicts with contemporaries, of which we have record, he never descended to the low abuse of the one or the indirect attacks of the other. A man with a less balanced character might well have been spoilt by the adulation which he received and the court favour of which he was the object; one with less philosophy might well have been overcome by the reverses and sorrows that saddened his later years; but few men seem to have been less "passion's slave" than he, and up till his latest day he preserved inviolate that splendid enthusiasm for his work and his belief in himself which is the hall-mark of great men.

<sup>1</sup> One at Chesterton, near Banbury, is traditionally assigned to him.

## CHAPTER IV

### JOHN WEBB, HOOKE, AND JERMAN

INIGO JONES left but one pupil who ever attained anything like celebrity, and his name was John Webb. It is true that a little-known architect, named Marsh, worked in Jones's manner and may possibly have been employed in his office, but his output was so inconsiderable that had Walpole not allowed him three lines in his "Anecdotes of Painting," it is more than probable that his name would never have come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

John Webb or Webbe, as it is variously spelt, came of a Somersetshire family. He was born, however, in London, in 1611, although no more precise information as to the exact date of his birth is forthcoming. Nor is anything known of his early days, except that he was educated at the Merchant Taylors' school, where he appears to have remained three years (1625-8). He was a nephew of Inigo Jones, but which of the architect's three sisters was his mother is unknown; what is known, however, is that he was taken by Jones as a pupil on his leaving school which, for those days, he did rather late in life, being then seventeen years old. With his uncle he learnt mathematics and architecture;<sup>2</sup> and he must have had splendid oppor-

<sup>1</sup> "Marsh," says Vertue, "designed the additional buildings at Bolsover, erected after the Restoration, and was the architect of Nottingham Castle" (Walpole). By the last phrase Vertue probably means to indicate that Marsh was the architect *to* the Castle.

<sup>2</sup> Anonymous writer of Memoir prefixed to "Stone-henge Restored."

tunities for doing so not only as being under the eye of the greatest master of the art in England at the time, but of one whose office, from the varied nature of his work, must have been an exceptionally busy one. It is conceivable, too, that in his character of a relation, Webb would be selected to accompany the great architect on many tours of inspection, and would thus have acquired that practical insight into his profession which we know he possessed. Indeed, he appears to have had a hand in many of the designs which Inigo Jones produced during the reign of Charles I., but one can hardly allocate to him any individual work, as it is obvious that even if he actually designed anything at this period it would be so largely under the supervision of Jones as to prevent our giving the whole credit of it to Webb. It is for this reason that when we read of the latter planning the large brick house on the south side of Great Queen Street when that thoroughfare was formed by Jones, we shall not be far wrong, I think, in assuming that the pupil either merely carried out the master's instructions, or that, if he himself did actually design the house, he was so largely influenced by his uncle's ideas as to make any originality of his own in the matter, highly problematical; while it appears more than likely that this particular house was really erected on the lines on which Jones intended the whole of the thoroughfare to be built, and that, like Lindsay House in Lincoln's Inn Fields, it remains a solitary example of a comprehensive scheme.

Until Jones's death in 1651 or 1652, I think we may fairly assume that what work Webb did was, for all practical purposes, merely the superintendence of his uncle's designs; we know definitely that he acted thus at Wilton in 1648; and certain of his work after Jones's death was so obviously based on the greater man's actual plans that he can only take the credit of carefully and reverently carrying them out.

One of the most notable of these achievements was the famous Ashburnham House at Westminster, which was built some time during the Commonwealth. Batty



Langley, in 1737, was the first to attribute a share in its erection to Webb, for before his time it was considered to be wholly the work of Jones, and there is little doubt that the finest portion of it, notably the magnificent staircase, was designed by the latter, as it exhibits all his distinctive characteristics ; but the house was erected after his death, and although the bulk of it was from his own plans, much also was added by Webb. The lesser man, however, failed to set that personal touch on the work which his great predecessor had done, and if he carried on the traditions of his general principles, and treated the details as Jones would more or less have treated them, his handling of the plaster-work (to take an instance) was rougher and less reserved, than would certainly have been the case had Jones lived to complete the mansion.

As I have before remarked, Jones was accustomed to rely so much on personal supervision as a work proceeded, that his completed buildings are always far finer than the plans for them. It is, therefore, obvious that when this supervision was withdrawn, or replaced by that of a less gifted architect, there could hardly fail to be observed a falling off, however slight, in the completed work ; and it is just this that differentiates the buildings planned by Jones but finished by Webb from those for the erection of which Jones was himself entirely responsible.

Only a fragment of Ashburnham House now remains, but luckily it happens to be that portion which contains the great staircase, with its perfect proportions, its fine panelling and fluted columns, and its effective oval dome supported by the extraordinarily rich and bold entablature.

The rule of Cromwell was not one calculated to advance the fine arts in any of their branches, and if architecture had a better chance than pictorial art of making not perhaps advance but headway against the puritanical stream that now set in and well nigh swamped all the charm and graces of life, it was because it was, in the nature of it, partly utilitarian, and because although

pictures and statues were often deemed mere profanities and superstitious increments, the most uncompromising Roundhead had to confess the necessity of having a roof over his head. He probably took good care to have as plain a one as possible. If, however, it was not a remunerative time for artists or architects, of the making of books, at this period, there was no end, and Webb, probably having a good deal of time on his hands, set about the editing of his uncle's "Stone-henge Restored," which appeared in 1655. I may here state that just ten years later he answered the attacks of Dr. Charlton on that work by the publication of his "Vindication of Stone-henge Restored." His regular professional labours, indeed, were not important, and were practically confined to the continuation of Ashburnham House, the designing of some chimney-pieces at Drayton (1653), and the addition of a portico and summer-house as well as some minor alterations at Vyne, near Basingstoke, the seat of Chaloner Chute, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons.<sup>1</sup>

In 1656, however, Webb did have an opportunity of showing what he could do in the way of independent design, for he was commissioned to build Thorpe Hall, near Peterborough, for that Oliver St. John (1598-1675), who had defended Hampden in the famous "Ship Money" trial in 1637, and who was Solicitor-General from 1641 to 1643, besides being Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and holding other high office during the Commonwealth.

The mansion Webb erected on high ground is, to quote Mr. Blomfield, "a singularly dignified building, and a good instance of that very interesting phase of architecture which extended from about 1640 to 1670, an architecture directly inspired by Inigo Jones and as yet uninfluenced by Wren." Although Thorpe Hall indicates certain prominent characteristics in Webb's methods which a little departed from the restraint and artistic simplicity of Jones, yet on the whole it is so largely redolent of the latter's influence

<sup>1</sup> Blomfield's "Renaissance." For an account of Chute see "Lives of the Speakers."

that it could hardly fail to be assigned to a pupil who had carefully laid to heart his teaching.

Apparently Webb carried out the work to the satisfaction of St. John, although the latter was not a man of an easy temper, as is proved by the incident, related by Pepys, of his pulling the nose of Sir Andrew Henly in Westminster Hall, in the very presence of the judges on the Bench, when Sir Andrew returned the insult by giving his antagonist "a rap over the pate with his cane." It will be remembered that Andrew Marvell is supposed to have indicated St. John and his overbearing ways in the character of Woodcock, in his "Instructions to a Painter."

During the years 1657 and 1658, Webb is recorded as doing some work, chiefly in the nature of alterations and the addition of mantelpieces, at Northumberland House; while it was probably about the same time that he prepared plans for the rebuilding of Durham House, Strand, which had then come into the possession of the fifth Earl of Pembroke who, however, never proceeded with the matter.<sup>1</sup>

At the Restoration Webb, not unnaturally, expected to receive the post of Surveyor-General to the Crown, and he made a formal application for it, asserting that Charles I. had intended him to have the reversion of the office, for which his long training and his duties as deputy surveyor to Inigo Jones peculiarly fitted him. He urged further the significant fact that there were arrears of salary still owing him, and he stated that when Charles was at Oxford he sent him, at serious personal risk, plans for fortifications which were calculated to be of the greatest practical benefit to the royal cause.<sup>2</sup>

Webb's professional ability and his knowledge of the requirements of the office should have stood him in good stead in his application, but at this moment there was a

<sup>1</sup> The plans are preserved in Worcester College, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Calendar of Domestic State Papers, June (?) 1660. Webb says that no less than £1500 was due to him as Jones's executor, being money owing to the latter from the Crown.

rush of applicants for every office in the gift of the Crown, and Sir John Denham, whose former activity on behalf of the royal cause had been even greater than that of Webb, for during the Civil War he had taken up arms for the King, had been made Governor of Farnham Castle, and had besides suffered imprisonment for his principles, received the post, without, it must be confessed, having apparently any technical qualifications for it whatever.<sup>1</sup>

Webb recognised this, and made, perhaps not quite judiciously, a point of it in his memorial to the King, where he states that "though Mr. Denham may, as most gentry, have some understanding of the theory of architecture, he can have none in practice, but must employ another. Whereas he (Webb) has spent thirty years at it, and worked for most of the nobility."<sup>2</sup>

Charles II. seems, indeed, to have felt that some reward was due to Webb, and besides Denham himself may have been only too anxious to have in his office one who understood the duties appertaining to it, and who was, also, a skilled architect, and we find Webb granted the reversion of Denham's post, as he had been that of Inigo Jones, and employed again as the assistant to the Surveyor General, which if better than nothing was certainly small compensation for what he had a sort of prescriptive right to expect.

By the memorial just quoted, we learn that at this very time Webb had received instructions from Parliament to make a survey of the King's houses with a view to preparing them for his reception, of which says the architect "the cost will be £8149 5s. 2d." ; for this sum, he adds, he is engaged on credit, having only received £500<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pepys records that on December 9, 1660, Lord Sandwich wrote him, asking him "to go to Mr. Denham, to get a man to go to him to-morrow to Hinchingbrooke, to contrive with him about some alteracion, in his house, which I did, and got Mr. Kennard."

<sup>2</sup> In the Domestic State Papers is a warrant for allowing "Sir John Denham, surveyor of the works, £12 16s. 10d. for livery," the same to be paid yearly.

<sup>3</sup> In May 1660, however, I find in the Calendar of Domestic State Papers a warrant to Webb for £2000 towards these repairs.

towards it. One of these palaces was Whitehall which the architect put in order in the extraordinarily short space of a fortnight, again working, as he pathetically remarks, "on his own credit."

Just as what was said at an earlier day to have been Webb's own work was to all intents and purposes that of Inigo Jones; so for the remainder of Denham's life what was attributed to him in his capacity of surveyor, may fairly be regarded as the sole production of his assistant.

In his new capacity one of Webb's first works was the carrying out of a portion of Jones's original plan for Greenwich, it being that part subsequently incorporated by Wren in the west side of the main façade of the building. His salary appears to have been £200 a year, and an additional £1 13s. 1d. a month for travelling expenses.

In the accounts for work done at Greenwich he is described as "of Butleigh, county Somerset," which indicates either that this was the place where his family had been settled, or that he had already purchased property there, which in any case he is known to have done at some period during the latter years of his life.

Among other lesser work in connection with his office as Deputy Surveyor, Webb carried out some repairs at St. Paul's in 1663; while in the same year he appears to have superintended the building of Gunnersbury House, plans for which had been left by Jones.<sup>1</sup> This work was undertaken for Sergeant Maynard, a well-known lawyer of the day, who, on becoming King's Serjeant, was knighted by Charles II. The house was a square, plain, solid building, three storeys in height, and having six pillars with an elaborate entablature on one of its façades. It had no wings, and shows markedly Jones's distinctive influence. Sir John Maynard died here, in 1690, when the property passed to his widow, who subsequently married, as his second wife, the fifth Earl of Suffolk.

Amesbury in Wiltshire, built for Lord Carleton, was

<sup>1</sup> Campbell in his "Vitruvius Britannicus," gives plans and elevations of Gunnersbury House, and there speaks of it as being the work of Webb.

another and earlier example of those mansions completed by Webb, for which Jones had left more or less complete plans. It was erected two years before Gunnersbury House, and although there can be little doubt that the general outlines were the conception of Jones, the carrying out of them, as well as the various additional details, was the work of Webb. Plans and elevations of this mansion are given by Colin Campbell in his "Vitruvius Britannicus," and Mr. Blomfield made drawings of certain interesting details connected with it, such as the curiously shaped garden-house, and one of the piers to the entrance gate which is excellent in its calm restraint and perfect proportions; the same authority also mentions the staircase at Amesbury, the idea of which, he says, was borrowed from the famous double staircase at Chambord. It will be remembered that Inigo Jones saw this, and made a note about it in a copy of one of his books; it seems probable, therefore, that at least this portion of Amesbury emanated from him, Webb probably working up his uncle's rough sketch.

In 1665 Webb was occupied on two important undertakings, one being the erection of Horseheath Hall, Cambridgeshire, and the other, that of Burlington House which was ostensibly the work of Sir John Denham, but of which, it seems fairly certain, Webb executed the chief portion. The house was begun in the spring of 1665, and Pepys speaks of seeing the building operations going on in the February of that year. It was erected for Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, although there was once a report that Denham built it for his own use, a fact which appears improbable for several reasons. Lord Burlington's grandson rebuilt the house, and since his day it has been much altered and enlarged; but Webb's (or Denham's) original mansion must have been an important one, although it was undoubtedly thrown into the shade by the splendour of Clarendon House close by, which was erected about the same time.

It is rather doubtful as to when the other great London mansion with which Webb's name is associated, was built,

but it was certainly between 1660 and 1668 that Southampton, or as it was later called, Bedford House, came into existence. Extant views of this fine building show it to have had so many of the characteristics of Inigo Jones's more imposing domestic architecture that it is very likely he may have prepared rough plans for it. Its chief fault seems to be that its height is not commensurate with the length of its façade, and its sloping roof is obviously too heavy for the rest of the building. Evelyn's trained eye detected this at once, but the Diarist records the nobleness of the rooms, and speaks of "a pretty cedar chapel" as being an adjunct to the mansion; while one of London's historians<sup>1</sup> speaks of the house as being "elegant though low, having but one storey."

Among the other work which can be attributed with reason to Webb, was Lees Court, erected for Sir George Sandes, which, with its long façade ornamented by no less than fourteen ionic columns, bears a strong resemblance to that part of Greenwich with which the architect was associated; one of the fronts of Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire; the delightful Ramsbury Manor, Wilts, the seat of Sir Francis Burdett; and Ashdown Park, Berks, in which latter building Webb seems to have been less influenced, perhaps unfortunately, by Inigo Jones than in any of his other work.

In March 1669, Sir John Denham died, and Webb might naturally have expected to step into his shoes, as it had been promised him he should do, had not "a certain Mr. Wren" come between him and promotion, and for a second time his hopes were dashed to the ground. As a matter of fact Wren had been introduced to Charles by Evelyn many years before, and had been taken into the royal favour so completely that Webb must have known on how slight a tenure he held the former promise of the post made to him, and I cannot but think, or perhaps I hope for the sake of Charles's reputation as a mindful and

<sup>1</sup> Noorthouck.

grateful master, that some adequate compensation was given to Webb to induce him to forego his claims. When, therefore, we are told that on learning that he was not to fill the vacant post the architect, in disgust, retired to Butleigh and built himself a house there, we should probably understand that he did so quite willingly and was enabled to lead the few remaining years of his life as a private gentleman on what he had himself saved, increased by some allowance (or sum down) paid by the King. The fact that no such arrangement is recorded in the State Papers need not be considered as militating against this supposition, when we remember how many large sums were paid out at that time without their destination transpiring.

Another point that leads me to think that Webb knew quite well what was coming is the fact that Wren actually acquired the post not at Denham's death, but during his last illness culminating in the unhinging of his mind, when Denham gave it up voluntarily to him; while, besides this, so early as 1662, Wren had had the post of "Assistant to the Surveyor-General," specially created for him, and as we know that Webb occupied a similar position it is quite likely that he and Wren worked amicably together, and that he recognised that his coadjutor would eventually step over his head.

In any case, before bowing to the inevitable, Webb made an attempt to secure the post that was slipping from him, and the year before Denham's death he sent in a formal application for it. In this memorial he points out that he had a promise of the reversion of the surveyorship in 1660, but states that Denham opposed its passing the Great Seal; he reiterates the services he had rendered the Crown, not only at Greenwich and on the fortifications at Woolwich, but on the Whitehall Theatre where he made "discoveries" in the scenic art; he shows, too, that the salary was so slowly paid that he had already spent £1000 "of his own estate;" and he adds that he cannot now act under Mr. Wren, who, he points out, "*is by far his inferior,*" but states his willingness to instruct him in the



course of the office of works of which he (Wren) professes ignorance, if he is joined with him in the patent.<sup>1</sup>

Webb lived in retirement a little over nine years after he had left London, dying at Butleigh on October 30, 1674. It is not recorded as to whether his wife predeceased him or how many children he left, but a son James is known to have survived him ; and it seems likely that the John Webb, whom Luttrell mentions as being chosen M.P. for Ludgershall, Wiltshire, in October 1695, was one of the same family.

The anonymous author of the memoir prefixed to Inigo Jones's "Stone-henge Restored" describes Webb as "a person of credit and character," and there is every reason to suppose that he was a straightforward honest man, just as he was an able, painstaking, though certainly not an inspired, architect. It is difficult to say what position he would have taken in his profession had he not worked so long under the eye and in the methods of Inigo Jones ; on the one hand he might have given proof of an originality which under existing circumstances is not very apparent ; on the other, without the splendid training he received, he might conceivably have proved as mediocre as some of those who, at a later day, have usurped the title of architect. As it is his work is curiously reminiscent of that of his great master without its restraint and without that something which is as much genius in architecture as it is in painting or music or anything else. What Webb did was to carry on ably the splendid tradition which he inherited,—the torch flickered somewhat feebly in his hand, but he kept it alight. In the mechanical part of his art he was too well trained to make mistakes, and if he can only be placed in the third or fourth rank of British architects, what he did in that capacity was sound and honest work.

<sup>1</sup> Domestic State Papers. Before we smile at one or two of the above expressions we should remember that at this time Wren was known as a marvellous mathematician, but not yet as an architect.

## HOOKE

When Webb was twenty-four years old and was working in the office of Inigo Jones, a child was born who was to become famous during the second half of the seventeenth century as one of the most remarkable mathematicians that this country has produced—his name was Robert Hooke, and he properly takes his place in these pages, not because he was a great mathematician and natural philosopher, but because had he not been, it is probable that he would have been well known as a distinguished architect. As it is, his other multifarious interests have led to his being forgotten as the designer of two famous hospitals and of one of London's then splendid private houses.

Robert Hooke was born on July 26, 1635, at Freshwater, of which village his father was rector. As a child he was noticeable for an active intelligence, but he was physically weak, and to this may perhaps be ascribed the fact that he employed his time rather in the invention of such things as a wooden clock that marked the time, and a ship the guns on which were discharged by a clever mechanical contrivance, than to the more usual pursuits of boyhood—he was, unlike most children, constructive not destructive. His father had intended him for the church in which he anticipated his rising to distinction, but he died when his son was thirteen, and the latter, apparently at his own desire, was placed in the studio of Sir Peter Lely. His inherent weakness, however, was such that the smell of the artist's pigments caused him severe neuralgic pains, and made it necessary for him to leave. He was then entered at Westminster where the famous and formidable Dr. Busby personally looked after him while he was at the school. In 1653 he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was one of that band

of brilliant youths who were elected annually from Westminster.

At Oxford he became known, through his scientific attainments which had already made an impression, to such men as Robert Boyle, and Seth Ward then Savilian Professor, and to this period is ascribed his application of the principles of the pendulum which, in 1658, resulted in his invention of the pendulum watch; while the air-pump and various astronomical instruments further attested his practical knowledge of science. Indeed such was his reputation in this respect that when the Royal Society was established in 1662, he was elected Curator of Experiments. In 1663 he took his M.A. degree, and in the following year he was appointed Professor of Mechanics, then being but twenty-eight years of age.

Some references to Hooke are to be found in the pages of the two great diarists of the period; thus, on February 15, 1665, Pepys was admitted a member of Gresham College, and records how, after the ceremony, he and others retired to the "Crown Tavern behind the 'Change" to a supper, when among those present was "Mr. Hooke, who is the most, and promises the least, of any man in the world that ever I saw." A month earlier Pepys had bought Hooke's then recently published work entitled "Micographia," being a description of the results obtained by magnifying glasses,<sup>1</sup> and finds it "a most excellent piece"; and in the August of the same year John Evelyn calling at The Durdans, Epsom, found there Dr. Wilkins, Sir William Petty, and Mr. Hooke intent on all sorts of recondite experiments, on which the Diarist remarks, "perhaps three such persons together were not to be found elsewhere in Europe for parts and ingenuity."

Indeed Hooke's versatility is well exemplified by the varied character of his researches; Evelyn finds him contriving chariots, new rigging for ships, &c.; Pepys hears

<sup>1</sup> Charles II. had asked Wren to do something of the sort, and on his desiring to be excused, Hooke was suggested by Dr. Wilkins as an excellent substitute.

him lecture on the trade of felt-making, "very pretty" at Gresham College, on February 21, 1666—as he had done on the nature of the new comet twice in the previous year; and in August 1666 we find the musical secretary to the Admiralty discoursing with him on the nature of sounds, a discourse which Pepys describes, in a rapture, as "mighty fine"; while Hooke's "Lampas," on the improvement of lamps (1667), and his "Philosophical Collections" (1681), prove that nothing came amiss to his comprehensive mind. What, however, chiefly concerns us here is the fact that architecture was one of the many subjects to which he turned his thoughts.

After the Great Fire of London it is known that the Royal Society no longer met at Gresham College, which had been appropriated by the Corporation, but at Arundel House, Strand, by invitation from Mr. Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk). The place was not, however, very convenient for such a purpose, and Mr. Howard, who was, by-the-bye, a great friend of John Evelyn's, having presented a site to the society, that body determined to build a Hall upon it. Hooke, who liked to have a finger in every pie, and was, perhaps, not averse from showing his fellow members yet another side of his versatile mind, at once volunteered a design for the new building; but, for some reason or other, it was not liked, and Wren was asked to furnish one, which he did, although, through lack of money, the projected Hall was not built.

In 1675, however, Bethlem Hospital was commenced from designs by Hooke, and so rapidly was the work carried out that the building was finished in the following year, at the not extravagant cost of £17,000. It is, however, painful to have to record that when it was demolished in 1814, the foundations were found to be very defective, "it having been built on a part of the town ditch, and on a soil very unfit for the erection of so large a building"; a Frenchman, however, who saw it in 1697, speaks of it as being "well situated, and having in front several spacious and agreeable walks," adding, with a

touch of his native wit, that “*all* the mad folks of London are not in this hospital.”<sup>1</sup>

In the “Historical Account of Bethlem Hospital” (1783), the author states that the design was copied from that of “the Tuilleries at Versailles,” and the story is that Louis XIV. was so enraged at what he considered an insult, that he caused St. James’s Palace to be taken as a model for a still more ignoble building in Paris. The tale seems wholly apocryphal (one can hardly give much credit for accuracy to a writer who supposed the Tuilleries to be at Versailles), but it is not uninteresting, inasmuch as Hooke seems to have had a liking for the French style of architecture, as is evidenced by Montagu House, Bloomsbury, which he designed about 1675. This fine mansion was erected for Ralph Montagu, afterwards Duke of Montagu. Evelyn speaks of visiting it, soon after its completion, in May 1676, and in the entry referring to this, remarks that the “palace” was built in the French manner. Some years later (1683) the Diarist again went to see “the stately and ample palace,” as he calls it, and his criticism on its construction is interesting: “The front of the house [is] not answerable to the inside,” he says; “the court at entrie, and wings for offices, seeme too neere the streete, and that so very narrow and meanly built that the corridore is not in proportion to ye rest, to hide the court from being overlooked by neighbours, all which might have been prevented had they placed the house further into ye ground, of which there was enough to spare.” He adds, however, that “it is a fine palace.” It was totally destroyed by fire in 1686, and a new house was erected on the foundations of the old one by Peter Paul Puget, a French architect who had been sent for from Paris for that purpose. The well-known view engraved by Sutton Nicholls is of this second mansion, and I am not aware of a representation of Hooke’s design being in existence. It is somewhat curious that Hooke was not employed to plan the new house; but it may be that Montagu, who was

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in “London, Past and Present.”

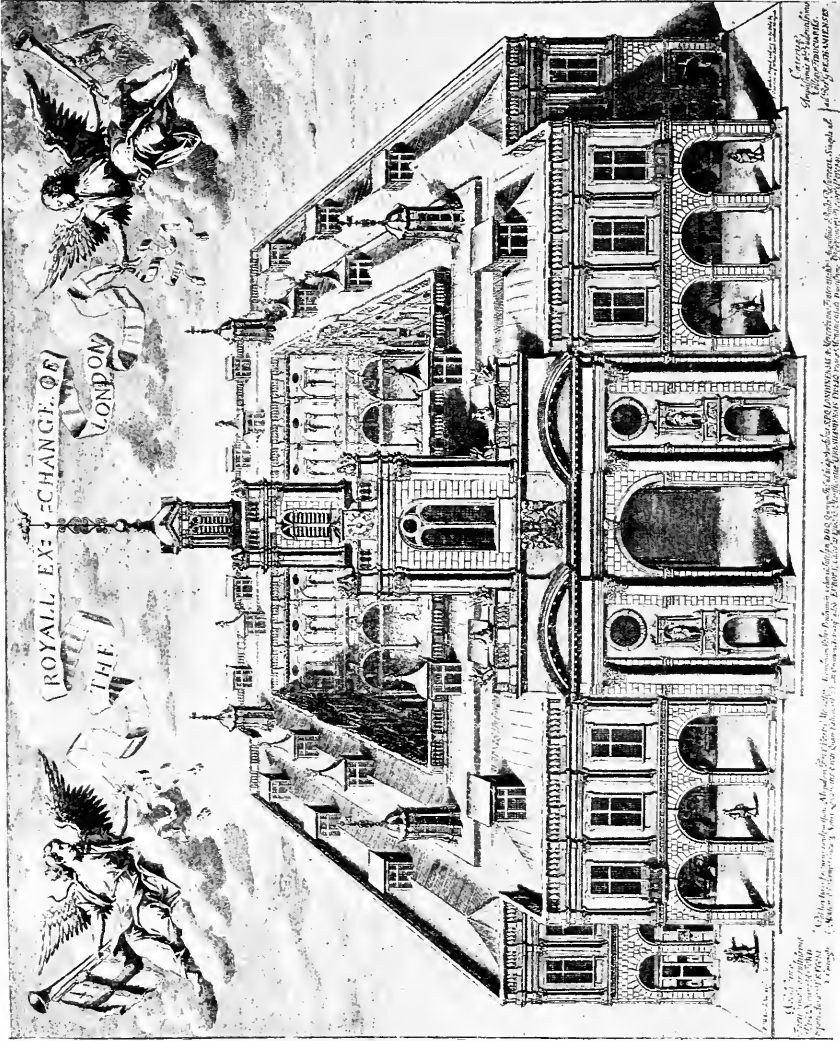
often in France—he had been Ambassador there at an earlier day—may have seen some of Puget's work and determined to employ him should occasion serve.

Another important building which Hooke was employed to design was Aske's Hospital at Hoxton, which was erected by the Haberdashers' Company, in pursuance of the testamentary wishes of William Aske, who, in 1688, had left to the Company £20,000 for that purpose.<sup>1</sup> The building was a very fine one, having a covered piazza running along the entire front, which extended to no less than 340 feet; and a statue of the founder stood in a niche over the chief entrance. The chapel attached to the hospital was built rather later, and was consecrated by Bishop Tillotson in 1695.

For the rest Hooke was one of the Commissioners appointed to superintend the rebuilding of that part of London destroyed in the Great Fire, so that his architectural ability was recognised thus early; and he was chosen as successor to Isaac Barrow in the Professorship of Geometry at Gresham College (the Royal Society) where he had had lodgings for many years. Here he was looked after by his niece, Miss Grace Hooke, but on her death in 1687, his temper which had never been one of the mildest, became so rough and cynical that we are not surprised to learn that he quarrelled successively with the great Helvetius and the greater Newton, and seems to have been so ready for "entrance to a quarrel," that the weakness of a friend was as likely to excite his sarcasm and anger, as was the ignorance of an enemy. His splendid and universal gifts lost in consequence much of the advantage they should have brought him, through the waywardness of his temper and his tongue's ungovernable passion. He died at his lodgings in Gresham College, after a residence there of forty years, on March 3, 1703, and, as the register attests, was buried in the Church of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate.

<sup>1</sup> Hooke's original plans are preserved in the Court Room of the Company.





THE ROYAL EXCHANGE



## JERMAN

Another architect of this period about whose general career, however, little is actually known, was Edward Jerman, or Jarman. The date and place of his birth are both unknown, and his early life is wrapt in obscurity. What is known of him is that he was surveyor to Gresham College, and in that capacity was appointed, with Dr. Hooke and Mr. Mills, the City surveyor, on November 2, 1666, to report on the havoc made by the Great Fire, and to draw out plans for the rebuilding of that portion of the City which had suffered. The corner-stone of this undertaking was the erection of a new Royal Exchange, and Jerman was commissioned to prepare plans for one to take the place of Gresham's original structure.

In February 1667, the joint committee of the Corporation and the Mercers' Company gave directions for the clearing away of the ruins of the old Exchange; and in the following April, we read that "the Committee being aware of the great burthen of business lying upon Mr. Mills for the City, at that time, and considering that Mr. Edward Jerman was the most able known artist besides him, that this City then had unanimously made choice of Jerman to assist the Committee in the agreeing for, ordering, and directing of that work." On May 3, in reply to Jerman's request for definite instructions, the Committee "agreed that the new Exchange should be built upon the old foundations, and that the pillars, arches, and roof, should be left for him to model, according to the rules of art, and for the best advantage of the whole structure." Jerman at once set to work on the preparation of the plans, and these were ready to be placed before the King about the middle of September (1667). Charles approved of Jerman's designs, and on the following October 23, laid the first stone of the column on the

west side of the north entrance,<sup>1</sup> after which ceremony it is interesting to know that his Majesty was entertained "with a chine of beef, fowls, hams, dried tongues, anchovies, caviare, and wines." A week later the Duke of York laid the first stone of the other side of the north entrance, and on November 19, Prince Rupert performed a similar ceremony at the Cornhill entrance.

Jerman's plans had also been laid before, and approved by, the Houses of Parliament, and under date of December 9, 1667, the matter is referred to in the Journals of the House of Commons.

The building was publicly opened on Sept. 28, 1669, and its cost is stated to have been £58,962, which was defrayed equally by the Corporation and the Mercers' Company. Before the completion took place, however, Jerman had died (on Nov. 20, 1668), whereupon Cartwright, his chief mason, thought fit to publicly declare that he was "master of the whole designe for the Exchange"; a somewhat ambiguous form of announcement which was hardly likely to impose on those who knew anything about the matter. However, Cartwright had naturally, during the progress of the work, made himself master of the plans, and on Jerman's death he was allowed to complete the structure.

An extant print shows what this new erection looked like on the Cornhill side. Its lines followed largely those of Gresham's original building; it was quadrangular in form, and had a clock tower on the south side, and an inner cloister or walk, around which were shops; and above, what was termed a *parwn* for the sale of fancy goods, the ascent to these upper shops being by a large staircase of black marble; while the colonnade beneath was of chequered black and white marble. The central open space was paved with small Turkey stones, traditionally supposed to have been the gift of a Turkey merchant. One of the chief

<sup>1</sup> Pepys records seeing the King going to the City on this occasion, and afterwards himself went and examined the stone that had just been laid.

features of the new building, as it had been of the old, was the series of royal statues that decorated it at various points. These, for the most part, were the work of Caius Gabriel Cibber; but that of Charles II. which stood in the centre of the inner court was by "the ingenious hand of Mr. Gibbons" as Maitland phrases it. The inscription upon it told a wondering city that it represented the "British Cæsar, the father of his country!"<sup>1</sup>

It seems probable that Jerman's selection for so important a work as the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange, was the cause of his being chosen by various City Companies to design the new buildings of their respective Halls, made necessary by the destruction of the old ones in the Great Fire. It may seem strange that Wren was not employed more in such work, but, after Wren's splendid design for the wholesale rebuilding of that portion of the City affected, had been refused on account of financial disabilities, the great architect seems to have turned his attention chiefly to the erection of the churches with which alone he must have had his hands quite full enough.

Notwithstanding this, certain work in which he had no hand, was once attributed to him, and, among other, the erection of the second Hall of the Fishmongers' Company in Thames Street. As a matter of fact this building was designed by Jerman.<sup>2</sup> A view of it taken from the river is extant, and certainly seems to indicate Wren's growing influence, although it was not his work. This river front is stately, and appears to have been built of red brick faced with stone. The windows recall Inigo Jones's methods, and there is a restraint about the façade which is very pleasing. The Thames Street front, we are told, was a mere cluster of houses, but there was amid them an imposing entrance ornamented with sculptured pillars supporting a pediment on which were carved the arms of

<sup>1</sup> A technical account of the Exchange is given in Britton and Pugin's "Public Buildings of London."

<sup>2</sup> It was rebuilt in 1831-3.

the Company. "The buildings," says Thornbury, "envi-  
roned a square court, handsomely paved. The dining-  
hall formed the south side of the court, and was a spacious  
and lofty apartment, having, besides the usual accompani-  
ment of a screen of Grecian architecture, a capacious  
gallery running round the whole interior, and a statue of  
Sir William Walworth, said by Walpole to have been  
carved by an artist named Pierce. The rooms for business  
lay on the west side of the court, and those for courts and  
withdrawing at entertainments on the east, which were  
ornamented with many rich decorations."<sup>1</sup>

Drapers' Hall in Throgmorton Street was another of  
Jerman's works. The original building, destroyed in the  
Great Fire, had formerly been the house of Thomas Crom-  
well, on whose attainder the Company had purchased it  
from Henry VIII. Jerman designed a new one which was  
begun in 1667, but at the time of his death it was not  
finished, and Cartwright completed the work, as we have  
seen he did the Royal Exchange. At a subsequent  
period another fire occurred here (1774) when the Adams  
added some further decorations to the rebuilt portion;  
and in 1866-70 the whole fabric was remodelled.

Another Hall, once attributed inaccurately to Wren, was  
that of the Haberdashers' Company in Gresham Street  
which is now generally assigned to Jerman; while  
it seems also pretty certain that the lesser architect  
also designed the Mercers' Hall and Chapel, although as  
these were not built till 1672, he had, of course, no hand  
in the superintendence of their actual erection which was  
probably carried out by Cartwright. The hall is supported  
by an open arcade, consisting of columns of the Tuscan  
order, and the interior is lofty and well proportioned, and  
exhibits some interesting Italian work and an ornamental  
ceiling in stucco.

Jerman is also credited with the design of the Merchant  
Tailors' Hall which, however, was not completed till three

<sup>1</sup> The Hall is said to have been selected by Hogarth as the scene of  
Plate VIII. of his "Industry and Idleness."

years after his death, and was then very soon after enlarged and altered. What probably happened was that Jerman, seeing his opportunity, prepared a number of plans for various City companies, not at first necessarily to order, but on the chance of their being required, and that a few of these were actually utilised either during his lifetime or after his death. In one instance, however, he is said to have worked in conjunction with Wren ; in this case on the Hall of the Innholders' Company, in Elbow Lane, which was replaced by a new building so recently as 1886 ; but when two such unequal men as these collaborated, any excellences that may have been present in their joint work would so obviously be attributed to the greater, that this particular building could hardly ever have been identified with Jerman's style or methods.

As I have incidentally mentioned, Jerman died in 1668, and although what we know of him properly gives him a place among British architects, that place was neither a high nor an influential one.

## CHAPTER V

### SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

For many people Sir Christopher Wren stands for the beginning and end of architecture in this country. Wykeham's fame in this direction is so illusive and is, besides, so merged in his even greater qualities as a statesman and ecclesiastic, that his connection with the building of Windsor and Winchester is but dimly remembered; Inigo Jones is, if I may so express myself, an architect's architect, and as such occupies a position second to none in the annals of the art, but his actual work is not largely known except to those who have given themselves to the study of architecture, and, indeed, many of his finest and most ambitious conceptions have either disappeared, or have never been realised; while, for the rest, Chambers, to take an example, is known by name to many who would be hard put to it to point out examples of his work, and the Adam brothers are identified, in the general mind, rather with the graceful decorations which they applied indifferently to houses and furniture than with those schemes of a larger kind that stamped them as once prominent architects.

But with Wren the case is wholly different, and had he produced nothing else, the delicate beauty of the steeples of his churches which meet us at all points in London, would have been sufficient to keep his name permanently before the world; but when is added to this the fact that the magnificent cathedral in which are con-



*Photo by Emery Walker*

PORTRAIT OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, BY KNELLER

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centrated all the splendid resources of his incomparable genius, dominates the metropolis, it is not surprising that, just as its ample dome towers above the other buildings of London, so his fame over-tops that of all the men who worked in the same direction in this country before and after his day.

Christopher Wren was born on October 20, 1632, at East Knoyle, Wiltshire, of which parish his father, the Rev. Christopher Wren, was rector. He was a second son, and his elder brother who died in infancy had been given the same christian name—a name borne by many subsequent members of the Wren family.

It is said that the family was of Danish origin, in any case we find members of it occupying important positions in this country at least one hundred years before the future architect's birth; thus Geoffrey Wren was a Privy Councillor and Canon of Windsor under both Henry VII. and Henry VIII., to which monarchs he acted as confessor; while another, Francis, younger brother to Geoffrey, was steward to Mary Queen of Scots.

Francis Wren, Christopher's grandfather, was a mercer of London, but his two sons rose to important positions in the church, the elder, Matthew, attaining to the Bishopric of Ely, and the younger, Christopher, father of the architect, becoming Dean of Windsor and a *persona grata* with Charles I. Christopher's mother was Mary Cox, daughter and heiress of Robert Cox, of Fonthill, Wiltshire, and besides him and his elder brother bore to her husband three daughters: Anne, married to Rev. H. Brunsell; Catherine, married to Richard Fishburne of New Windsor; and Susan, who became the wife of the Rev. W. Holder of Bletchingdon. Nothing is known about these ladies, except that the last named seems to have had a nice taste in medicinal knowledge, and it is recorded of her that she once cured King Charles II. of a swollen hand which had baffled the efforts of his regular doctors; while her husband is said to have been "a handsome, graceful person of

delicate constitution" (which it is to be hoped his wife did something to ameliorate), and to have helped young Christopher in his youthful studies—studies that were chiefly prosecuted, apparently on account of his inherent delicacy of constitution, beneath the paternal roof, under the tutorship of the Rev. William Shephard.

In his tenth year, however, Christopher was sent to Westminster, which school may not improbably have been selected by his father on account of its pro-royalist sympathies. There, under the famous Dr. Busby, the boy showed marked ability, especially in his mathematical studies, and he is even said to have invented at this time, certain astronomical instruments one of which, according to *Parentalia*,<sup>1</sup> was "of general use"; while some Latin verses, in which he dedicated to his father one of his school exercises, indicate unusual facility for so young a boy.

In 1646 Wren left Westminster, although he did not go to Oxford for another three years, and this period, one of storm and stress for the country, was passed by him in London. At this time Christopher's father, the Dean, was harried hither and thither by the Roundheads; his Deanery at Windsor was ransacked; his rectory and church at East Knoyle despoiled; and even those who had been employed by him to embellish the chancel of the church, which he had himself designed, were found ready to come forward and bear witness against him. As a royalist and a high churchman he fell an easy prey, and while he was deprived of his living, the so-called superstitious ornaments of his church were ruthlessly destroyed.

While these things, that here but remotely interest us, were taking place, Christopher was living in London where he seems to have been placed more or less under the supervision of Sir Charles Scarborough, then a rising doctor attached to the Court, who later became physician to both Charles II. and James II.

Scarborough had given much time to the study of

<sup>1</sup> "Parentalia" was written by Wren's son and translated by his grandson, and is the chief authority for his career.

mathematics, and in young Wren he found a congenial spirit. Miss Milman prints an English translation of a Latin letter addressed by Wren to his father in 1647, in which he speaks of "enjoying the society of the famous physician," who, he says, "is most kind to me," adding, "so gracious and unassuming is he as not to disdain those mathematical studies in which he has so distinguished himself, to what I will not call my judgement but rather my Taste, so that he even lends a patient Ear to my opinion and often defers to my poor reasonings." As Wren was to become one of the most profound mathematicians of the age, it is not improbable that he was already advancing beyond his mentor in his knowledge of that science. In addition to the exercises which he undertook with Scarborough, Wren was engaged by the latter to turn into Latin the tract entitled "Golden Key" in which its author, Dr. Oughtred, a famous mathematician of the day, had set forth, in the vulgar tongue, the result of his inquiries on "Geometrical Dialling"; which circumstance helps to show that Christopher's proficiency in Latin was not far behind his skill in mathematics. He sent the results of his labours to Oughtred, accompanied by a long letter in the course of which he says that he has endeavoured "with no more than a boy's skill to match your words which need no adorning but sparkle by their very Brevity."

Another notable person with whom Wren came in contact at this period of his career was Dr. Wilkins,<sup>1</sup> at that time chaplain to the Elector Palatine, to which prince Christopher was soon after presented by his new friend. Wilkins was one of that band of earnest thinkers, which included the great Boyle and the learned Evelyn, who in the midst of war's alarms, gave themselves over to philosophic inquiry, and were able to forget political and religious differences over an experiment. In their so-called "Invisible College" they held themselves as much aloof from the civil troubles of the period as, at a later

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that Matthew Wren, Christopher's cousin, dedicated his "Monarchy Asserted, &c." (1669) to Dr. Wilkins.

time, Goethe and his circle did amidst the very disintegration of their country; and when Wren (in a letter to his father) speaks of passing Easter in a noble country mansion (not identified), where "delightful gardens . . . furnished with innumerable . . . groves of trees, whose topmost branches support a clamorous commonwealth of rooks"—in short, "out of doors a terrestrial Paradise; within, Heaven itself"—one well might imagine that the Utopia dreamed of by the philosopher had been at last discovered under surrounding conditions that would seem to have excluded the possibility of its existence.

In 1649-50 Wren was entered as a gentleman commoner at Wadham College, Oxford. The Warden was that Dr. Wilkins, with whom, as we have already seen, Christopher was acquainted. Wilkins had been nominated to the post only about a year previously, at the instance of the Parliament, but his reputation—a well-earned one—for tolerance made his rule acceptable even to the most uncompromising of Cavaliers. He particularly appealed to Wren, moreover, as his reputation as a scientist was in advance of that of any other "Head" at this time; and it seems probable that this fact, coupled with Wren's early acquaintance with him, was the reason for Wadham being selected by the young man from among the Oxford colleges.

Wren, indeed, was now in his element. Dr. Wilkins had organised weekly meetings, at which those interested in scientific investigation were wont to foregather, and Wren, although but a freshman, was invited to these *Symposia*. Here he not only heard, but took no inconsiderable part in, learned discussions and the solution of abstruse problems, and it is probable that had any one cared to foretell the future career of the youth, the last thing dreamed of would have been that his name was to become immortal, not through his scientific attainments, but in the regions of an art in which at that time he seems to have felt no interest nor made any excursions.

While Wren was occupied in such deep studies, matters

were going badly with the cause he espoused, and with his relations who had been exposed to the full force of the storm: his father was without a benefice; his uncle was in the Tower; his cousin Matthew was scouring the country at imminent peril in a vain attempt to help the losing cause; and if Christopher himself was debarred from taking any active part in the struggle, his mind seems to have been occupied with a natural anxiety and apprehension. Indeed, on one occasion he dreamed a dream of such dire import that he can hardly have been surprised to learn, the next day, that it had been realised in the defeat of Charles II. at Worcester. The relaxation of the tension, tragic for the royal cause as it was, must have come almost as a relief after the suspense which even a philosopher under such circumstances would experience, and Wren, feeling perhaps that regret was useless and hope hardly any longer possible, must have turned his mind to the prosecution of those studies in which he was making such rapid advance that Evelyn, visiting Oxford in 1654, could speak of him as "that miracle of a youth," and "that prodigious young scholar," and refer to him in his "Chalcography" as "a rare and early prodigy of universal science."

A year before this Wren had become a Fellow of All Souls, where, in the midst of the congenial spirits of the so-termed "Philosophical Club," he exercised his ingenuity in the construction of a variety of scientific instruments, and more than held his own in the discussions of his elders. Indeed, his fame already extended beyond the academic walls of Oxford, and in 1657, on the resignation by Mr. Laurence Rooke of the Professorship of Astronomy in Gresham College, the post was offered to Wren. He was now but twenty-four, and seems to have thought himself too young for so important a position; at any rate, he at first declined the honour on these grounds; but his friends, who knew his capabilities and had no reason to be restrained by the natural modesty of Wren himself, overruled his decision, and he accepted the post. He delivered

an inaugural address in Latin, so well turned and so full of flowing periods and excellences of style as to remind us, as Miss Milman points out, that he was a contemporary of Sir Thomas Browne.

Wren's father had died in the previous year, so that he did not witness the important position which Christopher had so early attained, but his indomitable old uncle was still living, though a close prisoner in the Tower, and he would be sure to hear of it. Matthew Wren, indeed, relates an anecdote that has been preserved with regard to the one and only interview which his famous nephew is supposed to have had with Oliver Cromwell.

The Protector's son-in-law, Claypole, was an ardent mathematician and as such seems to have sought Christopher Wren's acquaintance. On one occasion the latter was dining at his house when suddenly the door opened, and in stalked the Protector himself, and sat moodily and silently down. Then, observing young Wren, he remarked: "Your uncle has been long confined in the Tower." "He has so, sir," replied Wren, "but he bears his afflictions with great patience and resignation." "He may come out if he will," retorted Cromwell, whereupon Wren asked, eagerly, if he might tell him so. "Yes—you may," replied Cromwell. On this Wren hurried off to inform his uncle of the good news, when he was surprised on learning from the Bishop that the latter knew he could obtain his liberty *on conditions*, but that the Protector's conditions were such as he could not and would not agree to, and that he felt that he would not have to wait long for an unconditional release. His words were soon to be verified, for Cromwell's life was drawing to a close, and the Restoration was near at hand.

During the Protector's last days the meetings at Gresham College went on undisturbed, and Wren's time was fully taken up in prosecuting his astronomical studies, and in making excursions into physics at the instigation of Robert Boyle. It was now that he attacked the famous problem with which Pascal had hoped to mystify his learned *confrères*

in England. A prize of twenty pistoles was offered for the solution, and a time limit was fixed. Wren successfully solved the problem, although he never appears to have received the prize, and in return sent such a difficult scientific puzzle to Pascal that even that remarkable man was unequal to the task of its solution.

The correspondence thus begun with the recluse of Port Royal continued for some time, the cycloid, about which Wren at this time produced no less than four dissertations, being one of the subjects discussed. Wren was also busy with his duties as lecturer on Astronomy, which, however, were soon interrupted by the troubles that broke out on the death of Cromwell in September 1659. Gresham College "became a quarter for soldiers," as Sprat its historian pathetically records, and in a letter to Wren the Bishop gives the following unsavoury picture of the place as it then appeared: "This day I went to visit Gresham College, but found the place in such a nasty condition, so defiled, and the smells so infernal that if you should now come to make use of your tube, it would be like Dives looking out of hell into heaven," and he adds with a touch of characteristic humour: "Dr. Goddard, of all your colleagues, keeps possession, which he could never be able to do, had he not before prepared his nose for camp perfumes by his voyage into Scotland, and had he not such excellent restoratives in his cellars."

Indeed the place had been turned into a garrison, and we find Christopher's cousin Matthew going there in October, and being denied admittance on this account. But better times were at hand; Richard Cromwell was deposed, and Charles II. ended his long wanderings on May 29, 1660. Eight months before, Evelyn writes that he communicated to Robert Boyle his proposal "for erecting a philosophic-mathematic college," a scheme that was to bear fruit early during the new reign in the foundation of the Royal Society. Towards the close of the Restoration year, a meeting held in Wren's rooms inaugurated those weekly assemblies in which have been discussed ever

since the more recondite subjects in science and natural philosophy; although, as we know, the learned members, at one period at least, gave themselves to deep speculation on the merits of tar-soap and its efficacy in the cure of broken bones!

At the beginning of the year 1661, Seth Ward was appointed Bishop of Salisbury, and thereupon resigned the Savillian Professorship of Astronomy at Oxford. The post was immediately offered to Wren, and accepted by him on February 5, whereupon he vacated his Gresham professorship and removed to Oxford. It was about this time that he constructed his lunar globe, or model of the moon, an account of which reaching the ears of the king who was always deeply interested in scientific matters, Wren was commanded to submit the model for the royal inspection; this he did personally at a private audience, when Charles was pleased to accept it and to have it placed in his cabinet. This was not the first time that the king had received a scientific gift from Wren, for by a letter written to "the Savillian professor," by R. Moray<sup>1</sup> and P. Neile, it appears that these gentlemen had been commanded by Charles to ask Wren "to perfect the Design wherein he is told you have already made some progress; to make a globe representing accurately the figure of the Moon . . . and to delineate by the Help of the Microscope the Figures of all the insects and small living creatures you can light upon, as you have done those you presented to his Majesty." This must refer to some enlargements that Wren made in conjunction with Robert Hooke some years previously, and which provoked Harrington, who was annoyed by Matthew Wren's strictures on his "Oceana," into describing Christopher as "one who had talents for magnifying a louse and diminishing a Commonwealth."<sup>2</sup> The fresh labour which Charles wished Wren to undertake was, however, now

<sup>1</sup> It was Sir R. Moray, who, on the establishment of the museum attached to the Royal Society, in 1665, presented to it "the stones taken out of Lord Balcarres's heart in a silver box," and "a bottle full of stag's tears."

<sup>2</sup> In his "Politicaſter," published in 1659.



either uncongenial to him, or was too arduous for the time at his disposal, and Hooke, at the suggestion of Dr. Wilkins, undertook the fulfilment of the royal behests.

Wren was now once again established at Oxford, and in the following September the University conferred upon him the D.C.L. degree.<sup>1</sup> But his activity on behalf of Gresham College and its transformation into the Royal Society in no way abated, and when it was necessary to draw up a preamble to the already promised charter, Wren, who he it remembered was not yet thirty, was chosen from among all the other members to do it. The Royal Society, in the foundation of which Wren took such a prominent part, was enrolled by charter on July 15, 1662, a further charter being given it in the following year.

It was at this moment that Charles seems to have first regarded Wren as a fit person for royal favour and advancement. Up to this period, as we have seen, the latter had attained something like a European reputation for scientific and indeed general knowledge. His solution of the problem which Pascal probably regarded as unsolvable, must have turned the eyes of all scientific France to the marvellous youth; his further development (1608-1647) of one of Torricelli's<sup>2</sup> experiments must have made his name known beyond the Alps; while in England his innumerable experiments and discoveries, his learned discourses at Gresham College, and his private reputation, placed him among the leading scientists of the day, just as his amiable character and unpretending manners made him beloved by those who might otherwise have been jealous of his attainments. Indeed, as has been well said, "Wren possessed more than perhaps any other man of his time that conciliatory way which smooths the path of genius and renders its ascent in

<sup>1</sup> At Cambridge he was made an LL.D. shortly afterwards. He had taken his B.A. degree in March 1651, and his M.A. in December 1653.

<sup>2</sup> Italian mathematician and physicist, and amanuensis of Galileo. He discovered the principle of the barometer in 1643, and published his "Opera Geometrica" in the following year.

the approbation of mankind easy.”<sup>1</sup> He had thus become a great scientist, and few were the byways in this direction which he had not trodden and in which he had not left some trace of his mental activity; but he seems never to have turned his attention to architecture, or at least in no more determined way than as a clever man might toy with the subject, and the remarkable mystery of his life is that, making for himself a name in the world of science at a time when most youths are struggling with the intricacies of the aorists or the more advanced problems of Euclid, Wren was to achieve a lasting fame as one of the very greatest masters of an art to which he had hitherto, apparently, paid no serious attention.

It must, of course, be conceded that his brain was of such a calibre as enabled him to thoroughly master anything to which he chose to turn his thoughts, and just as Da Vinci from a pre-eminent painter became as pre-eminent a man of science; or as Michael Angelo turned to architecture when he had exhausted his possibilities with the brush and the chisel, so Wren discarded his retorts, and suddenly blazed upon the world as a designer of incomparable power and breadth of conception.

But another problem then presents itself: where did he learn the art, and above all, when? We have seen that his time—such a relatively short time it was too—had been so fully occupied with other matters that it seems impossible that he could have given attention, even had he thought of doing so, to architecture. Then as to where he gained any insight into the art seems as difficult to arrive at. In England at this time, except for such works as Inigo Jones had been able to complete, there was little of the pure Renaissance architecture existing; Wren had only been abroad once—to Paris—before he produced the first and, as some think, the finest of his designs for St. Paul’s; true there were some architectural books in existence, but, at the best, he could have gained but an academic conception of his predecessors’ activity from them.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, “Lives of the Painters.”

All that can be suggested, therefore, seems to be that Wren's brain, capable of absorbing much was capable of creating more, and that a mere suggestion here, or a line there, became, in the alembic of his powerful intellect the nucleus of splendid conceptions. So far as that illusive characteristic of architecture, proportion, was concerned, Wren's scientific training must have been of immediate help; but beyond this he could have had no preparation for the extraordinary career that was now opening out to him, and just as Mozart was master of sweet sounds when but a child, just as Raphael's inspired pencil was first wielded by an infant's hands, just as Pope "lisped in numbers," so Wren having rounded off, as it were, an earlier life of scientific endeavour, began a new birth with the precocity and power of genius.

The first post which Charles desired Wren to fill was that of surveyor of the fortress of Tangier, which was a portion of Catharine of Braganza's dowry, but which proved to be in a ruinous condition. The king wished Wren to go out and thoroughly overhaul his new possession with a view to putting it in a sound defensive state. Charles promised a large fee, immunity to Wren from his duties as Savillian Professor, and above all the reversion of Sir John Denham's post of surveyor-general of the royal works. This tempting offer was made through Christopher's cousin, Matthew Wren, who had become secretary to Lord Clarendon. Wren, however, on the grounds of health, declined it, asking that his Majesty would be pleased to command his services at home; whereupon Charles immediately created a place specially for him, that of assistant to the Surveyor-General.

As I have pointed out in the chapter on John Webb, Denham was a mere figure-head, but Webb was his assistant and had already been promised the reversion of his office, an office by-the-bye that he had every reason to suppose would have passed direct to him after the death of Inigo Jones. Webb was after all, if not a genius, at least a respectable and a tried architect, and one cannot but ask

oneself how it happened that the king selected Wren to fill his place, when we remember, that, splendid as were Wren's capabilities, those capabilities had not been directed previously towards architecture, nor so far as we know had he at any time ever shown any predilection for the art. The circumstance is as mysterious as is Wren's wonderful fulfilment of the new *rôle* thus provided for him; and one can only suppose that Charles, who was proverbially clever at reading character, must have satisfied himself or been satisfied by Evelyn, who has the credit of pushing his friend's interests on this occasion, that Wren was a man who, placed in whatever position he might be, or given work of whatever character it might partake, would amply justify the selection. If this was the only ground for the king's choice, it was one of those daring experiments that must have succeeded far beyond the royal expectations. Miss Milman acutely observes that at this period men did not specialise as they do now and that Wren's sudden change of occupation did not give rise to the curiosity that it might have excited at a later time.<sup>1</sup> We must remember, too, that Wren possessed that very necessary accomplishment of an architect, correct draughtsmanship, besides, as I have before remarked, the scientific training which gave him the sense of proportion so essential to all architectural work.

There were, at this time, three important undertakings which Charles had closely at heart, and which there is little doubt he hoped to get forwarded by his energetic assistant surveyor: the completion of Inigo Jones's palace of Greenwich; various alterations and repairs at Windsor Castle; and the advancement of the rebuilding of St. Paul's, with the reparation of the injuries done to the cathedral during the Civil Wars. Apparently, however, Wren's earliest com-

<sup>1</sup> There was a certain architectural tradition in the family, as Christopher's father, when rector of East Knoyle, designed a new roof for the church there, and was also employed by Charles I. to design a building for the Queen's use; while his uncle Matthew had rebuilt Peterhouse, Cambridge, and added a chapel. See article by Mr. Penrose in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

missions were private ones ; the first being the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, so called from Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, who expended sixteen thousand pounds on it ; the second, the memorial chapel at Pembroke College, Cambridge, which Matthew Wren commissioned his nephew to undertake.<sup>1</sup> The former of these works was not completed till 1669, although a model of it had been prepared by Wren six years earlier ; while Pembroke Chapel was building from 1663 to 1666.

But even before any actual work from his designs had been taken in hand, Wren had been desired, some time during the year 1662, to make a thorough examination of St. Paul's. The result of his elaborate survey was not published till 1665 however, and may be more conveniently noticed when we come to the rebuilding of the fabric after the great fire.

It is obvious that Wren's time must have been so fully occupied as to compel him to neglect some of his duties. A man could hardly, in those days, be superintending work in London and fulfilling the requirements of his professorship at Oxford, at one and the same time, and we find Sprat writing an amusing letter to him on the subject of his absence and the remarks made upon it by the authorities. Just at this moment, too, certain other matters cropped up, requiring his presence in the capital. Charles was about to visit the Royal Society, and its President, Lord Brouncker, writes to Wren to ask for suggestions as to suitably entertaining the Sovereign ; to which Wren replies in a long letter setting forth the kind of experiments easily exhibited in public and likely to interest the king. The other matter was the determination of the Royal Society to re-organise its arrangements, to which end certain committees were formed, on no less than three of which Wren was appointed to serve.

Indeed this seems to have been one of the busiest periods of the architect's life, for he had not in any way relaxed his

<sup>1</sup> Actually Wren's first architectural work was the doorway in Ely Cathedral, which he designed for the Bishop.

scientific activity, and he is found, with Evelyn and Boyle, observing the Discus of the Sun for the transit of Mercury, from the Tower of the Schools, at the same time as he discusses the model of the New Theatre at Oxford with the Diarist ("not," writes the latter, "disdaining my advice"), and designs the chapel of Pembroke College, Oxford.

Now, however, some relaxation and change of scene were forced upon him. In 1665, the Great Plague desolated London, and Wren, having procured an introduction to the English Ambassador in Paris, set out for France. Considering his new career as an architect, in which he had already made some slight—but only relatively slight—progress, the importance of this visit can hardly be over-estimated. It enlarged his views on the art which nothing, short of a sojourn in Italy, could have done so well; for we know that Mansard and Bernini, under the *ægis* of the *roi soleil* and his gorgeous court had already raised public and private buildings which, to a receptive mind, must have been of vital use as applications of principles which the traveller could have only hitherto seen in the works of Inigo Jones, or the engraved representations of what Palladio and Vitruvius had done in other lands.

Wren made the most of his opportunities and scoured Paris and its environs in search of fine buildings; and as the Louvre was then in course of construction we may be sure that he followed the progress of the work with close attention, and must have assimilated valuable information as regarded the practical details of building, as well as the more decorative features of architectural adornment. Certain criticisms which he makes, in his letters, on the buildings either completed or in progress, prove that he was no blind admirer of a fabric simply because it was generally admired; and when he contemplated the vast proportions of Versailles, he was alive to the want of dignity in many of its trivial details, and sententiously remarks that "Building certainly ought to have the Attribute of eternal, and therefore the only thing incapable of new Fashions." Besides Versailles he appears

to have visited no less than fourteen chateaux in the environs of Paris, some of which he criticises in his letters; and there was, apparently, nothing of interest in Paris itself, from famous buildings to famous libraries, which he did not carefully investigate. It is evident that when he returned to England in February 1666, he had stored his mind with more than sufficient materials for those "Observations on the present State of Architecture, Art, and Manufactures in France," which he speaks of as having "on the anvil"; and we are not surprised at his telling his correspondent that he will bring him "almost all France on paper," when we know that besides the notes he took of what he saw, he made a great number of drawings during his stay in the French capital.

On his return, Wren was more than ever anxious to proceed with the restoration of St. Paul's, but his plans did not commend themselves to Chichely and Pratt, his fellow Commissioners, and although he prepared a long and exhaustive report on the matter, a report which in the main gained the approval of Evelyn who accompanied the Commissioners on their systematic survey of the cathedral, on Aug. 27, 1666,<sup>1</sup> Wren was, luckily perhaps, never destined to repair the old building, for on the following Sept. 2, the Great Fire broke out which completed the ruin of the fabric, and made way for that complete reconstruction which the architect had always strongly recommended.

Wren saw at once the opportunity that presented itself to him, but some of the Commissioners were still anxious to repair, rather than re-build, the ruin, and so far carried their point at first as to persuade the architect to prepare plans and specifications for patching up the remnant left by the fire; although Wren, in the elaborate statement which he presented after the conflagration, points out that "to repaire it sufficiently will be like the mending of the Argo-navis, scarce anything will at last be left of the old." The work was, however, proceeded with, and months were occupied in merely clearing away the *débris*.

<sup>1</sup> See "Evelyn's Diary" under this date.

During the progress of this work, Wren returned to Oxford to superintend the building of the theatre and the restorations at Trinity, which were then proceeding; he seems, however, to have come to London occasionally during this year (1667), either for meetings at the Royal Society, then held at Arundel House, Strand, or to give an eye to the progress of the work among the ruins of St. Paul's; while at the same time his active brain was divided between learned papers read before the Royal Society, and a design which he made for new headquarters for that body, an account of which is contained in a letter from him, dated at Oxford, June 7, 1668. Notwithstanding the amount of work on his hands at this time, he undertook another important commission: the designing of a new chapel for Emmanuel College, Cambridge, which William Sancroft, then Dean of St. Paul's, was instrumental in placing in his hands. This work was begun in March 1668, and, so far as the exterior was concerned, completed five years later, although the interior was not ready for use for another four years.

The chapel with its flanking galleries, and classic façade, shows how far Wren had advanced in architectural knowledge, but compared with his matured work it also shows how far he was yet to go; and that the actual structure varied considerably from the original plan was to be expected from one who had not as yet found himself. During this year Sir John Denham resigned the surveyorship of the king's works, and the post was immediately conferred on Wren, notwithstanding Webb's pathetic appeals to be allowed to work jointly with the architect to whose splendid gifts he seems to have been, perhaps not unnaturally, entirely blind. This fresh proof of royal favour must have added considerably to Wren's labours, for although much of the work connected with the office could be transacted vicariously, Wren was not a man to allow anything to pass under his name, about which he was ignorant, or on which he had not set the seal of his consideration and approval.



Thus then matters stood when suddenly the removal of the remains of old St. Paul's, and the repairs which had by now been begun on it, were brought to an abrupt conclusion, by a disaster which the architect had indeed foretold but which the king and his advisers had systematically ignored. Dean Sancroft in a letter to Wren, dated April 25, 1668, makes known to the latter (then at Oxford) the fact that the work proceeding at the west end of the Cathedral had suddenly collapsed about the ears of the restorers. Wren had, indeed, from the first observed that the pillars were out of the perpendicular, but others of the Commissioners had satisfied themselves that they had been intentionally constructed so; and it had been determined to encase them with stone. This absurd patching up was in progress about the third pillar from the west end on the south side, when, to use Sancroft's words "a great weight falling from the high wall, so disabled the vaulting of the side-aisle by it, that it threaten'd a sudden Ruin, so visibly, that the workmen presently remov'd; and the next night the whole Pillar fell, and carry'd Scaffolds and all to the very ground"; a result which the Dean is bound to confess had been anticipated by the "quick eye" of the architect.

Wren and those who agreed with him that nothing short of rebuilding would be effectual in making St. Paul's a cathedral worthy of London, must have regarded this incident with no small satisfaction, for the architect's great opportunity had now indeed come. In reply to the earnest solicitation of the Archbishop, the Bishops of London and Oxford, and the Commissioners who had met a second time (July 1, 1668) to consider the letter which he wrote in reply to Sancroft's information—a letter that, as need hardly be said, reiterated his former advice as to the necessity of rebuilding—Wren came to London and set to work, untrammelled by the previous desires of the authorities that merely restoration should be attempted.

On July 25 a royal warrant was issued for proceeding with the work, although it is there specifically stated that "care be taken of the Cornishes, Astlers, and such parts of

the Former toward the west, as shall be deem'd useful for the new Fabrick," and that the cathedral shall follow, so far as possible, the lines of the old foundations. It is eloquent of the delays and hindrances that attended Wren's labours, that it was not till 1673 that consent was finally given, under the Great Seal, for an entire rebuilding of the whole cathedral.

In the meantime Wren had prepared elaborate alternative plans, and had had constructed a model of that which he himself regarded as the best. This model still exists, and many authorities, comparing it with the present cathedral completed from a later design, have considered that it far exceeded the latter in originality and beauty. Wren was one of the first of that band of architects engaged on public works in England whose ideas have been made subservient to other considerations, and whose plans have had to undergo the ordeal of uncritical criticism and alteration. But it has to be confessed that in many respects Wren's favourite design, beautiful as it is, seems hardly to have met the exact requirements of the case; its very form, that of a Greek cross, was so inconsistent with any preconceived ideas of what a cathedral in this country should be, that one cannot but think that the authorities blundered into a right determination in rejecting it. But the proper discussion of such technical matters does not find its place in such a book as this, and besides, it is unnecessary for me to dwell on the relative merits of Wren's different designs, for this has been elaborately done not only by Mr. Reginald Blomfield, in his "History of the Renaissance," but still more fully by Miss Milman in the chapter she devotes to these considerations in her "Life of Wren."

It will therefore suffice for me to state that not only was the present cathedral the outcome of at least three separate designs, but that, as it progressed, so many alterations and improvements were introduced by Wren, that essential differences will be observed between the completed work and the plans actually accepted. Thus, although the ground-plan was adhered to, such marked changes from



*Photo by Valentine*

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEST

*To face p. 132*



what was originally conceived by Wren, as a new dome over the crossing; the circular recesses to the windows in the choir aisles; the contraction of the north and south transepts by a single bay; and the circular peristyles on the north and south, together with considerable alterations in the nave,<sup>1</sup> were among the after-thoughts. Some of the most effective points in the whole conception were the double orders of columns on the west front, said to have been due to the impossibility of procuring sufficiently large blocks of Portland stone suitable for the immense single columns that would have been necessary; and the inner and outer dome, by which Wren was able to combine outward size and dignity with inward grace and proportion.

The clearing away of the rubbish of the old building must have been a work of immense labour, no less than forty-seven thousand loads being, we are informed, removed. While this work was in progress Wren, on a platform raised for the purpose above the *débris*, scanned the ground on which his new cathedral was to rise, and worked at his plans with an army of workmen labouring round him. Men lost their lives by falling stones, and others worked with the timidity born of such catastrophes. If a pier could not be removed without the use of gunpowder, gunpowder was used; and the neighbourhood, in consequence of another experiment by which a huge fragment of stone crashed into one of the adjacent houses, protested, and implored Wren to discontinue the use of such drastic measures; whereupon he devised a battering-ram, which only after two days' strenuous labour on the part of thirty men succeeded in demolishing a portion of the still standing structure.

A tax had been placed on coal to provide funds for the rebuilding of St. Paul's and the various parish churches destroyed by the fire, and by 1675, sufficient money having been raised to justify a commencement of the actual rebuilding, and the king having issued a warrant, dated May 14, 1675, for its inception, the first stone was laid by

<sup>1</sup> Tabulated thus by Mr. Blomfield.

Wren<sup>1</sup> on June 21 following. Under the architect's supervision, Thomas Strong acted as the master-mason, and Richard Jennings as the chief carpenter; Grinling Gibbons was employed on the wood-carving, Caius Gabriel Cibber and Thomas Bird on the exterior stone carving, and Tijou on the beautiful ironwork. The sum stated to have been expended on the whole fabric, viz., £747,954, is probably below the mark.

I may here anticipate events somewhat, by noting that the choir was first opened for public worship on December 20, 1697, the day set apart for public thanksgiving on the signing of the Peace of Ryswick, although Evelyn notes going to see the cathedral on October 5, 1694, when it was, he says, "finished as to the stone work."<sup>2</sup>

St. Paul's was, of course, the corner-stone of Wren's design for the new city; but he was concurrently occupied in the erection of the various parish-churches, the spires of which are among the best known of his London work, and so early as 1668, on succeeding to the surveyorship of the Royal works, he had drawn up a masterly plan for the rebuilding of the City; employment on which Evelyn also occupied himself. Had Wren's plan been carried out, it would have anticipated by more than two hundred years, what is gradually being attempted in our own day, but which owing to various considerations can never be compassed with a like completeness. Although Charles immediately gave his consent to Wren's scheme, the perennial want of money prevented it from being executed. The plans for it are preserved at All Souls', Oxford, and there may be seen how comprehensive and how well adapted to the needs of the citizens it was. Wren had realised (perhaps his visit to Paris helped him to do this) how important it was that great buildings, such as the Royal Exchange and St. Paul's,

<sup>1</sup> So says Miss Milman; Mr. Blomfield, however, states that HENCHMAN, Bishop of London, performed the ceremony. Probably more than one stone was laid, as in the case of the Royal Exchange.

<sup>2</sup> Father Smith built the organ, the position of which caused some contention between Wren and the Dean and Chapter.

should have not merely open spaces in front of them, but vistas from which they could be seen at a distance; he also foresaw the necessity of wide streets,<sup>1</sup> and the importance of the circus or square; and he appreciated, as it never seems to have been appreciated until an attempt was made in Regent Street, the necessity of having ample thoroughfares running north and south as well as east and west.

Compared with what London has grown to nowadays, his scheme appears to us restricted, but when we consider what London was before the Great Fire, and what, had he been allowed, Wren would have made it, we shall realise how far in advance of his times his conceptions were, and we shall be the more ready to regret that a worthless court absorbed money which might have been so splendidly employed.

After St. Paul's, the City churches are perhaps Wren's most notable achievement. Apart from the intrinsic beauty, not only of their spires but of their interiors, they possess another merit in that they are so admirably adapted to the irregularity of their sites; in a word, Wren, subject to all the disabilities to which a designer could be subject, produced a series of little masterpieces; and although they are not all on the same high level as the best, the worst of them are better than the best of lesser men.

From the earliest of them, St. Mary-le-Bow, built between 1671-3 (the steeple was later, 1680), to the last, St. Mary Somerset, Thames Street, erected in 1695, over fifty of these churches were designed by him. Many of these have had, of course, to undergo various alterations and restorations at a time when such matters were not undertaken with the pious and learned care bestowed on them to-day; and, here and there, stained glass has been intro-

<sup>1</sup> The principal ones were to have been ninety feet wide, the secondary sixty feet wide, and the alleys not less than thirty. The Parish Churches were all to be seen at the end of vistas of houses, and the better-class houses were to have been uniform and supported, in many cases, on piazzas.

duced and allowed to remain, which was never in Wren's scheme of decoration; some of the churches have been demolished, but there are more than a sufficient number standing to impress the most impassive with the genius of the man, and to show what great strides the Renaissance was making in his consummate hands.

Six of these churches have domes, and it is conjectured that Wren was practising on these smaller edifices, for the benefit of his culminating effort on St. Paul's. There seems some reason to credit this, because these domed churches were all commenced before the cathedral, and after the plan for the latter was finally decided upon the subsequent churches erected by him are found, in all cases, to be without domes.

It is impossible to speak of these splendid monuments *seriatim*; and they have been so frequently dealt with in works allotted to this particular subject, that it is also unnecessary to do so.<sup>1</sup> Those who know their London know St. Mary Aldermary (1682) and its beautiful fan groining and clustered columns; the perfect proportions of St. Stephen's, Walbrook (1672-9), concerning which Canova is said to have declared that he would gladly journey to London merely to gaze at it; the steeple of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East with its flying buttresses, of which it is told that when Wren was informed that a great storm had damaged all his spires he remarked, "No, not St. Dunstan's, I am sure"; or that of St. Bride's, Fleet St, which Henley called "a madrigal in stone," but which is only saved from a certain monotony by the perfect proportions of its gradually diminishing stages of repeated design. Those who know these, know, too, the beauty of the spire of St. Mary-le-Bow, perhaps the finest example of Wren's genius in this direction; or his consummate use of lead-work (where funds would not allow of stone) in the steeples

<sup>1</sup> See, *inter multa alia*, Mr. Bumpus's work on "London Churches," and Mr. Birch's on the same subject, besides details indicated in the various Lives of Wren and Histories of London. Excellent photographs of many of these are given in "The Passer By in London," by Mr. W. S. Campbell.





*Photo by Cyril E. Iles*

INTERIOR, LOOKING WEST, ST. STEPHEN'S, WALBROOK

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of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street; or the treatment of Gothic (which he affected to despise) in the spires of St. Mary Aldermary, and St. Michael's, Cornhill, and St. Dunstan's-in-the-East.

What cannot fail to strike any one with regard to Wren's steeples is not only their extraordinary, if unequal, beauty, but their remarkable variety. So far as one steeple of the Renaissance period can recall another, Wren's steeples resemble each other; but only so far. On comparison, even those that have most in common will be found to be differentiated from each other in a variety of ways which, considering the relatively short time that elapsed between the designing of each of them, and their number, is little short of marvellous. If one of them could be described as a madrigal, then I think that, taken as a whole, they may fitly be termed a sonnet sequence in architectural expression.

The mention of the Gothic spires of St. Michael's, Cornhill, and St. Mary Aldermary, makes it convenient to say a word here about the few other examples of Wren's work in this particular style. He himself used to call Gothic "Saracenic," and he seems to have shared the half-contemptuous feeling of his generation for it. When, therefore, we find him using it, it will be when force of circumstances or expressions of individual wishes obliged him to do so, and not from any desire on his own part to make excursions into what he probably regarded as more or less barbaric.

One of his earliest examples of it was "Tom" Tower at Oxford, which Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church, commissioned him to erect in 1681. Wren's work here seems, so far as can be gathered from a drawing of the original tower, by Neele, dated 1566, in the Bodleian Library, to have commenced with the sexagonal caps to the tower flanking the gateway, although the central window, also obviously his, descends almost to the top of the archway, and the older masonry must have been cut away for its reception. The famous tower has been called Gothic

because it was supposed to partake of the characteristics of that portion of Christ Church completed in Henry VIII.'s time, but it really has nothing in common with it, and in most respects is as much renaissance as anything else of Wren's. Its beauty lies in its excellent proportions; and it is one of those buildings to which our eyes have become so accustomed that we feel as if nothing else could have been equally appropriate to round off Wolsey's great gateway. It is an exceedingly clever forgery, but it is a forgery that will take few of us in.

St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, and St. Alban, Wood Street, are the two other examples of Wren's so-called Gothic among the City churches, and they are alone sufficient to show what variety he could introduce into his work, even when it was not after his own heart.

As I have said, the building of the City churches went on concurrently with that of St. Paul's, but not even these vast labours, interspersed as they were with discussions at the Royal Society, and other cognate matters, exhausted the energy of the architect. Many of the City Halls, such as, for example, the Mercers' and the Pewterers', are said to have been from his hand, or when undertaken by others, such as Jerman, to have received his *imprimatur*, which, in the case of a conscientious man like Wren, meant the careful consideration of the plans submitted to him. Besides these there are a number of works, some of the greatest importance, which claimed his attention; and these I must deal with in chronological order.

The earliest was the building of Temple Bar which many of us can remember as it stood at the boundary of the City, and which now exists in honourable retirement amid the sylvan surroundings of Theobald's Park whither it was removed thirty years ago. Temple Bar was designed in 1670, and although it must always be regarded as an interesting landmark its architectural features call for no particular comment beyond the fact that it served its purpose and possessed a distinction that probably no other architect of the period could have invested

it with; while the Monument, begun in the following year to commemorate the Great Fire, although not completed for a considerable time, hardly lends itself to inspiration, and certainly does not succeed in indicating much. The present structure was the second of Wren's designs, and it is said that his idea of a single high column was largely dictated by the thought that it might be found useful for scientific experiments.

In 1673 Wren was employed on something more worthy of his genius, notably the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. For this he prepared two designs, the first providing for a circular building crowned with a dome, a feature greatly favoured by the architect at this period of his career. This did not appeal to the authorities, however, and Wren in consequence designed the oblong building supported by cloisters, which is now such a dominant feature in the College buildings, and completes, a purple patch indeed, the quadrangle known as Nevile's Court. It was Isaac Barrow who was chiefly instrumental in placing the work in Wren's hands. Barrow had been an early admirer and friend of the architect, and had, some years before, vainly tried to rouse the University authorities to the necessity of having a theatre at Cambridge similar to that erected at Oxford. He was determined at any rate that his own College should possess a suitable building, and when the old library at Trinity was destroyed by fire he himself is said to have marked out the ground for another and more spacious one. Wren was here undoubtedly handicapped by the necessity of conforming his buildings with the existing portions of Nevile's Court, and technically there are points to cavil at, both in the quadrangle façade and that facing the river, but the interior deserves nothing but praise, and it remains one of the finest, if not *the* finest, of book-rooms in existence.

Curiously enough Wren was working on the design of another library at the time he was employed on that at Trinity; this was the Honeywood Library attached to Lincoln Cathedral, and so called after Dean Honeywood

who was responsible for the commission. The building erected by Wren is a long, low one, painfully out of harmony with the Gothic cloisters on which it abuts; and although in the exterior there are various skilful contrivances, such as the added elaboration to certain of the windows, and a clever connecting scheme between them and the doric pillars of the arcade that supports the building, yet the whole gives an impression of monotony. The interior, however, is excellent in its adroit adaptation to requirements, and certain features (for instance the doorway to the library) are of great beauty. At the same time the building, as a whole, can only be considered as one of Wren's minor works.

In 1672 old Drury Lane Theatre was burnt down, and Wren was commissioned to design another one. The new building was ready for use two years later. Dryden, in his prologue of "The Opening of the New House," terms it "plain built; a bare convenience only"; and in Cibber's "Apology," the theatre is spoken of as lofty and magnificent, and praise is given to the architect for managing to bring the performers ten feet nearer the audience than was subsequently thought to be feasible when fresh alterations had to be made.<sup>1</sup>

A far more congenial task, however, must have been the planning of an Observatory for Greenwich, which Wren was called upon to undertake in 1675. The discoveries of Flamsteed,<sup>2</sup> who had been created Astronomer Royal, and had hitherto prosecuted his inquiries at the Tower of London, seem to have caused the King to determine that proper headquarters should be allotted for such a purpose. A committee, of which Wren was a member, was formed to select a suitable site, and it was due to his initiative that the mound in Greenwich Park was chosen. A royal warrant dated June 22, 1675, made known that the Observatory was to be erected in this situation, and the

<sup>1</sup> It is said to have cost £4000.

<sup>2</sup> Flamsteed was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Wren had known him in that capacity for at least five years.

foundations were laid in the following August. £500 was granted from the Royal Exchequer, bricks were supplied from the fortifications at Tilbury then being pulled down, and lead came from the gate-house of the Tower, so that it is apparent that the work was carried out on economical lines. The building is, indeed, essentially a utilitarian one, and its red-brick stone-faced ungainliness may still be seen. It was proceeded with in such haste and with so small a fund of money, that Wren is supposed to have made use of existing foundations, and thus to have built an Observatory that has not a correct north and south aspect!

Although now more busily engaged than ever on St. Paul's, the first stone of which, it will be remembered, was laid on June 21 of this year, and the erection of the many parish churches which it had been determined to build (no fewer than thirteen were begun during the next three years), Wren found time to design the base of Le Sueur's statue of Charles I., at Charing Cross, and to erect the houses in King's Bench Walk, Temple, the brickwork and beautiful doorways of which are an object-study for architects;<sup>1</sup> and above all he was required to design the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. The idea for this seems to have originated with Lord Granard, at that time commanding the royal forces in Ireland, who, having interested the Duke of Ormonde in the scheme, laid it before the King for his consideration. Charles, that easy-going sovereign who was always ready to lend an ear to such matters, without apparently a thought of where the money to pay for them was to come from, immediately acquiesced in the proposal, and funds were finally obtained by a levy of sixpence in the pound on all army pay in Ireland. The Duke of Ormonde laid the foundation-stone on April 29, 1680, and the work was completed six years later.<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime a number of other buildings were

<sup>1</sup> The Middle Temple Gateway, so full of distinction and so excellently proportioned, was built a few years later (1684-8).

<sup>2</sup> For an interesting account of the actual building see Miss Milman's "Christopher Wren"; the only biography of the architect which mentions his work here.

being erected from Wren's designs; thus in 1682 he designed the Latin School of Christ's Hospital (destroyed in 1825), in which his masterly use of rubbed brickwork was particularly noticeable, and the same year also saw the commencement of Chelsea Hospital.

Chelsea Hospital is one of those buildings about whose walls sentiment loves to linger. Its massive and essentially little altered fabric and its less altered institutions, transport the mind to the days of the Merry Monarch whose reign saw its inception and whose interest helped so largely in its development. Nor is the tradition that the influence of the pleasure-loving Nell Gwynn was responsible for its establishment—unreliable as that tradition unfortunately is—without its weight in adding a halo of romance to the place. The fact that "poor Nelly" has been associated in the public mind with pity for the old and destitute, serves alone to differentiate her from the rapacious favourites whose systematic endeavour it was to get as much out of the country as they could, and to be lavish in return with nothing but the good name they never possessed and the honour of which they took no account.

There seems, however, little doubt that the idea of the Hospital really first originated with Sir Stephen Fox, who, as Paymaster-General, had accumulated a great fortune, but had, at the same time, preserved his name from the slightest suspicion of peculation or dishonesty; something of a triumph in those days. It is not improbable that the building of Kilmainham Hospital directed Fox's attention to the need of something analogous near London, and there being some vacant ground at Chelsea, which Charles II. had given to the Royal Society for the erection of headquarters, but which for various reasons had not been utilised for this purpose, Fox proposed to purchase it and to raise on it a home for old soldiers. To this end the property was sold to the Crown for £1300, and Charles, having approved of the scheme, promised to contribute £5000 a year to the maintenance of the Hospital, and a sum of £20,000 towards the building ex-



penses. Fox was also a great contributor to the cost of the building, which is said to have amounted to no less than £150,000, and he and Evelyn spent laborious days in minutely discussing the matter in all its bearings.<sup>1</sup>

On February 16, 1682, the first stone was laid by the King, but although Wren had prepared plans which, says Evelyn, took the form of "a quadrangle of 200 feet square, after the dimensions of the larger quadrangle (Tom Quad) at Christ Church, Oxford," he does not, for some reason, appear to have been formally appointed architect to the building till the following year. However, on May 25, 1682, we find him, in company with Fox and Evelyn, proceeding to Lambeth Palace to obtain the Archbishop's formal consent to the scheme—a consent readily granted. A quadrangle, probably on the lines of that at Kilmainham, had been first suggested by Wren, and had received the Church's assent; the architect, however, subsequently altered the form of the Hospital substantially as it exists to-day. He must undoubtedly have supervised its erection, but the task of carrying out the work in detail, which, by the bye, occupied two years, was placed under the direction of one of his best-known pupils, Hawksmoor, of whom I shall have something to say in the next chapter.

It is characteristic of Wren's forethought that, just as at Kilmainham he had designed a cloister that should serve as a sheltered exercise-ground for the infirm inmates of that institution, so in the case of Chelsea Hospital he took care that there should be a piazza for the same purpose, and arranged that the staircases should also suit the needs of those whose days of activity were past.

Carlyle is said once to have remarked that the Hospital was "the work of a *gentleman*," and if the particular epithet is nowadays somewhat the worse for wear, and often implies anything but what is really intended, in this case, it seems just the appropriate word to denote at once the quiet restraint obvious in the building, and those

<sup>1</sup> See "Evelyn's Diary."

essentials of rightness which indicate not only technical ability but distinction of mind in their conception.

The year after Wren had drawn out the plans for Chelsea Hospital found him not only busy over his churches (St. James's, Piccadilly; St. Mildred, Bread Street; St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, and others date from this year), but occupied with two Royal commissions: that for a memorial to Charles I., and that for a palace at Winchester. Neither of these was, however, destined to be completed; indeed, in the case of the memorial, nothing beyond the preparation of the designs seems to have been even attempted, for although Parliament had voted, in a fit of loyal enthusiasm, a great sum towards the erection of a monument to the royal martyr, as well as for a public funeral, nothing was done in the matter, and the inscription on the drawings (in Wren's own hand), clearly indicates the architect's disappointment at the nonfulfilment of the scheme. Nor did the proposed palace at Winchester emerge from its initial stages. A writer, in 1722, certainly speaks of its main portion as being nearly roofed in when Charles II. died; but although Queen Anne, on one occasion, went to look at it, the place does not seem to have appealed to her, and the unfinished building was gradually allowed to fall into ruin.<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Bolton was permitted subsequently by the King (George II.) to carry away marble columns and other ornaments, and certain portions that still remained so late as the last century were incorporated in the barracks then being erected at Winchester. The palace stood on the hill overlooking the town, fronting the west end of the cathedral, and Wren appears to have conceived the idea of an immense street of houses between the two. This conception was a favourite one with him, for he planned a somewhat similar avenue to extend from Chelsea Hospital to Kensington, and we know what use he made of

<sup>1</sup> William III. appears to have once thought of continuing the work, for he visited the place with Wren, "in order to go on with the building," on March 10, 1694, says Luttrell, but nothing came of it.

such great vistas in his proposed rebuilding of London. Had that at Winchester ever taken shape, there would have been a direct communication between the work of England's earliest architect, Wykeham, and her greatest, Wren.<sup>1</sup>

In the following year, Wren was again employed at Winchester, this time on the great Schoolroom of the College, a beautiful and symmetrical piece of work, sentient with the grace and restraint usual with him when unhampered by outside influences—which was unfortunately not always the case. He was also occupied with certain repairs to Chichester Cathedral; and two houses, one in West Street and the other known as Dodo House, in that town, are said to be from his hand, and to date from this year (1684). About the same time another residence, Fawley Court, just below Henley, well known to boating people, with its red brick walls and stone copings, was planned by him.<sup>2</sup>

In 1685, Charles II. died, and with him the architect lost a friend and an admirer, although, considering that the always needy monarch was not averse from turning funds voted for other purposes to his own more insistent demands, it would be affectation to say that architecture, as such, lost in him a great and liberal patron.

In the year of the king's death, a fresh batch of City churches was commenced, and from this period date St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill; St. Alban's, Wood Street, and St. Mary Magdalen, Knightrider Street; St. Benet, Gracechurch Street, and St. Matthew, Friday Street (the last three since demolished); and during the two following years, St. Mary Abchurch (1686), and Christ Church,

<sup>1</sup> There are some grounds for thinking that Wren designed the Chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, during this year; but, although many of his characteristics are present in it, there is no actual evidence of his having done so. It seems likely that it was designed by Dean Aldrich, with hints from the greater man.

<sup>2</sup> Belton Hall, Grantham, built in yellow or "Ancaster" stone, has also been attributed to Wren, with good reason, although no documentary evidence of his connection with it is known to exist.

Newgate Street; St. Margaret Pattens, Rood Lane, and St. Andrew's, Holborn (all 1687), were begun.<sup>1</sup>

As if, however, these herculean labours were not sufficient to exhaust the fiery energy of the man, we find him in 1685, returned to Parliament by the electors of Plympton,<sup>2</sup> that town to become famous as the birthplace of Sir Joshua Reynolds; and we know that his attendances at the Royal Society were as frequent as ever, and his interest in its proceedings as vital as it had been twenty years earlier.

Nor does the unrest of 1688, culminating in the change of dynasty, seem to have caused any interruption to his activity, for apart from the work proceeding on the churches begun in the previous year, another was now commenced—viz., St. Michael, Crooked Lane, which was, however, demolished in 1831, to make way for the widening of the approach to new London Bridge, and three other only relatively important structures were planned and built: the Town Hall at Windsor, in which the architect had some obvious difficulties as to site and inequality of ground to contend with, and for which all that it seems possible to say is that it was what was required and no more; the library for Archbishop Tenison, adjoining his school in Leicester Square, (afterwards the home of Hogarth), which was subsequently absorbed by the National Gallery; and the College of Physicians, in Warwick Lane, which existed till 1866.

Evelyn, who properly calls Tenison's scheme for a public library, "a worthy and laudable design," seems to have consulted both with the Archbishop and Wren as to the form it should take, and we find him accompanying the latter on February 23, 1684, to visit Tenison, "where," he writes, "we made the drawing and estimate of the expence of the library, to be begun this next spring." As we have

<sup>1</sup> The Town Hall, Rochester, was one of Wren's lesser works during 1687.

<sup>2</sup> In 1698 Wren was returned by the electors of New Windsor, "paying lot and scot," and on petition was re-elected by the Mayor and Corporation in the following year.

seen, however, four years were to elapse before the work was commenced; a delay that we may feel assured was in no way due to the architect.

The College of Physicians, designed by Wren, was evidently a rebuilding of the premises which that body was then occupying, and whither the members had removed in 1674, from their former headquarters in Amen Corner. A golden ball surmounted the summit of Wren's erection, an ornament which Garth, in his "Dispensary," said looked like "a gilded pill"!

During the short and unsettled reign of James II., the architect was occupied in forwarding the works, chiefly ecclesiastical, which he had begun under Charles II., and what other buildings he planned were not the outcome of royal patronage; indeed, ever since James had caused the rejection of Wren's favourite design for St. Paul's, and had insisted on the admission of side chapels, with a view, it is supposed, to the conversion of the Cathedral, in due course, into a Roman Catholic place of worship, there seems to have been no love lost between the king and the Surveyor-General; and it is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that Wren's royal employment at this time was confined to the routine work connected with his office, and to that only.

With the accession of William and Mary, however, Wren enjoyed a fresh term of royal favour, and although William was a monarch to whom art did not mean much, and in whose eyes a barrack was always of more significance than a palace, his consort had less utilitarian ideas, and from the first extended her patronage to the architect. The first fruits of this patronage was Hampton Court Palace, or rather that portion which Wren added to Wolsey's splendid pile.

There is such a delightful sense of homeliness about the warm red walls of Hampton Court; its long façades give it such an air of quiet dignity that one overlooks the essentially monotonous character of its extended rows of windows in which no attempt at differentiation of design is made, and

a certain want of height in the upper storeys which gives to its large rooms the outward appearance of attics. As a matter of fact it is simply a country house on an immense scale, and few other designs could have been so appropriate to the simple unostentatious characters of the two Sovereigns for whom it was planned. Wren is not to be blamed by those who consider that as a palace Hampton Court is wanting in dignity and ornamentation; for, as was usual with him, he prepared more than one set of designs, and that chosen by William is said to have been the set prepared merely as a foil to the more elaborate one which Wren had set his heart on carrying out.

The well-known Fountain Court is perhaps, so far as the exterior is concerned, the least satisfying portion of Wren's work at Hampton Court, as it is overcrowded and heavy; although the cloisters, whose chief defect, the inner arches would, it is said, have been higher and therefore better, had not William interfered in the matter, add a decorative note here which is wanting in the east front.

A detailed description of Wren's work at Hampton Court,<sup>1</sup> however, is unnecessary here, and it will therefore be sufficient to rapidly trace the history of the actual building. It was begun in April 1689, and proceeded with much despatch till 1694, when Queen Mary died, and William, overcome by grief, appears to have no longer interested himself in the place. Four years later, however, the fire at Whitehall compelled him to reconsider the advisability of prosecuting the work at Hampton Court; a fresh impetus was, therefore, given to architects and builders, and with the decorative aid of Grinling Gibbons, Caius Gabriel Cibber, and Tijou, the building was gradually completed. Talman was clerk of the works, and differences soon arose between him and Wren on the

<sup>1</sup> For full details of this work I would refer the reader to Mr. Ernest Law's "Hampton Court," vol. iii.; and to Miss Milman's "Life of Wren." Roughly, Wren's work embraced the King's apartments to the south-east, the Queen's (now the principal front) to the east, and the Long Gallery.

question of the stability of some of the stone work already finished ; Talman asserting that some of the piers were cracked ; Wren replying that this was done purposely as a precautionary measure against possible expansion. The report drawn up by the experts who were called in, decided in favour of Wren ; and it appears not improbable that Talman knew as well as his superior, the reasons for these "cracks" about which he seems to have hoped to frighten the ignorant, and thus to throw discredit on the architect.

Two years before Hampton Court was begun, William III. had purchased Lord Nottingham's house at Kensington. We are accustomed to-day to regard this part of London as an integral portion of the city, but at that time it was but a mere suburb renowned for its healthiness and its gravel pits, and it is likely that the king, whose chest was weak, was recommended to this particular spot by his physicians as being more salubrious than Whitehall and less exposed to river fogs than Hampton Court.

Wren was, of course, called upon to alter and prepare the house in a way suitable for His Majesty's reception, and Kensington Palace, substantially as we know it, was the result. The original structure was not demolished, but was so added to and remodelled that it has all the appearance of the architects' unobstructed design, although it must have caused him much more trouble to add to an old building than it would to have designed an entirely new one. As a matter of fact Kensington Palace is merely a commodious residence in which comfort, and a sort of utilitarian disregard for superfluous ornament highly characteristic of the monarch for whom it was planned, are the dominant notes. To say it wants distinction would be to say that Wren had no hand in it, for in nothing that he touched is that attribute lacking, and in some of the over doors, and particularly in the beautiful proportions of the staircases and the principal rooms, the touch of the master is apparent. But the most interesting, as it is the most

beautiful, example of Wren's work at Kensington is the Orangery which he designed for Queen Anne in 1704, the interior of which is a model of grace and refinement.

Kensington Palace was not completed till 1706; but between that year and the date of its commencement, 1690, Wren was engaged on a number of lesser works, notably The Mint in the Tower (1691); possibly the Chapel of Trinity College, Oxford (1691-4); some school buildings at Appleby in Leicestershire, and the charming Morden College at Blackheath (1695); while the churches that date from this period are St. Margaret, Lothbury (1690); St. Andrew by the Wardrobe (1692); All Hallows, Lombard Street (1693); St. Michael Royal, College Hill (1694); St. Vedast, Foster Lane, and St. Mary Somerset, Thames Street (1695), the latter of which, all but the tower, was demolished in 1872. Besides these Wren designed the tower of St. Mary's Church, Warwick, in the latter year, and in 1692 had also occupied himself with planning one of those splendid thoroughfares—in this case from Hyde Park Corner to Kensington—which his inventive mind was always creating, but which other influences were always too powerful to allow of being executed.

In 1696, Wren was called upon to undertake the designing of what is, if we except St. Paul's, his finest public building—Greenwich Hospital.<sup>1</sup> The plans for this splendid work are preserved in the Soane Museum, and Hawksmoor has left a description of the magnificent pile which would have been, under other circumstances, the finest palace in England.

Its genesis was due to Queen Mary who was anxious to do for seamen what her uncle had, at least interested himself in doing for soldiers, at Chelsea, and the philan-

<sup>1</sup> Three years earlier, *i.e.*, in January 1693, Luttrell records that "Last Saturday the Lords of the Admiralty and Sir Christopher Wren went to Greenwich to view the King's house there, to convert it into an hospitall for sick and wounded seamen, which is approved for that purpose."



thropic Sir Stephen Fox and Evelyn again came forward with substantial aid and advice ; but before anything was done the Queen died. As we have seen two important buildings were already in existence at this spot ; the Queen's House, and that portion of the proposed palace already finished, both of which had been designed by Inigo Jones, and had been carried out under the superintendence of John Webb. As it was desired that these buildings should not be interfered with, Wren had the difficult task of incorporating them into his designs. It was, in a sense, a pity that he should have been thus hampered, but at the same time it is pleasant to know that at the end of the seventeenth century such a pious feeling for earlier work existed ; and that the Queen should have been willing to hamper the beauty of the building with which she hoped her name would be identified, rather than permit any desecration of what was associated with her grandmother, Henrietta Maria, and her uncle, Charles II., is very creditable to her feelings and good taste.

Wren's first design <sup>1</sup> for Greenwich substantially shows the hospital as it exists to-day, for as we shall see, Vanbrugh, Colin Campbell, and Ripley, all added to it, and they each, in an inferior way it is true, helped to give it more the resemblance of what Wren intended, than he himself was permitted to do.

What he effected was to make the Queen's House at the extreme end from the river, the central feature, and at a little distance from this he planned two courts with colonnades, between which the Queen's House was to be seen down a vista ; nearer still to the river he designed a great court, the west side of which was occupied by Charles II.'s block, and opposite to this and forming the eastern portion, he erected what was known as Queen Anne's quarter ; at the corners of these two blocks (for he

<sup>1</sup> " June 30, 1696, I went with a Select Committee of the Commissioners for Greenwich Hospital and with Sir Christopher Wren ; where with him I laid the first stone of the intended foundation, precisely at 5 o'clock in the evening, after we had din'd together." " Evelyn's Diary."

added to that of King Charles in order to make it uniform with his original work) rose the two magnificent domes which for grace and proportion probably excel anything he ever did.

Wren, I think, seldom proved his innate greatness of character or his realisation of the true functions of an architect more incontestably than when he made his new work subsidiary to that of his illustrious predecessor, Inigo Jones. But although he did this, and although three of his successors worked on the building, so that it is not always easy to say where the work of one begins and that of the other leaves off, his genius dominates the whole building, and has produced the finest public edifice in or near London. At a later date Hawksmoor was instructed to make a report to Parliament about the structure, and in the course of this report, he thus speaks of it: "The principal front of this magnificent pile lies open to the Thames; from whence we enter into the middle of the royal court, near 300 feet square, lying open to the north, and covered on the west with the court of King Charles the Second, and on the east with that of Queen Anne, equal to it, and on the south, the great hall and chapel. The court of Queen Anne contains the great range, or wing, next the royal court, and holds 140 men. To the east of this is another range of building, which contains sixty-six persons; and the great pavilion, near the Thames, contains four very commodious apartments for officers. The Court of Charles contains the great wing on the west of the royal court. It is a noble pile, having in the middle a tetra-style portico with arcades; the walls are rusticated, all in Portland stone; the windows artfully decorated and proportioned; the order is Corinthian; the body of the building is crowned with an entablement of that order, and two extremes, in two great pavilions, all in the same style, rise with an attic order above."

This is interesting for two reasons; it shows more or less the use of the Hospital at that period, and gives a clear and succinct account of the building; while it also

pleasantly indicates the admiration Hawksmoor had for the work of his consummate master.

Although the dome of St. Paul's was not finished till 1710, most of Wren's active work seems to have been over five years earlier when Greenwich Hospital, so far as he was concerned with it, was completed.

For the rest the work that falls under the years 1698-1705, includes the beautiful steeples of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, and St. Bride's, Fleet Street; the church of Isleworth; the Orangery (already mentioned) at Kensington Palace; additions to Greenwich (1705); improvements to the Houses of Parliament, and restorations, &c., at Westminster Abbey; and finally the designs he prepared for the rebuilding of that portion of Whitehall which had been destroyed by fire in 1696. To this end we find him making a careful survey of the site, in January 1698, as "his majestie designs to make it a noble place," says Luttrell, who adds that "by computation it may be finished in 4 years." But although no less than two hundred men were employed in clearing away the *débris*, William's great project dwindled down to "a range of buildings at the end of the banqueting house next the privy garden, to contain a council chamber and 5 lodgings"; Luttrell remarking significantly that "the rest will be omitted till the parliament provide for the same"; in other words, the matter was postponed *sine die*.

Marlborough House, of which the first stone was laid by Duchess Sarah on May 24, 1709, would seem to be Wren's last architectural work of any importance. It is characterised by the simplicity of most of his domestic architecture, and is obviously intended rather as a comfortable living house than as an imposing dwelling. Its internal arrangements, however, so far at least as the connection between the offices and the reception rooms were concerned, were at one time notoriously bad, but for this Wren was probably not responsible. The mansion has, too, been so much altered since his day (an upper

storey has been added) that as an object-lesson in the architect's treatment of private houses it has no longer any great value.<sup>1</sup>

The latter years of Wren's life—a life that had hitherto been unattended by the jealousies and intrigues which success so often creates—was unfortunately to be embittered by the petty annoyances of inferior men. Chief among these were certain of the Commissioners appointed for the rebuilding of St. Paul's (five out of the seven of whom were clergymen), who first thwarted the architect in his work of completing the cathedral, and then persecuted him because of the delay. All sorts of trivial accusations were brought against him; he had very properly wished a wrought-iron railing to surround the building; the Commissioners determined to have a cast-iron one, and had the stupidity to assert that the latter would be the more durable; they said the great bell was unsound and therefore useless; they accused the head mason, Jennings, of applying to his own use money which was intended for the workmen. The very nature of the charges shows that Wren's enemies were unable to fix on any of his actual work as being unsatisfactory; but anything does to justify injustice. Unfortunately Evelyn, the life-long friend and admirer of Wren, and one of the few Commissioners who understood their duties and carried them out without fear or favour, had died in 1706, so that the architect stood practically alone against his critics who also contended that his delay in the completion of the cathedral was due to his wish to prolong the payment of his remuneration which, be it told, he had himself fixed at the insignificant sum of £200 per annum!

An Act of Parliament for the completing of St. Paul's was passed, and the people's representatives had the incredible meanness to decree "a suspension of a moiety of the

<sup>1</sup> One, however, which *has*, if its attribution to Wren be correct, is Groombridge Place, Kent. I may here note that in 1709, Wren was ordered to fit up Westminster Hall for the trial of Dr. Sacheverell.

surveyor's salary until the said church should be finished; thereby the better *to encourage him* to finish the same work with the utmost diligence and expedition." Upon this Wren addressed a petition to the Queen (February 13, 1710), in which his anxiety, not for his salary, but for permission to complete the cathedral, is set forth clearly and honestly; this was laid before the Commissioners, so that the matter was revolving in a vicious circle, and they retorted with fresh accusations; whereupon Wren sent an appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In consequence of this the Attorney-General was invoked, who laid it down that as the Commissioners had ruled that Wren's salary was to be halved until the building was completed, this edict must be adhered to. To this Wren rejoined (in an address to Parliament) that the cathedral so far as he was concerned was actually completed within a reasonable acceptance of the word.

It is not surprising to find, at a time when such forms of argument were daily resorted to, that a pamphlet war on the subject now broke out. "Frauds and Abuses at St. Pauls," was the title of one; "Letter to a Member of Parliament," of another, and they accused Wren of peculation, and teemed with spite and malevolence; Wren replied to them; so did an unknown admirer in "Facts against Scandal," to which a "Continuation of Frauds and Abuses" appeared, only to be answered by a second part of "Facts against Scandal," and even the great Addison is supposed to have taken Wren's part, in the adumbration of the architect's character as "Nestor," in *The Tatler* for August 9, 1709. So matters went on until, with the death of Queen Anne in 1714, Wren lost his last royal support, and in the following year, after having been Surveyor-General for forty-eight years, he was superseded in the post, largely through the machinations of George I.'s unsavoury mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, who, because he would not allow her to mutilate Hampton Court, sold his office to the insignificant Benson. This

incompetent person did his best to spoil some part of the general effect of St. Paul's by adding a ridiculous flight of steps to the chief front.<sup>1</sup>

Wren was now in his eighty-sixth year, and he at once retired to his residence (Old Court House<sup>2</sup> it is now called) at Hampton Court, where for the next five years of his life he chiefly lived, busied with those mathematical and scientific problems with which, as we have seen, he first made his reputation. He had also a house in St. James's Street, and to this he occasionally came when his duties as Surveyor to Westminster Abbey—a post which even the malevolence of his enemies allowed him to retain till the end of his life—necessitated his presence in London. His death was not uncharacteristic. He was accustomed once a year to visit St. Paul's, and to sit for a time under the dome his genius had created,<sup>3</sup> and the last time he was destined to do this—on February 25, 1723—he contracted a chill. On his return to Hampton Court he dined, and as he sat afterwards at an open window for an unusual time, his silence gave rise to apprehension, when his servant going to him, found him calmly sleeping the sleep of death. A few days later he was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's.

Wren had been twice married, first on December 7, 1669, to Faith Coghill, daughter of Sir John Coghill, of Bletchington, Oxfordshire. By her he had two sons—Gilbert, who died while yet an infant; and Christopher, born on February 18, 1675, three years after his father had been knighted. Lady Wren died a few months after the birth of this second son, and in the following year Sir Christopher married Jane Fitzwilliam, daughter of Lord Lifford, by whom he had a daughter and a son—the former, Jane, being born in 1677, and the latter, William,

<sup>1</sup> Mercifully removed in 1873.

<sup>2</sup> He had in 1708 obtained a fifty years' lease, at £10 per annum, from the Crown. At that time it was a very fragile structure, and Wren appears to have largely rebuilt it.

<sup>3</sup> It will be remembered that Inigo Jones was also seen occasionally wandering about the façade of the Cathedral, which he had built.

in 1679 in which year the second Lady Wren died. Christopher and William both survived their father, but Jane predeceased him by twenty years.

It seems superfluous to say anything further with regard to Wren's splendid gifts as an architect, or his quiet, unassuming character as a man. The work he has left is eloquent of the former, and all the testimony of those of his contemporaries who were best fitted to speak accurately, is sufficient proof of the latter. Nor is it particularly helpful to institute comparisons between his work and that of his predecessors or successors. Only one man during his day, in this country, could in even the feeblest way be compared to him; and all that it seems necessary to point out is that that Renaissance which in the consummate hands of Inigo Jones made such strides in England, reached its highest power in those of Wren. In all human work fault can be found (it is curious what a *flair* for doing this those have whose inability to produce anything at all comparable to the best is continually being exhibited), and here and there Wren, like Homer, may have nodded, but he never went to sleep; and during the whole of his long and strenuous life he kept one constant aim in view—the determination to give only of his best, and to make, by incessant study and practice, that best better. Unspoilt by praise, unmoved by Court favour or popular applause, he was as simple in prosperity as he was calm and dignified under the attacks and innuendoes of malevolence; and as his most magnificent monument towered above the dwarf buildings that then surrounded it, so does his character stand forth from those of his latter-day assailants. He was, indeed, one of those great spirits that have sojourned on earth, and have left for all time, the impress of their personality on the history of the country.

Hooke, looking rather to Wren's splendid gifts than to his private character, once said: "I must affirm that since the time of Archimedes there scarce ever met in one man,

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in so great a perfection, such a mechanical hand and so philosophic a mind"; Isaac Barrow, with an eye to something even better than mere worldly success, exclaimed that it was doubtful whether Wren "was most to be commended for the divine felicity of his genius or for the sweet humanity of his disposition."



## CHAPTER VI

BELL OF LYNN; TALMAN; PRATT; HAWKSMOOR;  
VANBRUGH

THE great age to which Sir Christopher Wren lived resulted in certain lesser architects being properly his contemporaries, although in the natural course of events they would have been regarded as his successors at least in point of time if not in style and achievement; and, indeed, inasmuch as Wren's life extended to practically the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, his career even overlapped those of men whose work really dates from this later period. The architects with whom I deal in this chapter were actually contemporaneous with the latter portion of his career, however, for Bell of Lynn, born in 1653, died in 1717; Talman, died two years earlier; Pratt was born in 1620, and died in 1684; Vanbrugh's dates are 1666 to 1726; and Hawksmoor's, 1661 to 1736. Of these the most famous is, of course, Vanbrugh, whose reputation, however, is, as largely based on his literary output as on his architectural activity; Hawksmoor, a name well known to students of architecture is not generally familiar to the ordinary reader; and Bell of Lynn and Talman and Pratt are examples of men who did good work in their day, but whose fame has been eclipsed by the dominating personality of their illustrious contemporary.

Indeed, there is painfully little known about the first. He has not even received the recognition of a niche in the "Dictionary of National Biography," and his reputation is so

purely of a local character, that had not the excellent work he did in his native town survived, it is probable that his name would never have come down to us, and that he would have been one of that numerous band of men whose foot-prints on the sands of time have been long since entirely obliterated.<sup>1</sup>

Bell had at least one thing in common with Wren in that he appears to have received no specific architectural training; indeed, his earlier years were devoted to mastering the art of engraving, in which he made excellent progress, as is shown by some of his prints of various parts of Lynn and its neighbourhood, and it is probable that the examination of the buildings of his native town for the purposes of this work drew his attention gradually to the study of that architecture in which he afterwards excelled to a remarkable degree.

Henry Bell was born at King's Lynn in 1653, and was, in all probability, the son of another Henry Bell, twice mayor of Lynn, who died in 1686, and who was descended from a younger son of Sir Robert Bell, chief baron of the Exchequer in the reign of Elizabeth. About his education or early years nothing is known. That he must, however, have laid aside engraving for architecture early, is proved by the fact that in 1681, or as some say, 1683, he designed Lynn Exchange or Custom House which was erected at the expense of Sir John Turner. In an account of King's Lynn published in 1818, this building is described as being "of handsome freestone, with two tiers of pilasters, the lower in the Doric, and the upper in the Ionic order, with a small open turret, terminating in a pinnacle." A statue of Charles II. graced the front, and the interior of the building consisted of several large rooms; the whole being surmounted by an open turret on Corinthian pillars, and completed by an obelisk crowned with a ball on which stood a statue of Fame.

The sense of proportion indicated in the building, and also the delicate nature of the details, are surprising in the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. E. M. Beloe in his "King's Lynn; our Borough; our Churches," has collected all there is likely to be known about Bell.

work of so young a man as Bell, and seem to indicate that inborn sense of the art, not to be learned by any amount of study, which has characterised the great men; and it is fairly certain that had Bell's scope of activity been more extended, he would have taken at least a high place in the second rank of British architects.

The next building on which Bell was engaged seems to have been the Duke's Head tavern in the market-place of Lynn, which was erected some eight years after the Exchange. The Cross in the market-place was also his work. This was set up in 1710, and is described by the writer I have before quoted, thus: "The lower part is encompassed by a handsome peri-style, formed by sixteen columns of the Ionic order. Over this is a walk, secured by an iron balustrade, including a neat octagonal room, the outside walls of which are ornamented with four niches, containing statues of the cardinal virtues. The upper part is finished with a cupola, in which hangs the market-bell, and the whole is seventy feet in height. From the cross, in a semi-circular direction on each side, extends a range of covered stalls, or shambles, having a small turret at each end."<sup>1</sup>

This most elaborate of market-crosses was demolished in 1831, as were at subsequent periods two altars, in St. Margaret's church (founded in the reign of William II.) and St. Nicholas's chapel (dating from the time of Edward III.), both the work of Bell, and designed a few years after the Exchange.

It is obvious that as the leading, if not the only, local architect, Bell was responsible for various other erections in the town, which the edacious tooth of time has destroyed, but only one other piece of work attributed with good reason to him, exists in Lynn to-day, notably a house in Queen Street, the charming entrance of which, with its twisted columns and beautifully proportioned over-doorway, is figured by Mr. Blomfield in his "History of Renaissance Architecture."

Bell's last known undertaking was the rebuilding of North

<sup>1</sup> "Excursions through Norfolk."

Runcton church close to Lynn. In 1701 the old tower had fallen making havoc of the body of the church, and Bell had practically completed the new building by 1713. The work is interesting not only on its own account, but also as showing that its designer was as much at home in ecclesiastical architecture as he was in so wholly secular a building as an Exchange.

In the little that can with any certainty be placed to his credit, Bell exhibits a sense of proportion and a distinction which mark him out from the large band of lesser architects whose works but feebly reflect the influence of greater men. These, as a rule, while not daring to trust to their own unaided efforts, seem to have felt it necessary to graft on to what they purloined from others some feeble marks of their own individuality, and thus to have added insult to injury by spoiling what they had annexed. Bell is differentiated from such by a certain native vigour and grace, and it is unfortunate that so little is known of him and of the other work which it seems probable he must have executed.

He died on April 11, 1717, and was buried in the church of St. Margaret which he had helped to adorn, and where a memorial tablet commemorates his excellent gifts.

Apart from his architectural activity, Bell took a leading part in local affairs, and he is recorded as having twice occupied the post of mayor of the town which had been incorporated so early as the reign of King John, having filled the office in 1692 and in 1703; but on one occasion he is known to have been fined for refusing to serve.<sup>1</sup>

### TALMAN

Although Talman's name is one that has been practically forgotten by those who have not given particular atten-

<sup>1</sup> Kindly communicated to me by J. W. Woolstencroft, Esq., Town Clerk of Lynn.

tion to the study of architecture in this country, we know a good deal more about him and his works than we do of Bell of Lynn. He never, however, exhibited in his designs the individuality which characterised that of his little known contemporary, and although he may not have erred into solecism or anachronism in his buildings, at the same time these are as a rule formal and cold, and have just that touch of the well-trained artisan as differentiated from the born artist. His most famous work is undoubtedly the princely Chatsworth, although one wonders how many who know that ducal abode remember, or have ever heard of, the name of its architect. Here Talman's usually uninspired methods seem to have been galvanised, perhaps by the very splendour and size of the place, into something approaching natural genius, but at the same time the glories of Chatsworth are derived from such a variety of sources that one is apt, I think, to attribute much to the actual design of the mansion itself, which is in reality due to its striking situation, its unrivalled gardens, and its magnificent contents.

William Talman was born at West Lavington, in Wiltshire, where the fact that he is known to have owned no inconsiderable amount of property perhaps indicates, although it, of course, does not prove, that his family had been for some time established in that village. He is one of those men who, in the absence of any information regarding their earlier years or training, are labelled as having "attained repute." In Talman's case, however, it is impossible to say whether his reputation as a designer of buildings was attained early or late in life, for the years of his birth and death are both unknown, and we are obliged to be contented with the recognised fact that he flourished during the last thirty years of the seventeenth century, from which time such work as is known to be his dates.

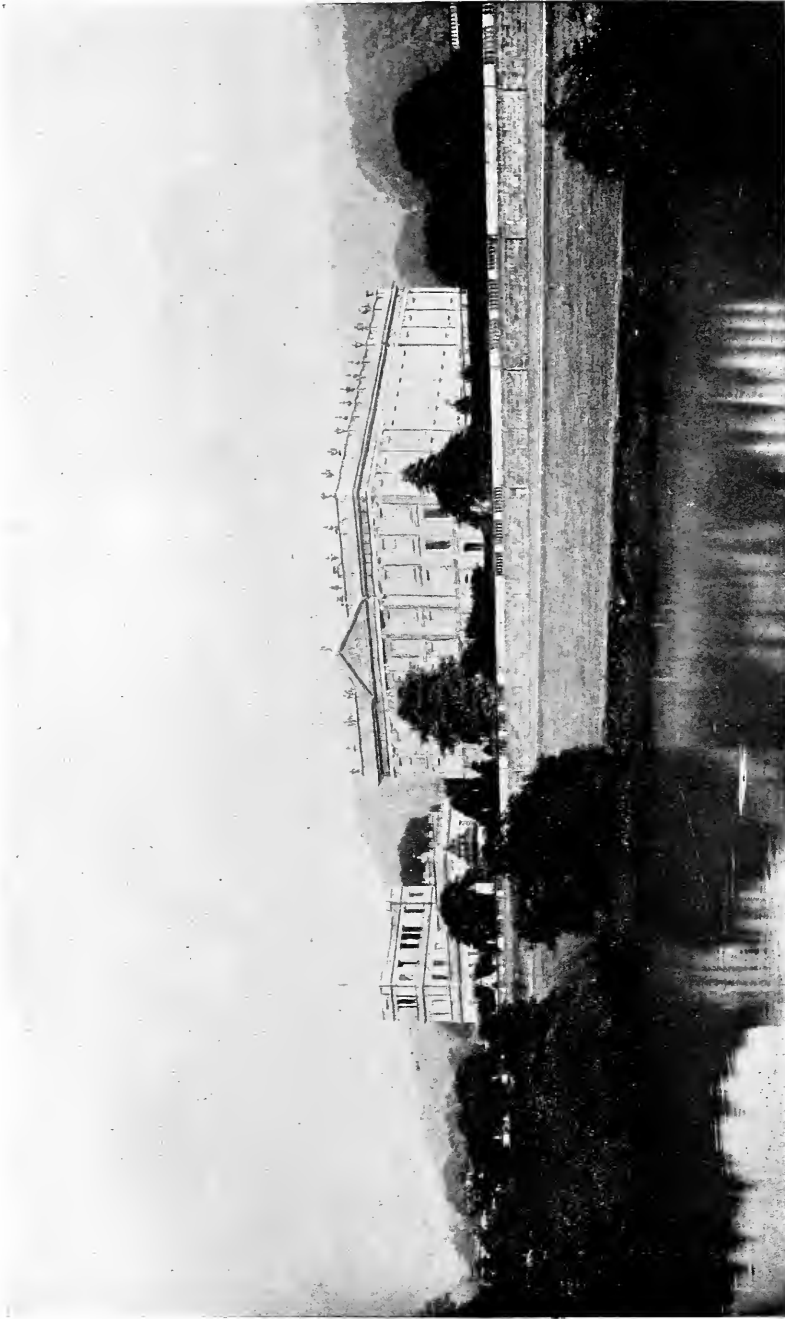
Of this the earliest example recorded was Thoresby House, which was erected about 1671, but which has since been demolished; as, however, sufficient is known of

its general plan to enable Mr. Blomfield to state that "it appears to have been chiefly taken up with halls and staircases," I think we are justified in regarding it as an immature undertaking. It is said to have been designed for the Duke of Kingston, but as the first Duke was exactly six years old in 1671 it is probable that whoever was originally responsible for this blunder had in mind the work Carr of York did at Thoresby in 1770, three years before the death of the second Duke, the husband, it will be remembered, of a painfully notorious wife.

A better-known example of Talman's architecture is Swallowfield Park, near Reading, which he erected for Henry, second Earl of Clarendon, in whose "Diary" mention is made of his paying a subsequent visit there on April 11, 1689, probably with reference to further additions, although the fact is not stated. But, as I have said, Chatsworth is Talman's most important undertaking, and those who know the size of that princely seat will not be surprised to hear that it occupied no less than nineteen years in building, notably from April 1687 to 1706. It was designed for William, fourth Earl and first Duke of Devonshire, "the finest and handsomest gentleman of his time," as Macky terms him, but as it was commenced only three years after he had succeeded to the earldom (he was made a Duke in 1694) and not completed till a year before his death, he enjoyed his new possession but a short while. It has been said that "the elegance and lightness of the front do great honour to the artist," but that "the other sides are not equally beautiful." That a later architect thought one portion of it worthy of imitation, however, is proved by the fact that Kent borrowed the design of the grand staircase when he was planning Holkham.<sup>1</sup>

The Duke of Devonshire was, as is well known, not only the holder of high office under William III. and Mary (he acted as Lord High Steward at their Coronation), but was also a personal friend of the King, and it is not improbable that he recommended Talman as Comptroller of the Works

<sup>1</sup> See "Nichols' Anecdotes," vol. vi.



CHATSWORTH

*Photochrom Co., Ltd.*

*To face p. 164*





at Hampton Court which Wren was then designing. In any case this office was conferred on Talman when William began his vast additions to the palace, and as he received 6*s.* 10*d.* a day for his superintendence of the work and Wren but 4*s.*, Talman's position would seem to have been a superior one in this particular case, although he no doubt had to give constant daily attention to the building, whereas Wren's presence would only be required at more or less long intervals.

The work at Hampton Court was begun in 1690, but the architect and the comptroller were almost from the first antagonistic, or it would, perhaps, be nearer the truth to say that Talman was jealous of the greater man, and sought to throw difficulties and obstacles in his path at every turn. The record of these attempts on Talman's part to cast discredit on Wren is not an edifying one; indeed they appear to have been obviously undertaken with the object of arrogating to himself the entire work of rebuilding. If such was the case it was unfortunately more or less successful, for although in one instance, that of the substantiability of a wall, over which an altercation took place before the Lords of the Treasury, Wren was able to prove that his work was sufficiently durable, Talman, in 1699, had gained the ears of the authorities to such an extent that he was commissioned to design certain portions of the palace independently of Wren, and various estimates are extant, dated in the November and December of this year, and amounting to over £5000, prepared solely by him. Certain other work of an expensive character (involving over £10,000) in Bushey Park was also handed over entirely to his care. In the preceding September the King, who was then abroad, was anxious that Hampton Court should be ready for him on his return, and Talman, having pushed on the work, writes to one of the Court officials that certain rooms, including "the King's great bedchamber and two closetts are in hand," and he adds: "His Ma<sup>tie</sup> will find I have made use of my time, for it proves a greater work than I expected,

and I hope it will be to his Ma<sup>ty's</sup> satisfaction," by which, reading between the lines, we can see that the architect was, perhaps not unnaturally, anxious and certainly very well qualified, to make his court to his royal master.

It is undoubtedly the fact that Talman made a much better comptroller than he did architect; and it is unfortunate that, in his anxiety to further his own interests, he allowed his zeal so to carry him away as to try to depreciate the work of Wren, who was so immeasurably his superior.

One other architectural achievement is attributed to Talman, namely, the designing of Dyrham (often mis-spelt Dynham) House, Gloucestershire, which he planned for William Blathwayt, the politician, in 1698, and of which Colin Campbell, in his "Vitruvius Britannicus," gives a plan and elevation.

For the rest little or nothing is known of Talman, and although it has been conjectured that he died in 1715 no authority actually exists for this. Among the members of the "Gentleman's Society" at Spalding, was a Mr. Talman who seems to have been a pretty close attendant at the meetings about the year 1707, but as William Talman is known to have had a son, John, who was an amateur artist of some pretensions, and who died in 1726, the latter may be the Talman mentioned in the minutes of the Society.<sup>1</sup>

Many architects have either left published works or manuscript books of plans behind them, which in most instances materially help to throw light on the work they did, but in the case of Talman only one such memorial is, so far as is known, in existence—a book containing some drawings which we have the great authority of Mr. Wyatt Papworth for attributing to him.

This interesting and valuable volume is now in the library of the Royal Society of British Architects. It is bound in leather, and would appear to have been used as a sort of scrap-book, for although it contains numerous

<sup>1</sup> See "Nichols' Literary Anecdotes," vol. vi. p. 159.

ground-plans of houses erected, or merely designed, by William Talman, there are to be found in it, also, several pen-and-ink sketches of scenery on the Rhine, elevations of Italian buildings (heightened in colour), and some drawings of stained-glass windows in Upton Church (dated August, 1708) by John Talman, whose "J. T. fecit" may be seen on some of them; while the book also contains a few old engravings.

Of William Talman's work in it, which alone here interests us, there are some ground-plans of a "house designed for Lord Carlisle"; of one "designed to be built at Lamb's Conduit Fields for ye Ld. Devonshire"; another inscribed "For Duke of Leeds, at Keiton, in Yorkshire"; and still other plans executed "for Sir John Woodhurst, at Kimberley in Norfolk." Whether any or all of these were ever actually executed is a question; nor is it any easier to identify the ground-plan of the building "made by direction of K. William," which, however, was in all probability a specimen prepared, but never used, for some suggested erection in the grounds of Hampton Court, or in Bushey Park.<sup>1</sup>

## PRATT

Readers of "Evelyn's Diary" will not need to be told why Sir Roger Pratt takes a place, although a small one, in these pages, for it will be remembered that he is there distinctly referred to as the architect of the once splendid Clarendon House, and is also mentioned in other ways; otherwise one fears that his name has, like those of so many architects of importance in their day, been forgotten.

Sir Roger Pratt (he was knighted by Charles II.) was

<sup>1</sup> In 1766 a Talman Collection was sold in Covent Garden and deposited in Eton College Library, although it does not appear to be there now. See Gwynn, "London Improved," 1766, p. 63; and Riou, "The Grecian Orders," 1768, p. 57. There is a portrait of Talman in "Walpole's Anecdotes" (1798):

born at Marsworth, in Buckinghamshire, in October 1620, the register of his native village church recording the fact that he was baptized on November 2. He was the son of Gregory Pratt, at that time in business in London, his mother being a daughter of Sir Edward Tyrell, of Thornton in Buckinghamshire.

Nothing is known of his early youth, but he is subsequently found completing his education at Magdalen College, Oxford, which he entered in 1637, but left apparently without taking a degree; and in 1640 he became a student of the Inner Temple. It was after this that Pratt made what would later have been called the Grand Tour, and he must have been in Rome in 1644 or 1645, as Evelyn was there during those years, and speaks of first meeting Pratt in the Eternal City, referring to him on more than one subsequent occasion as "my old friend and fellow traveller (inhabitants and co-temporaries at Rome)."

It is very likely that the sight of the magnificent buildings in Italy influenced Pratt in choosing architecture as his profession; although he may possibly have made his Continental journey with the specific object of training his mind and eye to become an architect. In any case, we are told that "Pratt took to architecture and achieved a high reputation"; and that he must have become well known soon after his return to England, is proved by the fact that he was one of those (including Wren, Evelyn, and May) who were commissioned to survey St. Paul's with a view to its restoration. Evelyn, himself a theoretical architect of distinction, writing on August 27, 1666, thus refers to one of the first of these meetings: "I went to St. Paul's church, where, with Dr. Wren, Mr. Prat, Mr. May, Mr. Thos. Chichley, Mr. Slingsby, the Bishop of London, the Deane of St. Paul's, and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the generall decays of that ancient and venerable church, and to set downe in writing the particulars of what was fit to be done, with the charge thereof, giving our opinion from article to article. Finding the

maine building to recede outwards, it was the opinion of Chichley and Mr. Prat that it had been so built *ab origine* for an effect in perspective, in regard of the height; but I was, with Dr. Wren, quite of another judgement, and so we enter'd it; we plumb'd the uprights in severall places. When we came to the steeple, it was deliberated whether it were not well enough to repaire it onely on its old foundation, with reservation to the four pillars; this Mr. Chichley<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Prat were also for, but we totally rejected it, and persisted that it requir'd a new foundation, not onely in regard of the necessitie, but for that the shape of what stood was very meane, and we had a mind to build it with a whole cupola, a forme of church-building not as yet known in England, but of wondrous grace."

It is interesting to see by this that Pratt took a leading part in the discussion, and that Evelyn thought it worth while to specifically record his opinions. After the Great Fire Pratt seems to have taken something more than a merely academic position as a designer of much of the rebuilding of the City, and for his services in this respect he was knighted on July 18, 1668. It seems probable that the work he had already done for Lord Clarendon in Piccadilly may also have been instrumental in securing him this honour; in any case, it was a distinct advantage to Pratt that he had been able to secure the good-will of the then still powerful Chancellor.

Clarendon House is, indeed, Pratt's best, perhaps only, known work, and, from contemporary prints of it, it must have been extensive and stately. Foreign influence is observable in much of its contour, its mansard-roof and broken sky-line, but its projecting wings were a characteristic of the English mansions of more imposing proportions at this period.

So much has been written about the place that any detailed description is not required here; and in "Evelyn's

<sup>1</sup> Chichley was a sort of King's representative, and therefore he would be, of course, listened to with respect, although not a regular architect.

Diary," and other records of the period, the progress of its erection, from the time (August 1664) when it was commenced to the moment (September 1683) when its demolition was begun, is sufficiently told.

Pepys, who was no critic of bricks and mortar, found it "a beautiful house, and most strongly built in every respect"; Evelyn, whose critical judgment was consummate in such matters, allowed that it was "a goodly pile to see," and "placed most gracefully," but found "many defects as to ye architecture." And, indeed, one of the most obvious of these was a certain air of heaviness about the fabric, as if its architect, like a far better known one whom I shall soon be dealing with, thought that he could produce dignity by mere massiveness, and by laying heavy loads upon a long-suffering earth, could hide what was wanting in his architectural ability. However, the place pleased the great man for whom it was planned, and that was probably all that Pratt desired or expected.

Another house which was designed by Sir Roger, was Horseheath, in Cambridgeshire, which was erected a little after Clarendon House. Evelyn notes, on July 20, 1670, going to dine with Lord Allington there, and mentions that the place, then newly built, cost no less than £20,000,<sup>1</sup> and that Pratt was its architect. As I have mentioned in chapter iv., Webb was employed in the erection of Horseheath Hall, but either the two places (although both in Cambridgeshire) were not identical, or Webb must have been succeeded, soon after the commencement of the work, by Pratt, in which case it would seem probable that the latter worked out his predecessor's designs; although I cannot but think that had this been the case Evelyn would have mentioned it. For the rest there is no record of anything else that can be traced to Pratt; and as about this time his father, who had purchased the estate of West

<sup>1</sup> Lysons says as much as £70,000, but perhaps he was taking into account, the relative value of money then and at the time he wrote. He adds that in 1687 the whole estate was sold to John Bromley for £42,000. The Allingtons had been seated there since 1239.

Ruston, in Norfolk, died, and Sir Roger succeeded him as a country gentleman, it is likely enough that the latter gave up architecture and turned his attention to country pursuits. It is not known, however, whether he became learned in crops or known for the management of live stock. His death occurred on February 20, 1684, and he was buried at West Ruston. He had married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edward Monins, Bart., of Walder-shere, Kent, who survived him and, although marrying a second time, was, in 1706, laid to rest by the side of her first husband.

As to whether they had any children is not recorded ; but the "Dictionary of National Biography" states that a portrait of Sir Roger, by Lely, was at one time (1866) in the possession of the Rev. Jermyn Pratt.

## NOTE.

Hugh May, brother of Baptist May who was something of an architect himself, was the designer of old Berkeley House, Piccadilly, which he erected for Lord Berkeley of Stratton at a cost of "neere £30,000," as Evelyn tells us, in 1665. Among other houses designed by him was Cassiobury Park for the Earl of Essex, and Lady Fox's villa at Chiswick ; and Evelyn, in 1671, speaks of May as being then "going to alter and repaire universally" Windsor Castle. Like Pratt, May was one of the numerous Commissioners for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, and he also hoped to succeed Denham as Surveyor of the Works (see Pepys's Diary, *passim*).

## HAWKSMOOR

Although Hawksmoor became in course of time deputy to Vanbrugh in various royal and private works undertaken by the latter, his seniority in point of age and his long experience in architectural matters before Vanbrugh turned

his attention to building (for during the first thirty odd years of his life Vanbrugh devoted himself wholly to literature), necessitate his being dealt with before his more notable contemporary. Indeed, Hawksmoor knew much more about the secrets of his profession than did Vanbrugh, and it is not improbable that he was frequently the "ghost" of the latter's work. Vanbrugh's claim to be considered a famous architect was largely confined to the vastness of his conceptions—size seems to have been with him a sort of mania—whereas Hawksmoor, by a long course of training under the incomparable Wren, gradually became a master of his art in all its branches; and that his name has not attained the same celebrity as has Vanbrugh's is due to the fact that he was a quiet, unassuming earnest worker, with here and there flashes of inspiration, whereas Vanbrugh secured a sort of esoteric notoriety as a playwright who had turned architect, and whose vast conceptions were at once objects of interest and wonder to his generation. As we shall see later, this does not necessarily indicate that Vanbrugh possessed neither originality nor knowledge, but in his case they were not based on the long training necessary to produce a consummate architect, unless a man possesses the extraordinary natural gifts of an Inigo Jones or a Wren. Hawksmoor had no more marked natural gifts than had Vanbrugh, but close application, careful attention to detail, and a long and laborious apprenticeship produced, in his case, something that only just fell short of greatness.

He was born at East Drayton,<sup>1</sup> in Nottinghamshire, in 1661, and was christened Nicholas. Nothing is known of his forbears, nor have any *data* survived bearing on his early days. At the age of eighteen, however, he is found working under Wren as his "scholar and domestic clerk." When, in 1683, Wren began his creation of the palace of Winchester, it was Hawksmoor who was made "supervisor" of the building arrangements, or, as we should now say, clerk of the works; and he also acted as

<sup>1</sup> Or at Ragenhill or Ragnall close by, according to "Dict. of Nat. Biog."



deputy-surveyor at Chelsea Hospital. Here he probably first had a chance of doing some original, if subsidiary, work, for we find him receiving the sum of £10 "for drawing designs for ye hospital," although of course, it is quite possible that what he then did was merely to copy a set of the plans prepared by Wren himself. That he gave satisfaction to his master in these undertakings, however, is proved by the fact that, in 1698, he was called upon to fill the office of clerk of the works of the far more important building of Greenwich Hospital, his salary being fixed at 5s. a day.

At the same time he acted as assistant to Wren in the protracted re-building of St. Paul's, and had, in 1692, carried out the work at Queen's College, Oxford, from the designs of his master: notably the south quadrangle which, including the front facing the High, was not completed till 1730. The library which was finished in 1695, was also part of the original scheme, and although much of the re-building has been attributed to Hawksmoor, it seems now pretty generally conceded that he was merely carrying out Wren's designs, although here and there, especially after Wren's death, he may have introduced some original features of his own into the scheme.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, other work at Oxford can be allotted to Hawksmoor with no uncertainty.<sup>2</sup>

The year before Hawksmoor was at Oxford, he had obtained through Wren's influence, the post of clerk of the works at Kensington Palace which was at this time being enlarged for William III., and *inter alia* he superintended the erection, from Wren's design, of the south front. For the next twenty-four years Hawksmoor retained this post, giving it up in 1715 the year in which he was made clerk of the works at Whitehall.

<sup>1</sup> The drawings are preserved in Queen's College.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hamilton Thompson, in his "Cambridge and its Colleges," seems to think that Wren may have handed over his work at Emmanuel College to Hawksmoor, but this is impossible as it was begun in 1668 and practically completed in 1677, two years before Hawksmoor became his pupil.

The salary he received by this latter appointment was £90 per annum ; and after having held it three years he resigned on being created Secretary to the Board with an increased remuneration. At the same time his superintendence of the works at Greenwich still continued (he had been made deputy-surveyor in 1705), and he was responsible for the carrying out of the north-east, or Charles II. block ; Queen Anne's block ; and the west front and colonnade. At a later date (1735), Queen Mary's block was also begun under his auspices, although not wholly completed till 1752.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding these onerous duties, Hawksmoor, whose energy was quite surprising, having become associated with Vanbrugh, assisted him in the erection of Castle Howard, and was also deputy-surveyor of the works at Blenheim Palace. That his position here was an important one is proved by the fact that he received £200 a year, and £100 for travelling expenses, while engaged on it ; and that he gave full value, in time and thought, for the money is evidenced by his letters<sup>2</sup> to Joynes (the resident comptroller) which are full of care and anxiety about detail—a characteristic which was one of Hawksmoor's most notable qualities.

He seems to have been employed at Blenheim from 1710 to 1715, but between these years he found time to give his attention to a variety of other work ; thus, for example, in 1713, he was responsible for the erection of Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, although the designs for the mansion were probably by Wren who had added wings to the place some thirty years previously ; and in the same year he surveyed Beverley Minster, then little more than a ruin, and directed the repairs undertaken there.<sup>3</sup> Nor did all this exhaust his energy, for we find him rebuild-

<sup>1</sup> In the Soane Museum are preserved the accounts for the works at Greenwich ; and in the R.I.B.A. Library is an engraved plan, by Hawksmoor, of the Hospital at Greenwich.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> He drew a view of the north front, which was engraved by Fourdrinier and published in 1737.

ing the Church of St. Alphege at Greenwich during the years 1711 and 1718, and giving advice (1714) concerning the restoration of All Souls', Oxford, about which I shall have something to say presently when we come to the year in which he actually did work there.

But a still more important undertaking was to demand all Hawksmoor's activity and attention, and one on which he chiefly bases his claim to be considered an independent architect. This was the part he played in the erection of some of those fifty churches which the Act of 1708 had provided for. Hitherto he had been working in a subordinate capacity under Wren and Vanbrugh, and what original designs he may have provided in the case of the latter, were incorporated in the output of his master. Now he was to show what he could do by himself, and in the direction of ecclesiastical architecture to which he had not hitherto paid any particular attention.

Mr. Blomfield speaking of the influence of Wren and Vanbrugh on Hawksmoor, acutely remarks that the latter's original work indicates that he was continually trying "to translate Vanbrugh into terms of Wren;" and there is no doubt that, as a follower of two such unequal men, he had all the defects of their mingled qualities, and never quite succeeded in freeing himself from their opposing influences. The result was very often excellent proportion, knowledge of the art he had gained from Wren, and attention to detail for which he himself had a natural aptitude, overwhelmed by that tendency to pile masses of stone one on the other, with which Vanbrugh astonished his generation.

Hawksmoor was responsible for the designs of half a dozen of the fifty churches which it had been proposed to erect, but of these one—St. Giles-in-the-Fields—was not subsequently built according to his original designs; the five that were erected from his plans, however, are St. Anne's, Limehouse; St. George's-in-the-East; St. Mary Woolnoth; St. George's, Bloomsbury; and Christ Church, Spitalfields.

The first named, as we know it to-day is a restored, though

a judiciously restored, edifice, for it was seriously damaged by fire in 1850. It was erected between the years 1712 and 1720, and is said to have cost £38,000. It is a striking example of Hawksmoor's susceptibility to other influences, being a combination of various styles, and it was once likened to "a very large ship under easy sail, with a flag flying at her maintop."<sup>1</sup> St. George's-in-the-East was begun in 1715 and occupied fourteen years in building. The original estimate for it was something over £13,500, but it cost nearly £5000 more. It is built of Portland stone and has a tower 150 feet high; and in exterior appearance it somewhat resembles St. Anne's, Limehouse. The year after its erection Hawksmoor, in conjunction with James of Greenwich, succeeded Gibbs as surveyor to the fifty churches, and this has perhaps led to the report that James shares with Hawksmoor the credit of this design, but there seems no other reason to suppose that the latter was not alone responsible for it.<sup>2</sup>

The next church designed by Hawksmoor was that of St. Mary Woolnoth, which was erected during 1716-19, a shorter time than any of the others occupied in building. Standing at the corner of Lombard Street it is known to all Londoners some of whom may have wondered at its massive gaol-like appearance; but the inside, like most of Hawksmoor's, is ample and indeed fine, and if the massive heaviness of Vanbrugh was undoubtedly beginning to influence the architect, the large and well-proportioned interior may be placed to his own individual craftsmanship.

The year following the completion of St. Mary Woolnoth was to see the commencement of St. George's, Bloomsbury, which was completed in 1730. It is said to have been the first church furnished with a portico—a feature which subsequently, for a time at least, played an important part in church architecture. The interior of

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's "Londinium Redivivum," vol. ii. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> The working plans are preserved in the King's Library. Hawksmoor kept the account of expenses for the churches erected from 1713 to 1734.





CHRIST CHURCH, SPITALFIELDS

*To face p. 177*

St. George's is good ; large and airy, as are practically all those of Hawksmoor's churches, but the steeple is dwarfed by the imposing portico and badly placed, besides being made ridiculous (through no fault of the architect's) by the statue of George I. which surmounts it.

Christ Church, Spitalfields, is the best and the most notable of Hawksmoor's contributions to the fifty churches, and, in some respects, the most original of any in London. It has often been described, and there is no need to give full details of it here ; its bold portico supported by columns and surmounted by a semi-circular roof, and the remarkable originality and shape of its tower crowned by a spire, differentiate it from any other ecclesiastical edifice, and show that although its designer was largely influenced by men like Wren and Vanbrugh, he could on occasion strike out a distinct line of his own. Christ Church, Spitalfields, will not please all tastes, but it cannot be denied that its planning was an inspiration, whether for good or bad will depend largely on the feelings of its critics. It was begun in 1723, and finished six years later, and when completed was the largest of the modern London churches.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Wren, Hawksmoor succeeded him as surveyor-general of Westminster Abbey, and it was from his first design<sup>2</sup> that the two west towers were completed, the portions he added commencing about half-way up. There has always been some doubt as to who was actually responsible for these very unfortunate additions to the Abbey. They have been attributed to Wren by some ; others will not admit that he had a hand in them. What is very possible is that the design originated with Wren who, had he lived to complete it, would in all probability have so improved on his first rough draught (as was his custom) that something more in harmony with the rest of

<sup>1</sup> Its steeple is no less than 225 feet in height.

<sup>2</sup> Probably James of Greenwich actually superintended the work as Ralph, in 1736 the year in which Hawksmoor died, notes that "there is a rumour that the Dean and Chapter still design to raise the towers."

the fabric would have been the result, but that Hawksmoor prepared fresh designs based on Wren's work, not liking to produce an actually new plan. That this feeling may have alone restrained Hawksmoor, is, I think, borne out by the fact that he had a very marked, and for that period, exceptional, reverence for old work, as is proved by a circumstance that had occurred at Oxford as early as 1714. In that year when restoration was rampant at All Souls, the authorities desired to pull down the whole college and rebuild it; Hawksmoor was consulted and although the opportunity was thus given him to produce a complete college of his own design, he pleaded for the preservation of "all that was strong and durable (in the existing fabric) in respect to antiquity as well as our present advantage." What Hawksmoor did affect at All Souls is bad enough, but was probably attempted out of deference to the depraved architectural taste of the authorities who no doubt insisted on Gothic and got for their pains about the worst example of it possible.

Hawksmoor's ability, however, is better represented elsewhere in Oxford, such as in the south quadrangle of Queen's, with its fine façade to the High, the Hall and Chapel; and in the old Clarendon Press in which, however, Vanbrugh worked with him. For the latter he made the designs and received £100 "to gratify him for his work." But other plans he drew out for buildings in Oxford did not find favour with the authorities, and those for the rebuilding of Brasenose and the Radcliffe Library, as well as for a new front to All Souls, all prepared about 1720, were not carried into effect.<sup>1</sup> At an earlier date he had drawn plans, which were issued with an appeal for funds, for building a tower to St. Mary's Church in consequence of the fall of the spire in 1699, but nothing came of it. Nor was he more successful at Cambridge where Gibbs's later designs for the rebuilding of King's College were preferred to those that Hawksmoor had

<sup>1</sup> There are no less than seventy of Hawksmoor's designs in the Radcliffe Library.



executed in 1713. It was possibly at this time that he prepared "Plans of ye Town of Cambridge as it ought to be reformed," a vast scheme that may not unnaturally have given pause even to a generation in which re-building was rampant; and his design for a new portion of St. Johns (now in the King's Library) never survived its initial stage.

Among other work that occupied Hawksmoor's busy life was the designing of the Town Hall and Gates of Chester; a church for St. Albans; a monument to the Duke of Marlborough; and a column, and statue of Queen Anne, to be erected in the Strand (1713), and in 1736, he was engaged on a Mausoleum at Castle Howard. In 1726, during an illness of Vanbrugh, he filled the post of Deputy-Comptroller of the Royal Works, and in 1735 became deputy-surveyor; and he was also "Draftsman" to the Board of Works at Windsor and Greenwich. At the same time he found sufficient leisure to produce his "Remarks on Founding and Carrying on of Buildings at Greenwich" for the perusal of Parliament in 1728, and his "Short Account of London Bridge," in 1736. Indeed he was working almost up to his death which occurred at his house at Millbank, on March 25 of the latter year, although the *London Daily Post* for the preceding day had contained a premature announcement of his decease. He was buried at Shenley, Hertfordshire, and in the church is a stone slab to his memory.

He left a wife (to whom he bequeathed property in various parts—Westminster, Highgate, Great Drayton and Shenley), and an only child—a daughter who had been twice married during her father's lifetime.

As a private man, Hawksmoor was courteous, considerate and unaffected; a good husband and father; an unpretending, earnest worker; indeed a proof of his unassuming character is given in an application made by Vanbrugh to the Duke of Marlborough, on his behalf, in which the former asks "for some opportunity to do him (Hawksmoor) good because he does not seem very solicitous to do it for

himself." He was besides a scholar, a clever draughtsman and a good mathematician ; and as an architect, although over-burdened by much of that ponderousness which Vanbrugh was to make almost magnificent in its daring, he showed a very marked vein of originality in much of his work, and he had a minute technical knowledge of his art. Indeed even what he did in a wrong direction was done with so much sincerity and earnestness, that, in an age so largely artificial as his, if he cannot claim to be a pre-eminent architect, he may be regarded as greater than many whose names are better known, and whose claims to the admiration of posterity appear at first to rest on more solid foundations.

#### VANBRUGH

Of those I have just indicated, Vanbrugh is perhaps the most notable example. A wit, a soldier, a fine gentleman, a dramatist of a high order ; after some thirty-six years of activity in such fields, he suddenly determined on becoming an architect, and so effectually did he exert himself that he has taken a prominent place even among those who laboured all their lives at the art, and who have not succeeded in attaining anything like his fame. There is no gainsaying the fact that a man who could effect so much must have been no ordinary man ; and Vanbrugh, though a very ordinary—or, perhaps, one should say extraordinary—architect, was anything but an ordinary man. Indeed, he possessed many of the essentials of a very great one, and had he applied himself to architecture early in life, we should probably have lost a witty playwright and have gained a very fine architect. This seems the more probable because his work shows a gradually increasing improvement as he advanced, and indicates clearly enough that he had grasped the fundamental elements of the art, and was



SIR JOHN VANBRUGH

*To face p. 180*



slowly but surely mastering its less defined but no less necessary attributes. He was, however, ridden by a demon which no amount of effort would apparently have succeeded in unseating—the demon of size; and thus when he was called upon to plan a Blenheim, or design a Castle Howard, he did so on Brobdingnagian principles, and the dwellers in these stupendous palaces crept about between his huge columns and found themselves uncomfortable homes.

It has long been a recognised truth that size alone does not give dignity, either in men or mansions, but Vanbrugh never seems to have remembered this; and to apply what Pope once said of the princely Chandos:

“Greatness with (Vanbrugh) dwells in such a draught  
As brings all Brobdingnag before your thought;  
To compass this his building is a town,  
His pond an ocean, his *parterre* a down.”

But notwithstanding this mania for the heaping of stones one on the other, it was only in the exteriors of his great buildings that dignity was sought in mere size; the interiors were relatively insignificant, and where impressiveness might legitimately have been produced by large and well-proportioned apartments, the insides of some of Vanbrugh's most pretentious achievements are divided up into more or less small, in some cases even insignificant, rooms; so that, taking these in conjunction with the immensity of the buildings as a whole, one can appreciate the question said to have been addressed to the noble owner by one who saw Blenheim for the first time: “And where do you live?”

Where or how the dwellers in houses built by him lived, seems to have been Vanbrugh's last thought; and so long as immense façades, clustering pinnacles, and huge rusticated columns were present, he apparently cared or troubled about little else. The scene-painter was, indeed, always peeping out, and had Vanbrugh's huge houses been merely transferred to canvas, one might have supposed that their interiors were on the same immense scale as their out-

sides. But one need not further insist on this curious phase in Vanbrugh's character as an architect; his contemporaries, from Pope and Swift downwards, exhausted their wit, and sometimes their venom, in ridiculing the pretentiousness of his edifices; and it will be a pleasanter task to record the details of his life, and its many and varied interests.

He was the son of Giles Vanbrugh by Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir Dudley Carleton, of Imber Court, Surrey. His grandfather had fled from Ghent when the Duke of Alva laid waste the Low Countries, and had settled in the securer neighbourhood of Walbrook where he carried on business as a merchant, with success and credit. On his death, Giles Vanbrugh inherited his not inconsiderable fortune, and appears to have increased it by business both in London, and at Chester whither he migrated in 1667, and where he is said to have been concerned in what would be now called, I suppose, a sugar refinery. As, however, he had been liberally educated, and was a well-to-do man, besides having married in a highly satisfactory manner, it need occasion no surprise when we find that he obtained the position of Comptroller of the Treasury Chamber, nor need we smile on learning that he also resided for a time in Walbrook which in those days was as fashionable as much of the West End is now.<sup>1</sup>

There was, at one time, a considerable amount of doubt as to the birthplace of John Vanbrugh, but it is now known that it was in the parish of St. Nicolas Acon, and not in the Bastille as a rather cryptic expression in one of his subsequent letters, where he speaks of the Duchess of Marlborough's endeavour, "so to destroy me as to throw me into an English Bastille, there to finish my days as I begun them in a French one," seems to indicate. We shall see, however, that in early life he was for a time incarcerated in that formidable prison, and the expression used by him refers to the incident. At a later date he built for himself

<sup>1</sup> Giles Vanbrugh was buried in Holy Trinity Church, Chester, July 19, 1689; his wife lived till 1711, and was interred at Thames Ditton.

a small residence at Greenwich which he called the " Bastille House," and therefore the memory of his confinement was apparently not a very terrifying one.

Vanbrugh who was born in 1664, probably received the rudiments of his education at the Chester Grammar School, but at the age of nineteen he was sent to France, whether in order that he might make himself master of the language or in furtherance of some commercial transaction or political scheme is not known, but it seems likely that he there received what architectural training he ever had. That it could not have been a very complete one is proved by the fact that he came back to England in 1685.

Shortly after his return he entered the army, receiving a commission in the Earl of Huntingdon's regiment, on January 30, 1686. If he never saw service, he probably fulfilled that other requisite of a soldier of the period, of posing as a fine gentleman and man about town, and for many years he was known in London as Captain Vanbrugh, a grade he attained to in 1702. Four years after receiving his commission, Vanbrugh was seized at Calais and charged with travelling without a passport. At first the matter seemed trivial enough, and it was hoped that he would be speedily exchanged for one of the French prisoners then in this country ; but somehow or other this was not effected ; and so long after as May 1691, he was removed to Vincennes and there kept in durance. Nor was this the worst that was to befall him, for after being imprisoned at Vincennes for nearly a year, he was transferred in January 1692, to the Bastille, and there would probably have languished an indefinite time had not some mysterious influence caused his release, not, however, until he had spent the best part of another year in that fortress ; his discharge not taking place till the November of 1692.

On his release Vanbrugh made no haste to identify himself with the profession of architecture. Instead of this, indeed, his impressionable mind was led away into a very different channel. During his military career he had become acquainted with a fellow soldier, Sir Thomas

Skipwith, who was interested in a theatrical company, and Vanbrugh, who had apparently already occupied some of his idle hours in trying his hand at dramatic composition—Voltaire indeed states that he wrote a comedy during his imprisonment in the Bastille,<sup>1</sup>—showed his friend one or two scenes of a play which he had completed. Skipwith's enthusiasm encouraged the writer to complete the work, and in 1697, *The Relapse* which had been inspired by Cibber's *Love's last Shift*, and written in six weeks, was produced and received with unstinted applause. So successful was it indeed, that the all-powerful Halifax extended his patronage to the new playwright, and under his *ægis*, *The Provoked Wife* appeared in the May of the same year and with as triumphant a success.

But even in those days there were some who were horrified at the loose morality and questionable situations which neither the wit nor the comic invention of Vanbrugh could atone for, and the more successful his plays the more vehement were the denunciations of a section of the public. Vanbrugh attempted to defend himself, and we shall smile on being told by him that "there is not one woman of real reputation in town but, when she has read the play (*The Relapse*) impartially over in her closet, will find it so innocent she will think it no affront to her prayer-book to lay it upon the same shelf"; *Autres temps, autres mœurs*; I fear in these days Vanbrugh's witty indecencies would hardly bear so severe a test; and that even then he realised something of the questionable taste of his productions is proved not only by his attempting to justify himself, but also by the fact that in the following year (1698) he annexed a French comedy, Boursault's *Esopé à la Cour*, overlaid it with the most unimpeachable sentiments and moral lessons, and produced what he called "Æsop," which ran a few nights and was an absolute failure! Vanbrugh's dramatic work is on the whole so excellent, that to

<sup>1</sup> "Lettres sur les Anglois." Voltaire adds, "Ce qui est à mon sens fut étrange c'est qu'il n'y a dans cette Piece aucun trait contre le pays dans lequel il essuia cette violence."



deal with it fully would be to discuss not only the particular plays (*The False Friend* appeared in 1702; *The Confederacy*, and *The Country House* taken from Dancourt, three years later; and *A Journey to London*, which he left unfinished, was completed by Cibber, and brought out in 1728, as *The Provoked Husband*), and special characters such as Mrs. Amlet and Dick and Brass; Lord Foppington and Sir John Brute; but also the dramatic tendencies of the age, and the special qualities of the Restoration Dramatists—in a word to do (I fear it would be but feebly) what Leigh Hunt and Hazlitt and Lamb have done so well already.<sup>1</sup>

What alone, concerns me here is what Vanbrugh produced in another direction—that of architecture. Having arrived at the age of thirty-six, with two remarkably successful plays behind him, he seems to have sought other worlds to conquer, and to the surprise of every one who had probably forgotten by now, if they ever knew, that he had once paid any attention to architecture, he laid down the pen and blossomed forth as the designer—not of some small tentative effort, but of one of the largest and in some respects most splendid of English mansions—Castle Howard.

This imposing structure, although not so vast as Blenheim, possesses a total frontage of 660 feet, or exactly one-eighth of a mile! As was usual with Vanbrugh's designs, the main body of the palace, which has a frontage of 300 feet, is supported by two great wings each of which is built round a courtyard; one being the kitchen court, the other the stable court; while colonnades join the two blocks to the main building and enclose an immense central courtyard. The interior with its entrance hall and staircases on each hand leading to suites of rooms is effective, but the grand saloon is only 34 ft. by 25 ft., and the two largest rooms (those at each end of the garden front)

<sup>1</sup> Vanbrugh borrowed largely from Boursault and Dancourt and Molière, and he collaborated with Congreve and Walsh and Betterton, but there is always his own individuality in even such composite work.

are but 40 ft. by 15 ft., and conclusively show what has been before said, that Vanbrugh's one aim was to create buildings that should impress by the massiveness of their exteriors alone.

The general effect of Castle Howard is, however, lighter and, if one remembering Pope's assertion of "How Van wants grace," can use the epithet, more graceful, than that of Blenheim; indeed it seems to me extraordinarily fine when compared to the colossal mausoleum at Woodstock; and it is probable that had Vanbrugh not earned a name for heaviness in his buildings it would not have been considered ponderous except when compared with the relative insignificance of its rooms. It was erected for Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle, and that he seems to have been satisfied with the work is evidenced to some extent by the fact that, in his capacity of Deputy Earl Marshal (1701-6), he appointed the architect Clarenceux King-at-Arms, in 1703. As this office placed Vanbrugh over the heads of all the other heralds, they not unnaturally remonstrated, even to the length of a formal petition against the appointment, but in vain; and a man who was absolutely ignorant of the *arcana* of heraldry and knew nothing of the requirements of his office, and besides neglected his duties<sup>1</sup> and even ridiculed them in one of his plays, retained the post for over twenty years, only giving it up a month before his death in 1726.<sup>2</sup>

While engaged on Castle Howard Vanbrugh was appointed Comptroller to the Board of Works, in succession to Talman, with a salary of 8s. 8d. a day. This post, although not infrequently filled by practical architects, had been on occasion given to men so devoid of knowledge of the art as Sir John Denham (to take a striking instance), its duties, in such cases, being undertaken by deputies who really had something more than a superficial acquaintance with architecture, so that when Vanbrugh was appointed

<sup>1</sup> His first official signature appears in 1704. Dallaway.

<sup>2</sup> In 1706 he went to Hanover to invest Prince George (afterwards our George I.) with the Order of the Garter.

it was probably thought that the best man had been chosen.

The erection of Castle Howard was not the only private work confided to Vanbrugh at the outset of his career as an architect, for in the year in which it was commenced he was engaged in rebuilding Addicombe House for Mr. Draper, the son-in-law of John Evelyn; and the Diarist speaks of visiting the mansion on July 11, 1702, when it must have been on the eve of completion: "I went to Adscomb," says Evelyn, "to see my son-in-law's new house, the outside to the covering being such excellent brickwork, bas'd with Portland stone, with the pilasters, windows, and within, that I pronounc'd it, in all the points of good solid architecture, to be one of the very best gentlemen's houses in Surrey when finish'd." In the following year Vanbrugh received a commission from Sir Godfrey Kneller (a fellow member with him of the Kit-Cat Club) to erect a house at Whitton near Hounslow. When finished the mansion was called Whitton House, but in more recent days it has become well known, though so much altered and added to as to be practically a new building, as Kneller Hall.

A little later we find Vanbrugh engaged on the erection of the Opera House in the Haymarket (a congenial task one supposes), on ground which the architect had secured for the moderate sum of £2000. The first stone of this was laid in 1703, by the beautiful Lady Sunderland, and so expeditiously was the work completed that on April 9, 1705, the theatre was opened with a performance of Dryden's *Indian Emperor*. Vanbrugh was not only the architect but also the lessee and manager, and was soon joined in the latter capacity by Congreve. But things did not go well, chiefly owing to the fact that the acoustic properties of the auditorium were so defective that hardly anything that the actors said could be heard by the audience; in a word Vanbrugh had again fallen into his besetting sin of sacrificing utility to architectural effect. Worried by an unsuccessful venture he subsequently transferred the management to Owen MacSwiney who was

in turn followed by various impresarios, including the notorious Heidegger under whom the place as a house for singing seems to have done better than when plays were alone performed there, and as the scene of wonderful and costly masquerades, when it did best of all.

The year which saw the opening of the Opera House or Theatre, witnessed also the commencement of the work with which Vanbrugh's name is inseparably connected—the building of Blenheim Palace.

All the world knows that this vast pile originated in the desire of the country to bestow a fitting reward on the great captain who had taught the doubtful battle where to rage, and had made England feared on the continent as she had not been feared since Edward III. had carried his victorious arms over France, and Henry V. had led his soldiers to victory at Agincourt and had occupied Paris itself.

In 1706 Parliament ratified this general desire and voted the erection of a splendid mansion. One not unimportant point was, however, overlooked: no funds were assigned for payment of the work. The Queen, with whom at this time both the Duke and his illustrious Duchess were in high favour, ordered the building to proceed; and Vanbrugh seems to have been selected as architect not only with Her Majesty's ready consent, but also at the express desire of the Duke, and Duchess Sarah. Plans were prepared—and what plans! They must have required, one imagines, a special house for their reception alone. The work was put in hand; but things did not go smoothly from the beginning. In the first place dissensions arose between Vanbrugh and the redoubtable Duchess on the question of retaining and incorporating in the new building, the old manor house of Woodstock, which, to the architect's credit he was desirous of preserving on account of its antiquity and associations. Then the Treasury payments, when they could be obtained at all, were eked out in a fitful and altogether unsatisfactory manner, and although during her life the Queen paid for

such of the work as was then completed, the payments were often terribly behindhand, neither Vanbrugh nor the workmen liking to complain, as feeling sure that they would eventually be fully remunerated. It was a vain hope, and neither architect nor subordinates realised that it was possible for an English Parliament to vote the erection of a house and to leave the payment of it to be divided between the Queen who had approved the object, and the soldier to whom it was supposed to be a gift. Few more scandalous miscarriages of propriety have been recorded than the secret history of the building of Blenheim.

On Marlborough's fall from power in 1711, and the upsetting of his duchess's influence over the Queen, it would seem that the representatives of the nation thought themselves freed from any obligation to the great soldier who had upheld the honour, as he had preserved the safety, of the country. Anne, to her credit, did not think thus, and no odium attaches to her name in the sordid history of an event probably unparalleled in history. It is but fair to state that no less than £200,000 had already been expended on the palace; but this seems no reason why the Treasury, which must have seen the plans and perused the estimates, should have refused to spend more.<sup>1</sup>

Vanbrugh finding that if he could not make the Duke personally responsible for the expenditure that was going on unceasingly, he would himself be entirely (as he very nearly actually was) ruined, did all he could to inveigle the Duke into some acknowledgment of responsibility on which he could have a claim against his Grace. Marlborough, however, was too acute to be thus caught, and far too fond of money to be willing to pay, and, in any case, he naturally enough thought that he should be the last person to be called upon to do so. However, during one of his absences abroad, Vanbrugh seems to have obtained from Lord Godolphin a warrant constituting him Marl-

<sup>1</sup> The Blenheim Palace accounts are preserved in the British Museum. Additional MSS. 19592-605.

borough's architect with power to contract on his behalf. How he obtained this does not appear, but that he did hold it is as certain as that he carefully held it in reserve.

In the meantime Marlborough appears to have compounded with the workmen, undertaking to pay them as the work proceeded, and on the understanding that their wages should be discharged regularly and not according to the Treasury methods which had been intermittent to the last degree; on which undertaking the workmen agreed to accept a third of their original wages. In doing this Marlborough undoubtedly thought that he would be recouped by the Treasury—as he had a right to think; but as the Treasury seemed further off paying than ever, and as the Duke began to have misgivings, he stopped payment altogether and the workmen immediately struck. This was in 1715, three years after the new arrangement had been put in force. At this juncture Vanbrugh delivered a veritable *coup de théâtre*, by producing the warrant he had obtained from Lord Godolphin. But Marlborough was not to be frightened with such false fire, and he calmly disowned the warrant, pointing out, truly enough, that were such an instrument to be considered binding, no one would be safe; and Vanbrugh is found lamenting the loss of near £2000 due to him “for many years’ work,” and casting abuse on “that wicked woman of Marlborough,” whom he regarded, with good reason, as being even more ready than her illustrious husband, to ruin him.

There seems little doubt that Vanbrugh was so anxious to complete Blenheim that he went on relying on promises that he must have known were idle, rather than allow the work of his imagination to remain unfinished. It is also obvious that his plots to involve the Duke in the matter of payment will not bear a severe moral test. But he probably thought that by such an intrigue—worthy, as Isaac Disraeli<sup>1</sup> says, of one of his comedies—he would,

<sup>1</sup> See for an interesting account of the whole matter, “The Secret History of the Building of Blenheim” in the “Curiosities of Literature.”

through the Duke, force the hands of the Treasury; and that when he found this impossible, he turned in desperation on the man who was after all to possess the splendid palace, and sought recompense for himself and his subordinates from the immense wealth which Marlborough was known to have accumulated. The matter cannot be defended, and excuses are idle; all that can be said is that Vanbrugh did the whole of his share of the work and was paid for very little of it; and the chief blame seems to lie with a Government that could order a present and then refuse to meet the bill.

The whole affair is somewhat complicated, but one fact stands out from it—the now historic quarrel that ensued between the imperious Duchess and the disappointed architect. After the Duke's death in 1722, this war of words between the two continued with increased fury; and Vanbrugh remarks that the Duchess “was left £10,000 a year to spoil *Blenheim her own way*, and £12,000 a year to keep herself clean and go to law.” The indomitable Sarah retorted in a practical way by completing *Blenheim* (1724) from Vanbrugh's designs, but without his assistance, and by refusing to allow her enemy to enter the palace to which he had given, for so many years, his thought and care. When, indeed, on one occasion, Vanbrugh and his wife stayed at Woodstock with a party of ladies from Castle Howard, the Duchess, in an access of malevolence, “sent an express the night before he came there,” writes the indignant architect, “with orders that if she (*i.e.*, Lady Vanbrugh) came with the Castle Howard ladies, the servants should not suffer her to see either house, gardens, or even to enter the park, so she was forced to sit all day long and keep me company at the inn.”

Nor was this the extent of the Duchess's vindictiveness, for we find Vanbrugh writing thus in 1725: “I have been forced into Chancery by that — the Duchess of Marlborough, where she has got an injunction upon me by her friend the late good Chancellor (the Earl of Macclesfield),

who declared that I was never employed by the Duke, and therefore had no demand upon his estate for my services at Blenheim. Since my hands were thus tied up from trying by law to recover my arrear, I have prevailed with Sir Robert Walpole to help me in a scheme which I proposed to him, by which I got my money in spite of the hussy's teeth. My carrying this point enrages her much." <sup>1</sup>

Those who are acquainted with the history of this period will not be surprised to hear that Sir Robert Walpole proved ready to thwart the Duchess of Marlborough, and to help Vanbrugh, so far as he could, against the intrigues of his enemy. Sir Robert and the Duchess had for some time been mortal enemies, and Walpole had so effectually succeeded in circumventing some of old Sarah's manœuvres, that one can almost understand her assertion that it was only common justice to wish Sir Robert hanged!

Vanbrugh built a summer-house for the gardens of Walpole's Chelsea residence; and altogether seems to have found favour with that remarkable man. Nor was this the only circumstance that helped to soften the annoyances to which the architect had been exposed over the building of Blenheim, for in 1714 he had been created a knight, and two years later was made surveyor to Greenwich Hospital in succession to Wren, with a stipend of £200 a year. Indeed, the antagonism of the Marlboroughs seems to have little affected his professional work, for in 1716, we find him employed by that very curious and notorious person, Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe, in the erection of Eastbury in Dorsetshire, which was completed in 1718; and during the next six years he designed a number of private houses, including King's Weston, near Bristol, for the Hon. Edward Southwell; Easton Neston, in Northamptonshire; a mansion for Mr. Duncombe in Yorkshire;

<sup>1</sup> Horace Walpole indicates that as a further annoyance the Duchess employed Wren to design Marlborough House, instead of Vanbrugh, but Marlborough House was erected in 1709-10, before Blenheim was commenced.



Oulton Hall, Cheshire; and Seaton Delaval in Northumberland, the latter being erected in 1720. The last of his work on large mansions was the very considerable additions he made to Grimsthorpe. He here showed, as he had gradually been showing in the other houses mentioned, more restraint and less ponderousness of design, and it therefore seems obvious that his work, had he lived, would have advanced still further in the right direction.

Among other undertakings on which Vanbrugh was employed at various times, mention may be made of the erection of Dalkeith Palace for Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, in 1705; the restoration of Kimbolton Castle, for the Earl of Manchester, in 1707; the erection of the old house at Claremont for the Earl of Clare (afterwards Duke of Newcastle, Prime Minister under George II. and George III.) three years later;<sup>1</sup> the building of Floors Castle, near Kelso, since greatly altered however; the planning of the gardens at Stowe in 1719; and certain alterations, very unsuccessful in the main it must be confessed, to Audley End, two years later.

This is no bad record for a man who, before he attempted architectural work, had made his name famous as a dramatist; and whatever may be the final judgment on Vanbrugh's claims as a designer of houses, and there has been no slight reaction in this respect from the contempt and ridicule of many of his contemporaries, there can only be one opinion as to his activity and belief in his own powers.

But although he had met with triumphant success in one direction, and, in view of the satisfaction of his clients, could, as an architect, afford to smile at the sneers of his detractors, there is no doubt that the worry and anxiety incident on his unfortunate connection with Blenheim, helped to shorten his life; and even if many of his troubles, such as when, in 1713, he had been dismissed from the

<sup>1</sup> There used to be a tablet in the grounds mentioning this fact, and stating that the property belonged to Vanbrugh himself in 1708, which seems to indicate that he sold it to Lord Clare.

office of Comptroller to the Board of Works on account of a letter he had written protesting against the conduct of the Treasury, had been short-lived (for in 1715 he was reinstated in the post), they must have left a sting behind which time could alone efface; and it was time that now failed him, for his life was drawing to a close.

In 1718 he had applied for a lease of some ground in Scotland Yard, and had there built himself a small but somewhat pretentious house in a very mixed style, which was on more than one occasion the butt of Swift's satire.<sup>1</sup> Here when in London he resided, dividing his time between it and the residence at Greenwich, the Bastille House, as it was called, in the company of his wife (Henrietta Maria, daughter of Colonel James Yarbrough, of Snaith Hall, whom he had married in 1719), who was many years younger than himself and who long out-lived him,<sup>2</sup> dying in 1776 at the age of ninety.

As we have seen, Vanbrugh had been Clarenceux King at Arms for many years, and it appears that he was about to be raised a step higher by being created Garter, but on being informed that one John Anstis<sup>3</sup> had a reversion to the post, he withdrew his claims and resigned the office of Clarenceux, in February 1726; a little more than a month later (March 26) he died in Scotland Yard, aged sixty, from an attack of quinsy.

Vanbrugh was in every way a remarkable man; indeed, considering that he made an enduring name as a playwright and an architect, perhaps one of the most remarkable men of his time. The wit, knowledge of life, and easy familiarity with the habits of good society—and bad—make his dramatic compositions, in spite of their

<sup>1</sup> The original lease from 1719 was renewed to "Dame Henrietta Vanbrugh," and again so much later as 1767 to "Lady Vanbrugh."

<sup>2</sup> An idolised and only son, Charles, became a soldier, and was killed at the battle of Tournay in 1745. He had been married at Trinity Chapel, Knightsbridge, on June 9, 1721, to Anne Burt; both he and his bride being described in the register as of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

<sup>3</sup> For a notice of Anstis, see "Hearne's Diary," vol. ii. p. 231.

frequent indecencies, amusing and instructive reading, and enable their author to take a high place even among such masters as Congreve and Wycherley and Farquhar. His architectural achievements were, in spite of his prevailing fault, often original in conception, and, so far as their exteriors are concerned, frequently majestic in appearance; and, as the best authorities on their technical attributes attest, they showed in advancing years so marked an improvement in sincerity and restraint of design that had Vanbrugh lived another ten years it is probable that such remarkable lapses into the gigantic as Castle Howard and Blenheim (have I mentioned that the latter's total frontage is no less than 856 feet?) would not perhaps—how could they?—be forgotten, but would be remembered chiefly as the early attempts of one who had not then really found himself.

Vanbrugh's architecture was in his own day the butt of innumerable satirists, and has been adversely criticised by later generations of men fully constituted to judge without being biassed by the thousand and one circumstances that oftener poisoned the shafts of contemporaries, but he has had one famous defender in Sir Joshua Reynolds; while Sir Uvedale Price and others at a later day were found to substantially re-echo the great painter's eulogism, and even to say a word in defence of the much-abused Blenheim Palace.

For the rest Vanbrugh's character was an amiable and easy-going one; all his clients became his personal friends, and it is significant that not one of those who laughed at his buildings and ridiculed his style of architecture is found to say one word against the man himself. Of the innumerable friends which his wit and pleasant manners gained him he seems never to have lost one, and even Marlborough was ready to introduce him to George I. at Greenwich on the occasion of his receiving his knighthood. He appears never to have made an enemy, if we except Duchess Sarah with whom hardly any one ever succeeded in preserving a long friendship, and this not

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only shows the engaging sociability of his character, but also proves that his wit was entertaining without sting and did not, like that of some of his famous contemporaries, scintillate at the expense of others.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A little-known architect named William Wakefield is spoken of as the designer of Duncombe Park, Rokeby Park, and Atherton House, and according to Walpole, Helmsley. But nothing else seems to be known of him, and Mr. Blomfield surmises that he was probably entrusted with the carrying out of some of Vanbrugh's designs, which would account for the attribution of Duncombe Park to him.

## CHAPTER VII

ARCHER; JAMES OF GREENWICH; CAMPBELL;  
BURLINGTON; PEMBROKE; KENT

IN order to be as correctly chronological as possible I have placed the six architects whose names appear at the head of this chapter, together. By far the greatest was of course James, although Campbell did good work in his day; but the rest were merely distinguished amateurs, except Kent who was an all-round man, though certainly not pre-eminent either in architecture, landscape-gardening, or painting, all of which, however, he attempted with some measure of success.

### ARCHER

Thomas Archer properly comes first after Vanbrugh, for he was for a time Vanbrugh's pupil, and the influence of his master is to some extent apparent in his designs; although it cannot be denied that he possessed a sort of originality which, in the absence of any careful training, appealed to a generation that was ready to receive, with becoming rapture, anything new and unexpected.

Archer was the son of Thomas Archer who had been Member of Parliament for Warwick in the reign of Charles II., and was again returned for the county,

together with Mr. Bromley, in 1695.<sup>1</sup> It is not known in what year Thomas Archer the younger was born, but it was probably between 1675 and 1680, as his first architectural work dates from 1705. At this time, also, he first received the office of groom-porter to Queen Anne, possibly through his father's influence, succeeding Mr. Rowley<sup>2</sup> in the office, in the February of that year, an office which he continued to hold under George I. and George II. What the exact duties of this post were is a little vague; the official description of it is "Groom Porter of all Her Majesties houses in England and elsewhere"; and from a passage in Lady Cowper's Diary,<sup>3</sup> it would seem to have been something equivalent to that of the modern Gentleman Usher.

There is no doubt that Archer was a person of some importance in his day, and he seems to have studied architecture as many fine gentlemen of the period were then beginning to do, as a part of a liberal education; and as Vanbrugh was also a *persona grata* at Court, Archer found a master made to his hand.

In 1705 he plunged into his initial attempt at house planning by designing Heythrop Hall, in Oxfordshire; but after this effort he appears to have done nothing for four years, and even then to have executed but a minor, although in its way an elaborate, piece of work, notably the pavilion at Wrest Park. In the following year, however, we find him designing a house for Mr. Cary at Roehampton, a building which is reproduced in the "Vitruvius Britannicus," and which Walpole mentions as an example of its architect's "wretched taste."

Walpole, however, was not quite just in this, for, although Archer's work is far below the level of the best,

<sup>1</sup> "Luttrell's Diary."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "This was Twelfth Night (January 6, 1715), and such a Crowd I never saw in my life. My Mistress and the Duchess of Montague went halves at Hazard and won £600. Mr. Archer came in great Form to offer me a place at the Table; but I laughed, and said he did not know me if he thought that I was capable of venturing two hundred guineas at play—for none sit down to the Table with less."

several of his designs are not only free from wretched taste, eccentric as some of them undoubtedly are, but reveal a certain amount of originality, which, had it been chastened by more restraint and knowledge, would have deserved praise. Roehampton House, as it is called, is an unpretentious red-brick structure, somewhat plain and heavy, and just such a mansion as we should expect from an uninspired architect, but the drawing-room, with its ceiling decorated by Sir James Thornhill, was well proportioned, and the broken pediment, a feature Archer was fond of, is introduced not ineffectively, although it is more fully developed in another of the architect's subsequent designs, that for the Church of St. John, in Smith Square.

A far more notable example of his powers is St. Philip's Church, at Birmingham. Colin Campbell gives a ground plan and elevation of this in his "Vitruvius Britannicus," and there mentions the building as being "justly esteemed a very beautiful structure"; and Mr. Blomfield, who considers the actual church finer than can be judged from Campbell's plate of it, speaks with enthusiasm of the beautiful and original tower, which he considers one of the finest steeples in England. Indeed, notwithstanding that the influence of Hawksmoor is traceable, there is, in this church, so much of really individual design and excellent proportion attributable to the architect himself, that had he done nothing else he might, like single-speech Hamilton, have lived by this solitary but excellent effort.

Unfortunately, Archer has left other and less praiseworthy productions, such as St. Paul's at Deptford, designed in 1730, of which the steeple is again the most, perhaps the only, notable feature; and a church at Umberslade in Warwickshire, planned eleven years later.<sup>1</sup> But the building with which his name is chiefly associated has proved sufficient to counterbalance what good, though if we except the steeple at Birmingham never essentially great, work he did in other directions. This is the

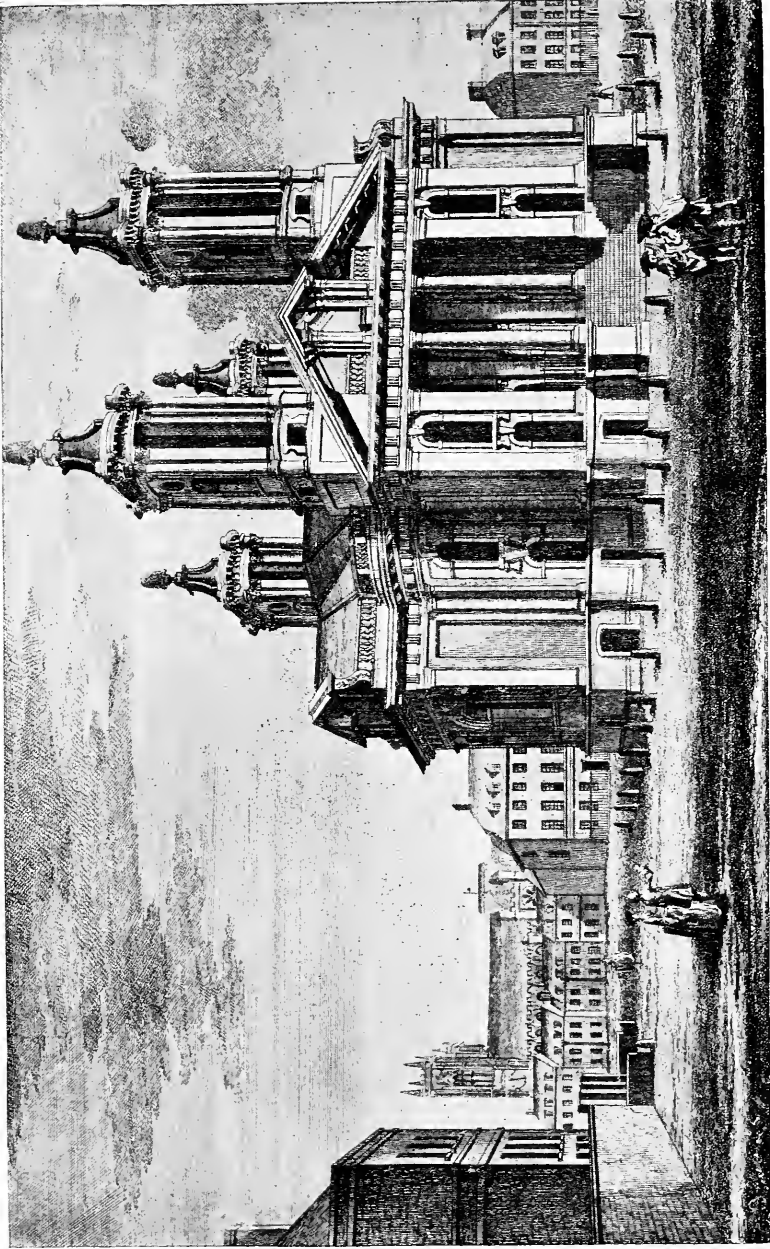
<sup>1</sup> He also designed Umberslade Park, close by, for Lord Archer, a relative.

famous—or perhaps notorious would be a fitter adjective—Church of St. John, Westminster, which was built between 1714 and 1728, being consecrated on June 20 of the latter year, although not opened for public worship till the following November. It is square, and has, as Londoners know, four towers or belfries at the corners, and Walpole dubs it a “*chef d’œuvre* of absurdity”; while similes have been ransacked to describe its extraordinary appearance—Lord Chesterfield remarking that it reminded him of an elephant with its legs in the air, and Charles Matthews likening it to a dinner-table in the same position.

It was the second of the fifty churches which were ordered to be erected at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it is stated to have cost no less than £40,000. It must have been begun at the end of Queen Anne’s reign, for I find that by 1715 a thousand pounds had been paid to the workmen, the orders for such payments being signed by the Commissioners of whom Vanbrugh was one, which latter circumstance may have led to the once general supposition that he was responsible for the building.

In looking into the history of St. John’s Church, one wonders whether, after all, Archer deserves the ridicule that has been cast upon him; for it appears that during the erection, the ground suddenly began to settle through the swampy nature of the soil, and in order to balance the foundations the four corner towers were added more from necessity than choice; besides which, when the architect found that this was the only practicable way of getting out of an unforeseen difficulty, he intended to raise the body of the church and to surmount it with a large central tower and spire. In the Crowle Pennant is a drawing entitled “Mr. Archer’s design for St. John’s Church, Westminster, as it was resolved upon by the Commissioners,” and this is so different in outline from the existing edifice as to prove that the character of the latter was an afterthought, due to circumstances over which the architect had no control.





ST. JOHN'S, SMITH SQUARE



Chamberlaine, in his "Survey of London and Westminster," thus refers to the church and the unfortunate circumstances attending its erection: "It is," he says, "remarkable for having sunk while it was building, which occasioned alteration in the plan. On the north and south sides are magnificent porticos, supported by vast stone pillars, as is also the roof of the church. At each of the four corners is a beautiful stone tower and pinnacle: these additions were erected that the whole might sink equally, and owe their magnitude to the same cause. The parts of this building are held together by iron bars which cross within the aisles."

The interior is ample, and parts of it are more or less dignified, but it is plain, as the "assembly-room" class of churches generally are, and, except for some good wood-carving, not particularly interesting.<sup>1</sup>

Besides the houses and churches I have mentioned, Archer does not seem to have done much other work, but Cliefden House, for Lord Orkney, subsequently destroyed by fire, which Walpole attributes to him, can, with every show of reason, be placed to his credit.<sup>2</sup>

His death occurred on May 23, 1743,<sup>3</sup> and that he amassed a large fortune (although part of it may have been bequeathed him by his father) seems evidenced by the fact that he left no less than £100,000 to his nephew, H. Archer, Esq., who was at one time M.P. for Warwick, as Thomas Archer the elder had been.

As an architect, Archer, although he did, as we have seen, some not wholly indifferent, in fact, in one instance at least commendable, work, is not of any particular importance. He was a pupil of Vanbrugh, but what of

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that Churchill was once curate and lecturer here, and here preached with so soporific an effect that, as he himself states, "Sleep at my bidding crept from pew to pew."

<sup>2</sup> In 1710 he designed an elaborate Pavilion for the Duke of Kent's seat in Bedfordshire, a representation of which Campbell gives in his "Vitruvius Britannicus," where Cliefden is also given as his work.

<sup>3</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Vanbrugh's style he seems to have preserved was that in which his master was least praiseworthy; he carried on no tradition, and, in common with many of the eighteenth-century designers, he was too tied down by formula to exhibit any very marked individuality. Like Colin Campbell (a much finer architect, however), and Lords Burlington and Pembroke, he should rather be classed among the clever amateurs than among those whose life-work was entirely dedicated to the mastering of the innumerable intricacies of an exacting profession.

### JAMES OF GREENWICH

With the architect we now come to—John James—the case is altogether different. Here we have a man who was bred to the profession, and whose difference from Archer is just the difference between his master, Hawksmoor, and that of the latter, Vanbrugh; that is to say, between the carefully trained native intelligence, and the fine gentleman who, having mastered certain elementary essentials of the art, regarded himself, with some complacency, as a finished designer.

John James, known as James of Greenwich from the fact that in later life he lived there, was the son of Thomas and Eleanor James, the latter a person of some pretensions to fame as a political writer, and evidently a woman of a masculine turn of mind, for, after her husband's death in 1711, she continued to carry on the printing business in which he had been interested. She seems, too, to have been rather eccentric; indeed, she is described as "a mixture of benevolence and madness." This need not trouble us, however, and when we know that she was the mother of three sons: John, the architect; Thomas, afterwards a type-founder; and George, a printer, we know all that is necessary for our purpose about Mrs. Eleanor James.

The date of John James's birth is unrecorded, nor has

any information come down to us as to his early education or architectural training, but that he must have made a mark in the latter by 1705, is proved by the fact that in that year he was chosen to succeed Hawksmoor as clerk of the works at Greenwich, a post he continued to hold till his death forty years later. In this capacity he worked under such unequal architects as Wren and Vanbrugh, Colin Campbell and Ripley, and the experience he thus gained must have been of inestimable benefit to him, at least in preventing him from becoming stereotyped in style or conventional in method.

James's first attempt at independent work was in the direction of domestic architecture, for in 1710 he designed for the Hon. James Johnstone—the "Mr. Secretary Johnstone" whom Pope so bitterly satirised—the mansion at Twickenham which has since been known as Orleans House, in consequence of its later association with the French royal family when in exile. According to Ironside,<sup>1</sup> the house was built "after a model of the country seats in Lombardy"; and the same writer thus describes the place as it was at the end of the eighteenth century: "It is a handsome building of brick, but the front has been spoiled by removing the entrance and throwing out a bow from the bottom to the upper story. Before this alteration, there was a handsome door-case of Portland stone, with a window over it suitably ornamented. The present way into the house is in the centre of a wing added to it, or a passage to an elegant octagon room at the end, which was built on purpose for the reception and entertainment of her late Majesty Queen Caroline. These additional buildings make one very long wing, which has an awkward appearance, for want of somewhat to answer it on the other side for the sake of uniformity. This passage to the octagon is made use of as a musick room."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "History of Twickenham."

<sup>2</sup> The octagon referred to above was designed and added by Gibbs. There is a representation of the mansion in the "Vitruvius Britannicus," vol. i. Plate 77.

The year after the planning of Secretary Johnstone's house we find James employed at St. Paul's in the rather curious capacity of master carpenter; a post, I imagine, equivalent to that of overseer or superintendent of the final work on the edifice.

Five years later (1716) he became assistant surveyor with Hawksmoor, which is sufficient proof that he must by that time have shown no little capacity as an architect, an additional proof of which is afforded by the fact that in the same year, on the resignation of Gibbs, he was chosen as surveyor to the Commissioners of the "fifty churches."

But, before this, James had been employed on two other churches, St. George's, Hanover Square, and St. Mary's, at Twickenham. The former is probably his most notable production, certainly attention has been centred on it, perhaps more than on any other church in London, for it has long been the proverbial scene of the more important weddings, although in these days other sacred edifices have almost rivalled it in this respect. It was commenced in 1712, the first stone being laid on June 20 of that year, and finished eleven years later, being consecrated by Bishop Gibson on March 23, 1724. It was one of the fifty new churches, but, as we see, was designed by James before he became surveyor to the Commissioners.

It has been rightly said that the portico would be thought handsome if there were space to admire it;<sup>1</sup> and there is no doubt that, in common with so many other fine buildings in London, St. George's suffers by the relatively small open space in front of it; but, notwithstanding this, the portico is handsome, and compares favourably with that of St. George's, Bloomsbury, or even with the still finer one of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. What is not so excellent is the steeple, which, according to a system which James is said to have introduced, is placed on the roof with apparently no proper support. The interior of the church—and who does not know it?—is sombre, but well-proportioned, and possesses that kind of quiet dignity

<sup>1</sup> Pennant.



ST. GEORGE'S, HANOVER SQUARE

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by the aid of which even lesser men sometimes almost rivalled the perfect lines of the great Wren himself.

St. George's is Corinthian in style, and is built of stone; St. Mary's, Twickenham, is, on the other hand, a remarkable example of brickwork—indeed, Cobbett<sup>1</sup> calls it, in this respect, "inimitable," and adds that "the walls are of prodigious thickness; every detail is carried out conscientiously and thoroughly, and in such respects it puts to shame many more pretentious modern structures." The well-known tower is, of course, of very much earlier date, indicating, indeed, that the original church must have been erected in the time of Edward III.; and it was only the body of the building which James was called upon to rebuild. The edifice fell to the ground in 1713, and that at least one person foresaw what was likely to happen is proved by a passage in one of Lady Wentworth's letters, dated May 12, 1713, in which she says: "Did I ever tell you the church is fallen down, and the fat minister is dead and Dr. Pratt is minister? Soe before it fel he preached one Sarment in it, but would preach noe more, but ordered Pasmore to make a tabernakle in the church-yard, which al has and must contribute to. Soe he preached there and exhorted al to give thancks for thear great deleverence for the church not falling when they wear in it, it being then standing. The people all laughed at him, and in a week's time it fel down to the grownd, soe all the parrish contrebutse to the building of it."

The churchyard was at the same time enlarged, and we find Sir Godfrey Kneller and Thomas Vernon, the then churchwardens, applying, in 1713, to the Duke of Somerset for a grant of additional ground for the purpose.

It seems probable that James was selected as architect on account of the work he had done a few years earlier for Secretary Johnstone close by; and at that time the red brick stone-pointed church and mansion must have made (as to some extent they still do) two dominant and warm notes at this part of the river.

<sup>1</sup> "Memorials of Twickenham."

The next work which we have any evidence of James undertaking was certain repairs, such as re-facing, &c., to the older courts and the chapel at Caius College, Cambridge, on which he was employed intermittently from 1718 to 1726. But between these years—notably in 1721—he was commissioned by Sir Gregory Page to design a house at Blackheath. It was said to have been a miniature copy of Houghton Hall, but as Houghton was not designed by Colin Campbell till two years after the house at Blackheath was erected, there must be some mistake here. Mr. Blomfield states that the place was demolished in 1787; the “Dictionary of National Biography” places this event two years later. In Walford’s “Old and New London” is a view of a small house, known as West Coombe, and dated 1794, which is said to have been erected for Captain Gilfridus Walpole and designed by Lord Pembroke, on ground leased from Sir Gregory Page. In outline this house is so like Marble Hill, which Pembroke is known to have planned, that it seems not improbable that he was its architect; on the other hand, in view of the contradictory statements regarding it, it may have been the identical mansion erected by James.

In 1725 James became Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, and the completion of the two west towers from Wren’s designs, now, however, generally allowed to be the work of Hawksmoor, has been attributed to him.

In the following year he was engaged on the rebuilding of the old East India House, which had hitherto been domiciled in the mansion leased to the company by Sir William Craven in 1701. James’s design was apparently a very modest one compared with the later building with its long façade and central portico supported by eight Ionic columns, which, with other improvements, was added during 1799 and subsequent years. Four years after completing this work James designed a new steeple for the church of St. Alphege at Greenwich; indeed the plans for the whole church have been attributed to him, but it is more likely that they originated with Hawksmoor. It is rather diffi-

cult, in the absence of any actual proof, to discriminate between certain work of these contemporaries, just as it is uncertain which of them was actually the pioneer in the introduction of the portico as a characteristic of church building—one introducing it into St. George's, Bloomsbury, and the other into St. George's, Hanover Square, at about the same time.

For some years before this the Duke of Chandos had been engaged in erecting his splendid seat at Canons, and James, in conjunction with Gibbs and an architect named Sheppard (of whom nothing more appears to be known), was employed to design it. No plan or elevation of the structure as a whole is known to exist, but from the elevations of the north and south fronts, prepared by Hulsberg in 1721 and 1730, we can see that the whole Palladian palace was one of such splendour as to be a fitting residence for its princely owner. Its foundation walls were twelve feet thick; those above ground only three feet less; and its four fronts each extended to 120 feet. Unlike those in Vanbrugh's huge erections, the rooms were of fine proportions, the saloon being supported by marble pillars, and the whole decorated by the combined skill of the architects, and the Italian artists—Bellouchi, Pergotti, and Paulocci; while Grinling Gibbons added the fruits (and flowers) of his inimitable imagination and workmanship.<sup>1</sup>

Canons was completed before 1730 in which year, as we have seen, James was engaged at Greenwich, and it must have been about the close of his undertaking for the Duke that he took the unfortunate step of entering into partnership with his brother Thomas, William Fenner, and William Ged,<sup>2</sup> in an attempt to work a patent for block-

<sup>1</sup> For a long description of the place, see "The Princely Chandos," by J. R. Robinson.

<sup>2</sup> In 1736 Ged issued his "Proposals for Printing by Subscription" a correct edition of Sallust's works, &c., "from the most beautiful small types done by plates in the manner lately invented by William Ged, Goldsmith in Edinburgh." It consists of a folio leaflet printed on both sides, and is probably unique.

printing and stereotyping invented by the latter. James appears to have been associated in the matter with the hope that his large acquaintance among the nobility and other persons of distinction would be likely to forward a scheme greatly depending for its success on patronage and introduction. But the anticipations of the little company were not destined to be fulfilled, and in 1729 the undertaking failed, and James lost heavily by it.

Luckily for him, his professional work was not affected by this disaster, and in 1731 he was employed by the city authorities to take down the old Bishopsgate which had been erected in 1471, and to put up a much less elaborate gate in its place. The more or less utilitarian structure which he built only remained standing for about thirty years, being removed in consequence of the passing of an Act (1760) empowering the city authorities to remove certain entrances to the city, which had no longer any meaning or use. A little later James is said to have designed the church of St. Luke, Old Street, but it is more generally, and with reason, attributed to Dance who was at this time clerk of the works to the Corporation. As, however, St. Luke's was Dance's first work, it is not improbable that he may have sought James's help in this initial attempt, especially as his earlier training—he is said to have been originally a shipwright—had hardly prepared him, one would suppose, for the planning of churches. The tradition that James was the architect of St. Luke's may have thus arisen, and perhaps, if we knew all, he might still properly claim it as his own.

That he was commissioned to repair and re-case the tower of St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1735, for which undertaking a Parliamentary grant was passed, seems, however, satisfactorily established, as his duties as assistant surveyor would naturally connect him with such a work. The year after it was completed James succeeded Hawksmoor as Surveyor of the Royal Works, and as such may be said to have arrived at the goal of his ambition.

Beyond that already mentioned, no other architectural work is assigned to James; but, in addition to what he did in this direction, he produced several books, chiefly translations or disputatious publications. Thus so early as 1707, he brought out "Rules and Examples of Perspective proper for Painters and Architects," from the Italian of Andrea Pozzo, with plates by Sturt; in the following year he published an English edition of Claude Perrault's "Treatise on the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture," which was also illustrated by Sturt; in 1712 appeared his "Theory and Practice of Gardening, from the French, it is supposed, of Alexandre Le Blond, and illustrated by thirty-two fine plates by Van der Gucht. About the same time (1711 to 1717) he was engaged in a pamphleteering war over the matter of a survey he had been commissioned to make of the Archbishop of Canterbury's (Tenison's) residence, and a demand for the payment of dilapidations, instituted by Tenison's successor, Wake; which was, however, finally settled by arbitration after a long and somewhat acrimonious dispute. James produced, at a later day, a small work entitled "A Short Survey of several Schemes that have been offered to the Publick in relation to the Building of a Bridge at Westminster." It was published in 1736, the year in which an Act for constructing a bridge here had been passed. Batty Langley, who had previously made a design for the bridge, replied to James's pamphlet in 1737, but the work was entrusted to Labeyle, a naturalised Swiss, who, in 1739, issued his "Account of the Method made use of in laying the Foundations of Westminster Bridge."

Nothing further is known of James whose private life has successfully evaded that glare of publicity which generally falls upon men who have made a name for themselves; and when it is recorded that he died at Greenwich after a long illness on May 15, 1746, leaving a wife; and that his only child, a son, predeceased him by two years, I have, I think, set down all that is known of a man who was a painstaking and carefully trained

designer, but who, it must be confessed, wanted, with all his knowledge, that touch of inspiration which goes to the making of a pre-eminent architect.

### COLIN CAMPBELL

Although Colin Campbell designed some fine mansions, it is probable that had he not worked under the *ægis* of the influential and gifted Lord Burlington, nor published his extensive "Vitruvius Britannicus," his name would have been almost unknown to a later generation than his own. Walpole, in his condescending way, dismisses him in less than a dozen lines,<sup>1</sup> and in them takes the opportunity of having a characteristic side-hit at Gibbs, to whom he is curiously unjust, by stating that Campbell had fewer faults but no more imagination than his countryman; which is the sort of damning with faint praise by which one might as easily say that an oyster has little more flavour than a truffle! That he lacked individuality is only to say that he shared with various other architects of the day the inability to stamp on his works that personal touch which the great men have always succeeded in doing, but he had distinct ability of a limited kind, and he seems to have been a master of the technical part of architecture—in short he was a good, though certainly not a great, architect.

As in the case of James of Greenwich, nothing is known of his early life or training except that, as his name indicates, he was a Scotchman, and was patronised at the beginning of his career by the Duke of Argyle, of whom, as a Campbell, he may probably have been a kinsman. Like many of his countrymen, he determined to push his fortunes in the south, thus adding point to Dr. Johnson's well-known saying; but before leaving his native land he designed a

<sup>1</sup> Campbell has been unfortunate, too, in having but scanty notice taken of him in the "Dictionary of National Biography," where several works known to be his are not even mentioned.

small house at Shawfield, near Glasgow, for a Mr. Daniel Campbell, in 1712. Indeed, he left traces of his early activity on his route to London, for he appears to have erected a somewhat similar dwelling at Beverley for Sir Charles Hotham, and another at Chester-le-Street, Durham.

Arrived in London he was taken under the protection of Lord Burlington, the Mæcenas of the arts at that period, probably through the introduction of the Duke of Argyle, and during the years 1717 and 1718 he was engaged on the improvements being carried out by the earl at Burlington House, Piccadilly. There has been a good deal of doubt as to the exact extent of Campbell's work here, and the matter has been so carefully discussed by Mr. Phéne Spiers<sup>1</sup> and others, that it is not necessary to recapitulate it; according, however, to Colin Campbell's own showing, he was responsible for "the front of the house, the conjunction from thence to the offices, the great gate, and the street wall"; and elsewhere in his "Vitruvius Britannicus," he indicates that he built the western wing in conformity with that on the east which had been previously (Lord Burlington began his improvements in 1716) erected by another architect.

The credit of this earlier work has been given to Leoni, not because it was actually known to be his, but because he was brought from Italy by Lord Burlington, and was not improbably responsible for the famous colonnade; but I have recently found, in Gibbs's MS. account of his own life, preserved in the Soane Museum, the following words: "The Earl of Burlington had him (Gibbs) to build and adorne his house and offices in Piccadilly, they are all built in solid Portland stone, as is likewise the fine colonnade fronting the house, of the Dorick order."

This throws a fresh light on a point that has been for long an obscure one, and introduces into the rebuilding of Burlington House yet another architect besides Campbell,

<sup>1</sup> In two articles of the highest value in "The Architectural Review" for 1904.

Burlington, Kent, and Leoni, who all seem to have had a finger in it.

It will be observed that Campbell claims by far (with one exception—the remarkable colonnade) the most important features of the new work at Burlington House; but for several reasons it seems more than likely that although he may have superintended such work, and may even have translated rough drawings into architectural terms—an office for which he was admirably fitted—he did not actually design all the portions to which he indirectly lays claim. Thus the front has such a marked resemblance to that of the Palazzo Porto at Vicenza, that it is reasonable to suppose that Lord Burlington brought drawings of it from Italy and employed Campbell to copy them. The much-praised gateway had, also, so distinct an Italian *provenance*, that it is not improbable that something of the same kind occurred with regard to its genesis. The wall—the most expensive in England, it was termed—was, however, no doubt designed and erected by Campbell; nor might we have doubted his sole claim to the other portions mentioned but for the reasons given, and also for the additional one that he was clearly not averse from laying claim by implication, in his published works, to designs of which he was rather the publisher, or perhaps one should say the adapter, than the author.

As I shall have something more to say about Burlington House when speaking of the amateur architect for whom it was designed, I need not enlarge on the subject now, but will pass to certain other works with which Campbell was connected. One of the most important of these, on which he seems to have been employed between 1715 and 1720,<sup>1</sup> was the once famous Wanstead House, demolished in 1822. Campbell, who figured the really splendid mansion in his “*Vitruvius Britannicus*,” there speaks of it thus: “You ascend from the court by double stairs on each side, which land in the portico, and from thence into the great hall 51 feet long and 36 wide and in height the same. This

<sup>1</sup> He made two designs for this, the latter of which was selected.



leads into the salon, being an exact cube of 30 feet, attended with two noble apartments of state, all fronting the gardens."

Old views of the place show it to have been very imposing, and built in that classic style of which Stowe and Wentworth Woodhouse are existing examples. The central block rises slightly above the two wings, and is ornamented in the centre by six columns supporting an entablature, the main entrance being beneath this portico and reached by a returned double flight of steps. The over-windows and the use of rusticated work remind one of Inigo Jones from whom doubtless Campbell borrowed these points. We can quite understand that when first erected the mansion was regarded as "one of the most elegant houses in England." Indeed, the author of the "Complete English Traveller," published in 1771, waxes quite enthusiastic over the details of the building, but he adds that "it seems to want some of that proportion necessary to set off the whole." It is but fair to Campbell to state that his original design was considerably modified, and that his first intention was to erect the whole in three stories, whereas only the centre portion was carried out; and the pavilions for the ends, which he had designed, were never built. However, as it was, the "noble house or rather palace," as it was termed, was considered to equal if not surpass Canons itself. It was erected for Sir Richard Child, son of Sir Joseph Child, of the well-known banking-house, who was created successively Baron Newton, Viscount Castlemaine, and Earl Tylney.

In addition to Campbell's architectural work at Wanstead,<sup>1</sup> Kent was employed to decorate certain of the ceilings, and the interior was as lavishly embellished as we know Canons to have been. Horace Walpole visited the place in 1755 and even he who was not uniformly just to Campbell's merit, allowed that the mansion was very fine.

Shortly after its completion, the architect was employed

<sup>1</sup> According to him the portico of six columns was the first of its kind in England.

by Sir Robert Walpole to design Houghton Hall.<sup>1</sup> This immense and imposing place has a total frontage of 450 feet and reminds us of the colossal size of some of Vanbrugh's buildings; but it is far better proportioned and has not that meaningless assemblage of parts which is to be found in some of the earlier man's work. Indeed Houghton, although the hypercritical may find fault, is a very fine example of a splendid country house of the period, and gives us a better conception of Campbell's occasional lapses into rightness than anything else he attempted. As we shall see Ripley had something to do with it later, as he replaced Campbell as architect, but it is essentially Campbell's design, and as such he deserves the credit of it. The great central block has a frontage of 166 feet, and its four corners are surmounted by cupolas; the wings (allocated to domestic purposes) being joined to it by a series of colonnades. What appears a defect is that these subsidiary buildings do not carry out the scheme of the main building; but allowing for this, the work as a whole is a magnificent example of what Campbell could do, and is one of which a much greater architect would not need to be ashamed.

Houghton<sup>2</sup> was a great English mansion adapted to the needs of a great English noble and more or less in harmony with the characteristics of the country, but Campbell was not always permitted to work on this straightforward plan, or did not always permit himself to be so restrained, and in Mereworth in Kent, which was his next important undertaking, he copied the design which Palladio had once made for Almerigo; a design suitable enough in Italy but absurdly out of place in this country.

The chief feature of Mereworth, like the better known example erected for Lord Burlington at Chiswick, was a circular hall inclosed in a square, and surrounded by rooms

<sup>1</sup> Commenced in 1722 and completed 1735.

<sup>2</sup> Plans of it are given in Horace Walpole's "*Ædes Walpoleanæ*," and descriptions are to be found in the various histories of Norfolk.

*en suite.* At this moment that fashion which in a few years time was to produce the Society of Dilettanti, had already set in and had brought with it a passion for the antiquities of Greece and Italy, which impelled noblemen and gentlemen returning from the Grand Tour, not only to import into this country innumerable remains scattered in the environs of Rome and Athens, but also to try and emulate the architectural features of these two countries by setting up reproductions of their buildings in an alien land. Much good was done by this enthusiasm and also no little harm. It supplied architectural models, but it helped to smother native talent and to narrow native taste; and it is for this reason that, as a whole, the eighteenth-century architects are so deficient in invention and so stereotyped in their designs. Besides, in the anxiety to copy anything of Roman and Greek origin, the English architects (or perhaps the blame should more rightly be laid at the doors of their patrons) did not always remember that what was appropriate in a land of warmth and sunshine, was not suitable for one in which the first necessity of house-building is that cold and damp shall be vigorously battled against.

From this point of view Mereworth cannot be considered a success; but as a careful copy of an Italian villa it had its interesting features. It was erected for the sixth Earl of Westmoreland, and was completed in 1723. Campbell designed a very similar house for the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood, in the following year, but this was never carried out. At the same time he was engaged on the planning of Pembroke House in Whitehall for Henry, Lord Herbert, the "Curio" of Pope's Moral Essays, and one of those noblemen who gave themselves with enthusiasm to the collecting of "Statues, dirty gods and coins" as the same mordant wit describes it. This was not, however, Campbell's earliest design for a London building, for in 1717, he had planned the Rolls House in Chancery Lane, of which the first stone was laid on September 18 of that year. It is stated to have cost £5000—a moderate sum, especially when we know that much

labour and time were expended on its erection, it not being actually completed till 1725. Those who remember it (for it was only demolished some twelve years ago) will not need to be told that it was an excellent and unpretentious building. That Campbell was himself satisfied with it seems to be indicated by the fact that, when he was subsequently commissioned by Mr. Plumptre to build a residence at Nottingham, he repeated the design of the Rolls House; and it is stated that another of his houses, at Stourhead, is taken, with some variations, from the same *motif*. Among Campbell's other designs, which were carried out, was that for a square mansion at Newby in Yorkshire, and a pretentious garden house at Hall Barn, in Buckinghamshire; while Drumlanrig Castle has also been assigned to him.

Of the official posts which Campbell filled, the most important was that of Surveyor of the Works at Greenwich with which building nearly every architect for a hundred years, was in some way or other associated. In 1725 he was, too, appointed architect to George, Prince of Wales. This position, owing to the Prince's absolute lack of interest in artistic matters, was not, however, likely to give Campbell many opportunities for displaying what architectural gifts he possessed, and during the four remaining years of his life, nothing of any importance has been traced to him. He died on September 13, 1729, leaving a widow but no children.

In Campbell's day it was the fashion for architects to publish weighty folios filled with the designs of their illustrious predecessors, interspersed with not a few of their own, and dedicated to patrons whose purses must often have been considerably lightened in the process of publication. Campbell was a notable example of this custom, but the selection he issued in three volumes, under the title of "Vitruvius Britannicus" during the years 1717 to 1725, does not do particular credit to his taste or judgment, for where he perpetuates the name of Benson, an inadequate amateur who had been allowed to supplant Wren, he only





*Richard Boyle*  *Earl of Burlington*

THE EARL OF BURLINGTON

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gives three examples of the work of the greatest of English designers. Of course he includes many of his own works and plenty of eulogy of his patrons ; but notwithstanding these blemishes the work has an undeniable value, and as our judgment will not now be likely to be biassed by the editor's partiality, it is of interest to have the elevations and ground-plans of many of the principal buildings in England preserved in so sumptuous a form.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly before his death Campbell was advertised as being engaged on an English edition of Palladio's "I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura," but it was apparently never produced.

### LORD BURLINGTON

As we have seen, Campbell's chief patron was the Earl of Burlington. A more critical age than his own will hesitate to allow to Lord Burlington the pre-eminent position as an architect which was accorded to him by a somewhat fulsome and panegyric generation, when his claims seem to have been seriously compared with those of men like Inigo Jones and Wren ; but there is no doubt that he was an exceedingly accomplished man and very keenly interested in architecture of which his theoretical knowledge considerably outbalanced his practical ability, although the latter was by no means inconsiderable, and even on occasion noteworthy.

Walpole has described Lord Burlington's extensive patronage and absorbing love of the art, in his "Anecdotes of Painting," but it will be observed that Walpole's praise is almost entirely confined to the encouragement that Lord Burlington gave to others, by helping them both with his purse and with the splendid reproductions of the architectural masterpieces of a past time, which he caused to be

<sup>1</sup> Wolfe and Gandon brought out another edition, with many additions, during 1767-71.

published, but that when there is any reference to his own designs, the praise is half-hearted and occasionally the criticism frankly adverse.

Born to a great position both by station and wealth, Lord Burlington was early enabled to gain that instruction and experience by foreign travel which many a less favoured but, so far as mental capacity is concerned equally well endowed mortal has found the want of; and what demands special praise is that, in an age when people in his position frequently lived self-indulgent lives and kept for themselves what was meant for mankind, Lord Burlington gave his mind to the study of the fine arts and literature with a whole-hearted enthusiasm. His reward is that from the crowd of titled and untitled nonentities, he stands forth as a splendid example of a great noble who was also a finished gentleman and an accomplished man.

Richard Boyle, eldest son of Charles, 2nd Earl of Burlington, was born on April 25, 1695. Before he had reached his ninth year, his father died, and he succeeded to the earldom and a string of subsidiary titles. He was thus one of those whose career is in their own hands, and he made a far better use of his early opportunities than might have been expected when the character of the age and the temptations that beset titled and wealthy youths at all periods, are considered.

On coming of age he made the then usual Grand Tour, visiting Rome among other continental centres; and the sight of the relics of antiquity in the Eternal City, but particularly the works of Palladio, seem to have quickened into life the love of art and admiration for architecture in particular, which lay dormant within him. It is uncertain how long he remained abroad, but it was long enough for him to become steeped in the spirit of classicism, and if he did not return to this country a finished architect, he at least came back imbued with the work of the greatest architects of a past time, and with a large-minded sense of the duties of an art patron.

No sooner had he returned than he began to build; the



first evidence of his activity in this direction being the reconstruction of his town mansion which had been originally erected for the first Lord Burlington, from the designs, it is said, of Sir John Denham, but more probably of John Webb, in the days of Charles II. As an assistant in this work the third Earl of Burlington associated with himself Colin Campbell, and to this architect, as we have seen, was due some of the features of the new building—features which he had copied from the most beautiful remains in Italy whither Lord Burlington had sent him for this express purpose. There seems little doubt that Campbell was responsible for the bulk of the alterations at Burlington House, even if he did not actually design all the new work; something was undoubtedly done here, too, by Giacomo Leoni, another of Lord Burlington's *protégés*, whose most notable achievement is Moor Park, Hertfordshire; and Gibbs and William Kent whom Burlington befriended and lodged at his house, had also a hand in it. Indeed, after looking into the matter somewhat closely, I do not think the evidence that Lord Burlington was the actual designer of any part of Burlington House is based on probability, and it seems likely that Leoni designed the famous colonnade which appears to have been attributed to Lord Burlington rather because Campbell does not himself claim it than because his lordship did.

The whole matter is a somewhat difficult one, because between Walpole, who airily attributes the whole building to Burlington, and later and better authorities who refuse to allow him any credit in it—except the anything but negligible one of paying the bills—there is so great a gulf fixed that Truth has every chance of being for ever hidden in the abyss. The probability is that Burlington indicated what he wanted, perhaps he drew out rough plans (although none are certainly known to exist) of his requirements, and that men like Campbell, or Leoni, or Kent worked them up into finished plans. Popular judgment on wealthy and titled people is so often in extremes that a man like Lord Burlington has to run the

chance of being over-praised or under-valued. It is to his credit that if he was not the genius that contemporary criticism would have had him be, he was at least one of those highly-cultured men, who, giving themselves to thought in an unthinking generation, could appreciate the splendid relics that antiquity had left them and could patronise talent in men of their own time as well.

Just as the famous colonnade (over which Walpole waxed eloquent) was taken from that of Palladio at the Palazzo Viericati at Vicenza, so was another building erected under Burlington's auspices—Chiswick House—a more or less close imitation of Palladio's Villa Capsa, near the same town. Chiswick House was built in 1729, and as Campbell states that the "Casino" in the gardens there, apparently erected about the same time as the house, was "the first essay of his lordship's happy invention," it would seem, if these words are to be taken literally, that such architectural work as is attributed to him before that date, was also as little his as was Burlington House. If this be so, then the house built for General Wade in Cork Street, which was so ill-contrived within but so decorative without that Lord Chesterfield once remarked that, "as the General could not live in it at his ease, he had better take a house over against it and look at it"; the dormitory at Westminster School, built at the same time; the house for the Duke of Richmond in Whitehall, designed much earlier; and Petersham Lodge, rebuilt, after the destruction of an earlier house by fire in 1721, for the Earl of Harrington,<sup>1</sup> can only be attributed to Lord Burlington on the basis of his being so greatly helped by the architects in his pay as to deny his sole claim to any of them. But men like Pope and Swift and Gay, whose works are full of allusions to Burlington's attainments, could hardly have printed encomiums which they knew to be undeserved, even in the fulness of adula-

<sup>1</sup> General Wade's house, and Nassau House, at Bath, occupied at one time by Lord Burlington himself, are both said to have been designed by him.—See Meehan's "Famous Houses of Bath."

tion, had they not known—and they had every opportunity for doing so—the extent of their noble friend's share in his architectural productions; and I therefore conclude that, as Lord Burlington was not a finished draughtsman, he collaborated with Kent or Campbell in producing those buildings which have since been attributed solely to him; where either of these architects was alone responsible, the truth quickly leaked out, and Burlington was apparently not the man to wish to claim anything in which he had not had a hand.

Where Lord Burlington failed as an architect was in want of originality. Vitruvius and Palladio and Inigo Jones were his exemplars, and he was content to reproduce their consummate styles rather than attempt anything of his own; and although he may thus have made no advance, he, at least, helped to popularise the works of splendid masters. His importance lies in his excellent development of patronage. Without his aid, Campbell and Kent and Leoni, and a host of others (I need say here nothing of his encouragement of poetry and painting), would have been hard put to it to make names for themselves; and he was ever ready to finance the publication of those architectural volumes in which the work of former men is perpetuated, spending large sums on sumptuous volumes. In this way "The Villas of the Ancients," by R. Castell, was published by his liberality in 1728; two years later he caused "Fabriche Antiche disegnate da Andrea Palladio" to be printed; he assisted Kent in bringing out his designs for Whitehall, and, indeed, showed his friendship for the latter not only by giving him apartments in Burlington House, but also by publicly evincing his partiality for him, as when he aided him in the design for a new Mansion House—a design, however, rejected in favour of that prepared by Dance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When subsequently Lord Burlington was asked by the Corporation to name a fitting person to carve the bas-relief on the pediment, he replied that "the city mason should be employed," adding, "anybody will do to carve the ornaments of such a building."

Lord Burlington, besides the energy he exhibited in the furtherance of the fine arts, occupied many important positions in the State, and was given the Garter in 1730. He was also, from 1716 to 1733, Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, during which period York Assembly Rooms were built, and were supposed to be designed by him; but his share in the matter was probably confined to suggesting one of Palladio's buildings from which they are taken.

He died on December 4, 1753, leaving a widow (*née* Lady Dorothy Savile, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Halifax) but no children, so that the Earldom of Burlington of the Boyle line ceased with him.

Lord Burlington was a member of the Society of Dilettanti, a body that did so much—as I have before pointed out—to further the interest in the architectural remains of a past time, both by importing into this country relics that were gradually being destroyed, as they had been long neglected, in Italy and Greece, and by making possible the publication of the discoveries of such men as Stuart and Revett, Chandler and Gell.

#### LORD PEMBROKE

Another notable member of this Society, who has some claim to be considered an amateur architect, was Henry Herbert, ninth Earl of Pembroke, who was born on January 29, 1693, and who, besides filling a variety of important official posts, showed that the *virtuoso* spirit of his father was an hereditary passion. Walpole says that “no man had a purer taste in building than Earl Henry”; and there is no doubt that in the restoration carried out at Wilton under his direction, reverent care was taken to preserve the splendid work which Inigo Jones had done there. Of Lord Pembroke's more individual designs, Marble Hill is perhaps the best-known example; another close by was

the new Lodge in Richmond Park, better known as White Lodge, of which the Earl is said to have designed the centre portion; while a less adventurous undertaking was the Water-house at Houghton, which he planned for Lord Orford.

Marble Hill is quite unpretending, but, as usual with eighteenth-century houses, everything is sacrificed to the first-floor rooms, and in consequence those on the lower and upper storeys are low and inconvenient. It cost a great deal of money, however, George II. contributing no less than £12,000; but that this did not pay for it entirely is indicated by Swift's "Pastoral Dialogue between Marble Hill and Richmond Lodge," in which the Dean (who was chief butler and keeper of the ice-house, as Pope was "contriver of the gardens") says that henceforth Lady Suffolk (for whom it was erected):

. . . will not have a shilling  
To raise the stairs, or build the ceiling.

Lord Burlington is said to have had a share in the design, but he probably merely gave Lord Pembroke advice on the matter.

I have spoken, in the previous chapter, of the erection of Westminster Bridge, for which Hawksmoor and Batty Langley both prepared plans. The successful competitor was Charles Labeyle, and one of his most strenuous supporters was Lord Pembroke who laid the first stone of the bridge in 1739, as well as the last, eighteen years later. As Labeyle had a very much greater technical knowledge of bridge-construction than any of those who sent in plans, and as it seems to have been due to Lord Pembroke's advocacy that he was employed at Westminster, Dallaway is right in stating that the nation owed a debt of gratitude to the peer for having had the courage to support the claims of a foreigner; for those claims were based on special knowledge not hitherto possessed by the bridge-builders of this country.

Lord Pembroke died on June 9, 1751, leaving a wife, and family of whom the eldest son succeeded to the title, and distinguished himself as a soldier, and in other ways.

As an architect Lord Pembroke's claims are small enough ; but, at a period when influence and patronage went for much in the development of the art, he exerted himself in the right direction, and thus his name, in conjunction with that of Lord Burlington, counts for something in the history of British architects.

### KENT

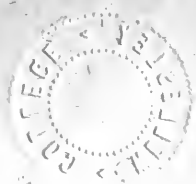
Among the architects whom Lord Burlington patronised was, as we have seen, William Kent. Kent's name is now chiefly known in connection with landscape-gardening, and Walpole, in a somewhat hyperbolic expression, speaks of him as the father of modern gardening, who created many Elysiums while Mahomet but imagined one ! But the development of modern gardening had been carried so far by Le Nôtre in France and Bridgeman in England, that Kent can but be allowed the credit of adopting and developing the styles, even if he here and there branched out into something original, of his immediate predecessors in the art. What Kent really was can be estimated by the variety, and on the whole the mediocrity, of his work ; whether it was planning houses, planting gardens, painting ceilings, or designing ladies' dresses and articles of furniture. He was an all-round and accomplished artisan to whom nothing seems to have come amiss, but whose very variety of accomplishment prevented his being consummate in any one direction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His chief excellence showed itself in his internal decorations, in which he at times reached an extraordinarily high level. At No. 31 Old Burlington Street, a house by-the-by which he planned, Messrs. Lenygon and Co. have rehabilitated some of the rooms, not only in his style, but filled with furniture actually designed by him.



WILLIAM KENT

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Kent was born at Rotherham in Yorkshire in 1684, and, in his fourteenth year was apprenticed to a coach-painter; but after five years of such work, "feeling the emotions of genius," it is Walpole who thus phrases it, he ran away from his master and came to London. What he did here to attract attention is not very clear, and the fact that he first set himself to paint portraits, is, from what we know of his painting, not likely to have helped him with the *virtuosi*. However, he did, somehow or other, secure patronage, and was enabled by it to accompany Talman to Rome, in 1710. There he studied under the Cavaliere Luti, a man of no inconsiderable eminence,<sup>1</sup> and to such good purpose as to gain the second prize in the second class at the Academy. At Rome, too, he fell in with some patrons, in fact during his life he was always lucky in this respect, and one of them, Sir William Wentworth, allowed him a stipend of £40 a year for seven years. But it was his introduction, at Rome, to Lord Burlington, that proved most beneficial to the young artist. We have seen that this peer was a veritable friend in need to many who were then struggling if not for life, at least for recognition, and he seems to have taken at once to Kent whose manners were accommodating and engaging. He not only brought him to England but gave him a home in Burlington House—a home that was to be Kent's headquarters, off and on, for the rest of his life. Nor was this the only advantage that Kent gained from Lord Burlington's friendship, for through it he was introduced to many who looked up to the young Earl as an arbiter in taste just as they did to Chesterfield as a pattern in manners, and Kent was soon engaged in trying to paint the portraits, and in succeeding in covering with allegories and arabesques the ceilings, of half the nobility.

I say "trying" to paint the portraits, for there is no doubt that his work in this direction was past praying for,

<sup>1</sup> See the "Biographie Universelle" for an account of him.

and fully deserved Hogarth's<sup>1</sup> sneer that neither England nor Italy had ever before produced such a contemptible dauber. Even Walpole allowed that "his drawing was as defective as the colouring of his portraits, and as void of every merit." One of Kent's most execrable attempts at pictorial decoration was an altar-piece at St. Clement's Danes, which Hogarth mercilessly caricatured, and which even the Bishop of London thought so preposterous that he ordered its removal.<sup>2</sup> He, also, painted a staircase for Lord Townshend at Rainham as well as the Hall at Wanstead, and although Sir Robert Walpole was persuaded, says his son, to employ him at Houghton on the ceilings of several rooms, he wisely did not permit him to work in colours "but restrained him to chiaro-scuro."<sup>3</sup>

But Kent, who probably lacked a sense of humour as he certainly did a sense of proportion and colour, went on gaily, and when not painting portraits or ceilings, occupied himself in designing chimney-pieces and doorways, picture-frames and furniture, even cradles; indeed he became so much the rage that two great ladies, Walpole tells us, persuaded him to design gowns for them, with the result that, "the one he dressed in a petticoat decorated with columns of the five orders; the other like a bronze, in a copper-coloured satin, with ornaments of gold."

It is not perhaps surprising to learn that Kent's mediocrity in this respect, was no bar to his enjoying Court favour; and the fruits of this were once to be seen in the gilt rails he designed for Queen Caroline's Hermitage in Richmond Gardens, and may still be inspected at Hampton Court where two pictures, from his brush, "Henry V.'s first meeting with Katherine" and "The

<sup>1</sup> Hogarth was continually holding up Kent and his patron, Lord Burlington, to ridicule; two notable examples being his plate entitled "Masquerades and Operas, Burlington Gate" (1724), and "The Man of Taste" (1734). See the various lives of "Hogarth" for full accounts of these pictorial satires.

<sup>2</sup> Kent is said to have retaliated by preventing, through Court influence, Hogarth from painting a group of the royal family.

<sup>3</sup> "Walpole's Anecdotes."

Marriage of Henry V.," still hang, and where his model of a proposed palace in Hyde Park is also preserved.

On the death of Charles Jervas in 1739, Kent was made chief painter to the Crown, and Chesterfield produced one of his biting epigrams on the occasion ; it runs thus :

As to Apelles, Ammon's son  
Would only deign to sit,  
So, to thy pencil, Kent alone  
Will Brunswick's form submit.

Equal your envied wonders, save  
This difference we see,  
One would no other painter have—  
No other would have thee.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the post of Court painter Kent was also given that of Master Carpenter, architect, and keeper of the Pictures, which offices, together with an income of £100 from the Civil List, were worth no less than £600 a year to him. If he did nothing very well he at least attempted something of everything. In 1734, on the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Anne with the Prince of Orange, he designed the decorations of the Chapel Royal, and lest posterity should mourn the loss of his handiwork, he published an engraving of it.<sup>2</sup>

His efforts in landscape-gardening included the laying-out of the grounds of Carlton House, and those belonging to Sir C. C. Dormer ; while he even engaged himself in the illustrating of books ; producing some pictures (in conjunction with Wootton) for Gay's Fables ; certain vignettes for Pope's works, and some execrable plates to The Fairy Queen.

I have now more or less cleared the ground for a short consideration of Kent's architectural achievements. These he initiated by assisting Lord Burlington in the recon-

<sup>1</sup> Preserved among the papers at Felbrigg, Norfolk, and printed in the Historical Manuscripts Commissions publications.

<sup>2</sup> He also issued a print of Wolsey's Hall at Hampton Court.

struction of Burlington House, although the actual part he played in this work is as uncertain as is that of the Earl himself. In any case we may suppose him to have been busy over the preparation of plans, even if they were not original ones, and the general superintendence of the rebuilding.

In 1727 he published under his own name, but at Lord Burlington's expense, "The Designs of Inigo Jones," supplementing them with some of his own (chiefly of chimney-pieces and doors and one for a royal art gallery), some of his patron's, and one by Palladio—a purple patch indeed. Some years before this he had paid a second visit to Rome, and in 1730 he was there a third time, studying architecture and buying pictures for the Earl. In a notice of Luti in the *Biographie Universelle*, Kent is stated to have purchased (after the death of Luti in 1724) the collection of prints formed by the latter, and it was, I imagine, during this visit that he did so.

On his return he was employed in altering and decorating Kensington Palace, and it was probably about the same time that he designed what Mr. Blomfield regards as perhaps his best piece of work; the Temple of Ancient Virtue at Stowe. Shortly after, he was employed to put a new façade to the Treasury (1734), and in the same year he planned the not very successful Devonshire House in Piccadilly; although it is but fair to his memory to say that later alterations have still further spoilt his original work. Among other town houses which he designed were Lord Yarborough's, in Arlington Street, for Mr. Pelham, and No. 44 Berkeley Square, now Mr. Godfrey Clark's, but then belonging to Lady Isabella Finch, the staircase of which, considering the somewhat limited space, is a masterly piece of contrivance, and worthy Walpole's well known encomium. But by far his most important, as they are his most successful efforts, are Holkham Hall and the Horse Guards, two buildings which have several features in common. Holkham was designed for Thomas Coke, Earl of Leicester. The exterior is only relieved by the

great portico from being little better than a glorified workhouse; but it is impressive by its mere size, although the Earl apparently hardly thought this a merit, for he once remarked: "It is a melancholy thing to stand alone in one's county. I look round; not a house is to be seen but my own. I am Giant of Giant's Castle, and have ate up all my neighbours."<sup>1</sup>

The chief beauty of Holkham is the splendid entrance-hall, with its colossal statue of Jupiter, and its flight of steps said to have been copied from that at Chatsworth. Although the "palace" is monotonous, it was considered at the time of its erection, as to some extent it may be now, a very impressive and splendid country seat. So much so, indeed, that Matthew Brettingham, who was Kent's pupil and assisted him as Clerk of the Works here, published the plans and elevations of it as his own work, entirely ignoring Kent's name in his book, and even in the Preface, speaking of Lord Leicester as concerting with him (Brettingham) the publication of the work, as if to prove that the Earl willingly allowed him to arrogate to himself the production of some one else.

Holkham is only known to a relatively few, but all the world knows the Horse Guards. It was one of the last of Kent's designs, and was, indeed, left incomplete at the time of his death, Vardy being employed to finish it. Nothing better proves Kent's devotion to the work of Palladio than this really fine piece of work which, although, of course, fault can be found with it, is on the whole as successful as could be wished, and is a surprisingly adequate production, especially when we remember how *banal* Kent could sometimes be. Here he seems to have determined on something tangible and to have carried it out in a straightforward way, whereas much of his other work is hampered by a miserable convention, and is obviously influenced by the wishes of patrons whose indi-

<sup>1</sup> Although not responsible for another immense country seat—Badminton, Kent did some alterations there during the third Duke's time, and also designed Worcester Lodge in the Park.

vidual requirements he seems never to have been able to withstand. Indeed, while he was ostensibly the arbiter of taste in such matters, Kent was really the veriest weather-cock of artistic fashion.

Among his other work was the King's Bench at Westminster, and a mansion for Mr. Pelham at Esher, a sort of Chinese-Gothic edifice Dallaway calls it, pleasing neither to gods nor men unless they be Chinamen. He also put up a terrible choir-screen in Gloucester Cathedral and a statue to Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey, about which the less said the better!

In 1743 he had, according to Walpole, "a disorder in his eyes that was thought to be paralytic; but recovered"; five years later, however, he was attacked by a kind of general inflammation, and to this he succumbed on April 12, 1748, at Burlington House. He was buried in the Burlington family vault at Chiswick, an additional proof, were one wanting, of the friendship and respect of his chief patron. He left a fortune in money, books, and pictures of £10,000, and if in the acquisition of it he did not materially advance the cause of architecture, he at least worked hard in a variety of ways to supply the wants of a not very critical generation.





*Mr. Batty Langley Architect* from 1741

— *Melior est consultata Tarditas quam temeraria Celeritas* —

BATTY LANGLEY

*To face p. 231*



## CHAPTER VIII

### BATTY LANGLEY, GIBBS, WOOD OF BATH, ETC.

BEFORE saying anything about James Gibbs who was not only a fine architect, but probably the most eminent of those of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to devote a short space to one who was so far from being a good architect that, at one time, his name was a byword for conventional treatment of design carried to its highest power. As, however, Batty Langley whom I here indicate, established a school of architecture and wrote much on the subject, he properly takes his place among better men, although in the practical side of his art he was strangely limited and deficient.

He was the son of Daniel and Elizabeth Langley, and was born at Twickenham in 1696, being christened on September 14 of that year, at the Parish Church. His father was a gardener, and young Langley seems at first to have followed in his footsteps, and to have occupied himself in landscape gardening which he probably regarded as a step beyond the horticultural calling, and which was then beginning to be quite a fashionable pursuit. If he achieved any success in this direction it must have been but a local one, for nothing is known of him in this capacity. Indeed the first record we have of his activity, and that in a very different direction, is in 1724 when he published an "Account of Newgate." From this year till 1737, he issued a number of works dealing with a variety of subjects, gardening being on several occasions one

of them ; thus, in 1726, he issued his "Practical Geometry;" in 1727 "The Builder's Chest Book;" and in the following years his "New Principles of Gardening" (1728); "Method of Improving Estates" (1728, it was reprinted thirteen years later); "Sure Guide to Builders," illustrated with eighty-two engravings; "Pomona, or The Fruit Garden" (both in 1729); "The Young Builder's Rudiments" (1730-6); "Ancient Masonry," an elaborate work illustrated with many plates (1734-6); "The Builder's Compleat Assistant;" and various other works on the same subject. Walpole, in the few remarks he devotes to Batty Langley in the "Anecdotes of Painting," says that "all his books achieved has been to teach carpenters to massacre that venerable species (Gothic architecture), 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." But his new orders of Gothic, for he invented five, appealed to a large and uncritical public, and he had something of a vogue simply because those who praised him and his books knew no better. If, at a later day, his name became a byword, and "Batty Langley's Gothic" a term of architectural opprobrium, in his own times he had a certain following and a not inconsiderable success.

During the compilation of his various works, Langley had lived at Twickenham probably with his parents, but in 1736 he took up his residence in London, settling in a house near Parliament Stairs, Westminster. At this spot he erected "a curious grotesque temple in a taste entirely new," for Nathaniel Blackesley the son-in-law of Hawksmoor,<sup>1</sup> and he had, in 1735, published designs for a new Mansion House, which he engraved himself. He was also one of those who hoped to be selected as the architect of the new bridge at Westminster, and in 1736 he was among the many who published designs for it. We have seen James occupied in the same matter and writing a "Survey

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm in his "Londinium Redivivum" quotes this from the *St. James's Evening Post*.

of several schemes for building of a Bridge, &c.”; Langley replied to this in 1737 by another pamphlet, but the selection of Labeyle for the work put an end to what might have degenerated into a tractarian movement.

In or about 1740, Langley removed from Westminster to Soho where he took a house jointly with his brother Thomas. Here he set up a school of architecture in which Thomas, who was an engraver, assisted him in teaching drawing. According to Elmes, all the pupils were carpenters, and many skilful artisans were turned out from the Langleys' Academy. As a matter of fact Batty Langley was really an excellent practical builder who had mistaken his vocation when he set up as an architect. He had a large surveying connection and was an expert valuer of timber; in short he was an excellent builder of many of the edifices which he had himself indifferently designed.

In 1741 he brought out his “Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved,” the original drawings for which are now preserved in the Soane Museum where is, too, a book of his drawings copied by Carr of York, apparently in 1770.

Langley died at his house in Soho, on March 3, 1751. Ten years previously J. Carruthers, who had engraved the plates to several of his works, published a mezzotint portrait of him.

## GIBBS

We now come to one of the few architects whose independence of aim and excellent qualities as a designer helped to rescue the art, as understood in this country during the eighteenth century, from being a merely colourless reflex of the Grecian and Italian schools. James Gibbs was in many respects a fine architect; he had a sound knowledge of *technique* and a cultivated sense of proportion; and his buildings are impressive, not by size

as were Vanbrugh's, but by a careful adherence to those recognised formulas to which the greatest men have owed so much. If he had not the touch of genius with which artists like Inigo Jones and Wren have impressed their own individuality on whatever they touched, he had, on occasion, something so nearly akin to it that he properly occupies a place in the second rank of British architects. Where he seems to have been less happy is in his treatment of ornament and detail. The greatest men have been as careful over the subsidiary parts of their designs as over the whole; and it is no small merit in Gibbs that, given he was to fail somewhat in one of the two, it should have been in the former that he did so. Gibbs had a great reverence for, and knowledge of, classicism, and this sometimes resulted in his allowing tradition to curb what might otherwise have been a genius of the very first order.

At one time there was a good deal of uncertainty as to the date of his birth, Chalmers placing it so early as 1674, and Walpole so late as 1683; Allan Cunningham preferred the former, because he asserts that Gibbs's "talent in architecture had gained him fame in a foreign land before 1700." In the Soane Museum, however, is a manuscript volume evidently in the architect's own handwriting, which sets the matter at rest. The first part of the book is taken up by "A Few Short Remarks on some of the Finest Ancient and Modern Buildings in Rome and other parts of Italy, by Mr. Gibbs," and represents the results of his investigations during his early travels on the Continent; the second portion is headed: "A short account of Mr. James Gibbs, architect, and of several things he built in England, &c., after his returne from Italy." From this indisputable source we learn that Gibbs was born on December 26, 1682, at a place "belonging to his ancestors," near Aberdeen, called Fittysmire. His father was Peter Gibbs, a merchant of "an ancient family and small fortune," who had married twice, and had children by both wives. James was one of the second family, his



JAMES GIBBS

*Emery Walker*

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mother having been a Miss Isabel Farquhar,<sup>1</sup> and he and a half-brother William were the only two of the family who survived childhood.

Gibbs was educated at the Aberdeen Grammar School, and afterwards at the Mareschal College where he took his M. A. Degree. At the period of doing this, being then in his twentieth year, he determined to apply a somewhat unusual knowledge of mathematics to the study of architecture, and, like so many of his countrymen, resolved to prosecute his search for knowledge and fortune in some other land than his own. Cunningham supposes that he had by this time lost both his parents, and this seems likely as he is known to have lived some time with his aunt Elspeth Farquhar and her husband, Peter Morison, in Holland whither he first went. While there he attracted the notice of the eleventh Earl of Mar, whom Scott calls "a man of quick parts," and who is famous for his share in the 1715 rebellion. Lord Mar, besides being a soldier, was something of an amateur architect himself, and befriended Gibbs not only with money and introductions, but with the excellent advice that he should travel in Italy. Armed, therefore, with funds and letters of recommendation from the Earl, Gibbs set off, *via* Paris, for Rome. There he studied under Garroli, an architect of some standing, and Carolo Fontana the younger who had been a pupil of the great Bernini, and was Surveyor-General to Pope Clement XI. Gibbs at the same time set himself to study carefully the chief buildings in Rome, while he provided for his daily wants by making drawings for various English amateurs then residing in Rome, to whom he had received introductions from Lord Mar and the Duke of Argyle.

He returned to England about the year 1709, in consequence of the dangerous illness of his only half-brother,

<sup>1</sup> In the MS. account of Gibbs, preserved in the Soane Museum, the elder Gibbs is simply said to have "married a gentlewoman . . . of the name of Gordon" (evidently his first wife), and to have "had several children by her."

and there, under the *ægis* of such men as Lord Mar, the Duke of Argyle, and Sir Christopher Wren who is described as "much his friend," he seriously commenced work as an architect. His first official post was that of one of the surveyors to the Commissioners for the building of the Fifty Churches which I have had occasion already to mention more than once, as in several instances the office of assistant surveyor to them was the first stepping-stone of the architects already dealt with. Gibbs made use of his opportunity in a singularly notable way, for his first independent design was that for St. Mary-le-Strand, in 1714. According to his own account, this church "being situated in a very publick place, the Commissioners . . . spared no cost to beautify it." It occupies, indeed, the site of the famous Maypole, and Pope refers to this in the "Dunciad," where he says :

Where the tall Maypole once o'erlooked the Strand,  
But now (so Anne and Piety ordain)  
A church collects the saints of Drury Lane.

The foundation-stone was laid on February 15, 1714, and the building was completed on September 7, 1717, although it was not consecrated for another six years. Gibbs, in his "Book of Architecture," gives a description of the church. "It consists," he writes, "of two orders, in the upper of which the lights are placed; the wall of the lower being solid, to keep out noises from the street, is adorned with niches. There was at first no steeple designed for this church, only a small campanile, or turret. A bell was to have been over the west end of it; but at a distance of eighty feet from the west front there was a column, 250 feet high, intended to be erected in honour of Queen Anne, on the top of which her statue was to be placed. My design for this column was approved by the Commissioners . . . but the thought of erecting that monument being laid aside upon the Queen's death, I was ordered to erect a steeple instead of the campanile first proposed. The building being then advanced twenty feet



above ground, and therefore admitting of no alteration from east to west, I was obliged to spread it from north to south, which makes the plan oblong which should otherwise have been square."

The narrowness of the church, as well as the shallowness of the steeple when seen from the north or south, are thus accounted for ; and these defects, the only ones in this fine building, are excusable for this reason. St. Mary-le-Strand is, indeed, a remarkably fine creation, especially when we remember that it was Gibbs's initial attempt at church-building. Its steeple may be favourably compared with those of Wren himself ; and if the influence of the master can be traced in much of the general design, it is but natural that an architect like Gibbs, who was not exactly an original genius, should have been dominated by the great man whose work was to be seen on every side. What can be said is that if the defects of the church were due to conditions over which Gibbs had no control, its beauties were the result of his careful training in a good school.

In 1719 Gibbs was employed in adding the belfry-stage and spire to St. Clement's Danes, which thus exhibits the joint work of the two best architects of the period. A print of the church, dated 1711, shows that Wren had designed merely the tower, with a small belfry surmounting it ; Gibbs's addition, rising from just below the clock upwards, adds so materially to the beauty and symmetry of this delightful building as to shew that he was thoroughly imbued with the master's methods. As an independent designer he was, however, to prove soon after his excellent qualities, for in 1721 he planned St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, certainly one of the most beautiful of London's many beautiful churches. Well might Savage exclaim, as he did in his "Wanderer":

O Gibbs! whose art the solemn fane can raise,  
Where God delights to dwell and man to praise.

The building of St. Martin's occupied five years, and the cost of it is stated to have been £32,000. Walpole, in

one of his sweeping assertions, remarks that "no man talks of one edifice of Gibbs." I do not know if ignorance of the architects of some of our finest buildings was as general in his day as it seems to be even now, but I think it probable that St. Mary-le-Strand and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields are better known to the general public than any other churches in London. Their commanding and open positions are, of course, in a large degree responsible for this; but this would, alone, be insufficient to justify the attention, bestowed on them were their intrinsic merits not enough to stamp them as masterpieces; and if we do not talk of Gibbs's churches as we do of Wren's, it is probably because the man in the street, as he is not infrequently termed, is unaware that Gibbs designed them.

There has, of course, been much spilling of critical ink over St. Martin's, as over most edifices in the Metropolis, and Fergusson—who, by the bye, was not a practical architect—has made several ridiculous suggested emendations to Gibbs's work. These have been dealt with by a great authority, Mr. Blomfield, who *is* a practical architect, and have been shown to be based on a defective theoretical basis, and at least in one instance, where Fergusson speaks of the steeple as standing "over the portico," which it does not, to have been the result of a perfunctory examination of the building.

The foundation-stone of St. Martin's was laid, with great ceremony, on March 19, 1722, by William Talbot, Bishop of Salisbury; and the church was consecrated on October 20, 1726. George I. was churchwarden here, and on being elected to this post gave £1500 for the acquisition of the organ, which was built by Schreider.

That Gibbs recognised the importance of his undertaking is proved by the fact that he prepared several alternative plans for the church, and in his "Book of Architecture" gives no less than seven illustrations of the work. Two of these are for a circular church, but the Commissioners rejected these because "of the expensiveness of erecting them." Some authorities have considered that had Gibbs



ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS

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been able to construct the steeple at the side of the building, as Hawksmoor did when he designed St. George's, Bloomsbury, the effect would have been finer. I confess I am not in agreement with those who hold this opinion; but it is not, perhaps, for one who is not a technical expert to express any views on such a matter. I cannot, however, but think that a want of homogeneity results from such a separation of the most noticeable feature of a church from the main building, and I do not suppose I am alone in regarding St. Martin's as it is, as one of the, if not the, most dignified and imposing of the sacred edifices of London.

During the building of this church Gibbs was employed (1722) in erecting St. Peter's, Vere Street, originally known as Marybone or Oxford Chapel, at the expense of the Earl and Countess of Oxford, as a place of worship for the houses on their great Marylebone property. Its exterior is of brick, and is plain enough, but the interior exhibits all Gibbs's characteristic "elegancies," and is somewhat like that of St. Martin's, although, of course, on a smaller scale. It is adorned, as was its prototype, by the two Italian artists, Artari and Bagutti, who worked much under the architect;<sup>1</sup> and on the pediment at the west end were formerly the arms of Lord Oxford, in stone; these were, however, removed in 1832.

The church was finished in 1724, and in the following year Gibbs completed the building of All Hallows', Derby, which had been begun in 1723. Three years earlier he began the extensive works at Cambridge, on which he was employed for a considerable time. The first and most important of these was the erection of the Senate House. Sir James Burrough, of Caius College, of whom I shall have a word to say at the close of this chapter, is by some considered as the actual designer of this dignified building, and it seems likely that he had a considerable hand in it;

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that, at a later date, the church was closely identified with the teaching of Frederick Denison Maurice, who was perpetual curate there from 1860 to 1869.

but Burrough, although an amateur of no mean attainments, was not universally successful in the work he did at Cambridge, and it is probable that even if he did produce a design, that design was "edited" by Gibbs to such an extent as to make the work practically Gibbs's own.

The Senate House, in the building of which much harm was done to the older remains of Cambridge, was finished in 1730, Artari and Bagutti being employed on its internal decoration. In the meantime (1724) Gibbs was commissioned to erect the new buildings for King's College. The result is a fine though very plain piece of work, carried out in the architect's usual thorough style. Hawksmoor had already made a design for the building in 1713, at the request of Provost Adams, but for some reason or other it was not proceeded with, and on Adams's death in 1719, Hawksmoor's plans were definitely laid aside.

Gibbs's plan consists of three sides of a quadrangle, each of which is detached, his reason for this being that his work differed in design from the chapel which occupied the fourth side, and also as a measure of precaution in case of fire. Only one, the west, side of the quadrangle was, however, completed according to his design; and early in the nineteenth century, when the authorities determined to complete it, it was finished in the Gothic style, although, luckily, Gibbs's block was not interfered with; its graceful, dignified façade being still a notable feature in the University that teems with architectural beauties.

In Gibbs's "Book of Architecture," which he published in 1728, are included elevations and plans of the work he did at Cambridge; and it will be convenient to mention here some of the private houses he designed which are also illustrated in the work—by which publication, I may parenthetically mention, he is said to have made some £1500, besides receiving an additional £400 for the plates.

Among the plans is one of a house in Somersetshire; one in Northamptonshire, erected for W. Hanbury, Esq.;

and another at Ditchley, Oxfordshire, designed for Lord Litchfield. Sudbrook Park, Petersham (now the headquarters of the Richmond Golf Club), was also erected by him, for the Duke of Argyle.<sup>1</sup> It is of red brick, with stone copings, the garden front being dignified by a large portico supported by four columns. The date of its erection is not quite satisfactorily established. The Duke appears to have first built a hunting-lodge here about 1717, of which the drawing-room and the arched rooms (with walls four feet thick) and passages beneath, still remain; later, sometime during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the bulk of the present mansion was designed by Gibbs. Another large residence planned by him was that for Lord Fitzwilliam, at Milton, near Peterborough; and in his book there are designs for a number of places which were never actually erected, among them being one for a house at Seacomb Park, Herts, for Edward Rolt, and that for Matthew Prior, at Down Hall, Essex, both of which were anticipated by the deaths of Rolt and Prior.<sup>2</sup>

Among other domestic work which can be traced to Gibbs is a design for a house at Hampton Court, for the Earl of Islay; an octagon room at Secretary Johnstone's (now Orleans House) at Twickenham, which was adorned in fretwork by Artari and Bagutti (1720); a house at Twickenham for Sir Challoner Ogle, and one at Isleworth for Sir John Chester.

In the manuscript account of his own life mentioned before, Gibbs speaks also of designing Canons, at Edgware, for the Duke of Chandos, erected "at a vast expense"; building houses for the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Isleworth; for General Cornwall, at Byfleet; for the Hon. Charles Leigh, at Leighton, Bedfordshire; for Mr. Cotton, at East Barnet; Patt's Hall, Staffordshire, for Sir John Astley; a house for Mr. Thomas Pattin, near Warrington; one for

<sup>1</sup> The second edition, published in 1739, of Gibbs's "Book of Architecture" was dedicated to the Duke.

<sup>2</sup> He prepared plans for great additions, &c., to Arundel, but these were never carried out, as "the Duke altered his mind"; but Gibbs did erect a house in Arlington Street for the Duchess of Norfolk.

the Hon. J. Barry Smith, known as Aston Park, Cheshire; another for Sir Philip Parker Long, in Leicester Fields;<sup>1</sup> and a library for Dr. Mead, in London. He was, too, from time to time employed in making additions and alterations to various private residences, notably for Pope, at Twickenham; for the Earl of Islay, at Whitton; for Governor Phillips, at Stanwell; for Lord Bolingbroke, at Dawley; and for Lord Weymouth, at Old Windsor. He also designed several of those pavilions without which no gentleman's country seat seems to have been considered complete, notably those at Stowe, for Lord Cobham, and at Hackwood, for the Duke of Bolton, as well as one for Sir John Cooper's grounds, near Derby.

The exact years when these various buildings were erected, are not recorded; nor is the matter of great moment. In 1730, however, we find Gibbs engaged in adding to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the quadrangle of which he designed in that year, the foundation-stone being laid on June 9. This quadrangle was not completed, however, till many years after the architect's death. It is interesting to know that Gibbs carried out the work here *con amore*, and gave his time and labour gratuitously for the benefit of the poor; the interest he took in the institution being further proved by the bequest he made to it in his will.

In 1732 he brought out his "Rules for Drawing the Several Parts of Architecture in a more Exact and Easy Manner than has been hitherto practised," a work of great architectural erudition, and one of those guides to the proper understanding of the technical details of the art, which must have been of immense value to eighteenth-century architects in a variety of ways, if not exactly in that of cultivating originality.

Some four or five years after the publication of this work—to be precise, in 1737<sup>2</sup>—he began what is, apart from

<sup>1</sup> For what Gibbs is said to have done at Burlington House, see the notice of Colin Campbell in the previous chapter.

<sup>2</sup> The foundation-stone was laid on June 11 of that year.







*Hills & Saunders*

THE RADCLIFFE LIBRARY

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the churches I have already mentioned, his most notable achievement: the designing and erection of the Radcliffe Library, at Oxford. An earlier plan for this building had been prepared by Hawksmoor, but as at King's College, Cambridge, Hawksmoor's design was fated to be superseded by that of Gibbs. "The Radcliffe," as it is called, is one of Oxford's famous landmarks, and deserves the praise that has been lavished on it. Had the great Wren designed it, it would have been regarded as one of his more notable achievements, and one can hardly indicate Gibbs's success here more forcibly than by this admission. That the architect fully recognised the importance of his work, is proved by the fact that he published an elaborate set of plans of it, under the title of the "Bibliotheca Radcliviana," in 1747 the year in which it was completed. There must be very few people interested in such matters as are treated of in this book, who have not seen "the Radcliffe," or at least views of it, and I will therefore spare the reader a description of the building, but I may point out one rather obvious defect in the exterior, fine on the whole as it is; I mean the general effect of lowness, which is, however, only an effect, as the building is really of considerable height. This seems to be due to the fact that the upper portion, with the coupled columns, is considerably higher than the rusticated base, so that the appearance is produced of a very much higher building gradually rising, but never rising sufficiently, from its surrounding lower part. In the interior, too, Wren would have attained better proportions, and would hardly have permitted the *flamboyant* embellishments with which Gibbs allowed Artari to decorate it. But even with these flaws it is a splendid piece of work, and shows that Gibbs, on occasion, could rival even the greatest architects of his own country.

In 1752 was commenced what appears to have been Gibbs's last building—the Church of St. Nicholas, in Aberdeen, the design of which he sent, apparently gratuitously, to the magistrates of that town as a testimony

of his regard for his native place ;<sup>1</sup> and in the same year he proved his versatility by bringing out an excellent translation of Osorio da Fonseca's "De Rebus Emanuelis," under the title of "The History of the Portuguese during the Reign of Emmanuel." He seems to have begun this work in order to occupy his mind during a residence at Spa, in 1749, whither he had been sent by his doctors on account of an internal malady from which he had suffered for a considerable time, and to which he succumbed on August 5, 1754.

At his own request he was buried in the parish church of Marylebone, where a small tablet was put up to his memory.

Gibbs was never married, and, at his death, had only a few surviving relations. Indeed, by his will, dated May 9, 1754, the bulk of his not inconsiderable property, valued at between £14,000 and £15,000, was left by him to the son of his earliest patron, Lord Mar, whose estates had been impoverished by forfeitures consequent on the family's share in the risings of 1715 and 1745. Gibbs also left legacies to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and to The Foundling, and his valuable collection of books, including many fine editions of the classics, and splendid architectural works collected probably during his sojourn at Rome, went appropriately to enrich The Radcliffe which, on the whole, perhaps remains his most notable monument.

I have not mentioned the fact that, besides his architectural achievements and his important publications, Gibbs produced much work of a subsidiary character, such as elaborate sketches for chimney-pieces (two particularly fine specimens being designed for Messrs. Clark and Young for their house at Roehampton, which he had planned), gate-piers, obelisks, and many of those lesser embellishments to great houses or their gardens, of which the taste of the time took so much account. As a designer of cenotaphs he had, too, a great vogue. Of these the best known are those to the Duke of Newcastle,

<sup>1</sup> "Dict. of Nat. Biog."

in Westminster Abbey (the actual execution of which was carried out by Francis Bird in 1723); to Prior, also in the Abbey; to Colston, at Bristol, for which Rysbrack sculptured the figures; to Mrs. Katherina Boney (1727); to John Smith (1718); to John Freind, M.D. (1728); and to the Marquis of Annandale (1723); while the monument to Ben Jonson, in Poets' Corner, and one to Montague Gerrard-Drake, in Agmondesham Church, are also his work.

The personal appearance of Gibbs has been handed down to us by Hysing, who painted him as a youth, and Hogarth, who produced a magnificent portrait of him as a middle-aged man; besides which M'Ardell, who engraved the latter work, also engraved a portrait painted by S. Williams. There are, too, busts of him in The Radcliffe, and in the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

## WOOD OF BATH

The city of Bath—confessedly one of the finest and most picturesque in the country—owes its beauty and its splendour so greatly to the Woods, father and son, that although they were merely provincial architects, their fame is more than local, and they properly take their place beside the better-known architects of the eighteenth century. Nor is their place a subsidiary one, for although, in common with other designers of the time, they were tied down by a classic convention, they at least, within the limits set themselves, did far better work than many whose names are more widely remembered.

John Wood, the elder, was not actually a native of Bath; indeed, he seems, although the fact is not absolutely certain, to have been a Yorkshireman. He was born in the early years of the eighteenth century, some say in 1705 or thereabouts, but he did not begin to be

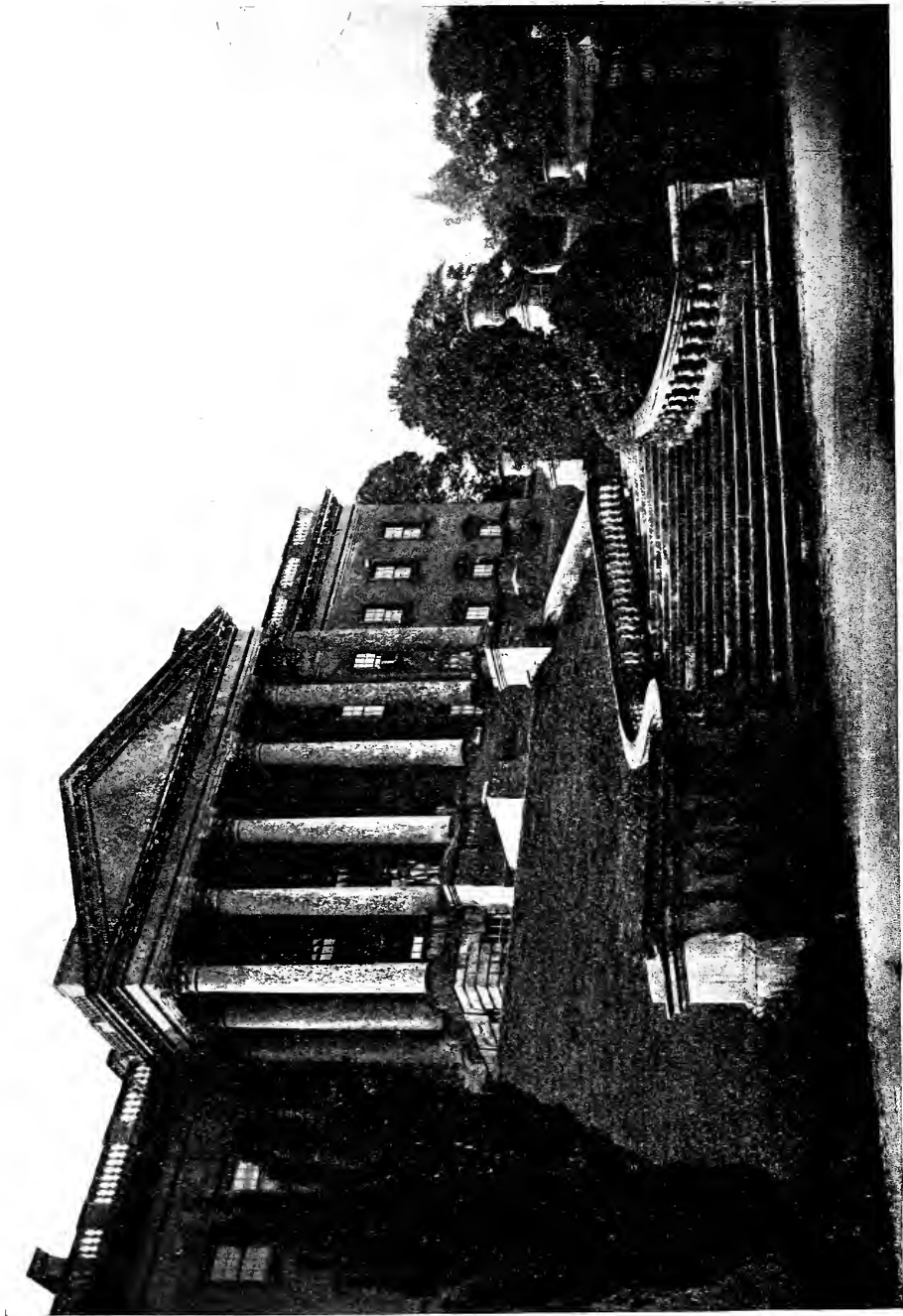
identified with Bath till some twenty years later, although he is said to have visited the city in his boyhood. His first official connection with the place was in the capacity of Surveyor of Roads, and while thus engaged his attention was drawn to the improvements required, and the possibilities for carrying them out, in the city; indeed, it seems probable that from this moment the scheme, which he was afterwards largely to carry into effect, of "Haussmannising," as we should now term it, Bath, took shape in his brain. His methods were not unlike those which the Adams employed later in various parts of London; a feature common to them being the principle of making a number of houses present the appearance of one large building.

The whole of Bath is redolent of the work of Wood and of his son who carried on his schemes, and at least two thoroughfares, John Street and Wood Street, perpetuate their names, as the streets of the Adelphi do those of the Adam brothers. Among the earliest buildings erected by the elder Wood were the North and South Parades—which, however, do not present the appearance they had when he completed them, as certain alterations, such as the removal of the balustrades, &c., have taken place—Chapel Court, and Church Buildings. These considerable undertakings date from 1727, and in the following year he designed what were known as Dame Lindsey's, or Lower, Rooms, for one Humphrey Thayer, of London, who built them as a speculation, and opened them in 1730.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time he was employed in erecting a house in Bath, for Ralph Allen who became his most munificent patron, and for whom he was to design, a few years later, the splendid Prior Park. Allen had about this time become associated in the undertaking for working the Bath stone-quarries, and much of his wealth came from this prolific source. The house he commissioned Wood to erect in Bath seems to have been little more than the rebuilding of an earlier edifice; but Wood's style of

<sup>1</sup> They were burnt down in 1820.





PRIOR PARK, NEAR BATH



domestic architecture may be recognised in the elaborate, and even beautiful, front with which he faced the main block, at the time that additions were being made to the north portion.<sup>1</sup> This house was commenced in 1727, and the next year Wood, while engaged on Dame Lindsey's Rooms, was commissioned by the Duke of Chandos not only to restore St. John's Hospital in Bath itself, but also to design certain portions of Chandos Court in the neighbourhood; and he was also engaged in converting that part of the Avon between Bath and Bristol into a canal for the same nobleman. In the following year (1729) one of Wood's most notable achievements in Bath was begun, notably Queen Square. Only the north side was, however, actually completed during his lifetime, owing to some difficulties attending the acquisition of certain portions of the ground on the other sides. The portion he did put up is an excellent example of his style, and it is to be regretted that he was unable to complete the scheme which he had prepared for dealing with the whole square. He did, however, design, a few years later (1732), the chapel dedicated to St. Mary, which formerly stood in the precincts, but this has long since disappeared, as have the poor-houses of Lyncombe and Widcombe, which he planned about the same time.

But it is the magnificent mansion known as Prior Park which, even more than his comprehensive work in Bath, will keep Wood's name alive. This imposing building was designed for Ralph Allen in 1736, and was in course of erection from 1737 to 1743. It is constructed of the Bath stone with the quarrying of which Allen was identified, and is said to have been planned as a practical rejoinder to certain critics who doubted the efficacy of the material in its application to large buildings. Few more effective practical rejoinders can be imagined. The situation chosen for the erection of the mansion has,

<sup>1</sup> See Wood's account of the building. A picture of the house is given in his book, and has been reproduced in Meehan's "Famous Houses of Bath," and will also be found, with much interesting information about Wood, in Mr. Mowbray Green's "The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bath."

no doubt, something to do with its imposing and princely appearance, and Wood, a past-master in such matters, was, we may be sure, fully alive to this; but apart from its position it is a beautiful creation, and one with which any architect's fame would be secure. Its façade is extraordinarily fine; so impressive and well proportioned, indeed, as to be considered by competent critics unsurpassed in this country; and it is a satire on contemporary fame that Walpole makes no mention of a building which was one of the finest and most distinctive of any of the private residences erected during the reign of George II.<sup>1</sup>

During the progress of Prior Park, Wood was busy over a number of other schemes. In 1734 he had designed Belcomb Brook Villa for Francis Yerbury, and in the following year he was employed in erecting a house in Lansdown, Bath, as well as on certain restorations at Llandaff Cathedral. During 1738-42 the Royal Mineral Water Hospital was being built from his designs, and for this work he gave the whole of his services gratuitously. He was, too, as a matter of course, commissioned to plan the various pavilions and temples that were at this period erected over the different natural springs that from time to time made their appearance in or near Bath, such as Lyncomb and Limekiln Spas and Bathford. In 1740-43 Wood went farther afield, and was engaged on the erection of the Bristol Exchange. Five years later he was asked, probably in consequence of the success of this work, to design a similar building for Liverpool. This was in course of construction for seven years (1748-55), and Wood therefore did not live to see it actually completed.

Among other examples of his later work was a loggia at Titanbarrow, designed for Sir Howell Pigott in 1745, and Redland Court, near Bristol, which dates from about the same year. In 1750 he erected "Shockerwick" for Walter Wiltshire, and in 1752 rebuilt Bath Grammar School with all his old care and distinction. His last undertaking seems

<sup>1</sup> The bridge, and flight of steps on the north side of the house, were not designed by Wood.

to have been the erection of a house in The Circus, at Bath (No. 7), for William Pitt, in January 1753.

Wood himself occupied various houses in Bath, one of the first being 24 Queen Square,<sup>1</sup> where he resided with his son, until he moved to Eagle House, Batheaston, which he had designed in 1727. He probably in the meantime let the house in Queen Square, as although he resided many years in Eagle House, and is also said to have occupied 41 Gay Street, he had returned to Queen Square before his death, which took place there, on May 23, 1754.

Although passing a busy life as a practical architect, Wood found time to do a considerable amount of literary work, and among his publications are "The Origin of Building," &c., a folio published at Bath in 1741; a "Description of Bristol Exchange," 1745; a "Description of Bath," in two vols., 1742 (later editions appeared in 1749 and 1765), which is valuable because of the descriptions and illustrations of his own buildings, contained in it; and a "Dissertation on the Order of Columns," 1750; and he was one of the numerous band who have written on Stonehenge, his "Choir Gaure, commonly called Stonehenge," appearing in 1747.<sup>2</sup>

The younger Wood was closely associated with his father in the rebuilding of Bath, and after the latter's death carried out many of the designs and unfinished buildings left by him; and he also did a large amount of work on his own account. Thus he completed the Circus in 1764, and three years later commenced the Royal Crescent, which was finished in 1769, in which year he began the New Assembly Rooms which occupied three years in building and cost £20,000. In 1776 he designed the Hot Bath and Royal Private Baths, and before this had been intermittently engaged on a vast number of practical improvements to the city, of which York Build-

<sup>1</sup> "The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bath," by Mr. Mowbray Green. A tablet on the house front commemorates Wood's residence here.

<sup>2</sup> In the Harleian MSS. are preserved some notes by Wood (Nos. 354-55).

ings, in 1753, Edgar Buildings, in 1762, Prince's Buildings, in 1766, may be mentioned. Of the thoroughfares he formed in Bath, Brock Street dates from 1765, Alfred Street from 1769, and Russell Street from 1775.

Besides this activity, he was responsible for some domestic work in other parts of the country, notably Buckland, in Berkshire, for Sir R. Throckmorton; Standlynch, in Wiltshire, for James Dawkins; Kelston Park (1764); and Belmont (1770). Two churches are also placed to his credit, that of Woolley, and that of Hardenhuish, near Chippenham, the latter of which was consecrated in 1779.

Wood<sup>1</sup> died on June 18, 1782, and lies buried near his father in the chancel of Swainswick Church, although no memorial of them is said to exist there.

Although there were one or two greatly inferior architects working in Bath and Bristol at this period—John Strahan of Bristol, who built an ornate piece of domestic architecture, much ridiculed by the elder Wood, in Kingsmead Square was one; and William Killigrew, who designed Weymouth House, Bath, for Dr. Bellensen in 1720, and some other insignificant work in the city, another—the Woods, father and son, had practically the whole building development of Bath at this period in their hands. By one of those lucky chances which are few and far between, they both proved worthy of the great task that fell to their share; and if rebuilding wants defence, no better object-lesson can be held up than the work they did in the city which they found an indifferent, though always an intrinsically interesting one, and left one of the most beautiful in England.

#### CARR OF YORK

A somewhat analogous case to that of Wood of Bath, is that of Carr of York whose life was spent at York, and

<sup>1</sup> He resided during his later years at No. 41 Gay Street, Bath, on which house a tablet is affixed.

whose architectural activity to some extent embellished that city as did that of Wood, Bath. Carr<sup>1</sup> was born at Horbury, near Wakefield, in May, 1723. His early life is said to have been passed as a practical working man, but, settling in York, he gradually built up for himself a reputation as an efficient architect of that Palladian school which was then so fashionable. He seems to have had his thoughts turned to architecture when he was acting as contractor or clerk of the works at Kirby Hall, which was erected from the designs of Morris in 1750, and from this time till nearly the end of the century his hands were full of work in the north of England, where he and Paine (whom I deal with in the following chapter) divided the architectural supremacy.

In 1751 he commenced Lytham Hall, in Lancashire, a fine building which was not, however, actually completed till 1764, before which year he had erected Tabley, in Cheshire, and, what was perhaps his most notable effort, Harewood House, Yorks, which was decorated by Robert Adam, and subsequently altered by Barry. Harewood was designed in 1760, and exactly ten years later Carr was employed in erecting the east front to Wentworth House, a portion of the mansion which contained the great gallery 180 feet in length. In the meantime Carr had erected a court-house, the Castle, and the Gaol at York, the well-known Crescent at Buxton, and a town-hall at Newark. In 1776 he built Basildon Park, in Berkshire, on an eminence overlooking the Thames, apparently his sole effort in the southern counties, and two years later Dunton Park was erected from his designs. Among other private houses which he planned may be mentioned Thoresby Lodge, Notts; Oakland House, Cheshire; Constable Burton and Farnley Hall, Yorkshire. Indeed, Carr seems to have confined his attention chiefly to domestic architecture, although he did design the mausoleum at Wentworth, a bridge over the Wye at Boroughbridge, and, in one in-

<sup>1</sup> Carr is really chronologically much later, as his death did not occur till 1807, but here seemed the best place to say what little I want to about him.

stance a church, that of Horbury, which he erected at his own expense, and where he lies buried. He could very well afford to build even so costly a thing as a church, for although he had been twice Mayor of York (in 1770, and again in 1785), an office which is proverbially an expensive one, he left at his death, which occurred at his residence, Askham Hall, on February 22, 1807, no less than £150,000. No wonder the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month mentions the decease of one who had worked so hard and so profitably.

Mr. Blomfield thus sums up Carr's attainments: "Carr appears to have been a good practical architect, who was kept within reasonable limits of taste by a sound tradition and an abundance of excellent pattern books." This exactly indicates the architect's power, and also indirectly points to the secret of his, in many cases, fine buildings: which are fine, not because their designer was original, but because he was always determined to be on the side of the angels.

### THOMAS RIPLEY

A man who has been pilloried in the "Dunciad" and sneered at in the "Imitations of Horace" would stand an excellent chance of being considered a negligible quantity so long as books are read, were not Pope's partiality as well known as his wit, and his readiness to sacrifice any victim on the altar of political expediency, or for the sake of gratifying a patron as clearly established as either. Thomas Ripley, who received at the hands of the poet what has proved, in other cases, the only chance of immortality which the victims of the "wicked wasp" would ever have secured, cannot be regarded, by more impartial critics, as so hopelessly bad an architect as Pope would seem to insinuate, and had he never fallen under the lash of satire he would still claim a place, although an inferior one, among British architects.

At the period when the poet produced his satirical verse Lord Burlington was the bright particular star of society ; the arbiter of taste ; the open-handed patron. He was, too, the friend of Pope and his circle—Swift, Gay, and Arbuthnot ; when, therefore, any artist or architect was taken under his lordship's *ægis*, Pope and Gay combined to celebrate both patron and patronised in fulsome numbers. But if an architect or painter happened to be looked favourably upon by some one else, Sir Robert Walpole in particular, then, as being a henchman of the enemy, nothing was bad enough for him ; and we find the greatest poet of the day degenerating into a party scribbler, and sacrificing, as a Grub Street hack might have sacrificed with some slight excuse, for it often meant meat and drink to him, accuracy to partisanship.

So much for a matter which seemed worth a few remarks, because Ripley's fame, never, it is true, very great, has been still more unfairly dimmed by the unfortunate attentions of the author of the "Dunciad."

Thomas Ripley was a Yorkshireman, but neither the place nor date of his birth is known. His parentage was probably obscure ; and when, as a youth, he determined to push his fortunes in London, he walked there. On his arrival he obtained work with a journeyman carpenter, and that he must have made some progress in the trade seems proved by the fact that on March 14, 1705, he was admitted to the freedom of the Carpenters' Company. We next find him in the unexpected *rôle* of the keeper of a coffee-house in conjunction with a carpenter's shop, in Wood Street, Cheapside.<sup>1</sup> By this time it is probable that he had married. His wife is known to have been a domestic servant in the household of Sir Robert Walpole, but whether this circumstance brought him under the notice of the Minister, or whether he had already done work for him, and thus met his future wife, is uncertain. One thing, however, is certain, that however Walpole's patronage was obtained, it was not long before it bore fruit, for, in 1718, Ripley

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins's "Life of Johnson."

was made clerk of the works at the Royal Mews ; and was, in the same year, selected to rebuild the Custom House (designed by Wren in 1671), which had been destroyed by fire in 1715—a fate which, curiously enough, also overtook Ripley's edifice in 1814. Three years later, Ripley was appointed chief carpenter to all the king's works and buildings in England, in succession to Grinling Gibbons, the patent for this post being dated August 10, 1721 ; and in the following year he was commissioned by Walpole to carry out the erection of Houghton Hall, which was designed, as we have seen, by Colin Campbell about this time. When engaged on this work Ripley seems to have introduced certain features of his own into the building ; but although such variations may have been not unnaturally considered as improvements by Ripley himself, and even by Sir Robert, the credit of Houghton Hall as a whole belongs to Colin Campbell.<sup>1</sup>

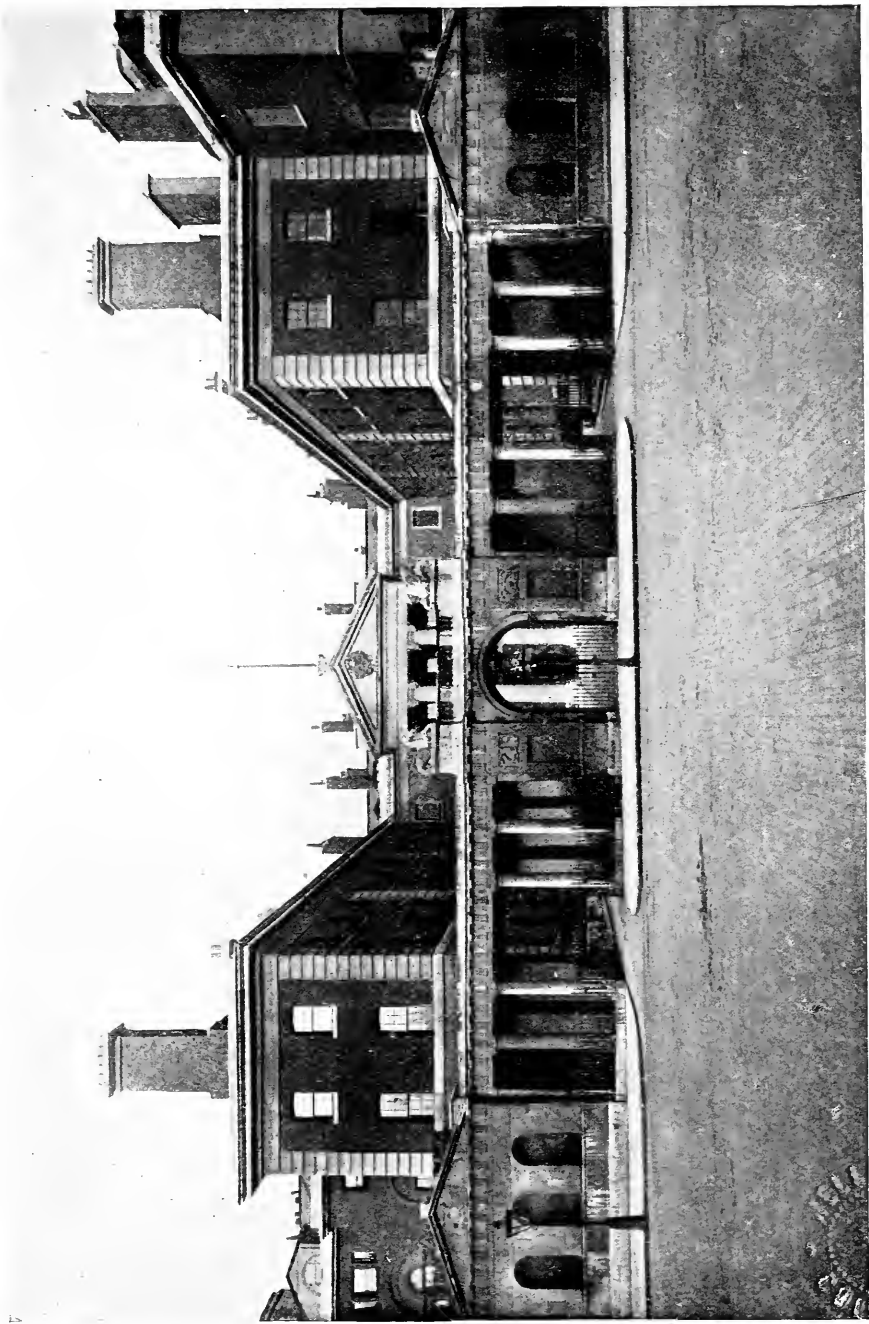
Another undertaking for Walpole, which, however, can be regarded as Ripley's own unaided work, except that it was obviously inspired by Inigo Jones, was Wolterton Hall, which Horace Walpole calls "one of the best houses of the size in England." This mansion was erected during the years 1724 to 1730, during most of which time (1724-26) the architect was engaged on what is probably his best-known work, the building of the Admiralty in Whitehall. Walpole, who only appears to have found Ripley's designs worthy of praise so long as they were employed on behalf of his father, speaks of the Admiralty as "a most ugly edifice" ; and it must be confessed that it is clumsy and its portico pretentious and out of proportion. Pope indirectly refers to it when he writes :

See under Ripley rise a new Whitehall,  
While Jones's and Boyle's united labours fall.

The cost of the work was estimated by the architect at £22,400. The slavish adherence to classic rules, which is

<sup>1</sup> Ripley published "Plans and Elevations of Houghton," 2 vols., folio in 1755-60, as if it were entirely his own ; much as Brettingham did in the case of Holkham.





*Spooner*

THE ADMIRALTY

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noticeable in the building, and which in the hands of really great designers was a safeguard, if not an advance, for British architecture, is largely responsible for its heaviness. The screen which Adam subsequently put up does not greatly improve it, but perhaps has the merit—at least Walpole thought it one—of hiding the main building.

The year that witnessed the completion of Wolterton and the Admiralty, saw Ripley advanced a further step in official recognition, by being created Comptroller of the Board of Works in succession to Vanbrugh. Campbell was at the same time made Surveyor-General, and in this capacity continued the perennial works at Greenwich. Three years later, however, Ripley superseded him as chief in command there, and, among other work, designed the interior and roof of the chapel (which was burnt down in 1779), and the west front of Queen Mary's block, for which his estimate, presented to the House of Commons on March 6, 1734, amounted to £80,444 16s.

In 1737 he was appointed "Keeper of the king's private roads, gates, bridges, &c., and Conductor of the royal progresses";<sup>2</sup> and that he now considered himself a person of some importance is proved by the fact that a few years later (1742) he applied for, and obtained, a grant of arms from Heralds' College.

In 1739 he was associated with Kent in the erection of the new Law Courts at Westminster, and in connection with this undertaking is said to have actually advised the removal of the beautiful old vaulting of the chapter-house, and the substitution of an ordinary low roof. At the same time he collaborated with Kent in the scheme for rebuilding the Houses of Parliament, the cost of which was estimated at £167,000; but the matter was never proceeded with, although the plans met with the approval of the authorities.

There does not appear to be any record of further archi-

<sup>2</sup> See the *Gentleman's Magazine* for this year. When this office was transferred to the Board of Works soon after, Ripley received a pension of £200 per annum.

tectural work on the part of Ripley, although he lived for another nine years. He is known, however, to have taken considerable interest in municipal affairs, and, in 1744, to have reached the position of Sheriff of London and Middlesex. For some reason, however, he begged to be excused from serving, and, on being so, paid the usual fine.<sup>1</sup>

He possessed an official residence at Hampton Court, connected with his duties as Surveyor of Roads, &c., and here, on February 10, 1758, he died, and was buried seven days later in the neighbouring church, where a slab on the floor records the circumstance.<sup>2</sup>

As I have mentioned, Ripley married one of Sir Robert Walpole's servants; she died, apparently childless, on November 17, 1737, and five years later he married (April 22, 1742) Miss Bucknall, of Hampton, who was an heiress, and is said to have brought her husband no less than £40,000; by her he had three sons and several (the number is unknown) daughters. Two painters, Gardiner and Highmore, perpetuated the features of Ripley; the former picture being preserved at Wolterton Hall, and the latter being in the possession of the architect's descendants.

Ripley cannot be regarded in any sense as an important architect. What, however, can be said for him is that he did on occasion, as at Wolterton, some good work. He was pre-eminently an example of the official designer who seems to have been contented to satisfy the not very critical requirements of his employers. When an architect is commissioned to design for a private person he is generally given a free hand; when he works officially he is frequently tied down by all sorts of disabilities. Our own day has witnessed too many examples of this for people to be ignorant of the fact, and it is therefore due to Ripley's memory to suggest that, as he succeeded at Wolterton (a private enterprise) and failed at the Admiralty (an official undertaking), he would probably have made a better archi-

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine.*

<sup>2</sup> Lyson's "Environs of London."





*Hills & Saunders*

ALL SAINTS', OXFORD

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tect had he been less lucky in attracting official recognition. This sounds paradoxical, but is not really so ; and although Wren and Inigo Jones were official architects, if ever there were such, they were remarkable exceptions to the rule ; and we know that, in any case, Ripley was not an Inigo Jones, much less a Wren.

## FOUR AMATEURS

### DEAN ALDRICH

It will be convenient to say a few words here about four amateur architects whose work was confined to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge ; but in doing so I shall have to dispense with correct chronological order, for the first, Dr. Aldrich, died in 1710, and the last, James Essex, was still doing work in 1770. As, however, they would not properly take their place among the earlier architects or those who came later, and as it is better to group them together, this seems the best place in which to speak of them.

Dr. Aldrich is a famous Oxford worthy, noted as being one of the more prominent of the Deans of Christ Church, and also for his musical abilities and his love of his pipe, two passions which he once welded together in his well-known "catch" to be sung by four vocalists whilst smoking. What, however, I must here confine myself to are his architectural achievements which found their most fitting and notable embodiment in the Church of All Saints at Oxford, the spire of which is one of the beautiful objects in a city full of beautiful objects. The church was erected, in place of an older one which had been almost entirely demolished owing to the fall of its spire, in 1699, and, apart from its classic exterior, is remarkable for the great span of its roof which is unsupported by pillars. As both Wren and Hawksmoor were much in Oxford during the period of Dr.

Aldrich's architectural activity, it is not unlikely that, to some extent, the latter may have benefited by their suggestions, but, at the same time, his right to be regarded, in the main, as an original designer has never been questioned.

In 1706 he planned the cloister and Fellows' Buildings on the south side of Corpus Christi; and about the same period (it was begun in 1705) he built Peckwater Quad at Christ Church, its name commemorating an old inn that once stood on part of the site. The library, on its south side, was not commenced, however, till eleven years later, six years after Aldrich's death. "Peckwater" is a good, though rather monotonous, example of those correct Palladian rules which obtained at this period, and which Aldrich inculcates in the MS. notes he left,<sup>1</sup> on the elements of civil architecture.

When Trinity College Chapel was rebuilt in 1691-99, he is said to have prepared the plans, but as Wren is known also to have had a hand in it, and as it is redolent of his characteristics, we can hardly attribute it, with the certainty that we can the other buildings mentioned, to the gifted Dean.

Aldrich, who was born in 1647, and in early life had resided much in Italy, died in 1710. He not only proved a successful head of Christ Church, but was a notable figure in the 'Varsity life of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

#### DOCTOR CLARKE

When the completion of Peckwater Quad, on the south side, was interrupted by Aldrich's death, the library which was to stand there was designed by another amateur, Dr.

<sup>1</sup> They were published in 1789.

<sup>2</sup> A well-known story illustrates his love of smoking. An undergraduate made a bet that at whatever hour he might be called upon the Dean would be found with a pipe in his mouth. The bet was, however, lost, for Aldrich was discovered on the occasion selected, not actually smoking, but filling his pipe!



George Clarke, who was a close friend of the Dean's. This library dominates the quad and overpowers the Aldrich buildings; but even as it is, it only faintly resembles what Clarke originally intended; for it was to have been supported by columns, and the lower portion would have been open to the gardens of the Deanery behind it. It appears, indeed, that it was actually commenced on these lines, but as it progressed it was found that the space thus lost could not be spared, and the building (which was not finished till 1761) was altered to its present form. There is no doubt that Dr. Clarke's original intention, had it been carried out, would have greatly improved "Peckwater" by giving it that touch of lightness which it now sadly needs.

Clarke is traditionally connected with Hawksmoor in the designing of the towers and quadrangle of All Souls, but it is probable that the work (nothing to be proud of) was due to the professional man alone, labouring under an official incubus.

The library at Worcester College, although not actually designed by Clarke, was erected under his superintendence, and he undoubtedly gave advice during the progress of the work.

For the rest, he is known to have represented Oxford in Parliament, and during the reign of Queen Anne to have been a Lord of the Admiralty, a post for which his apparent ignorance of maritime affairs seems hardly to have qualified him. On his death, in 1736, he left his fine collection of architectural books and manuscripts (among which were those of Aldrich already mentioned) to Worcester College.

### SIR JAMES BURROUGH

As Oxford had its own particular architects in Aldrich and Clarke, so did Cambridge in Sir James Burrough and James Essex. Burrough became Master of Gonville and

Caius College in 1754, in which post he succeeded Sir Thomas Gooch. Long before this he had applied himself to the study of architecture, and during his life seems to have had something to do with the alterations and rebuilding of nearly every college at Cambridge. In view of this comprehensive labour, it is not surprising to find his work very unequal, and as he was, although a good amateur, not sufficiently certain of himself, his designs reflect rather the varying tastes of his time than the developed talent of a great architect.

He was born in 1690, and although he became known as "that ingenious architect," "in what manner his previous education had prepared him for it does not appear," we are told.<sup>1</sup> His earliest work seems to have been the superintendence of the refacing of the older courts of Gonville and Caius College, and the decoration of its chapel, which was carried out in 1719. Nine years later he designed a cupola for the college, and a little later he converted, says Mr. Blomfield, the old hall of Queens' into an "Italian chamber." Indeed, wherever practicable—or impracticable, for the matter of that—Burrough seems to have been bent on Italianising everything he touched. This is particularly evident at Peterhouse where, in 1754, he translated the old quadrangle from mediæval into his favourite form. He might have even done worse, for at an earlier date (1736) he produced a plan for taking down Perne's library, as well as Wren's additional cloisters, and rebuilding them after his own designs. Nothing, indeed, but a want of funds saved the college from this desecration. Curiously enough, however, what he was enabled to do here was, on the whole, satisfactory; and by keeping in mind Gibbs's work at King's, he produced an imposing and successful north wing to the college in 1742. Other effects of his mania for a particular school, regardless as to whether it was appropriate or not, are to be seen in the quadrangle of Trinity Hall and that of Gonville and Caius. In 1769 he designed the chapel of Clare; and about the same time

<sup>1</sup> Willis and Clarke.

the new north and west buildings at Emmanuel, which he had planned some years earlier, were erected under the superintendence of Essex.

Nor is it only in the actual college buildings that Burrough's dominating personality is conspicuous. About 1740 "he did his best to spoil"—the words are Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson's<sup>1</sup>—the University church by fitting the chancel-arch and chancel with a gallery known as the "Throne," where the seats of the mighty, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses, were placed, and by other inappropriate and unnecessary additions.

When George I. made his famous, and wholly surprising, gift of books to the University, it was found that there was no suitable place for their accommodation, and it was therefore decided to store them in the existing Senate House, and to erect a new one. Burrough, of course, was soon in the field with a design. This was carried out, and proved quite an adequate building, its excellence probably being due to the large share that Gibbs is known to have had in its planning. But its erection was subsequently attended by a terrible circumstance; for Rotherham's beautiful library was found not to accord with the new building, and in 1754 the authorities calmly destroyed it, and erected a Georgian façade, which was supposed to be—although it was not at all—in harmony with the new Senate House.

There is no doubt that, iconoclastic as Burrough was, much of his work was well designed, if not always appropriate; but he was badly bitten by the mania so prevalent in the eighteenth century for destroying existing buildings simply because they did not agree with certain rules laid down in the text-books—productions which, although they obviously contained many excellent and unexceptionable rules, were as fatal to a sense of reverence for older work as the pattern-books of the sixteenth century had been to the development of originality.

<sup>1</sup> "Cambridge and its Colleges."

## JAMES ESSEX

Burrough was greatly assisted in the work he did at Cambridge by James Essex, who was a native of that town where his father, to whom he was originally apprenticed, was a joiner. He, later, attracted the notice of various amateurs for whom he did a considerable amount of work. His first individual design was for a garden at King's College, which he executed in 1741; and sixteen years afterwards we find him employed in erecting certain buildings at St. Catherine's Hall; but what work he did during the lifetime of Sir James Burrough is, as a rule, largely incorporated in that of his patron. After the latter's death, however, Essex seems to have stepped into his shoes as the head and front of the offending brought about by building development in Cambridge, and from 1770 to 1776 he did a quantity of work, chiefly bad; half a dozen of the colleges suffering by his "improvements." But it was not so much what he added in the way of building as what of older work he destroyed, that makes one irritated with a man like Essex, and still more with the college authorities who gave a rein to his iconoclastic methods. In 1770 he refaced the old court of Peterhouse, a hideous patch on the older buildings which, for some unaccountable reason, he luckily left alone; at Emmanuel, about the same time, he carried out Burrough's designs for the north and west buildings, and erected the hall, of which Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson says that "it is cold and stiff, and the plaster roof brings bad taste to a climax," adding that it is probably the least agreeable building of the kind in Cambridge.

In 1771 Essex is found making alterations at Trinity, to a corner of the great quadrangle and in other parts of the college, and erecting the bridge connecting the lime-walk with the new quad, a piece of work that some con-

sider the best he did here, which is, after all, not saying a great deal.

Two years later he modernised the chapel of Queens', and rebuilt the portion known as Erasmus Court; and in 1774 he refaced the south side of the quadrangle of St. John's, at the same time that he was permitted to desecrate the east end of the chapel of King's by some indifferent wood-carving.

What seems to have been his last attempt at "beautifying" Cambridge was the new chapel he erected, in 1776, at Sidney Sussex College. Much more subsidiary work<sup>1</sup> at Cambridge can undoubtedly be traced to him, but sufficient has been noticed to indicate that he was a man who in a new town, might have been comparatively harmless, but who, in a place full of ancient architectural beauties such as Cambridge, was to the last degree dangerous. Coming, too, after Burrough who had sinned in the same way, even if he had not done so to the same extent, he did infinite harm to the University; and it is a matter of congratulation for Oxford that what of rebuilding was done there at this period, if not of the best kind, was at least carried out by men like Aldrich and Clarke, with a reverence due to its existing buildings and their manifold associations.

<sup>1</sup> He designed the Beauclerk Closet, at Strawberry Hill, for Horace Walpole, in 1776.

## CHAPTER IX

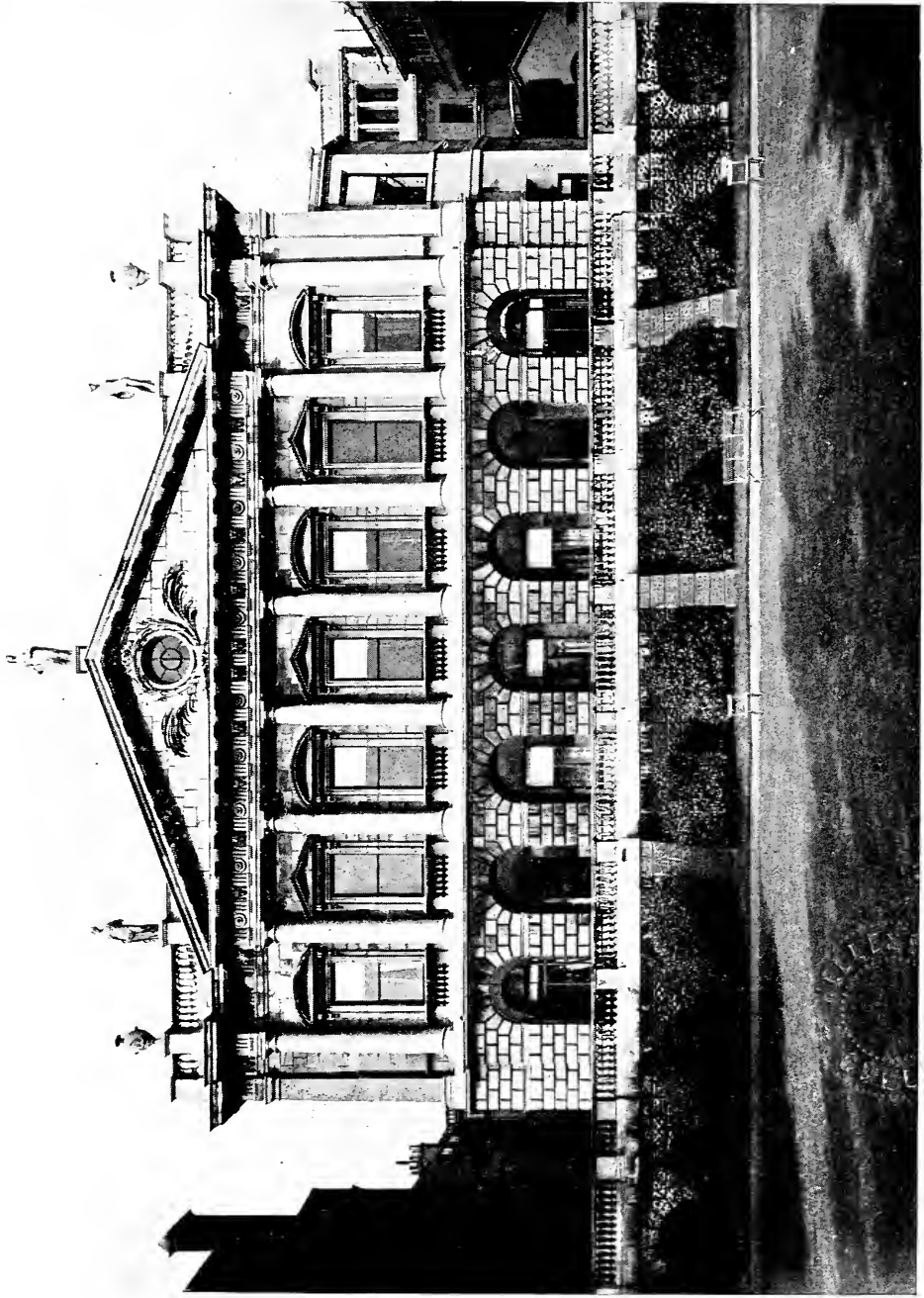
### JOHN VARDY

JOHN VARDY is one of those architects about whose early life little has been recorded, neither the place nor the year of his birth being known; as, however, he was, although a sound architect, not a particularly notable exponent of the art, the matter is not of such importance as it might otherwise have been. His principal work was done in association with William Kent, whose pupil he was. Kent died in the spring of 1748,<sup>1</sup> and all Vardy's individual work dates from that year; so that up to that period we may regard him as merely an assistant of the better-known man, and what designing, if any, he may have done, as being incorporated in the undertakings of his master. With one of these, indeed, Vardy was closely identified after Kent's death, for he had the principal share in carrying out the plans for the Horse Guards. He was appointed architect to this work in 1751, and although, apparently, chief in command, he was associated in the matter with another architect, namely, William Robinson,<sup>2</sup> who acted as joint clerk of the works with him during the period of the building operations; each of them receiving a salary of £100, a like amount being paid to Isaac Ware in his capacity of draughtsman.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this year certain old houses in Pall Mall, between Marlborough House and St. James's Palace, were removed under Vardy's direction.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson held various official positions, and largely assisted Walpole at Strawberry Hill.

<sup>3</sup> See Horse Guards accounts, in the library of the R.I.B.A.



*Reiford Louere*

SPENCER HOUSE

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The building of the Horse Guards occupied about three years, 1751 to 1753, but additions were made later, during 1756-60. It was, however, essentially the production of Kent, although he did not live to see it even begun.

Concurrently with his supervision of the Horse Guards, Vardy acted as clerk of the works at Kensington Palace, between 1748 and 1754, succeeding H. Joynes in this post. Indeed, he seems to have been largely occupied in such offices, for he held, in addition, a similar post at St. James's and Whitehall at the same time; and, at the period of his death, he was clerk of the works at Chelsea Hospital.

In 1753 he was engaged in designing and erecting the Court of King's Bench at Westminster, where he had done much other work in his capacity of assistant to Kent; and he even produced a design for a palace at Whitehall, and one for a north façade to St. James's Palace, in 1748; neither of which, however, emerged from this initial stage.

When the members of the Society of Dilettanti were thinking of erecting new headquarters, Vardy was one of those who sent in designs in 1751. Three years later we find him engaged on the more ambitious task of planning a home for the British Museum which had been instituted, as a result of Sir Hans Sloane's great bequest, in 1753; but although he was commissioned by the Trustees to do this, nothing came of his design, as the authorities, instead of building, purchased Montagu House, Bloomsbury, from the Earl of Halifax, for the housing of their treasures.

Vardy seems to have done little in the way of domestic architecture; perhaps his official duties precluded his giving any serious attention to this branch of the art; when, however, he did design a private house he was so successful that it seems likely that had he done more in this way his reputation would have been far greater than it is. His solitary excursion into domestic work, unless a house which he is said to have designed for Colonel Wade in Whitehall, a plan and elevation of which he certainly prepared, be an exception, is Spencer House, St. James's.

James (Athenian) Stuart is known to have had a hand

in this fine example of eighteenth-century work, and it seems that a talented amateur and leading member of the Society of Dilettanti, Colonel Edward Grey, also cooperated; but the main lines of the mansion and the front looking on to the Green Park, which forms its most decorative and beautiful exterior portion, are the work of Vardy. The excellence of the interior arrangements, which have been described as "more modern than any plan of the time," and the boldness and beautiful proportions of the park façade are so noticeable even to the untrained eye, that Spencer House may be regarded as the one and only beautiful and original creation of a man whose work was otherwise of little importance. The house was begun either at the close of 1755 or the commencement of the following year, and its mere shell is said to have cost 50,000 guineas. Stuart's contribution, the very ordinary front in St. James's Place, was not, however, designed till some four years later.<sup>1</sup>

Although no other buildings are known to have been erected from Vardy's designs, he produced certain suggested ones for various more or less unimportant buildings, such as one for a nobleman's stable and terrace near Hyde Park, as well as a sketch for a bath for a house (not named) in Suffolk. He also tried his hand at engraving, and in this medium issued a print of the pulpit of York Minster, after Kent, and one of a vase in Hampton Court Gardens (1749); while a coloured view of a Gothic hall, dated the same year, is also signed by him, and bears written evidence, on the margin, that it was taken from one of Kent's designs.

Vardy's death occurred on May 17, 1765. Unlike many of the eighteenth-century architects, he did not publish much; in fact, his only work in this direction seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> Uxbridge House, in Burlington Gardens, was designed by another John Vardy, in conjunction with Bonomi, in 1790-92. This Vardy was probably a son of the elder man. I am ashamed to say I have followed many others in the error of confounding them as one and the same person, on p. 340 of my "Private Palaces of London."





ISAAC WARE

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“Some Designs by Mr. Inigo Jones and Mr. William Kent,” brought out in 1744, in which the collocation of such unequal names with the implication of equal merit, will raise a smile.

## ISAAC WARE

I have said that Vardy was only responsible for one publication; the architect whom we now come to was, on the other hand, no less active in writing on architecture than in its practice; in fact, he was a voluminous author, or perhaps it would be more correct to say a voluminous editor, translator, and publisher of architectural designs.

A good deal of mystery enshrouds his early years. J. T. Smith, however, in his life of Nollekens, relates that the sculptor had heard from his father the following anecdote concerning the future architect: “A thin, sickly little boy, a chimney-sweeper, was amusing himself one morning by drawing with a piece of chalk the street front of Whitehall upon the basement stones of the building itself, carrying his delineations as high as his little arms could possibly reach. . . . it happened that his operations caught the eye of a gentleman of considerable taste and fortune as he was riding by. He checked the carriage, and, after a few minutes’ observation, called to the boy to come to him; who, upon being asked as to where he lived, burst into tears, and begged of the gentleman not to tell his master, assuring him that he would wipe it all off. ‘Don’t be alarmed,’ said the gentleman, at the same time throwing him a shilling to convince him that he intended him no harm.

“His benefactor then went to his master in Charles Court, in the Strand, who gave him a good character, but declared he was of little use to him, on account of his being so bodily weak. He said he was fully aware of the boy’s fondness for chalking; and showed his visitor what a state

his walls were in from the young artist having drawn the portico of St. Martin's Church in various places.

"The gentleman purchased the remainder of the boy's time; gave him an excellent education; then sent him to Italy; and, upon his return, employed him and introduced him to his friends as an architect."

The boy was Isaac Ware, and that this story is founded on fact is proved by his relating it himself, when he was sitting to Roubiliac, the sculptor.

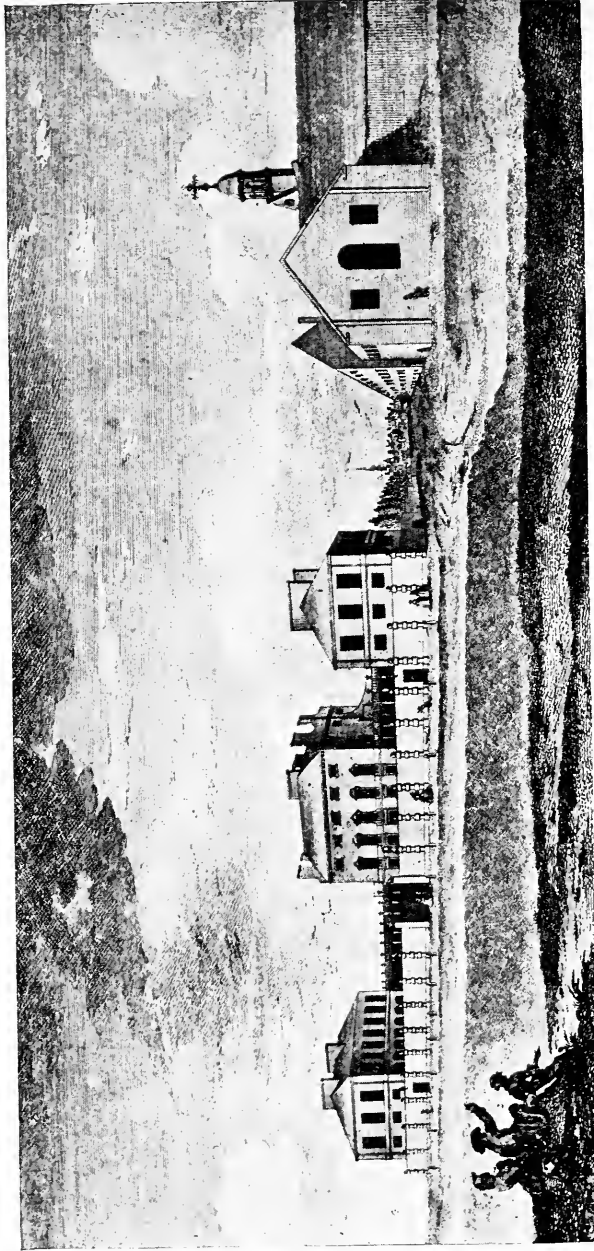
The identity of the "gentleman" who figures in this picturesque incident is not quite satisfactorily established, although it has been asserted that it was no less a personage than Lord Burlington; nor is the exact period when it took place known; but as Ware's name is found among the subscribers to Kent's "Designs of Inigo Jones," published in 1727, and as in the following year (October 4) Ware was appointed clerk of the works at the Tower, it must have been during the early years of the eighteenth century, which would put Lord Burlington, who was born in 1695, completely out of court as being the patron referred to.

In 1729 Ware was made clerk of the works at Windsor; and five years later began his more public career as an architect by converting old Lanesborough House, at Hyde Park Corner, into what is now known as St. George's Hospital,<sup>1</sup> but which was then termed the Lock Hospital, calculated to hold but sixty patients.<sup>2</sup> Two years later we find Ware named as "draughtsman and clerk itinerant" to the Board of Works; and to this time belongs his first publication, brought out in conjunction with Kent and Ripley, and consisting of a series of illustrations of Houghton Hall, and Rookby Hall, Yorkshire. He also published on his own account fifty-three plates from Inigo Jones's designs, &c., a work, as Mr. Blomfield properly points out, of

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards rebuilt (1828-29) by William Wilkins, R.A.

<sup>2</sup> In Maitland's "History of London" is a lengthy account of the inception of the hospital, and a print of how it appeared after Ware's conversion.





CHESTERFIELD HOUSE

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small value, on account of the inaccuracies of many of the drawings.

In 1736 Ware was advanced a step at the Board of Works by being made Secretary, in place of Flitcroft who was promoted to the Comptrollership, and at the same time he succeeded Hawksmoor as "draughtsman" at Windsor and Greenwich Hospital.

In the following year he was engaged on a design for the Mansion House, the building of which, however, was placed in the hands of Dance. Indeed, at this time Ware, although holding the official appointments already named, does not seem to have been engaged on any special architectural work, and, perhaps as a means of bringing his name more prominently before the public, he made, as in the case of the Mansion House, chance designs, or occupied himself on the literary side of his profession. He published in 1738, a translation of Palladio's book, which probably answered this purpose, for when, some seven or eight years later, Lord Chesterfield projected a mansion that should combine French charm and dignity with English substantiability and comfort, he selected Ware to furnish the design, the result being the still beautiful, though much altered and mutilated, Chesterfield House, Mayfair.

What Ware's complete design looked like may be seen from the print of the building, issued by E. J. Eyre in 1750; how long the "palace" took to complete may be read at large in Chesterfield's letters to his friends, and elsewhere. The house-warming took place in 1752,<sup>1</sup> but even then much of the interior was still incomplete; but this was not Ware's fault, and what he was commissioned to do was practically finished by this date. As in all eighteenth-century houses, the bedchambers were sacrificed to the reception-rooms, but the latter, as can still be seen, were beautifully proportioned, and combined comfort and splendour to a remarkable degree. Certain parts of the house, such as the fine staircase and the pillars which

<sup>1</sup> Lord Chesterfield is said to have actually taken possession on March 13, 1749, but the place was then in a very unfinished condition.

flanked the central block, and which came from Canons, were adventitious embellishments to which Ware has, of course, no claim ; but notwithstanding these purple patches, his work was both satisfactory to his employer and admired by the gay throng that visited at Chesterfield House ; and architect could hardly ask for more. During the progress of Chesterfield House, Ware was employed on various other buildings, and was also acting (1741-48) as surveyor to the Board of Works, to which office, as we have seen, he had previously been appointed secretary and clerk of the works. Among the private work he did may be mentioned various alterations, including the rebuilding of the south and east fronts, at Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire, then the seat of Sir Danvers Osborn. I imagine this to have been about the period of the renovation of the Priory, as, in a long letter, dated October 14, 1750, Mrs. Osborn informs her son, Sir Danvers, that various alterations in certain rooms are by then completed, and these would naturally be left till after the structural repairs were finished.<sup>1</sup>

Two years later Ware was employed at Oxford in building the Town Hall and Market. The former was erected chiefly at the expense of Thomas Rowney, whose statue was subsequently placed in the centre of the building which was restored and added to in 1790.

About the time that he was engaged on these designs, Ware was also commissioned to erect Wrotham Park,<sup>2</sup> Herts, now the seat of the Earl of Strafford, for the ill-fated Admiral Byng. As Byng was a brother of the Mrs. Osborn just referred to, it seems probable that this commission was due to the satisfaction Ware had given at Chicksands. In the meanwhile the architect was, as we have seen, employed as draughtsman, at a salary of £100 per annum, on the works being carried out, (1751-2, and 1757-58), at the Horse Guards, from Kent's designs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century," edited by Emily F. D. Osborn.

<sup>2</sup> The wings were not added till 1810.

<sup>3</sup> Horse Guards accounts, in the library of the R.I.B.A.

Nor was he less active in other ways, for in 1756 appeared his translation of Sirrigatti's "Practice of Perspective," and a large number of the private houses in London, chiefly in Mayfair, which he is known to have designed and which he illustrates in his book on architecture, must have been erected largely between 1750 and 1760. One such private residence, in a different part of the town—that is, Lindsay House, Lincoln's Inn Fields—has been attributed to him,<sup>1</sup> this report probably arising from the fact that he may have been employed on some repairs there, as the mansion is known to have been the work of Inigo Jones. When the building of Blackfriars Bridge was contemplated in 1760, Ware sent in a design which was placed among the first eleven provisionally selected, but was not eventually chosen.

In 1763 he is recorded as being Master of the Carpenters' Company, and three years later, on January 5, he died at his house at Hampstead, being buried in the chancel of the old church at Paddington. In the year of his death appeared a new edition of Brook Taylor's "Method of Perspective," which he had edited.

There has been a good deal of confusion and error with regard to the various residences that Ware is known to have owned. In the first place, he is said to have built and occupied No. 6 Bloomsbury Square, later notable as the home of Isaac D'Israeli. Mr. W. L. Rutton went very fully and carefully into the matter some years since,<sup>2</sup> and the result of his investigations shows that, although no trace of Ware's name is to be found in the Bedford Estate books, the evidence leans to the fact that the house he built and occupied was that which has its entrance in Hart Street, now numbered 5 Bloomsbury Square, but which never was No. 6. As an example of Ware's domestic architecture, the exterior of the house is not distinctive, and, indeed, with No. 6 appears to form a single block, although they have, as a matter of fact, always been

<sup>1</sup> See *The Builder*, 1882, vol. 42, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Home Counties Magazine* for July 1902.

separate houses ; but, inside, the small hall, with its Ionic columns and pilasters, its decorative marble flooring and graceful ceiling and cornice, as well as the noticeable mouldings and chimney-pieces in the various rooms, point to the hand of no ordinary architect, and may, I think, be regarded as an excellent specimen of Ware's treatment of an ordinary London mansion, just as Chesterfield House is a splendid example of his more ambitious manner.

Of his other residences, it is recorded that, in February 1742, he, then being described as of Scotland Yard where, of course, he had his official residence, purchased from Reginald Heber and Jane Allam, a property at Westbourne Green where he built himself a house, called Westbourne Place, largely with materials brought from Chesterfield House<sup>1</sup> which he had then recently completed. At a later date, 1751, he is described as "late of St. Martin's in-the-Fields and now of Westbourne Green"—indicating a former home in London. In 1764 he appears to have disposed of his property at Westbourne Green to Sir William Yorke, Bart., Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and to have purchased what was known as Frognal Hall, from one Robert Slaughter.<sup>2</sup> It was in this house that he made his will on February 8, 1765, and here he died in the following year, as I have stated.

Ware was married twice ; first to Elizabeth Richards, and secondly to Mary Bolton. By his former wife he had one son, Walter James ; and by the latter, two daughters, Charlotte and Mary, who were unmarried at the time of his death. He is said to have possessed property in Kensington, between the years 1741 and 1751 ; but Park, in his "Hampstead," is incorrect in stating that he died "at his house in Kensington Gravel Pits," and is also wrong in affirming that he was "in depressed circumstances" at the time of his decease—errors in which he has been followed by Howitt in his "Northern Heights of London."

<sup>1</sup> Lysons.

<sup>2</sup> The above details were gathered from Ware's will, by Mr. Rutton whose investigations saved me from burrowing in the same source.

A portrait of Ware, engraved from the bust executed by Roubiliac, was published in 1802, and was reproduced in vol. ii. of the *Home Counties Magazine*, but the whereabouts of the original is not known, I believe.

Ware seems to have been sociable and popular, and in that haunt of the arts, the old Slaughter's Coffee-house, he was wont to foregather with such men as Hogarth and Roubiliac and Richard Wilson; Gwynn and Mylne, who both competed with him for the design of Blackfriars Bridge, the latter being the successful candidate; Gravelot, the well-known engraver; Luke Sullivan, who issued a print of Hogarth's *March to Finchley*; and Theodore Gardelle, who painted portraits, and was hanged for the murder of his landlady in Leicester Square. As an architect Ware's style was refined, and if not exactly original was always conformed to the best of earlier models, for Palladio was as much the god of his idolatry as he was of Lord Burlington.

## DANCE

George Dance, the elder, to distinguish him from his son who was also a well-known architect, was a man of a very different calibre; he was not, in any sense, a great designer, nor did he possess any of that originality which has sometimes caused an architect to be regarded as one who must be reckoned with, even if he breaks all rules and casts tradition to the winds; on the contrary, Dance was just one of those men whose natural mediocrity is saved by a careful adherence to tradition, and his best known—perhaps his only generally known—production, the Mansion House, has something of the impressiveness which he learnt from earlier masters, and is thus notable not so much as an example of his ability *per se*, as an instance of how he could adapt hard and fast rules, and sink his individuality in that of greater men.

Dance was born in 1700, and is said in earlier life to have been a shipwright, a calling which, according to the satirical Ralph, he never forgot. How or when he deserted the building of vessels for the planning of buildings is not clear; but in 1732 we find him engaged on the erection of St. Luke's Church, Old Street Road, which was consecrated on October 16 of the following year. Within, St. Luke's is not unimposing, being spacious and well proportioned; but the exterior is remarkable for its tower surmounted by a fluted obelisk in place of a spire, an innovation not unnaturally dubbed by Timbs, adopting Walpole's phrase, "a masterpiece of absurdity." Apparently, however, it did not present itself in this light to a less critical age, and three years after its completion Dance was commissioned to design a new church at Shoreditch on the site of one that had become ruinous. This edifice, known as St. Leonard's, occupied four years in building, being completed in 1740. It is a solid and plain erection, with a Roman Doric portico at the west end, and has a tall steeple which Dance, it is said, intended should rival that of Wren at St. Mary-le-Bow; in any case, it has a certain resemblance, and the whole structure bears that sort of affinity to the work of the great man, which might be expected from one who realised what was right but had not the skill to compass it in an original way. St. Leonard's is, however, certainly the best of Dance's churches. These include, besides, St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, planned about 1740, and built in red brick with Portland stone facings, and having a square tower with large stone vases at the angles; and St. Botolph's, Aldgate, commenced, in pursuance of an Act obtained for the purpose, in 1741, and completed in 1744, at a cost of some £5500 odd;<sup>1</sup> while, although he did not build it, Dance is stated to have made considerable additions to Faversham Church in 1754.

In the meantime Dance had become City Surveyor, and

<sup>1</sup> Dance's drawings for this were once in the possession of H. Batho, Esq., clerk to the vestry. See Godwin and Britton's "Churches of London," 1839.





THE MANSION HOUSE

*To face p. 275.*



in this capacity was commissioned to prepare a design for the Mansion House, to be erected on the site of the old Stocks Market. When the idea was first mooted Lord Burlington had been applied to for plans, whereupon he sent in an original design by Palladio. The story goes that a member of the Common Council thereupon asked, "Who was Palladio? Was he a freeman of the city, and was he not a Roman Catholic?" It sounds just a little too good to be true (although we know, on great authority, that the wise men of the East do sometimes make slips, as when the Lord Mayor on a certain occasion, quoted a story, and added: "Sé non é vero, ben *traviata*"), and it was probably invented in Pall Mall or St. James's Street. One thing, however, is certain: Lord Burlington's Palladian design was rejected, and that of Dance found favour in the sight of the magnates. Burlington did not forget this when, at a later period, he was again consulted as to the best sculptor to carve the bas-relief on the pediment of the building, for he replied: that anybody would do to decorate such a building as Dance had erected.

The first stone of the Mansion House<sup>1</sup> was laid on October 25, 1739, but the edifice was not completed till 1753, the delay being largely due to the fact that while the foundations were being prepared, the ground was found to be so full of springs that it was necessary to build on piles. Burlington's inferred criticism is an unfair one, for, when all is said, the Mansion House is a bold and effective piece of work, and admirably answers the purpose for which it was undertaken. Practical authorities speak of the details as being bad and ill-contrived, but even such critics allow that as a whole the design is a good and sound one. The famous Egyptian Hall was exactly copied from one designed by Vitruvius, and consequently no one has been found willing to stultify himself by criticising it adversely.

Since its erection many alterations have taken place in the building, the younger Dance being responsible for some

<sup>1</sup> Dance's drawings for this are now in the Soane Museum.

of them, such as the lowering of the ceiling of the Egyptian Hall, in 1796. The most important, however, was the removal, in 1842, of the original and hideous attic story which may be seen in old prints, an eye-sore dubbed by some wit, "The Mare's Nest." The complete work cost upwards of £71,000, and although the present top story is an anachronism, and looks more like a temporary structure than an integral portion of the building, the Mansion House is not unworthy of the traditions it embodies and the important place it holds in City life.

Dance died on February 8, 1768, and was buried in St. Luke's, Old Street Road. He left three sons; of these, George became a well-known follower of his father's profession. He was born in 1741, and died in 1825. Educated in his father's office, he afterwards travelled in France and Italy, and in 1761 sent in an unsuccessful design for Blackfriars Bridge. Seven years later he succeeded the elder Dance as City Surveyor, and in this capacity designed Newgate Prison in 1770, his most successful undertaking, as well as Giltspur Street Prison and St. Luke's Hospital. He also planned a number of private houses—Wilderness Park; The Grange, Alresford; Stratton Park; and Coleorton, in Leicestershire, among others; and his work in London includes the laying out of Finsbury Square. He was one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy, and was Professor of Architecture there from 1798 to 1805, though he never lectured. In 1815 he resigned the City Surveyorship, and turned his attention to painting and drawing, publishing in 1793 a collection of portraits engraved from the original chalk drawings by W. Daniell. The younger Dance died in Upper Grosvenor Street, on January 14, 1825, and was buried in St. Paul's. His second brother, Nathaniel, who was also a painter, was afterwards known as Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland; and the third, James Dance, under the assumed name of Love, became a well-known and successful comedian.

## HENRY FLITCROFT

Although, for the sake of convenience, and as a sort of sacrifice to correct chronology, I shall in this chapter speak of one other architect after I have said what I want to about Flitcroft, it is he who really represents the last of the school of earlier eighteenth-century designers who, however feebly in some cases they may have followed the master, were all more or less influenced by the consummate art of Inigo Jones. Flitcroft, like Kent and Colin Campbell, was one of Lord Burlington's "young men," and was thus brought under the influence of the unimpeachable classicism of which his lordship set up, in this country, as the high priest; and if Flitcroft had his limitations, he was certainly not the least successful of those who attempted to put in practice what they had learnt in the Piccadilly palace.

Henry Flitcroft was born on August 29, 1697. He was the son of Jeffrey Flitcroft, one of the royal gardeners at Hampton Court, his grandfather, who bore the same Christian name, Jeffrey, being a native of Winwick, in Lancashire. At the age of fourteen young Flitcroft was bound apprentice for seven years to one Thomas Morris, a joiner living in London. At the end of his term he was admitted a freeman of the Carpenters' Company, on November 3, 1719; but a year or two before that he appears to have been engaged on certain work for which his master, Morris, was employed at Burlington House, and to have thus attracted the attention of Lord Burlington. The story goes that one day, being at work on a scaffold in one of the rooms, he slipped and fell, breaking his leg, and that it was in these circumstances that he came under the Earl's notice. The accident proved a lucky one, for, finding that the young man had a good deal of facility with his pencil, Lord Burlington commissioned him to

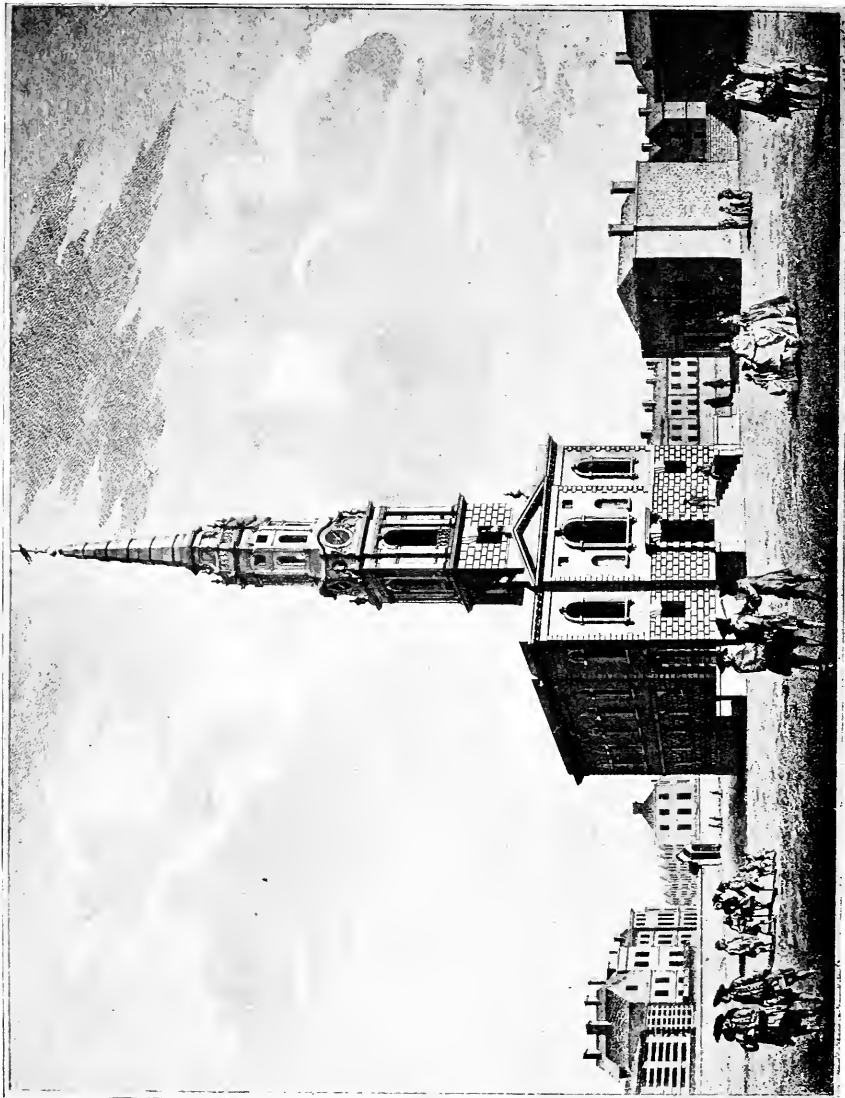
execute some of the drawings from Inigo Jones's works, the publication of which was at that time proceeding at Lord Burlington's expense, and under the supervision of Kent.<sup>1</sup> The patronage thus extended to young Flitcroft was, too, in other ways helpful: it brought him in contact with a circle whose every thought turned to the arts in general and architecture in particular; and it resulted in his attaining certain official positions with which Lord Burlington's *protégés* were, through his influence, generally connected.

The first step towards this was his employment, as a subordinate, in the Board of Works; but very soon afterwards he was advanced to the position of clerk of the works at Whitehall and St. James's, being also employed in a similar capacity at Richmond and Kew, where, during the reign of George II., he was strenuously occupied in superintending those fantastic erections—Merlin's Cave, and the like—which Queen Caroline amused her leisure by constructing, as a sort of mystical environment for her thresher-poetaster, Stephen Duck! In the meantime Flitcroft's reputation was gradually extending, and he is found engaged on the erection of various private houses and churches; thus, in 1729 he was commissioned by John Baynes to design a residence near Havering, in Essex; and three years later he was employed in the demolition of the old church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields and the erection of a new one on its site.

This work represents his earliest important achievement, but it followed too closely the lines of Gibbs's church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields to permit of its being regarded as characteristic of Flitcroft's originality. The architect, however, in the first instance designed something different, but this not being approved by the authorities, he prepared a second plan, the first one being subsequently used by him in the building of St. Olave's, Tooley Street. According to

<sup>1</sup> Some of Flitcroft's drawings for this are preserved in the R.I.B.A. library.





ST. GILES-IN-THE-FIELDS

Dobie,<sup>1</sup> in June 1731 "articles of agreement were entered into with Mr. Henry Flitcroft, architect, who contracted to take down, by or before the ensuing first of August, the old church and steeple, and to rebuild on the same ground a new one, in a complete manner, on or before December 25, 1733." The church was opened on April 14, 1734, and the amount paid to the architect for the entire work was £8436 19s. 6d.—a very reasonable sum, considering the size of the building and the labour involved. Ralph, who is an admittedly severe critic, speaks of the edifice as being "one of the most simple and elegant of the modern structures," and he describes the steeple as "light, airy, and genteel," adding that it "argues a good deal of genius in the architect, and looks very well, both in comparison with the body of the church, and when it is considered as a building by itself in a distant prospect."

While engaged on this building Flitcroft was commissioned to make alterations and additions to old Carlton House, which had, in 1732, been purchased from Lady Burlington, by Lord Chesterfield acting on behalf of Frederick, Prince of Wales. There was not much room here, however, for the architect to exhibit his individual qualities, and these had better play when, in 1737, he was employed in the erection of St. Olave's, Tooley Street. This church, as we have seen, was built from the designs first prepared for St. Giles-in-the-Fields; but even then Flitcroft's original design for the spire, as Mr. Bumpus<sup>2</sup> points out, appears to have been omitted, and the Commissioners were content to have a square tower and a flagstaff. As the edifice was nearly destroyed by fire in 1843, and was subsequently much restored, the present building can hardly be regarded as exhibiting much of the original work which Flitcroft completed, at a cost of but £5000, in 1739. A year before this (March 10, 1738) the architect had been

<sup>1</sup> "History of the Parishes of St. Giles-in-the-Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury," 1829.

<sup>2</sup> "London Churches," vol. ii,

appointed Comptroller of the Works, in succession to Ripley, a post which he held until his death.<sup>1</sup>

Among other of his undertakings was Hampstead Parish Church, which he designed and built in 1747, at a cost of £4500. It is not, in itself, a particularly attractive object, but seen at the end of the delightful Church Row, one of the most picturesque and least spoiled bits of Queen Anne architecture anywhere near London, it gains a sort of adventitious charm from its surroundings.

Outside London, Flitcroft's most important works were the erection of Wentworth House for Lord Rockingham, and the building of Woburn Abbey for the Duke of Bedford. The former was planned in 1740, and at the end of Kent's edition of Inigo Jones's drawings, appears a large double-page engraving of Flitcroft's design for it. It would appear, however, that the plans were much modified and altered, as the existing building differs very considerably from that shown in the engraving, and, according to Mr. Blomfield, the architect seems to have planned it bit by bit, and to have incorporated in his work the designs of others, notably, so far as the central block is concerned, that at Wanstead by Colin Campbell whose favourite spreading pediment he also adopted.

Woburn was rebuilt seven years later. It is large and massive, but wants grace and distinction, and is rather the work of a painstaking journeyman than of a clever artist. In the year (1747) in which he began this work, Flitcroft was engaged in designing a house in St. James's Place, overlooking the park, for the beautiful Mary Lepel, Lady Hervey, the wife of Pope's "Sporus." During the previous year he had been appointed Master Carpenter, by a warrant dated November 20, and in 1748 he succeeded Kent in the office of Master Mason (May 10).<sup>2</sup>

Throughout his long life "Burlington Harry," as he

<sup>1</sup> See *Gentleman's Magazine*, viii. 166.

<sup>2</sup> He rebuilt Wimpole Church in 1749; and in 1750 he produced a book of drawings, which he dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, and which is now in the British Museum.



was familiarly called, in allusion to the friendship and patronage of Lord Burlington, was held in general esteem, not only on account of his undoubtedly excellent gifts as an architect, but also because he was an amiable, straightforward man. Such was his reputation in this respect, indeed, that in June 1745, he was chosen one of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. But either his professional work was too exacting, or his inclinations did not lie in the direction of public life, for two years later he is recorded as having paid the fine on being excused from serving in the capacity of Sheriff; while, on being elected to the Court of the Joiners' Company, he paid a similar fine on refusing to act as Renter Warden.

Flitcroft resided for a time at a house he had erected for himself at Frogna, called Montague Grove,<sup>1</sup> not far from the residence of Isaac Ware in that neighbourhood. He did not, however, die here, but at Teddington where he also had a small place. This event occurred on February 24, 1769, and he was buried at the west end of Teddington Churchyard, his tombstone bearing the following inscription :

*Manibus Henrici Flitcroft sui temporis architecton facile principis, hoc marmor decavit Henricus Flitcroft filius. Virtutes ejus laude nullā sepulchrale indigent, omni majores. Non aliter fieri quam me fleturus ademptus Ille fuit.*

Born 3 Cal. Sept. 1697.  
Died 5 „ March 1769.

## BRETtingham

The architect who properly takes his place at the close of this chapter does not stand for very much in the development of the art, nor is his name known to the general public; but as he was identified with several notable

<sup>1</sup> Howitt's "Northern Heights of London," p. 141.

undertakings, and was also, to some extent, a person of importance—even if of but relative importance—in his day, he demands at least a few words.

Matthew Brettingham was a native of Norwich, where he was born in 1699. He seems to have laid the foundation of his architectural knowledge by travelling abroad when still a youth; and during various subsequent years, from 1723 to 1738, he published the results of his studies and investigations, in a series of folio volumes entitled “Remarks on several Parts of Europe.” It is known, too, that he became a pupil of Kent, but it is not quite clear whether this was subsequent to his first visit to the Continent, although the evidence seems to point to its being so. At any rate, by the year 1729 he was sufficiently advanced in the art to take a considerable part in the preparation of the designs for *Holkham* which was at that time commenced by Kent. There do not, however, appear any grounds for disputing the master’s claim to be considered the architect of the main outlines of this immense mansion, but Brettingham, as clerk of the works, had undoubtedly a very large share in not only superintending the work, but also in adding certain features. On the death of Kent in 1748, he became chief in command and finished the building himself; with the result that when, in 1761, the mansion was nearing completion, he brought out an elaborate set of plans of it, and arrogated to himself the entire credit of the undertaking, ignoring Kent altogether.<sup>1</sup>

There is obviously a good deal of difficulty in allocating the exact amount of work done by the two architects, especially as one was labouring for a time under the direction, and in the office, of the other; and Brettingham may very possibly have designed much that went forth under the name of his master, especially as that master was not a pre-eminent designer. But this hardly justifies

<sup>1</sup> A later edition of this was published by Brettingham’s nephew R. F. Brettingham, in 1773, in the introduction to which Kent is grudgingly allowed a small share in the work!

him in absolutely ignoring Kent's connection with Holkham, especially as the latter was the recognised official architect.

In this undertaking Brettingham was, after all, merely a subordinate, but for the erection of Langley Park, Norfolk, which occupied three or four years (1740-44), and the designing of the north and east fronts of Charlton House, Wilts, he appears—although Kent was still alive—to have been alone responsible; and at least two notable London houses were planned by him: Norfolk House, St. James's Square, and Cumberland House, Pall Mall. The former was built for the ninth Duke of Norfolk, on the sites of old St. Alban's House, and the residence next door which the Duke had purchased from the representatives of its last owner, Mr. Joseph Banks, in 1747. The new mansion was apparently begun in the following year, and completed, structurally, in 1752, although three or four years elapsed before it was actually ready for the great entertainment with which the Duke inaugurated his new possession. The old house was not taken down, and is still in existence behind the present Norfolk House, there being an ample courtyard between the two. It was in this former residence, now used as a kind of storehouse, that George III. was born. Brettingham's erection is practically to-day as he designed it, with the exception of the balcony running along the front, which was added subsequently.<sup>1</sup>

Cumberland House, on the other hand, is now no longer in existence, it having but recently been demolished. It was originally built for the Duke of York, brother of George III. What it appeared like when finished may be seen in vol. iv. of the "Vitruvius Britannicus," where there are two plates of it. The architect was obliged to deal in this case with a somewhat circumscribed site, and did so not ineffectively, although a man like Ware, to take an example, would probably have evolved something

<sup>1</sup> I have fully described Norfolk House in my "Private Palaces of London,"

still more ingenious than was effected by Brettingham, who broke the flight of the grand staircase at the first floor in order to obtain uninterrupted light from the lantern roof.

The Duke of York died in 1767, and subsequently his mansion became the town residence of his younger brother, the Duke of Cumberland, from whom it took its name. After his death it was for a time a club, but later became the Ordnance Office, the precursor of the War Office which had its headquarters here till quite recently.

Other work which has been traced to Brettingham was the original design for at least a portion of Kedleston Hall, more closely associated, as we shall see, with Paine; and an alcove in the garden of Ashburnham House, Westminster, which for long was attributed to Inigo Jones, but which Brettingham, in one of his publications, claims as his own.

As we have seen, the architect travelled abroad considerably during his early years; he was to repeat his experiences at a later date, and in 1748 he set out for Italy<sup>1</sup> and Greece, on an extended tour, which lasted some two years. He journeyed in company with Gavin Hamilton, James Stuart, and Nicholas Revett, in search of those unconsidered relics of antiquity which, through the agency of these antiquaries, were destined to be imported, in large quantities, into this country to enrich the galleries of the noble patrons who helped to finance the undertaking, and the Society of Dilettanti from whom the explorers held a sort of official commission, and of which body they were all members.

Brettingham died at Norwich in 1769, and was buried in St. Augustine's Church in that town, leaving behind

<sup>1</sup> In a list of "Caricatures which I did at Rome, 1751," Reynolds speaks of including Mr. Bretengam (*sic*) in the large caricature of the "School of Athens." It is mentioned in Leslie and Taylor's life of Sir Joshua, where the original is then said to be in the possession of — Henry, Esq., of Straffan, Ireland. A Mr. Henry is one of the group.

him a son (1725-1803), who followed in his father's steps in perpetuating, with much skill and no little knowledge, that Palladian style of which Kent is perhaps the best known, although not the best, eighteenth-century exponent.

## CHAPTER X

### SIR ROBERT TAYLOR AND OTHERS

THE Taylorian Museum at Oxford will perpetuate, as its founder no doubt expected it to, the name of Taylor; though who Taylor actually was and what Taylor actually achieved is generally little known beyond the circle of those who have studied the architectural annals of this country.

Robert Taylor was the son of one Taylor, a stonemason working in London at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was born in the capital in the year 1714. His father appears to have been a successful man, and, indeed, to have amassed a considerable fortune which, however, he dissipated by living beyond his means, if not by riotous methods exactly, at least by emulating his betters in the style and upkeep of his establishment; he having besides his town house a villa in Essex. But before he had wasted his substance he apprenticed his son to Sir Henry Cheere, a well-known mason of the day who had his yard, as had so many others at that time, in Piccadilly, and who was responsible for, among other things, that famous statue of the Duke of Cumberland once in Cavendish Square, which was set up at the expense of General Strobe, with an amusingly ungrammatical inscription. How long young Taylor remained under Cheere is not recorded, but at the end of his term, his father sent him to study in Rome where he spent some time in acquainting himself with the famous works of sculpture; for at this period he



SIR ROBERT TAYLOR

*Emery Walker*

*To face p. 286*





appears to have had no leanings towards architecture other than to that branch of it with which sculpture and masonry were connected. On his return to England he first heard of his father's death, and to his astonishment found that the apparently well-to-do parent had left him absolutely penniless. In these circumstances he turned to Peter Godfrey, the head of the old Godfrey family of Woodford, in Essex, with whom his own people had been on terms of intimacy, with the result that the latter helped him to set up as a sculptor, a calling he followed for a number of years, only relinquishing it for architecture in 1753.

Taylor's best-known works, as a sculptor, are the monuments to Peter Godfrey, M.P.,<sup>1</sup> who died in 1742, in Woodford Churchyard, which was raised at a cost of £1500; to Cornwall, and Guest, in Westminster Abbey, which were executed between 1743 and 1746; the figure of Britannia in the centre of the chief façade of the Bank of England; and the alto-relievo in the pediment of the Mansion House, which he completed in 1753, and which was his last work of this kind.

There is no evidence that Taylor was a particularly successful sculptor; and, considering the years he gave up to it, relatively few examples of his work are recorded; it was therefore probably for this reason that he determined to try his hand at that branch of art which seemed to promise a better chance of success. The result justified him, for from the moment he started on his new career he seems to have had his hands pretty full, and before his death, as we shall see, he designed a great number of important buildings, private houses being his speciality, although public offices and at least one church can also be placed to his credit.

His first design appears to have been that for a house on the site of what is now 112 Bishopsgate Street Within,

<sup>1</sup> The monument, a tall Corinthian column surmounted by an urn, also commemorates "the ancient and knightly family of Godfrey," a member of which was the well-known Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

which he carried out for John Gore, then a resident at Edmonton; but soon after he was engaged on a far more important work, notably Stone Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, which was erected in 1756. The actual working drawings for this were prepared by one of Taylor's pupils named Leech, who in later life gave up architecture for the law, and died Master of the Rolls.<sup>1</sup>

Stone Buildings is wholly out of keeping with the surrounding architecture; but taken by itself it is not ineffective, and the severity and plainness of the Chancery Lane front is compensated for by that looking on to the garden, with its rustic basement and the entablature and pediment supported by six Corinthian columns, which forms a wing at the north end.

About this time Taylor was also employed on the erection of houses for several of his clients; thus he designed one at Parbrook, in Hampshire, for Peter Taylor—whether a relation or not I am unaware, and he was the architect of the Duke of Grafton's mansion in Piccadilly, at the corner of Clarges Street. The exact year when this house was erected is not quite clear, but assuming it to have been after 1757, then it must have been built for the third Duke, who succeeded to the title in that year. In the previous year Taylor was employed by Sir Charles Asgill, Lord Mayor of London in 1758, to design what is now No. 70 Lombard Street, and he gave such satisfaction that Asgill commissioned him a little later to build the villa at Richmond overlooking the river, and still known as Asgill House. Particular features in this residence are the octagon rooms; and although the place is distinctly Classic in style, the architect was fully alive to the fact that comfort was a *desideratum* in a suburban riverside dwelling. Like Marble Hill, however—and, for the matter of that, like all eighteenth-century houses—the reception rooms were the chief objects in view, and very spacious and pleasant ones they are. Like, too, Marble Hill, Asgill House is one of the few river residences dating from this period that practically

<sup>1</sup> These drawings are preserved in Lincoln's Inn Library.

remain unimproved or restored. In the "Vitruvius Britannicus" is an engraving of it, and there it is described as of "the Tuscan order, after a design by Palladio, remarkable for its chaste and simple elegance"!

About 1770 Taylor was engaged in erecting Danson Hill House, at Welling, in Kent, for John Boyd, a merchant of London, who was shortly afterwards created a baronet. The architect's designs were modified in the course of building, but Hughson speaks of the principal rooms as being "large and elegant." The house, consisting of a centre and wings, followed the Classic lines beloved of eighteenth-century architects, and was constructed of Portland stone. A year or two after this, Taylor rebuilt the house, No. 37 Dover Street, which by Act of Parliament had been allotted to the see of Ely in lieu of Ely Place, Holborn, which reverted to the Crown in 1772. The first bishop of that diocese to take possession was Edmund Keene, and he employed Taylor to make the necessary alterations to the existing house, and to reface it in the form in which it exists to-day. An outcome of the architect's connection with Keene, was certain work which he was commissioned to do at Ely Cathedral shortly afterwards. To this period of his career also belongs the designing of Gopsal Hall for Lord Howe, and some alterations and additions, including a mausoleum, at Chilham Castle, Kent, for James Colebrook, in 1775. He appears, too, to have been employed as surveyor on various estates; but such architectural work as he did in these instances, calls for no particular comment, although it will be convenient to mention here the chief country houses, in addition to those already referred to, which were erected from his designs.

Of these Heveningham Hall, in Suffolk, begun about 1778, for Sir Gerard Vanneck, Bart., was one of the most important. Although not actually completed by Taylor—for James Wyatt put the finishing touches to it—it is substantially his work, with the exception of the west wing. The front extends to about 200 feet, and the

centre block as well as the extremities of the wings are adorned with Corinthian columns, in the latter case supporting a pediment and entablature. The commanding position of the mansion greatly adds to its imposing effect, but in any case it is a dignified and, to use a word freely applied at the time, a chaste, building. Something of the same—though in a more modified degree, for it is a much smaller place—may be said of Harleyford House, near Hurley on Thames, for which Taylor was also responsible. Other mansions to the architect's credit are Gorchambury, which he designed in 1778, and which was completed in 1785, for Lord Grimston; Normanton Hall, Rutland; Copfold Hall, Essex, for Richard Holden; and Clumber, which last was, however, subsequently destroyed, and rebuilt in 1879.

During this period Taylor was engaged on a variety of architectural work, other than that connected with private houses. Thus he had become official architect to the Bank of England,<sup>1</sup> and in this capacity was engaged during the years 1776 to 1781, and again in 1783, in making additions and improvements to Sampson's original structure. The principal façade had been put up in 1733, and Taylor's additions included wings on either side of the old building, the formation of the quadrangle and the Bank parlour. Much of Taylor's design, as well as that of Sampson, was done away with when Soane, who succeeded Taylor as architect to the Bank on October 16, 1788, altered and enlarged the premises, and completed the building substantially as it is to-day, in 1827.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that Taylor's work on the Bank of England was the cause of his receiving a number of commissions from various banking-houses in the City; and for many years he was extensively employed on these, in addition to his other

<sup>1</sup> The Bank authorities have no record of the year in which Taylor received this post, but the secretary informs me that in 1765, he is referred to as "surveyor," and in the same year he produced plans for building the Stock Offices and the Rotunda, which were accepted.

<sup>2</sup> In 1848 many alterations and improvements were made by C. R. Cockerell, R.A.

labours ; indeed, according to Hardwick,<sup>1</sup> he and James Paine practically divided the architectural practice of the period between them, until the Adam brothers, bringing in a new fashion, became formidable competitors.

Besides being architect to the Governors of the Bank of England, Taylor occupied a like position to the Foundling Hospital, the Board of Works, and the Admiralty ; while he was also surveyor to Greenwich Hospital, having succeeded Stuart in that post.

One or two other important works which he undertook I have not yet mentioned. One of these was the encasing in stone of the original Carlton House, but when this was done is not clear, although it was probably before the death of the Princess Dowager of Wales, which occurred in 1772 ; for when, eleven years later, the place was assigned to George, Prince of Wales, as a residence, Henry Holland was employed to improve and enlarge it to what we know it from numberless engravings. Another of Taylor's works was the so-called "Six Clerks and Enrolment Offices," in Chancery Lane, which were being built during 1775-77 ; and in 1780 he designed Maidenhead Bridge, erected at a cost of £19,000. This was not Taylor's only attempt at this kind of work, for earlier in his career, notably in 1759, he had, in conjunction with Dance, designed the central arch of London Bridge, which replaced two of the older arches.<sup>2</sup> Only once, so far as I know, did Taylor undertake the planning of a church, and that at Long Ditton, which he designed in 1776, and which preceded the present structure, was so unsatisfactory—one authority terming it "a hideous brick structure, utterly nondescript in style"—that it is perhaps lucky for his reputation that he did not.

As might have been expected of one who was so intimately connected professionally with the City, Taylor occupied himself in no small degree in civic affairs, and

<sup>1</sup> "Memoir of Sir W. Chambers," 1825, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The reports, &c., of the two Dances on London Bridge may be read in the "History of London Bridge," by "An Antiquary," pp. 369 *et seq.*

in 1782-83, being then one of the Sheriffs, he was knighted by George III.<sup>1</sup>

He died on September 27, 1788, at his residence in Spring Gardens, a house which he held, apparently, in his official capacity as architect to the Admiralty, and was buried in a vault in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, close by.<sup>2</sup> His prosperous career resulted in his leaving the large fortune of £180,000, the bulk of which was bequeathed to the University of Oxford for the founding of a school of modern European languages. This bequest did not take effect till 1835, and six years later the Taylorian Institute was commenced, and finished in 1845.

Taylor is commemorated by a tablet in the Abbey, but the splendid benefaction which he made to the University will help to keep alive his name better than any sepulchral monument, and better even, perhaps, than the architectural work on which he spent a long and busy life.<sup>3</sup>

### JAMES PAINE

We have seen that with Sir Robert Taylor was bracketed James Paine as being one of the two architects who, before the advent of the Adams, practically divided the practice of the profession between them. Notwithstanding this, however, Paine's name is as generally little known as is that of Taylor; indeed, when we remember the world-renowned foundation which Oxford owes to the latter, Paine is probably less known than his contemporary. And yet the

<sup>1</sup> In this connection it is interesting to know that he designed the Town Hall at Salisbury, and the Assembly Rooms at Belfast.

<sup>2</sup> He left a son, Michael Angelo Taylor, who lived for many years at 4, Whitehall Yard, formerly Holderness House.

<sup>3</sup> Thirty-two plates from Taylor's designs were drawn and beautifully engraved by T. Malton, and published in 1790-92. There is an anonymous portrait of Taylor in the Institute of British Architects, and a stipple portrait, also anonymous, in the Crowle Pennant; and there is a water-colour drawing of him, by Ozias Humphry, R.A., in the National Portrait Gallery.



JAMES PAINE AND HIS SON

*To face p. 292*

COLLECTOR  
1875



amount of work he did was immense, and his claim to be considered a good designer is based on solid grounds.

James Paine, or Payne, as it is sometimes written, was born in 1716.<sup>1</sup> Of his family nothing is known, and even the place of his birth has not been recorded, although it seems probable that he first saw the light in London. In any case he drifted early towards the capital, for he was, on his own showing, a pupil there of Thomas Jersey, a forgotten architect who died in 1751, and afterwards became a student at the well-known St. Martin's Lane Academy, the precursor of the Royal Academy, where he is said to have made extraordinary progress in drawing and design. He must have been singularly precocious, for when but nineteen, he tells us, he was entrusted by Sir Rowland Wynne with the erection of Nostell Priory, Yorkshire,<sup>2</sup> which, even allowing for the fact that it was built "after a design seen by his client during his travels on the Continent," was no small achievement for so young a man.

It seems probable that this early work was the means of introducing him favourably to those inhabitants of the county who required architectural assistance, for in the list of his works private houses in Yorkshire bulk largely, and between 1740, when he added two wings to Cusworth House<sup>3</sup> for William Wrightson, and 1744, when he commenced the Mansion House at Doncaster, which was completed four years later, and of which he published an elaborate description, with twenty-one plates, in 1751, Paine himself records that he was employed in erecting or adding to a number of country mansions in this part of England. Indeed, throughout his life he was closely identified with the architectural development, as it may be termed, of the county, and in the elaborate book which he published at a later date, entitled "Plans, &c., of Noblemen [*sic*] and Gentlemen's Residences executed in Various Counties; and

<sup>1</sup> The "Dictionary of National Biography" says 1725, and yet it correctly states that he was seventy-three when he died in 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Neale's "Seats," vol. iv.; Wolfe and Gandon's "Vit. Brit." (1717), plates 57-63 and 70-73.

<sup>3</sup> Neale, vol. v.

also of stabling, bridges, public and private temples, and other garden buildings,"<sup>1</sup> he speaks of the following houses for which he was responsible, in Yorkshire alone: Answorth, commenced in 1740; Cowick Hall, the design of which he prepared in 1752, for Lord Downe; Stockeld Park, built for W. Middleton, Esq.; Lumley Castle,<sup>2</sup> at Sandbeck, for the fourth Lord Scarborough (1752-82); Heath House, erected during 1744-45, for Mrs. Hopkinson; St. Ives, for B. Ferrand, Esq.; and Stapleton Park, which he designed and built for Edwin Lascelles, Esq., who was created Lord Harewood in 1790.

Besides this not inconsiderable list, Paine's work in the north of England included Gosforth (1755), Belford, and Bywell, all in Northumberland, erected respectively for Charles Brandling, A. Dixon, and W. Fenwick,; and Axwell Park, Durham, built for Sir Thomas Clavering, Bart; the fine stables and the bridge at Chatsworth, erected during 1758-63; while Serlby, Notts, then the seat of Viscount Galway; Thornden Hall, Essex,<sup>3</sup> the seat of the Petre family, designed in 1763, and finished six years later; Wardour Castle (1770-76), in Wiltshire, designed for the eighth Lord Wardour; Hare Hall, near Romford, for J. A. Wallenger; Shrubland Hall, Suffolk;<sup>4</sup> and Brocket Hall, Hertfordshire, which was erected for Sir Matthew Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne, can all be placed to Paine's credit, and show that his industry was as great as the patronage he enjoyed. Indeed, as Mr. Blomfield has pointed out, between 1760 and 1770 he appears to have been employed on the majority of the great houses that were erected in this country during those years.

Two of the most important, however, have still to be noticed: Kedleston Hall, and the Manor House, Worksop. The former was originally designed by Paine in 1761,

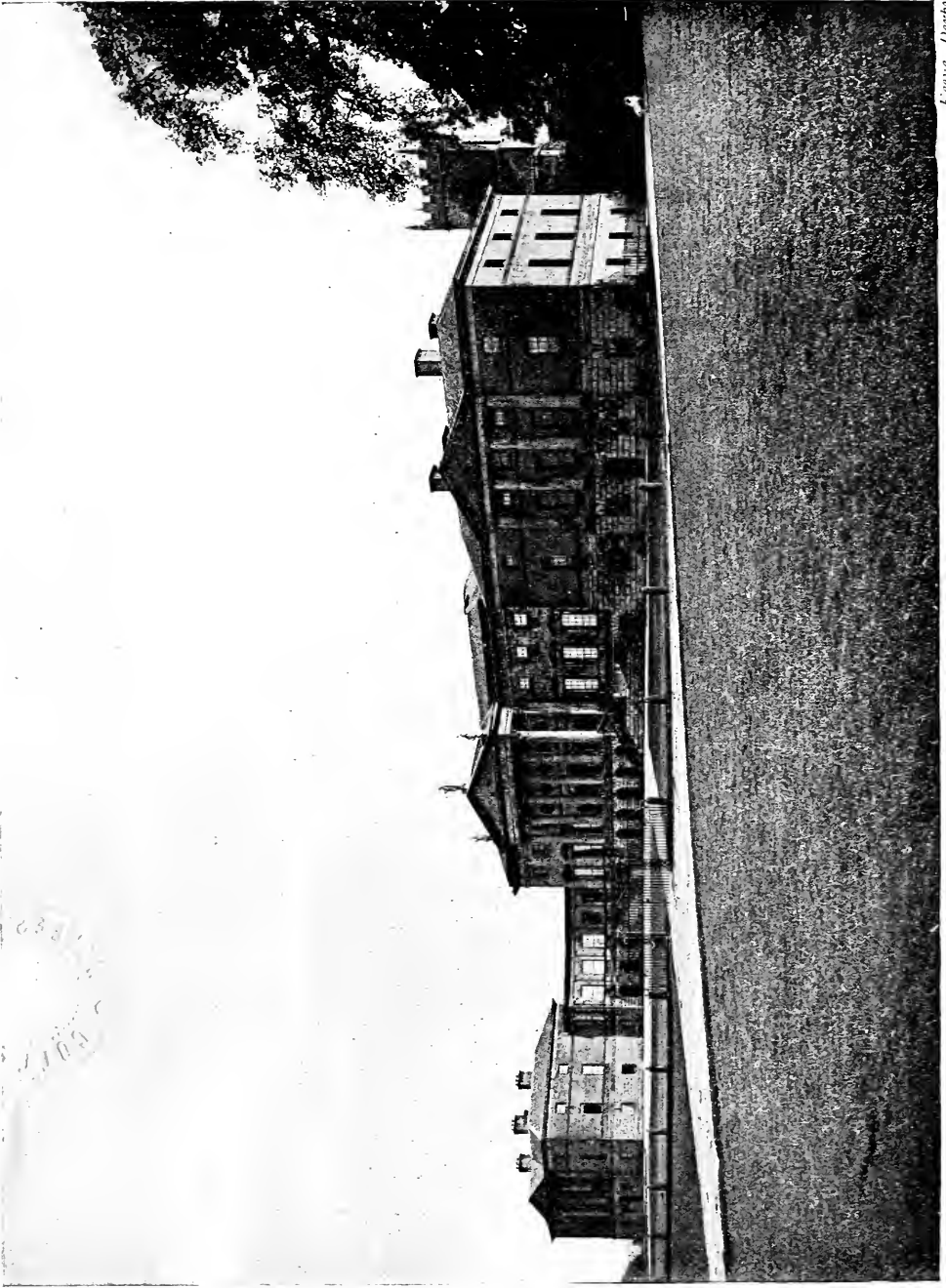
<sup>1</sup> The first volume appeared in 1767, the second in 1783; they were illustrated by no less than 175 fine plates.

<sup>2</sup> Watts's "Seats of the Nobility," plate x.

<sup>3</sup> See Wright's "Essex," and Neale.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*





*Keene, Derby*

**KEDLESTON HALL**

although Brettingham had already begun the mansion, by the erection of one of the wings. It would thus appear that Paine was commissioned to complete the undertaking by incorporating his predecessor's work into a structure of a size not previously contemplated. In furtherance of this scheme Paine designed three other wings to match Brettingham's work, and adapted its details to the great central block, which, although he speaks of it as his own design, is, after all, with certain necessary additional features, but an amplification of the wings. When, however, he had advanced so far in the design his place as architect was transferred to Robert Adam. There seems some mystery as to the reason for this. Paine states that he himself asked Lord Scarsdale, for whom he was designing the place, to relieve him of his duties, as he was too busy in other parts of the country to give proper attention to them; but one can hardly imagine an architect voluntarily relinquishing so important an undertaking, without there being some secret cause for his action. What seems not improbable is that, as he was about this time employed by the Duke of Norfolk to rebuild, on a magnificent scale, Worksop Manor House, which had been burnt down in 1761, the Duke may have made it a condition that he should give his undivided attention to the new work, and thus, having practically completed the designs for Kedleston, Paine may have been satisfied to leave its completion in the hands of "those able and vigorous artists," as he terms Robert and James Adam.

Had not circumstances arisen which put a stop to the undertaking after it was already begun, Worksop Manor House would have been a worthy monument of an architect who did so much for domestic architecture as Paine. It was to have been a square, with fronts no less than 305 feet in length, and would have contained two courts, besides an Egyptian Hall, dividing them, 140 feet long and half as wide. The access to this hall was to have been through a Tribune, and this in turn was entered from an outer hall of splendid dimensions; while from the inner side of

the Egyptian Hall rose the grand staircase. The idea was a magnificent one, for a vista was thus created which for light and spaciousness would probably have been unequalled; but unfortunately the north front had alone been finished, when the Duchess of Norfolk, the Mary Blount of Blagden, whose portrait may be seen in Norfolk House, died,<sup>1</sup> and the work at Worksop, which had already been going on for nearly ten years, was stopped.

Before I say a word about Paine's various official positions, it will be convenient to mention the other important buildings for which he was responsible. Of these were at least four houses in London, the most noticeable of which was Melbourne House, Whitehall, known later as Dover House. In 1754 Sir Matthew Featherstonehaugh obtained a lease from Lady Falmouth of the original house on this site, and immediately commissioned Paine to design a new mansion, which was completed four years later. The house, now one of the Government offices, still exists, but the well-known entrance and cupola were added by the Duke of York when he purchased the place from Sir Matthew's son in 1787, and before he exchanged it with Lord Melbourne for the building in Piccadilly now known as the Albany. It is curious that Lord Melbourne, for whom Paine had built Brocket Hall, should thus have obtained a London residence designed by the same architect. Another instance in which the town and country house of a nobleman were both due to Paine, was when he planned for Lord Petre, Thornden Hall in Essex, and a mansion in Park Lane.

The other two London residences erected from Paine's designs were the houses in Pall Mall occupied respectively by Dr. Heberden and the Hon. T. Fitzmaurice. Dr. Heberden, who is remembered as one of the physicians attending George III., employed the architect to rebuild the old house, now No. 79 Pall Mall, which had once belonged to Nell Gwynne, and of which she had obtained the freehold

<sup>1</sup> May 27, 1773. The ninth duke himself died four years later.

from Charles II. It has since Heberden's day been again rebuilt, and no trace of Paine's work remains.

Besides the general plans for houses, Paine, as usual, designed many of their subsidiary ornaments, such as chimney-pieces, mirror-frames, vases, &c., and of these two volumes of drawings are preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum; while examples of his chimney-pieces were formerly in Sir Joshua Reynolds's house in Leicester Square, in Melbourne House, and in Lord Petre's, in Park Lane. He also, on one occasion at least, laid out a public thoroughfare, viz., Salisbury Street, Strand, which he planned in 1783; and he also designed the Middlesex Hospital, the first stone of which was laid on May 18, 1755, although the building (which, by the bye, has frequently been enlarged since) was not completed till twenty years later.

Apart, however, from his purely domestic architecture, Paine's most successful work was, curiously enough, on the bridges he designed, no less than four being from his hand, viz., those of Richmond, Kew, Chertsey, and Walton. In the erection of the first he was associated with a Mr. Couse, who was probably responsible for the technical, as differentiated from the ornamental, portion of the work. It was in course of erection between 1774 and 1777, the first stone being laid by the Hon. Henry Hobart on August 23 of the former year.<sup>1</sup> It is a picturesque structure, and fully merits the praise which was lavished upon it when it was completed. In these days, however, when all bridges seem to be regarded as possible viaducts for tramways, its narrowness and inconvenient gradient is a source of continual complaint. The same may be said, and was said, of old Kew Bridge, which has, alas! succumbed to the exigencies of increased traffic. Paine's bridge here replaced the original wooden one, which had been built in 1758-59, and was erected at the instance of one Robert Tunstall, the direction of the work being given to "Mr. James Paine, of Salisbury Street, Strand."

<sup>1</sup> The cost of the work was £25,000.

The first stone was laid on June 4, 1783, and the bridge opened to the public on September 22, 1789, about two months before Paine's death.<sup>1</sup> It existed till 1899, when the present structure was begun. Chertsey Bridge preceded that at Kew by a few years, being commenced in 1780, and completed five years later at a cost of £13,000; while that at Walton dates from the same period. All these bridges are similar in character. What that character is may be seen by all and sundry in the three that still remain.

As I have mentioned, Paine was a student at the Society of Artists in St. Martin's Lane; later he became a member of that body, and subsequently, until 1772, he filled the post of one of the directors. In the society's catalogues his name appears frequently as an exhibitor of drawings, from 1761 onwards. In 1771 he was elected president, and when the society determined to build an exhibition room, having outgrown its original home, it was Paine who supplied the design of an academy to be erected near Exeter Change, in the Strand. The exact site of this building was that on which the old Lyceum Theatre (destroyed in 1830) stood. The first stone of the academy was laid on July 23, 1771, and it was opened on May 11, 1773. It did not, however, prove as successful as had been anticipated, and, a few years later (1777),<sup>2</sup> was sold, and converted into the playhouse whose name perpetuates its former existence, in 1790.

Besides occupying for a time the position of President of the Society of Artists, Paine held various official posts; thus, he was clerk of the works, under the Board of Works, connected with Greenwich Hospital, and later filled the same post at Newmarket and Richmond New Park. At a still later date he became architect to the King, in which capacity he was attached to the Royal Board of Works;

<sup>1</sup> The contract price was £11,864, as may be seen by the documents preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> The Society this year exhibited at Mr. Phillips's new great rooms near Air Street, Piccadilly.



but in consequence of Burke's great measure for economical reform, introduced in 1780, he was dismissed from this post, without, apparently, receiving any pension or compensation.

Although Paine's work carried him so often and so far into the country, he seems to have remained faithful to London and Greater London as dwelling-places until his death. His earliest known residence was in St. Martin's Lane, and here he was living in 1764, in a house he had designed and built for himself on the site of what are now Nos. 76 and 77. This house had then a garden attached to it, and at the end of this garden were two smaller dwellings which the architect had planned for John Gwynn, the author of "London and Westminster Improved," and himself a well-known architect, and Samuel Wale, the painter and Royal Academician, respectively. Two years later Paine moved to Salisbury Street, which, as we have seen, he rebuilt in 1783, and here he apparently remained till this work was completed, as in or about 1785 he acquired Addlestone, or Sayes, Court, near Chertsey, from Mr. Belchier, and, making additions to the place, continued to reside there<sup>1</sup> until his death which, however, occurred in France, whither he had gone for a time, in the November of 1789.

He bequeathed Sayes Court to his son, James, who was also an architect of some pretensions. Besides this son, Paine left two daughters, one of whom became, in 1777, the wife of Tilly Kettle, the portrait-painter, who had studied in the St. Martin's Lane Academy, and at the Duke of Richmond's gallery in Whitehall, and who died in 1798 at Aleppo.

Apart from his architectural work, private and official, Paine occupied other high and important positions, being not only a magistrate for Middlesex, Essex, and Surrey, but also holding, in 1783, the post of High Sheriff for the

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, not improbable that he still retained his London residence. He was living, however, at Sayes Court while constructing Chertsey Bridge (Brayley and Britton's "History of Surrey"),

last-named county. Several portraits of him are extant. First and foremost there is that, with his son, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which is one of the painter's masterpieces, and which the younger Paine bequeathed to the Bodleian Library. It was engraved by Watson in 1764, and a curious circumstance in regard to it is the fact that the painter has introduced into the work a scroll bearing the legend "Charter of the Society of Artists," when it is known that this charter was not granted till January 26, 1765. Perhaps, however, Reynolds knew enough to justify him in indulging in this daring anticipation.<sup>1</sup> An earlier portrait by Hayman, engraved by Grignion, was prefixed to Paine's book, in 1751; while two later prints—one a stippled portrait, and the other an engraving by Falconet after a picture by Parisot—are dated respectively 1798 and 1769.

Paine, if not a pre-eminent architect, was at least an industrious and a successful one. Like his contemporaries, he was too apt to allow himself to be influenced by the Italian school, which, excellent as that influence was, became in the hands of any but the born geniuses of architecture, often but a weak and shadowy imitation of itself. If, however, he frequently lacked a virile conception of the more decorative features of his art—and it must be said that he was as often distinguished and sure in his designs—one thing helps to raise him above many of his contemporaries, and that was his really excellent power of planning houses that should fulfil the first conditions of a residence: the convenience of those who were to live in it.

### ROBERT MORRIS

Robert Morris was neither a very prolific nor, on the whole, a particularly successful architect, but he properly

<sup>1</sup> In Reynolds's list of sitters are given the Miss Pains (*sic*) (two sittings), in December 1757, and Miss Paine and Mrs. Paine for July 1765.

takes a place here, because he represents another facet, as it were, of the building activity of the day. Morris was, apparently, a native of Twickenham; at least he is described as of that place, on the title-page of the earliest of the books he published, and as this work, "An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture," was brought out in 1728, his birth probably occurred very early in the eighteenth century. He is said to have received instruction in the art he was to follow, from a kinsman, one Roger Morris, who was himself an architect of some pretensions, besides occupying the post of "Carpenter and principal Engineer to the Board of Ordnance," and Robert in the preface to one of his books speaks of him as his "loving kinsman," and describes himself as "obliged to him for the erudition he had received in his services."

Roger Morris died in 1744, and apparently at the time of his decease was engaged on the plans of Inverary Castle, for the Duke of Argyle, as this mansion was begun in 1745, under the supervision of Robert, who had hitherto been working in conjunction with his relation. The moment for commencing such a work in Scotland was most unpropitious, for the whole country was disturbed by the rising under Prince Charles Edward, and it is not, therefore, a matter of surprise to learn that the castle was not completed till 1761. It was constructed of *lapis ollaris*, or pot-stone, brought from the other side of Loch Fyne, and was considered of such importance at the time—as, indeed, it might be at any time—that William Adam, the father of the famous Adam brothers, who was then publishing his "Vitruvius Scoticus," included engravings of it in that work,<sup>1</sup> although his own designs form the staple of the publication. The building is so unlike any of Robert Morris's work, being Gothic in style, whereas his designs were almost uniformly Palladian, that the theory that Roger was chiefly responsible for it seems well founded.

Robert's connection with the castle, as general super-

<sup>1</sup> The central portion was destroyed by fire in 1877, but was rebuilt three years later.

visor, probably led, however, to the next commission he received. This was from no less a person than the king, George II., to whose notice the Duke of Argyle possibly brought the architect. In conjunction with S. Wright, Morris was employed to erect the centre block of the lodge in Richmond Park, now known as White Lodge, but then called The Stone Lodge. The design for this has been attributed to Lord Pembroke, as we have seen, and this amateur may have had a hand in it, particularly as it partakes of some of the characteristics of Marble Hill, which he is known to have planned; but Wright and Morris had the building of it, and I think it probable that the latter had also no small share in the actual designing. However, it is heavy and uninspired, and nothing to be very proud of, particularly as the wings, that give to the whole a certain coherence, were added at a later date.

About 1748, in which year the egregious Bubb Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, had purchased the property, Morris was employed to repair and modernise the mansion at Fulham afterwards known as Brandenburg House, but called by its new owner, La Trappe. Servandoni was also employed on the house, and to him was due the long gallery which was one of its chief features. Dodington, on his death in 1762, bequeathed the place to Thomas Wyndham; and this circumstance has led several writers into the mistake of stating that Morris built it for the latter.<sup>1</sup>

Among other places which Morris designed may be mentioned Coombe Bank, Kent, erected for the Duke of Argyle, who was a good friend to the architect, and Wimbledon House, Surrey, which he designed for Mr. Spencer, afterwards created Earl Spencer. In the planning of this mansion he is said, by a writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography," to have been associated with Lord Burlington. This, however, is incorrect, for Sarah, Duchess

<sup>1</sup> The house was pulled down in 1822, and another, bearing the same name, was erected in the grounds, close by.

of Marlborough, who had purchased the estate with the original Wimbledon House upon it—viz., the mansion built by Sir Theodore Jansen on the site of Sir Thomas Cecil's huge residence—pulled the place down, and erected a new one from Lord Burlington's designs; not liking the latter, however, she also caused it to be demolished. When she died in 1744, she left the estate to her grandson, John Spencer, youngest son of Charles, Earl of Sunderland, whose son, John, in turn inherited it, and he it was who erected another mansion from Morris's designs. This house was burnt down in 1785, and still another was built on, or near, its site, and finished in 1801, from Holland's designs.

Another residence in which Morris may, however, have been associated with Lord Burlington (who died in 1753) was Kirby Hall, Yorkshire, which was erected in 1750, and on the interior of which Carr of York was employed. It was built for S. Thompson, Esq., who is himself said to have suggested the main features of the design.

This exhausts what is known of Morris's architectural work, unless one adds the Palladian bridge which he erected in the grounds of Wilton, so early as 1736. A large portion of his activity was expended on the publication of books bearing on his profession, by which he may have hoped to attract a larger *clientèle* than he apparently succeeded in doing. As we have seen, he brought out an "Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture" in 1728. Two years later he commenced a course of lectures on the same subject before a Society of Arts and Sciences which he had established, from October 1730 to January 1735; these lectures he published in book form between 1734 and 1736; and he dedicated them to Roger Morris, with the acknowledgment of obligations I have before referred to. In 1750 appeared his "Rural Architecture," and in the following year his "Architectural Remembrancer;" while "Architecture Improved" (1755); "Select Architecture" (1755-59); and "The Modern Builder" (1742-57), in which

he was associated with T. Lightoler and John and William Halfpenny, help to show that he was an assiduous wielder of the pen.

Many of the plates, too, that illustrate these works were drawn by the author about whom, beyond the fact that he was residing near Hyde Park in 1750, nothing more appears to be recorded. And, truth to tell, it hardly matters, for Morris was, like a number of other architects of his day, uninspired by the splendid exemplars with whose work, however, they seem to have been familiar. The Hiorns, who built Foremark Hall, Derbyshire; and Sanderson, who was responsible for Kirtlington, Oxfordshire,<sup>1</sup> stand as further examples of this inability to profit by what they were obviously acquainted with. As a matter of fact, the flame of architecture in this country was gradually dying out, and would have quite done so, had not the Adams given it a sort of factitious vitality, and Sir William Chambers fanned it into a splendid but temporary blaze.

#### ROBERT ADAM

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, writing in January 1758, to Lady Bute, remarks: "I saw, some months ago, a countryman of yours who desires to be introduced to you. He seemed to me, in a short visit, to be a man of genius, and I have heard his knowledge of architecture much applauded." The architect here indicated was Robert Adam, the most famous of those brothers whose inauguration of a new style of design gave, for a time, the death-blow to that heavier Palladian form which had for many years dominated this country. Of these brothers Robert is by far the most important; indeed, although the others, James, John, and William, were more or less associated with him in his building ventures, they were, with the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blomfield.

possible exception of James,<sup>1</sup> quite subsidiary to him in work and development. It is, of course, often difficult to allocate accurately the individual share which properly belongs to several persons who are associated in the same work ; in this instance it is particularly so, and I shall, therefore, here regard Robert as best representing the architectural ability of this unquestionably gifted family.

Robert Adam was the second son of William Adam,<sup>2</sup> of Maryburgh, and was born, in 1728, at Kirkcaldy. He received his early educational training at Edinburgh University, where he formed friendships with such men as David Hume, Robertson, the historian, and Adam Smith, also a native of Kirkcaldy, friendships that lasted during their lives. Having completed his course at the university, Adam, who appears to have always been intended by his father to follow his footsteps as an architect, was sent to enlarge his mind and gain experience by travel, and, in 1754, he visited Nîmes, on his way to Italy where he eventually arrived in the company of Clérisseau, the French architect. In 1756 he reached Rome, and spent the summer of the following year in Venice, and while there went down the Adriatic to Dalmatia, and was engaged with his companion, for five weeks, in measuring and making drawings of Diocletian's famous palace at Spalatro, drawings that were published in 1764, the engravings from them being by Bartolozzi. During this period of his life Adam kept a journal in which are recorded his adventures and investigations during his four years' sojourn on the Continent.

<sup>1</sup> I must dismiss James in a footnote. He was the third of the four sons of William Adam, and was associated with Robert in practically all his works, although Portland Place has been usually assigned to him alone. He once held the appointment of architect to George III., a post he lost on the passing of Burke's Economical Reform Bill ; and he was also Master Mason to the Board of Ordnance in North Britain. He published "Practical Essays on Agriculture," and was writing a history of architecture at the time of his death which occurred, from apoplexy, at his house in Albemarle Street, on October 20, 1794.

<sup>2</sup> William was himself an able architect, and held the post of King's Mason at Edinburgh ; he designed Hopetoun House, and the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, among other things.

On his return from his wanderings in 1758, he began the practice of architecture, and from that date till his death in 1792, he was busily engaged in erecting houses and public buildings in that well-known form of decoration which he applied not only to his buildings but also to furniture, and with which his name is indissolubly connected.

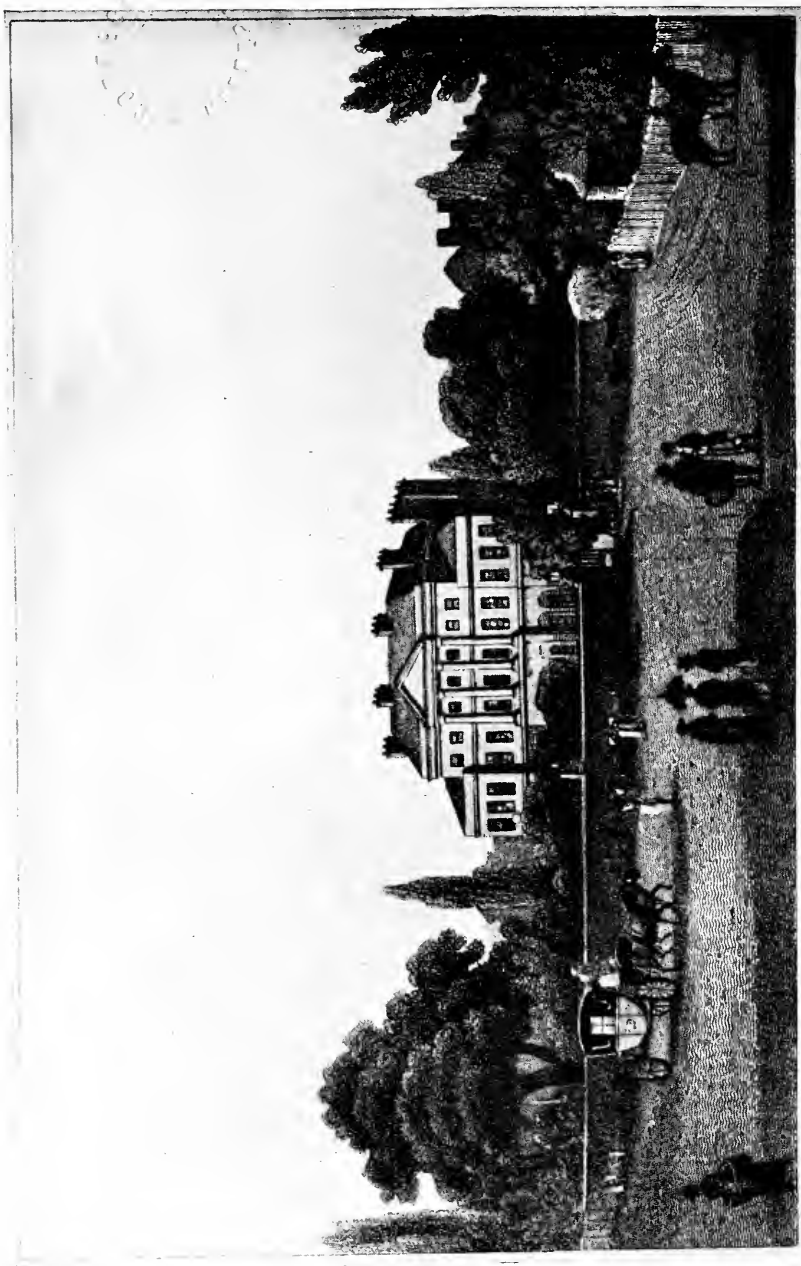
His first important private undertaking was Shardeloe, in Buckinghamshire, which he designed in 1759, and which was completed in 1761. During its erection he was commissioned to add the screen to the Admiralty which even Walpole, who was in general no admirer of his works which on one occasion he calls "harlequinades," praised. The fact was that this screen hid Ripley's heavy and uninspired building, and thus gained a meed of excessive admiration which, good as it is, it hardly seems to deserve. The year after, Adam was employed by the Duke of Northumberland to remodel Sion House, Isleworth, and to erect the gates which face the high-road. These gates, connected by colonnades with the two lodges, have been described as "elegant," and so they are; but they form an excellent object-lesson in showing the mistake Adam was so often guilty of: the application of detail, which was appropriate enough for ordinary doorways or picture-frames, to erections requiring above all the appearance of strength and solidity, which such flimsy ornamentation was powerless to give. The fact is that the "Adam style" is appropriate and, when not over-elaborated, charming for internal decoration, but wants virility when applied to the exteriors of large buildings.

About the time that he was occupied at Sion, Adam was engaged, with his brother James, to replace Paine as architect of Kedleston Hall, and he here carried out, with certain modifications, the design which the older man had already prepared and begun to work on. On this Adam was engaged for four years, but before its completion he was employed by Lord Mansfield to rebuild Caenwood, or Kenwood, House, Hampstead (purchased from Lord Bute in 1755). Howitt<sup>1</sup> gives a description of the place, and

<sup>1</sup> "Northern Heights of London," p. 328.







LANSDOWNE HOUSE

remarks that the rooms are "spacious, lofty, and finely proportioned," adding that "within, Adam, as was usual with him, was more successful than without." On this the architect was engaged for three years, during which period he also built Luton House, Bedfordshire, and, what is his finest achievement in London domestic architecture, Lansdowne House, then Shelburne House, Berkeley Square.

This splendid mansion was finished about 1769, for although Lord Shelburne gave a house-warming there in August 1768, an entry in Lady Shelburne's diary, dated three weeks later, proves it to have been still uncompleted, although she expresses herself much pleased with it, and terms it a noble place. I have recently described this house,<sup>1</sup> and there is no necessity to recapitulate what I have already said about it; but I may remark that the original plans and drawings for it, now preserved, with an immense number of Adam's other designs,<sup>2</sup> in the Soane Museum, show it to have been carried out, not according to the earliest drafts, but substantially on the basis of later designs. It is probably the most complete example of Adam's particular methods. The interior is full of his elaborate ornamentation, the dining-room being specially noticeable in this respect. The whole house, indeed, proves his skill in the planning of large, and at the same time comfortable, rooms; and the exterior is far more dignified than many of those which are full of the "harlequinades" that Walpole resented.

To this period also belongs the erection of the Deputy-Ranger's Lodge in the Green Park, which formerly stood opposite Down Street, and of which Adam was the architect. The lodge about which Ralph waxes satirical, remarking that "the enormity of the balcony which environs it looks like the outriggers to an Indian canoe, to prevent it from oversetting," was taken down in 1841, and the two stags

<sup>1</sup> In the "Private Palaces of London," 1908.

<sup>2</sup> There are no less than fifty-five folio volumes of these, by Robert and James Adam, preserved here.

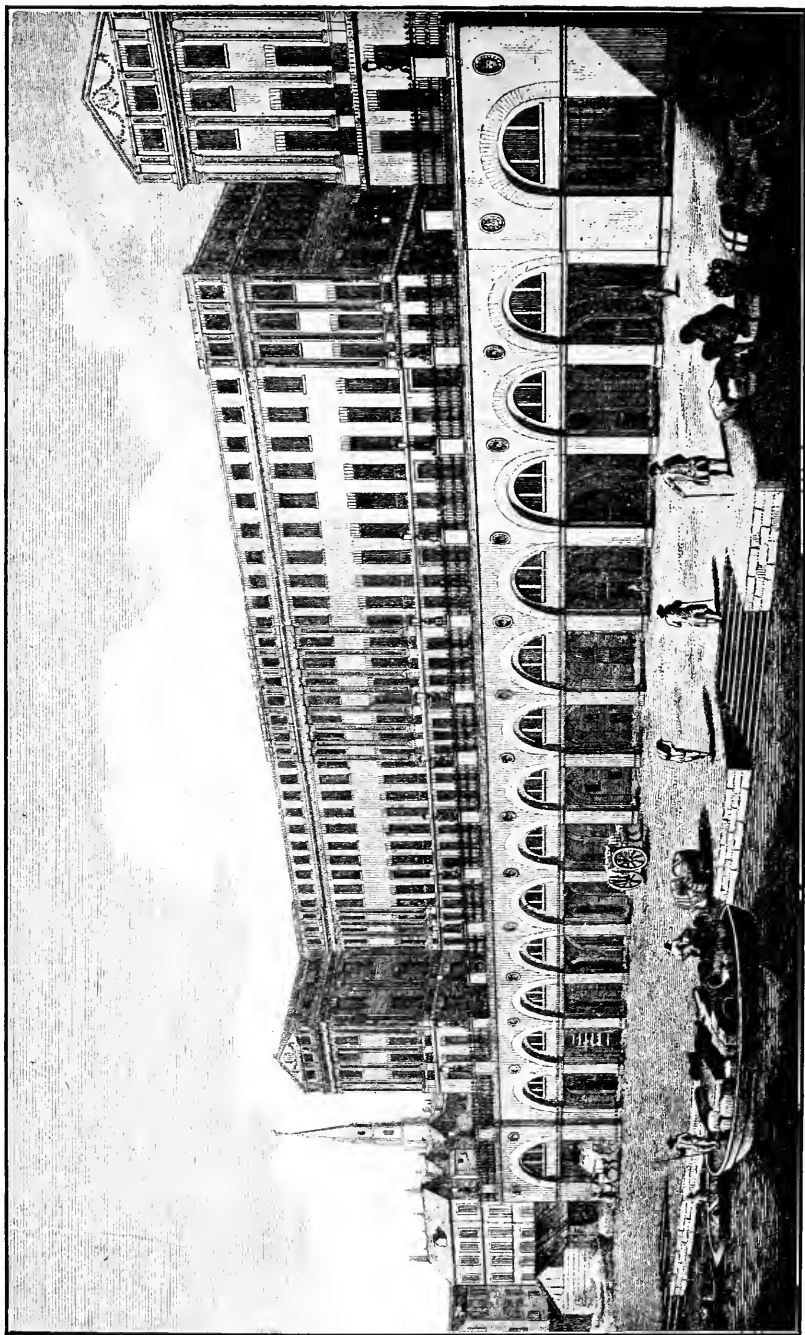
that surmounted the piers of its gateway were subsequently removed to their present position at Albert Gate.

In the following year (1769) the Adams embarked on the first, and most important, of those wholesale building developments with which their name is so largely identified. Robert Adam had obtained possession of a patent stucco invented by Liardet, and having induced a certain Pergolesi to come from Italy to this country, to superintend the plaster-work, he proceeded to apply it to such buildings as he erected on his own initiative, or, where his clients permitted him, to the houses he designed for them, which does not, however, appear to have been very often. Adam's one idea, when erecting a number of small adjoining houses, was to give them the appearance of a single large building; and the use of this relatively cheap material afforded him an opportunity of doing this without his having to resort to a more expensive medium, such as stone. It also more easily enabled him to decorate the exteriors of such buildings with those arabesques and Classic designs in which he delighted.

In 1768 Durham Yard, as it was then called, occupying the site of old Durham House, was the property of the Duke of St. Albans, and was occupied by a number of small houses and coal-sheds; in fact, it was little better than waste ground. The Adams, however, saw possibilities in it, and succeeded in obtaining a ninety-nine years' lease from the Duke, at an annual rent of £1200. Having done this, they set to work to clear the whole place, and, throwing a series of arches over that portion which descended to the river level, they erected on these a number of streets, one of which contained the house for the then newly-formed Society of Arts, and a terrace from which one of the finest views of the river can still be obtained. The streets were named after the four brothers, and the whole property was generically termed, as it still is, The Adelphi.

But profitable as the undertaking was, it was not without its troubles, for apart from hostile criticism,—Walpole said the Adelphi buildings were merely “warehouses, laced





THE ADELPHI

down the seams, like a soldier's frill in a regimental old coat,"—the Adams were involved in a law-suit with the Lord Mayor, the chief official conservator of the Thames, who accused them of encroaching too far on the river-bank. This proved but a temporary vexation, however, for the brothers gained the case, according to Walpole, through the influence of the Crown which was known to be friendly to them.

This was a time when Scotchmen were not *personæ gratae* in the South, owing largely to Lord Bute's unpopularity, and this feeling, increased by the opposition of the city to the Court, is supposed largely to have embittered the feeling of the Thames Conservancy against the Adams. The writer of the "Foundling Hospital for Wit" tells how

Four Scotchmen, by the name of Adams (*sic*)  
 Who keep their coaches and their madams,  
 Quoth John, in sulky mood, to Thomas,  
 Have stole the very river from us.

However, the Adams probably cared very little for such harmless pasquinades, and as they were as successful in the law-courts as they were in their speculation, they had little need to.

An amusing reference to the building operations in the Strand, is given in a book entitled "Pilgrimages to London." "Scotchmen," writes the author, "are proverbially fond of their country, and the immense building speculations into which the Messrs. Adam had entered afforded them an opportunity of giving employment to their countrymen, as well as of obtaining their services, when engaged in Scotland, at a lower rate of wages than was demanded by English bricklayers and labourers. Some hundreds were therefore imported from Scotland, and came attended by half a dozen bagpipes, for the purpose, as was asserted, of keeping up the national feeling. These pipers played daily while the embankments were formed and the foundations laid; and as the sweet chords of the classic lyre of Orpheus are said to have moved inanimate objects, so arose the

Adelphi to the squeak of the Scotch bagpipes." After a time, however, the workmen found that they could get better pay from the English market, and threw off in a body "the curse of Adam," as they called it; whereupon the *adelphi* had to import workmen from the sister isle who were willing to labour for less wages, and could dispense with the national instrument of Scotch melody!

But more serious difficulties beset the Adams; their capital ran short, and they were forced to have recourse to a public lottery, for which they obtained an Act of Parliament (13 Geo. III. cap. 75) in 1773. There were 4370 tickets of £50 each, out of which there were 108 prizes, ranging from £50,080 to £100. The drawing began on March 3, 1774, at the great room, formerly Jonathan's Coffee-house, in Exchange Alley, and continued a considerable time.<sup>1</sup>

As a result, it would seem that not only by this means did the Adams extricate themselves from what threatened to be grave financial disaster, but their names became so well advertised that business flowed in upon them in even greater volume than before.

In speaking of The Adelphi I have rather anticipated dates. The lottery took place, as we have seen, in 1774, and included, besides The Adelphi, the houses forming Mansfield Street and Queen Anne Street. The former street had been built by Robert Adam in 1770; and he had also designed certain residences in the latter, about the same time, on ground that formerly contained a reservoir of water.<sup>2</sup> In this year, too, we find the Adams among those who applied for ground-leases of plots in the then about to be formed Manchester Square; while to the same period belongs Bolton House (now divided), in Russell Square, the drawings for decorations of

<sup>1</sup> The Adams issued, in January 1774, a now scarce pamphlet entitled "Particulars composing the Prizes in the Adelphi Lottery," and in Mr. Austin Brereton's "History of The Adelphi" further interesting facts as to this circumstance are related at length.

<sup>2</sup> "Old and New London."



which are in the Soane Museum, and No. 1 Bedford Square, which was designed for Sir Lionel Lyde, the famous special pleader; as well as certain other residences in this square where is exhibited in the centre of each side that construction whereby two or more houses have the appearance of one, which I have noted as being a feature in Robert Adam's domestic work.

It is unnecessary to mention here every building with which the Adams were connected, or of which their drawings are extant, but it seems probable that No. 3 Queen Square, Bloomsbury, and in all probability Harewood House, Hanover Square, which they designed for the bibliophilic Duke of Roxburgh who sold the place to Lord Harewood in 1795, were both erected during this year or very soon after. Among other work which one or both of these indefatigable architects produced in London may be mentioned the British Coffee-house, in Cockspur Street, rebuilt by Robert Adam in 1770, and demolished in 1886 to make way for shops; Sir Watkin Williams Wynne's house (No. 20) in St. James's Square, which they designed, and cleverly designed, on a small and difficult site, for that baronet, between 1772 and 1774; the lodge and gateway, and possibly alterations in the mansion itself, at Ashburnham House, Hay Hill (1773), the site of which is now covered by an immense block of flats; No. 23 Grosvenor Square, rebuilt by Robert Adam for the Earl of Derby in 1773; and various improvements carried out at Northumberland House, Charing Cross, chief among them being the great ball-room which was added on the south side of the mansion, and including also such minor objects as a drawing-room mantelpiece, and even a circular table-top.<sup>1</sup>

Nor was the activity of the Adams confined to private residences, although the bulk of their work was connected with these, for we find them engaged in adding a new façade to Drapers' Hall, Throgmorton Street, when the

<sup>1</sup> The drawings of these are in the Soane Museum, and are dated July 1774.

building was restored after a fire there, in 1774; in rebuilding the front of Wren's original erection of Drury Lane Theatre, in 1776, for David Garrick, who, by the bye, was one of the occupants of the Adelphi Terrace houses; and in designing Boodle's Club-house in St. James's Street, the classic front of which still exists, for John Crunden some ten years earlier.

Beyond this, they were responsible for such important undertakings as the formation of the row of houses just west of Hamilton Place, then known as Piccadilly Terrace, on the site of the "Hercules Pillars," where Squire Western when in pursuit of Tom Jones put up, it will be remembered; Stratford Place, Oxford Street, designed for Stratford, second Earl of Aldborough, in 1775; Portland Place, laid out three years later; and the south-east and south sides of Fitzroy Square, built during 1790, and 1794, which, although somewhat heavier in design than is usual with the Adams, are good examples of their comprehensive treatment of a number of separate houses.

Outside London their works are hardly less numerous and important. Osterley Park, now the seat of the Earl of Jersey, was rebuilt by them for Mr. Child, the banker; Witham, in Somerset; Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, and Gosford House, in East Lothian, one of their latest achievements, may all be mentioned; and, in addition, the Record Office (1771) and some new buildings for Edinburgh University (1778), are credited to Robert alone.

The latter is also said to have once designed a church, that of Mistle, in Essex—alone sufficient to prove that his proper *métier* did not lie in this direction; while for the rest, besides innumerable other houses either planned or decorated, he expended his energy in designing furniture in harmony with his classic mansions, chimney-pieces (one he constructed, for Walpole, in the Round Drawing-room at Strawberry Hill), picture-frames, &c. &c.; and he even exerted his powers on plate and carriages, and on one occasion designed a Sedan chair for Queen Charlotte. Indeed, some idea of the activity of Robert Adam (who, I

may mention, was also a landscape-painter of no small merit) may be gained from the fact that in the year preceding his death he is said to have designed no less than eight public and twenty-five private buildings.

Besides this he held the post of Architect to the King, to which he had been appointed in 1758, but which he was obliged to relinquish on being elected Member of Parliament for Kinross ten years later. He had also early in life, while yet in Italy, been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries; and in 1773 he began, in conjunction with his brother James, the publication of his work on architecture, which appeared in folio parts at intervals, making two volumes in all, till 1778; a third book of which, completing the work, was subsequently brought out in 1822.

Both Robert and James had resided together for a number of years at 13 Albemarle Street, and here, on March 3, 1792, the elder died from the breaking of a blood-vessel. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and the high esteem in which he was held is shown by the fact that the pall-bearers at his funeral consisted of such well-known and important men as the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earls of Coventry and Lauderdale, Lord Stormont, Lord Frederick Campbell, and Mr. Pulteney.

So much has been written on the style and tendency of the Adams that it would be superfluous to enlarge on the matter here; I may, however, point out that what they seem to have complacently regarded as originality was in fact but a reflex of earlier work. Robert considered himself an innovator, and to some extent he was one, but it was rather in the juggling with ornamentation than in the creation of new methods. Quite self-satisfied, and having an immense belief in his own powers, he seems to have thought that by being fashionable he was being original, and that when he introduced his "Etruscan" stucco-work, or his abundance of classic ornaments, he was, in fact, initiating a new and lasting style into the architecture of this country. As a matter of fact he

was pandering to a taste for such things, a taste that had promised well in the earlier years of the eighteenth century, but had gradually degenerated into a weak and colourless parody of true Classicism. One has only to compare the virile and splendid achievements of men like Wren and Inigo Jones with the best work of the Adam brothers to realise this. Where, however, the latter do deserve praise is in the felicity of their house-planning. Given a good site, they could construct such an excellent dwelling as Lansdowne House; given a contracted one, they could so adapt their plans as to produce such satisfactory results as at 20 St. James's Square or 23 Grosvenor Square.

Their work stands alone, for no one else has attempted to apply to house-building the decorations which they loved. The result has been that their work is unmistakable; but the fact also proves that, so far as influence is concerned, their style died with them.

#### SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS

After Inigo Jones and Wren, Sir William Chambers is the best known of British architects. A variety of reasons combined to account for this: he was a *persona grata* at Court (George III. had been his pupil); he was popular in a society which included such men as Johnson and Reynolds and Burke; he was the author of a "Treatise on Civil Architecture" which made a considerable stir at the time, and was the result of much study and research; and he was a designer who upheld the true spirit of the Renaissance against the prevailing fashion for a dilettante rendering of Greek models on the one hand, and Gothic on the other, into a weak modernism. He was, indeed, the last of the true Classicists. Added to this is the fact that he was not only an industrious worker, but also that it fell to his lot to design one of those notable buildings which have always



SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS

*Emery Walter*

*To face p. 314*



bulked largely in the public eye, and have thus helped to keep alive the fame of their creators.

William Chambers<sup>1</sup> was the son of a Scotch merchant domiciled at Stockholm, in which city he was born in 1726, although neither the maiden name of his mother nor her nationality has been recorded. Two years after his birth his father left Sweden and settled at Ripon where young Chambers received his early education. At the age of sixteen, being then intended to follow his father's business, he was sent, as supercargo, to the East Indies and China. At Canton he seems to have been fascinated by the Oriental style of architecture, and to have largely occupied his time in making drawings of joss-houses and pagodas; some years after his return to England he published the fruits of his investigations in an unfortunate "Dissertation on Oriental Gardening." But otherwise, this visit had a very important influence on Chambers's after-career, for his observations among the Celestials so completely turned his attention to design, that two years later he definitely abandoned the idea of becoming a merchant, and, according to the words of Hardwick who was later his pupil and biographer, he "followed the bent of his genius"—in other words, he gave himself heart and soul to the study of architecture. In furtherance of this he went to France, and studied in Paris under Clérisseau, with whom, as we have seen, Robert Adam was, rather later, to be associated. After some time thus occupied, Chambers proceeded to Italy, where he carefully studied the architectural works of the great masters, and seems to have made some impression on the *virtuosi* then living in Rome and elsewhere, by his drawings from the antique. On his return to England, however, although he was apparently full of the knowledge of his art, he would probably have struggled for years to make a name, had not a circumstance occurred which gave him an opening to the road of success.

<sup>1</sup> A family legend says the ancestors of Chambers had been Barons of Tartas, in France, and that later the name was invariably spelt Chalmers, until William Chambers's father changed it on settling in England.

He had taken a house in Poland Street, and might have waited long enough for clients, had not Lord Bute been at this moment, on the look-out for some one who could adorn the gardens at Kew for the Princess Dowager of Wales, and who might also instruct the Prince of Wales in drawing. Having applied to John Carr of York to recommend a suitable person, the latter named Chambers as being likely to fill both posts with credit, and he, accordingly, became designer of the temples and gardens at Kew, and artistic instructor to the Prince. This in itself, beyond providing him with an addition to his income for a time, might not have been of great importance, but the Prince of Wales during the course of his studies, became so attached to Chambers, whose manners were proverbially taking and refined, that on his accession in 1760, he appointed him to be the royal architect, and during his life advanced his interests on all occasions.

While still superintending the Prince's studies, however, Chambers seems to have received a few private commissions, one of which was for the villa formerly known as Parkstead, at Roehampton, which he designed and erected for Lord Bessborough, and in which he gave as much satisfaction in the design (the portico became quite famous among the fashionable amateurs) as in the skill with which he superintended the actual building and kept an eye on the monetary interests of his client. To this period belongs the publication of his "Treatise on Civil Architecture," for long regarded as a text-book, which appeared in 1759, and later editions of which were published in 1768 and 1791.<sup>1</sup> In the following year George III. ascended the throne, and continued the so-called improvements at Kew Gardens

<sup>1</sup> About a dozen years later he brought out his rather absurd "Dissertation on Oriental Gardening," in which he praised the Chinese method of horticulture as opposed to that practised in Europe. This work called forth a number of satirical rejoinders, chief of which was "An Heroic Epistle to Sir W. Chambers," followed by "An Heroic Postscript." For long these were anonymous, but are now known to have been the work of Mason, who apparently received some help from Horace Walpole. Wraxall speaks of these effusions in vol. iii. of his "Posthumous Memoirs."



which had been begun under the *ægis* of the Princess Dowager of Wales. It is unnecessary to set forth in detail all the features of the gardens which owe their genesis to Chambers, and in which he was accused of creating "unmeaning falbalas of Turkish and Chinese chequerwork." In 1763 he issued a folio of drawings of these, entitled "Plans, Elevations, &c., of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew," with engravings from his designs by such masters of the art as Woollett, Sandby, Major, and Grignon. In this book he says that he erected the Temple of Pan in 1758, planned the Physic and Exotic Garden and the Temple of Bellona, in 1760, and designed the Orangery in the following year. Indeed, the whole place seems to have then been divided between the Classic temples beloved of that time, and the Chinese bridges and pagodas with which Chambers's early travels had filled his head; all of which were placed cheek by jowl with those pseudo-ruins and grottoes with which Queen Caroline had delighted to surround Stephen Duck.

But Chambers was equal to better things than this rather cheap *pastiche* of Classic and Oriental architecture. Once, writing on the duties of an architect, he remarked that these require him "rather to be a learned judge than a skilful operator, and when he knows how to direct and instruct others with precision, to examine, judge, and value their performances with masterly accuracy, he may truly be said to have acquired all that most men can acquire."

Taking this as a not inadequate standard of perfection, Chambers may be said to have lived up to it; but in his earlier years he seems, as at Roehampton, to have undertaken a still more personal interest in the carrying out of his designs, and to have been a skilful operator as well as a learned judge.

Like many others, Chambers was concerned, in his earlier designs, on the casinos and arches with which the grounds of large country mansions were wont to be decorated at this period, and to him are due those

at Wilton and Tansfield Hall, that erected for Lord Tilney, at Wanstead, and one for Mr. Willoughby; while a far more elaborate one at Marino, near Dublin, which he designed for Lord Charlemont, is supposed to have cost no less than £60,000.<sup>1</sup> During the erection of this costly freak, Chambers was employed on certain additions to Trinity College, Dublin; and in 1767 he began the erection of Duddingston House, near Edinburgh. Indeed, he now seems to have come to his own, and to have been fully occupied in architectural work all over the country.

In 1768 he designed the Observatory in the old Deer Park at Richmond, and at the same time he was employed in building Castle Hill, Dorset, and the entrance gateway and certain additions to the mansion at Blenheim Palace; while Charlemont House, Dublin, the Market House, Worcester, and additions to Milton Abbey are also assigned to him. During this year, too, he was elected Treasurer of the Royal Academy, and in 1769 he succeeded Flitcroft as Comptroller to the Office of Works, in which capacity he had an official residence at Hampton Court.

To the following year is ascribed Melbourne House, Piccadilly, which he planned for Lord Melbourne, and which is now the main portion of the Albany; and the far more important and beautiful residence he designed for Lord Gower in Whitehall, afterwards known as Carrington House, but since demolished to make room for the present War Office. The exterior of this mansion was plain, and curiously uninspired when compared with the classic beauty of the hall and the grand staircase. The interior, too, showed that Chambers, apart from his decorative skill, was as capable as the Adams of designing well-proportioned apartments, and also proved that he did not sacrifice comfort to the exigencies of fashionable ornamentation.

Besides these extensive works, Chambers was busy over a number of less important matters until the year 1776,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blomfield.

<sup>2</sup> In the previous year he had been appointed architect to Somerset House, with a salary of £2000 a year.

when he began the erection of Somerset House, the building with which his fame is chiefly identified. This great work occupied him practically to the end of his professional life, and is an eloquent tribute to his consummate ability as a designer of large and important erections ; or perhaps it would be more correct to say that it indicates what he could have done elsewhere had he had the opportunity ; for as a matter of fact it stands alone, in size and importance, among his works.

Somerset House has been described as often as the history of later London has been written, and, besides, all the world can see it as it now stands—one of the landmarks of the city ; but a word or two about certain points which are not patent to every one, may not be out of place. Firstly, then, Chambers's original scheme was not carried out in its entirety, for his idea had been to extend the façade on the river side to no less than 800 feet, by building, to the east and west of the main portion, "detached rows of private houses running north and south, uniform in style with Somerset House, and connected with it on the south side by great archways opening on the Terrace."<sup>1</sup> Of this comprehensive scheme only the western portion was carried out. Again, the ground on which old Somerset House, demolished in 1775, stood, and which was to be the site of the new erection, ran right down to the river before the present Embankment gave it a fine and permanent roadway ; the inequality of the ground available for Chambers's new building presented, therefore, a difficulty of no small magnitude. This the architect cleverly overcame by forming the rusticated basement story, which should combine utility with grace by containing warehouses flanking the water-gate ; which latter, taken by itself, is not unworthy to be placed even in comparison with Inigo Jones's masterpiece at the end of Buckingham Street.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Blomfield's "History of the Renaissance." As early as 1772 Chambers had been consulting with Reynolds as to Somerset House, in which the king had intended the Royal Academy to be housed.

Before Waterloo Bridge was erected and Bazalgette conceived his magnificent engineering feat of forming the Embankment, the river front of Somerset House reached to the water whose tiny waves lapped the stonework of the water-gate and gave it the appearance of a useful object ; now, of course, it is more or less meaningless ; but it is not Chambers's fault that it is so.

The building was erected in Portland stone, and remains in massiveness of appearance and in solidity of construction, as it is in classical detail and beauty of exterior ornamentation, probably the most striking of the great buildings of London, and certainly the finest architectural work of George III.'s reign. What pains the architect took over it is well known ; nothing was spared to make it a splendid and permanent work of art, from the selection of the finest examples of ancient architecture which might serve as patterns, to the employment of the most capable artisans to carry out the scheme. Of course there is room for criticism ; except in an actually inspired undertaking of equal magnitude, it would be remarkable were there not ; but although the Strand front leaves something to be desired, and fault may be, and has been, found with much of the detail, as a whole Somerset House remains a striking example of Chambers's capability for dealing with a great and important work ; and it also proves that he could not only produce something very like a masterpiece, if it be not actually one, but could also overcome difficulties of elevation and site which do not always present themselves to architects of buildings of equal size.<sup>1</sup>

Somerset House was practically completed in 1786, and Chambers seems then to have rested on the laurels he had gained by the undertaking. In 1771 he had been knighted by George III., on the occasion of receiving from the King of Sweden the Order of the Polar Star, in return for having sent that monarch a set of drawings ; and three years after, he completed the design for that state coach

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Somerset House see Mr. Needham's history of it, recently published, as well as the various histories of London,



SOMERSET HOUSE

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which has carried the sovereign ever since on great occasions of state.

In the remarkable literary and artistic society of his day, a society that included such men as Burke and Garrick, Goldsmith, Reynolds, and Johnson, Chambers was a prominent figure; and in the Royal Academy and at the Architects' Club he was a power. Indeed, in the inception of the former he took a leading part, and we find him waiting twice on the king, in November and December 1768, with the object of placing before his Majesty the formulated scheme of the institution, and procuring the royal approbation and sanction to it. Chambers had been one of those, including Reynolds and Gainsborough, who had withdrawn from the earlier incorporated society, and in the records of that institution his name is crossed through, with the somewhat unnecessary and misleading word "Expelled" written against it.

At one time the architect was credited with carrying matters with rather a high hand at the Royal Academy (he certainly acted with some energy, and perhaps not altogether with due consideration, at a later period, when he opposed the election of Bonomi), and Peter Pindar, who had his fling at most of the notable people of the day, and frequently introduced Chambers into his lyrics, is found remarking, in 1785 :

Thou, *thou* 'midst dullness may'st be pleased to shine,  
Reynolds shall ne'er sit cheek by jowl with swine,

which seems, like many of Peter Pindar's effusions, rather pointless and offensive.

Chambers had married the beautiful daughter<sup>1</sup> of his friend Joseph Wilton with whom he had resided in Rome, early in life; and had five children, four daughters and a son, the latter of whom became the husband of one of Lord Rodney's daughters. About 1770 he removed from

<sup>1</sup> Reynolds painted her portrait, in Paris, in 1752.

his house in Poland Street, to No. 53 Berners Street built by himself, where he was residing three years later. Subsequently he went to live in Norton Street,<sup>1</sup> and here, on March 8, 1796, he died from an asthmatic complaint to which he had been subject for some years. He was buried in Westminster Abbey where he lies in company with James Wyatt, Sir Charles Barry, and Sir Gilbert Scott, followers in the art he practised so well, and not far from Garrick and Johnson, with whom in his later years, as a member of The Club, he had been so closely associated.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Joshua painted a well-known portrait of Chambers, and Zoffany, in his famous *Academicians*, introduces him leaning against a rail immediately on Reynolds's right hand, and between the President and Wilton.

Among Chambers's pupils was, as I have mentioned, Hardwick; another and more important one was James Gandon, of whom I must say a word or two. Gandon was born in New Bond Street in 1742, and, retiring in 1808, died fifteen years later. He thus falls rather outside the scope of this work, and as his life has been written,<sup>3</sup> it is only necessary to roughly recapitulate the chief works for which he was responsible.

In 1757 he gained a premium at the Society of Arts, and on Chambers's arrival in London, became his pupil and general assistant. In 1765, however, he began to follow the profession on his own account, and two years later, in conjunction with John Wolfe architect to the Board of Works, he published the continuation of Campbell's "Vitruvius Britannicus."

His first important undertaking, gained in competition, was the designing of the County Hall and Prison of Nottingham, which were erected in 1769-70, in the former of which years he had obtained the second prize in the

<sup>1</sup> He possessed also a country house at Whitton.

<sup>2</sup> He was also a friend of Gainsborough, at whose funeral, in 1788, he was one of the pall-bearers.

<sup>3</sup> "Life of James Gandon, arranged by his Son," Dublin, 1846. The book contains a portrait of Gandon.



competition for a design for the Royal Exchange at Dublin ; but he was unable to secure the actual building of it ; nor was he more successful with the New Bethlehem Hospital, in London, although in this case he was awarded the first prize and a hundred guineas as a sort of *solatium*.

In 1781 he went to Dublin, and, owing largely to the patronage of Lord Carlow, was engaged to design the new Docks and the Custom House in that city, which were completed in 1791. The latter was by far his most important undertaking, and the most arduous, owing to the inequalities of the site and other difficulties ; though the result is a remarkably fine building. During its erection, Gandon was employed in designing the United Court House and Gaol, at Waterford (1784), and a portico and circular screen wall to the Parliament House, Dublin (1785). In the following year he began his additions to the Four Courts, in the same city, which had been commenced by Cooley in 1776, and which were first opened in 1796. Other work in the Irish capital followed, but, foreseeing the rebellion which soon afterwards broke out, Gandon came to London in 1797. Two years later, however, he returned to Ireland to give the finishing touches to the Inns of Court, a work he relinquished to one of his pupils, Baker, in 1808. He then retired to Lucan, near Dublin, where he died of gout many years later, after having designed numerous other less important buildings. He left behind him a reputation for sound, and in one instance pre-eminent, work, only less notable than that of his master, Chambers.



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